

MRS. AMARINTHA SNOWDEN,
CHARLESTON.

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United Daughters of the Confederacy-South Carolina Division

SOUTH CAROLINA WOMEN IN THE CONFEDERACY.

7106

RECORDS COLLECTED BY

MRS. A. T. SMYTHE, MISS M. B. POPPENHEIM AND MRS. THOMAS TAYLOR.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY

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United
State Committee Daughters of the Confederacy.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Introduction	3
Report of the Work of the Women of South Carolina During the Confederate War	7
A Sketch of the Work at Greenville. . . *Mrs. Jane Carson Brunson*	26
Bethany Hospital and Soldiers' Aid Association, Edgefield County, *Mrs. C. P. Poppenheim*	67
Black Oak Soldiers' Relief Association . . . . . *Minutes*	56
Correspondence of Mr. Richard Caldwell, Commissary-General of South Carolina	76
Correspondence of Mrs. M. A. Snowden	70
General Work	121
Minutes of the Ladies' Relief Association of Fairfield. . . . . *Mrs. Robert Ellison*	36
Proceedings of Soldiers' Relief Association	11
The Hospital at Florence . . . . . *Dr. P. B. Bacot*	53
Woman's Work at Abbeville . . . . . *Mrs. Joseph Marshall*	69
Woman's Work at Beaufort. . . . . *Mrs. C. O. Barnwell*	34
Woman's Work at Camden . . . . . *Miss Emma C. Reynolds, Mrs. John Johnson*	64
Woman's Work at Cheraw . . . . . *Mrs. Virginia C. Tarrh*	28
Woman's Work at Eutawville . . . . . *Miss Anna S. Sinkler*	58
Woman's Work at Grahamville . . . . . *Miss S. S. Seabrook*	63
Woman's Work at Hopewell and Mars Bluff. *Mrs. Martha J. Harlee*	30
Woman's Work at Marion . . . . . *Mrs. Ellen L. Gregg*	30
Woman's Work at Marlboro. . . . . *Mrs. D. D. McColl*	35
Woman's Work at Pendleton . . . . . *Mrs. Mary Simpson Williams, Miss Anne Simpson*	31
Woman's Work at Sumter	54
Woman's Work at Union . . . . . *Miss F. M. Blamyer*	55
Women's Associations in South Carolina for the Relief of Soldiers	21
"The Days That Are Dead" . . . . . *Mrs. Lee C. Harby*	156
A South Carolina Girl's Recollections of the First Year of the War. . . . *Mrs. Martha B. Washington*	168
Coast Women in the War . . . . . *Mrs. Virginia C. Tarrh*	175
Our First Confederate Flag. . . . . *Miss A. S. Thomas*	178
Incidents of the First Battle of Manassas. . . . . *Mrs. Grace C. Cochran*	181
Some of My Reminiscences of the War . . . . . *Mrs. Virginia C. Tarrh*	190
A Southern Household During the Years 1860 to 1865. . . . . *Miss Ellen S. Elmore*	195
Tales of a Grandmother; or, Recollections of the Confederate War . . *Mrs. Margaret Crawford Adams*	209
Why I Am a Daughter of the Confederacy . . . . *Mrs. Eleanor S. Ivey*	225
Some Heroic Women. . . . . *Mrs. James H. White*	228

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PAGE.

Reminiscences of the Confederate War . . . . . *Mrs. W. B. Dunlap* 231
A Sketch of Life During the War Between the States . . . . . *Mrs. Anna Cureton Stevens* 232
The Trials of a Confederate Officer's Wife in 1864. . . . . *Mrs. Charlotte Palmer Capers* 235
The Last Bazar . . . . . *Miss Grace Elmore* 247
Experiences During the Civil War . . . . . *Mrs. Mary Janney Leaphart* 247
Two Equipages . . . . . *Mrs. Thomas Taylor* 250
Personal Experiences with Sherman's Army at Liberty Hill . . . . . *Mrs. C. P. Poppenheim* 254
Burning of Columbia . . . . . *Madame S. Sosnowski* 261
A Confederate Girl's Diary . . . . . *Mrs. Clark Waring* 272
The Burning of Columbia . . . . . *An Ursuline Nun* 288
The Burning of the Ursuline Convent by Sherman . . . . . *Mrs. Sara Aldrich Richardson* 298
When Columbia Burned . . . . . *Mrs. Harriott H. Ravenel* 319
The Sack of Columbia . . . . . *Mrs. S. A. Crittenden* 328
Recollections of the Burning of Columbia . . . . . *Mrs. Fannie E. Allen* 334
A Southern Woman's Recollections . . . . . *A Southern Woman* 336
Mrs. Lottie L. Green's Experience. . . . . *Mrs. Lottie L. Green* 338
The Response to the Negroes' Call. . . . . *Miss Grace Elmore* 342
When Sherman Passed Through Lancaster . . . . . *Mrs. J. H. Foster* 344
Reminiscences of Sherman's Raid. . . . . *Mrs. M. V. Green* 351
In the Track of the Raiders . . . . . *Mrs. Lulah Ayer Vandiver* 356
Recollections of the War . . . . . *Mrs. Sylvester Bleckley* 360
With Stoneman's Raiders . . . . . *Mrs. Sylvester Bleckley* 366
The Yankee Raid Through Anderson . . . . . *Mrs. R. C. Hoyt* 369
Incidents of the Anderson Raid . . . . . *Mrs. Olive Cochran Minor* 372
Reconstruction . . . . . *Mrs. Thomas Taylor* 376
History of the Orangeburg County Monument Association. 386
Index by Localities. 390
Index by Surnames 393

Illustrations.

Mrs. Amarintha Snowden (Charleston). . . . . *Opposite* 6
Mrs. John McKenzie (Columbia). . . . . *Opposite* 80
Mrs. D. J. McCord (Columbia). . . . . *Opposite* 144
Mrs. Jane Fisher (Columbia). . . . . *Opposite* 208
Mother Theresa (Charleston). . . . . *Opposite* 288
Mrs. Sarah Watts (Charleston). . . . . *Opposite* 368

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INTRODUCTION.

Carlo Botta, the Italian historian, in his History of the War for Independence, says: "In that fierce struggle, the War of the American Revolution, the women of Carolina presented an example of fortitude more than manly. I know not the history, ancient or modern, which has recorded a story of devotion exceeding or equaling that exhibited by these heroic beings to their American country. Far from considering the epithet a reproach, they gloried and exulted in the name of Rebel women. * * * Their example was inspiring, and it is owing principally to the firmness of these patriotic Carolinians that the name, as well as the love of liberty, was not extinguished in the Southern States."

In the not distant future, let us hope that some foreign historian, reading this record of facts, and touched by the witchery of the theme, may, like Botta, tell another continent, in another tongue, how the descendants of those Carolina women of the Revolution, in the third and fourth generation, "presented an example of fortitude more than manly." But he will have to add that, while the heroines of the first Revolution lived to exult with their surviving sons and brothers in a victory glorious and complete, the South Carolina Women of the Confederacy saw their cause go down in gloom and defeat; that cause which, throughout all the horrors of the Reconstruction era, they regarded and still hold in "boundless love and reverence and regret."

The purpose of this book is to record, in part, the work of South Carolina women during the War for Southern Independence, not only in making banners, "binding her warriors' sash," and those offices which the cold-blooded materialist classes as "sentimental"; but woman as a potent factor in furnishing food and clothing for the men on the battle line, and for the wounded and dying in the hospital.

It is confidently expected that this book will furnish abundant material not only for the poet and novelist who would forcibly portray "the strength and beauty of woman's devotion," but for the statistician and political economist who seeks to explain how the armies

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of the Confederate States could for over four years win many victories and hold Richmond and Charleston against tremendous odds on land and sea, the Northern ports all the time drawing freely upon Europe for men and supplies.

The Commissary and Quartermaster Departments of the new government, the first year of the war, were unable to clothe and feed the armies of the South, and probably the majority of the soldiers had not the means to furnish their own uniforms. When the commissaries and quartermasters had organized their departments in 1862, 1863 and 1864, the supplies of food, clothing, and medicine scarcely ever equaled the demand, and during the last year of the war cracked corn was the chief support of many a starving regiment. It may be questioned if the war could have been prolonged for four years but for the constant and untiring aid of the women of the South.

An officer, closely identified with South Carolinians, who doffed the garb of a minister of God to wear the Confederate uniform, describes the work of the women of the South in terms which, in the minutest detail, will be amply verified by letters and reports in this book. He says: "Houses were stripped of their blankets and carpets that the shivering soldier might be protected against the winter's cold. Delicately nurtured women, unaccustomed to labor, toiled the livelong day for the soldier. The morning dawn lighted them to their labors, and the midnight lamp witnessed their close. The factories being inadequate to the emergency, the handloom was made to supply the deficiency. The spinning wheel again uttered its once familiar music as it was turned by hands accustomed only to the instruments of the drawing room. Fairy fingers, used alone to toy with delicate embroidery, boldly seized and made the coarse garment of the soldier. The ordinary pursuits of life were interrupted and ordinary associations ceased."

No "Sanitary" or "Christian Commission," heavily endowed by leading capitalists or government funds, brought nourishing food and medicine to the wounded or fever-stricken Confederate. South of the Potomac, it was the mission of woman to attempt, and in hundreds of thousands of cases to successfully perform, this self-imposed and unprecedented task.

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There can be no question of the need for such a work as this, in justice to those who are gone, and that those who come after us may rightly estimate the character and services of the womanhood of South Carolina during 1861-65; but a brief account of the origin of this book may be of interest. Mrs. Thomas Taylor, as early as 1896, had urged upon Wade Hampton Chapter, Daughters of the Confederacy, of Columbia, the importance of collecting the photographs and records of women who had been active in Confederate work during the war, and, assisted by zealous co-workers, gathered valuable data regarding the establishment of Wayside Homes at the State Capital.

At the Convention of the State Division, held in Abbeville in 1897, on motion of Mrs. Augustine T. Smythe, a committee was appointed "to collect statistics of Woman's Work in the War." Mrs. Smythe was appointed chairman and, with two other members of the committee—Mrs. W. W. Williams, of Greenville, and Mrs. James Evans, of Florence—immediately began the work. These ladies diligently and persistently sought throughout the State for records, and invited reports from those who had taken active part in soldiers' relief work. The section of this book relating to Hospital and Soldiers' Relief Societies is proof of the assiduity and rare judgment of Mrs. Smythe and her associates, and a cursory perusal of their report is sufficient to prove its value to the future historian.

At the Convention in Greenville, in 1899, Mrs. Thomas Taylor was elected President of the South Carolina Division. By resolution, offered by Miss Bythewood, of Greenville, a State Division historical committee was created "to collect historical material with reference to publishing the same"—Miss M. B. Poppenheim, Chairman. During the years 1900, 1901, and 1902, Mrs. Taylor gave close attention to this enterprise, believing that the invaluable services of the women as a factor in the war should be demonstrated as a part of the power of the commonwealth. The subject was kept before the Chapters, and in each Annual Convention was presented in the President's address as an important consideration.

At the Convention held in Sumter, Mrs. Taylor, the retiring President, recommended the appointment of "a committee, who should

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petition the Legislature to appropriate a sufficient sum of money to enable the Daughters of the Confederacy to publish the records of the South Carolina women, these records being necessary for the presentation of a complete history of the war." Mrs. James Conner, the President, appointed Mrs. Thomas Taylor as Chairman of such committee, with power to act. Circumstances making it impracticable to call together the representatives of the Chapters, Mrs. Taylor, accompanied by Mrs. J. W. Flinn, in January, 1902, appeared before the joint committee of the two chambers and, with the hearty cooperation of Senator J. Q. Marshall, of Richland, successfully proved to the satisfaction of the committee that the House and Senate, "in the State's interest, might consider the question whether it were worth the expenditure of the State's money to enable the association of her daughters to put into the country's history the story of her womanhood as it was displayed in the war." The committee agreed to recommend, and the Legislature subsequently confirmed, the appropriation of $500 for the purchase of 300 copies, which should be distributed to schools and institutions.

The editing committee appointed by the President—Mrs. James Conner—in 1902, consisted of Mrs. Thomas Taylor, Chairman; Miss M. B. Poppenheim, Mrs. August Kohn, Miss M. B. Washington, and Mrs. A. T. Smythe, and to the excellent editorial judgment and unremitting labors of this committee, and that appointed under Mrs. Smythe's resolution in 1898, the merit and value of this work are due.

The committee is indebted to Mr. A. E. Gonzales, of *The State,* who has offered every facility, advantage and aid at his command, and to Mr. August Kohn, of *The News and Courier,* whose judgment and advice have been of material assistance.

Holding in lifelong recollection the constancy and devotion of those "South Carolina Women in the Confederacy" who are dead, the writer of this introduction would say to each and every survivor of that noble band:

> Forgive this feeble script which doth thee wrong,
> Measuring with little wit thy lofty love.

YATES SNOWDEN.

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Report of the Work of the Women of South Carolina During the Confederate War.

At the Annual Convention of the South Carolina Division, Daughters of the Confederacy, held in Abbeville in December, 1898, a committee was appointed to collect statistics and facts in regard to the work of the women of this State during the Confederate War.

This committee consisted of the following members:

Mrs. Augustine T. Smythe, Charleston.

Mrs. James Evans, Florence.

Mrs. W. W. Williams, Greenville.

It was intended that the report of the committee should embrace the work done by the women at their homes, whether in towns or on plantations, in soldiers' relief associations and in hospitals.

Their report is now presented to you, and is necessarily very incomplete and unsatisfactory in many ways. This incompleteness comes from no want of effort on the part of the committee, as they have done everything in their power, by correspondence and otherwise, to elicit the desired information. Many of their letters were never answered, but such answers as were received were valuable and interesting.

As before reported, it has been impossible to find files or even many stray numbers of newspapers published during the war, except the *Charleston Mercury* and the *Charleston Courier,* of which complete files are kept in the Library of that city.

Because of this, our information as regards the lower districts is fuller. In fact, a complete history of the relief associations of Charleston could be had, but much has been omitted.

Mrs. Augustine T. Smythe.
Mrs. James Evans.
Mrs. W. W. Williams.

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The State of South Carolina seceded from the Union on December 20, 1860. In the *Charleston Mercury* of January 3, 1861, we see the following:

Charleston Mercury, January 3, 1861.

"The Surgeon-General respectfully and gratefully acknowledges the patriotic response of the ladies to the suggestion to supply bandages. They are rapidly coming in. They should be two and one-half and three inches wide, and six yards long. The ladies of Colonel Jacobs' family have the honor of having made the first contribution."

One of the "ladies of Colonel Jacobs' family" is Mrs. Philip Wineman, of Charleston, who remembers well the making of those bandages.

While no time was lost in making preparations, the following editorial shows how little the terrible events and necessities of the coming days were generally realized:

Charleston Mercury, January 3, 1861.

"THE BRAVE AND THE FAIR.

"We suppose that everybody knows by this time that all the good ladies of Charleston are busy preparing creature comforts for the gallant men who are keeping watch and ward on the ramparts and breastworks which defend our city.

"We might enumerate a host of good things which we have been the happy instruments of transmitting to worthy recipients—good things of every imaginable kind, from mattresses to lint. For the last named articles we hope that our volunteers may have no special use, unless it be to stuff the mattresses."

That some hearts were less confident, and felt the need of help and support, is shown by a gentle suggestion from a "devoted daughter of South Carolina" (*Mercury*, January 4th) of daily prayer meetings. So it is seen that the women began early with prayers and work that were never to cease for four long, weary years.

Charleston Mercury, January 5, 1861.

A day later we read that:

"The Columbia ladies are receiving contributions for the purpose of aiding in furnishing members of the rifle company with such articles of uniform and equipment as may be necessary, at short notice. Several ladies have agreed to make up the uniforms, and are now engaged in the patriotic work. All honor to the ladies of Columbia."

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The ladies of Savannah had already made sacks to be filled with straw, and sent to the forts for beds.

The Quartermaster-General, L. M. Hatch, acknowledges many articles for his department; among others, bed sacks from Miss Toye, and a Palmetto flag for Fort Morris, from the ladies of Mr. Hugh E. Vincent's family.

Charleston Mercury, January 8, 1861.

Surgeon-General Gibbes tenders his thanks for a contribution to his department from "an old lady born the day Charleston was surrendered to the British—May 12th, 1780."

Charleston Mercury, January 9, 1861.

F. F. Warley, of the Darlington Guards, thanks "three ladies" for an "appreciated gift" to that company, then on Sullivan's Island.

New Orleans Delta, January 14, 1861.

The *Mercury* copies the following extract from a letter of the aged widow of Gen. Nathaniel Green to one of her descendants in New Orleans:

"Rather than hear that Fort Moultrie was taken from South Carolina, I would have myself dragged there, and sit on the parapet till the last gun was fired."

Charleston Mercury, January 16, 1861.

Another woman writes of herself as "a poor, weak woman who can do nothing for her country unless to nurse the sick and wounded, which I would do to the best of my ability. * * * My boys are healthy, strong fellows. I wish they were old enough to do duty."

Charleston Mercury, January 18, 1861.

Surgeon-General Gibbes thanks a lady of Charleston for two dozen undershirts for the Richland Rifle Company.

Charleston Mercury, January 18, 1861.

Some women ingeniously turned their minds at once to the home manufacture of articles for ladies' dress, as for instance Miss Nixon advertises home-made furs—"a variety of articles of excellent quality."

About this time, the natural desire of the women to be doing found relief in making and giving flags to the forts, or to those companies in which they were chiefly interested.

Charleston Mercury, January 19, 1861.

The ladies of Charleston sent a flag to the Hon. D. F. Jamieson, the "Minister of War," which was made to be opened for the first time on Fort Sumter.

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Charleston Mercury, January 25, 1861.

The Fairfield Volunteers thank "several ladies of Charleston for acceptable gifts," while the Palmetto Guard are "indebted to ladies of Summerville."

The cadets at Fort Morris return thanks to ladies for hoods, gloves, lint, bandages, etc.

Charleston Mercury, January 30, 1861.

Surgeon-General Gibbes thanks Mrs. John Bryce, of Columbia, for liberal contributions of lint and linen, and acknowledges the receipt of $5.00 from a lady, for purchase of surgical instruments.

Charleston Mercury, February 12, 1861.

The Rev. A. Toomer Porter asks ladies willing to work gratuitously for the soldiers to apply to him. He assures them that they need feel no fear of interfering with those who work for a support. "There is work enough for all."

Charleston Mercury, February 25, 1861.

Mr. James Tupper presents, in the name of a young lady of Charleston, a stand of colors, to the First Regiment of Rifles.

Charleston Mercury, March 6 and 11, 1861.

Surgeon-General Gibbes acknowledges the receipt of $40.00 from a lady of South Carolina, living in New York; $20.00 from a lady in Charleston; and $5.00 from a young lady; and calls for more bandages, on account of the large number of troops ordered out; and returns thanks for $261.00, given by a lady, for the purchase of surgical instruments.

Charleston Courier, May 8, 1861. Copied from Columbia, S. C.

"We learn that the ladies of the little town of Pendleton, hearing that some of the volunteers were in need of uniforms, have offered to make 500 uniforms, in five days, if needed. This is practical patriotism, and shows the spirit animating the fair daughters of the upper districts. Besides this, they have raised a subscription for a handsome flag, to be presented to Captain Kilpatrick's company, now encamped here, and another for a company in Pickens District, under the command of Capt. J. L. Shanklin."

Charleston Courier, May 29, 1861.

The readiness of the women to help in any way is showed by their offer at this date to make cartridges. As flannel and other material became scarce, dresses and other woolen garments were cut up to make woolen bags for cannon cartridges. These, as well as the small cartridges, were made in large numbers by women. Many

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rough, strong bags had also to be made, to be filled with sand, and used in constructing and mending fortifications. Later on, when the bombardment had become heavy, telegraphic orders for these bags would be sent to Columbia and, no doubt, to other towns, and the women would work night and day, and when necessary on Sunday, to complete them.

Charleston Mercury, June 11, 1861.

A suggestion is made that "mothers, wives, sisters, and sweethearts" should begin to knit socks for soldiers.

This work had already been begun and, as time passed, every one knitted, some women becoming such adepts that a pair of socks, or even three feet, became their daily task.

Charleston Courier, June 18, 1861.

Thanks are returned for "a lot of vegetables, kindly contributed for the use of the troops, by Margaret Noisette" (a colored woman).

Charleston Mercury, July 17, 1861.

"The ladies of Augusta, Ga., are preparing sick tents, to be sent to Virginia."

Charleston Mercury, July 18, 1861.

Our Western sisters were much more enterprising in some ways, for we see an extract from a Vicksburg paper giving an account of a Woman's Home Guard, "all good shots, and good riders."

On July 21st was fought the first Battle of Manassas, and from that times dates the systematic, organized work of Southern women.

Charleston Mercury, July 23, 1861.

On July 23d there is a call for families to prepare and set aside blankets for the use of soldiers.

Proceedings of Soldiers' Relief Association.

(Preserved by Mr. Richard Caldwell, and given by his daughter to the D. of C., of Charleston.)

The ladies of the Calhoun Monument Association had met on July 20th for the purpose of effecting an organization to work for the soldiers. A call was issued for a general meeting, with the following result:

Charleston Mercury, July 24, 1861.

"The good work of raising help for our gallant volunteers goes bravely on. Notwithstanding unfavorable weather, a large attendance of ladies took place at the Depository, Chalmers street, in accordance with previous notice, Dr. Bachman presiding. The meeting was addressed by a number of the clergy of this city.

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"The objects of the association were stated by the Chair, and contributions invited. One hundred and twenty names were handed in as members, and cash donations of $700, which, with previous donations, make the sum of $1,200. We refer to advertisement of the association.

"There was also a full attendance at Trinity Church yesterday, all eager to get to work. Contributions filled the doorway. Boxes upon boxes of comforts for the poor sick soldiers have been contributed, and Dr. E. Bissell kindly offered to go to Virginia to take these gifts.

"A committee will be at the Young Men's Hall, in King street, corner of Hasell, this morning, from nine to eleven, to receive contributions. Boxes close at 12 m.

"Another meeting will be held today at the Young Men's Hall, when the ladies who have been cutting out will supply work to those who wish to help.

"The meeting yesterday was opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Girardeau, who requested the ladies to spend the rest of the day collecting sheets, bandages, underclothing and books."

On the same day appears the first advertisement of the Soldiers' Relief Association, of Charleston, which from that time never ceased its work until the evacuation of the city.

"The Depository, in Chalmers street, Charleston, will be open today, and on every Wednesday, to receive contributions from those who desire to aid our sick and wounded soldiers. Old sheets, pillowcases, undergarments, old or new, linen or cotton rags, housekeeping stores, rice, barley, arrowroot, flaxseed, tea, sugar, brandy, wine, especially blackberry, etc., are desired. These will be forwarded to Virginia immediately.

"Let every family in the city aid in providing for the relief of our defenders. Any contributions will constitute membership in the association. Ladies wishing to aid are invited to meet at the Depository every day from 10 a. m. to 2 p. m., and from 4 p. m. to 7 p. m. Work will be provided for those who will undertake it.

"President—Mrs. George Robertson.

"Vice-President—Mrs. Wm. Snowden.

"Corresponding Secretaries—Miss Laura Porter and Miss Blamyer.

"Secretary and Treasurer—Miss E. P. Hayne.

"Other ladies have cheerfully consented to act as Managers in their respective Wards."

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Charleston Mercury, July 24 and 26, 1861.

The following list of Managers is published:

WARD 1.

Miss Brown.. .. ..South Battery, corner Church street
Mrs. J. Snowden.. .. ..7 Church street
Mrs. R. Screven.. .. ..Water, near Church street
Miss Blake.. .. ..10 Water street
Mrs. Dewar.. .. ..39 Church street
Mrs. T. Tupper.. .. ..52 Tradd street
Mrs. C. DeSaussure.. .. ..26 Meeting street
Mrs. F. Y. Porcher.. .. ..13 East Battery
Mrs. D. Stoeking.. .. ..Meeting and Chalmers streets

WARD 2.

Mrs. H. W. Conner.. .. ..23 Meeting street
Mrs. Fred Fraser.. .. ..Tradd and Legare streets
Mrs. Brownfield.. .. ..Anson street
Miss Joye.. .. ..King street
Mrs. Nagel.. .. ..New street
Mrs. Cowlam Gravely.. .. ..5 Short street
Mrs. R. W. Bacot.. .. ..Tradd and King streets
Miss Mary Simons.. .. ..10 Tradd street
Miss Ann Bacot.. .. ..5 Orange street

WARD 3.

Mrs. Wiltberger.. .. ..23 Laurens street
Mrs. H. Wigfall.. .. ..293 East Bay
Mrs. Trescot.. .. ..4 Anson street
Mrs. Laval.. .. ..12 John street
Mrs. James Gibbes .. ..Meeting and George streets
Mrs. Myers.. .. ..Wentworth street
Miss J. Elliott.. .. ..10 George street
Mrs. Dr. Robertson.. .. ..1 Maiden lane
Mrs. Simons.. .. ..
Mrs. Moffett.. .. ..198 East Bay

WARD 4.

Mrs. Fitch.. .. ..12 Smith street
Mrs. Gray.. .. ..Rutledge street
Mrs. Just.. .. ..34 Hasell street
Mrs. Graeser.. .. ..256 King street
Mrs. W. Johnson.. .. ..74 Wentworth street
Mrs. H. Price.. .. ..Queen and Meeting streets
Mrs. ——— ———— .. ..Lynch and Wentworth
Mrs. Wineman.. .. ..Smith and Bull streets
Mrs. M. Lee.. .. ..Bull, near Pitt street
Miss Horlbeck.. .. ..Meeting and Calhoun streets
Mrs. D. Ingraham.. .. ..Beaufain street
Mrs. Jos. Walker.. .. ..52 Wentworth street
Mrs. D. Leixas.. .. ..Pitt street

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Miss J. Robb.. .. ..Rutledge street
Miss O. M. Robertson.. .. ..Smith street
Mrs. S. S. Miles.. .. ..6 Green street

WARD 5.

Mrs. M. Mathieson.. .. ..Alexander street
Miss K. Lee.. .. ..Alexander street
Miss C. Gadsden.. .. ..Wentworth street

WARD 6.

Mrs. Bachman.. .. ..Rutledge street
Miss E. Chisolm.. .. ..Rutledge street
Miss A. M. Lucas.. .. ..Rutledge street
Mrs. Pickens Smith.. .. ..Coming street
Mrs. Charlotte Walker.. .. ..Calhoun street
Mrs. Bennett Lucas.. .. ..Calhoun street
Mrs. Bentham.. .. ..Vanderhorst street
Mrs. Dr. Carrere.. .. ..37 Radcliffe street
Mrs. Dr. Geiger.. .. ..Ashley and Doughty streets
Miss McKensie.. .. ..Ashley and Doughty streets
Mrs. F. Blum.. .. ..St. Philip street
Mrs. Bowman.. .. ..
Mrs. J. Cunningham.. .. ..Smith street

WARD 7.

Miss Weston.. .. ..Hampstead
Miss Tucker.. .. ..Hampstead
Miss Windsor.. .. ..18 Drake street
Miss Rose Torre.. .. ..Hampstead

WARD 8.

Miss Whilden.. .. ..Ashley street
Miss Wagner.. .. ..Rutledge street
Mrs. Wash. Ancrum.. .. ..Bee street
Mrs. Tisher.. .. ..Bee street
Mrs. Allan.. .. ..Rutledge street
Miss C. Smith.. .. ..Rutledge street

"Persons desiring work apply to any of these ladies."

Charleston Mercury, July 25, 1861.

A notice of the meeting of the Ladies' Association in Aid of Volunteer Soldiers, held at the South Carolina Hall. The hall was overflowing. Nearly $1,000 collected. Officers were elected, but the list was not ready for publication. Objects of this association, to procure proper clothing for volunteers, who in many instances are in need of the veriest necessities.

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The same paper has the following:

"HELP FOR SOLDIERS.

"While our sons and brothers are exposing their lives upon the plains of Virginia for our safety, and while many are languishing in hospitals on beds of pain and suffering, it is gratifying to know that our wives, sisters and mothers are laboring so zealously in their attempts to provide help for the soldiers. It has been again verified that the ladies are the most energetic portion of every community, as the work they have performed in twenty-four hours has been truly marvelous.

"A preparatory meeting of the members of the Ladies' Christian Association Auxiliary to the Young Men's Christian Association, and many other ladies of the city, was held on Tuesday, when first steps were taken, and by yesterday at two o'clock they had prepared enough luxuries and necessaries for soldiers to fill twelve cases, and valued at over $1,000. These were immediately dispatched to Virginia in the care of Dr. E. H. Bissell.

"Up to dark last evening the ladies had cut out, and given out to be made, over 400 garments, and will today resume their work. A meeting of the ladies will be held at ten o'clock today at the Young Men's Hall, for the purpose of more thorough organization, appointment of committees, etc. Merchants and others have responded nobly to the call, and fabrics have been sent in valued at nearly $2,000, while over $1,000 in money has been subscribed. The goods have been forwarded by Adams Southern Express, through their agent—Woodward—free of charge. It is the intention of the ladies to send forward all articles in charge of some responsible person who will attend faithfully to their proper and judicious distribution."

Charleston Mercury, July 26, 1861.

"The Ladies' Auxiliary Christian Association is now thoroughly prepared to furnish whatever aid may be required by our sick and wounded soldiers.

"The committees are organized and working efficiently. Those appointed to cut out and fit work will meet daily at the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association, in King Street, opposite Beaufain. Several ladies will be in attendance at the same place every day from ten to twelve in the morning, and from six to seven in the afternoon, to receive contributions, distribute work and materials to those wishing to contribute labor, and to receive the garments which have been made.

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"Money is needed to purchase materials and to pay transportation expenses, but donations of old sheets, pillow cases, undergarments, morning gowns, rice, barley, wine, blackberry brandy, jellies, jams or any nourishing articles for a hospital will be thankfully received. The following ladies have been appointed the Committee on Donations, to whom the contributions may be sent, as well as to the officers of the association:

Miss Mary Campbell, President.
Mrs. Wm. J. Johnson, Vice-President.

COMMITTEE.

Mrs. Dr. Pettigrew.
Mrs. B. R. Carroll.
Mrs. Venning.
Mrs. E. M. Grimke.
Mrs. Limbecker.
Mrs. Frank Pelzer.
Mrs. David Bell.
Mrs. Cuttino.
Mrs. Benj. Evans.
Mrs. Browning.
Mrs. Wm. A. Courtenay.
Mrs. W. Walter Smith.
Mrs. Wm. Greer.
Mrs. Fleetwood Lanneau.
Mrs. Jas. K. Robinson.
Mrs. S. T. Potter.
Mrs. Samuel Burrows.
Mrs. James Copes.
Mrs. Pickens Smith.
Mrs. Paxton.
Mrs. J. C. Smith.
Mrs. Dr. Mood.
Mrs. Palmer Lawrence.
Mrs. Henry Venning.
Mrs. T. W. Bliss.
Mrs. Currell.
Miss S. S. Gantt.
Miss Mary Moffett.
Miss M. W. Hagan.
Miss C. E. Gadsden.
Miss Mary Robinson.
Miss K. A. Tupper.
Miss G. Moore.
Miss Brodie.
Miss S. Perronneau.
Miss M. Seabrook.
Miss Huntington.
Miss E. Johnson.
Miss H. Parker.
Miss M. J. Legare.
Miss M. J. Ross.
Miss Bissell.
Misses Whitney.
Miss Marian Robertson.
Miss Euphemia Gordon.
Miss Rosa Dibble.
Miss Rebecca Armstrong.
Miss Olivia Sass.
Misses Wilkie.
Mrs. Fuller.
Mrs. Fludd.
Mrs. Wm. J. Smith.
Mrs. H. Sollee.
Mrs. T. O. Bennett.
Mrs. E. Q. Rell.
Mrs. J. B. Bissell.
Mrs. Wilbur.
Mrs. S. Cogswell.
Mrs. Margaret Will.
Mrs. S. G. Courtenay.
Mrs. Jas. Gilliland.
Mrs. Wm. Dillingham.
Mrs. Thos. Smith.
Mrs. Lee.
Mrs. Wm. Bell.
Mrs. McDowell.
Mrs. Gibson.
Mrs. Maria Lebby.
Mrs. Z. Davis.
Mrs. Thos. Mathews.
Mrs. Greenfield.
Mrs. Dr. Carrere.
Mrs. C. H. Simonton.
Mrs. A. J. Salinas.
Miss Martha Buist.
Miss Elizabeth Hammond
Miss S. J. Robinson.
Miss Sallie Davis.
Miss Carrie Webb.
Miss Alice Mathews.
Miss H. L. Hall.
Miss H. Miller.
Miss Rosa Clifford.
Miss Harsey.
Miss Douglass.
Miss Elizabeth Dewees.
Misses Nelson.
Miss S. Adger.
Miss Laval.
Miss Jessie Kirkwood.
Miss Wilbur.
Miss Wotton.
Miss Burgess.
Miss Mary Walsh.
Miss Catherine Stuart.
Miss Catharine Murrell.
Misses Bee.
Miss Eliza Johnson."

Charleston Mercury, July 27, 1861.

A notice that Dr. Logan will go on to Richmond in charge of articles sent by Ladies' Auxiliary Christian Association.

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Charleston Mercury, July 29, 1861.

Additional names are published of the committee of the Ladies' Auxiliary Christian Association.

Mrs. Charles Graves.	Mrs. Alexander.	Mrs. E. DeTreville.
Mrs. H. Mitchell.	Mrs. E. E. Courtenay.	Mrs. Dr. Honour.
Mrs. John Martin.	Mrs. C. E. Chichester.	Mrs. Wm. Harrall.
Mrs. L. Chapin.	Mrs. L. B. Whitney.	Mrs. T. A. Whitney.
Mrs. Theo. Jeffords.	Mrs. Dr. Bruns.	Miss Bates.
Mrs. Jos. T. Caldwell.	Mrs. Thayer.	Miss Enslow.
Mrs. D. Dibble.	Mrs. Whilden.	Miss C. Stuart.
Mrs. Jas. M. Caldwell.	Mrs. Dr. Cain.	Miss Martha Buist.
Mrs. Doucin.	Mrs. C. H. Ingraham.	Miss S. L. Gantt.
Mrs. L. Eason.	Mrs. O. A. Bowen.	Miss E. Hammond.
Mrs. Ellen M. Heidt.	Mrs. John Dukes.	Miss M. Moffett.
Mrs. Geo. W. Williams.	Mrs. Wm. Vardell.	Miss S. J. Robinson.
Mrs. John Bowie.	Mrs. Thomas Smith.	Miss M. Von Hagen.
Mrs. Rich. Butler.	Mrs. O. L. Dobson.	Mrs. James Lamb.
Mrs. L. Wheeler.	Mrs. Titus Bissell Jr.	Mrs. A. S. J. Perry.
Mrs. James Steedman.	Mrs. T. R. Walsh.	Mrs. A. S. Johnson.
Mrs. J. W. Stoy.	Miss A. A. Rodger.	Mrs. W. Lambert.
Mrs. Walsh.	Miss Lydia Mowry.	Mrs. Trapier.
Mrs. Wm. Laval.	Miss Eliza Dukes.	Mrs. W. W. Hughes.

Charleston Mercury, July 29, 1861.

"Another large shipment was made on Saturday by the Ladies' Auxiliary Christian Association, consisting of ten cases, containing a variety of articles for the use of our soldiers now lying in hospitals at Richmond, Charlottesville, Culpeper, Louisa and Manassas. They were placed under special care of Dr. Legare.

"The ladies will continue their labors as long as the wants of our soldiers require, which will doubtless be to the end of the war. A meeting will be held tomorrow afternoon at 5 o'clock, by order of the President, Miss Mary B. Campbell."

Charleston Mercury, July 30, 1861.

There is a notice that boxes containing articles for the wounded had been sent on from Summerville.

Charleston Mercury, July 31, 1861.

"Helena, a small station on the Greenville Railroad, recently contributed the sum of $90 for the relief of soldiers in Virginia. Among the contributors were a number of negroes, who were as anxious to add their mite as any one."

Charleston Mercury, August 1, 1861.

"The treasurer of the Association for the Relief of Families of Volunteers acknowledges the receipt of $10 from Miss A. S. Porcher, the superintendent of a society of schoolgirls."

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Charleston Mercury, August 1, 1861.

"Richmond papers notice the arrival of Dr. Isaac Branch and wife, Mrs. Dr. Turner, and J. M. Latimer, of South Carolina, who will act as volunteer nurses. They brought with them fifty boxes of hospital supplies."

Charleston Mercury, August 3, 1861.

An account of a little girls' entertainment for the benefit of wounded soldiers at Mme. Togno's, 46 Meeting street. A collation, prepared by themselves, to which they invite all ladies and gentlemen on their way to and from the Battery. Two evenings of the week, Friday and Saturday, from six to ten.

Mme. Togno's was at that time the fashionable boarding school of Charleston.

The young girls of the State did their full share of work for the soldiers, not only by assisting their mothers, but by originating societies and entertainments of their own, planned and carried out by themselves.

Letter from Miss S. E. Waring, written in 1899.

We are told of an entertainment in Charleston, gotten up by two little girls very early in the year '61. Seeing the earnestness of the children, housekeepers interested themselves, and a large sum of money was made.

It is claimed, though modestly, and with the acknowledged possibility of a mistake, that the first entertainment of a musical kind given for Confederate purposes was suggested and carried out by a few Columbia girls.

Letter from Miss Grace Elmore, written April 8, 1898.

"Miss Garnett, a music teacher in Columbia, and a valued friend of all the best people, had a class of young girls, none over sixteen, who, under her direction, gave the first concert that I ever heard of in the Confederacy. It was given between the 15th of June and the 18th of July, 1861. It was intended that the proceeds should be used in sending supplies to Hampton's Legion, then in the field in daily expectation of a battle. The girls were Susan Preston, Rosa Elmore, Annie Hampton, Kate Bauskett, Helen Niernsee, and Sallie Hampton. They would have no help from any but those of their own age, but finding that not one of them could sing, they asked me to join them *for that purpose* only.

"All arrangements were made entirely by these girls. The concert was given in the chapel of the Methodist College, and the result

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was $150.00 in silver, and Miss Garnett, I remember, kept the money tied up in a silk stocking till called for by the girls. I *think* a part of it was used in sending a box to the Legion after the first Battle of Manassas. I *believe* the remnant of the $150.00 was the first money put into the Treasury of the Young Ladies' Hospital Association, from which sprang the Wayside Hospital."

Charleston Mercury, August 6, 1861.

Entertainments for the purpose of making money were promptly given all over the State. We see in the newspaper that the Charleston Brass Band, F. Muller, leader, offers to give a concert at White Point Garden for the ladies' societies.

The Ladies' Auxiliary mentions another shipment of boxes to Virginia, "the most valuable yet."

Charleston Mercury, August 7, 1861.

The Ladies' Relief Association speaks of the before mentioned concert, and says that the amount of money received from it will be immediately sent to Virginia.

On the same date we see the following notice from the

"LADIES' CLOTHING ASSOCIATION.

"*Mr. Editor:* Having been informed that the object of our association is misunderstood, permit me, through your columns, to explain. This society, to avoid confusion, shall be designated as the Ladies' Clothing Association for Troops in Active Service. This association is for the purpose of purchasing materials, cutting and making warm undergarments for our troops in active service, not confined to those of this city, but the soldiers of South Carolina. We are industriously employed, and invite the aid of ladies and gentlemen of the country and city.

"There will be a committee of gentlemen who will distribute the clothing judiciously.

"We solicit donations of money and materials from the State at large.

"Such ladies as were unable to subscribe on the 25th ult., from the large assemblages, are requested to send in their subscriptions and donations, which will be gratefully received by

"MISS HESTER T. DRAYTON, President,
"No. 2 Ladson Court.
"MISS HESS D. DRAYTON, Vice-President,
"No. 2 Ladson Court.
"MISS EMILY RUTLEDGE, Secretary and Treasurer,
"West End Calhoun Street.

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"CONSTITUTION.

"Art. I. This association shall be called the Ladies' Clothing Association for Troops in Active Service, and shall meet monthly. The subscription shall be fifty cents per quarter, or $2.00 per year, payable in advance, and whatever amount of labor each lady is able to give. Donations of any amount, either of money or material, from gentlemen as well as ladies, will be gratefully received and applied to objects of the association.

"Art. II. The management of the association shall be entrusted to a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer and twelve managers. The President shall preside, preserve order, and see that the rules are carried out. She shall also give all orders on the Treasury, and the casting vote, when required. Vacancies in the Board may be filled by President and Board at their regular meetings.

"In case of sickness or absence of President and Vice-President, the Board may select one of their members to preside, and fulfill the duties of President.

"Art. III. The Secretary and Treasurer must take charge of the books and accounts, keeping a journal of each meeting, also taking charge of and accounting for all money received and paid out. The books and accounts to be open for the inspection of the managers at every monthly meeting, and annually to the members at the anniversary.

"The Treasurer must have written order for the payment of all money.

"Art. V. After a sufficient quantity of clothing shall be completed, the captains of various companies shall be invited to make known to the President, by writing, the number of men in their command who require aid of the association, when it will be placed in the hands of a committee of gentlemen for distribution. Work given out on Wednesdays until 3 p. m. by Miss Hess D. Drayton, No. 2 Ladson Court; Mrs. E. M. Fuller, St. Philip street, four doors above Morris street; and Miss C. E. Gadsden, corner Charlotte and Alexander streets."

Having seen the account of the organization and first work of three societies in Charleston, it should be realized that at the same time, a little earlier or later, similar societies were being formed all over the State, not only in the larger towns, but in villages, and even in country neighborhoods, where neighbors met together at stated

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times to distribute and return work for the soldiers and to pack boxes of clothes and provisions to be sent to Virginia either direct or through the larger societies.

Almost immediately, the Hospital Aid Association of South Carolina was formed by gentlemen of the State. Of this Dr. M. LaBorde, of Columbia, was President. The Rev. Robt. W. Barnwell was established at Charlottesville, Va., in charge of the work there, and to him were sent all articles for the sick and wounded soldiers of South Carolina.

The various societies throughout this State sent their supplies to him, to be distributed as needed.

We give here a list of names of such of these women's societies as we have been able to collect by a close scanning of the newspapers available. Of course, and greatly to our regret, many names are missing from the list.

Where possible, we give the names of Presidents or other officers, or, failing these, of any ladies mentioned in connection with the work of a society.

It should be recorded that, after the war, in many places these relief associations became memorial associations, caring for the dead as they had done for the living.

Women's Associations in South Carolina for the Relief of Soldiers.

Date of Organization.	Name of Association.	Officers, Etc.	Location.
	Soldiers' Relief.	Mrs. Steedman, Pres.	Aiken
	Soldiers' Relief.	Mrs. E. Bradley, Pres.	Claremont
	Soldiers' Relief.	Mrs. R. R. Yongue.	Orangeburg
	Soldiers' Relief.	Mrs. S. Williams.	Society Hill
	Soldiers' Relief.		John's Island
		Mrs. Ellen Gregg.	Marion
	Aux. Soldiers' Relief. .	Mrs. Tracy, Miss S. S. Seabrook, Pres'ts. Miss Phoebe Morral, Sec. Mrs. T. E. Screven, Local. . . .	Grahamville
	Aux. Soldiers' Relief.		Wadmalaw
	Aux. Soldiers' Relief. .	Mrs. Wm. Sinkler, Pres. . . . . Mrs. Catherine Palmer, 1st Div. Mrs. Thos. W. Porcher, 2d Div. Mrs. James Gaillard, Sec. and Treas. Mrs. T. W. Porcher was president later.	Eutawville

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Date of Organization.	Name of Association.	Officers, Etc.	Location.
Aug. 14, 1861.	Black Oak Soldiers' Relief.	Mrs. Morton Waring, Pres. Mrs. J. S. Porcher, Vice-Pres.	Black Oak
Aug. 9, 1861.		Mrs. T. F. Porcher, Sec. and Treas.	Pinopolis
July 19, 1861.	Ladies' Aid.	Mrs. Perry Duncan, Pres. Mrs. Pinckney McBee, Vice-Pres.	Greenville
1861.	Soldiers' Relief.	Presidents in order of service: Mrs. D. J. McCord. Miss Hampton. Mrs. Campbell Bryce, Sec. and Treas. Mrs. Rufus Johnson.	Columbia
1861.	Ladies' Hospital.	Presidents in order of service: Mrs. George Howe. Mrs. John Bryce. Mrs. J. P. Adams, Sec. Mrs. Wm. Wallace, Treas.	Columbia
July 26, 1861.	Young Ladies' Hospital.	Miss Preston, Pres. Miss Isabella D. Martin, Sec. Miss E. Goodwyn, Treas.	Columbia
	Ladies' Clothing.	Mrs. D. J. McCord, Pres.	Columbia
	Ladies' Industrial.	Mrs Levy, Pres.	Columbia
	Young Girls.	Mrs. Monteith. Mrs. Lauchlin. Miss C. Veal.	Columbia
Aug. 3, 1861.	Aux. Soldiers' Relief.	Mrs. Ladd, Pres. Mrs. J. S. Stewart, Sec. and Treas.	Summerville
Aug.—, 1861.	Soldiers' Relief.	Mrs. James Hemphill, Pres. Mrs. A. Q. Dunnovant, Vice-Pres. Mrs. A. G. Stacey, Vice-Pres. Mrs. S. W. Mobley, Treas. Miss M. E. McKee, Cor. Sec. Mrs. J. J. McLure, Rec. Sec.	Chester
1861.	Soldiers' Aid.	Mrs. W. W. Harlee, Pres.	Mars Bluff and Hopewell
Aug. 27, 1861.	Soldiers' Relief.	Miss H. M. Trapier, Pres. Mrs. P. C. J. Weston, Vice-Pres. Miss S. T. Atkinson, Cor. Sec. Miss Anna White, Rec. Sec.	Georgetown

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Date of Organization.	Name of Association.	Officers, Etc.	Location.
1861.	Soldiers' Relief.	Mrs. W. W. Graham.	Williston
	Young Ladies' Aid. . .	. . . . .	Winnsboro
July 20, 1861.	Soldiers' Relief.	Mrs. Geo. Robertson, Pres. . . Mrs. Wm. Snowden, Vice-Pres. Miss E. Hayne, Sec. and Treas. Miss F. M. Blamyer and Miss L. Porter, Secs.	Charleston
July 23, 1861.	Ladies' Aux. Christian..	Miss Campbell. . . . . . Mrs. Leonard Chapin, Presidents in order of service.	Charleston
July 23, 1861.	Ladies' Clothing.	Miss Hester T. Drayton, Pres.. Miss Hess D. Drayton, Vice-Pres.	Charleston
	School Girls.	Miss A. Porcher.	Charleston
1861.	Ladies.	Mrs. Gregg.	Marion
		Mrs. McIntyre.	
	Soldiers' Aid.	Mrs. Thompson.	New Hope, Fairfield
	Soldiers' Aid.	Mrs. Lemon.	Jackson Creek, Fairfield
	Soldiers' Aid.	Mrs. Winter.	St. James Goose Creek
1861.	Ladies' Aid.	Presidents in order of service: Miss Harriet Chesnut Grant. . . .	Camden
		Miss Sally Chesnut. Mrs. Walker, Vice-Pres. Miss L. Salmond, Treas. Miss E. C. Reynolds, Sec. Miss Harriet Lang, Sec.	
	Ladies.	. . . . .	Woodville
	Soldiers' Relief.	. . . . .	Hamburg
	Aid Society.	. . . . .	Carmel, Anderson District
		Mrs. J. A. Fripp.	Legareville
	Ladies' Aid.	. . . . .	Mechanicsville
1861.	Ladies.	. . . . .	Pinegrove
1861.	Ladies.	Mrs. Walker, Vice-Pres.	Kershaw
1861.	Soldiers' Aid.	Mrs. M. E. Godfrey.	Cheraw
	Soldiers' Aid.	. . . . .	Barnwell
1861.	Allgood Society.	. . . . .	Spartanburg District
	Soldiers' Aid.	. . . . .	Pendleton
	Ladies' Aid and Relief.	. . . . .	Marlboro

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Date of Organization.	Name of Association.	Officers, Etc.	Location.
1861.	Ladies.		Florence
	Ladies.		Mizpah
	Ladies.		Christ Church
	Volunteers' Aid.		Beech Island
	Ladies' Relief.		Darlington
	Juvenile.		Summerville
	Soldiers' Relief.	Mrs. R. H. Inabinet, Vice-Pres.	Edisto Fork
	Soldiers' Rest.	A. F. Dickson, Treas. . . . . Mrs. Salley. Mrs. Albergotti.	Orangeburg
	Sabbath School Relief. .	Mrs. R. A. Carlisle, Sec. . . .	Spartanburg
	Aux. Relief.	Mrs. Julius DuBose, Pres. . . . Mrs. R. Couturier, 1st Dir. Mrs. H. M. Snowden, 2d Dir.	Pineville
	Ladies' Aid.		Oak Lawn, St. Pauls Parish
	Ladies' Aid.	Miss N. McLaughlin.	Newberry
	Ladies' Aid.		Sumter
	Ladies' Aid.		Bishopville
	Ladies' Sewing.	Mrs. Wm. C. Wardlaw, Pres.	Liberty Hill
	Soldiers' Relief.		Allendale
	Baptist.		Edisto
	Soldiers' Aid.		Hills Church
	Ladies' Aid.	Miss M. E. Boyd.	Newchapel
	Ladies' Aid.		Timmonsville
Mar. 12, 1862.	Soldiers' Rest (Branch of Ladies' Aid). . . .	Mrs. Catharine Lee, Pres. . . . . Mrs. Bonney, Treas.	Camden
	Ladies' Hospital.	Mrs. J. A. Bradley, Pres. . . . . Miss H. E. Henry, Sec.	Chester
	Soldiers' Relief.	Mrs. John C. Peay, Pres. . . .	Longtown, Fairfield District
	Ladies' Aid.	Mrs. M. P. Mayes.	Brick Church, Sumter District
	Soldiers' Relief.		Beaufort
	Soldiers' Relief.		Bluffton
	Ladies' Aid.		Anderson
	Ladies' Relief.	Miss S. W. Henderson. . . .	Walterboro
	Ladies' Hospital.	M. E. Y. Powelson.	Plantersville

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Date of Organization.	Name of Association.	Officers, Etc.	Location.
1862.	Soldiers' Relief.	Mrs. W. H. Wallace, Pres.	Union
		Mrs. Jeter, Treas.	
		Miss F. M. Blamyer, Sec.	
	Soldiers' Aid.	Mrs. Armstead Burt, Pres.	Abbeville
		Mrs. Thos. Perrin, Vice-Pres.	
	Knitting Society.	Mrs. J. W. Marshall, Pres. . . .	Abbeville
		Mrs. W. H. Parker, Vice-Pres.	
	Hospital.	Mrs. Robt. Wardlaw, Pres. . . .	Abbeville
		Mrs. M. C. Tilman, Pres. . . .	Calhoun Mills, Abbeville District
		Mrs. Squire Giles.	Monterey,
		Mrs. Chas. Haskell.	Abbeville District
		Mrs. Tilman.	
	Hospital.	Mrs. Johnson, Pres.	Grahamville
		Miss S. E. Seabrook, Vice-Pres.	
	Bethany Relief.		Edgefield
	Betheden Aid.		Newberry
	Soldiers' Relief.		Sullivans Island
	Palmetto Girls.		Charleston
	Ladies' Aid.		Cokesbury
	Soldiers' Aid.		Cedar Springs
	Soldiers' Aid.		Dantonsville
	Soldiers' Aid.		Enoree Mill
	Hospital Club.		Anderson
	Ladies' Relief.		Indian Town
	Lamont.		Grahams
	Soldiers' Aid.		Lowndesville
	Home Guard.		Mountain Creek
	Soldiers' Aid.		Manning
	Ladies' Aid.		Milford
	Military Aid.		Laurens District
	Soldiers' Aid.		Oakland
	Palmetto Aid.		———
	Rehoboth Aid.		Edgefield
	States' Rights.		Charleston
	Upper Three Runs.		———
	Warrenton Aid.		Abbeville
	Wadsworth Aid.		———
	Waterloo Ladies'.		———

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A Sketch of the Work at Greenville.

Paper by Mrs. Brunson, written in 1899.

When the South felt that she was gradually losing that for which she had fought in the war with Great Britain, she raised her standard for *States' Rights,* and her men and boys rallied with the greatest enthusiasm to its defense. We all felt that the South had been unjustly treated, and we hoped to withdraw from our sister States in peace, but we did not intend to be governed by the North as if the United States were a monarchy.

So our homes were saddened by the departure of most of our men, and the women began to work for them.

The "Butler Guards" left Greenville early in April, 1861. Soon after, the "Brooks Troop" followed, both going to Virginia. Other companies from Greenville County also went.

The ladies of our town met at McBee's Hall, and the basement of the Baptist Church, to sew for soldiers. Country neighbors also formed sewing circles, and some of the old ladies were so expert as to be able to knit as they walked or rode along. Miss Ann McCall, a descendant of Isaac Hayne, of Revolutionary fame, had inherited a set of gold needles, and I doubt if she could have counted the socks she knit. Her fingers fairly flew, and she never stopped to count.

Mr. Bussy, an old English tailor, would cut and assist in making fatigue suits for two companies from town. The ladies and girls put pin-cushions, soap and handkerchiefs in the pockets of these clothes, and then they were packed and sent on.

I think it was twice a year that a member of the Butler Guards would come on with measurements for the men's clothes, and then the ladies would work hard until these uniforms were finished.

The woolen socks were most acceptable to the infantry, as they were soft to their feet while marching. Good knitting is quite an art among old ladies. Boxes filled with hams, sausages, dried beef, butter, bread, dried fruit, pickles, etc., were sent on to the soldiers by their families. Cloth was woven by small hand looms, both cotton and wool. Miss Rydes, a country lady, spun and wove a nice gray woolen cloth and sent it on to General Beauregard as a present. He wrote her a very courteous and grateful letter for the acceptable suit of clothes.

Good boots and shoes were made in Greenville, and other parts of the South, for soldiers. There was a tanyard in the town of Greenville which had long shipped leather to New York, and now worked exclusively for home people, making fine leather of goat and calf skins.

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Ladies of Greenville made nice buckskin gloves, also knit many gloves and scarfs for men of the cavalry and artillery. I could go into the woods now and find the same kinds of leaves with which we colored the wool and cotton. Indigo was planted and used for coloring both wool and cotton. A mixture for gray cloth was, one-third of blue wool, one-third of black, and one-third of white, carded together, spun by hand and woven on a slate-colored chain of cotton thread, making a fine cloth for the loved ones who stood on guard through storms of sleet and snow. Maidens found, in chests and drawers, a few skeins of scarlet wool, to crochet and knit stripes in scarfs for young friends in artillery service.

The flocks of sheep seemed to grow patriotic, giving us fine wool. A family from Rappahannock County came to Greenville County as refugees, bringing a large flock of sheep. Those sheep produced elegant wool. Captain Willis, the owner, had received a wound in the arm, and had to retire from service for a while. His wife wrote and distributed religious tracts to soldiers, showing that she had a heart filled with reverence to God and kindness to her fellow creatures.

Churches in the South had services several times a week, and earnest prayers ascended on high for the safety of our armies, and for consolation to those who had lost their dear ones. Women had been told of their grandmothers' loyalty and industry during the war with England, and were trying now to show the same love to their defenders.

Such confidence we felt in our soldiers! If one, six, or more men sought shelter and food at private houses while passing through town, they were invited in and entertained. We greatly admired the people of Virginia for their kindness to the soldiers. Many times have we been told of the bonny-clabber, bread, butter, etc., given to our friends by the ladies of Virginia. We could but exclaim, with the negroes: "Ole Virginny neber tire."

Housekeepers gave away their blankets to any soldiers who needed them. Men of experience and age were appointed in neighborhoods to distribute provisions to the wives and children of men who had to labor with their own hands for the support of their families, but were now in the army. Dr. Buist, a Presbyterian minister, went every afternoon to the Greenville and Columbia depot to meet the train. Quickly the conductor handed him a newspaper, and he read it so that a large crowd of anxious people could hear every word.

Gen. M. C. Butler's mother had seven sons in service. Col. Wm. Butler at one time commanded at Fort Sumter. She heard at the depot that her youngest child had lost an arm, and fainted. No one

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saw her but two young girls, who were with her in her carriage. They took her home, where she soon revived and set to work sewing and doing everything in her power for needy soldiers.

Frequently she took feeble looking men in her carriage and had them driven to their homes, or to the hospital. Her brother had fought the Battle of Lake Erie.

The first hospital in Greenville was in the Male Academy. Mrs. W. Pinckney McBee was president. To that building all sick and wounded soldiers were carried and personally attended by the ladies of the Soldiers' Relief Association and the kind physicians of the town. · Nice, clean beds and good food were provided, and servants to assist in caring for them. Quilts were made and kept washed for the use of the hospital. Committees of ladies relieved each other. Housekeepers were notified when their turn came to provide meals. Good milk, and any delicacy a soldier fancied, was provided, if possible.

All over the South, ladies met trains, provided with baskets of food and hot, steaming rye coffee for traveling soldiers.

When the Confederate Government established a hospital in the Marion House in Greenville, the ladies assisted there in caring for sick and wounded men, visited them, and provided nice food for them, taking it to the bedside themselves. One lady was highly amused at the request of a sick man, who asked her to bring him some "tater custard." She went to the doctor and got permission and then provided the man with the most dainty looking sweet potato custard, which he ate with great relish.

Ladies scraped lint off old linen, rolled bandages of soft, white cloth, and sent them on to the Richmond Hospital.

All the land devoting itself to the army! Such an inspiration of patriotic devotion to the defenders of our homes! I look back to it with admiration.

(Signed) JANE CARSON BRUNSON.

February 2, 1899.

Woman's Work at Cheraw.

Written by Mrs. Virginia C. Tarrh, of Cheraw, October 6, 1898.

Cheraw, South Carolina, although a place small in size, was equal to all the demands made upon its patriotism, and these demands continued from the first of the struggle unto the bitter end.

Soon after the fall of Sumter, when the best and bravest were making ready to go, the women established a society for making

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clothes for the soldiers. Mrs. Inglis, the wife of Chancellor Inglis, one of the signers of the Ordinance of Secession, took a most active part as president. I seem to see her giving out different articles to the numerous applicants waiting for them, and her maid sitting at a little distance, knitting industriously for these same soldiers.

Mrs. Inglis' daughter-in-law, whose husband gave his life for his country, and who was a Philadelphian, worked most indefatigably for the South during the entire struggle.

A friend of mine went for her weekly share of sewing and, being very apt with her needle, took the arduous task of making a soldier's coat. The next time, when she returned with it finished, some of the more experienced found she had put the sleeves in hind part before; but the novice most good-naturedly took it home to make alterations. Every woman learned to knit—even little girls—and I recall one friend, now the wife of a veteran, who learned to spin and weave, and who turned her knowledge to good advantage.

I recollect, too, to have seen two ladies, each knitting a pair of stockings, at the same time—that is to say, with two feet of the socks set up on the same needles together. One of these ladies was the sister of General Maxcy Gregg, and was staying in Cheraw at the time.

At first we had no need of a hospital, so a committee of two ladies was appointed to go each week to the hospital in Florence. Miss Harriet Black was the matron there, and the physicians in charge were Dr. Dargan, of Darlington, and Dr. Bacot, of Florence.

Towards the end, however, when many sick and wounded were at our doors, we converted our Town Hall into a hospital, and gave every comfort in our power—our time and our presence.

Entertainments took place every now and then, mostly participated in by the young people, and many of them refugees far from home; but in this way they could best aid the suffering soldiers.

Nor was the women's work done when the fighting was over. As soon as possible, we began to raise funds for a monument to those who had died, and this we accomplished after several years of labor—but it was a labor of love, and the monument stands now in the cemetery of the Episcopal Church, to mark the resting place of many a Confederate soldier.

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Woman's Work at Hopewell and Mars Bluff.

Written by Mrs. W. W. Harlee, 1899.

There is very little that I can remember about the "Ladies' Aid Society," of which I was president, and which was carried on during the War of the Confederacy, for the benefit of the Southern soldiers.

I can only recollect that such a society existed and flourished and had many zealous adherents in the Hopewell and Mars Bluff neighborhood, and that there was great enthusiasm in the work; that it met at regular intervals at Hopewell Session House, and we made chiefly underclothing and knitted socks.

Boxes full of these were sent to the companies commanded by Capt. Robt. Singletary and Col. Richard Howard.

Twice we held entertainments to raise money for the soldiers—one, an exhibition of tableaux, was held in the house at Mars Bluff Depot, and the second was a fair, held in the "Goodwin house," as it was then called, having been occupied by Colonel Goodwin's family. Mrs. Goodwin was the sister of the poet Timrod, who was often a pleasant guest of the neighborhood. The family moved to Columbia afterwards.

This fair was quite a success, the articles for sale having been contributed by the ladies of the neighborhood; and we still have in our household a writing-desk purchased on that occasion.

(Signed) MARTHA J. HARLEE.

Woman's Work at Marion.

Dictated by Mrs. Gregg, 1899.

When the company from Marion was organized, Mrs. Sophia McIntyre and I assumed the responsibility of having the uniforms of the entire company made.

We secured the services of a very reliable and competent tailor, who took the measurements and cut the garments. The ladies of the town and surrounding country cheerfully rendered their services in making them, and in a very short time the company was well uniformed, and presented a very creditable appearance.

My eldest daughter, Nannette, now Mrs. W. F. Carter, of Macon, Ga., solicited aid in procuring socks and blankets for the company.

When they disbanded and returned home, the men were in very destitute circumstances; and many of them, far distant from their homes, and unable to reach them for want of means, remained in Marion for some time. By request of my son William (one of the company), a dinner was given them. Mrs. Thomas Evans and I

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undertook this deserved compliment to the patriotic sons of Marion and, ably assisted by the ladies in and around the town, we spread a sumptuous feast, which was greatly enjoyed by the soldiers.

Marion was always found ready and willing to do what she could for the noble sons of whom she is proud, who went to the front to fight for what they believed was right, and still feel is a just cause.

(Signed) ELLEN L. GREGG,
Marion, S. C.

Woman's Work at Pendleton.

Written by Mrs. M. S. Williams, 1901.

In the year 1861, we, the ladies of Pendleton, met at the old Farmers' Hall and organized a Soldiers' Aid Society. Miss Harriet E. Maxwell was elected President; Mrs. F. P. (Elizabeth Adger) Mullally, Treasurer, and Miss Mary Simpson, Secretary. We met every week and transacted business in the way of shipping supplies to the Fourth Regiment, to Jenkins', and to others, I forget which, now. Transportation, etc., became so confused as the war went on that we were advised by Mrs. Martin, of Columbia, to send all supplies to Columbia. There they were received (probably by the "Central Committee"), assorted, and all intended for one especial regiment or person were put in boxes or packages and sent directly to their proper destination. This simplified matters very much.

Hard by the railroad station at Pendleton was a little room, or rather, a house of one room, in which Miss Mary Hunter, an aged lady, had taught many of our fathers their A B C's. She retired and left the house vacant. The Aid Society captured it and had beds, couches, etc., put into it, with kettles for heating water. An old-fashioned country fireplace, with a generous fire burning, was always ready to welcome the suffering and hungry soldier returning from the seat of war, who had no one to come to the train for him.

When the gentlemen of the District heard what our plans were they entered into them with true zest and offered their carriages for the purposes we had in view.

Just fancy the handsome carriages of Mrs. Latta, the Adgers (a legion of them), Mrs. Calhoun, and many others, at the door of this little Wayside Hospital, taking our suffering soldiers to their homes, poisoned with gangrene and eaten up by vermin!

This little hospital was kept up until poverty closed its door, for we had at last not so much as a pot of cowpeas to send down. Alas!

(Signed) MARY SIMPSON WILLIAMS.

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Extracts from an article written by Miss Anna Simpson, of Pendleton, published in The News and Courier, 1885, and afterwards in a book called "Our Women in the War."

"* * * As I look back now, it seems strange that wardrobes should have been so speedily exhausted. * * * I think the solution of the mystery, however, will be found in the fact that girls in their teens will grow. * * * At first, old trunks and bureau drawers, top shelves in out-of-the-way closets were ransacked, and antiquated garments, long since cast aside as worthless, or laid away as relics of our mothers' and grandmothers' younger days, were brought out to light. * * * Each feeling of regret was hushed and swallowed up in the necessity of the hour as these articles were lifted from their various hiding places, and then, with right good will and perseverance, ripped up, sponged and pressed, turned upside down, inside out, twisted and stretched and pieced, and, finally, converted into most respectable articles of apparel. None of your shabby genteel affairs, either, for we would have the girls of the day understand that, sorely pressed as we were, we felt quite as much appreciation of the neat, tidy girl, as they, who now have every material to supply their needs, and money wherewith to buy. * * * Children grew apace. * * * Our village stores were emptied and deserted. * * * Our armies in the field became grand realities. * * * All resources were cut off. Our government could poorly provide food, clothing and ammunition for its armies. Then it was that our mothers' wit was tested, and did in no sort disappoint our expectations.

"Spinning wheels, looms and dye pots were brought into requisition. Wool of home production was speedily converted by loving hands into warm flannels and heavy garments, with soft scarfs and snugly-fitted leggings to shield our dear boys from Virginia's wintry blast and fast-falling snows. * * * Later on, societies were formed to provide supplies for the general demand. * * * Every available fragment of material was converted into some kind of garment. After the store of blankets in each home had been cheerfully given, carpets were utilized in their stead, and portioned out to the suffering soldiers. Wool mattresses were ripped up, recarded, and woven into coverings and clothing. Bits of new woolen fabrics left from former garments were raveled, carded, mixed with cotton, spun, and knitted into socks. Old and worn garments were carried through the same process. Even rabbits' fur was mixed with cotton and silk and appeared again in the form of neat, comfortable gloves.

"Begging committees went forth (and, be it truthfully said, the writer never knew of one being turned away empty-handed) to

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gather up the offerings from mansion and hamlet, * * * soon to be packed and forwarded with all speed to the soldiers.

"And who can tell what pleasure we took in filling boxes with substantials and such dainties as we could gather for the hospitals. Old men and little boys were occupied in winding thread, and holding 'brooches,' and even knitting on the socks when the mystery of 'turning the heel' had been passed.

"The little spindle wheel, turned by a treadle, became a fascination to the girls, and with its busy hum was mingled often merry strains of patriotic song.

"During all that time, when every woman vied with the other in working for soldiers, there were needs at home too urgent to be disregarded. These, too, had to be met, and how, was not long the question. * * * We replaced our worn dresses with homespun, planning and devising checks and plaids, and intermingling colors with the skill of professional designers. * * * The samples we interchanged were homespun of our last weaving. Our mothers' silk stockings of ante-bellum days were unraveled and transformed into the prettiest of neat-fitting gloves. The writer remembers never to have been more pleased than she was by the possession of a trim pair of boots made of the tanned skins of squirrels.

Our hats, made of palmetto and rye straw, were pretty and becoming. * * * Our jackets were made of the father's old-fashioned cloaks, * * * those of the style represented in the pictures of Mr. Calhoun doing splendid service by supplying all the girls in the family. * * * We even made jewelry of palmetto intermingled with hair, that we might keep even with the boys, who wore palmetto cockades! * * * For our calico dresses, if we were fortunate enough to find one, we sometimes paid one hundred dollars, and for the spool of cotton that made it, from ten to twenty dollars.

"The buttons we used were often from a gourd, cut into sizes required, and covered with cloth. * * * On children's clothes, persimmon seeds in the natural state, with two holes drilled through them, were found both neat and durable.

"The things we ate and drank came in, too, for a prominent position. * * * Coffee was made of rye, wheat and sweet potatoes, chipped, dried and parched—also okra seed, etc. It was sweetened, if at all, with sorghum or honey. For tea, the leaves of blackberry vines were gathered and dried. Fruit cakes were made of dried apples, cherries, pears and plums, without any spices at all.

"For medicines we used roots and herbs. * * * Salt, white and pure, was obtained by digging up the earthen floors of long-used

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smokehouses, dripping water through this earth in hoppers, and boiling it down.

"When the long winter evenings closed in, the lights we used were simple curiosities. * * * Our best lights were tallow candles, but they were too scarce to be used except on special occasions. The ordinary lights were knots of pine, supported on racks of iron at the back of the chimney, to let the smoke fly up. Another odd light, known as a wax taper, was made by winding thirty yards of wick, previously dipped in melted wax, round an old candlestick. * * *

"A favorite night's employment was found in making envelopes. * * * No bits of white paper suitable for writing with pen and ink could be wasted in envelopes. * * * Thus it happened that wall paper and sheets with pictures on one side, taken from 'United States Explorations,' served to make envelopes, neat enough. * * * These we stuck together with gum from peach trees. Ink was made from oak balls and green persimmons, with rusty nails, instead of copperas, to deepen the color. The noisy goose supplied our pens.

"Every battle brought its list of dead and dying to our village, when at last its fatal results were known, and one by one each home within its borders was desolated.

"Ill news came heralded by signals well understood. Loud, prolonged and piercing screams (I might call them) from the 'iron horse,' which broke the stillness of the night as it came rushing in. * * * Each quivering heart stood still—waiting for the aged father, with slow, dragging steps, to return from where the news was read, with messages which gave relief to some, and confirmed the bitterest and most dreaded fears of others."

Woman's Work at Beaufort.

Extract from letter from Miss C. O. Barnwell, dated March 14, 1898.

In the summer of 1861, the ladies of this town organized a society for the purpose of working for soldiers. They made coats, pants, caps, comfortables and shirts, which were given to Dunnovant's Regiment, stationed near town. They also sent, in answer to an appeal from the Rev. R. W. Barnwell, for the hospitals in Virginia, boxes containing a variety of hospital stores.

After they were obliged to abandon their homes, I can answer for it that as individuals they connected themselves with the different organizations throughout the State, and rendered all the service in their power to the cause.

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Woman's Work at Marlboro.

Letter from Mrs. D. D. McColl, of Bennettsville, June 29, 1898.

I can recall no startling heroines of Marlboro during the Confederate War, yet hundreds proved themselves heroines of the every day kind, because they met laborious occupations, stern duties, increased cares, and sad privations, with unfaltering bravery and unchanging patience.

I have often thought my own mother's (Mrs. Thomas) life was a daily struggle and a certain triumph. Left by my father with seven young children, she managed to make the farm produce enough for their support, gave a tithe for army support, and was shrewd enough and wise enough to pay almost all of a small debt, which seemed very large to us.

Our clothes were spun and woven under her directions, and of this homespun cloth she made frequent contributions to the companies from our county.

Though very timid, she was brave enough to meet that terror—Sherman's Army—in a self-possessed and dignified manner. She and her daughters received respectful treatment at their hands, and they granted her request to leave a portion of her store of groceries for her family. How she eked it out through that memorable summer, and how scanty were the meals to which we sat down for some months, is one of my heartache memories, and that page would have to be written through tears.

This record of my dear mother's experiences would be that of hundreds of others, except that in some homes there was more Confederate money. My father's salary as captain was about all we had, and "the wolf" seemed seldom very far from the door.

Miss Harriet Black, of this county, served as matron in the hospital at Florence, and was greatly valued by the soldiers.

Miss Martha Miller, an inexperienced girl, went alone to Lookout Mountain to nurse a brother in the hospital, who had lost a limb.

But, really, I do not know that any one woman from this county is entitled to conspicuous mention.

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Minutes of the Ladies' Relief Association of Fairfield.

Copy given by Mrs. Robert Ellison, of Winnsboro.

The ladies of Fairfield held a meeting this day to form an organization for the purpose of assisting, as far as it is in their power, the sick and wounded soldiers of South Carolina, now in Virginia. On motion, Mrs. Ladd was called to the chair, and J. S. Stewart requested to act as secretary.

Resolved, That this meeting shall be called the Ladies' Relief Association of Fairfield District.

Mrs. Ladd was chosen permanent president. The under named ladies compose this association:

Mrs. E. M. Porcher.	Mrs. W. R. Robertson.	Miss Eunice Aiken.
Mrs. J. Cremer.	Mrs. H. L. Elliott.	Mrs. E. F. Lyles.
Mrs. Wyatt Aiken.	Mrs. McK. Elliott.	Miss Sarah Clarke.
Miss M. Boyce.	Miss M. Crawford.	Mrs. J. N. Shedd.
Mrs. Baum.	Mrs. C. Neil.	Miss R. Ketchin.
Mrs. J. H. Rion.	Mrs. Cohen.	Mrs. B. W. Means.
Mrs. H. B. McMaster.	Mrs. Couturier.	Mrs. W. W. Boyce.
Mrs. D. Clarke.	Mrs. G. H. McMaster.	Mrs. Wm. Adger.
Mrs. W. H. Ellison.	Mrs. John Bratton.	Mrs. Dwight.
Mrs. John McMaster.	Mrs. S. Wolfe.	Mrs. Wm. Rabb.
Mrs. S. Jackson.	Miss F. Boyce.	Mrs. Thos. Jordan.
Miss M. McMaster.	Mrs. M. A. Laughlin.	Mrs. D. Cremer.
Mrs. E. Woodward.	Mrs. W. A. Morrison.	Mrs. J. S. Stewart.
Mrs. J. R. McMaster.	Mrs. C. Ladd.	Mrs. O. Woodward.
Mrs. T. S. DuBose.	Mrs. T. G. Robertson.	Mrs. Moore.
Mrs. Dr. Robertson.	Mrs. R. Buchanan.	Mrs. R. B. Boylston.
Mrs. Jno. Adger.	Mrs. T. Ligon.	Mrs. Ellen Barber.
Mrs. D. Lauderdale.		

Mrs. Couturier was chosen treasurer.

A resolution was passed that the association shall last during the war. Rev. C. B. Betts addressed the association. Mrs. David Gaillard reported $37.75 collected.

Resolved, That all moneys in the hands of the treasurer be expended for such articles as are needed for sick and wounded soldiers, and shipped to them immediately.

Mrs. D. Gaillard, Mrs. W. R. Robertson, Mrs. C. J. Stewart, and the treasurer were appointed a committee to attend to purchase and shipment.

The following committees were appointed to collect contributions and see to work done for the association:

First.—Miss M. Crawford, Chairman.

Miss J. McCants.	Mrs. Geo. Robertson.	Mrs. J. B. McCants.
Mrs. J. S. Stewart.	Mrs. S. Cathcart.	Mrs. S. Center.
Mrs. S. Jackson.	Mrs. M. D. Fraser.	

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Second.—Mrs. H. B. McMaster, Chairman.

Mrs. W. H. Ellison.	Mrs. Geo. McMaster.	Mrs. Neil.
Mrs. Moore.	Mrs. B. Cockrell.	Mrs. Hall.
Mrs. Jordan.	Mrs. C. F. Lyles.	Mrs. C. Fawcet.

Third.—Mrs. O. Woodward, Chairman.

Mrs. R. B. Boylston.	Mrs. Dr. Buchanan.	Mrs. Woodward.
Mrs. Ladd.	Mrs. Clark.	Mrs. Lauderdale.

Fourth.—Mrs. J. N. Shedd, Chairman.

Mrs. A. M. Aiken.	Mrs. E. A. Woodward.	Mrs. S. Wolfe.
Mrs. W. Rabb.	Mrs. O. R. Thompson.	Mrs. Baum.
Mrs. Wyatt Aiken.		

Fifth.—Mrs. John McMaster, Chairman.

Mrs. T. S. DuBose.	Mrs. Robertson.	Mrs. Gaillard.
Mrs. Means.	Mrs. Bratton.	Mrs. Dwight.
Mrs. T. T. Robertson.		

Sixth.—Mrs. McCants, Chairman.

Mrs. Thos. Robertson.	Mrs. Laughlin.	Mrs. Jones.
Mrs. T. W. Woodward.	Mrs. W. W. Boyce.	Mrs. R. E. Ellison.
Mrs. Dr. Aiken.		

Resolved, That this association meet in this place on Saturday next, at 10 a. m.

J. S. STEWART,
Secretary.

Winnsboro.

Aug. 3, 1861.—The association met this day.

Letters read from Mrs. E. Glover, contributing four bushels of ground rice; from Miss Finney, enclosing $10.95, a contribution from the young ladies of Mr. Obear's school.

Mrs. Couturier declining to act as treasurer, Mrs. J. S. Stewart was appointed.

The Rev. Messrs. Powell and Workman were appointed a committee to solicit and receive contributions throughout the district.

On motion of Mrs. Wolfe, Resolved, That the chairmen of the standing committees should form an executive committee.

Association met on August 15th.

Letters read from Mrs. Rion, acknowledging receipt of contributions from the merchants of Winnsboro; and from Rev. R. W. Barnwell, acknowledging receipt of part of the boxes sent him, from railroad agent, in reference to freight.

On motion of Miss Crawford, Resolved, That the thanks of the association be tendered to Miss M. Caldwell and Mrs. Dr. John Mobley for their exertions in behalf of this association.

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Resolved, That the articles now on hand, and that may be got ready by Saturday, be sent to the captains of companies from this District.

Resolved, That the association meet on first Thursday of September, and on the first Thursday of each month thereafter, until the war is brought to a close.

J. S. STEWART,
Secretary.

September 5, 1861.—The association held its first regular monthly meeting. Letter read from Mrs. Davis, enclosing $103.00, contributed by the ladies of Monticello, in part. Also a letter from Mrs. Edward Mobley, contributing $100.00.

Mrs. Woodward moved that a committee of five be appointed to draft rules for the government of this association. Carried.

The president appointed Mrs. O. Woodward, Mrs. J. W. Shedd, Mrs. W. R. Robertson, Mrs. J. H. Rion, Mrs. H. B. McMaster.

Resolved, To notify the quartermaster that the association will make 300 garments for the soldiers in camp.

Association adjourned till Saturday, the 7th, to meet hereafter on the first Saturday.

J. S. STEWART,
Secretary.

September 7, 1861.—Report of committee to draft by-laws and constitution read and adopted. Mrs. C. Felder was placed on Mrs. Boyce's committee; Mrs. Douglass on Mrs. Shedd's; Mrs. John Mobley on Mrs. O. Woodward's; Mrs. Baum and Mrs. Ed. Woodward were placed on Mrs. J. N. Shedd's committee.

Committee No. 4 was dissolved. Mrs. Lauderdale was added to Mrs. Woodward's committee. Mrs. R. E. Ellison and Mrs. M. A. Laughlin added to Mrs. Boyce's committee. Officers were elected:

President—Mrs. Ladd.

Vice-President—Mrs. Sarah McCants.

Corresponding Secretary—Mrs. J. H. Rion.

Treasurer—Mrs. J. S. Stewart.

Secretary—J. S. Stewart.

J. S. STEWART,
Secretary.

September 30, 1861.—The association held a called meeting.

Resolved, That the executive committee send to the volunteers in Virginia, by Mr. Creighton, such articles as they think necessary.

That one and one-half dozen pairs of socks be sent to Colonel Winder, of the Sixth Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers.

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That the corresponding secretary be requested to ascertain what hospital stores are wanted by the volunteers from the District, now at Lightwood Knot Springs; and that the executive committee be instructed to furnish the same as they believe to be consistent with their means.

October 5, 1861.—Association met. Letters read. Mrs. Thompson, of New Hope Association, and Mrs. Lemon, of Jackson Creek Association, being present, were invited to seats.

Mrs. Dr. McCants moved that the place of meeting should be the Thespian Hall. All work done by committees should be sent to that place on days of meeting.

November 6, 1861.—Association met. Letters from J. B. Davis and Colonel Winder read. On motion of Mrs. McCants,

Resolved, That all the ready-made clothing on hand, and $50 in money, be sent to Maryland volunteers. That three pairs wool socks and one necktie and two colored shirts be given to Mr. Christmas. That the executive committee be authorized to draw sufficient money for the materials for twenty-four mattresses, twenty-four comforts, twenty-four pillows.

November 13, 1861.—The motion in reference to the Maryland volunteers was rescinded, and the clothing sent to the volunteers from the District, now on the coast. One hundred dollars appropriated to purchase cloth for the volunteers. Mrs. H. B. McMaster, Mrs. J. S. Stewart, and Mrs. Dr. McCants appointed a committee to carry out this resolution.

Resolved, That Mrs. Laughlin and Miss Wolfe be a committee to send off immediately all clothing on hand.

December 7, 1861.—The corresponding secretary read letters from B. Huger Jr. and Captain B. Davis, acknowledging receipt of clothing.

A letter was read asking aid for McPhersonville Hospital.

On motion of Miss L. McCants,

Resolved, To send ten pairs blankets to Captain Rion.

The corresponding secretary declining to serve, Miss Fannie Boyce was elected. Miss Ellen Barber offered to make four comforts, and received material.

Resolved, To meet every two weeks.

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December 21, 1861.—Letters of acknowledgement were read from Captains Rion and Clarke.

Resolved, To send part of clothing now on hand to Captain Clarke, of Maryland Volunteers.

January 4, 1862.—Ten pairs of blankets sent to Captain Irby's company.

March 1, 1862.—Association met. Letter read from McPhersonville Hospital acknowledging receipt of sundry articles sent, also giving information regarding needs of the hospital. Also letter from J. L. Clarke, Winchester, Va., acknowledging box of clothing.

Committee appointed to send to hospitals in Columbia such articles as they think best.

Election of officers:

Mrs. Ladd, President.

Mrs. Wolfe, Vice-President.

Mrs. Dwight, Recording Secretary.

Mrs. H. B. McMaster, Treasurer.

Mrs. W. R. Robertson, Corresponding Secretary.

April 12, 1862.—Association met. One hundred dollars, on motion of Mrs. Hugh McMaster, appropriated for buying cloth for volunteers.

Resolved, To meet on Thursday, 17th, to cut out and distribute work.

May 3, 1862.—Association met.

Resolved, That the association pay for making the remaining uniforms of Boyce's Guards. That two blankets be given to Mr. Yongue and Mr. Olney.

June 7, 1862.—Association met. Corresponding secretary instructed to inquire if Boyce Guards stand in need of clothing. Seventy-five dollars appropriated to buy cloth.

June 12, 1862.—At a called meeting, $10 was appropriated to buy stove for Columbia Hospital.

E. P. DWIGHT,
Secretary.

July 5, 1862.—Letter from Mr. Gregg, of Graniteville factory, taking one-third off bill for cloth sent the association.

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Committee appointed to cut work on Monday, 7th—Mrs. Boyce, Mrs. McMaster, Mrs. Cohen, Mrs. McCants, Mrs. Gaillard, Mrs. Robertson, Mrs. Rivers, Mrs. W. Robertson.

One-half dozen shirts and drawers sent to Columbia Hospital; also resolved to send monthly box of private contributions to the same place.

Resolved, To write to Medical Director of the State (Dr. Kinloch) to ascertain whether the wishes of the ladies to establish a hospital at Winnsboro meet with his approval.

A committee, of Mrs. Fraser, Mrs. McMaster, and Mrs. Porcher, was formed for the purpose of making necessary arrangements, should the offer be favorably received.

August 2, 1862.—Resolved, To send part of clothing in hand to Columbia Hospital. Letter received from Dr. Kinloch declining the offer made him, and suggesting that they should assist Columbia Hospital.

Later on in August, a meeting was held to establish a Wayside Hospital in Winnsboro, and to form committees to send refreshments daily to the sick and wounded on their way from Virginia.

September 5, 1862.—Resolved, To retain clothing intended for Columbia Hospital, for use of Wayside Hospital, in Winnsboro.

October 4, 1862.—Resolved, to make up all cloth in hand, and to purchase thirteen pairs socks.

November 1, 1862.—Resolved, To meet again on 5th for purpose of arranging for making up soldiers' clothing.

August 1, 1863.—Resolved, That this society cooperate with that in Chester in furnishing refreshments to the wounded soldiers.

Letter was read from secretary of Charleston society, thanking the ladies for $100 sent for relief of wounded at that place.

November 1, 1863.—Donations: To D. Miller, two pairs drawers, shirts and socks. To John Neil, two pairs drawers, two pairs socks, two shirts. To G. Ladd, two pairs socks. E. M. PORCHER,
Secretary.

December, 1863.—Donations: Mrs. Lauderdale, three pairs socks. Mrs. Wolfe, stocking yarn. Mrs. Aiken and Miss Crawford, three

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pairs socks. Miss Porcher, paper of tea and one pair socks, fifty shirts, fifty pairs socks, twenty-six pairs drawers. To Mrs. Harris, two pairs drawers, two pairs socks, two shirts. C. Johnson, two shirts, two pairs drawers. Mr. Lewis, two shirts, two pairs drawers.

January, 1864.—Donations from association: Mr. Murphy, Fifteenth regiment, two shirts, two pairs drawers.

October, 1864.—To Mr. Yates: Twelve pairs drawers, eight pairs socks. Crocheted and given by Mrs. Fanny and Minnie Boyce, for Boyce Guard, seventy-two wool comforters.

March, 1862.—List of articles sent to hospital at Columbia: Four dressing-gowns, twelve pairs drawers, twelve shirts, twelve pairs socks, one scarf, twelve comforts, twelve pillows, eight pillow-cases, four bottles brandy, three of whiskey, two bottles blackberry vinegar, one bottle cordial, one bottle tomato catsup, four bottles port wine, two quarts blackberry wine, five pints blackberry wine, four dozen candles, two packages dried fruit, one cake of salve, one small bundle soap, one package herbs.

Sent to Dr. Robertson, at Richmond: Sixteen white shirts, twelve colored shirts, thirty-five pairs drawers, twenty pairs socks, two packages sage, various private contributions, filling several boxes.

November 3, 1862.—Sent to Sixth Regiment by Mr. McCully: Twenty-three pairs cotton socks, one dozen wool socks, five pairs gloves, three dozen dark drawers, two and one-half dozen light drawers, twenty-two colored shirts, one and one-half dozen shirts, thirteen pairs wool socks, four blankets, four comforts, six white shirts, twelve drawers, twenty-five drawers, five pairs socks, ten shirts, five pairs socks, three comforts, seven pairs pants, two quilts, two pairs socks.

February, 1863.—Sent to Ladies' New Hospital, Columbia: Six comforts, six mattresses, three cots, twelve pillows, six pairs sheets, three pairs pillow cases, three spittoons, three basins, dried fruit and herbs.

February, 1863.—Sent to Colonel Bratton: Fifty pairs drawers, fifty pairs socks, seven carpet blankets, sixteen blankets, four pairs gloves, sixty shirts.

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Sent to the coast: Four shirts, four pairs drawers, two pairs socks.
Given to Mr. Williams: Two shirts, two pairs drawers.
Sent to Ladies' Hospital, Columbia: Twenty-four shirts.

April, 1863.—Sent to Central Association: Eight pairs mitts, eighteen woolen blankets.

Given to soldiers: W. Williams, two pairs drawers, two pairs socks, two shirts. Glass, two pairs drawers, two pairs socks, two shirts. Romedy, the same.

To two soldiers in Captain Thompson's company: Four pairs drawers, four shirts. James Fraser, two pairs drawers, two pairs socks. Mr. McCants, three pairs socks. Mr. Corstin, two pairs drawers, two pairs socks, two shirts.

July, 1863.—Sent to hospital in Charleston: Four dozen shirts, one dozen drawers.

Four shirts and two pairs socks given to two soldiers named Harris. To Mr. Yarborough, two shirts, two pairs socks.

March, 1864.—Sent to Central Association: One hundred shirts.
Sent to Wayside Hospital: $100.00.
Sent to hospital, Columbia: $100.00.
Sent to Wayside Home, Charleston: $100.00.
Sent to Rev. Mr. Yates, for sailors: $100.00.

To soldier: Two shirts, two pairs drawers, one pair socks. To Finley, 1 shirt, two pairs drawers, one pair socks. To Alabama: Two shirts, two pairs drawers, two pairs socks. To Blake, two shirts, two pairs drawers, one pair socks. To Murphy: Two shirts, two pairs drawers, one pair socks.

September, 1864.—Sent to hospital in Virginia: Forty shirts. To Mrs. Howe's hospital: Two shirts. To hospital, through Mrs. Morrison: Two shirts.

Given to soldiers: Two shirts, one pair drawers, two pairs socks. To Gladden: Two shirts, one pair drawers, one pair socks.

To soldiers thrown from cars: Three shirts, two pairs socks, two pairs drawers.

To sick men last left here: Two shirts, one pair socks.
To Murphy: One shirt, one pair drawers, two pairs socks.

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January, 1865.—Articles donated to society: Mrs. W. Robertson, six pairs socks. Clifton, five pairs socks, four pairs gloves. Mrs. S. DuBose, six pairs socks. Miss Crawford, four pairs socks.

February, 1865.—Horeb Society, eight pairs mitts.

Mrs. Martin, one bolt jeans, two pairs socks.

Miss M. Caldwell, seven pairs socks.

Mrs. Lauderdale, six pairs socks. Miss Dantzler, six pairs socks. Mrs. T. Woodward, three pairs socks. Mrs. M. Barber, one bushel dried apples.

Bought, fifty cents, ten pairs socks.

March, 1865.—Mrs. Martin, two pairs socks.

April, 1865.—Mrs. McElroy, five pairs socks. Miss Bacot, six toilet mats. Miss Crawford, three pairs socks. Mrs. Felder, one pair socks. Miss Crawford, four pairs socks.

Articles Sent Away.

TO VIRGINIA.

To Hospital at Charlottesville, Virginia—

First shipment, five boxes.

Second shipment, seven boxes.

Third shipment, by crate, one bottle port wine, twenty-seven bottles blackberry wine, two bottles medicine, one of plum cordial, one of cherry cordial, two of damson plums, one package of cream tartar, one dozen powders.

TO FAIRFIELD COMPANY.

First Box—

One dozen Jacob's cordial, one blackberry cordial, one bottle camphor, four pounds coffee, one package sage, one bag sugar, one bag rice, one box salt.

Second Box—

Breads, cakes, and biscuits.

Third Box—

One tin coffee pot, ground coffee, three cans preserves, four loaves bread, biscuits, cakes, package Hyson tea, bag sugar, two Testaments, newspapers.

Fourth Box—

Bag rice, flour, sweet cakes, ninety-nine undershirts—flannel and cotton.

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Fifth Box, sent to Hospital—

Package mosquito netting, two and one-half dozen plates, one dozen knives and forks, lot books, one teakettle, one teapot, three packages, containing five mattresses, with pillows, quilts, bedspreads, and sheets, cloth for bandages.

Thirteenth Box, to Hospital, Mrs. Oxner's Contribution—

One quilt, two counterpanes, one bed tick, three sheets, one pair pillow-slips, two towels, two pairs drawers, four pairs hose, four pairs men's slippers, six table and six teaspoons, one paper pins, one package cornstarch, spice, cloves, nutmegs, three mugs, three bars soap, four bottles wine, one brandy peaches, preserves, jelly, bandages.

Sent to Captain McMeekin's Company—

Two bottles turpentine, one bottle Hives' syrup, one bottle camphor, one box mustard, one package mustard seed, wine, jelly, preserves, herbs, cornstarch, bread, biscuits, and cake.

Sent to Sick at Same Place—

Two dozen pairs drawers, one shirt, six yards flannel, cloth for spreading blisters, fifteen mattresses, twelve and one-half pairs blankets, fourteen pillows, fourteen long sheets.

Sent to Hospital—

Six shirts, four dozen pairs drawers, one pair blankets, thirteen dozen pairs sheets.

Sent to Captain Shedd's Company—

Five dozen pairs drawers, six and one-half dozen pairs socks, one pair blankets for a sick soldier, thirty-one shirts, forty pairs drawers, thirteen scarfs.

November—To Coast—

One hundred and thirty-two pairs socks, one pair mitts.

To Virginia, to Capt. L. Clarke's Company, Maryland Volunteers—

Three dozen shirts, three dozen pairs drawers, three dozen pairs socks, one pair gloves—the last article being sent by little Kate Crawford to Capt. L. Clarke.

Articles Contributed.

By Mrs. W. Moore, Mrs. J. S. Stewart—

One bushel hominy, five bottles blackberry cordial, one pound black tea, one bottle blackberry jam, two bottles honey, two bottles wine, two bottles acid, one bottle acid drink, one-half dozen pairs socks, six pillow cases, four sheets, two bedspreads, six towels, six old sheets, ten pounds soap, four pounds ground coffee, slippery elm.

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Mrs. Dr. Clark—

Sage, red pepper, two fans, one bag rice, one bag sugar, two bottles lime juice, two bundles mint and sage, one jar of jelly (blackberry), four bottles blackberry wine, one bag rice.

Mrs. McNeil—

Four bottles lime juice, one bottle blackberry cordial, two packages gelatine, one package rice flour.

Mrs. M. Jordan and Miss E. Laughlin—

Three pairs slippers, one bottle turpentine, one bottle No. 6.

Mrs. Gaillard and Mrs. Dwight—

One gallon blackberry wine, two bottles blackberry cordial, one bottle lime juice, one bottle rosewater, one bottle each of Hyson and black tea, loaf sugar, six pounds crushed sugar, one bottle brandy, eleven sheets, sixteen handkerchiefs, twelve pillow-cases, four shirts, four pairs flannel drawers, old cloth.

Mrs. E. J. Hall—

Four pairs drawers, two shirts, two pairs socks, three packages coffee, three packages tea, candles, one bottle blackberry wine.

Mrs. G. H. McMaster—

Four sheets, four pillow-cases, three pillow-cases, two comforts, two towels, eight pairs socks, four pairs drawers, three shirts, three handkerchiefs, one jar blackberry jelly, one bottle acid.

Mrs. Mobley—

Six shirts, four pairs drawers, four pairs socks, old linen cloth for bandages, dressing-gowns.

Mrs. McK. Elliott—

One shirt, two pairs drawers, two pairs pants, two shirts, two pairs socks, towels, pillow-slips, old cloth for bandages, loaf sugar, tea, sweet oil, and sage.

Mrs. Gamble—

Two quilts, twelve yards cloth for bandages, six pillow-cases.

Mrs. E. Barber—

One gallon wine, one gallon grape wine, towels, sheets, linen, sage, and catnip.

Mrs. R. McMaster—

Pillow-cases, sheets, pillows, shirts, drawers, old cloth for bandages, tin plates, spoons, pans, coffee, ginger, sugar, fans, sage, and mint.

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Mrs. Buchanan, Mrs. Campbell, and Mrs. Weir—

Pillows, sheets, shirts and fly brushes.

Sugar, coffee, rice, tea, crackers, and nutmegs.

Sheets, tin cups, shirts, four pairs socks, four handkerchiefs, towels, and slippery elm.

Mrs. H. McMaster—

Six iron spoons, six tumblers, one dozen tea-plates, two bundles chocolate, two bars soap, one bottle cordial, four bottles acid, three sheets, four pairs drawers, one sheet, rice flour.

Mrs. W. Ellison—

Three bars castile soap, nutmegs, three bottles of wine, one bundle cloth, three boxes mustard.

Mrs. Dr. Buchanan, Mrs. Thos. Jordan—

Two shirts, one bundle old linen, four rolls bandages, two bottles camphor, two bottles peppermint.

Four shirts, one bundle old linen and cotton, six towels, sage, balm, one-half bushel rice, two bottles cordial, three bottles lime juice.

Mrs. Dr. Cremer—

Four pillow-slips, old cloth, rock candy, citron, raisins, nutmegs, prunes, two papers of ground ginger, salt.

Mrs. O. Woodward—

Four pairs socks, four tablecloths, two bedspreads, four shirts, one-half peck rice, salt, one bushel grits.

Mrs. Boylston, Mrs. Rion, and Mrs. Laughlin—

Two pillows, two packages gelatine, one of arrowroot, farina, castile soap, six towels, two pillow-cases, two bottles cordial, three bottles lime juice, one bag grits, six pairs socks.

Mrs. Ladd—

Barley, five shirts, one bundle sheets, three bottles blackberry cordial, one bundle sage.

Mrs. Lyon—

Two sheets, one spread, two shirts, six pillow-cases, four towels, two pairs drawers, six spoons, soap, one jar honey, sage, old cotton cloth.

Mrs. E. T. Lyles, Miss Crawford, and Mrs. Fraser—

Sugar, coffee, two bottles blackberry wine, thirty-six pounds sugar, two pounds tea, twelve pounds coffee, three pecks rice, dried apples, one-half bushel grits, one jar blackberry preserves, sage, pepper, four pairs sheets, four pairs pillow-slips, six fans, four

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towels, four handkerchiefs, four shirts, seven bundles of linen for bandages, four Testaments, four Hymn Books, three gallons wine.

Miss Barkley—

One pillow, one pair sheets, one pair pillow-slips, one bedspread, one package gelatine, one package herbs.

Mrs. Hammond—

Two shirts, one pair drawers, one undershirt.

Mrs. John Adger—

Six pillow-slips, six towels, six sheets, six shirts, two linen cambric handkerchiefs, six pairs socks, two pairs drawers, two undershirts, two nightshirts, one paper of pins, two curled hair pads, one flaxseed, four rolls of bandages and pads, cotton, one pound tea, eight pounds rice flour, two pounds Hyson tea, two pounds tapioca, two packages rice, two bottles cordial, one bottle ginger, three bottles wine, one bottle camphor, one gallon jelly, one pair buckskin slippers, one pair worsted slippers.

Mrs. Herron—

Four sheets, three shirts, two pillow-slips, two towels, two handkerchiefs, one package strip cloth, one jar blackberry jelly, ten pounds rice.

Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. Baum, and Mrs. Wolfe—

One bedspread, two shirts.

One bottle blackberry wine, twelve pounds coffee.

One bottle wine, one blackberry jelly, six pounds tea, twelve quarts rice, one box grits, one box mustard, one lot balm, one lot sugar.

Mrs. J. W. Shedd—

Two bottles wine, one bottle cordial, two boxes gelatine, one jar preserves, three pairs sheets, three pillow-cases, one pillow, four towels, two shirts, sage.

Mrs. O. R. Thompson—

Six packages blackberry jelly, four bottles wine, six towels, three books, one paper ginger, two spittoons, one fly brush, one bundle bandages, one package tracts.

Mrs. J. Lemon—

One dozen wine, one package bedclothes, sheets, comforts, weaving cloths.

Mrs. D. Aiken—

Six jars preserves, six jars mustard, one quart cologne, one quart rosewater, two jars brandy peaches, two pounds Hyson tea, three

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pounds root ginger, four pounds tapioca, one bottle each of laudanum, paregoric, hartshorn, and No. 6, one bag spices, one tin slop tub, one tin water bucket, one coffeepot, two mugs, one pound gum camphor, two spittoons, one jar ginger preserves.

Mrs. J. R. McMaster—

Two bedspreads, four sheets, four slips, two quilts, nine towels, one bag sage, one pound black tea, three pounds rice flour, two pounds candy, one pound gumdrops, two tin cups, two mugs, six spoons, two pounds farina, sugar, cloth for bandages, soap, ladle.

Mrs. R. E. Ellison—

Six pillows, six pairs pillow-cases, six sheets, one shirt, one quilt, two counterpanes, one spread, three hospital sheets.

Mrs. D. Oxner—

Six pairs pillow-cases, two towels, two pairs drawers, four pairs hose, four pairs men's slippers, six spoons, six teaspoons, one paper pins, one package cornstarch, spices, cloves, nutmegs, three mugs, three bars soap, four bottles blackberry wine, one bottle brandy peaches, preserves, jelly, one lot netting bandages.

Mrs. W. Rabb—

Four papers flaxseed, one package gelatine, two pounds salt, grits, rice, sugar, old linen, wine, cordials, pickles, liquorice, rice flour, chloroform, two blankets, one pair sheets, cotton.

Mrs. T. S. DuBose—

One jar preserves, twelve hospital sheets, eleven pairs drawers.

Mrs. S. McCants—

Three shirts, two pairs socks, one mattress tick, two pillows, three sheets, one bedspread, six yards domestics, two pairs pillow-cases, one bottle Madeira wine, one bottle cologne, one bottle porter, one bottle Hive syrup, dried peaches, arrowroot, slippery elm, tapioca, five pounds Java coffee, one package soda.

Mrs. J. B. McCants—

Six pillows, six pillow-slips, four shirts, four pairs drawers, six tablespoons, six teaspoons, six combs and brushes, bundle red pepper, sage, two bottles blackberry wine, cloth for bandages.

Mrs. E. Barber, Miss E. Cloud, Miss Dantzler, Mrs. K. Caldwell, and Mrs. W. K. Robertson—

Six pairs woolen socks.

Six blankets. (To be held for the Boyce Guard until called for.)

Three blankets. (To be held for the Boyce Guard until called for.)

Five pairs socks. Eight pairs socks.

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Mrs. W. W. Boyce, Mrs. DuBose, Mrs. Cook, Miss C. and Mrs. Yongue—

Four bottles blackberry wine, one package herbs, four dressing-gowns, eight pairs woolen socks.

Two colored blankets, one white blanket.

Twenty pairs socks.

Mrs. Wolfe—

Two bottles brandy, one pair blankets.

Mrs. Tom Woodward, Mrs. Baum, Mrs. Boyce—

Four pairs woolen socks.

Four pairs socks.

Four dressing-gowns, eight pairs socks, one bottle cordial, one catsup, two bottles fruit vinegar, one package plum, one package cornstarch, one package green sage, red pepper.

Miss Finney—

Twelve pairs socks, eight pairs woolen socks.

Mrs. B. Lyles—

Twelve woolen scarfs, four pairs socks.

Miss Dantzler—

Four pairs socks.

Miss Gaillard—

Ten pairs socks.

Mrs. W. Robertson—

Seven pairs socks.

Mrs. H. B. McMaster—

Ten pairs socks.

Mrs. Cook—

One pair socks, two neckties, herbs.

Mrs. J. S. Stewart—

Three pairs socks.

Mrs. Dr. Aiken—

Two shirts.

Mrs. Leland—

One pair blankets.

Mrs. C. Cathcart—

Four bottles brandy, four bottles whiskey.

Mrs. Boyce—

Two bottles blackberry vinegar, one bottle cordial, one bottle catsup, one bottle brandy.

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November, 1862.	Mrs. Boyce	$1.50
	Mrs. Ladd	.50
December, 1862.	Mrs. Lauderdale	5.00
	Mrs. W. Robertson	.50
	Mrs. Thompson	1.00
	Mrs. Wolfe	.50
	Mrs. Porcher	.50
	Mrs. Bratton	.50
	Mrs. Means	.50
	Miss DuBose	.50
	Miss Aiken	1.00
	Miss E. Aiken	1.00
	Mrs. Rivers	5.00
	Mrs. McMaster	5.00
	Miss Crawford	.50
	Mrs. Horlbeck	5.00
January, 1863.	Mrs. Boyce	1.00
	Mrs. Ladd	.50
	Mrs. Fraser	1.00
	Miss Crawford	.50
	Mrs. Porcher	.50
	Mrs. Bratton	.50
	Mrs. Means	.50
	Miss DuBose	.50
	Mrs. Wolfe	.50
	Mrs. Cohen	.50
February, 1863.	Mrs. Ladd	.50
	Mrs. W. Robertson	1.50
	Mrs. Means	1.00
	Mrs. Porcher	.50
	Miss Fraser	.50
	Miss Crawford	.50

The Hospital at Florence.

Written by Dr. P. B. Bacot, Surgeon C. S. A.

According to my recollection, the hospital at Florence was established as a wayside home, by the ladies of the Pee Dee section, for the relief of needy soldiers passing over the lines of roads passing through Florence.

The home was supported by the ladies of Florence, Darlington, Society Hill, and Cheraw, and probably other localities.

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In the latter part of 1862, or the first of 1863, it was found that, owing to the number of sick and wounded soldiers who had to be taken into the home, a medical officer was required to attend them. The home was then turned over to the Confederate government as a Wayside Hospital.

Dr. Theodore A. Dargan, of Darlington, was appointed surgeon-in-charge; Mrs. ——— Chandler was appointed matron, and Mr. Lawrence Prince, of Cheraw, steward.

During the summer of 1863, I was assigned to the hospital as assistant to Dr. Dargan. Some time during the winter of 1863, Mrs. Chandler resigned the position of matron, and Mrs. Martha Jordan was appointed to her place. After serving in that position for a few months, she resigned, and Miss Harriet Black, of Cheraw, a very estimable lady, was appointed to fill the position.

In April, 1864, my command being ordered to Virginia, I had to leave the hospital. After that, it became necessary to enlarge the hospital, and the building afterwards known as the restaurant was added. The original hospital was in the Norris building, on the corner of Front and Coit streets.

Our office was a small building, across the railroad track, in front of Gamble's Hotel.

The office is still standing—the only building left that had any connection with the hospital.

After the increase of the hospital, Dr. ——— Washington was appointed to assist Dr. Dargan.

After the government took charge, the ladies still continued to visit the hospital, and render such aid as was in their power.

Many poor soldiers had cause to remember the maternal aid rendered them by the kind and patriotic ladies of the Pee Dee section.

(Signed) P. B. BACOT, M. D.,
Acting Assistant Surgeon, Florence Hospital.

Woman's Work at Sumter.

Written in 1901, unsigned.

The churches in Sumter were used as hospitals.

Mrs. Montgomery Moses daily visited the hospital at the Baptist Church, carrying waiters of delicacies for the sick. One of the men was so pleased at her kindness, and felt so sure she could help in anything, that he appealed to her to get him a furlough.

She had a very ill soldier removed to her house, in hopes of saving his life, but, notwithstanding all the good nursing, he died. In his

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delirium, he kept calling, "Sue, Sue, I am only four miles off; I am coming." It was never known who he was!

Many soldiers from the hospitals came at meal times to the houses of the ladies to be fed; also, many brought their rations to be cooked and, of course, the ladies made many additions to what they brought.

An old lady—Miss Rachel Suares—used to board the trains each morning, as they passed, and wash the sick soldiers on board, returning home by the next train.

At one time, the ladies used to set tables of food at the depot, for the soldiers, as they passed through.

Mrs. M. Moses and her daughter—Miss A. P. Moses—did much good work at the Baptist Church Hospital, taking a servant daily to attend the sick, mending the surgeons' clothes, making lightwood tea, rolling quinine pills, stuck together with flour and hominy. Hominy was used, too, to seal letters, during the war.

One soldier, to show his gratitude, would wait on Mrs. Moses' cook, bringing her wood, etc.

The flag used at Manassas and other battles, by Kershaw's men, was made by Mrs. Bossard, Miss A. P. Moses, Miss Garden, the Misses Bartlett, and other ladies of Sumter.

Woman's Work at Union.

Letter from Miss F. M. Blamyer, dated August, 1901.

Miss Blamyer was the secretary of the Soldiers' Relief Association, of Charleston, but made her home in Union during a part of the war.

She writes: "As to the association in Union, it was formed when there was no time for red tape. Mrs. W. H. Wallace was the president; Mrs. Jeter, treasurer. I was the vice-president. We bought cotton in bale with great difficulty, as the planters refused to let us have it. They said, with true country honesty, that they had pledged themselves not to let their cotton run the blockade. Yet, through the influence of Mrs. Wallace, the president, we bought the cotton and sent it to the factory in exchange for homespun, sending part of this to the Soldiers' Relief Association in Charleston; and with the rest, in Union, we made clothes for our men.

We then got a large, empty room, put some beds in it, and collected what supplies we could.

When Governor Magrath could no longer find a refuge in South Carolina (at the end of the war), he disbanded his bodyguard, formed of boys from the Arsenal in Columbia, and told them they

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must make their way home. Some of them came to us, tired and muddy, and the ladies immediately sent them ready-made soldiers' clothes, but found they had to be shortened and the seams taken in.

When Cheatham came through, we had some of his sick men. One poor fellow, who they thought could not swallow, when I gave him a few spoonfuls, said: "It takes a gal to feed me."

Black Oak Soldiers' Relief Association.

Minutes of Black Oak Soldiers' Relief Association.

In the South Carolina Room of the Confederate Museum, in Richmond, marked on the catalogue as No. 312, is another old book, the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Black Oak Soldiers' Relief Association of St. John's, Berkeley Parish, Charleston District, South Carolina.

This book was sent to the Museum by Miss Edith Waring, now of Florence, daughter of the president of the association, Mrs. Morton (Anne) Waring.

A few items from it have been sent us. On the first and fifth pages are the name of the association and the dates of its organization, first at Pinopolis, August 9, 1861, and again at Black Oak, August 14, 1861.

The officers were: Mrs. Morton Waring, President; Mrs. Isabella S. Porcher, Vice-President; Mrs. Thos. F. Porcher, Secretary and Treasurer; Directresses, Mrs. C. L. Porcher, Mrs. T. P. Ravenel, Mrs. W. H. Markley, Mrs. J. C. Cain, Mrs. H. L. Stevens. Miss Louisa A. Porcher was appointed Treasurer on August 23, 1861, Mrs. Porcher having resigned.

On pages seven and eight there is a list of fifty-nine members.

Some reports of the work had been sent us, as follows:

September 5, 1861.—Eighty dollars spent for purchase of material.

October 2, 1861.—One hundred and eighteen pairs drawers and three hundred shirts were cut out and made.

September 24, 1861.—Made up for Hampton's Legion, three hundred overcoats.

October 2, 1861.—Made for Ladies' Christian Association, sixty-seven shirts, thirty-five coats, and twenty uniforms.

December 3, 1861.—One hundred and thirty-eight articles made.

January 1, 1862.—Two hundred pieces of clothing made.

January 19, 1862.—Two hundred and fifty pieces of clothing made.

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February 12, 1862.—One hundred and twenty-one articles made.

December 11, 1861.—Sent to Coosawhatchie Hospital, $100.00.

September 23, 1862.—Sent to Virginia, for sick and wounded, $133.50. To soldiers in the West, $245.00.

Twelve boxes, containing wine, brandy, whiskey, and food, sent to hospitals.

June 21, 1864.—The last entry of a box sent to the sick and wounded in Virginia is on June 21, 1864.

But it must not be supposed that the work ended there.

Miss Waring, Mrs. R. Y. Hennegan, 1901.

"The work of the association was continued until the close of the war, but, owing to the unsettled state of the country, they were unable to hold the usual meetings, and no minutes were kept. Supplies of socks, clothes of every kind, and also of cooked provisions, were kept in hand, ready to supply any passing soldiers, or to send off, in case of need."

This is the testimony of the daughters of the president.

Another member writes:

Miss Marianne Porcher, 1901.

"It would be impossible, at the end of thirty-six years, to give the number of boxes and articles of clothing and cash contributed during the whole war, for, besides what was sent by the association proper, quantities were contributed by individuals.

"After the war, we were requested to send our book to Richmond, where it is entered on the Catalogue as No. 313."

Miss Waring also writes:

Miss S. C. Waring, 1899.

"Soldiers' Relief Associations were formed all over the Confederacy, and a great deal of needlework accomplished by mistress and maid throughout the country. At Black Oak and Pinopolis was organized the society called the Ladies' Auxiliary of Black Oak.

"This society first bought material and made a quantity of clothing for soldiers, then offered to help other societies in Charleston, and on some occasions made as many as one thousand pieces in three weeks.

"The ladies knit and kept supplied many companies in socks and gloves, caps, shirts, and comforters. For four years we worked unceasingly, and even at evening parties the knitting needle was a regular attendant.

"Work for our soldiers was nothing but pleasure, and while the cards were being dealt, our knitting proceeded rapidly—tongues and

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fingers moved alike. The writer of this paper in one week knit six pairs of socks.

"As time passed on, and every man and boy was taken to keep up the ranks of our army, the 'times' seemed hard indeed. Women were obliged to look after the welfare of home matters, and then many a woman showed herself a heroine.

"One day a wounded Confederate came to our house, asking for shelter and concealment. 'But,' said he to my mother, 'Madam, it may cost you your house.' 'Sir,' said she, 'go to your room; a Confederate woman can suffer for her country.' The soldier rested quietly, and the next morning was taken off by his comrades. We heard nothing of his pursuers.

"Later in the war came a call from the government for cooked food for the prisoners who had been brought to Florence. They were dying of typhoid fever.

"Then came a rush! Five thousand starving men, dying of disease, though they were the enemy, appealed strongly to the hearts of our women. Large boxes were filled with well-cooked food and sent to Florence, three hours being the time required for transportation. Seven large boxes of food made quite a formidable appearance, being carted from the house of the president of the society.

"When the final stroke came, we found ourselves an overpowered people, and working to the last."

Woman's Work at Eutawville.

Letter from Miss Anna S. Sinkler, 1901.

"This society, besides a great deal of other work, made uniforms for the companies commanded by Capt. Christopher Gaillard, and Capt. Julius Porcher.

"Mrs. William Sinkler was the first president; Mrs. Thomas W. Porcher, the second.

"That good work was expected and required in these societies is shown by the following anecdote: Mrs. Harriet Gourdin had seven uniform coats as her share, and made them, as she thought, quite beautifully, and sent them off proudly. The next day, back they came, with the buttonhole side neatly cut off, and a request from Mrs. Porcher that she would put the buttons and buttonholes in their proper places."

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Rules of the Eutawville Aid Association.

Minutes of the Eutawville Aid Association, in possession of ———.

Rule first. The officers of the association shall be a president, secretary, treasurer, and two directresses.

Rule second. It shall be the duty of the president to preside at all meetings of the association. When application is made to the association for assistance in work, it shall be her duty to ascertain their ability and pleasure to do the same; to carry out all correspondence with other associations or persons relative to their application; to give notice to the members of the association for all extra meetings, and to call extra meetings when necessary.

Rule third. It shall be the duty of the secretary and treasurer to keep all accounts of donations made to the association, all money expended, what materials purchased, what garments made, and how disposed of; what work done for other associations or persons not members of this association.

Rule fourth. It shall be the duty of the directresses to purchase such material as directed by the association for clothing, etc., to cut all garments, and distribute them to be made, and report to the secretary how many, and to whom sent.

Rule fifth. The association shall meet every alternate Saturday, at the residence of one of the members, in regular rotation. Each member to bring to the place of meeting the work done, yarn spun, socks knit, or anything done for the benefit of the cause.

Rule sixth. Each member to contribute the sum of 25 cents at every regular meeting. Six members shall form a quorum and transact ordinary business matters.

These rules not to be changed but by a majority of the association.

N. B. Gentlemen may become members of the association by contributing the sum stated in Rule 6, but not entitled to a vote, as they can't participate in the pleasure of sewing, cutting, etc.

All donations thankfully received.

Memorandum of transactions and donations of the association from August 1 to November 9, 1861:

In August, made forty shirts, twenty-two hickory shirts, fifty pairs of drawers, eighteen comforts, eighteen pillow-cases, which articles were sent to the Soldiers' Relief Association, in Charleston.

In September, made for the quartermaster's department, one hundred pairs drawers and fifty-eight shirts.

In October, made eighteen flannel shirts, which were given to the Santee Artillery, Capt. Gaillard; also six pairs woolen socks.

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There was also distributed, at different times, sufficient yarn for one hundred and sixty-five pairs of socks, and twenty-two pairs of socks were sent to the Eutaw Volunteers, Capt. Porcher.

There were also given thirty-six pairs of socks, at another time, to the Santee Artillery.

Previous to the 9th of November, there were sixteen coats and seventeen pairs of pants made for Eutaw Volunteers.

November 23, 1861.—The association met this day at the Rocks, when it was resolved that this asociation withdraw from the Charleston Association. The sixth rule was amended so as to read as follows:

There shall be both paying and working members. The paying members to contribute 25 cents at each regular meeting, and *all* members to be fined 10 cents for absence from any regular meeting without sufficient excuse.

On the 20th inst., yarn for fifteen pairs of socks was sent to Charleston. Since the last meeting there have been made by the association —— coats, —— pants, and twenty-two flannel shirts for Eutaw Volunteers.

November 30, 1861.—An extra meeting of the association held at Numertia to take into consideration the propriety of getting up articles for use of hospital in our State. Donations for the above were received as follows: Two pairs sheets and twelve pillow-cases from Mrs. H. Gourdin and Mr. James Gaillard; also cloth sufficient for four comforts and two shirts from Miss C. Gaillard.

Since the last meeting, twelve flannel shirts have been made for the Eutaw Volunteers, and nine hanks of wool have been sent to Charleston, to be knit into socks and gloves.

December 21, 1861.—Association met at Wampee. The following donations were received: Eight pillows from Mrs. T. W. Porcher, six pillows from Mrs. J. Gaillard, and one comfort from Mrs. T. T. Gourdin. Twenty-seven scarfs and sixteen pairs of socks were given to the Santee Artillery, Capt. Gaillard.

January 4, 1862.—The association met at Walnut Grove. An appeal was made by the Charleston Association for articles of clothing for soldiers from Eastern Virginia.

The following work was done for the Santee Artillery, viz.: Thirty flannel shirts and eleven pairs of drawers.

The following articles, contributions from members of the association, were sent to the hospital at McPhersonville, viz.: One tureen, six dishes, twenty-six plates, one teapot, four coffeepots, four hot plates, five ladles, forty teacups, sixty-three saucers, eight mugs, two

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basins, three chambers, two covered jars, five milk pots, one jug vinegar, one phial red pepper, one bag flaxseed, eight sheets, ten comforts, forty-five pillow-cases, nineteen pillows, two shirts, eight pairs slippers, six handkerchiefs, rug.

Miss Jane Melford joined the association.

January 18, 1862.—Association met at Pond Bluff. Miss Clermont Gaillard joined the association, and Mrs. Sydney Kirk withdrew her name from the association.

February 1, 1862.—Association met at Eutaw.

February 15, 1862.—Association met at Belvedere. The following articles were sent to Mrs. Dr. W. Snowden for the use of a Georgia regiment, viz.: Twenty-five shirts, sixteen pairs drawers, fifty pairs socks, and two pairs gloves.

March 1, 1862.—Association met at Walworth. Letters were read acknowledging the receipt of things sent to the Georgia regiment through the Soldiers' Relief Association of Charleston.

March 22, 1862.—Association met at Numertia.

April 12, 1862.—Association met at the Rocks. A note of thanks from Captain Porcher's company (Tenth Regiment), for an offer of socks, was read, in which they declined receiving them, as they were well supplied at that time. Forty-four pairs socks were sent to the Holcombe Legion.

April 26, 1862.—Association met at Mrs. P. C. Hicks'.

May 24, 1862.—Association met at Mrs. J. Gaillard's.

June 7, 1862.—Association met at Mrs. T. W. Porcher's.

Mrs. W. Sinkler having resigned as president, Mrs. C. Gaillard was elected in her place.

Mrs. F. M. Dwight and Miss Alice Gaillard were elected members of the association.

June 21, 1862.—Association met at Mrs. Palmer's.

Miss C. S. Gaillard and Mrs. H. M. Boyan were elected members. A letter from Mrs. Snowden, calling on the ladies, was read, and the association determined to send such things as were wanted for the hospitals.

July 5, 1862.—Association met at Mrs. W. Sinkler's.

The following donations were made to the association for the hospitals, viz.: Mrs. C. Palmer, four sheets, four pillow-cases, bundle of rags; Mrs. C. Sinkler, bundle of rags; Mrs. James Gaillard, eight sheets, thirteen pillow-cases, two counterpanes, one tablecloth, bundle of rags; Mrs. C. J. Snowden, five bottles red pepper, bundle of rags,

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two bags sago, one bottle of wine; Mrs. K. Simons Jr., one counterpane; Mrs. T. W. Porcher, seven counterpanes, bundle of rags, six bottles of wine; Mrs. C. Gaillard, two sheets, one counterpane; Miss C. S. Gaillard, four sheets, two counterpanes, two pillow-cases, bundle of rags.

The following articles were sent from the association for hospitals: Eight bottles medicated blackberry, two jars blackberry jelly, five bottles red pepper, two bags sago, and forty-four chickens.

July 19, 1862.—Association met at Mrs. K. Simons'.

August 16, 1862.—Association met at Mrs. C. Gaillard's.

Mrs. T. W. Porcher offered a resolution that in future any one, not a member of this association, applying for work should be furnished with the same; which was agreed to.

August 30, 1862.—Association met at Mrs. Gourdin's.

The following contributions were made to the hospital in Charleston: Mrs. C. C. Palmer, fifteen fowls and one and one-half dozen eggs; Mrs. Gourdin, four dozen eggs, and butter; Mrs. T. W. Porcher, ten dozen eggs, okra, and butter; Mrs. C. Sinkler, twelve fowls.

September 13, 1862.—The following contributions were made to the hospital in Charleston: Mrs. C. Sinkler, four pounds butter, and one dozen eggs; Mrs. T. W. Porcher, one jar lard, and bundle cornstarch; Miss Alice Gaillard, six fowls; Mrs. Simons, one dozen eggs, and bag okra; Mrs. C. C. Palmer, four dozen eggs, one bushel grits, and seven fowls.

October 11, 1862.—Association met at Mrs. T. W. Porcher's. Mrs. Gourdin resigned.

October 25, 1862.—Association forwarded to the Soldiers' Relief Association, of Charleston, one hundred and thirty-nine shirts, the same having been made from material furnished by that association.

The following articles received from the ladies and gentlemen of Eutawville were sent to Mrs. Snowden, in Charleston, for the Chimborazo Hospital, near Richmond, Va., viz.: Mrs. C. Gaillard, four bottles wine; Mrs. Gourdin, four bottles wine; Miss Alice Gaillard, two bottles wine, and two pounds starch; Mrs. T. W. Porcher, one dozen wine, four pounds corn and potato starch; Dr. Jos. Palmer, two dozen wine; Mr. J. Gaillard, one dozen wine, and two bottles red pepper. Also two dozen blackberry syrup, made by the association. (Mr. J. J. Cross, four pairs woolen socks, a donation to this association.)

November 15, 1862.—Association met at Mrs. T. W. Porcher's.

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Received since last meeting, one bushel rice, and three bottles red pepper, for Chimborazo Hospital, from Mrs. Simons.

November 29, 1862.—Association met at Mrs. C. Gaillard's.

Mrs. P. C. Kirk withdrew from association, and Mrs. A. L. Sinkler and Miss Deas Sinkler were elected members.

December 13, 1862.—Association met at Mrs. Chas. Sinkler's.

January 19, 1863.—Association met at Mrs. Simons'.

Sent to Captain Furlis' company, Twenty-first South Carolina Regiment, sixty shirts, sixty pairs drawers, and sixty pairs socks.

February 14, 1863.—Association met at Seagewood.

Sent to Captain Land's company, ——— South Carolina Regiment, sixty shirts, six pairs drawers, three pairs socks.

List of members of Eutawville Association:

Mrs. T. W. Porcher.	H. P. Gourdin.	Miss Alice A. Gaillard.
S. H. Kirk.	E. A. Gaillard.	Mrs. F. M. Dwight.
S. M. Kirk.	M. L. Scott.	Mrs. H. M. Bryan.
W. Sinkler.	Emily Sinkler.	M. C. Allen.
C. C. Palmer.	Lizzie Sinkler.	A. L. Sinkler.
L. C. Gaillard.	Miss Jane Melford.	Deas Sinkler.
Mrs. L. F. Guerry.	Miss Clermona Gaillard.	E. K. Simons.

In the Record Book of the Eutawville Aid Association there are several pages of beautifully kept accounts, running from July 31, 1861, to February 14, 1863. These accounts include all purchases, the dues of members, and many donations, among others, from "the Communion Alms, through the Rev. R. Johnson."

Woman's Work at Grahamville.

Letter from Miss S. S. Seabrook, 1901.

"In reply to your questions, * * * I was president of our clothing society, and vice-president of our hospital committee.

"We had three regiments on our hands to care for—two from North Carolina, Colonel Clingman's, and the Eighteenth North Carolina Regiment, Colonel Radcliffe—also one from Georgia, Colonel Gibson. * * * The North Carolina regiments, especially Clingman's, had a great deal of sickness—measles and typhoid fever. I visited the hospitals daily, assisted in nursing, and furnished such nourishment as was needed and could not be had in camp.

"We furnished all clothing needed—and it was sadly needed indeed! We knitted socks, and we had showered on us the blessings of the well, as well as of the convalescent.

"I cut up my best wool mattress for Colonel Radcliffe's hospital.

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"The ladies of our community ably assisted Mrs. Johnson and myself in our work. Mrs. Johnson was the head of our hospital committee. She was the wife of the lieutenant-colonel of Clingman's regiment.

"(Signed) S. S. SEABROOK."

Woman's Work at Camden.

Letter from Miss Emma C. Reynolds, 1901.

I have in my possession papers relating to "The Ladies' Aid Association," of Camden. They belonged to my aunt, Miss Sally Chesnut.

The association was organized in 1861. Miss Harriet Chesnut Grant was the first president. I cannot find the list of the other officers of that time.

In January, 1862, the following officers were elected:

Miss Sally Chesnut, President.

Mrs. Walker, Vice-President.

Miss Louisa Salmond, Treasurer.

Miss Emma C. Reynolds, Secretary.

The secretary resigned on June 25, 1862, and Miss Harriet Lang was appointed in her place.

The letters from different officers show that quantities of clothes, supplies and comforts of all kinds were sent to the soldiers in the army and in the hospital.

There is a list of the members of the association.

On March 12, 1862, the association decided to establish the "Soldiers' Rest." "The ladies and a committee of gentlemen are to have a general supervision. They are to furnish the room, provide nurses when they are needed, and meet whatever expenses may be incurred."

I remember well that Mrs. Katherine Lee took special supervision of "the Soldiers' Rest."

My aunt, Miss Sally Chesnut, I am sure, continued to be president of the association until the end of the war. Her heart was in it, and her interest never flagged.

"Miss Bouney was appointed treasurer of the 'Soldiers' Rest'."

With the book of the association are many letters from soldiers.

(Signed) EMMA C. REYNOLDS.

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Letter from Mrs. John Johnson, 1901.

* * * What I am writing is from memory.

* * * Miss Harriet Grant was president of the Aid Association of Camden a part of the time, and was very active and energetic. Another officer was Miss Louisa Salmond, who, with steadfast devotion, had rare good judgment.

We had quite a number of members, some of the refugees among them—Miss Elliott and the Misses Stuart, of Beaufort, S. C. I know much work was done.

We sent off boxes to the companies from Kershaw County, or District, as it was then called, supplying them with shirts, drawers, socks, etc. I also know we made pants, coats, caps, overcoats, haversacks. I think most of the material for these outer garments came from the quartermaster's department.

I recall some overcoats we made for the cavalry—brown, with yellow cording.

Boxes were sent to the hospitals of such stores as the housewives could give—usually comforts, blankets, pillows and cases, rags, blackberry wine, dried fruits, and anything useful. * * *

When one of the last boxes was to be sent to Richmond, four ladies from the society were sent from house to house to gather up what could be gleaned, even to a string of red peppers.

Two of the ladies took the town—Miss Brevard and I were given Kirkwood and Hobkirk, suburbs of Camden, and we took two days, each day returning with the large family carriage filled with valuable things much needed in the hospitals. Besides these boxes, fresh vegetables were sent through the society to the hospitals in Charleston—at one time during the summer as often as once a week.

During the early part of the war, Camden being only the terminus of the railroad, we did not find the need of a Soldiers' Rest, but later on, sick and returning soldiers had to be provided for, and such a place was arranged, being under the control of the ladies living near enough to look after it.

We were often applied to, more especially by soldiers from my brother's (Captain Cantey) company, and they were never turned away without food and shelter from my mother's house.

(Signed) C. FLORIDE JOHNSON.

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List of members of the Kershaw Ladies' Aid Association, formed in July, 1861, and lasting until the close of the war:

From the book of the Association, in possession of Miss C. C. Reynolds.

Mrs. T. J. Ancrum.	Mrs. Antony Kennedy.	Mrs. Elliott.
Miss Ancrum.	Mrs. Robt. Kennedy.	Mrs. Goodwyn.
Miss Ellen Ancrum.	Miss Eliza Lee.	Miss Harriet C. Grant.
Miss Harriet Boykin.	Mrs. Joseph Lee.	Miss Gatewood.
Miss M. L. Boykin.	Mrs. A. M. Lee.	Mrs. S. H. Hay.
Miss Charlotte Boykin.	Miss Maggie Lee.	Miss Fanny Hay.
Miss M. McRa Boykin.	Mrs. Ben Lee.	Miss Esther S. Reynolds.
Mrs. Bouney.	Miss Susan Lang.	Mrs. Wm. M. Shannon.
Miss S. Bouney.	Mrs. Leitner.	Miss Mattie Shannon.
Miss Barnwell.	Miss Levy.	Miss Harriet Shannon.
Mrs. H. W. Conner.	Miss M. E. Donald.	Mrs. A. C. Salmond.
Mrs. H. W. Conner Jr.	Miss McCaa.	Mrs. T. W. Salmond.
Mrs. Chesnut.	Miss Julia Oppenheim.	Miss Louisa Salmond.
Miss Sally Chesnut.	Miss Emma C. Reynolds.	Mrs. Paul Trapier.
Mrs. J. Cantey.	Mrs. Louis DeSaussure.	Miss Sarah Trapier.
Miss Floride Cantey.	Miss Octavia DeSaussure	Miss Mary Trapier.
Mrs. Deas.	Miss Fannie DeSaussure.	Miss Zoe Trapier.
Miss Meta Deas.	Mrs. Thomas F. Davis.	Miss Valk.
Mrs. John DeSaussure.	Mrs. Thos. F. Davis Jr.	Mrs. L. L. Whitaker.
Mrs. H. W. DeSaussure.	Miss A. E. Davis.	Miss M. J. Whitaker.
Miss Holmes.	Miss Sally Davis.	Miss H. Whitaker.
Miss Habersham.	Mrs. James M. Davis.	Miss Ellen Whitaker.
Miss Emma Holmes.	Mrs. Dunlap.	Miss Sally Whitaker.
Miss Eliza Holmes.	Miss Dunlap.	Miss Lenoir.
Miss Rebecca Holmes.	Mrs. Alfred Doby.	Mrs. H. Oppenheim.
Mrs. W. E. Johnson.	Mrs. Sally DeSaussure.	Mrs. George Reynolds.
Mrs. Robt. Johnson.	Mrs. Wm. Depass.	Miss Ellen C. Reynolds.

Copy of letter from Stephen Elliott, in possession of Miss Reynolds.

Fort Sumter, January 4, 1864.

RICHARD E. SCREVEN, ESQ.

Dear Sir: Allow me, in behalf of the garrison of this fort, to return thanks for the most bountiful present of luxuries sent to us, through you, by the ladies of Camden.

Even the fair donors themselves can scarcely understand the full extent of the pleasure it gives us to receive such tokens of female interest and sympathy. You can assure them that while we are invigorated by the good cheer thus spread before us we are made doubly strong in spirit to defend those who thus remember us.

I am very respectfully, Your obedient servant,

STEPHEN ELLIOTT JR.

Miss Reynolds has many other letters referring to the work of this association.

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Bethany Hospital and Soldiers' Aid Association, Edgefield County, S. C.

Paper by Mrs. C. P. Poppenheim, written 1901.

In the month of June, 1861, a number of ladies of Bethany Church, Edgefield County, S. C., met at Bouknight's Ferry, on Saluda River, at the home of Mr. William Bouknight, and there organized a society for the aid of our soldiers in camp and the sick in the hospitals.

The following constitution was adopted:

Whereas, Many of our soldiers are laid low by the hand of disease, and thereby prevented from attending to the necessary duties which are so essential to the protection and welfare of our beloved and common country, and as it is a duty binding upon us to furnish all necessary articles, and aid, which are in any way conducive to the welfare of our soldiers; therefore,

Resolved, First. That we, the ladies of this community, near and about Bethany Church, do sympathize deeply with our sick soldiers.

Second. That we form ourselves into an association, known and distinguished by the name of Bethany Hospital and Soldiers' Aid Association.

Third. That the principal object of this association be for the immediate relief of the sick soldiers from our midst, and then our service be indiscriminately favored to all weary soldiers in our cause.

Fourth. That this association be organized by appointing officers, viz.: President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer.

Fifth. That each member of this association pay into the hands of the treasurer a certain sum, concluded upon by the association, for the purpose of purchasing medicine and all other necessary articles which the society feels it in their power to purchase.

Sixth. That each member be punctual in attending the meetings, which shall be monthly, or oftener, if the president deems it necessary.

The following officers were elected:

President—Mrs. W. Abney.
Vice-President—Mrs. Geo. Long.
Secretary—Miss Louisa M. Bouknight.
Treasurer—Miss Mary E. Bouknight.
General Manager—Mrs. G. D. Huiet.

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MANAGERS.

Mrs. H. Livingston.	Mrs. Wm. Merchant.	Miss E. H. Huiet.
Mrs. S. Smith.	Mrs. C. Perry.	Mrs. J. Berry.
Mrs. S. Coppock.	Mrs. M. Gilder.	Mrs. G. Rutherford.
Miss Mary Livingston.	Mrs. A. Coleman.	Mrs. J. Abney.
Mrs. John Miller.	Mrs. T. D. Purifoy.	Mrs. M. Long.
Mrs. B. Culbreath.	Mrs. D. Smith.	Mrs. J. Schumpert.
Mrs. W. Strother.	Mrs. Wm. Clark.	Mrs. W. Clary.

This association met every two weeks, each member bringing their contributions, and when sufficient had accumulated, large boxes were packed and shipped by way of Newberry Courthouse, ten miles distant, to R. W. Barnwell Jr., Charlottesville, Va.

The Charleston *Tri-Weekly Courier* of August and September, 1861, has letters published acknowledging the receipt of these boxes, containing shirts, drawers, socks, pants and coats, handkerchiefs, vests, dressing-gowns, slippers, sheets and pillow-cases, pillows, blankets, comforts, towels, counterpanes, bandages and rags, tea, coffee, sugar, preserves, brandy, wine, cordial, whiskey, porter and ale, cologne, lemon syrup, sage and tapioca, arrowroot, cornstarch, mustard and flaxseed, ginger and nutmeg, rice and rice flour, basins and pans, cups and saucers, coffee and teapots, knives and forks, plates and dishes, fans, brooms, cards and brushes, bowls and mugs, soap, and starch, gelatine and isinglass, Bibles and tracts and other books, bedticking, pickles, butter. Cigars, tobacco and pipes were also sent. One good mother said: "By all means let our boys have their tobacco, pipes, and cigars."

Loving hands knit socks and gloves during the long, anxious hours, awaiting news from the battlefield in Virginia.

Homespun garments, all spun, dyed and woven, cut and made on the plantation, were brought in large packages, to be sent to the needy soldiers.

This devoted work went cheerfully on during the long and anxious days that our loved ones in camp were exposed to so many dangers; nor did it cease until the desolation of Sherman's march through South Carolina and the destroying of the railroads by Sherman's men put a stop to all transportation.

MARY BOUKNIGHT POPPENHEIM,
(MRS. C. P. POPPENHEIM,)
Charleston, S. C.

March 20, 1901.

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Woman's Work at Abbeville.

Written by Mrs. Joseph Marshall, 1901.

A society was formed in Abbeville to send supplies to soldiers in our army. Mrs. Armstead Burt was the President; Mrs. Thomas Perrin, Vice-President. Two ladies were appointed each week to send a box of clothing, provisions and comforts for the sick and wounded.

A knitting society was formed, Mrs. J. W. Marshall, President; Mrs. W. H. Parker, Vice-President.

About fifty pairs of socks were sent away every two weeks.

In 1865, a hospital was fixed up for the sick and wounded passing through Abbeville, which was then the most direct route west. Mrs. Robert Wardlaw was the president.

Two ladies met each train that came in, and if the soldiers were too sick to go on, they were cared for in the hospital. If they were able to go on, a hack was furnished, often to Washington and Elberton, Georgia, a distance of thirty and forty miles.

Twenty soldiers died here and were buried in the Episcopal Churchyard, and at Long Cane Cemetery.

After the war, Mrs. Samuel McGowan and Mrs. J. W. Marshall got up an entertainment, the proceeds of which were used to mark each grave with a marble upright piece at head and foot.

One soldier came with smallpox. He was taken to a vacant house near Magazine Hill. A negro man, who had had the disease, nursed him, and others did all they could, but in a few days he died, never able to tell his name. He was buried near the house in which he died, and a cedar tree, planted by a little girl, is all that marks the resting place of, no doubt, a true and brave soldier.

At Calhoun Mills, Abbeville District, a society was formed, with Mrs. M. C. Tilman as president.

All supplies were sent to her home, where they were packed and sent to Abbeville—twelve miles—to be shipped on the railroad.

True and patriotic old farmers sent all they could think of—provisions and clothing, and all sorts of herbs—for the sick. One old man brought two immense slippery elm trees. At first, he was laughed at, but Mrs. Tilman said it was the very thing for the wounded. She set the little negroes to work to take off the rough bark, and tie up the soft inside into small bundles and, with two days' work, four large bales were sent to Virginia. The surgeon wrote saying that nothing had ever done more good, and begging that they would send all that could be had.

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Letter from Mrs. L. C. Haskell, 1901.

There was a society ten miles west of Abbeville, at Monterey.

Mrs. Squire Giles, Mrs. Haskell, and Mrs. Tilman were prominent members and, I think, officers.

Correspondence of Mrs. M. A. Snowden.

In possession of Mrs. Yates Snowden.

We have had the privilege of looking over a number of letters to Mrs. Snowden, Vice-President of the Soldiers' Relief Association of Charleston, which, in the absence of other papers of that society, would show how thorough and far-reaching was its work. Unfortunately, these letters are but a small part of her correspondence, the rest having been destroyed or lost at the time of the earthquake, in 1886.

That the sick and wounded were cared for is proved by letters from many Confederate surgeons, either asking for or acknowledging assistance.

We find a letter from Dr. Simon Baruch, of the Confederate Hospital at Rikersville, giving directions for collecting and preserving medicinal herbs.

Letters from Dr. W. C. Ravenel, Surgeon of Hagood's Brigade, in Virginia; and Dr. E. M. Seabrook, of Chimborazo Hospital, Richmond, acknowledging stimulants.

November 10, 1862.—A letter from Dr. J. F. M. Geddings, at Adams Run, acknowledges bedding, etc.

November, 1862.—Dr. M. S. Moore writes from Fort Sumter about chickens sent.

April 10, 1863.—Dr. E. Ravenel Jr., house physician of the Roper Hospital, writes to ask for one sour orange for a very ill patient.

There are letters from Dr. J. W. Bowen, of Chimborazo Hospital, Richmond; Dr. A. G. Lane, surgeon-in-charge of Winder Hospital, Richmond; Dr. Lebby and Dr. Ogier, of Charleston Hospital.

August, 1862.—Dr. Thomas S. Thompson, Assistant Surgeon Sixth Battalion of Cavalry of South Carolina, at Chisholmsville.

December, 1864.—Dr. F. Peyre Porcher, at Danville; Dr. P. Gervais Robinson, Surgeon of McGowan's Brigade.

April, 1864.—Dr. Post, of Summerville Hospital; Dr. R. W. Gibbes; Dr. S. H. Sanders, Boykin's Depot; all speaking of help received or looked for.

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Among these letters is one from Mr. Robert Gourdin, referring to citric acid he has sent to make cool drinks for the sick and wounded.

The Rev. E. T. Winkler, Post Chaplain, writes in the name of Mrs. Osborn, at the Citadel Square Hospital, for brandy for typhoid patients.

There are letters from officers and privates, asking for or returning thanks for every sort of article, from uniforms to "a few groundnuts"—or a clothes boiler, which was very much needed, by T. B. Collins, Steward of the First Georgia Hospital.

To supply these demands, contributions were sent from far and near. Many of the letters referred to are written on scraps of paper, and are without dates. Some, however, are dated.

September, 1861.—On this date, Mrs. or Miss C. Porcher sends one hundred pairs of drawers and forty pairs of pants, evidently work done by a society at Eutawville. She begs that no more work will be sent them at present, they having on hand a large number of pantaloons for Hampton's Legion.

November 25, 1864.—That the children were not idle or indifferent is shown by a letter from Gen. Robert E. Lee, at Petersburg, returning thanks to the following young people for a "sojer kitchen" sent to him:

Master Gilbert Tennant.	Master J. Yates Snowden.	Miss Aimy Burgess.
Master L. M. Stoney.		Miss Clara Cheeseborough.
Master C. S. Mathieson.	Miss Flora Mathieson.	
Master W. C. Fisher.	Miss May Snowden.	Miss Annie Mordecai.

A letter, without date, evidently the summer of 1861, from Miss S. S. Seabrook, of Grahamville, is as follows:

"We have been working diligently all summer for the soldiers, and have already sent a quantity of haversacks. As soon as the news of the battle reached us, we sent on two large, valuable boxes for the wounded, and $200.00.

"Our officers are: Mrs. Tracey, President; Miss S. S. Seabrook, Vice-President; Miss Phoebe Morrall, Secretary; Mrs. T. C. Screven, Treasurer."

She goes on to speak of special work for the "Beaufort Troop."

March 4, 1863.—There is a letter from W. States Lee, at Graniteville, addressed to Dr. Bachman, and sending $10, "from my daughters," for the suffering soldiers.

January 25, 1863.—We see a donation of cottonseed coffee. Also a letter from Mrs. George Robertson, at Pendleton, speaking

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of a wayside hospital there "for the many wounded passing from Richmond."

October 6, 1863.—Miss Louisa McIntosh sends from Society Hill donations for hospitals, to Dr. Bachman.

Mrs. or Miss M. J. C. Witherspoon, of Society Hill, sends comforts, etc.

Mrs. E. C. Porcher, Walnut Grove, sends yarn, and directions for spinning.

Miss Mary E. Boykin, of Boykin's Turnout, writes to say that she has sent potatoes and flour.

October, 1862.—Miss Nannie Perroneau writes from Anderson, sending "yarn made from scraps of shawls, cut up, carded, and spun with cotton."

A. N. S., of Pinopolis, sends a long list of articles sent, among others, shirts made from curtains.

A. Ravenel sends from Hampton "a sum of money—the result of raffling a dress."

November 18, 1862.—Mrs. Susan Lee writes from Camden, sending sixty-five shirts, made by her household. She speaks of getting soap made.

October, 1862.—A. S. Caldwell writes from Statesburg, sending articles for hospital, and saying that she could not get the eggs and chickens desired, for love or money.

Miss Marianne Porcher sends gloves for soldiers. Another letter from her mentions forty-two pairs of gloves, "the work of four of the family, and the overseer's wife." She speaks of their society being very busy, having made seventy pairs of pants for the Legion, thirty-five coats for the Island Company, and twenty suits for the Eutaw Company; but says they will not stop work while the war lasts.

October 30, 1862.—The ladies of Temperance Hill send to Dr. Bachman a long list of articles sent by them for the hospitals.

Mrs. Christopher Gadsden (M. M. Gadsden) writes, sending from Mr. Gadsden a prayer and hymn, "probably to be used in a little book of prayer that was published by the Ladies' Tract Society," copies of which are extant.

September 15, 1862.—Mrs. L. C. King, of Perry, Ga., reports the condition of a wounded soldier, and says the neighborhood is getting quite independent, making their own cloth, syrup, shoes, and sugar.

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There is a long list of men of the Seventh South Carolina Battalion to whom were given shirts and socks.

M. Gregg, of Kalmia, S. C., refers in a letter to Mrs. McMeekin, of Fairfield, who made all the shoes for herself and five children. Mrs. McMeekin sends a pair of these shoes to put in a box that was to be sent to England.

Miss Virginia Quattlebaum sent a palmetto hat, made by herself; and Mrs. Chappell, a pair of silk gloves, made from her own silkworms. Mrs. Gregg sends, in the same box, a doll, dressed, in homespun, as a Confederate lady.

October 25, 1862.—A letter, dated at Greenville, from Mrs. Anne E. Hume to her man-servant in Charleston, directs him to give to Dr. Bachman, for the soldiers, four mattresses, a carpet and a rug.

The letter begins "My dear Will," and closes with these words: "Remember me kindly to all. I often think of and pray for you all, and trust, God willing, we may all meet in peace in our beloved home once more, but if not, that we may meet in Heaven.

"Your attached friend and mistress,

"ANNE E. HUME."

January 5, 186—.—A letter from Rosa Barnwell reports all doing well at the Trapman Street Hospital, Charleston; that the visiting ladies were very attentive, and that they had had a good Christmas dinner for the patients.

A footnote by Mrs. Snowden says that Rosa Barnwell was a colored woman, in entire charge of bedding, etc., at Trapman Street Hospital.

August 22, 1861.—W. W. Harlee writes from Marsh Bluff, saying that nine military companies had gone from Marion District, and that every mother, sister, relative and friend among the women had gone to work to supply their wants, and those of other soldiers. Mrs. W. W. Harlee was president of the Soldiers' Aid Society.

There are many letters from Miss Elizabeth P. Huger, from Society Hill, always speaking of work and help for soldiers in the field or hospital.

There are long lists of articles sent from the ladies of St. John's, The Barrows, Charleston, Eutawville, Society Hill. These lists mention every imaginable article, but "curtain shirts" figure largely.

Letters mention articles sent and work done by Mrs. Gatewood, Miss R. Holmes, Miss Fannie DeSaussure, Miss Sue Screven, and Mrs. Bachman.

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November, 1862.—Mrs. W. K. Bachman writes from Columbia, giving prices of woolen yarns, and going into details showing that she was giving much attention to the work of spinning and weaving.

October 13, 1862.—Miss Sue Perroneau, in a letter from Anderson, S. C., asks where she can get the wool of a mattress spun and woven into cloth for soldiers. She also asks where thread and buttons could possibly be bought, and mentions that the Anderson ladies have just raised three hundred dollars for soldiers' shoes.

Mrs. L. Porcher sends her curtains to be made into shirts, and says she "shivers" as she thinks of "our poor soldiers."

August 12, 1863.—Mrs. Annie Mathews writes from Walterboro of valuable boxes and money sent by the Ladies' Association of that place. She refers to Wayside Homes Nos. 1 and 2; also to cooked food to be sent to Battery Wagner, "where the suffering is intense," of men shut up in the heat, without fresh air, and with no way of preparing food.

November 19.—There is a letter from Thomas Wagner, Major commanding at Fort Sumter, asking that two hundred yards of worsted goods be made up into cartridge bags.

And a note from Dr. Bachman asking Mr. Peake, Superintendent of the South Carolina Railroad, for a pass for himself and Mrs. Snowden, who were endeavoring to establish wayside hospitals at Branchville and Kingville.

March 17, 1863.—A letter of this date speaks of tea at $6.50 per pound.

There are letters from wounded men, and from mothers and widows of soldiers. One woman begs to know if her dying husband said anything about her and the children, and returns thanks for money sent her.

M. E. Y. Powelson, Secretary of Ladies' Hospital Association, of Plantersville, returns thanks for offers of help.

October 28, 1862.—E. E. Porcher, Director of Eutawville Aid Association, sends a list of stores sent by the people of Eutawville—among other articles, four and one-half dozen of Madeira wine. She deplores the scarcity of wool and cards.

That the churches, too, gave their help is shown by letters from Mr. J. K. Sass. In one, which bears no date, he sends $110.00, a collection taken up in St. Michael's Church for the relief of sick and wounded soldiers.

May 4, 1864.—In another, Mr. Sass sends $67.90, from the Communion Alms of old St. Andrew's Church, in St. Andrew's Parish,

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for the use of the Ladies' Relief Association. This money had been handed to him by the Rev. Mr. Drayton.

A little note says that "some of the ladies had been to visit the hospitals at Adams Run, in answer to an earnest appeal from Dr. Yates. They had done what they could for the comfort of the men, and had assisted in preparing the Confederate Hospital, under the care of Dr. P. Porcher, Medical Director, and Drs. Evans and Bailey."

July 26, 1861.—Among the letters is a circular from the Soldiers' Relief Association, of Charleston, to all workers, asking that shirts for the wounded should be open all the way down, with strings. The sleeves should be made the same way.

Many letters from various people in Nassau and Liverpool show the constant efforts to keep up the supplies of clothing, medicines, etc., for our soldiers. Among these correspondents are Messrs. Jervey and Miller, of Nassau; Mr. John B. Lafitte, of Nassau; M. M. Simpson, Secretary and Treasurer of a committee in Nassau, and Mr. James M. Calder, of Liverpool. There are also letters from Messrs. W. C. Bee & Co., of Charleston; and many from the Rev. Dr. Bachman show his untiring work in conjunction with the ladies in the hospitals.

July 25, 1864.—General Beauregard writes from Petersburg, Va., sending thanks to the ladies of Charleston for a full suit of Confederate uniform.

Mrs. S. C. Williams sends eggs and vegetables.

There is a little memorandum thus:

"For the sick and wounded of our army:

"Mrs. James Rose. $100.00
"A Confederate lady abroad. 100.00
"A gentleman. . . . . 20.00"

August 5, 1863.—Mrs. Anne F. Caldwell sends, from Statesburg, $20.00.

December 27, 1862.—Miss Eliza Hayne sends, from Barnwell, dried fruit, for soldiers in hospital—half to go to Richmond.

July 28, 1863.—Mrs. Ed. W. Mathews, of Walterboro, $166.00, from the raffle of "Ermenie."

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Correspondence of Mr. Richard Caldwell, Commissary-General of South Carolina.

Correspondence and proceedings of Soldier's Relief Association, in possession of the Daughters of the Confederacy of Charleston. Given them by the daughter of Mr. Caldwell.

Among the valued possessions of the Daughters of the Confederacy of Charleston are two books, in which have been preserved newspaper reports of the proceedings of the Soldiers' Relief Association of Charleston, and letters referring to the business of that society. Some of these letters are addressed to Mr. Caldwell, others to the association. From them we gather a few items.

August 16, 1861.—J. N. Maffitt, commanding Confederate States Steamer "Savannah," writes, asking for clothes "for the much-neglected sailors."

August 21, 1861.—W. Gilmore Simms, in the name of the ladies of Midway, Barnwell District, sends contributions of supplies and money.

August 23, 1861.—In a letter from Charlottesville, to the association, the Rev. R. W. Barnwell, while thanking the ladies for what they have already done, says: "Remember that our hands are no longer nor stronger than you make them, and then you will feel that all we do is in your name, and to your credit. We simply disburse what your hearts suggest and your hands bestow."

August 23, 1861.—A copy of a letter from Miss F. M. Blamyer and Miss L. S. Porter, Secretaries of the association, to Quartermaster L. M. Hatch, asking for work.

September 14, 1861.—Miss Catherine H. Coffin writes to Mrs. Robertson, sending $20.00, part of proceeds of an afghan made by her, and raffled.

A note, signed "Lizzie," encloses $90.00, the proceeds of the raffle of a piece of embroidery.

In one of the weekly reports of the association, $2.50 is mentioned as "handed in by a clergyman as a legacy from a little girl who died last week," and, in dying, had begged that her gift should not be forgotten.

October 1, 1861.—Reference is made to a society of schoolgirls formed for the relief of soldiers. This society did its work in the intervals of study, and had already sent a box to Mr. Barnwell.

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The following women's associations are referred to:

Auxiliary Association, Eutawville—
Mrs. Wm. Sinkler, President.
Mrs. Catherine Palmer, First Director.
Mrs. Thos. W. Porcher, Second Director.
Mrs. Jas. Gaillard, Secretary and Treasurer.

Pineville Association—
Mrs. Julius DuBose, President.
Mrs. R. Couturier, First Director.
Mrs. H. M. Snowden, Second Director.

Grahamville Association—
Miss S. S. Seabrook, President.

Claremont Association—
Miss E. Bradley, President.

St. James Goosecreek—
Mrs. Winter.
Woodville Association.
Hamburg Association.

Associations of Camden, Johns Island, Orangeburg, Beaufort, Mechanicsville, Carmel (Aid Society), Anderson, Pine Grove, Cheraw, Kershaw (Vice-President, Mrs. Walker), Williston (things sent through Mrs. W. W. Graham), Legareville (things sent through Mrs. J. A. Fripp).

There are also reports of valuable donations "from ladies of Sumterville, Walhalla, Pendleton, Statesburg." Probably these ladies represented associations, but it is not so stated.

September 23, 1861.—There is of this date a printed programme of an entertainment given in Charleston for the Soldiers' Relief Association, by Messrs. Couturier and Reeves, and "a lady from Georgia."

Among the letters of great interest is one from Dr. J. J. Chisolm to the Soldiers' Relief Association, in which he says: "Should it be the intention of the association, as events progress, to establish hospitals for sick and wounded in Charleston, it will give me much pleasure to put at their disposal my private hospital in Trapman street, which, having all the necessary appurtenances, will make very comfortable quarters for from eighty to one hundred men."

December 6, 1861.—Dr. W. C. Horlbeck writes, inviting the ladies to come to the Marine Hospital, and suggesting the formation of visiting committees.

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In the association reports, we see that these committees were formed in the latter part of the year to visit at the Marine and Relief Hospitals.

December 4, 1861.—There are many letters in this collection from officers of all ranks, among others one from Gen. R. E. Lee, from Coosawhatchie, where he was then stationed.

Some of these are letters of thanks from captains of companies who have been helped, and are most touching, written, as they were, with the zeal and hopefulness of youth.

Feb. 17, 1862.—A list is given of the visiting committee for Rikersville Hospital, Charleston, as follows:

Mrs. H. W. Conner.	Mme. Girard.	Mrs. J. R. Robinson.
Mrs. Isabella S. Snowden.	Miss Joye.	Miss Toomer.
Mrs. Dr. Carrere.	Mrs. A. M. Lee.	Miss Porter.
Mrs. C. Fitzsimmons.	Mrs. Dr. Roberts.	Miss McKinsey.
Mrs. Wm. Snowden.	Mrs. Jas. R. Pringle.	
	Mrs. Dr. Geiger.	

April 21, 1862.—The report of the Soldiers' Relief Association mentions the Soldiers' Relief Hospital, under the care of Dr. Wm. H. Huger; also speaks of committees visiting, almost daily, the Marine, Roper, and Rikersville Hospitals.

This report also says that, at the meeting, members of the association had contributed $437.00 for the Ladies' Gunboat, and that Miss C. P. Chapman had sent eleven surgical pads, made of carded hemp rope.

A pathetic item of this report is the acknowledgement of the receipt from Dr. Leslie Owen of the uniform of his deceased son, late sergeant of the Washington Artillery.

May 2, 1862.—There is another programme of an entertainment given for the Soldiers' Relief Association. This was a soiree musicale, and the performers were Miss North, Miss Petit (now Mme. Barbot), Miss Walter (now Mrs. W. J. McCormack), Mrs. Warley, and Mr. Walker.

May 5, 1862.—Miss Hester T. Drayton, President of the Ladies' Clothing Association, writes to Mrs. Robertson that, being about to move from Charleston, she sends to the Soldiers' Relief Association the clothes and materials belonging to her society. She congratulates the Relief Association on the success of their work, and prays for the "blessing of God on our cause."

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Women's Activities at the Capital.

1861.—Columbia, our State Capital, was not laggard in working for the soldiers.

Early in the summer of 1861, a Soldiers' Relief Association was formed there, of which Mrs. David J. (Louisa S.) McCord was the first President. This association met first, and for some time, at Gracey's store, in Main Street—afterwards at Kinsler's Hall, and later at the chapel of the Theological Seminary. The Seminary was then emptied of its students, and gave a home to many low-country refugees.

Much work was done free, as well as that done for the quartermaster, for which pay was received. This pay work was given to the wives of poor soldiers, many of whom would walk into town to get it, long distances from the neighboring sandhills. On one occasion, a young woman begged that she might be given work for a certain company, of which her husband was a member. A garment was handed her with the kindly but jesting speech, "I shouldn't wonder if that were for him now." As the poor thing opened the parcel, she saw, sewed to the garment, a little tag, put there by the tailor, with the name of her husband. She began to cry pitifully, and there were few dry eyes about her.

Mrs. Campbell Bryce's Reminiscences.

Mrs. Bryce recalls Mrs. Parker and her daughter Lena, Mrs. G. M. Goodwin, Mrs. Nurse, Mrs. Beard, as faithful in this work, as well as many others whose names she cannot remember.

Others mentioned to us Mrs. Howe, Mrs. James P. Adams, two Mrs. Bryces, Mrs. Reynolds, Mrs. Fisher, Mrs. Bachman, Misses Elmore, Miss LaBorde, Misses Goodwyn, Mrs. Jeff Goodwyn, Misses Stark, Miss Lucy Green, Mrs. Macfie, Misses Reynolds, and Palmer, as earnest workers, either in this association or others.

Mrs. Thomas Taylor.

Mrs. Thomas Taylor says: "At Gracey's store, I remember 'cutting out' with Mrs. Samuel Beard, Mrs. Rufus Johnston, and Miss Louisa Graeser."

Mrs. J. P. Adams. Letter written 1901.

Another member says: "In those days, we had no sewing machines, and the work was done by ourselves and our seamstresses. Mine made fourteen pairs of drawers in a week for that association, and never seemed hurried. The negroes were faithful and kind. They did not believe our troops would ever be beaten."

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Mrs. Adams remembers that "this association made the uniforms for the company commanded by Capt. L. Cheves McCord, his mother, Mrs. McCord, furnishing the material"—gray cloth. "I remember my suit was stitched with silk, and that the company presented a most attractive appearance. Mrs. Dr. Parker did most of our cutting."

Not only did the elder women of Columbia work hard for this association. Some of the young girls met there on regular days, and not only sewed there for hours, but took work home with them. Their elders, most of them practiced seamstresses, were very patient in their instructions and criticisms, though they exacted good work.

More than one girl of that day—grandmothers now—look back with respect and affection to their instructors, and to many happy hours spent under their guidance.

Of course, the girls in Columbia, as everywhere else, learned how to knit. Even children could manage suspenders. Some of the girls were expert enough to read aloud while knitting, and in this way the few new books that reached us during the war (Les Miserables and Great Expectations, among others) were often read to an absorbed but industrious group.

Later on, Mrs. McCord, wishing to be freer for hospital work, resigned the presidency of the Soldiers' Relief Association, and Miss Kate Hampton was her successor. She was followed by Mrs. Campbell Bryce. Mrs. Rufus Johnson was secretary. Of other officers, we have no record.

Columbia, May 17, 1863.—In an old paper, we see the following names of societies—part of a directory for soldiers:

Soldiers' Relief Association—
President, Mrs. Campbell Bryce.

Soldiers' Clothing Association—
President, Mrs. McCord.

Ladies' Industrial Association—
President, Mrs. Levy.

Young Ladies' Hospital Association—
President, Miss Preston.

Wayside Hospital—
President, Mrs. John Bryce.

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MRS. JOHN McKENZIE,
COLUMBIA.

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Mrs. J. P. Adams, 1901.

In 1861, there was also organized, in Columbia, a Ladies' Hospital Association.

Of this, Mrs. James P. Adams was the secretary. She says: "My book was full of incidents and records of work done and distributed in many ways, but it was burned with Columbia. The association met monthly, at the Methodist Sunday School room, and was always opened with prayer by Dr. George Howe, Mr. Gamewell, or the Rev. Mr. Martin. Mrs. S. A. Howe (Mrs. George Howe) was president and, I think, Mrs. William Wallace was treasurer. Our work was to send boxes of clothing to the soldiers—in Virginia, principally. One old lady interested in the Hampton Legion invariably piped out, in a shrill tone, 'Anything for the Hampton Legion?'

"We also gave orders for food to a certain amount, to the wives of soldiers. These orders were given on a Mr. Edward Hope."

Mrs. Adams mentions, besides those names already given, Mrs. Martin, Mrs. Fisher, Mrs. Andrew Wallace, Mrs. Alfred Wallace, Mrs. McGregor, Mrs. Squiers, Mrs. Lysander Childs, Mrs. McKenzie, as good workers, and goes on thus: "We met to work at the house of Mrs. John Bryce. Mrs. Howe and Mrs. Bryce were active in getting the Fair Grounds building for a hospital.

"* * * We all attended on our own respective days at the hospital. Mrs. Wm. Wallace, Miss Mary McKenzie, Mrs. John LeConte and I were on the same committee, attending weekly. Mrs. LeConte was the soul of fun, and gave us many a hearty laugh."

Mrs. Adams says, also: "I think almost every woman, high or low, was in the ranks as a worker, and there are those whose names will never be known, who, in silence, anxiety and sorrow, by their patriotism and endurance, gave as much aid as those whose acts were more in evidence."

Mrs. Thomas Taylor, 1901.

"Outside of these associations in sewing bodies, the women made up clothing for the soldiers. Mrs. Thomas Taylor, wife of Captain Taylor, of the Congaree Troop, Hampton Legion, took charge of the outfit of the company. Materials were issued by the government, and, to secure the commutation money for the men, the uniforms were cut by Mr. Swaffield, and the tailoring done by friends of the members of the command, and it was in their homes that these ladies worked, surrounded and aided by their trained negro seamstresses. Added to this, the blankets of the united households,

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and the ply carpets, were given to the soldiers, cotton comforts replacing blankets for family use.

Mrs. Stephen Goodwyn DeVeaux was a great worker in tailoring. All the socks of the company were supplied by the knitting of the women who had friends in the Congaree Troop, for that winter. When completed, the uniforms were inspected by Mr. Swaffield, whose kindness and instructions were frequent and valuable. He reported to Mrs. Taylor that one pair of trousers had to be ripped up and again sewed, under his directions, as the seams had been so deepened that the man wearing them could not have moved to go forward, or to run away. Mrs. Taylor acknowledged the work to be hers, and the old Englishman remarked, 'I don't want to rip another pair you make, for you meant that sewing to stay.' 'I did, indeed,' was the reply; 'witness the raw edge on my hand, made by drawing the flax thread to a pull'."

Mrs. J. P. Adams.

"Houses were denuded of blankets to make into drawers and undershirts, and socks were knit by the hundreds, Mrs. McCord being notable for her industry in that line."

(Mrs. McCord knit with large needles and coarse yarn, and tasked herself *three* socks every day, Sundays and week days.)

Mrs. Campbell Bryce's Reminiscences, Published 1897.

In September, 1861, the first soldiers' hospital was established in Columbia by ladies, at the Fair Grounds.

"Measles had broken out at the camp near the town, where about 3,000 men were being drilled and prepared for service."

To quote from Mrs. Bryce: "With our contributions, we (Mrs. Howe and Mrs. Bryce) purchased cots, bedding, etc., calling in the services of Mrs. John Bryce, who, for the next four years, gave her whole heart and time to the aid and comfort of our soldiers.

"After we had all things in readiness, we informed the officers that they might bring their men in, but, to our intense astonishment, we were told that they would not come, that they had no desire to go to a 'hors-pitul.' * * *

"So we formed ourselves into a committee of three—Mrs. Howe, Mrs. John Bryce, and myself—and took the cars for the camp. Here the officers met us, begging us to go into some of the tents, and tell the men what we had done for them. We did this and, with one accord, they decided to go and be taken care of.

"The men were brought in by the officers and, as we had not yet found nurses for them, Mrs. Howe and Mrs. John Bryce assisted

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the very sick to undress, untying their shoes, and pulling off their shoes and stockings.

"We were not long without help, however, for the ladies of Columbia formed themselves into committees of four, or six, or eight, for each day, and Dr. Fair had an appointment as a kind of local Confederate Surgeon, with several young doctors under him.

"During the winter following, some forty soldiers died, many from pneumonia, some from typhoid fever, and others from erysipelas. Although we had a corps of hired nurses, our ladies were still indefatigable in their attentions.

"Mrs. Howe and Mrs. John Bryce, the President and Vice-President of the Hospital Association, were faithful in their attendance at all times. Mrs. Howe contracted erysipelas from her close attention to the patients with that disease.

"Later on, the government took charge of the hospital, but the ladies did not cease their care."

Mrs. Rawles, Mrs. Friday, and Mrs. Heise have been named to us as earnest in this work, and Mrs. Daniel Crawford, from the vicinity of her home, as having been able often to add to the comforts of the soldiers.

Mrs. Thomas Taylor.

Mrs. F. H. Elmore and Mrs. John Caldwell served together at the Fair Grounds. Mrs. Elmore was always accompanied on her hospital days by one of her six daughters. There was an alarm of erysipelas on one occasion, and Mrs. Elmore dispatched Mrs. Thomas Taylor to her home, on the outskirts of Columbia, to prepare the dining-room, a large, airy apartment, for two young Mississippians, one wounded in the thigh, the other in the shoulder. The two beds were up by the time the soldiers arrived. A fine negro family nurse was installed, and for months the invalids had their comforts and wounds cared for by the family and Phyllis.

Other houses became temporary homes for the sick who could get no farther on their way until strengthened. Mrs. Thomas Taylor took into her carriage, one day on her way from the Wayside Hospital, two fever patients, who were lying in the hot sun, on a carpenter's bench, in the street, with desolate look upturned towards the sky. These were received by Dr. Wm. Reynolds in the room appropriated for such, in his house, and were cared for by Mrs. Reynolds.

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Minutes of Young Ladies' Hospital Association of Columbia, in possession of Miss I. D. Martin.

A shabby old blankbook has been lent this committee, bearing on its flyleaf the words, "Young Ladies' Hospital Association, July 26, 1861." This book contains the partial record of a work begun by the girls of Columbia, which afterwards branched out over a much wider field, and was instrumental in the founding of the Wayside Hospital in Columbia, the first of its kind in the world, organized and carried out by women.

Naturally, the management of this hospital (often surgical practice) passed into the hands of older women, assisted by gentlemen who, from their age, were non-combatants—the girls, however, continuing their services as auxiliaries.

The Rev. Wm. Martin was one of the first to suggest and help in this work, and he it was who met every train coming in from Virginia, and directed the soldiers to the Wayside Hospital, transportation being furnished by private means, the ladies going to the depot in their own carriages for the sick men; and afterwards, as the demand became greater, by the Central Committee for Soldiers' Relief.

Extracts from a paper by Mrs. H. W. Frost, in the Woman's Edition of the Columbia State, June 4, 1895.

In reference to the Wayside Hospital, we quote the following:

"In the summer of 1861, the young girls of Columbia, including, of course, those from the low-country who had taken refuge there, organized the 'Young Girls' Hospital Association.'

"At one of their meetings, the great need of relief at the railroad depots was brought up—how wounded soldiers arrived and were unavoidably detained, without preparation being made, or being possible, for their comfort, in any way.

"It was then proposed or suggested by (I do not remember whom) that a Wayside Hospital should be started. This name was only given later. Two girls, Sally B. Hampton, daughter of General Wade Hampton, and afterwards Mrs. John C. Haskell, and Susan Hampton Preston, now Mrs. Henry W. Frost, undertook to start the enterprise and raise the means of so doing: which they successfully accomplished by canvassing the town and being met, as all such things were in those days of enthusiasm, by hearty and generous response to the proposed movement. * * * Such was the origin of the first Wayside Hospital. * * * The scheme soon outgrew the originators, and as in those days girls were strictly hedged in, it was found desirable to turn the Hospital into older hands."

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After recalling some names of ladies who attended at the hospital—all of them being mentioned elsewhere in this report, Mrs. Frost says, "Mrs. Hampton Sr. and her daughter, Mrs. John S. Preston, were contributors only, the one on account of her great age, and Mrs. Preston being absent in Virginia when not in attendance on her mother."

Extracts from paper by Miss I. D. Martin, published first in Charleston News and Courier, afterwards in Woman's Edition of Columbia State, June 4, 1895.

Miss Martin tells of the organization of the Young Ladies' Hospital Association, and goes on thus:

"During the winter of 1861-62 numbers of soldiers were coming home sick, * * * and the poor fellows would be obliged to remain in Columbia for hours, and sometimes a day and a night. Some ladies of the city resolved to meet the trains as they arrived from Virginia and minister as best they could to the needs of the suffering men. But there was no organized plan. * * *

"A clergyman who was in the habit of meeting the trains to afford assistance, called the attention of the Young Ladies' Hospital Association to this * * * and suggested the propriety of applying some of their funds to arranging a room at the Charlotte Depot.

"This suggestion was immediately carried out. * * * The place was styled the Soldiers' Rest. It was concluded to transfer the Soldiers' Rest to the South Carolina Depot. But the affair had now assumed dimensions far beyond anything its originators had ever dreamed of, and the elder ladies, to whom the girls were accustomed to defer, thought it best to take matters into their own hands. The Soldiers' Rest was changed into the Wayside Hospital.

"The girls 'were very indignant,' but became pacified when allowed to accompany the older ladies. * * * The outgoing trains left at a very early hour in the morning, but never, through the whole existence of the hospital, did these women and girls fail to be at their post."

The object of the Wayside Hospital was limited in intention. It was to receive and minister to the needs of the sick, and especially the wounded from battlefields, whose wounds might be dressed, and some more comfort insured them on their further journey to their homes, or to a permanent hospital.

Address by Dr. Darby, 1873.

We give an extract from an address by Dr. John T. Darby, Surgeon Confederate States Army, before the South Carolina Medical Association, in 1873.

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Speaking of the ameliorations of modern warfare, Dr. Darby says:

"On the route from the army to the general hospital, wounds are dressed and the soldiers refreshed at wayside homes; and here, be it said with justice and pride, that the credit of originating this system is due to the women of South Carolina. In a small room in the capital of this State the first wayside home was founded, and during the war some 75,000 soldiers were relieved by having their wounds dressed, their ailments attended, and very frequently by being clothed, through the patriotic services and good offices of a few untiring ladies of Columbia. From this little nucleus spread that grand system of wayside hospitals which was established during our own and the late European wars, and it is beautiful to see and know that, though implements of war are made more and more effective for the destruction of life, the progress and advance of surgery gives comfort and restores health to the servant in arms who has suffered for his country."

Mrs. H. W. Frost, in the Woman's Edition of The State, Columbia, 1895.

"In 1866, Dr. John T. Darby went as volunteer surgeon to the Red Cross Corps in the Austro-Russian War. Being an American, and neutral, his skill and help were recognized and appreciated by the eminent surgeons in both armies. He suggested (I think) to Langenback and Elsmarck, the eminent German surgeons, this system of wayside hospitals, which, with their means and most effective methods, were carried out with a success that make a world-known and most beloved name of wayside hospital."

Charleston Mercury, January 4, 6, and 7, 1862.

"CHARLESTON WAYSIDE HOSPITAL AND SOLDIERS' DEPOT.

"Every train will bring large numbers of soldiers, hungry, fatigued, many, perhaps, sick and faint. Refreshments are essential immediately upon their arrival. Our City Council has appointed the undersigned a committee to attend to this matter.

"The new building erected as a depot for the South Carolina Railroad Company has been kindly given up for the reception of the soldiers, and ample accommodations prepared for the sick and disabled. We want cooks, waiters, nurses, fuel, hospital stores, etc. Our citizens, we are sure, will come to our aid.

"All communications should be addressed to Prof. F. S. Holmes, at his residence, at the corner of Calhoun and St. Philip Streets, or at the depot of the South Carolina Railroad.

H. R. BANKS,
"F. S. HOLMES,
"J. S. RIGGS,
"Committee."

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Charleston Mercury, January 7, 1862.

"The following contributions are acknowledged for the Wayside:

"Mr. W. Roman, laudanum, paregoric, and other medicines.

"Mrs. E. H. Rodgers, comforts, and hospital stores.

"Mrs. Emily J. Tew, Hillsboro, N. C., $5.00.

"Mrs. T. M. P., rags for surgeons' use.

"Mrs. John H. Porcher, Black Oak, grits, lard, and services of a negro man for nurse.

"J. DuBose Porcher, jar of lard and a man nurse.

"Mrs. Isabella J. Porcher, Black Oak, lard, and potatoes.

"Mrs. A. R. Drayton, bath tub.

"Col. J. D. Aiken, load of wood.

"The committee tender their grateful thanks to Messrs. John Fraser & Company for their contribution towards the establishment of the Wayside Hospital at the Citadel Square, consisting of mattresses, fifty pillows, ten washstands, basins, etc. Also to General DeSaussure and officers of the Fourth Brigade, for the use of their building on the Citadel Square as a branch of the Wayside Hospital. To Professor Hume, of the Citadel, we acknowledge our obligations for many favors.

F. S. HOLMES,
"Superintendent."

"Acknowledgements to

"Mrs. F., six bottles pickles.

"Master Wm. Hummel, two bottles brandy.

"Mrs. Harriet Erwin, one bale cotton.

"Miss Julia Mulligan, coffee, tea, etc.

"Mrs. M. E. Tanno, Pendleton, S. C., six pillow-cases.

"Mrs. John Fripp, one pair turkeys, bag meal.

"Miss S. Tunno, coverlets.

"From absent citizens of Charleston, through Mr. W. P. Holmes, two demijohns of gin.

"Mrs. S. C. Williams, Society Hill, ten mattresses, four litters, and a barrel of hospital stores.

"Anonymous, by railroads, bale containing six mattresses, five sheets, three comforts, six pillows and cases, and several bundles of dried herbs.

"Death—W. R. Childs, a private in Calhoun's Battery, died January 3d, and was buried at Magnolia Cemetery.

"F. S. HOLMES,
"Superintendent."

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Charleston Mercury, January 13, 1862.

The Wayside Hospital and Soldiers' Home is reported fully organized and ready for sixty patients at a time—forty-eight were there at the time. A long list of donations is published—large sums of money from the men, and numberless articles, from beds to slippers, sent by the women.

"It is impossible to name the large number of ladies who daily provide milk, soup, and refreshments of every kind."

Charleston Mercury, January 31, 1862.

The Wayside Hospital Committee acknowledges many donations, and publishes a number of deaths, among others, that of "one of our faithful nurses—Scye—the property of Wm. Ravenel, Esq., of Black Oak."

Charleston Mercury, July 14, 1863.

The Wayside Hospital in Charleston continued under that name, with what modification of its work we do not know. Whether the patients received there were only those in transit to other places (as was the case in Columbia), or were kept there, we do not know; but in the newspaper of July 14, 1863 *(Mercury)*, we see a call for another Wayside Hospital or Home.

Charleston Mercury, July 25, 1863.

The announcement follows shortly that the need had been filled, and a home established at the old American Hotel, King Street.

Charleston Courier, September 15, 1864.

Soon after, we see that the first Wayside Hospital changes its name (to prevent confusion), and becomes the first Louisiana Receiving and Distributing and Transient Hospital, located at 564 King Street, Surgeon Robert Lebby.

Mrs. Bryce's Reminiscences. Minutes of Young Ladies' Hospital Association.

Mrs. Bryce reports the thorough organization of the Wayside, in Columbia, in October, 1862; but in the report of the Young Ladies' Hospital Association for July, 1862, we see a donation to the Wayside Hospital, which probably may fix the date of its going into operation.

Minutes of Young Ladies' Hospital Association, of Columbia, in possession of Miss I. D. Martin.

We return now to the "old book" and give from it the list of members of the Young Ladies' Hospital Association. It is a pathetic little roll to those of us who can recall the fresh, bright faces, one by one, as we see the names.

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List of members:

Miss Black.
Miss Brown.
Miss Sallie Bryce.
Miss Maggie Bryce.
Miss E. Clarkson.
Miss J. Clarkson.
Miss S. Clarkson.
Miss Davis.
Miss Elmore.
Miss Echols.
Miss Edwards.
Miss McLean.
Miss McCully.
Miss E. McCully.
Miss Niernsee.
Miss A. Parker.
Miss Powell.
Miss Preston.
Miss S. Preston.
Miss Scarborough.
Miss Stark.
Miss Sims.
Miss E. Seibels.
Miss S. Seibels.
Miss F. Smith.
Miss M. Watson.
Miss C. Watson.
Miss Thornwell.
Miss E. Levy.
Miss Gracey.
Miss Adams.
Miss R. Shand.
Miss Crawford.
Miss Scott.
Miss Martin.
Miss J. Mordecai.
Miss Fisher.
Miss Gibbes.
Miss Guignard.
Miss Goodwyn.
Miss A. Hampton.
Miss S. Hampton.
Miss Huggins.
Miss Harris.
Miss Lyons.
Miss Manning.
Miss McCord.
Miss Reynolds.
Miss Murdoch.
Miss Herndon.
Miss N. Heyward.
Miss A. Heyward.
Miss DeSaussure.
Miss M. Crawford.
Miss Trenholm.
Miss H. Trenholm.
Miss A. Taylor.
Miss B. Sims.
Miss Fowles.
Miss M. Fowles.
Miss Glaze.
Miss Annie Leverett.
Miss Howe.
Miss H. Parker.
Miss Baker.
Miss A. Huggins.
Miss P. Rhett.
Miss Hayne.
Miss Mary Leverett.
Miss Holmes.
Miss Mordecai.
Mrs. DeSaussure.
Miss Kelly.

July, 1861.—Minutes of the Y. L. H. A.:

Committees for the Month.

Shopping Committee.	Forwarding Committee.	Cutting Committee.
Miss Stark.	Miss Sims.	Miss Edwards.
Miss McCord.	Miss Niernsee.	Miss Parker.
Miss Thomwell.	Miss Hampton.	Miss Davis.
	Miss Reynolds.	Miss M. Watson.
		Miss E. Clarkson.
		Miss Scarborough.

Superintendents of Work for the Month.

Miss Guignard. Miss Bryce.

August, 1861.—

Committees for the Month.

Shopping Committee.	Forwarding Committee.	Cutting Committee.
Miss Davis.	Miss McLean.	Miss Lyons.
Miss Shand.	Miss Edwards.	Miss Guignard.
Miss Huggins.	Miss Manning.	Miss S. Preston.
	Miss Crawford.	Miss Stark.
	Miss Martin.	Miss McCully.
	Miss Gracey.	Miss Echols.

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Superintendents for the Month.

Miss Martin. Miss Goodwyn. Miss Black.

Articles forwarded:

August 1, 1861.—To Dr. Cabell, at Charlottesville, through Mrs. Price, one box of hospital clothing.

August 9, 1861.—To Dr. Cabell, through Mrs. Price, one box of clothing and stores.

September, 1861.—Committees unchanged. Articles forwarded:

September 1, 1861.—One box to Kershaw's Regiment, containing hospital clothing and stores.

September 15, 1861.—One tierce rice, to Hampton's Legion.

September 20, 1861.—To Mr. Barnwell, at Charlottesville, one box hospital clothing and one box hospital stores.

September 29, 1861.—Twenty-five flannel shirts to Captain Wallace, one box medicine to Hampton's Legion, twenty-five flannel shirts to Captain Carson.

October, 1861.—

Committees.

Shopping Committee.	Forwarding Committee.	Cutting Committee.
Miss Elmore.	Miss Taylor.	Miss Fisher.
Miss Edwards.	Miss McLean.	Miss Gracey.
Miss Shand.	Miss Stark.	Miss Davis.
		Miss Adams.
		Miss Niernsee.

Superintendents of Work.

Miss Lyons. Miss Scott.

Articles forwarded:

To Captain Taylor's Troop, twenty-five shirts.

To Mrs. McCord, six pairs canton flannel drawers.

Mrs. Bryce, for town hospital, three flannel shirts.

Dr. Wallace, for "Lightwood Knot," two bedtickings, two homespun shirts, one pair sheets.

Mrs. Bryce, twelve pairs drawers, and six shirts.

November, 1861.—

Committees.

Shopping Committee.	Forwarding Committee.	Cutting Committee.
Miss Martin.	Miss Elmore.	Miss Taylor.
Miss Gracey.	Miss Scarborough.	Miss Herndon.
Miss Preston.	Miss Echols.	Miss Bryce.
		Miss Crawford.
		Miss Black.
		Miss Murdoch.

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Superintendents of Work.

Miss Stark. Miss Fisher.

Articles forwarded:

November 4, 1861.—One box to Gregg's Regiment.

November 10, 1861.—Twenty gray flannel shirts, eight pairs drawers, to Captain Radcliffe's company.

November 29, 1861.—Three boxes of whiskey to Hampton's Legion.

December, 1861.—Committees unchanged.

December 2, 1861.—Articles forwarded:

One box hospital clothing, to Rev. Munroe Anderson, for hospital at Pocataligo (not acknowledged).

December 12, 1861.—One box to Rev. R. H. Phillips, Staunton, Va., for the sick of Maryland Regiment (not acknowledged).

January, 1862.—

Committees.

Shopping Committee.	Forwarding Committee.	Cutting Committee.
Miss Huggins.	Miss Manning.	Miss N. Heyward.
Miss K. Crawford.	Miss A. Heyward.	Miss Trenholm.
Miss Niernsee.	Miss E. Clarkson.	Miss McCully.
		Miss Edwards.
		Miss Elmore.
		Miss Crawford.

Superintendents of Work.

Miss Scarborough. Miss Shand.

Articles forwarded:

January 1, 1862.—Twenty-five flannel shirts to Captain Sligh's company.

June, 1862.—Some pages are here torn out, but in June is reported:

Twenty-one sheets, two shirts, soap, sugar, one bushel rice, bandages, sent to Richmond, through Mrs. J. Bryce.

June 3, 1862.—Officers were reelected, and the following rules adopted:

I. The society must meet every Tuesday morning at 9:30 o'clock.

II. Every member who is absent shall pay 10 cents fine, if she cannot give a sufficient excuse.

July, 1862.—To Mrs. McCord, for the College Hospital: One box, containing thirty-four shirts, fifteen sheets, twenty-nine drawers, fifteen pillow-slips, thirty-eight pillow-cases, six bed-ticks, thirty-six

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towels, two packages sugar, ten fans, soap, hominy, rice, cologne, one hundred and forty-four bandages.

To Wayside Hospital, six shirts, six pairs drawers.

To individuals, two shirts.

One box ligatures to Miss Norton, Richmond.

August, 1862.—The society has been employed in making bed sacks, etc., for the hospital at the college.

September 5, 1862.—One box to Rev. R. Barnwell, through Dr. LaBorde, containing hospital stores and clothing for South Carolina sick at Richmond, Va.

September 25, 1862.—Eighteen shirts, eighteen pairs drawers to hospital of Capt. T. Ferguson's battery, Summerville, S. C.

July, 1863.—The treasurer reports that she has received, during the year, $1,062, of which $664.75 has been spent, leaving on hand a balance of $397.25.

Articles forwarded during the past year:

To Richmond, for South Carolina soldiers, two bales of hospital stores.

Major Huger's battery, Army of Potomac, one bale.

Major Ferguson's battery, Summerville, one bale.

McPhersonville Hospital, one bale.

Wayside and Ladies' Hospital, various small donations.

College Hospital, shirts and drawers.

Fredericksburg sufferers, two pieces of cloth, bandages, and lint.

Yellow Sulphur Springs, Va., one piece of cloth, thirty shirts, and twenty-four drawers.

Trapman Street Hospital, Charleston, one bale.

Sums received by association from Dr. R. W. Gibbes	$ 88.00
Work done for College Hospital, through Mrs. McCord	29.00
South Carolina Railroad Company	250.00
Industrial Association	50.00
Industrial Association	5.00
Mrs. Huger	15.00
Proceeds of concert by Sig. Torriani	25.00

August 7, 1863.—Fifty pairs socks, Captain Calhoun's battery.

One package books to Howard Grove Hospital.

August 15, 1863.—One bale shirts and drawers to hospital of Sixth Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers, at Adams Run.

September 18, 1863.—Sold to Mrs. White, at cost price, two pieces of cloth, for Fredericksburg Orphan Asylum.

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September 24, 1863.—Eighteen sheets, eighteen pillow-cases, eight dozen bandages, four dozen towels, seventeen shirts, twenty-four pairs drawers, two packages dried fruit, one package green tea, three bottles whiskey, one bag flour, four packages lint, linen and cotton rags, to hospitals in the West.

October, 1863.—Fifty pairs socks to Nineteenth Regiment, Colonel Wallace.

December, 1863.—To Jimmie, two shirts, two pairs drawers.

February, 1864.—To Arkansas troops, Johnston's Army, twenty-one shirts, eight pairs drawers, twenty-four towels, five pairs socks, one pair wristlets.

March, 1864.—To Stafford's Louisiana Brigade, twenty pairs drawers, eight pairs socks, eight shirts.

April, 1864.—To Mrs. Proctor, for her son, four pairs drawers.

May, 1864.—To private Brazil, one shirt, two pairs drawers.

To private Fenton, two shirts, two pairs drawers.

To Jimmie, two suits of clothes.

To Rev. Mr. Yates, for sailors, $500.00.

June, 1864.—To the committee for transporting wounded soldiers from Charlotte Depot, $100.00.

To Jimmie Mathews, two shirts.

To Wayside Hospital, twenty-seven pillow-slips.

To Atlanta, through Central Association, twenty slings.

From this time the reports cease, whether because the work was merged into the Wayside Hospital or because the secretary was too busy to write reports, we do not know. A member of the association—Miss Grace Elmore—says: "Miss Amanda Graeser was our chief cutter, but we soon deferred to Mrs. John Fisher in all our difficulties, and a most lovely and efficient adviser she was."

The old book from which these records have been taken has been lent by us to Miss Isabella D. Martin, the Secretary of the Young Ladies' Hospital Association. Miss Mary Cantey Preston, afterwards the wife of Dr. John T. Darby, Surgeon Confederate States Army, was the President; Miss Eugenia Goodwyn, the Treasurer.

Mrs. Bryce's Reminiscences.

Mrs. Campbell Bryce says that Mrs. John Fisher, Mrs. John Bryce, and herself, found the first patients for the Columbia Wayside Hospital, in four men, sick with the measles, sitting on the platform at the South Carolina Railroad Depot. Mrs. Stratton, living on Gervais street, consented to take them in. These ladies then applied to Mr. Bollin for a little room at the depot, which he gave them.

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This room was furnished with a bed, bedding, etc., by the Young Ladies' Hospital Association. Mrs. Bryce says: "I made that bed with my own hands."

After this, an old ice-house, which had been floored and repaired by Mr. Campbell Bryce, for this purpose, was made ready to receive the sick, and give them lodgings for a few days, if necessary. The original officers of the Wayside were Mrs. George Howe, President; Mrs. John Bryce, Vice-President; Mrs. John Fisher, Secretary and Treasurer; Mrs. Wm. Martin, Miss Mary Stark, Miss Amanda Graeser, Mrs. Campbell Bryce.

Two of these ladies met the early train each day, and gave breakfast to the sick and wounded. Again in the evening, two met the incoming train, and gave the sick supper and lodging for the night. Mrs. Bryce speaks gratefully of their cook—Dinah Collins—a free colored woman.

Mrs. Thomas Taylor, 1901.

Mrs. Taylor speaks of a day when, "being notified by Mr. Halcott Green of a battle in Virginia, that a large number of wounded men would pass through Columbia, and that nurses, with supplies of food, lint, bandages, etc., must be at the Wayside to meet and take care of them," she remembers "seeing Mrs. Bryce with a huge coffeepot in her hand, standing in the Wayside kitchen; Mrs. Fisher, with a long spoon, stirring something cooking on the stove; the invaluable Dinah Collins making up something, and turning a portly figure and kindly face to one and any who spoke to her, at the same time giving directions which kettle to get warm water from.

"Dr. Robert Wilson, kind and devoted, had asked me (Mrs. Taylor) to help him dress a head. I was to hold the basin. Then we passed on to a cot to attend to an arm of one who was in from the recent battle."

Mrs. Bryce's Reminiscences.

Many ladies volunteered and were appointed on committees to serve in this hospital, having each her day for receiving and caring for sick and wounded soldiers.

Gradually, accommodations were increased and quarters enlarged. An old building, formerly a car factory, near the Charlotte Depot, was fitted up by the efforts of the ladies and the liberality of several gentlemen who gave work and material. It was capable of accommodating seventy or eighty patients. Mrs. Bryce says that Mr. Brown, the glazier, when glass gave out, literally pieced the window glasses out of strips not wider than two fingers.

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Dr. Edmunds was appointed surgeon-in-charge in September, 1862; and Dr. Alfred Wallace, his assistant. The ladies employed hired nurses and ward masters, but continued their own labor of love, frequently sitting up with ill patients, and assisted often by theological students, until they too went to the field. Sometimes some of the ladies would dress the wounds of the soldiers. Mrs. Rhett and Mrs. Squier, both with tender and deft hands, would perform this office greatly to the admiration of the surgeons. A tablet should be erected to Mrs. Squier for her constant and unfailing kindness to the sick and wounded, day and night."

Mrs. Thomas Taylor, 1901.

"At this hospital, Schofield's Car Factory, Mrs. A. C. Squier gave herself, body and soul, to as complete and perfect hospital services as are in the possibilities of a woman's devotion. Her culinary skill was exquisite, and the patients reaped the benefit. Till the day of her death, in 1894 or 1895, when she suddenly fell dead, on her way from a Presbyterian Church festival, with a coffeepot in her hand, she was a famous dependance as a coffee maker."

Mrs. Bryce's Reminiscences.

In 1863, Mrs. Campbell Bryce resigned her place on the Board to Mrs. Macfie, who was a most efficient help.

Seventy-five thousand soldiers passed through the Wayside Hospital.

Early in 1863, Dr. Wilson was appointed surgeon, and Mr. R. L. Bryan gave devoted attention for months.

The first year's report was as follows:

Admitted into hospital to date	1,000
Furloughed	200
Number returned to duty	556
Discharged from service	20
Deserted	18
Died	23
Remaining in hospital	98

The amount expended for building and repairs and servants' hire was $2,229. The reports of the following years were destroyed when Sherman burned Columbia.

The next year, the buildings were enlarged, and they were able to receive three times as many sick. The Rev. B. M. Palmer was selected by the ladies as their chaplain.

Mrs. Bryce remembers the devotion of the steward—Mr. Henry Nichols—and also of their last surgeons—Drs. Edmunds and Almon.

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Mrs. Howe, Mrs. Palmer, Mrs. Horace Nichols, Mrs. Henry Nichols, Mrs. Elmore, Mrs. Rhett, Mrs. Squier, two Mrs. Fridays, Mrs. Watson, Mrs. Kenerly, Mrs. Heise, and Mrs. Beard are mentioned by Mrs. Bryce as regular nurses, she herself being one also. She refers, too, to Mrs. Dr. Fair as nursing at the Wayside.

It is probable that, of the 75,000 men reported by Mrs. Bryce and Dr. Darby, many only stopped for the interval between trains.

Dr. LaBorde's History of the South Carolina College.

"On June 16, 1862, application was made by Confederate authorities for the South Carolina College buildings, to use as a hospital for the sick and wounded on the coast of South Carolina, on the ground that the hospital accommodation in Charleston was already exhausted."

This arrangement was supposed to be only for the summer, but by October the necessity for the hospital was even greater, and the students had all gone into the army. The Legislature approved of this use of the building, and it was continued to the end of the war.

Mrs. Bryce mentions, as nurses there, Mrs. McCord, Mrs. Kenerly, Mrs. Marshall, Mrs. W. K. Bachman; also the two Mrs. Snowdens, of Charleston. Miss Lucy Green, Mrs. Thomas Taylor and many others also served there.

Mrs. McCord's home was very near the college, and in this way she became entirely absorbed in the care of the men there. Although a government hospital, the surgeons in charge were glad of the help of judicious women, and, besides the ladies mentioned, many were unwearying in help. Dr. Horlbeck was first at the head of the College Hospital; afterwards, Dr. St. Julien Ravenel, and under them were many other surgeons. The Rev. Mr. Ambler of Virginia and the Rev. Mr. Jenkins were the chaplains.

At one time Mrs. McCord had her own house made a ward of the hospital, in which she nursed cases that specially appealed to her. Her days were spent among the sick and dying, but her knitting was always at hand for any idle or sleepless moment, day or night.

Her friends, knowing her zeal, sent her any available provisions, delicacies, or the plainer food. The resources of her own establishment, and of her plantation, were strained to the uttermost, and in this way she was able to take many little comforts to the very sick men and, in the piazza of her own house, every day to give one meal to any convalescents who could come for it. As many as one hundred would sometimes come in the course of the day, some of them limping pitifully across the street, for this little extra indulgence

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which, after all, only consisted generally of cornbread and a stew, made of anything and everything—but always made with the greatest care. It is pitiful to remember that buttermilk and sweet potatoes became so precious that they had to be reserved for the *very* sick.

In all of this, Mrs. McCord met with the greatest kindness from the hospital authorities, and boxes of food were sent to her from all over the State. Among the gentlemen who helped her are recalled the Rev. Mr. Martin, Dr. LaBorde, Mr. E. L. Kerrison, and many others.

Later in the war, as already mentioned, the two Mrs. Snowdens, of Charleston, were earnest and efficient helpers in this hospital. No doubt other women from the low-country did their share, but it is impossible to recall names.

At different times, women from all over the State went on to Virginia to nurse their own sick and wounded. While there in the hospitals, they did what they could, with loving hearts and hands, for the suffering around them. Some volunteered as nurses. We recall Mrs. Amarinthia Snowden, of Charleston; Mrs. Macfie, of Columbia, and Mrs. George McMaster (née Flenniken), of Winnsboro. We would gladly be enabled to add to this list.

We are indebted to Miss Martin, of Columbia, for a few extracts from the journal of Mrs. Chesnut, wife of Colonel James Chesnut, Aid to General Beauregard and to President Davis. They give a vivid picture of hospital work.

Journal of Mrs. Chesnut.

"Richmond (no date). Went today to Miss Sally Tompkins' Hospital, and was rebuked, as I deserved.

"I—'Are there any Carolinians here?'

"Miss S. T.—'I never ask where the sick and wounded come from.'*

"Captain S. called. He has not yet been under fire, but is keen to see the flashing of the guns. He seemed to find my knitting a pair of socks a day for the soldiers droll in some way. *The yarn is coarse.* He has been so short a time from home he doesn't know how the poor soldiers need them.

"A little later, went to the hospital with a carriage-load of peaches and grapes. Made glad the hearts of some men thereby. When my supply gave out, those who had none looked so wistfully at me

*Miss Sally Tompkins is living, and holds a captain's commission from Mr. Jefferson Davis—the only woman holding a military commission in the Confederate service, I have heard.—Mrs. Thomas Taylor, 1901.

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as I passed out that I made a second raid on the market. Those eyes, sunk in cavernous depths, haunted me, as they followed me from bed to bed.

(No date.) "Oh, such a day! I have been with Mrs. Randolph to all the hospitals. I can never again shut out of view the sights I saw of human misery. I sit thinking; shut my eyes and see it all.

"Thinking—yes, and there is enough to think about now, God knows. * * * We went to the St. Charles. Horrors upon horrors again! Long rows of men, dead and dying! * * * A boy from home had sent for me. He was lying on a cot, ill of fever. Next him, a man died in convulsions while we stood there. I was making arrangements for a nurse—hiring him to take charge of this lad. I remember nothing more, for I fainted. * * *"

A letter to Mrs. Chesnut, from Mrs. McCord, written in 1863, acknowledges $100.00 for the College Hospital.

Returning to the journal, we see—

Journal of Mrs. Chesnut.

"August 19, 1864.—Began my regular attendance at the Wayside Hospital, which is carried on by that good woman—Jane Coles Fisher. Today, we gave wounded men, as they stopped for an hour at the station, their breakfasts. Those able to come to the table did so. The badly wounded remained in wards, prepared for them, where their wounds are dressed by nurses and surgeons; and we take bread and butter, beef, ham, hot coffee, etc., to them. They were awfully smashed-up objects of misery—wounded, maimed, diseased.

"August 29, 1864.—I take my hospital duty in the morning. I get up at four o'clock and go down to my carriage, laden with provisions. Mrs. Fisher and Mr. Bryan generally go with me. The provisions are sent by people to Mrs. Fisher. I am so glad to be a hospital nurse once more.

"August, 1864.—Spent today with Mrs. McCord at her (the college) hospital. She is dedicating her grief for her son—sanctifying it, one might say—by giving her soul and body, her days and nights, to the wounded soldiers at her hospital."

Miss Kate Crawford, 1901.

In Columbia, as elsewhere, even the children worked.

"Mary was a member of a sewing society of young girls, or children rather, that met at Kinsler's Hall, where they made quilts. Mrs. Monteith, Mrs. Lauchlin, and Miss Cordelia Veal had charge. She does not remember other ladies. * * * Katy and Ella Burroughs, and Emma Templeton, were there, and

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some girls named Morris—one of them, Ella Morris, being the most expert among the children. She cut out a palmetto tree and sewed it on one of the quilts. * * * Lily Levy was also among them.

"Mary says that an hour each day, or so many times during the week, was set apart at Madame Sosnowski's school, where she was a scholar. The girls, among whom were Sophie Carroll, Emma Guignard, and others she cannot now recall, made drawers for soldiers. * * * You remember that the very babies made sand bags. Even our little negroes worked at these."

Mrs. Thomas Taylor, 1901.

"Columbians assumed other charges imposed by the hand of Providence. Besides solicitude for the army, the high duty to women and children, driven from their homes in the low-country, was painfully pressed upon their hearts. Famished refugees arrived at all hours, and lodged as they might—some with sickness among them, all with consternation and inconvenience, and many with immediate need. Delicacy in ministration by those who were more fortunate in being, at that time of refugeeing, at their own homes, but who later had all the pangs of the like experience, was thrown to the winds. A half of a small beef was delivered at the cellar door of Mrs. Elmore's house, brought from the plantation, just as the information was given to her of a large family, of old and young, who had taken refuge the night before in a house in the country, two miles from her home. Quickly a pony carriage was made ready, and the beef quartered, a cloth snatched up from the table, and with the unsightly cargo set across the driver's feet, Mrs. Elmore drove off to the relief of the strangers, with every crumb of cooked bread that was in the house.

"Glad she was indeed to find her rough hospitality acceptable. There was no food for the children, who had been foraging in a field nearby for what had been left in the ground by the potato diggers.

"Shelter was the uppermost thought in the minds of those expelled mercilessly from the low-country. About in the woods and sand-hills families sought roofs, and then the homes of residents were ransacked and wagon trains started to these forlorn houses, and women went to them with full hearts and tenderest sympathy and helpfulness.

"Another call upon the woman heart came with the removal of the Confederate Treasury Department from Richmond to Columbia.

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Social welcome was hearty, and homes offered among the Columbians. Thankfully it is remembered that this was done when Columbians had no anticipation of the dire calls of a burnt city, and their own expatriation was not burdening their souls.

"What has been said of the care of refugees by the Columbians applies equally to all the upper sections of the State. All who came *had* to be accommodated, and many were the makeshifts necessary on both sides, but with good will and kindness—and necessity—all things are possible. Friendships were formed in those days never to be forgotten."

In the section of country not far below Columbia, around what was then called Gadsdens, now Congaree and Wedgefield, the work of women went on with the same unswerving fidelity.

We are fortunate in having a few extracts from letters referring to it, and only regret that we have not information from all the districts, for everywhere the women did their duty.

Letters from Mrs. John Singleton, 1899, and Mrs. J. P. Adams, 1901.

"Mrs. John Brown, of Wedgefield, knit, during the war, 750 pairs of socks, tasking herself a sock each day, including Sundays. The cotton was grown, carded and spun on her place. When Sherman's soldiers were here, Mrs. Brown horrified them by knitting on Sunday, and one of them exclaimed: 'You a Christian and work on Sunday!'

"Mrs. Frances M. Hopkins, of Gadsden, clothed an entire company with woolen cloth, from the wool of her sheep, carded, spun, and made up on her plantation. I think it was Dr. Ray's company."

"Mrs. Hopkins was indefatigable, going around to all the neighbors, soliciting contributions, when the boys at the front needed clothing.

"Mrs. Jones, mother of Mrs. Governor Adams, Mrs. Adams herself, her daughter Laura (afterwards Mrs. Hanahan), and Mrs. Amy G. Adams were earnest, devoted workers, not only for the soldiers but for their unfortunate families, who were often in great need.

"Dr. and Mrs. Rose, refugees from Beaufort, were most kind to the sandhill poor about them, Dr. Rose giving medicines and his services as a physician free.

"Dr. and Mrs. Ray fed, from their steam mill, many families of soldiers from the sandhills."

It was not an unusual thing for women, who were able to do so, to uniform and in a measure equip the companies commanded by their

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husbands, sons or brothers. Mrs. S. C. Williams, of Society Hill, undertook to make the clothes for the company of her son. He met with a sudden death, under most tragic circumstances, before his company was ready for service—but this made no difference. The company was uniformed by his mother. We give here part of a letter, written by her at our request:

Letter from Mrs. S. C. Williams, 1899.

"I am much obliged to you for wanting to put anything that I have done on record, but I do not think it is worth recording in history. I envy your zeal and patriotism. At eighty-eight one has outlived the enthusiasm of youth.

"My memories of secession and its consequences are most mournful and sad.

"My son George was on his plantation in Louisiana when Port Royal was taken. He had just time to get to my house Friday night, and to the courthouse Saturday. The colonel called for volunteers, and my son was one of the first to step out. Sixteen men went to him and asked him to form a company; he declined, but, others joining, he was finally induced to agree. He had been for eight years away from home, at school and college, and had few acquaintances in our district, and we were quite surprised. He soon had his eighty-five men. We gave each of the men two pairs of socks, two pairs drawers, two pairs trousers, two shirts, a blanket, a pair of shoes, and a hat. One of the men was a widower, with two children—a little boy, and a girl. My son asked me to take the children, which I did.

"Their father returned unwounded from the war.

"The first time my son drilled his men, the first sixteen told him that another captain claimed them, but they said they did not belong to him. George told them that he would not take them if the other man had a right to them. They told him that this captain had written to the adjutant-general, who told them if they joined my son's company, he would send a file of soldiers to take them to Columbia in irons. My son told them he would write to the adjutant-general, and read to them his answer the next time he drilled them. He drilled them the next week, and afterwards was seated on the back steps of a closed hotel, when he was shot. He was shot through the throat, and was unable to speak, though conscious. He lived about ten minutes. The man who shot him stood looking on.

"They brought him home that night, and the mail brought the letter from the adjutant-general, saying that he had written no such

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letter, and that the men were at perfect liberty to go with George if they would.

"After my son's death, the company called themselves the Williams Guard. The first lieutenant was made captain. I do not remember his name. He was a stranger in the country. Edward C. Stockton was made lieutenant. He was a cousin of Mrs. Nelson, and the company joined Nelson's Battalion. I never heard anything of them after they went to Virginia."

The company was for a while on the coast, and in the papers of the day we see acknowledgements of articles sent by Mrs. Williams to them and to others.

Papers by Mrs. T. H. Brooks, 1900.

Mrs. Whitfield Brooks equipped the company commanded by her son, Capt. T. H. Brooks.

Letter from Mrs. I. Keitt Hane, 1901.

Mrs. L. S. McCord equipped the company commanded by her son, Capt. L. Cheves McCord.

We now return to the chronological record of events, as gathered from the newspapers of 1861-65.

Charleston Courier, May 29, 1861.

H. T. Sloan, Chaplain of Orr's Regiment, acknowledges books and tracts, etc., sent by the Young Ladies' Christian Association, of Charleston, and by others.

Charleston Mercury, August 8, 1861.

The concert on the Battery, that had been proposed some days before, was brilliantly successful. Two hundred and seven dollars and seventy-three cents had been made, and was to be distributed between the different societies of ladies.

Charleston Mercury, August 8, 1861.

The Rev. R. W. Barnwell, at Charlottesville, Virginia, acknowledges boxes sent on by Dr. Bissell, from the Ladies' Auxiliary Christian Association, of Charleston.

Charleston Mercury, August 10, 1861.

The Soldiers' Relief Association, of Charleston, report the following articles sent to Virginia:

To Mr. R. W. Barnwell, at Charlottesville, six packages.

To H. A. Dudley, Richmond, Culpeper Hospital, seven packages.

Orange Courthouse, seven packages.

Also clothing sent to two of the crew of the Privateer Savannah, in the Tombs in New York, and to soldiers in many directions.

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Donations received from friends in the country, $121.00, money from Edisto.

It is mentioned that the ladies of Grahamville have formed an Auxiliary Association.

Further donations had been received from Summerville Auxiliary Association, from Eutawville, Upper St. Johns, and Wadmalaw Auxiliary Associations.

From the little girls of St. Philip Street Public School, a box of needlebooks and pincushions.

From the children of Friend Street School, $91.00.

Eight thousand four hundred and sixty-four yards of various materials have been purchased during the past week for distribution in the different wards.

Charleston Mercury, August 12, 1861.

The ladies of Mount Pleasant send $115.00 and three boxes to the Rev. R. W. Barnwell, for sick and wounded soldiers in Virginia.

Charleston Mercury, August 13, 1861.

A list is published of the officers of the Soldiers' Relief Association, of Chester.

Mrs. James Hemphill, President.

Mrs. A. Q. Dunnovant, Vice-President.

Mrs. A. G. Stacey, Vice-President.

Mrs. S. W. Mobley, Treasurer.

Miss Mary E. McKee, Corresponding Secretary.

Mrs. John J. McLure, Recording Secretary.

Mrs. Eliza J. Hinton, Mrs. John A. Bradly, Mrs. A. P. Wylie, Mrs. John R. Allen, Executive Committee.

Before going further, it is proper that we should give a fuller and more correct account of the Hospital Aid Association of South Carolina, formed of gentlemen of the State. While this work does not come under the head of that of women, still the two were so associated, and were so dependent upon each other, that a knowledge of both is necessary.

Written by Miss E. LaBorde, 1901.

"At the close of the college sessions, in June, 1861, Mr. Barnwell and Dr. LaBorde went to Virginia, with the view of devoting the vacation to the relief of the sick of our army. (Dr. LaBorde and Mr. Barnwell were professors of the South Carolina College.) Mr. Barnwell conceived the idea of an Aid Association, consisting of gentlemen of Carolina, of establishing a bureau of supply, hospitals

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for the sick and wounded, which was soon accomplished and placed in a condition of the highest efficiency.

"The headquarters were at Charlottesville, and no hospital of the time was more perfect in its appointments and better conducted. The association extended its aid to Orange, Culpeper, Manassas, Fairfax, and other places. Mr. Barnwell directed every movement and assumed all the responsibility, remaining in Charlottesville by leave of the board of trustees.

"The progress of the war made Richmond a more favorable place for Mr. Barnwell's operations, and he removed there during the year 1862."

As we have seen, nearly all hospital stores were sent by the women's associations to Mr. Barnwell.

Charleston Mercury, August 14, 1861.

The Ladies' Clothing Association, of Charleston, acknowledges the receipt of $14.00 from the children of the primary department of the Morris Street School.

Charleston Mercury, August 15, 1861.

This interest and effort on the part of school children was not uncommon, and we see in the paper the next day an acknowledgement of $33.00 sent to the Ladies' Auxiliary Association, of Charleston, from the primary department of St. Philip Street School.

"This sum was got by the exertions of a little boy and girl."

The same association also acknowledges $31.00 from the Friend Street School, collected by a little girl.

This association reports 1,820 garments ready for soldiers, in addition to large shipments lately made.

The large associations were helped by contributions from smaller ones. In this instance, a letter from the society of Legareville is reported as having been received, enclosing a consignment of boxes.

Charleston Mercury, August 16, 1861.

We are glad to find at this date a full report of the Ladies' Relief Association, of Aiken, as given below:

Report of the Ladies' Relief Association of Aiken.

"Aiken, S. C., Aug. 14, 1861.

"Your board of managers would respectfully report to the society that, on Wednesday, the 17th instant, they forwarded to Colonel Bacon's Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers, the following articles, viz.: Eighty-six pairs cotton jeans drawers, sixty flannel shirts, twelve cotton shirts, thirty-six pairs knitted socks, twenty-four bottles jamaica ginger, twelve bottles Davis' pain killer, six

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bottles mustang liniment, four bottles cherry cordial, one jar blackberry jam, sage, dried ginger, books and papers, and old linen, with the request that these stores should be distributed to the most needy members of Captain Denny's and Captain Hand's companies. They would also report that they are now engaged in making up heavy plains into pants and jackets, having cut one hundred and fifty garments of the same, in knitting socks, and making various other articles which they trust will contribute to the comfort of our brave volunteers.

"It affords your board much gratification to announce the general interest manifested by our community in the objects for which this society was formed. Feeling assured that the consciousness of being prayerfully and carefully and lovingly remembered 'at home' will nerve the soldier to deeds of daring and bravery, and will strengthen the hands and cheer the hearts of the brave men who are now enduring the hardships and privations incident to camp life, we would earnestly solicit the continued exertions of all the members of this association in order that we may be enabled to send repeated substantial souvenirs to the noble defenders of Southern independence.

"M. A. FARRINGTON,
"Secretary and Treasurer L. R. A. A."

Charleston Courier, August 29, 1861.

First monthly report of the Ladies' Clothing Association, of Charleston:

"This association was organized on July 24th, at the South Carolina Hall.

"A large attendance promised success, and we gratefully acknowledge the kindness the community has exhibited, thereby assuring us of their approbation and interest.

"We trust we shall be able to continue in well-doing as long as there is need.

"At our first meeting, nearly three hundred became members by subscriptions and donations. Seven hundred and forty-nine dollars was received. Up to this date, $1,743.18 has been received. The German Band has liberally given us their services. All are laboring with cheerfulness and assiduity to protect our gallant soldiers from the severities of the coming season. Our purchases of flannel, Graniteville drill, thread, and sundries, have been very large, and since the 29th ult. we have cut and made 2,301 pieces—834 pairs of drawers, 822 flannel shirts; 1,606 sent away on the 26th inst.—200 flannel shirts, 200 pairs of drawers (given to German Fusiliers,

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Captain Bachman), 150 flannel shirts, 79 pairs of drawers (given to First Regiment South Carolina Volunteers, through Captain Haskell).

"We conclude our report with the hope of a continuance of that industry and patriotism which has enabled us to do so much.

"HESTER T. DRAYTON,
"President."

Charleston Courier, copied from Edgefield Advertiser, August 29, 1861.

"A lady of this vicinity offers a Wheeler & Wilson sewing machine, only in use a year, and uninjured, for one hundred pairs of woolen socks. The machine cost $90, and is as good as new. Any one taking up this offer, guaranteeing to deliver the socks by October 1st, may get the machine at once. We vouch for the above in every particular. It is needless to add that the socks are for our soldiers in the war."

To show the pressure of necessity under which the women of our State carried on their work at this time, we include in our report the following, taken from a Charleston paper:

Charleston Courier, August 29, 1861.

"The following dispatch was received in this city yesterday from Charlottesville, Va.:

" 'To Wm. C. Bee, Esq.:

" 'Five of us off with forty boxes for Fairfax. Storehouse almost empty. Shelves still full. Earnest appeal from camp for aid.

" 'R. W. BARNWELL JR.' "

Charleston Courier, August 29, 1861.

"APPEAL FROM MEDICAL DIRECTOR.

"To the Ladies of Charleston:

"In view of the great and daily recurring demands upon your liberality and industry by our suffering fellow citizens in Virginia, I have hitherto declined making an appeal to you in behalf of the Medical Department of this State. In calling your attention to the wants of this department, I would in no wise be understood to wish a diversion of your most noble and praiseworthy benevolence from its present channels, but purpose merely to indicate a new direction in which your assistance may be opportune.

"Holding the position of medical director and purveyor for the Confederate forces in this State, it devolves upon me, as soon as a regiment is mustered into service (whether that service is in Virginia, or within our own borders) to receive, approve and supply

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their demands for medicines, instruments, hospital stores, dressings, etc.

"To meet these demands, the Confederate Government has placed in my hands the necessary funds, out of an appropriation made by Congress for the Medical Department of this State. But, you will readily comprehend, many of the articles required cannot be purchased, the supply having been long since exhausted, and to a very few of these I beg to call attention, with the view of soliciting your kindly aid in supplying them.

"On assuming the duties of my office, I found the department without a pound of lint or a roll of bandages, and to meet the daily requisitions for these has greatly exceeded my ability, relying, as I did, upon an impoverished and necessarily expensive market. To a regiment about to enter on a campaign, the above articles, it is needless to say, are essential and, inasmuch as they may both be furnished by the community at the cost merely of their preparation, and as they are designed exclusively for our own troops, I have presumed to make the want known, and accompany it by an appeal for aid to the generosity of our ladies. With great respect,

"I am your obedient servant,

"A. N. TALLEY,

"Med. Director and Pur. Confed. Forces in S. C."

It should be remembered that, up to this time, cotton was never used in dressing wounds. A desperate effort was made to keep up the supply of lint made from old linen, but as time went on, this became impossible, and cotton had to be used.

Charleston Courier, August 30, 1861.

At this date we find mention of a Soldiers' Aid Society at Bluffton; also of a contribution of $50.00 for the sick and wounded soldiers, from Chick Springs.

In the same paper appears the following letter:

Organization of Georgetown Relief Association.

"Georgetown, August 27th.

"The ladies of this district held a meeting this morning in the Indigo Hall, for the purpose of organizing an association for the relief of volunteer soldiers in active service. Dr. W. R. T. Prior, in behalf of the ladies, invited the Rev. R. T. Howard to act as chairman, Rev. W. T. Capers as secretary.

"The following ladies were appointed a committee to draft a constitution: Mrs. W. McNulty, Mrs. A. J. Shaw, Miss M. C. Thomas Mrs. J. Rees Ford, Mrs. Stark Heriot.

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"The constitution was adopted and the following officers elected:

Miss H. M. Trapier, President.
Mrs. P. C. J. Weston, Vice-President.
Mrs. S. T. Atkinson, Corresponding Secretary.
Miss Anna White, Recording Secretary and Treasurer.

MANAGERS.

Mrs. R. T. Howard.	Miss S. B. Wilson.	Mrs. J. H. Read.
Mrs. W. R. T. Prior.	Mrs. J. R. Ford.	Mrs. M. Walker.
Mrs. D. A. Sperry.	Mrs. J. C. Porter.	Mrs. E. P. Coachman.
Mrs. M. H. Lance.	Mrs. J. G. Honing.	Mrs. G. J. Labruce.
Mrs. R. Sherman.	Mrs. B. H. Wilson.	Mrs. W. McNulty.

"The ladies of Georgetown, God bless them, from the beginning have manifested the greatest interest in the cause of Southern independence, cheering the volunteers with their sweet approval and generous assistance. They have made clothes for the soldiers, have added largely to the fund for the relief of their families, and now are ready and eager to do all they can to make the brave volunteers in this holy war of defense, comfortable in camp."

Charleston Courier, September 6, 1861.

REPORT OF LADIES' AUXILIARY ASSOCIATION, OF CHARLESTON.

"The weekly business meeting of the Ladies' Auxiliary Association (of Charleston) was held at the Young Men's Room on Tuesday afternoon. The meeting was called to order by the president, Miss Campbell, at five o'clock, and opened with prayer by the Rev. A. P. Smith.

"A verbal report was made by Captain Chichester, who had returned that day from an extended tour of inspection of the hospitals in Virginia. Much information was derived from this report, which will prove of practical assistance to the ladies in their efforts. * * *

"Interesting letters were also read from the Rev. R. W. Barnwell, of Charlottesville, calling for continued assistance.

"The sum of $112.00 was reported as having been collected by one of the members, to be devoted to the employment of nurses.

"The following ladies were appointed to deliver work to those who wish to assist the quartermaster in accordance with his advertisement:

Mrs. L. Chapin.	Mrs. J. Caldwell.	Miss S. Y. Perroneau.
Mrs. Chas. Graves.	Mrs. Wm. Thayer.	Mrs. Chas. Frazer.
Mrs. S. Burrows.	Mrs. W. Gilliland.	Mrs. Albergotti.
Mrs. R. S. Chrietzberg.	Mrs. Judge Gilchrist.	Miss Catherine Stuart.
	Miss Mary Robertson.	

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"The association shipped yesterday seventy-four boxes and one barrel, containing over sixteen hundred garments, many of them of flannel, besides wine, brandy, books, medicines, etc. Additional donations are earnestly solicited."

Charleston Courier, September 17, 1861.

We see published the fifth weekly report of the South Carolina Hospital Association, at Charlottesville, Va.

Among many other acknowledgements of contributions received from individuals, those from the following Aid Associations are mentioned: Florence, Mizpah, Christ Church, Orangeburg (sent through Mrs. Yongue), Cheraw (through M. E. Godfrey), Society Hill (through Mrs. S. E. W.) The report says that boxes and money have been received from every part of the State.

FIRST QUARTERLY REPORT OF SOLDIERS' RELIEF ASSOCIATION, OF CHARLESTON.

October 28, 1861.—The first quarterly report of the Soldiers' Relief Association is of this date, and is found in the papers a day or two later. We have also seen the original manuscript of this report, in which, in addition to the names of officers, the following names of an executive committee are given:

"Mrs. Geo. Robertson, President; Mrs. Wm. Snowden, Vice-President; Miss E. P. Hayne, Secretary and Treasurer; Miss L. S. Porter, Miss F. M. Blamyer, Corresponding Secretaries.

"Executive Committee—Mrs. Thomas Smyth, Mrs. John Forrest, Miss Cromwell.

"This association was formed on July 20, 1861—the day before the Battle of Manassas. Its first public meeting was held on July 23d. According to the constitution, the object of the association is to provide garments for our soldiers in the field, and hospital stores and other comforts for the sick and wounded.

"Liberal contributions of money and articles were freely made by our citizens, and on the 24th, four large cases of clothing were packed and forwarded by express to the surgeon-general at Richmond, for distribution among the sick and wounded of our soldiers.

"Materials for clothing, etc., were also purchased and given out to the members to be made up. These first efforts have been followed up with great energy and perseverance on the part of the members, from the matron of 88 to the child of 4 years, through whose exertions, with the efficient aid rendered by several auxiliary societies in the country and neighboring islands, the Soldiers' Relief Association has been able to accomplish much towards adding to the comfort

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of all, and alleviating the sufferings of the sick and wounded soldiers of our army, whenever and wherever needed.

"We would here acknowledge that much of the prosperity of the association has been attributable to the untiring efforts of Mr. Richard Caldwell, who, from the commencement of the undertaking, has identified himself with its interests. His varied knowledge and experience have been invaluable, while his urbane and conciliating manners have rendered all our intercourse agreeable.

"Weekly meetings of the association have been held, at each of which an address has been delivered by a gentleman invited for the purpose. These meetings have always been opened with prayer, and have been found both beneficial and interesting. While we have every reason to feel thankful for the great success which has crowned our efforts, and are willing and anxious to continue our labors in behalf of the soldiers, who, as the winter is fast approaching, stand more in need of assistance than ever, we regret that the situation of our treasury is such as to call forth an appeal to the public for aid. As this is a call in which one and all are deeply interested, we feel satisfied that it is only necessary to lay before the public the low state of our funds, and the result of our labors for the first three months, to insure us that support and aid which the liberal public of Charleston knows so well how to bestow.

"Any contribution or donation will be thankfully received by either of the officers, or at the Depository, Chalmers street, every day, Sunday excepted, between the hours of ten and two o'clock.

"All requests for aid should be handed in before twelve o'clock, at which hour the officers meet.

"MRS. GEO. ROBERTSON, President.
"E. P. HAYNE, Secretary.

"Treasurer's Statement.

By amount received from donations	$7,457.24
By amount received from concert on Battery, given by Charleston Brass Band	132.00
By amount received from entertainment given by Messrs. Couturier & Reeves	87.50
	$7,676.74
To amount sent St. Charles Hospital	$100.00
To amount sent Rev. R. W. Barnwell	132.00
To amount of insurance	25.00

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To expenses to Charlottesville of steward and matron of hospital	$85.00
To amount of expenses to Richmond of two soldiers, Captain McCrady's company	12.00
To amount of postage	7.44
To amount of blank books, paper, etc	21.28
To amount of spinning wheels	10.00
To amount of hospital stores	75.21
To amount of material for clothing, etc	6,198.07
To amount of drayages	42.50
To amount of freights	944.28
To amount of petty hall expenses	26.12
	$7,658.99
	$7,676.74
	7,658.99
Balance on hand	$17.75

"Materials purchased: 6,276 yards woolen flannel, 2,258 yards cotton flannel, 3,219 yards osnaburgs, 11,135 yards shirtings and drillings, 2,257 yards mariners' stripes, 621 yards bedticking, 1,215 yards striped osnaburgs, 4,295 yards calico, 210 yards cambric and poplin, 1,425 yards tweeds and kerseys, 46 dozen spools and fifty-six pounds sewing cotton, 23 pounds of flax thread, 58 dozen tape, and 65 gross buttons.

"Donations of clothing and hospital stores made to General Bonham's Brigade, in Virginia, consisting of Colonel Kershaw's Regiment, Colonel Williams' Regiment, Colonel Bacon's Regiment, Colonel Cash's Regiment, twenty packages.

"To General Jones' Brigade, in Virginia, consisting of Colonel Sloan's Regiment, Colonel Jenkins' Regiment, Colonel Winder's Regiment, Colonel Blanding's Regiment, nineteen packages.

"To Colonel Hampton's Legion, in Virginia, nineteen packages.

"To Colonel Gregg's Regiment, five packages.

"To Maryland Volunteers, three packages.

"To Richardson Guards, one package.

"To Captain Haskell's Regiment, in Virginia, one package.

"To Brooks' Guards, two packages.

"To Carolina Light Infantry, one package.

"To German Rifles, one package.

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"To Horry Rebels, one package.

"To Irish Volunteers, one package.

"To Washington Artillery, one package.

"To Colonel White's Battalion, at Summerville, five packages.

"To Colonel Hagood's Regiment, on the coast, three packages.

"To Colonel Manigault's Regiment, five packages.

"To Colonel Heyward's Regiment, one package.

"To Colonel Orr's Regiment, one package.

"To Eutaw Rifles, one package.

"To St. Paul's Rifles, one package.

"To marines of Steamer Savannah, one package.

"To Surgeon-General DeLeon, in Virginia, for the Charlottesville Hospital, forty-eight packages.

"To the Manchester Hospital, in Virginia, under Doctors Chisolm and Fishburne, sixteen packages.

"To Captain F. G. Ruffin, in Virginia, six packages.

"To H. A. Dudley, Esq., for St. Charles Hotel Hospital, Virginia, eight packages.

"To Dr. P. E. Hines' hospital at Yorktown, Virginia, twenty-four packages.

"To Dr. Madison, Orange Courthouse, Virginia, twelve packages.

"To the hospital at Culpeper, seven packages.

"Three private packages forwarded to Virginia.

"Making in all 262 packages, consisting of tierces, barrels, kegs, cases, boxes, baskets, containing as follows: 1,025 flannel shirts, 1,424 cotton shirts, 1,522 cotton drawers, 534 flannel drawers, 84 pairs pantaloons, 54 sacks and coats, 656 pairs socks and stockings, 204 linen shirts, 108 pairs slippers, 110 dressing-gowns, 209 blankets, 32 quilts, 145 comforts, 110 mattresses, 205 bed sacks, 306 sheets, 523 pillow-cases, 163 pillows, 34 pillow-sacks, 516 towels, 592 pocket handkerchiefs, 134 needlebooks, 15 gallons wine, brandies, etc., 51 bags rice (equal to 11 tierces), a large quantity of hospital nourishment; also medicines, bandages, rags, lint, etc., Bibles, Testaments, books, magazines, and papers.

"In addition to the regular ward work which has been made up every week, the association have completed—

"For the marines of Confederate States Steamer Savannah, 60 blue flannel shirts.

"For Fort Moultrie, 150 overcoats.

"For Zouave Volunteers, 153 pieces of clothing, viz.: 51 jackets, 51 vests, 51 pairs pantaloons.

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"For the Horry Rebels, 112 pairs cotton drawers.

"For the quartermaster, 93 pairs socks and 2,509 pieces of clothing, viz.: 300 pairs pantaloons, 894 shirts, 1,315 pairs drawers.

"We are now making, for Hatch's Battalion, 144 coats, 110 pairs pantaloons.

"Charleston, October 28, 1861."

In the latter part of the year, a hospital was organized in Charleston by the Soldiers' Relief Association.

We do not know the exact date, but we have seen in Mr. Caldwell's correspondence the letter in which Dr. Chisolm offers his house in Trapman street for this purpose. Dr. W. H. Huger was requested by the ladies to take charge of this hospital. After the shelling of the city began, the hospital was moved uptown, out of range of the shells.

Written by Miss Anna Simpson, October, 1901.

From Miss Anna Simpson, a prominent worker in the Relief Association and the hospitals, we learn that Mr. Caldwell was most earnest in his efforts for the hospital, which, she says, "was founded and furnished by the Soldiers' Relief Association. Officers were appointed for it, and committees of ladies visited it daily. They also attended all the other hospitals in the city, doing all they could for the comfort of the poor suffering men. It was truly the deepest of tragedies to visit the hospital and try to cheer the brave and patient sufferers.

"The Soldiers' Relief Association was, after a while, turned over to the Confederate Government, in order to enlarge its usefulness."

Of the ladies prominent in this work, Miss Simpson recalls the two Mrs. Snowdens, Mrs. Forrest, Miss Blamyer, Mrs. Wigfall, Mrs. George Trenholm, Mrs. J. K. Robinson, Miss Ann Robertson, Miss Catherine Robertson, Miss Rebecca Holmes, Mrs. Blackman, Miss Laura Porter, Mrs. George Robertson, Mrs. James Gilliland, Mrs. Samuel Stoney, Mrs. ——— Thompson, and Mrs. Sarah Watts.

Dr. W. H. Huger speaks of Mrs. Watts with grateful remembrance. Although an English woman, she was devoted in her care of our soldiers.

Miss F. M. Blamyer, secretary of the Soldiers' Relief Association, says:

Letter from Miss F. M. Blamyer, August, 1901.

"The Roper Hospital and the Marine were the only two I visited, and then only as a casual visitor. My sister—Mrs. Wigfall—and I were always at the Depository for work. Mrs. Thos. Smith, Miss

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Aajer, and Mrs. Forrest were with us constantly. * * * Any lady belonging to the society who went to the hospitals could apply for articles for the sick soldiers.

"Our hands were so full then that we had not time to take up our neighbors' load, and therefore I can recall but a few of those who regularly visited the hospitals. I remember Mrs. Daniel Lesesne, Mrs. Gidiere (most of the time at the Roper Hospital), Mme. Girard (at the Soldiers' Relief), and Miss Simpson, Miss Caroline Ball, and Mrs. James Gilliland.

"Mr. Richard Caldwell was the first to suggest a hospital. He generously established it in the name of the Soldiers' Relief Association. His heart was in it, and he worked hard for it and in it."

Miss Blamyer also says: "During the last year of the war, when the other officers of the association were absent, Mrs. Henry Wigfall and Miss Laura Porter continued the work of the association in Charleston. Mrs. Henry Wigfall was a constant visitor at the hospitals. When Charleston was evacuated, these ladies divided all articles among the hospitals, and closed our doors."

Miss Simpson, 1901.

Of the many contrivances caused by the exigencies of the time, Miss Simpson recalls the overcoats and blankets made of carpets, curtains—anything—and interlined with newspapers.

She also tells of the use of a quantity of red flannel scraps left from the linings of uniform caps, and given to the association by a Mr. Williams, who had the contract for making the caps. These scraps were raveled out, and Judge Glover, of Orangeburg, had them spun by his servants, and sent back to the ladies in the shape of yarn for knitting. The long strips of flannel were pieced together and managed to make two shirts.

Miss Simpson was present at the organization of an auxiliary society of women, on Sullivans Island, the first meeting of which was held at the house of Mrs. ——— Fitzsimmons, a few days after the first Battle of Manassas.

From many who recall these troublous days, we hear of the work of Mme. Girard, and at the request of some who remember her, we have succeeded in getting the following short sketch by her daughter, Mrs. G. W. Alexander, of Charleston:

Sketch of Mme. Girard, by Mrs. G. W. Alexander, 1900.

"Mother always told me the Confederate War was so like her own Polish War of 1830, through which she herself had passed, that her

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whole heart and soul went out to the Southern people, and she felt that *their* cause was her *own*.

"She assisted Mrs. Snowden in all her work of caring for and nursing the sick and wounded soldiers in the different hospitals under charge of the Ladies' Relief Association; in the hospital in Trapman street, afterwards in care of Dr. W. H. Huger, who removed it subsequently to Mr. Bishop's residence, in the Mall, out of the way of the shelling, to which place she transferred her work.

"In the Misses Slomans' house, in Meeting street, which was used as a hospital, mother nursed the Louisiana soldiers, even taking a number of them to her own home.

"In the hospital over Dr. Aimar's drug store, she nursed the North Carolina soldiers, and in the Trapman Street Hospital, in both locations, she cared for the Forty-seventh Georgians, Colonel Colquitt's Regiment.

"Mother helped Mrs. Snowden in every way she could in the bazars and other entertainments held for the benefit of the Confederate soldiers, and all her spare time was spent in knitting socks for soldiers.

"(Signed) MRS. G. W. ALEXANDER.
"(Madame Girard's daughter.)"

Mrs. Norton Hunter, 1901.

We have been told by one of the family how the back rooms of Mme. Girard's house, on the corner of Wentworth and Rutledge streets, were filled with sick soldiers (French-speaking Louisianians, who could not easily be understood elsewhere), while the front rooms were uninhabitable, from having been struck by a shell.

Mrs. Alexander (then Mrs. Dowell) and her sister, Mrs. Pinkind, followed as far as they were able in their mother's steps.

Both were fine musicians, living in the upper part of the State, and many still living recall the concerts they repeatedly gave for the benefit of sick and wounded soldiers.

In those days, as always, "Sisters of Mercy" proved themselves worthy of the name. We have collected here a few facts from obituary notices of these devoted women, for apparently only when death came was public attention attracted to their work.

Charleston Mercury, November 28, 1863.

"Died, at the Convent of the Sisters of our Lady of Mercy, on Thursday, the 26th inst., Sister Mary Bernard Frank, aged 39 years. * * * In December, 1861, she went to Virginia, where she passed eighteen months in the sedulous discharge of her duties as a Sister

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of Mercy. To her kind offices many a poor soldier is indebted for a care which may have saved his life. While engaged in this mission of love, she contracted a disease which made it necessary for her to return to the Convent in Charleston. There she resided in a state of ill health until her death."

Charleston News and Courier, March 5, 1899.

"Sister Mary Frances died at the Convent of the Sisters of Mercy yesterday, in the sixty-sixth year of her age. Forty-five years ago she entered the community of Sisters in this city as Miss Catherine Kyle. * * * During the war, she was one of that band of sisters whom this community sent out, and who, from the beginning to the end of the war, ministered to the sick and wounded Confederate officers and soldiers in Virginia."

Charleston Sunday News, June 3, 1900.

In the paper of this date there is an editorial notice of the death, on May 18th, at a good old age, of Mary Theresa Barry, better known as Mother Theresa, Superioress of the Convent of our Lady of Mercy in Charleston.

Many deeds of mercy are accredited to this devoted woman, but we have only to notice one. "During the war, nurses being sorely needed at the front, Mother Theresa and five of the other sisters went on to Virginia and were put in charge of hospital wards at Greenbriar Springs and other places; and many of the noble women of Virginia gladly placed themselves under their instructions, in order to learn from them how to care for the wounded and for those suffering from the malignant diseases that ever follow in the track of an army. Of these six ladies, only two remain, one of them almost incapacitated by age and suffering, the other the still active and capable directress of the St. Xavier Hospital."

Charleston News and Courier, July 20, 1901.

"Sister Mary Agatha, of the order of the Sisters of our Lady of Mercy, died yesterday morning in the seventy-second year of her age. Sister Agatha was known to the world as Miss Louisa McNamara. * * * At the outbreak of the war, Sister Agatha was one of that noble band of Sisters who for four years, on the field of battle and in the hospitals of Virginia, nursed and cared for the soldiers of the Lost Cause."

Charlotte Observer, August 16, 1901.

"Died, August 15th, at the Convent of the Sacred Heart, Belmont, N. C., Mother Mary Augustine Kent. More than fifty years ago,

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Mother Augustine came over from Ireland. * * * It was in Charleston that she commenced the labor of love that ended only with her death. * * * War and pestilence swept over her adopted country, and we find her in hospitals by the side of the sick and dying. During the epidemic of yellow fever in Wilmington, N. C., in 1862, she, with two companions, now dead, were sent to nurse the fever-stricken people. There again her gentle and sincere Christian charity won the love and respect of all."

Charleston News and Courier, September 20, 1901.

In the notice of the death of Sister De Chantal, who had been actively engaged as a nurse at the St. Xavier Hospital, Charleston, we find the following:

"Sister De Chantal, born in Troy, New York, entered the Convent of our Lady of Mercy, in Charleston, at the age of 24.

"During the war, she formed one of the band of Sisters of Mercy who nursed the sick and wounded soldiers of the Lost Cause in the hospitals of Virginia during the entire war. It was said of her that her touch was a balm, and her smile carried hope to many a weary and suffering soldier."

December 11 and 12, 1861.

In December, 1861, occurred the great fire, by which a large part of the City of Charleston was destroyed, many of its inhabitants made homeless and deprived of their all.

This, of course, doubled the work of the women of Charleston, while it diminished greatly their means and ability to help.

Before closing our record for the year 1861, it may be of interest to give a list of the flags we see mentioned in the newspapers as having been presented by the women of the State to various military organizations.

Probably, as in all our lists, the names we have secured are very few, compared with those we know nothing of.

List of Flags Presented to Soldiers by Women of South Carolina.

Charleston Mercury, January 5, 1861.

Palmetto Flag, for Fort Morris, presented by the ladies of Mr. Hugh E. Vincent's family.

Charleston Mercury, January 19, 1861.

Flag presented by the ladies of Charleston, for Fort Sumter.

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Charleston Mercury, February 15, 1861.

Flag presented by ladies to the Sumter Guards. General Jamison makes the presentation.

Charleston Mercury, February 22, 1861.

Flag presented by a young lady to the Washington Light Infantry.

Charleston Mercury, February 25, 1861.

Stand of colors, presented by a young lady of Charleston to the First Regiment of Rifles, through Mr. James Tupper.

Charleston Mercury, March 7, 1861.

Flag presented by the ladies of Newberry to the Newberry Rangers.

Charleston Mercury, March 11, 1861.

Flag presented by the ladies of Anderson to the Piercetown Guard.

Charleston Mercury, April 23, 1861.

Flag presented to Gregg's Regiment on the occasion of their going to Virginia, by the ladies of Charleston.

Charleston Mercury, May 1 and 7, 1861.

Flag, and gold medal, presented to the Palmetto Guard, in remembrance of Fort Sumter, by ladies.

Charleston Mercury, May, 1861.

Flag presented to the Bamberg Guards by the ladies of Bamberg.

Charleston Mercury, May 16, 1861.

Flag presented by ladies to the Calhoun Guards. Major Stevens makes the presentation.

Charleston Mercury, May 23, 1861.

Flag presented to the Marion Artillery by Narcissa Washington, after the Battle of Fort Sumter. In the report of this presentation, it is mentioned that, after the Battle of Fort Moultrie, their ancestors had been presented with a flag by Sabina Elliott.

Charleston Courier, May 8, 1861.

Flags presented by the ladies of Pendleton to the companies commanded by Captains Shanklin and Kilpatrick.

Charleston Mercury, May 25, 1861.

Flag presented to the Musgrove Volunteers by the ladies of Clinton.

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Charleston Mercury, May 31, 1861.

Flag presented by ladies to the Washington Light Infantry.

In the report of the presentation of a flag to the Washington Light Infantry, it is said: "In April, 1827, Mrs. Jane Washington, the widow of Col. Wm. Washington, had presented a precious relic of her husband to the Washington Light Infantry. In 1861, her only surviving representative, Mrs. Jane Ancrum, leaves her home, though an octogenarian, to present, through Col. T. Y. Simons, this flag, given by the ladies."

Charleston Mercury, July 4, 1861.

Flag presented by ladies to the Charleston Riflemen.

Charleston Mercury, August 14, 1861.

Flag presented to Captain Wagner's company by the ladies of Cheraw.

Charleston Mercury, September 10, 1861.

Flag presented to the Irish Volunteers by the Sisters of Mercy of Charleston, painted and lettered by themselves and their pupils.

Charleston Mercury, October 6, 1861.

Flag presented to Orr's Regiment by two ladies of Charleston.

From a paper written for Wade Hampton Chapter, Daughters of the Confederacy, by Bishop Capers, formerly Lieutenant Capers, this is inserted here as typical of the way in which many of these flags were made:

"The flag of Orr's Rifles, South Carolina Volunteers, Confederate States of America, was made by two ladies of Charleston, and in their name presented to the regiment by Colonel Isaac W. Hayne, of Charleston, October 4, 1861, the presentation taking place on Sullivans Island, where the regiment was encamped.

"The two ladies who made the flag were Mrs. Ellison Capers (née Charlotte R. Palmer, of St. Johns Berkeley, wife of Lieutenant Ellison Capers, assistant professor at the Citadel Academy), and Mrs. Alexander H. Mazyck (née Annie Hume, of Charleston), wife of Lieut. A. H. Mazyck, Quartermaster at the Citadel Academy.

"The flag was made of silk, showing the Confederate 'Stars and Bars' on one side, and on the other a white crescent and palmetto tree.

"The white silk stars, crescent and palmetto were made from a white silk dress of Mrs. Mazyck's; the blue ground from a silk dress of Mrs. Capers'. The work was done entirely by these two ladies. The shaft of the flag was taken from an old nullification banner."

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Charleston Mercury, October 21, 1861.

Flag presented by the ladies of Columbia to Capt. L. Cheves McCord's company, the South Carolina Zouaves. The presentation was made by Judge Longstreet, and the flag committed to the care of Private William Gardner. This flag was of blue silk. On one side, embroidered by the Nuns of Columbia, was a white silk palmetto and crescent. On the reverse was a tiger's head, painted by Monsieur Dovilliers, of Columbia.

Letter in possession of the Daughters of the Confederacy of Charleston.

February, 1861.—Flag presented to the garrison of Fort Moultrie by Mrs. Chas. A. Scanlan, Mrs. Julia Reinhardt, and Miss Kate Hall, of Charleston.

From paper by Mrs. T. H. Brooks, written 1900, in possession of the Daughters of the Confederacy.

1861.—Palmetto flag presented to Brooks Guard (Capt. T. H. Brooks) by ladies. The flag was of blue silk, embroidered in silver, and was delivered to the company by Mary Brooks, daughter of Hon. Preston S. Brooks.

From papers in possession of the Daughters of the Confederacy of Columbia.

1861.—Flag presented by ladies to the Butler Guards, of Greenville.

1861.—Flag given to Captain Robert Adams' company, presented to the company by Miss Emma Bates.

From paper by Mrs. Bachman, April, 1900.

1861.—Guidon presented to Bachman's Battery by German Women of Charleston, through Gen. T. A. Wagener. The flag was received by Captain Bachman and put in charge of A. W. Jaeger, color bearer. It bore the Confederate colors on one side and the German on the other, was heavily embroidered, and had a handsome fringe.

1861.—Flag presented to Darlington Guards by J. A. Dargan, for ladies of Darlington. Received by Captain Warley, and committed to the care of Color Bearer E. B. Brunson.

From Charleston Mercury or Charleston Courier.

April 7, 1862.—Flag presented to the Bee Rifles, Captain Kinloch, by ladies.

May 31, 1862.—Flag presented by the ladies of Barnwell to Hagood's Regiment. The presentation was made by Miss Ryan, through Mr. Maher, to Colonel Hagood.

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June 17, 1862.—Flag presented by ladies of Charleston to the Brooks Guard. The flag was committed to the care of Private Phillips, to be taken to the company.

June 20, 1862.—Flag presented by the ladies of Beaufort to the Beaufort Troop. The presentation made by the Hon. F. W. Fickling, to Capt. T. E. Screven.

October 30, 1862.—Flag presented by the ladies of Charleston to the First Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers.

November 14.—Flag presented by the ladies of Charleston to the Beauregard Light Infantry, Captain Lalane. This flag was made by Mrs. Schuckman.

General Work.

Charleston Courier, January 1, 1862.

The year begins with an appeal for a work not strictly that of women, but still one of the many efforts in which they joined to relieve and help the men who were fighting for their homes. As is seen by the list of contributions, women did their share in this, too.

"Please acknowledge the receipt of the following sums for the relief of privateers' and seamen's families:

November 20.—From a captain	$5.00
November 20.—From a gentleman	5.00
November 20.—From a lady	20.00
November 20.—From a lady	2.00
November 21.—From Palmetto Girls' Society	30.00
November 22.—From a planter	50.00
November 23.—From a lady	20.00
November 26.—From a gentleman	5.00
December —.—From a Jew, who desired me so to acknowledge	5.00
December —.—From a young lady	3.00
December 11.—From a lady	2.00
December 11.—From a sailmaker	10.00

"It is with gratitude I acknowledge the receipt of the above sums, which, under a kind Providence, has enabled me to supply the wants of many who would otherwise have greatly suffered. I am compelled to appeal again to a generous people to replenish my almost exhausted treasury. 'The last shot in the locker' will this week be gone, and I have a number whose husbands are in prison still at the

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North, who must be cared for until the Northern despotism be taught the true condition of the consorts of the 'Sumter.'

"WM. B. YATES,
"Chaplain."

In the same paper there is a reference to the homespuns made by the women in the upper districts. At this time it was a matter of pride and principle to wear homespun, both as an encouragement to home manufacture, and to discourage blockade runners from loading their vessels with articles for women's wear, instead of necessities for the army.

Charleston Courier, January 1, 1862.

"TRULY SOUTHERN.

"Those who wish to show by the outer man that they are disposed to encourage the patriotic ladies of Anderson, Greenville and Pickens Districts, who, with their own hands, manufacture a superior goods, thereby exhibiting the fact that we can be independent of the North, or the balance of the world, can procure a suit of excellent jeans (woolen), suitable for winter wear, by calling on Messrs. Cothran, Jeffers & Co., on Fraser's Wharf.

"We should certainly feel proud of such an exhibition of independence.

"December 10th."

Charleston Courier, January 12, 1862.

How to provide blankets for the army was beginning to be a matter of very serious consideration, and various suggestions are made, such as, "Blankets have been made near Wilmington, N. C., from the well-known long moss of the seaboard." Also, "Mrs. Frances B. Fogg, of Nashville, Tenn. (who, by the way, we may mention, is a lineal descendant of two of the Carolina signers of the Declaration of Independence—Rutledge on one side, and Middleton on the other), has published the following notice:

"Having discovered, on frequent application to the quartermaster's department, that there is a lamentable deficiency of blankets for the soldiers of the Confederate Army, an experiment has been made, with the greatest possible success, in the manufacture of that indispensable article of comfort, by a few patriotic and enterprising ladies, who are now ready to commence operations on a large scale, the moment they receive contributions of a few bales of raw cotton; and also the manufacture of knit shirts and drawers for the soldiers, through the medium of an English weaving machine, as soon as they receive a few thousand pounds of wool from the South."

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Charleston Courier, January 12, 1862.

The suffering caused by the great fire was intense, and at this time Mayor Charles Macbeth, of Charleston, issued a proclamation offering help to sufferers from the fire, and saying that the ladies had offered to collect and distribute clothing at the Theological Library, in Chalmers street. A committee was appointed to take charge of this work of relief, and in their acknowledgements of contributions sent them, names of women are constantly seen, and also names of many soldiers in the field.

Charleston Courier, January 3, 1862.

Among the first items of interest this year is the weekly report of the Soldiers' Relief Association, of Charleston.

"The regular weekly meeting of this association was held on Monday, December 30th. It was opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Kendrick, who, after the reading of several reports and letters, made a very animated and cheering address.

"During the past week there have been eighteen donations received, among them, one package drawers and shirts, from Johns Island Relief Association, twelve pairs woolen socks, through Mrs. C. A. G., from Mrs. H. English, the work of her servants. One package of lint from a little girl, prepared by her.

"This association is indebted for much work done by the ladies of the Orangeburg Relief Association, to the ladies of the Claremont Relief Association, who have also sent a woolen shirt, with full directions for the same, knit by the president, Mrs. E. Bradley.

"A donation was handed in by Mrs. G. M. Coffin, given by Mrs. Edward Trenholm, to be used by the ladies of the hospital. Several other donations have been received.

"The following donations have been made:

"To the Marine Hospital, fifteen flannel shirts, forty pairs drawers, twenty-five cotton shirts, twenty pillow-cases.

"To the Moultrie Guard, Captain Palmer, fifty cotton shirts, fifty pairs drawers, fifty pairs socks, tracts, etc.

"Letters of thanks were read from Miss S. S. Seabrook, President of Soldiers' Relief Association of Grahamville, and from Mr. John W. Evans, Steward of Marine Hospital.

"The weekly committees of ladies were appointed to visit the Soldiers' Relief Hospital and the Marine Hospital."

By this time, the question of procuring shoes, not only for the soldiers, but for those at home, was becoming a serious one. Many women made shoes for themselves and their young children, of

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black cloth, and we have seen some dainty little black velvet shoes made by young mothers for their babies. For the plantation negroes, wooden shoes, or shoes with canvas tops and wooden soles, were often made.

Charleston Mercury, January 4, 1862.

"The manufactory of wooden shoes is now carried on quite extensively in Raleigh, N. C., by Messrs. Thum & Traps. The enterprising manufacturers have in their employment some thirty hands, and are turning out about one hundred pairs of shoes per day. The shape and size of the shoe are first marked out, and then it is bored and scooped out and fashioned at the bottom and sandpapered and lined and painted and tipped with leather, and thus finished, in various rooms in the same building. Most of the work is done by machinery, driven by steam. The wood used is gum and poplar, which is well steamed before the shoe is made."

On this date is published the first call for a Wayside Hospital in Charleston.

Charleston Mercury, January 5 and 7, 1862.

We see acknowledgements of contributions for the Wayside Hospital.

Charleston Mercury, January 10, 1862.

"REPORT OF THE GREENVILLE LADIES' AID ASSOCIATION.

"This association, in aid of our suffering soldiers, has been in operation since July 19, 1861. During this time, it has been well sustained by the citizens of Greenville, the following donations having been received:

"From Vardry McBee, Esq., $109; Dr. J. Boyce, $50, thirty-one bolts cloth, eighty-four silk handkerchiefs; Mr. J. David, $30; Dr. Thos. Lyles, $10; Miss L. Kern, $10; Mr. Collins, $10; Miss E. Johnston, $10.

"Mrs. W. C. Price, $10; Mrs. Norton, $6; Dr. J. Kern, $5; Mrs. Chaplin, $5; Mrs. Waddell, $5; Dr. Johnson, $5; Mr. Whitefoord Smith, $5; Mrs. Rowland, $5; Mrs. Choice, $5; Mrs. C. Pool, $5; Mrs. T. Roberts, $5; Mrs. Wallace Ioor, $5; Mrs. J. H. Cleveland, $5; Mrs. Glass, $5; Mrs. Jordan, $5; Mrs. J. F. Hein, $5.

"Twenty boxes and three bales have been forwarded by this association to Virginia, Columbia and Coosawhatchie Hospitals, containing 280 shirts, 180 pairs drawers, 160 pairs socks, fourteen dressing-gowns, forty pairs pants, one vest, one scarf, 120 handker-

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chiefs, 190 sheets, five counterpanes, seventy comforters, ten bed-ticks, fourteen blankets, two quilts, fifty pillows, 165 pillow-cases, two curtains, 144 towels, fifteen pounds tea, two pounds spice, eighty pounds sugar, three pounds arrowroot, eight pounds hoarhound candy, twenty jars jelly, fourteen cans fruit, four jars pickles, sixteen bottles tomatoes, 100 bottles wine, brandy and cordial, twenty-five pounds soap, two dozen teaspoons, six dozen tin cups, seven dozen tin plates, six dozen tin pans, one and one-half bushels apples, one-half bushel sweet potatoes, one ham, twenty loaves bread, three dozen eggs, 150 pounds crackers, one and one-half bushels flaxseed, sixty chickens, twelve pounds herbs, linen, pins, needles, six Bibles, nine Testaments.

"This association would be thankful for contributions of cotton to make up comforters, which are greatly needed in the hospitals. Annexed are the names of the officers and directresses, to any one of whom donations may be sent:

OFFICERS.

Mrs. Perry E. Duncan, President.
Mrs. Pinckney McBee, Vice-President.
Mrs. Charles J. Radford, Secretary and Treasurer.

DIRECTRESSES.

Mrs. Dr. Anderson.	Mrs. Gerard.	Mrs. The. Thompson.
Mrs. F. F. Beattie.	Mrs. Hill.	Mrs. Col. Ed. Ware.
Mrs. Thad Bolling.	Mrs. S. Mauldin.	Miss Edna David.
Mrs. Dr. A. Broaddus.	Mrs. Alice McKee.	Miss Dora Furman.
Mrs. D. E. Buist.	Mrs. W. Roberts.	Miss Eliza Johnson.
	Miss Julia Markley."	

Charleston Mercury, January 10, 1862.

"The Eutaw (Ala.) *Observer* says that a lady of that place, being desirous of obtaining a military scarf for a relative, and not being able to buy one, cut up and carded a silk dress, spun it into thread, and crocheted it into a beautiful scarf."

Rabbits' hair was sometimes carded up with scraps of black silk and just enough wool to combine the two, thus making a very pretty gray silk yarn, used for officers' gloves. These gloves were sometimes really handsome, with large, stiff gauntlets, crocheted. The stitching on the backs of the gloves and the edge of the gauntlets was done in the colors of the various branches of the service—blue for infantry, red for artillery, yellow for cavalry, and buff for staff. Every little scrap and shred of colored worsted was saved for such purposes.

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Charleston Mercury, January 8, 1862.

In one of the weekly reports of the Soldiers' Relief Association, of Charleston, we see acknowledged a box of lint, from a little girl, and a pair of woolen socks, knit by a little girl of seven.

Contributions to the sufferers by fire are acknowledged from the Soldiers' Relief Association of Longtown, Fairfield District, Mrs. John C. Peay, President; from Ladies' Aid Society, Brick Church, Sumter, through Mrs. M. P. Mayes; and from Soldiers' Relief Association, Aiken, Mrs. Steedman, President.

Charleston Mercury, January 21, 1862.

A letter is published from General Beauregard, thanking Mrs. John Dunbar, of Dunbarton, for woolen socks sent him.

In a report of the Soldiers' Relief Association, of Charleston, mention is made of a Soldiers' Relief Association in Beaufort.

Charleston Mercury, January 30, 1862.

The Soldiers' Relief Association publish their second quarterly report, as follows:

"Though many of our members were severe sufferers by the late fire, their interest in the welfare of the soldiers has not abated.

"The private hospital of Dr. J. J. Chisolm, in Trapman street, having been generously offered to the association, it has been furnished by them and opened as a Confederate Hospital, under Dr. W. H. Huger, as the Soldiers' Relief Hospital. A committee of ladies are in daily attendance. Committees also visit daily the Marine and Rikersville Hospitals."

J. C. Gray, of the Chesterfield Dragoons, thanks Mrs. John Witherspoon and Mrs. McIntosh, of Society Hill, for large donations of clothing and provisions.

Charleston Mercury, January 31, 1862.

Notice of Wayside Hospital.

Columbia Guardian, February 10, 1862.

In one of the few Columbia papers we have been able to find appears the following notice:

"The regular monthly meeting of the Soldiers' Relief Association will be held on Monday morning, February 10th, at 10:30 a. m., at Kinsler's Hall. A full attendance is required, as there is work on hand for members. They will remember that the regular subscription will be received, and also that of those who did not pay last month.

CECELIA L. JOHNSTON,
"Secretary and Treasurer."

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Charleston Courier, February 27, 1862.

We find, in the *Charleston Courier* of this date, the question, "Cannot the women of Charleston give an order for a gunboat?" This is apparently the first signal for an undertaking of the women of the entire State, an undertaking which was soon brought to a successful close. The women not only raised money enough for one gunboat, but helped in the purchase of another. There was much discussion as to the names of these boats. They were finally called the "Palmetto State" and the "Chicora," but many other names were advocated. "Vixen" and "Spitfire" were rather liked by some, these being the names by which our opponents delighted to characterize Southern women.

Charleston Courier, February 28, 1862.

The love of the mothers for their country was fully shared by their daughters—even the little ones. We see quoted this little incident:

"THE SPIRIT OF OUR CHILDREN.

"An interesting girl of eight, who is not without a deep sense of the condition of our country, resolved to observe the fast prescribed by the town authorities for Friday, 21st inst. Her mother tried to dissuade her, but for some time without success. In the afternoon, however, the little Hattie was persuaded to break her fast by the argument that fasting was like concert tickets—grown people, so much; children, half price."

In the spring of 1862, the women of South Carolina undertook to provide, for the service of the Confederacy, a gunboat, to be paid for entirely by themselves.

The first contribution we see noticed for this purpose was sent to the *Charleston Courier,* with the following letter to the editor:

Charleston Courier, March 3, 1862.

"Summerville, March 1st.

"MY DEAR SIR: Having observed a few days since in *The Courier* that the ladies of New Orleans had given an order for a gunboat, and also the idea suggested to the ladies of Charleston to emulate their example, I immediately concluded to send you my mite to assist in the good cause, and only regret that it is not a larger sum. If every true woman in our beloved State would contribute the same amount ($5.00), we would soon be enabled to give an order for more than one gunboat.

"Several of my friends are most willing to assist, and are anxious to know through what source to remit to you. I most respectfully

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propose then that you should open a list for contributions, and inform the public through your columns.

"With the earnest hope of success in your good undertaking,

"Respectfully yours,

"SUE G. GEBYER."

With this *The Courier* opens a list for contributors to the gunboat "Palmetto State," and suggests that a second be built and named "The Lovely Sue."

Charleston Courier, March 4, 1862.

Every form of contribution is now made for this purpose. Mrs. Theresa McDonald gives a large and complete set of china, just from Havre, valued at $200. "A Sailor's Wife" sends six silver tablespoons and three forks.

Charleston Courier, March 6, 1862.

A report is published of the Aid and Relief Association of Marlboro:

"REPORT OF THE MARLBORO LADIES' AID AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION.

"This association was organized on August 31, 1861. The whole amount of money received is $511.53. The following is the list of articles contributed up to March, 1862: 120 blankets, thirty counterpanes, 625 pairs socks, 319 pairs drawers, 280 shirts, thirty-six pairs gloves, nineteen pairs suspenders, thirty-four pairs pants, one overcoat, one vest, two merino undervests, 101 yards of flannel, twelve flannel shirts, two pounds wool, fifteen cotton mattresses, twenty-five bed sacks, thirty-five quilts, fifty-nine comforts, eighty-three sheets, 188 pillow-cases, seventy-one pillows, sixty-five towels, three dressing gowns, thirty-six rolls bandages, fifty packages of herbs, three pounds tea, four pounds coffee, five cakes beeswax, one cake mutton suet, six candles, two pounds soap, two boxes starch, six linen tablecloths, one pair slippers, twenty jars and one keg of pickles, twenty-nine bottles and two gallons of wine, thirty-six bottles of catsup, two bottles brandy, one bottle cough syrup, three jars jelly, three jars preserves, three cans tomatoes, fifteen bottles cough syrup, six packages lint, three handkerchiefs, two Bibles and Testaments, fourteen religious books, three packages tracts.

"These were distributed to the following companies: Marlboro Guards, Captain Harrison; McQueen Guards, Captain McLeod; Thomas Guards, Captain Thomas; Douglas Rifles, Capt. R. E. Emanuel; Pee Dee Rifles, Captain Spear; Cavalry, Capt. W. P. Emanuel; Irby Rifles, Captain Smith.

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"Uniforms and overcoats have been made: Marlboro Guards, Thomas Guards, and Pee Dee Rifles.

"Five boxes of hospital stores have been sent to Rev. R. W. Barnwell, in Virginia, and to Prof. F. S. Holmes, Charleston."

Charleston Courier, March 6, 1862.

Donations for the gunboat come in rapidly. "A Sea Captain's Wife" sends a silver bowl, valued at $60. "A Daughter of the Old Palmetto State" sends silver wedding presents. Mrs. Eliza R. Lee Jr., of Camden, sends the silver fork used by herself as a little child. A German lady sends a musical box. Seven hundred and ninety-one dollars in cash had already been sent, and other sums were pouring in. Two young girls sent $10. A captain's two daughters, $74, they had collected.

At this date, the Ladies' Christian Association, of Charleston, reports a long list of articles received and dispensed during the past month—among others, railway fares for soldiers going home on furlough.

Charleston Courier, March 8, 1862.

The sum received by that paper already amounted to $1,203.93. Contributions came in steadily after this, from every part of the State. Men, women and children, and often soldiers in the field, sent money and every variety of articles.

Charleston Courier, March 11, 1862.

General Wade Hampton acknowledges a silk flag sent to Hampton's Legion by the ladies of Matanzas, Cuba. Dr. Gibbes acknowledges large box of lint from ladies of Habana.

Housekeepers were beginning to feel the want of many of the simplest articles of domestic use, and one ingenious woman suggests that lye made from ashes of burned corncobs, used with a little sour milk or vinegar, could be used as a substitute for soda, in making bread.

Mrs. M. E. Russell, of Church street, earnestly entreats the privilege of making gratuitously the flags of the gunboat.

"A Rebel's Yankee Wife" sends a contribution to the gunboat. "Mrs. Yeadon's Servant, Joe," sends $1; "Other Servants," $1.70. Two pairs of vases, valued each at $100, are contributed, one pair by "Little Hennie."

Charleston Courier, March 15, 1862.

"A. H." sends $20 for the gunboat fund, and makes the sensible suggestion that the boat be got, with no more parley about names.

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Charleston Courier, March 22, 1862.

"A True Southern Woman" sends, from Clarendon, four silver ladles, to assist in building the gunboat "Palmetto State."

Charleston Courier, March 11, 1862.

Jewelry, watches, silverware, money, diamonds, spy-glasses, oil paintings, etc., continue to pour in for the gunboat from every part of the State—towns and country. Two little boys, aged, respectively, 5 and 7, send $1.25, the price of their game hen. A widow sends the sword of her husband, to be raffled. A little negro girl sends "a free will offering of 25 cents."

But with all this generosity to a new object, the soldiers were not forgotten, and the reports of various societies go on as usual.

Charleston Mercury, March 15, 1862.

In this paper is a letter, signed "Nemesis," suggesting this name for the boat, and sending $10 for the fund. There is also acknowledged a handsome set of coral, sent by a young lady to be raffled for the boat.

Charleston Courier, March 22, 1862.

There was by this time a call for metal for military purposes. Brass, copper, bell metal, etc., were needed for cannon, and lead for bullets.

The response came, and it is pitiful to see the women throughout the State sending their preserving kettles, to be made into cannon.

Charleston Courier, March 24, 1862.

Mrs. Mary E. Perry, of threescore years and ten, a refugee from Charleston in Sumter, sends 526 musket balls, cast by herself from scraps of lead picked up by herself. "An Old Lady" says: "I cheerfully consent to give the lead from the windows of my house for the use of the army. I only wish I had a lead mine."

It is proposed that, by way of disposing of the many valuable articles contributed to the gunboat fund, a Fair should be given in Charleston. The public school children were sending contributions, little children in the nursery their toys, while their mothers contribute even their pretty, dainty baby clothes.

Letter from Mrs. W. P. DeSaussure, February, 1899.

Among the articles of silver given to this Fair was a very handsome old cream pot and sugar dish—old family silver. This was given by Miss Honoria Muldrop Logan. It was raffled, and sent by the person winning it to a jeweler, to be sold. It was then bought by Miss Lizzie Logan, and is now in the possession of her sister, Mrs. W. P. DeSaussure.

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Charleston Mercury, March 24, 1862.

The proceeds of two amateur performances, amounting to $327. are acknowledged for the gunboat.

Charleston Mercury, March 31, 1862.

The Ladies' Association, of Mars Bluff, sends a contribution to the Georgetown hospitals.

Not only did individuals contribute to the needs of the army any metal that could be used for ammunition, but stripped themselves of their bells, and of any lead that could possibly be dispensed with. Trinity Church (Episcopal), of Columbia, was stripped of a quantity of ornamental leadwork on its roof.

Charleston Mercury, April 2, 1862.

Capt. F. L. Childs, commanding Arsenal in Charleston, and in charge of ordnance, publishes a letter to the secretary of war from four clergymen of Marietta, Ga., offering the bells of their churches for cannon—as below:

E. Porter Palmer, Presbyterian, weight of bell, 740 pounds.

I. B. Cooper, Baptist, weight of bell, 150 pounds.

Samuel Benedict, St. James Episcopal, weight of bell, 333 pounds.

Alexander Graham, Methodist, weight of bell, 400 pounds.

At this date is published a list of managers, senior and junior, who are requested to act for the Ladies' Gunboat Fair, in Charleston.

Charleston Mercury, April 3, 1862.

Another amateur concert is advertised, with the band from Fort Sumter assisting.

Charleston Mercury, April 4, 1862.

"We hear that during the next week a number of young ladies in Columbia will hold a Fair in aid of the gunboat fund."

Charleston Mercury, April 5, 1862.

"The Fair in Columbia will be held on Thursday, April 10th, at the Athenaeum. The entertainment will be conducted in such style that visitors cannot fail to be pleased * * *."

Charleston Mercury, April 7, 1862.

The neighborhood of Georgetown is referred to as having given most liberally of bell metal—about four thousand pounds.

The Relief Societies had not relaxed their efforts. A. F. Freeman, of St. Philip's Aid Hospital, at Atlanta, Ga., acknowledges a liberal contribution from the Soldiers' Relief Association, of Charleston.

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Charleston Courier, April 9, 1862.

"E. S. B.," from Bradford Springs, S. C., sends $20 for the gunboat, from "my little brother and myself." "Mrs. E. S. Sheely and Others" send $55 from Rockingham, N. C.

Charleston Mercury, April 10, 1862.

One thousand three hundred and seventy-seven dollars, the profits of three concerts in Charleston, is acknowledged for the gunboat.

Charleston Mercury, April 12, 1862.

The Gunboat Fair, in Columbia, opened on Thursday, and was a wonderful success.

This Fair was suggested and originated among the young girls of Columbia.

Letter from Miss Grace Elmore, written ———.

"A party of girls—Mary Preston, Grace Elmore, and Isabella Martin—first interested themselves and called a meeting of all the girls of Columbia. The object was very popular, and every one, old and young, was enthusiastic. Money, silverware, jewelry, supplies of all sorts, poured in from all over the State. The Fair was very handsome, and the hall was crowded for an entire week. The proceeds, a goodly sum in specie, were devoted to the gunboat, as intended."

A member of this committee still has several articles bought at that Fair, among others a small piece of silver given by Mrs. M—, of Columbia.

The woods near Columbia were at that season full of wild violets, and some of the younger girls made a good deal of money by gathering large basketfuls at "Rocky Branch," and selling them.

The same zealous effort extended all over the State. We find the following letter from Abbeville:

Charleston Courier, April 12, 1862.

"EDITORS COURIER: I have the pleasure to inform you that the ladies of Abbeville and the vicinity have placed in my hands the sum of $437, for building the gunboat. The money has been deposited in the Branch Bank, of Abbeville, and will be promptly handed to the committee or person to whom will be confided the expenditure of the fund which the daughters of Carolina have contributed for a purpose so patriotic.

"MARTHA CALHOUN BURT.

"Abbeville, S. C., April 2, 1862."

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Charleston Courier, April 15, 1862.

The Ladies' Christian Association, of Charleston, was at this date still meeting and working.

The Soldiers' Relief Association, of Charleston, mentions, in its report, contributions received from the Relief Association, of Hamburg, and the Volunteers' Aid Association, of Beech Island.

The ladies of St. Matthew's Parish send $200 for the gunboat, and a large contribution of hospital stores. It should be noticed that the ladies of St. Matthew's Parish were apparently indefatigable and generous. Constant contributions are sent and acknowledged from them, often through Mrs. C. A. Graeser, who apparently never rested while there was work to do.

The ladies of Bishopville send a large box of stores for hospitals in Charleston.

Charleston Courier, April 20, 1862.

The ladies and gentlemen, managers of the Gunboat Fair in Charleston, met and decided to open the Fair at the Military Hall, on the first Tuesday in May.

The Ladies' Gunboat Fair in Columbia was reported to have made $2,300.

Charleston Courier, April 22, 1862.

Notice of Tableaux Vivants, held at the Military Hall, Charleston, for the gunboat, the band from Fort Sumter assisting.

Charleston Courier, April 29, 1862.

At this date is published the second and third quarterly reports of the Ladies' Soldiers' Relief Association, of Grahamville, S. C., as follows:

"REPORT OF GRAHAMVILLE ASSOCIATION.

"When, in November, the association read the report of their first quarter's work, amid the troubles and distresses incident upon the taking of Port Royal, very few dreamed of possessing a home here, much less of being able to work together for the common cause. But 'God has been better to us than our fears,' and, after the lapse of six months, we still continue our association, and trust our report of two quarters will prove we have not been idle. The first three months, the means of the association were very limited, but by manifold sacrifices on the part of individuals and, after awhile, help from without, we were able to support nine hospitals, in which there were as many as three hundred and forty sick at one time. These were

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supplied with two meals a day for two months. Now the government has established hospitals in our village, ours have been discontinued, and we wait, ready and willing to help when help is needed.

"The association has given in this time—

"To Hospitals: Twenty-one comforts, ninety-three beds, forty-one pillows, thirty-eight shirts, twenty-six pairs drawers, twenty-five flannels, eighteen pairs socks, eighteen towels, eight sheets, eighteen handkerchiefs, with hospital stores from time to time, independent of meals.

"To Twenty-Fifth North Carolina Regiment, Colonel Clingman: Twenty-five comforts, forty-four beds, fourteen pillows, two coats, two pairs pants, ninety-six shirts, 106 pairs drawers, thirteen flannels, seventy pairs socks, eighteen carpet blankets.

"To Eighteenth North Carolina Regiment, Colonel Radcliffe: Twenty beds, twenty pillows, sixteen towels, thirteen handkerchiefs, two boxes of biscuits, two gallons of brandy, seven pounds of mutton, one bag rice flour, two boxes of hospital stores.

"To Beaufort District Troop, Capt. I. H. Howard: One pair pants, three shirts, three pairs drawers, seven pairs socks.

"To Chicora Rifles, Captain Whilden: Twelve coats, eighteen pairs pants, four shirts, ten pairs drawers, seven pairs socks.

"To Captain Stokes: Blackberry wine, cordial, and preserves.

"To Captain Barber: Wine and cordial.

"To Destitute Soldiers: One coat, three pairs pants, ten shirts, twelve pairs drawers, eight flannels, eight pairs socks.

"Letters of thanks have been received from some of those who had sick at the hospitals; also letters of help.

"Our thanks are due Soldiers' Relief Association, and Ladies' Christian Association, and Miss Huger, of Charleston, for aid for hospitals; to the Black Oak Association, for $30 for flannels; to Mrs. Thompson and Mrs. Dowell, for blackberry wines, etc., and slippers; to some of the gentlemen of Colonel Radcliffe's regiment, and the Charleston Light Dragoons, and some ladies of the village, for a concert, by which $211 was realized."

Charleston Mercury, May 6, 1862.

The Gunboat Fair, in Charleston, opened on this day. *The Mercury* says of it: "The ladies emulate the example of the noble daughters of the Old Dominion, who have formed an association for similar purposes, with this spirited and womanly proviso, 'That the work and contribution may be more peculiarly ours, as women,

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we will give such ornaments of gold and articles of silver as are our private personal property; for should it be our sad fate to become slaves, ornaments will ill become our state of bondage, while if God, in His infinite mercy, shall crown our efforts with success, we will be contented to wear the laurel crown of victory, and to give to our children our civil and religious liberty, so gloriously achieved, and say, These be your jewels.'"

Charleston Mercury, May 7, 1862.

There is an enthusiastic report of the Fair held the night before. Further reports say that it was kept open five evenings. The last evening—May 10th—Governor Pickens was present, and the news of the victory at Corinth, which was received at about half past ten o'clock, caused many to give vent to their delight in enthusiastic cheers.

The cause of religion was always upheld in the Confederate Army. With all this rush of enthusiasm about the gunboat, etc., we see the Rev. W. T. Farrow acknowledging a quantity of money, jewelry and silverware sent for the South Carolina Tract Society.

Charleston Courier, May 28, 1862.

In the weekly report of the Soldiers' Relief Association, of Charleston, reference is made to committees of ladies—members of the association—who were helping at the different military hospitals of the city.

Charleston Courier, June 17, 1862.

At this date the Soldiers' Directory, published monthly in the daily Charleston papers, mentions the Soldiers' Relief Association, President, Mrs. George Robertson; the Ladies' Auxiliary Christian Association, President, Mrs. Leonard Chapin, and the Ladies' Clothing Association, President, Miss Hester T. Drayton, showing that the three societies were still at work.

Charleston Mercury, June 18, 1862.

"SOLDIERS' RELIEF ASSOCIATION.

"The regular meeting of this association was held on Monday last, when various reports were read. During the week, the following articles have been received: From Mrs. M—, seven pillow-cases, nine handkerchiefs, books and linen; Mrs. C. Porcher and family, one bag grits, one bag peas, one bag cornmeal; 'A Friend,' blackberry and other wines; Mrs. T—, feather bed; The Charleston Fire Engine Company, through their President, John Kenefick, Esq., $14.44, handed in by Mrs. James Gilliland.

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"The following donations have been made:

"To Soldiers' Relief Hospital: One case adhesive plaster, ten beds, six hospital shirts, seventeen pairs socks.

"To Marine Hospital: One case adhesive plaster.

"To Mazyck Street Hospital: Twelve shirts, six pairs drawers, twelve pairs socks, six towels, six handkerchiefs, two pairs slippers, six fans, one bottle brandy, tracts, and books.

"To Captain Henry C. King, Sumter Guards, Charleston Battalion: Three pairs socks, twenty cotton shirts, twenty pairs drawers.

"To private applications: Eight cotton shirts, one flannel shirt, four pairs drawers, six pairs socks, seven pairs slippers.

"To the ladies of the committees visiting the various hospitals, articles of nourishment have been furnished."

Columbia Southern Guardian, June 20, 1862.

In this paper is found the following advertisement:

"FOR THE LADIES' GUNBOAT.

"We invite attention to a superb oil painting now on exhibition at our store, and to be disposed of by lot or chance, the proceeds to be given to the noble cause of building the gunboat 'Palmetto State.' The painting represents 'Black Hall,' the late residence of Senator Townsend, now occupied by the Federals as 'Headquarters,' exquisitely executed from nature by Miss K. Sosnowski, of this city; valued at $125; 250 chances, at 50 cents.

"Also, to be disposed of for the same purpose, a very superior painting in oil (artist unknown) of the Spanish Beggar Boys, from the collection of the late General Gadsden—now on exhibition at our store—presented by a patriotic lady of Columbia, valued at $54; $1 per chance.

"We trust that the fair donors will have the gratification in a few days of transmitting the amount of the proceeds to the proper committees.

"The lists are being rapidly filled, but a few chances yet remain to be taken, at the book store of P. B. Glass & Co."

"CONCERT OF VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

"Mr. Koepper, assisted by several ladies and gentlemen of this city, will give a concert on Wednesday evening, the 25th inst., for the benefit of the Ladies' Industrial Association, to enable them to extend their assistance to a larger number of needy families than their present limited means will permit."

The same paper, of the same date, quotes this from the *Charleston Courier:*

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Charleston Courier, 1862.

"The majority of our own wounded in the late battle (Secessionville), from the interior of the State and elsewhere, are now at the Soldiers' Relief Hospital and Marine Hospital. Noble-hearted ladies are continually visiting, dispensing comfort to all, moving silently about, cheering both sick and wounded."

Columbia Southern Guardian, June 20, 1862.

"The president of the Ladies' Hospital Association acknowledges the receipt of the following contributions for hospital purposes, viz.: $30 from the communion offerings of Christ Church, through Rev. Mr. Pringle; $3 from Mrs. McDonald, $5 from Mme. Fillette, $3 from Mrs. P. B. Glass, $2 and a package of tea from Mrs. Pearce, $5 from a lady of Columbia.

"Also a box of edibles from Mrs. Fraser, of Winnsboro; a bale, containing sheets, pillows, shirts, pantaloons, bandages, one counterpane, one towel, old linen, and sage, from Mrs. Rosemond, Mrs. Pegg, Mrs. Wyatt, Mrs. Carne, and Mrs. Atkinson, Equality, Anderson District; five sheets, six pillow-slips, two spreads, from Mrs. S—, Columbia; one mosquito net, and package of herbs, from Mrs. English; two boxes and two bags, containing in all blackberry wine, catsup, lemon syrup, brandy cherries, crab-apple preserves, eggs, hominy, sage, pepper, rice meal crackers, dried fruit, flour, and butter.

"Also a coop of chickens, from the Aid Society, of Winnsboro; one tierce of rice, from Mr. Polland, of Columbia. Chickens, butter, and milk are now the chief articles in demand at the hospital."

There are also the following acknowledgments:

"The president of the Soldiers' Relief Association gratefully acknowledges a donation of 900 yards of Graniteville sheeting, from a lady and gentleman; also forty yards of calico and thirty yards of striped homespun, from Mrs. G. Trenholm.

"Received, at the Confederate Hospital, June 18th, of Mrs. S. A. Howe, president of the Ladies' Hospital Association, a bucket and box of butter, several small bags of rice, rye, and dried fruit, and a bag of flour.

H. McKEE,
"Steward."

Charleston Mercury, June 19, 1862.

Occasional suggestions were made in the papers of makeshift substitutes for articles fast becoming scarce. Two are here given, the second of which would seem to be of manly invention:

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"Light.—Spirits of turpentine, in a lamp lately invented, and costing about $3, makes a beautiful gas light, very brilliant, very safe, costs about 3 cents per night.

"Blacking.—Fill a snuff bottle nearly full of soot from a common chimney, put in a good drink of whiskey, and same quantity of vinegar, shake well, and you have a first-rate glossy blacking."

Charleston Mercury, July 1, 1862.

Acknowledgment is made of a supply of lint sent by "two Carolina ladies."

Charleston Mercury, July 2, 1862.

We see a reference to Mechanicsville Aid Society.

The Relief Association, of Charleston, announce that they will supply soldiers with light reading, at the Depository, Chalmers street, and also mention in their weekly report that the ladies of Upper and Middle St. Johns have for the week past supplied six hospitals with mutton, beef, fowls, and other stores.

Charleston Mercury, July 7, 1862.

The ladies of the Relief Association, of Darlington, notify Medical Director Kinloch that they will receive and care for 100 sick or wounded men.

Charleston Mercury, July, 1862.

"FOURTH QUARTERLY REPORT OF THE SOLDIERS' RELIEF ASSOCIATION, OF CHARLESTON.

"On the 20th of July, 1861, several ladies met for the purpose of forming an association to provide, by voluntary contributions and labor, garments for our soldiers in the field, hospital stores, and other comforts for the sick and wounded. From this meeting, the Soldiers' Relief Association, of Charleston, dates its commencement, and now has the pleasure of presenting to the public its fourth quarterly report, with a statement of its work for the year. * * * Under all the difficulties and trying circumstances of the last quarter, we have abundant cause to feel grateful to a kind Providence, who has, in His great mercy, not only spared our beloved city from the hand of the ruthless invader, but has continued our health and strength, and enabled us to carry on our good work as formerly. Owing to the great scarcity of material for clothing, and the absence of many of our members, we have not been able to prepare and distribute as many garments as before, consequently our attention has been more particularly directed to the procuring of hospital stores

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and nourishment, and the distribution of the same by our committees personally among the various hospitals in our city.

"In this work, we have been nobly sustained and encouraged by our friends, both in the city and country, by their liberal contributions in money, provisions, etc., all of which have been already acknowledged. We can only repeat our sincere thanks for the same, and renew our promise to do all in our power to carry out the objects of this association, as long as our means will enable, and our health and strength permit.

"The Depository, in Chalmers street, is still the headquarters of this association, and is open every day, Sundays excepted, from nine to two, when contributions will be thankfully received.

"MRS. W. SNOWDEN,
"President pro tem.
"MISS F. M. BLAMYER,
"Treasurer pro tem.

"Donations made during fourth quarter: Fifty-two flannel shirts, 506 cotton shirts, 314 pairs of drawers, 384 pairs of socks, thirty-three handkerchiefs, forty towels, sixty-two mattresses, fifty-five bed sacks, eight pairs pantaloons, sixty-nine sheets, seventy-one pillows, ninety-nine pillow-cases, thirty-eight fans, five dressing-gowns, ninety-one mosquito nets, ten pairs of slippers, twelve caps, thirty quilts, four comforts, besides a large amount of wine, liquors and hospital nourishment of all kinds.

"Donations of clothing have been made to the following regiments, companies, and hospitals: Colonel Means' regiment; Captain Warren's company; Irish Volunteers, Captain Ryan; Charleston Riflemen Volunteers, Captain Blake; Washington Artillery, Captain Walker; Charleston Light Infantry, Captain Simons; Company A, St. James Mounted Riflemen, Captain Whilden; Washington Light Infantry; Lieutenant Hall, Confederate Navy, for Gunboat No. 3; Captain Smith's company, White's Battalion; Rikersville Hospital; Soldiers' Relief Hospital; Summerville Hospital; Adams Run Hospital; Roper Hospital; Citadel Green Hospital; South Bay Hospital; Washington Light Infantry Hospital; Marine Hospital.

"List of clothing, bedding, etc., distributed through the year from the 20th July, 1861, to the 20th July, 1862: 4,718 pairs drawers, 3,495 cotton shirts, 2,483 flannel shirts, sixteen undershirts, 219 linen shirts, 193 shawl shirts, 339 pairs of pantaloons, 3,359 pairs of socks, 283 pairs of slippers, 263 pairs of gloves, 1,006 pocket handkerchiefs, 447 mattresses, 306 comforts, 141 blankets, sixty-seven

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quilts, thirty-eight fans, sixty-two coats, 221 dressing-gowns, 238 scarfs, seventy-seven caps, twenty-two havelocks, 806 sheets, 550 bed sacks, 673 pillow sacks, 497 pillows, 673 tierces rice, hospital nourishment, and over one hundred dozen wines and brandy, cordials, etc., besides making up seven bales of cotton into mattresses, and making of uniforms and overcoats for several companies.

"Treasurer's Statement.

April 20, 1862, by cash balance on hand from third quarter	$92.72
By cash received from private concert	200.00
By cash received from private concert	80.00
By cash received from donations	1,010.00
By cash received from sale of rags	8.00
Total	$1,390.72

"Expenditures.

To cash paid for clothing and bedding materials, etc.	$132.01
To cash for advertising	10.40
To cash for hospital expenses and stores	105.97
To cash for stationery, postage, etc	3.75
To cash for freight and drayage	39.30
To cash for telegram	1.10
To cash for insurance Soldiers' Relief Hospital	40.00
To cash for hall expenses	42.00
	$374.53

"Recapitulation for the four quarters from July 20, 1861, to July 20, 1862:

By amount received during first quarter	$7,676.74
By amount received during second quarter	2,794.13
By amount received during third quarter	1,599.35
By amount received during fourth quarter	1,298.97
	$13,369.19
To amount of cash expended during first quarter	$7,658.99
To amount of cash expended during second quarter	2,794.13
To amount of cash expended during third quarter.	1,498.73
To amount of cash expended during fourth quarter	375.14
	$12,326.99
Leaving on hand a balance of	1,042.20

"July 21, 1862."

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Charleston Mercury, July 9, 1862.

The division surgeon acknowledges a generous donation of bedding, etc., from the Ladies' Relief Association, of Aiken.

Charleston Mercury, July 10, 1862.

Mention is made of contributions from the Summerville Ladies' Association, and the Summerville Juvenile Association, to the Summerville Hospital.

A notice is also given of a Fair held by ladies of Allendale, for the benefit of the Savannah River Guard, who had done long service on the coast, and were suffering greatly from disease.

Charleston Mercury, July 12, 1862.

A Wayside Hospital is reported as established at Kingville.

The letter given below shows what has been before stated, that lead from private houses, churches, etc., wherever available, was sent to be made into shot and shell:

"C. S. Mining and Niter Bureau Office,
"Sup. Dep., S. C. College,
"July 12, 1862.

"In behalf of this Bureau, we beg to tender to Mrs. McCord our profound thanks for the very handsome donation of lead received yesterday from her plantation.

"We are sure it will be gratifying to know that more than two tons of lead have been forwarded from my office to the chief of the Bureau since our appeal last week to the citizens of Columbia; and the greater part has been contributed by the energetic and patriotic women of our country.

"With the highest respect and esteem,
"Your humble servant,
"FRANCES S. HOLMES,
"Supt. M. and N. Works Dept., S. C.

"Mrs. Louisa S. McCord, Present."

Charleston Mercury, July 14, 1862.

A card is published by Dr. John Bachman, acknowledging money for soldiers from Charleston ladies and children, refugees in Spartanburg. Part of it is $88, made by tableaux. He also acknowledges fruit sent by Mrs. Gregg, Mrs. Fleming, and others, from Kalmia and Aiken, and mosquito nets for hospitals, sent from Charleston, Newberry, Spartanburg, and other places—600 nets in all.

Dr. Bachman says Miss Cobia, of Charleston, sent two sacks of wool, cotton, cards, etc.; thirty-six pairs of cotton cards were sent

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by the ladies of Charleston, Columbia, and Newberry, and six pairs by Gravely & Pringle. "These I have distributed according to wishes of donors—in every case to those only who were manufacturing clothing for sons, husbands, or brothers, in the army. The six pairs of cotton cards for the lady in Spartanburg District who, by her own industry, clothed her four sons in the Army of Virginia, I carried to her family on the day when the mournful tidings arrived that one of these boys had fallen in battle."

Charleston Mercury, July 17, 1862.

The surgeon of Mazyck Street Hospital acknowledges supplies from ladies of Midway and Barnwell.

Charleston Mercury, July 19, 1862.

A correspondent from Columbia says: "I have just come from Richmond, without seeing a single intoxicated person, though the cars were crowded with soldiers, and at every depot there were large crowds to meet the train. At Goldsboro and Magnolia, N. C., and at Sumter, S. C., the sick and wounded were liberally cared for."

During all this time the daily papers are filled with long lists of dead and wounded; but the women went on working steadily, though often in need of the simplest and most necessary implements. Help was sometimes sent from outside—whenever possible, from the warm-hearted women of Maryland.

Charleston Mercury, July 23, 1862.

We see the Soldiers' Relief Association, of Charleston, acknowledging sewing machine needles sent them by ladies of Baltimore, to be used in working for Confederate soldiers.

Salt at this time was got by digging up the floors of smokehouses, and boiling the earth until the dirt and salt were separated. This required many boilings and skimmings before the salt was left clean. Curtains were used for soldiers' shirts and children's dresses. Children's shoes were made by their mothers, of scraps of cloth; and women—many of them—made their own shoes. Tumblers of lard, with little cotton wicks, were burned for lamps. Candles were made of everything available, including myrtle wax made from the wild myrtle berries. As every one was wearing mourning, gloves were mended to the utmost possibility, covered with ink, and then rubbed over with lard until the black ceased to come off and the kid remained pliable.

Among the many charitable organizations of that time in Charleston was a Free Market, for the relief of the destitute families of soldiers. This was not an enterprise of the women, but we find in

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the papers that they contributed to it freely. At this date we see the following:

Charleston Mercury, July 31, 1862.

"At a meeting of the executive committee of the Free Market of Charleston, held yesterday morning, John E. Phillips, Esq., was unanimously elected a member of the executive committee, in place of the lamented George M. Coffin, deceased."

We also find the Rev. W. T. Farrow, general agent of the South Carolina Tract Society, acknowledging "$81.50 from Orangeburg, to furnish our soldiers with religious reading." Mr. E. T. Kerrison was secretary and treasurer of this society.

It is a cause of wonder and admiration that in these few months, so full of excitement, confusion and suffering, every need seems to have been considered, and every want, as far as possible, provided for. In all these charitable works we see constantly the name of the Rev. W. S. Bowman.

With these other acknowledgements is one from the surgeon of Mazyck Street Hospital, Charleston, who has received from Mrs. Hamilton Waring, Walterboro, a box of rice and eggs; Colonel Leadon, from proceeds of tableaux, $10; Mrs. Roberts, a supply of fruit; planters of St. Johns Berkeley, through Soldiers' Relief Association, various articles.

Charleston Mercury, July 31, 1862.

"REPORT OF THE SOLDIERS' RELIEF ASSOCIATION, CHARLESTON.

"The regular weekly meeting of this association was held on Monday afternoon, when various reports were read. During this week, the following donations have been received: From Mrs. I. P., of Pinopolis, two bed coverlets, one bag apples, for hospital; from Miss McColl, two pounds wild cherry bark; two pairs socks from Miss S. H. B.; two mosquito nets from Mrs. Schreiner and Mrs. Foran; from a friend, six fans; Dr. Wineman, two bottles brandy, one bottle port wine; a member in Columbia, two pairs socks; a friend in Greenville, a valuable donation of linen; Mrs. I. P., of Cedar Springs, one barrel grits, one mutton; Mrs. W. M. Porcher, one bag meal; Miss C., ten pillow-cases; Mrs. F. D. Fanning, a bundle of pavilions, and five fans; P. T., three nets, and a gross of buttons; Mrs. Bachman, seven bottles blackberry wine, fruit, two pairs drawers, and rags; Miss C. E. Godfrey, secretary of Cheraw Aid Society, two boxes, containing tapioca, sugar, cornstarch, gelatine, cocoa; fifteen bottles, containing wine, honey, jelly, preserves, tomatoes; two tumblers, packages of dogwood bark, wild cherry bark,

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and sage, one bag rice, one package rice flour, two hams, three bags grits, one bag meal, starch, and sage, seventeen pairs drawers, two shirts, five pairs socks, one pair slippers, one pillow-case, six pairs drawers; from a lady in Pendleton, eight bottles blackberry syrup, one bottle sherry; from Mrs. George Robertson, president of this society, and several members, eighty-six nets, four shirts, two pairs socks, three bed sacks, one bundle for James Island; from Mrs. C. W., St. Johns Berkeley, one bag okra; Mrs. T. P. R., Middle St. Johns, one bag grits, one bag meal, two coops chickens; Mrs. Dr. J. S. P., St. Stephens, three barrels and three baskets of peaches; from Lynchburg, through Dr. Bachman, one box hospital stores, and two pavilions.

"The following donations have been made during the week:

"To Wayside Hospital, Columbia: $100.

"To Eutaw Regiment, James Island: Twenty bed sacks, twenty pillows, twenty pillow-cases, fifteen sheets, thirty shirts, one jar pickles, one bottle catsup, one bottle blackberry wine, and one bottle cordial.

"To privates in Marine Hospital: Six shirts, five pairs drawers, three pairs socks.

"To private applications: Seventeen cotton shirts, four flannel shirts, seventeen pairs drawers, and twenty-seven pairs socks.

"The ladies visiting the hospitals on committees have been supplied with various articles of nourishment.

"The following amounts have been received: From Mr. Quimby, lithographist, $5; Mr. B. D. Boyd, of Newberry, $10; through Mr. Leadon, part of the proceeds of tableaux for Soldiers' Relief Hospital, $20; from five members in Columbia, $75; from a member, 50 cents; through ———, $1.49; from Miss McCrady, through Rev. W. Dehon, $5.

"As beds are required for the sick soldiers, any one who will supply the cotton will have the gratification of adding much to the comfort of our brave defenders."

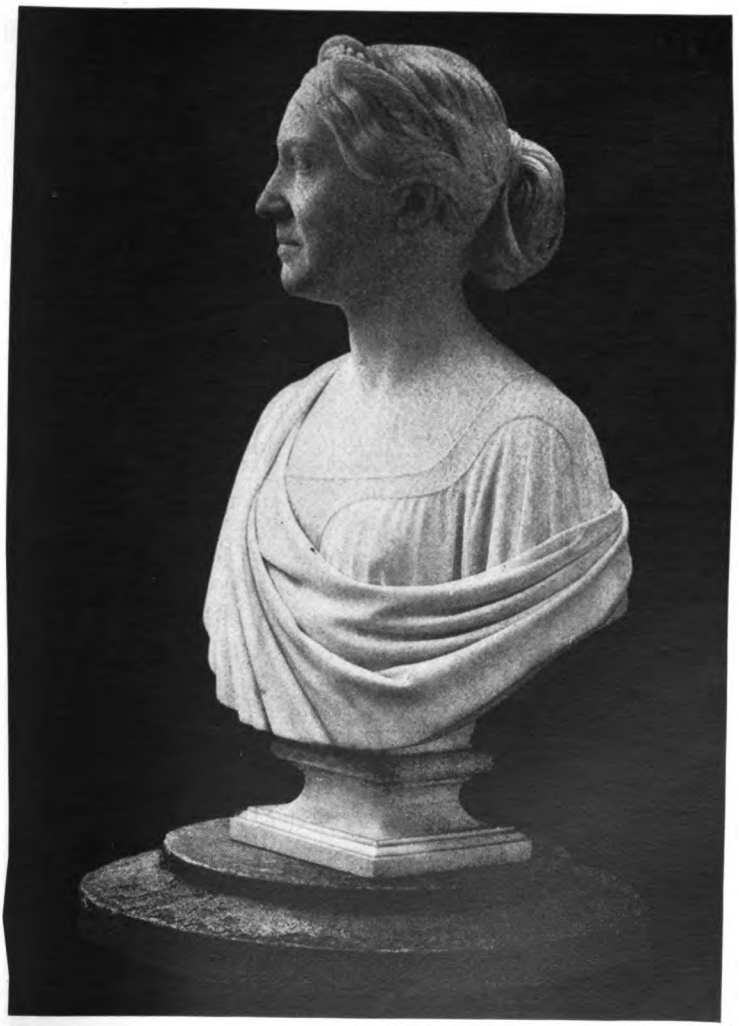
Charleston Mercury, July 31, 1862.

The following letter makes a timely suggestion:

"Home, July 27.

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE MERCURY: Will you not urge upon our Southern people the necessity of putting up fruits and vegetables and drying herbs to send to our hospitals, reserving some for winter use. Every one should now, and as long as the material lasts, be making pickles, catsup, drying apples, peaches, figs, and any other

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MRS. D. J. McCORD,
COLUMBIA.

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THE NEW YORK
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fruit they may have. Among the vegetables, okra is easily dried, and lima beans will keep all winter, put away after they have been fully dried on the vines (a little sassafras will keep insects away), and tomatoes may be kept in bottles. Let each one think for a moment how acceptable all this will be to our soldiers, from whom vegetables are debarred by the prices asked for them, and none will hesitate. Let no one think, 'it is but little I can do,' but each one go to work in earnest, and much can be accomplished. I will give you an easy way of putting up tomatoes: Wash and cut the tomatoes; when sufficiently cooked, run them through a sieve or colander, add salt and a few pods of red pepper, cook till the consistency of syrup, then bottle and seal. I sent these to camp all winter in the 'boxes from home,' and nothing was more acceptable.

"Now, Mr. Editor, do write a piece that will set our people to work. All they need is that they should be reminded of what is both a pleasure and a duty—working for our soldiers.

"ANNIE."

Charleston Courier, July 31, 1862.

"A box, containing two dozen mosquito nets, kindly sent to Company C, Eighteenth Regiment, S. C. V., by one of the most patriotic young ladies of the Soldiers' Relief Association, of Charleston, arrived after the departure of the regiment for another field of service. The box, however, was forwarded to one of the officers of the Twenty-fourth regiment, and the nets duly distributed. We are very grateful to our fair friends for so useful a present, and promise to do our picket duty now in contempt as well of the mosquitoes and sandflies as of the Yankees."

The nets referred to were evidently small ones, protecting the head. The frequent references to nets and fans for the hospitals at this time painfully suggests the terrible sufferings of the poor men from heat and mosquitoes.

Charleston Courier, July 31, 1862.

"We take pleasure in adding Fair Bluff, N. C., to the list of places and railway stations ennobled and honored by the tender hands and ministering attentions of fair patriots who do all they can to relieve the wants and demands of the soldiers passing over the Wilmington and Manchester Railroad."

Charleston Mercury, August 4, 1862.

Mrs. Kennedy of the Kingville Hotel is mentioned as devoting her entire time to the care of sick and wounded soldiers.

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At this time, it is touching to see how, with all their deprivations and hardships, soldiers in the field are constantly sending home contributions to assist sufferers by fire, or from other causes.

Mrs. C. A. Graeser and other ladies of Fort Motte and its vicinity are constant workers for soldiers.

Reference is made to the Cheraw Soldiers' Aid Society.

Charleston Mercury, August 7, 1862.

The anniversary report of the Board of Managers of the Aiken Relief Association is published—Mrs. J. G. Steadman, President, and Mrs. M. A. Farrington, Secretary.

"Your Board would respectfully report that a meeting was held on August 1st, on which day we received, by donations and subscriptions, $221. Our association was formed immediately after the Battle of Manassas, and every one was eager to help our suffering soldiers. We have ever since been working industriously, and gratefully report the prosperous condition of our affairs. For replenishing our treasury we have mainly depended on fairs. * * * We have been favored by Graniteville and Vaucluse factories in being supplied with goods at lowered rates. * * * We ought not to omit mention of donations of money, cloth, and blankets. During the year, we have distributed clothing and hospital stores to the following companies: Captain Denny's, Captain Hard's, Allen Guards, Richardson Guards, Bonham's Brigade, Ryan Guards, Maryland Guards, Pickens Guards, crew of 'Rattlesnake,' Capt. A. Jones' company, Captain William Gregg's, Pickens Rangers, Captain Croft, Lucas Battalion.

"We have also relieved several individuals and sent stores in July to hospitals in South Carolina; in August, to hospitals in Virginia; to Dr. Ogier, for hospitals in Charleston; to Augusta Wayside Hospital; in August, two boxes of brandy to Rev. R. W. Barnwell, for soldiers in Virginia.

"In all, we have distributed 2,535 garments, ninety-two blankets, twenty-six comforts, thirty spreads, fourteen sheets, 166 pillows, three mattresses.

"Our stock on hand consists of one bed sack, eighteen mattresses, 136 pillow-cases, fifteen spreads, thirty-five pillows, fifteen pairs linsey pants, four jackets, eleven scarfs, forty-five handkerchiefs, eighty-eight cotton shirts, six osnaburg shirts, twenty-seven pairs drawers, sixteen gloves, four pairs wool socks, nine pairs cotton socks, one pound wool yarn, two gross china buttons, twelve spools cotton, two balls sewing thread, forty-four pounds raw cotton, five

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and one-half pounds wool, 165 yards osnaburg, 357 yards palmetto shirting, fifty-six yards drill, eighty-five yards chintz, 194 yards paper cambric.

"Money received throughout the year, $2,809.25. Money expended, $2,324.50."

Charleston Mercury, August 9, 1862.

The following advertisement is suggestive of difficulties to housekeepers:

"Housekeepers will be pleased to know that good brooms can be bought at the grocery at the corner of King and Broad streets."

About this time, Dr. Bachman publishes a list of hospitals and refers to the work of women in all of them. At Branchville there was no hospital, but committees from Orangeburg got on the trains, which passed twice a day, and went as far as Branchville, carrying with them food and other comforts for the sick and wounded soldiers on the cars. Mrs. Rowe, of Rowes Pump, near Orangeburg, was most active in this work, and was known far and near for her tender care of our suffering men. The following sketch of her, which has been sent this committee, must interest all:

Written in 1900. No signature.

"MRS. SARAH K. ROWE.

"Among the many thousands of noble, self-sacrificing and patriotic women of the Confederacy, the name of Mrs. Donald Rowe, of Orangeburg, S. C., stands out conspicuously, and there are hundreds of old soldiers of both the Lost Cause and the Federal army who can still bear witness to her acts of kindness and charity, and her untiring and unswerving devotion to the sacred cause of the gallant nation that fell, 'foiled by numbers.'

"Her maiden name was Moss—Sarah Keziah Moss. She was the daughter of Stephen and Ann (Erwin) Moss, of Orangeburg District, and granddaughter of John Moss, who came from Virginia to South Carolina just prior to the Revolution, and Mary Keziah Wright. She was born May 18, 1814, and was married to Donald C. Rowe, a scion of good old colonial and Revolutionary stock, of Orangeburg District.

"When the die of war was cast, and the sons of Carolina were responding as only Carolinians can to the call of patriotic duty, Mrs. Rowe deemed it her duty to respond also to the call—as a minister to the comforts of the hungry, the sick, and the wounded. Day after day, throughout almost the entire war, this noble woman repaired to the depot in Orangeburg and boarded the upbound train,

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bearing baskets and boxes of food, medicines, bandages, and other comforting articles for the soldiers. From Orangeburg to Kingville she would pass up and down the cars, handing food and offering words of cheer to the well; to the sick she gave delicacies and medicines; she bandaged the wounds of the wounded and gave them strengthening cordials, and to all she was as a mother. At Kingville, she would take the down train and go as far as Branchville, ministering now to the soldiers passing downward. In the evening, she would return to Orangeburg by the up train, and again she would give her tender care to those passing upward. She was kind and generous to Northern soldiers and prisoners as well as to her own loved boys in gray.

"The ladies of Orangeburg and the surrounding country would every day send food, clothes and other things, prepared by their own hands, or under their direction, often taxing their resources, for Mrs. Rowe to use on her trips. Besides, she had much prepared at her own home, which was at that time a miniature commissary department. Often she would have assistance from the sweet young girls of Orangeburg and other towns along the railroad which she traveled, and sometimes matrons of maturer years would lend their assistance. There was at Orangeburg, during a part of the war, a hospital for sick soldiers, and to this she frequently went and assisted in caring for the sick. She was so sympathetic that often, when she witnessed the sufferings and agony of wounded men, she would burst into tears, and a lady contemporary says that, upon one occasion, just after one of the great battles, she saw Mrs. Rowe so deeply affected by the sight of the mangled and bleeding men that she herself was moved to pity for the good lady.

"When Sherman's army was approaching Orangeburg, Mrs. Rowe secured a car from the South Carolina Railroad and packed all of her household goods into it and shipped them to Columbia for safe keeping, her two daughters accompanying the car. A few days later, a Federal officer, with a detachment of troops, came to her house and called for her. She fully expected to be arrested when she appeared; but the officer politely asked her what had become of her household effects. She told him what she had done with them, whereupon he expressed regret, for he said that his superiors had heard of her kindness to Federal prisoners, and had detailed them to protect her and her property. He farther expressed a fear that the property would not be so safe in Columbia. He was right. Not only did the great pyrotechnists destroy the car and its

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contents, but actually entered a private apartment, where one of Mrs. Rowe's daughters was lying ill, and sprinkled powder about the room and set it on fire, forcing the girl to fly for her life. And here it might be mentioned that the two Rowe girls, with several other young ladies from Orangeburg, had to make their way back to that place—a distance of fifty miles—with one old horse and a little gig. They took turns at riding and walking, and reached home a footsore and weary party.

"Just after the war, the Rowes lost all their property, and Wm. Rowe died in 1876; but Mrs. Rowe secured a place in the country, about six miles from town, and, directing her own farming affairs, managed to struggle along. She always had some of her children or grandchildren with her at the farm, and thus the last years of her life were happily spent; but in all her life, her happiest and her saddest days were doubtless those spent among the boys who wore the gray. She died June 1, 1884, and was buried in the churchyard of the Church of the Redeemer, in Orangeburg. A modest little stone marks the place where both she and her husband lie; and on each Memorial Day, when flowers are placed upon the graves of the Confederates who sleep beneath the sod of the same churchyard, some one always remembers to drop a wreath and a tear on the grave of 'Aunt Sarah'."

Charleston Mercury, August 10, 1862.

"INCIDENT ON THE CARS.

"On the down train from Columbia, I've witnessed a scene, between Orangeburg and Branchville, well worth describing. A sick soldier, unable to keep his seat, was stretched out on the floor, across the doorway, panting with heat, wasted with disease, resting his head on his knapsack. With the committee of ladies and gentlemen who got on at Orangeburg was a young lady, a refugee, with a basket of phials, bandages, etc., and when she entered the door where lay the poor sick man, she, with the aid of one of the gentlemen, took charge of him in the tenderest and most practical manner. Wine and milk were given, reviving stimulants used. At first she stood stooping over and fanning him, but at last she sat on the floor, and in the most modest, sisterly way, bathed his forehead and cheeks and fanned him with the utmost patience—and all in silence. There was scarcely a murmur heard in the crowded car. As I stood near, I saw the big tears gather in the man's eyes. Gentlemen in the cars dropped money into her lap. She quietly took it and put it into the man's pocket before seeing him put on the train for Augusta. I

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mention no names, and only wish to show that our women are ready to do all they can in these days of calamity and peril."

Charleston Mercury, August 9, 1862.

A list of places is published where salt was made in Charleston. Messrs. Chisholm, whose salt works were at the foot of Tradd street, were commended for refusing to ask more than $5 per bushel for salt, in spite of enormous prices asked by others.

Mrs. Snowden—Correspondence in possession of Mr. Yates Snowden, August 18, 1862.

The following letter shows how well the women of South Carolina had progressed in their efforts to pay for a gunboat:

"Confederate States of America.
"Navy Department.
"Richmond, August 18, 1862.

"RICHARD YEADON, ESQ., EDITOR OF THE COURIER, CHARLESTON, S. C.

"*Sir:* I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th inst., asking, in behalf of the ladies of South Carolina, that the new steam sloop being constructed by this department in the City of Charleston be named the 'Palmetto State.' Captain Ingraham, before the receipt of your letter, had been instructed to name this vessel the 'Charleston,' but, in deference to the wishes of the noble women of Carolina, this order is revoked, and he has this day been directed to call her the 'Palmetto State.' The funds referred to will be received and appropriated according to your wishes. If, however, you will permit me to make a suggestion, I would present to your consideration the expediency of devoting them to the next vessel to be built by Captain Ingraham.

"If we can identify the patriotic women of your State with the construction of a new vessel, an impulse will be given to her speedy completion. I will with pleasure, however, adopt the course you may desire. I am respectfully, Your obedient servant,

"S. B. MALLORY,
"Secretary of the Navy."

To this letter a note is appended in another hand, perhaps Colonel Yeadon's, to this effect:

"THE LADIES' GUNBOAT.

"We are happy to announce to the noble and patriotic women of South Carolina, as will appear by the subjoined letter, that the secretary of the navy has, in the most complimentary terms, richly deserved by them, consented that the ironclad Confederate gunboat

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recently launched in our waters shall, in deference to their wishes, be named the 'Palmetto State,' suggesting, however, that it may be preferable, and leaving it to their option, to confer that glorious time-honored name on the next gunboat to be built by Captain Ingraham. A final decision will be delayed until a consultation can be had with the hero of the Kotzu exploit."

Charleston Mercury, August 19, 1862.

Directions are given for making portable soup. This was made in quantities and sent on to Virginia. It was in hard, brown cakes, which were to be melted down in hot water.

A pitiful piece of advice is given to soldiers—to fill their pockets with slippery elm bark, with which to allay hunger and thirst.

Dr. Bachman, in another report, says: "In passing along the line of the South Carolina Railroad, I had further opportunity of witnessing the devotion of the ladies of Orangeburg to the sick and wounded, a committee going daily to Kingville and Branchville. * * * At Greenwood, on the Greenville road, the daily practice is to set tables under the trees to give a meal to every soldier passing through. * * * I don't know how long resources can hold out, but if self-denial and effort can accomplish it, it will last for a long time yet. Blessed Christian women!"

"Notice is given that the Winnsboro ladies have established a Wayside Hospital in one of the largest halls—a brick building, airy, comfortable, with clean beds and bedding and, more than all, dear women to daily attend and supervise; all soldiers too sick to proceed are carefully attended to."

Charleston Mercury, August 20, 1862.

The Charleston Relief Association acknowledges contributions from Williston Relief Association, through Mrs. Graham.

Charleston Courier, August 23, 1862.

A concert in Cheraw is noticed as having been given for the benefit of the soldiers, by Miss M. B. Williams, of Charleston, and the late Mr. M. S. Reeves, and several ladies of Cheraw.

Dr. Morrall, from Palmetto Camp, acknowledges help to sick and wounded, from the ladies of Mt. Pleasant.

Charleston Mercury, August 30, 1862.

"We understand that the funds raised by the ladies of South Carolina for construction of a gunboat for the defense of Charleston will soon be paid to the Confederate government, under whose direction the gunboat 'Palmetto State' has been built. The christening will

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take place in a day or two. The sum received by *The Mercury* is $6,929.60."

In the same paper, James M. Eason is referred to as the builder of this boat, and as having succeeded when it had been supposed that such a thing was impossible in Charleston, for want of proper mechanics.

A box of lint from children of the Church Home is acknowledged.

Charleston Mercury, September 4, 1862.

The women of the State are urged to renewed and continued efforts in knitting.

Dr. Bachman is still going his rounds of Wayside Hospitals, collecting and distributing relief, and urging still greater effort, as "the cars will be crowded with wounded from the late battles."

Charleston Mercury, September 10, 1862.

An account is given of tableaux vivants at Pineville. All arrangements were guided by Miss Huger. Colonel Edwin DuBose acted as master of ceremonies, aided by W. D. Bonneau, W. Mazyck Porcher, Esqs., and the Hon. S. Warren Palmer. The tables were presided over by Miss Camilla Cordes and other "angels of Pineville."

Mrs. Rowe and Mrs. Jeffords, of Orangeburg, acknowledge articles sent for sick soldiers.

Correspondence Charleston Courier, September 11, 1862.

"Cheraw, September 2, 1862.

"R. YEADON, ESQ.:

"*Dear Sir:* I enclose you $4 for the gunboat 'Palmetto State,' contributed by two ladies of this village. The amount is additional to $135 collected here by a young lady, and sent several months ago to *The Mercury* office through Mrs. J. H. McIver.

"J. M. BOSTICK."

Charleston Mercury, September 15, 1862.

Our mothers were not accustomed to "society columns," and a card is published objecting strongly to the use of names in the account of the Pineville entertainment.

Charleston Mercury, September 16, 1862.

Dr. Bachman mentions that Mrs. Snowden, president of the Soldiers' Relief Association, of Charleston, had gone to Virginia, carrying hospital stores.

After every battle, some women went on to care for their own wounded relatives. Mrs. Mason Smith, of Charleston, was one of

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those who, going on to nurse her son, was able to do much to comfort others.

At this time, pieces of cotton shirting, drill, etc., are quoted as from 40 to 60 cents per yard.

At about this date, yellow fever broke out in Wilmington, N. C. General Beauregard's staff surgeon, Dr. Choppin, from New Orleans, went on to Wilmington with nurses from Charleston.

Charleston Mercury or Charleston Courier, September 25, 1862.

In one of the Charleston papers is an army letter, signed "P. W. A.," written from Winchester, Va. It contains an appeal ending in the following words. It is difficult for those who have not been tried as were the women of 1861 to 1865 to realize how such words moved them to the profoundest emotion and most desperate effort:

"If the Army of Virginia could march through the South just as it is, ragged and almost barefooted and hatless, many of the men limping along, and not quite well of their wounds or sickness, and yet cheerful and not willing to abandon their places in the ranks—their clothes riddled with balls, and their banners covered with the smoke and dust of battle, and shot into tatters; many of them inscribed with 'Williamsburg,' 'Seven Pines,' 'Gaines' Mill,' 'Garnett's Farm,' 'Front Royal,' 'McDowell,' 'Cedar Run,' and other victorious fields—if this army of veterans, thus clad and shod, with tattered uniforms and banners, could march from Richmond to the Mississippi, it would produce a sensation that has no parallel in history since Peter the Hermit led his swelling hosts across Europe to the Holy Sepulcher."

Charleston Mercury, September 30, 1862.

A letter is published from the Soldiers' Rest Association, in Orangeburg, acknowledging help for the Wayside Hospital and Soldiers' Rest, and for sick soldiers on the cars. It is signed "A. F. Dickson, Treasurer."

In the *Charleston Courier,* about this date, "W." says: "Let every church, public hall and private dwelling be stripped of their carpets to cover our suffering soldiers." Probably this had already been done in many cases, but certainly it became very general, and carpet blankets, with curtain shirts, are mentioned often in the lists of articles forwarded to camps and hospitals.

Charleston Mercury, October 3, 1862.

Mention is made of physicians, nurses and Sisters of Charity who have gone from Charleston to Wilmington.

The Ladies' Soldiers Aid Society, of Barnwell, thank W. Gilmore Simms for a lecture given by him to help their work.

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Charleston Mercury, October 16, 1862.

An account is given of the "christening" of the ladies' gunboat at Marsh's Wharf, Charleston. Mr. Richard Yeadon was the orator of the occasion. The young lady who had been the first contributor had the honor of breaking the bottle of wine.

Capt. D. N. Ingraham received the orator and others on board the vessel.

Capt. Rutledge, C. S. N., who was to command the boat, was present, with other officers. General Beauregard and staff, and General Gist and staff, were also present.

Mr. Yeadon addressed the officers, and made a separate address to the "matrons and maids" who had raised the $30,000 necessary. Prayers were made by the Rev. Thomas Smyth and the Rev. Christopher P. Gadsden.

Marsh & Sons are spoken of as the builders of the boat.

During the ceremony, the gunboat "Chicora" came up and saluted, with her builder, James M. Eason, on deck.

Charleston Mercury, October 17, 1862.

Mrs. D. R., living at the southeast corner of Cannon and Rutledge streets, gives, to be raffled for the benefit of soldiers, a collection of plants which she has been gathering for seven years. There are five hundred plants—japonicas, geraniums, roses, etc.

We see an acknowledgement from the Commissioners of the State Marine Battery of $3,579.56, sent by ladies of Columbia to aid in building the gunboat "Chicora." Ladies thus apparently helped with two gunboats.

At this date, contributions of money were being sent on to yellow fever sufferers at Wilmington.

Charleston Mercury, October 30, 1862.

Dr. M. LaBorde, of Columbia, gives notice of the formation of the Central Relief Association for the Soldiers of South Carolina, through which packages may be sent to soldiers in the field. He says that he can say no word of exhortation to the women. "They are doing all they can; their devotion and patriotism is exhaustless."

This Central Association was a committee of ten gentlemen. Their depot was on Main street, Columbia. They publish at this time an earnest entreaty for carpet blankets, etc.

It will interest Charlestonians to know that all through this the Ladies' Benevolent Society was carrying on its work for the sick poor.

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Charleston Mercury, November 2, 1862.

At this date, we see the first notice of the removal of non-combatants from the City of Charleston. Provisions were beginning to be very scarce, and fuel hard to get. A committee was appointed to care for the women and children who could not get away.

Charleston Mercury, November 8, 1862.

A flag for the Brooks Guard is spoken of. It had been begun long before, but was delayed by want of material.

Charleston Mercury, November 19, 1862.

The Free Market is reported as feeding entirely the families of six hundred soldiers, but threatening to close for want of money. Subscriptions to it begin again immediately, from women as well as men.

Salt is becoming very scarce. Professor Hume advises the boiling of rice and hominy in half fresh and half sea water.

Mrs. Dr. Sally, of the Orangeburg Relief Association, says that as long as the war lasts they will not tire.

The Ladies' Garment Society, of Charleston, continued its work for the poor.

The Central Committee, through Dr. LaBorde, reports that during the three weeks of its existence it had collected $20,000, blankets, garments, etc., within Richland District.

We find the following suggestions for lights:

"A CONFEDERATE CANDLE.

"Melt one pound of beeswax and one-quarter pound of rosin; make a wick forty yards long, of three threads of loosely spun cotton; saturate well with the mixture, and draw through the fingers, pressing closely to keep the size even; repeat till the size of a quill, then wrap round a bottle. Six inches of this, elevated, will burn fifteen minutes. Forty yards have sufficed a small family all summer for bed-room light."

"A CONFEDERATE LAMP.

"A tumbler full of lard. Draw a soft, long wick through the stem part of an old steel pen; imbed the wick in the lard, with about half the pen rising above the lard. The wick can be raised when necessary by pulling it up with a pin."

Charleston Mercury, November 19, 1862.

Ladies of Baltimore send a cord and tassels for the Brooks Guard flag.

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"The Days That Are Dead."

The story of the War Between the States, in all its political and martial phases, has been told and retold by abler pens than mine. Looking back to 1860, to the scenes through which I myself have passed, it is a child's point of view, perhaps, that has become engraved upon my mind; but, as that has seldom been given, I will recount to you the impressions made upon me then, which have but strengthened with my years and experience.

The atmosphere of Charleston rippled and swelled with excitement all through that memorable fall. The Minute Men, who had organized on every side, made the streets gay with their uniforms, and the young girls devoted their time to manufacturing every kind of patriotic device in palmetto and silk ribbon. Military buttons were in demand, and every young woman was as defiant, as ardent, and as determined, as her brother, or her sweetheart. They were ready for all emergencies, and when the first troops were ordered down to the islands, they packed knapsacks, sewed on straps and buckles, and chattered cheerfully of all things to hide their own dread and sorrow from the older women, the mothers who were sending their all into the great unknown of the future—ready to answer whatever call their country made.

The older men met and talked. Constitution, Secession, State Rights, Self-Protection, Union, Usurpation, Imposition, were words that fell upon childish ears, that soon learned to understand their full import.

Mottoes were flung to the winds on hundreds of flags. "There is a point beyond which endurance ceases to be a virtue" was one that carried with it the whole gist of the occasion.

The people had determined not to "endure" any longer and, as another motto said, were willing to give "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute."

The building of the harbor defenses was begun. Stevens' Iron Battery was discussed and dilated upon until every boy in town could build it in miniature, for the children had caught the fever, and all their games were based upon war and engineering. So passed the months until the winter came, with excitement ever growing, enthusiasm ever increasing. Each man knew he would reply when his State called; each woman felt she was ready to sacrifice her own heart on the altar of her country; both believed that their State was right, and had faith that a just cause must succeed.

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Secession became an accomplished fact; the cannon roared; the populace shouted; in mammoth lettering, the papers announced "The Union is dissolved."

The Palmetto Banner hung upon the outer wall, and every man, woman and child in Carolina knew that the future was big with import, and that their fiery State stood ready for "freedom or death."

"Hurrah for the rattlesnake bold," sang the girls, and the men joined in with "Again 'tis preparing to spring," and even the children chanted, "For fearful its wrath to the foe in its path, be he President, peasant or king."

Young people grew up quickly then: each week was so crowded with feeling, emotions, events. Each occurrence was so portentous that months were years. Children matured in thought and deed; fourteen-year-old boys were men, ready to bear arms; little girls were women, capable to work, to plan, to hope, fear and suffer.

The night after Christmas, when Anderson, under cover of darkness and storm, stole into Fort Sumter, dishonorably, clandestinely, in flagrant violation of the promise made by his government at Washington, the glove was flung down to Carolina, and she needs must lift it or be craven in her contention for the right.

Her answer to this defiance rang out when, on January 9, 1861, "Tucker" (George E.) Haynesworth, of Sumter, S. C., of the Cadet Battery, sent a ball splashing into the waves directly in front of the "Star of the West." And the world stood still and listened to the protest and assertion of our dear mother State.

For miles in every direction, the noise of this cannonading was heard, and stirred one's very heart. On every plantation, anxious groups of planters' families discussed its meaning—for no man could tell what a day might bring forth. Many sent their colored boys on horseback to the city posthaste to learn the news, bidding them not to spare their animals, but to hasten, and then, imagining a thousand evils, paced with growing impatience to and fro, until hoofbeats told of the courier's return.

The news meant *war*, to every thinking man, and every woman tried to steel her heart and nerves for all that was to come.

The excitement increased. Various companies were ordered down to the islands, and the work of fortifying went on unceasingly. In the city, speeches were made from every vantage point, and each orator tried to be more eloquent, more fiery, more convincing and warlike than the last, until their audiences thrilled in response, giving back cheers and words of encouragement and determination. About

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this time, in the middle of Meeting street, opposite Hayne, a lofty Liberty Pole was raised, from which flew the Palmetto flag. A platform for speakers was erected at its foot, and here the crowds gathered and were harangued until they burned with excited patriotism. One of the speakers who attracted great attention, and stirred the people to fever heat by his earnest eloquence, was Sam Hammond, who had been a resident of Aiken. His speeches were admired, and his example followed. He became a lieutenant in the Richardson Guards, was in one of the first regiments that went to Virginia, and gave his life for the cause, being killed in battle near Chester, in that State.

South Carolinians were not selfish in their patriotism; their blood dyed the battlefields of many States.

This Liberty Pole stood, and its flag waved through all the long four years of siege and shot and shell that Charleston braved; but after the city, emptied of its defenders, capitulated on the 18th of February, the flag was hauled down, and some time between then and April 1st, the pole was removed, cut shorter and otherwise disfigured. Afterwards, the enemy raised it as a flagstaff on the Battery, from which flew the Stars and Stripes over White Point Garden.

Time led on to the Battle of Fort Sumter, when the population of Charleston sought the water fronts, and men went wild with excitement and patriotism, and women prayed and wept, smiled and encouraged all at one time, waiting in agony of heart lest some dear one be the one to claim the honor of being first to lay his life down for his country. But when the two days' fight was over, when the Palmetto Stars and Bars replaced the flag which had come to mean to us oppression and wrong, when "the boys came home," and not one was missing, nor injured, then arose a very babble of exultation and thanksgiving, while sweethearts embraced without shame (for do not the brave deserve the fair?), and mothers clasped their sons, and fathers wrung their hands and felt proud of their boys, just passed through such a baptism of fire.

The ladies of Charleston had made a Confederate flag, for the special and particular purpose of being hoisted over Sumter, for no one doubted our success.

When the fort surrendered, Captain Ferguson, of General Beauregard's staff, and Colonels Moses and Dearing, of Governor Pickens' staff, raised, at the same moment, the national and State emblems above its ramparts—the Stars and Bars, given by the ladies, was

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raised by Captain Ferguson, the Palmetto by the Governor's aids. That was on the 13th of April. On the 17th, to the joy of all, came the news of Virginia's secession, and immediately our young men began to agitate the question of volunteering for service in that State, believing it would be the bloodiest battlefield of the Confederacy.

The Washington Artillery, of Charleston, formed a company of volunteers from their ranks, which, with the Washington Light Infantry, became a part of Hampton's Legion. The first named company was led then by Stephen D. Lee, but it soon changed commanders and name, and will stand forever gloriously upon the records of fame as "Hart's Battery." The Carolina Rifles, the Irish Volunteers, and the Richardson Guards also volunteered, and helped form Gregg's Regiment, which was the first command to leave Charleston for Virginia.

Many were the hands that had labored to make them comfortable, and many were the hearts that were wrung with anguish as they bid their dear ones farewell—an eternal good-bye, as it proved with but too great a number; yet no woman there but was brave and cheerful when the time came for the last handclasp, the last word; and no man in all the ranks but knew he was right, and had confidence in the result. They were heroines then, forgetting themselves and their fears, and their heroism made each man eager to be a hero. The Southern women put their Southern men upon a lofty height, and every man rose to the occasion and justified the belief she had in him.

It was in June, 1861, when Hart's Battery went to the front in Virginia. The fair daughter of Mr. M. C. Mordecai, of Charleston, headed the committee of ladies who presented them with the now celebrated guidon, which Sherfessee, the young colorbearer, took into his keeping, pledging his sacred honor to bring it back unsullied when the war should be over. How well he kept his word, our peerless Hampton can testify. The battery was a part of his legion, and through 143 engagements the guidon led it on, and Sherfessee brought it home at last, unsullied and unsurrendered, a memorial of the brave men who fought beneath its folds, a relic to be preserved forever, crowned with the glory of a cause grander in defeat than any cause that ever yet was won!

E. Lindsay Halsey, then a private in the Washington Artillery, but afterwards commander of Hart's Battery, came near bringing on the battle of Fort Sumter a month or more before it did occur. Each day his company had to practice with the guns of the iron

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battery, aiming at Fort Sumter, and using blank cartridges. Halsey wearied of this at last, and told a comrade he "was tired of the foolishness," and just to watch him "put an end to it." So one night he slipped a round shot into the mouth of one of the dogs of war, and the next day when at practice, it barked to better account, for the shot struck Sumter fair and square. Immediately all was in commotion. Anderson fancied himself attacked, opened his port-holes, and prepared for action. Beauregard did not know how it came about, supposed it an accident, and sent Stephen D. Lee to the fort to explain the affair. Are not all the details in the records of the War Between the States?

The men enjoyed these pranks. They were the leaven that lightened the dread realities of war, and many a funny incident broke the monotony of their duties. It was of a Sumter (S. C.) man—Summerford—of whom they tell that, having been enlisted as a private, and put upon guard, he was warned that he must not give up his gun to any one, on any pretext. One night, some time after, Lieutenant James Salvo, of his company, came up while Summerford was on guard, and said: "Here, let me see that gun?" The private saluted and gave it. Instantly Salvo called for the corporal of the guard and ordered him under arrest. "What for?" asked the man. "For giving up your arms," said the officer. "But you were my lieutenant, I thought." "No matter what you thought; your instructions were plain; you had no right to surrender your gun." "Do you mean to tell me that you will have me arrested and put in the guard house for that?" said Summerford. "I do," said Salvo. "Then," said Summerford, drawing his revolver (ladies, excuse the language), "Damn you; drop that gun, or you're a dead man," and he aimed point blank for Salvo's head.

The gun was dropped, the sentry picked up his weapon, resumed his beat, and no arrest was made that night!

The daily life of every Charleston home was now a preparation for what must surely come—years of war and trial, battle, death, wounds, and want. Every household was getting in order all that a soldier could need in camp, or in hospital. Mrs. Robertson, as President, and Mrs. Snowden, as Vice-President, had started in Charleston, on Chalmers street, the Soldiers' Relief Association. There the matrons and maids, and even the children, congregated, to make bandages and scrape lint. Garments that were cut out there were taken home, to be made for the soldiers; and they knit socks, woolen comforters, and warm caps and gloves, and these were distributed to the men

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as they came through the city, or went to the relief headquarters and made known their wants. This place was first opened in July, 1861, the day after the first Battle of Manassas.

It was after this battle that we saw our first sadly glorious spectacle of a military funeral, when the bodies of General Bee and Colonel Johnson were brought home from the battlefield of Manassas.

"Sweet and proper it is to die for one's country" was borne into the onlooker's mind by pomp and carnival of war, joined to the sobs, the tears, the anguish of the mourners.

Old St. Paul's Church did honor to the full to the knightly gentlemen, "the holy dead," "the brave who sank to rest by all their country's wishes blest."

On May 11, 1861, the blockade of Charleston was begun by the United States frigate "Niagara," and then commenced the lessons of thrift, makeshift and invention, which developed so wonderfully through the four years of struggle, and stood the women of Charleston in such good stead when the final crash came and left them broken, bruised, and helpless, upon the barren shore of a seemingly hopeless future.

All commodities went up enormously in price, and those who had such things as coffee, tea, etc., on hand, put them away for sickness, and resorted to poorer beverages.

This "Postum coffee," so highly recommended now for the nerves, is but our poor mixture of parched wheat and rye, ground and dripped, or boiled, as one may have fancied. The seed of the okra, parched light brown, and ground, was used, and sweet potatoes, too, were cut into tiny squares, dried in the sun, then parched and ground and used in the same way, while corn was also made use of as a substitute, and was said to be a cure for dyspepsia; but certainly the first mixture was the best of all the substitutes for coffee, and happy the housewife who, when company came, could find one tablespoonful of Java to add to the pot for flavor. The leaves of the blackberry vine, dried in the sun, and kept close shut from the atmosphere, did duty ordinarily for tea, while others made the leaves of the cassena or yaupon do duty, and still others used sassafras, or some of the many herbs. The ladies on the plantations soon learned how to make their own toilet soaps, as well as all the coarser kinds for laundry and kitchen. A substitute for cooking soda was found by burning corncobs to ashes in a clean Dutch oven. This was put in a jar, covered with water, and allowed to stand until clear. One part of this to

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two of sour milk, mixed into cake, or the various Southern breads, made them delightfully light.

Out of the berries of the mistletoe, the young girls made the daintiest of white wax for their fancy work, while from the profuse growth of myrtle was gathered, by the wagonload, the berries, close-clustered on their stems, from which was boiled and refined a clear, green, aromatic wax, which made candles fit for the candelabra of a king. These and lightwood knots only illuminated many a household, and were packed into many a soldier's box and sent off to the camps all over the land, to remind the boys of the dear ones at home, and light the evening hour while they wrote to sister, sweetheart, or mother.

The girls learned to card and spin, and to knit socks, stockings and gloves for the men and old people at home. Every woven stocking was treasured, and when the feet were utterly worn out, the legs were carefully unraveled, their thread twisted smoothly and firm on the spinning wheel, and knitted into new stockings, or into gloves and mits. Old underwear was treated in the same way, and helped out wonderfully in the family economy, while every knitted woolen thing was valued for its possibilities in contributing material for soldiers' caps, comforters, and chest protectors.

From the waters that laved our coast, planters made their own salt, and the children soon knew how to roll and pulverize it into the fine table article to which the family were accustomed. Mustard seed was raised, and the best and purest table preparation manufactured from it by the young girls, who regarded an old swiss muslin dress as a real treasure, for it yielded the bolting cloths that were necessary in its preparation. Palmetto, corn shucks, and many grasses and straws, were plaited and woven into pretty, graceful hats and bonnets, while for their trimming, bits of ribbon were saved and washed and dyed, twisted and turned, and served times innumerable through all those four years.

The girls learned to fashion and sole their own bedroom and house slippers, and became adepts in all the household arts, first making their own vinegar and then putting up their own pickles. The ladies manufactured wine and superintended and directed the making of syrup from cane and sorghum, using this in lieu of sugar in preserves. They soon learned all the dyewoods of the forest, and made purples, yellows, crimsons, and browns at pleasure.

It would take too much space to go further into details; suffice it to say that the women of the household on every plantation were

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the power that evolved something out of nothing, and from the slimmest materials fashioned great comforts, rendering it possible for all the men to be away at the front while they ran the plantations, and raised the crops that fed the armies.

On the 21st of August, 1863, at two o'clock in the morning, without warning to the sleeping women and children, the first shell was thrown into Charleston. It came from the "Swamp Angel," a Parrott gun mounted on a battery built in the marsh between Morris Island and James Island, where the enemy had obtained a foothold. This gun soon burst, but daily the town was shelled from the Yankee fleet and batteries, and it was on the five hundred and sixty-eighth day of this siege, as it was chronicled, that the ungarrisoned city was entered. All through this dire experience, many women and children remained, for here were their homes, and here they had to stay, or go shelterless out in the world. Numerous families had refugeed into the upper part of the State, facing hardships and want among those who were strangers to them, but oftener yet receiving kindness and assistance from the people among whom they sought refuge.

Casualties were reported from time to time among the women and children left behind; their homes were shattered sometimes, and sometimes burned, but they became at length used to the condition of things. That part of the city within range of the enemy was deserted by its inhabitants, who took up their abode in houses beyond the firing line; and soon the little children learned to laugh and clap their hands while they watched the shells fly over upon their futile mission.

During all this time, the blockade runners came and went with almost the regularity of packet lines, and beyond the reach of the shells was established, in Bull street, in Charleston, the famous Bee Store, which put on sale the entire cargo of each vessel as she came in. Everything was there, and all to be had for a price in Confederate money, which was plentiful; whether millinery or groceries, it could all be found in the Bee Store, for the vessels entered with their cargoes and departed with their cotton, and laughed at the fleet lying big, threatening and belligerent before the city's seagate.

Two of these blockade runners, the "Let Her Be" and the "Let Her Rip," seemed to bear a charmed life. They were endeared to the childish heart by the very impudence of their names, while to the Chicora Company, that owned them, they were little mines of wealth, bringing, besides, many comforts and necessaries to the people who toiled and the men who fought.

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Wherever the soldiers went, and women could reach them, they were fed and tended and served. They came into the plantations singly, in couples, in squads, in companies; still, they were fed, and the best given them that the place could furnish—their haversacks were filled, and they went their way rejoicing and grateful, only to be followed by others and others, as the days, weeks, months and years passed on.

Oh! they were a light-hearted company, and enjoyed the passing hour, and made every girl in sight enjoy it with them, I trow—talking, singing, dancing, flirting, with each successive one. The young people made the most of the present, and looked not into the future, for he who was there today, tomorrow might be seen lying stark and stiff—his soul to God, his body on his native earth, his life an offering for the freedom of his country.

How we loved them all, those soldier boys, tattered and torn, earnest and brave, making love as they fought—with dash and daring, and hopeful ever that the best must come to the cause for which they were willing to die.

God bless them all—the sacred dead in their graves, and the old veterans that are left to us, living monuments of the spirit and the glory of the South!

For four years we believed entirely, we, the youth of the land, soldier and maid, in the power of our cause to conquer and rise superior to numbers. In February, 1865, however, the end was very near.

The neighboring planters, too old to join the army, but raising food to feed it, sent their young women into the City of Charleston to find safety in numbers, and be with their kind out of the way of Sherman's marauders.

For days previous to February 18th, stores were being removed and ammunition sent away with each successive body of men who left the city. On the 16th, cotton was piled on the public square and burned, that it might not enrich the enemy. The rice—tens of thousands of bushels—at Lucas' Mill was set on fire. On the 17th, the Northeastern Depot, where a large amount of military stores had been collected and abandoned, was thronged with a motley crowd of people, who bore away to their homes provisions of every kind. As the day wore on, explosions were heard on every side; the gunboats "Charleston" and "Chicora" were blown up at their wharves; the "big gun" at the corner of South and East Battery was exploded, and tore out the windows and doors and shattered the roof and piazzas of Mr.

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Louis DeSaussure's residence, at the opposite corner. The night which followed was a fearful one; no one slept; few went to bed. Fires started everywhere, and there were only negroes to put them out. and they knew the end had come; that the white men had gone or were going, and that the city was helpless and expecting its foe on the morrow. Yet, be it said to their honor, not a case of outrage or violence disgraced their record that night. They hauled the engines about to the tune and words of "Massa run away; nigger stay at home," but they put out the fires, and helped the whites, and did their duty manfully.

Late in the night of the 17th, the "Palmetto State," the gunboat that the ladies built, was blown up at the Gas Company's Wharf, where she lay. Women who had worked and striven and contributed to its building stood at their windows and viewed the flames from the burning boat color the sky, and lo! as the last detonation sounded, the smoke arose and, upon the red glare of the heavens, formed a palmetto tree, perfect and fair, that stood out against the sky, then wavered and broke apart as we watched it through our tears, then crumbled into wreck and ruin and was lost in the darkness and gloom!

It was a terrible, heart-breaking, awful night. The men who were garrisoning Sumter had come over in their small boats, bringing their flags. In the early morning of the 18th, they were gathered in the city on the wharf, and there they cast themselves down on the earth and wept aloud. Some prayed; some cursed; all said they would rather have died in the fort they had so long defended than have her ramparts desecrated by the invader's tread.

About eight o'clock in the morning of the 18th, a terrible accident occurred through the carelessness of boys who went back and forth from the Northeastern Depot stores, carrying powder in their hands and throwing it upon the burning cotton in the yard. The place was crowded with plunderers, people of all sorts and conditions, and as the powder trickled through their fingers, the boys unconsciously laid a train from the burning mass to the depot. There was a fearful explosion, and the place was torn to atoms; a hundred and fifty persons were killed, and about two hundred wounded; but no one had time to concern himself with it—the flames spread, and soon the fire was raging down the entire length of Alexander street, wiping out some of the handsomest residences in the city.

All day on the 17th, the evacuation of our troops had proceeded. On the 18th, at ten o'clock, on Meeting street, near Anne, the last

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body of armed Confederates we were ever to see said good-bye to the weeping women who pressed around them. Yet, even then, some laughed and jested, for, God pity us, we were hopeful still, and they were brave, and we could not think that the end had really come. We knew we were right, and we still believed that a just cause must triumph; but even then the enemy was landing on our shore. With lingering steps and heavy hearts, our men left us there, and on that same morning, about twelve o'clock, or later, on the same street, and at the same corner where she had told good-bye to the men and the flag she loved so well, a young girl came face to face with the Yankee column, marching down into the heart of the city, with banners flying, bands playing, a victorious army indeed! Could she stand and watch them pass? Could she make her way through their ranks? She turned and fled from the hateful sight, shocked, distressed, by the untoward incident.

Over the west side of Charleston, in the vicinity of the Arsenal, every inhabitant of the neighborhood had fled, terror-stricken, from their homes, to the Christ Church Chapel, up Rutledge avenue. The warning had gone out that a train of powder had been laid, and a slow match applied, and that the magazine and building would be blown up. They set wide open every door, and raised every window in their homes, then fled for their lives. In dread they listened for the explosion that would doubtless have left them homeless. The minutes passed, but no detonation was heard; all was still. Soon came another messenger, crying that the enemy were in the city, and the arsenal was saved; the Federals had hurried to take possession of it, and were just in time, it was said, to extinguish the fuse.

But another danger threatened, for they were told that all unoccupied houses would be immediately taken possession of by the troops. Back rushed the harrassed crowd of women, children, and servants, to go to their homes, close windows, lock doors, and await in dread what would be next.

That day (Saturday) passed without event, but Sunday ushered in an era of outrages. They were mostly negro troops, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bennett, who entered Charleston, and these, on the 19th, were permitted to go and liberate their "brothers in bondage." They entered everywhere; they thrust themselves into the apartments of delicate women, cursing and raving at them, and ordering them to give up the slaves they were "concealing." In the meantime, the house negroes, shaking with fear,

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came out from wheresoever they were, and meekly allowed themselves to be escorted off. Then began the new life for the women of Charleston—the life of service to family necessities. They did their whole duty in that sphere, cheerfully and well, in spite of the traditions and training of generations of gentlewomen. They cooked, swept, and scrubbed; they split wood, fed horses, milked and watered the cattle, and took upon themselves the duties of not only the servants of the family, while filling their own places, but they had to be the men of the household as well, for some slept on the battlefields, some in the burying grounds of distant prisons, and others were incapacitated by sickness and wounds, and came home to be cared for, and be a precious, loved, but additional burden, upon the devoted women who were then, and for long years after, the mainstay of the home.

But the young boys, bless them! of ten, twelve, fourteen, were a comfort indeed. They were everywhere, lending a helping hand to this old lady or splitting wood and carrying water for some girl who had not yet learned how to handle an axe or lift a heavy bucket; going "down town" on many an errand, when women shrank from being in the crowded streets, jostled by the negro soldiery. And how we valued them! how glad we were to save for them a nice tid-bit, a dainty cake, a part of whatever we had that was best! We were grateful to them, and tried to show it, and I trust that every boy who helped us then, found some help in turn when, grown to manhood, life's stress and strain made him need it most.

The negroes came straggling back after some days; but they did not stay. There was no money to pay them regular wages, and their uniformed friends had taught them that to work without a compensation in money was still to be in slavery. Some very few were fond enough of their "white people" to stay by the children they had helped raise; a good many lingered for a month or two, and then went off to some one who could pay them well. No one blamed them for that: every human being seeks to better his condition. There were some cases of bad behavior, but those were comparatively few, and applied to those who, like the woman throwing her arms above her head, and dancing down the sidewalk, screamed out: "I'm free; I'm free; I'm free till I'm fool!"

It was the negro soldiery and their white brethren in arms who committed the dastardly outrages but too common in the city. One poor lady with a babe but two or three days old was turned out of her bed, her mattresses and blankets taken, her house looted, and

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she was sent out into the street to seek succor. Some kind friend took her in and cared for her; but mother and child both died. That was but one instance; there were many others as dreadful. Here is one in lighter vein: Mrs. Laura Postell Geddings wrote to a friend that she had just come out of the kitchen, where she had been cooking Dr. Geddings' supper, while her maid, who had possessed herself of her mistress' best silk gown, sat down in her parlor and entertained the Yankee officers!

This paper has stretched to too great a length, and yet there is much more to tell, of how the end came, and of those many years after, which tried men's souls. But my tale is done, for to us in that sorrowful city the sword had fallen, and we could know neither hope nor joy. We drew our sable garments of affliction about us and mourned our dead, working on meanwhile for the living who were dear to us. Our hearts were the sepulcher of our hopes, and even as we loved our heroes and gloried in their faith, honor and bravery, so we loved our country and gloried in the deeds and principles that were hers. Principles never die; those of that day live on in the memory, heart and soul of every true Southerner.

LEE C. HARBY.

Charleston, S. C., November 14, 1901.

[Written by request of Dick Anderson Chapter, to be read at State Convention, U. D. C., held at Sumter, November 27-28, 1901.]

A South Carolina Girl's Recollections of the First Year of the War.

Nullification, States' rights, etc., and the principles thereof were as household words to most South Carolina children; but I having had the misfortune to lose my father when little more than a baby, knew nothing of politics; although I had often heard the days of 1832 discussed, and how the State should have nullified and did not. Therefore, it was not surprising that secession was almost an accomplished fact before I knew very much about it. My brother, a young man of 23, was most enthusiastic, and in his eyes South Carolina could never be wrong; but even from him, I heard but little. The English teacher at the school I attended was a red-hot secessionist, and from her I may say I received my political impressions; and can recall when, one day at dinner, a political discussion going on, I, a shy, awkward, silent girl, ventured a remark, my brother's

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surprise as he asked me, "Where did you hear that?" "At school," I replied; "Mrs. W— told us so." He laughed heartily, and said, "I had no idea politics was a branch of your education; I must treat your opinion with more deference hereafter!"

With the voting for delegates to the convention called by the State, and the almost immediate passage of the Ordinance of Secession on the 20th of December, 1860, the whole State became enthusiastic; although many were grave, and realized there was a terrible issue at stake.

At this time, I had gone on a Christmas visit to a friend in the country, and as we read of the enthusiasm in Charleston, torch-light processions, speeches, firing of cannon, flags flying, etc., we thought we would not be behind the times, but try to have a patriotic emblem with our Christmas decorations; so a long board was got, covered with blue, on which we pasted, in yellow letters, *"Dum spiro spero,"* and nailed to the pillars of the piazza that, as visitors turned into the avenue, it would be the first thing to meet their view. This was the 24th of December, and with great impatience we awaited arrivals from the city, expected that evening. As we ran out to greet our host, a genial, good-tempered, warm-hearted gentleman, we eagerly asked, "Did you see our motto? don't you like it?" and were crestfallen at his answer, "It looks like a tavern sign—cakes and ale; welcome, all!" However, he was kind enough to let it remain, although it was evidently an eyesore.

On the 26th of December, 1860, Major Robert Anderson evacuated Fort Moultrie and occupied Fort Sumter, never before garrisoned. This was regarded by Governor Pickens as an overt act of war, and a detachment of the Marion Artillery, with other companies of the State militia, was ordered to occupy Fort Moultrie. My brother, an officer of the Marion Artillery, went with this detachment; thus, to me the war commenced from the first, for he was on duty all that winter, being among the first appointed as an officer in the "Provisional Army of South Carolina," and in May received from the Confederate Congress, at Montgomery, a commission in the regular service of the Confederate States, was ordered to Gen. R. S. Garnett's staff, and with him shared the dangers, trials, and untold privations of that ill-starred campaign in Northwestern Virginia. No men in the Confederate Army suffered more than these. Badly supplied commissary; reinforcements denied them; overpowered by the enemy; sickness rife in their camp; General Garnett killed at the Battle of Rich Mountain; their forces almost entirely demoralized

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by their reverses, it needed the news of General Beauregard's splendid victory at Manassas to cheer their drooping spirits. It was the defeat of this small band of starving men which, in 1861, made McClellan a toast throughout the North! It was under these painful circumstances that my brother yielded up his life for the cause he held so dear!—*and he was all the war to us.*

But to return to South Carolina. By the middle of January, Charleston seemed transformed into a military camp, companies from the upper counties came hurrying to the seacoast, batteries were being erected at all points, there was a constant drilling, and nightly patrolling the streets—all was changed.

In Charleston, it was decided that the issues at stake were of too serious a nature to admit of a gay winter; therefore, the St. Cecilia and Jockey Club societies determined to give no balls; and great was the chagrin of the expected debutantes at a season being scored against them of which they had had no enjoyment; but as the horses had all arrived, the Jockey Club in February held their annual three days meet; and the pleasure of racing was enhanced by the then new sight of our every-day acquaintances being dressed in uniform, and plain "Mr." transformed to "Captain," etc.

January 26, 1861, saw our first war experience, when the "Star of the West," bearing provisions to the garrison of Sumter, was fired into by the Morris Island batteries. The special battery which did most of the firing was manned by the cadets from the State Military Academy. These boys, being the beaux of our little Friday evening dances, the girls felt special interest, and were proud to hear their coolness spoken of by their elders as worthy of veterans!

It was about this time that General Beauregard first came among us, and from then to the close of the war, South Carolina seemed to claim him as her very own. He was a small, erect, handsome man, of great personal magnetism—all he approached, he made his own.

All Charleston remembers the first Battle of Sumter—how, before daylight, on the 12th of April, we were aroused from sleep by the signal gun fired from Fort Johnson. Although some miles from Charleston, the sound seems to have passed like an electric shock through the length and breadth of the city, rousing even the heaviest sleepers. I do not think any would have been found willing to confess they did not hear that gun!

The whole community with one accord seemed to crowd to the Battery, and adjacent houses, where, with strained eyes, or the aid of opera glasses, telescopes—whatever one was fortunate enough to

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possess—for two days we watched the bloodless battle, wondering what would be the fate of our loved ones, for every house sent its youth; there was scarcely a family that had not at least one son in the fight. Slowly and steadily our batteries fired, and sullenly Sumter answered them; and when, on the second day, the white flag was hoisted, on all sides came the cry, "They surrender! they surrender!" and soon we saw the little boat shoot out from Morris Island, with those to make the terms.

On Sunday, the 14th, the transports came up for Major Anderson and his men; as they passed Morris Island, our troops were drawn in line on the beach, and saluted their late foe.

This first battle of the war had many trying circumstances connected with it—those on whom our guns were turned had lived among us as friends and honored guests, and all in one day, as it were, they became deadly enemies; the change was too sudden to engender much bitterness of feeling.

After the battle, we heard many amusing anecdotes of occurrences. One, I remember: the Charleston Light Dragoons, with other cavalrymen, had been ordered to the eastern end of Sullivans Island, known then as the Myrtles (from the thick growth of this shrub), with orders to prevent the landing of the fleet, should it be attempted. After all was over, and they came riding down the island, they were greeted with the taunt from some countrymen, "You'rns look right pert and brave; now that we'uns have done the fiteing, you'rns come out to see!" I smile now as I remember the indignation of the young Dragoons who told us the story.

After the fall of Sumter, nearly all of our volunteer companies were relieved from duty, and a season of recreation followed. An elegant fete champetre, in honor of General Beauregard, was given by Mr. Wm. Izard Bull, at his beautiful home, "Ashley Hall," which had been the home of the Bulls since colonial days, when Governor Bull was one of the Governors of the Province of Carolina. Ashley Hall, on this April day, seemed to have donned its fairest dress, as though there could not be too much beauty to do honor to the occasion; or perhaps there was a foreknowledge that this would be the last fete day under those grand old oaks! though no such feeling clouded the gayety of those who joined the brilliant throng that day, and in spite of there being comparatively few civilians to be seen, none seemed to realize that grim-visaged war was near at hand, and that ere the close of the year, many of those with us would have sacrificed their lives on the altar of their country!

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That spring was marked by flag presentations to the different military companies, for it was in May that the companies intending to join the Hampton Legion left for their rendezvous in Columbia, prior to going on to Virginia. My grandaunt, Mrs. Jane Ancrum, a lady of over seventy years, following the example set by her mother, Mrs. Jane Washington, who presented the battleflag of her husband, Colonel William Washington, to the Washington Light Infantry, emerged from her retirement, and personally presented the Washington Light Infantry, on the eve of their departure, with a flag that had been embroidered by some of her young granddaughters.

The flag of the Legion was embroidered by a cousin of mine, and was made of a crimson silk dress presented by one of the Hampton family, the design a wreath of oak leaves encircling "Hampton Legion." Great was the interest with which we watched the daily growth of those leaves and acorns! It was not finished in time for presentation before they left for Virginia—this ceremony took place at Richmond, President Davis making the speech. Some years later, the flag, tattered, stained, and bullet-riddled, was returned to my cousin with the request she would add their most conspicuous battles—a goodly number!

The Battle of Manassas brought sorrow and gloom to many a home in South Carolina, for our regiments suffered terribly, the Hampton Legion being no exception; and when General Bee and Colonel Johnson were brought home and laid to rest, where they first saw the light, Charleston felt she could not do enough to honor her dead heroes. After Manassas, things were quiet for a time, and attention was turned to providing for our boys in camp, hospitals, and those preparing to go; pickles and preserves were made, socks knit; all material possible was brought into use, for it was incredible how soon after the blockade was established articles of every-day use became scarce.

The "Bermuda" was, I think, the first English vessel that ran the blockade into Charleston, and for the first time we realized the tremendous advance in prices; it seemed as though we were not the same people, nor these the same stores. Up to this time, the Charleston merchants had either kept the same scale of prices or advanced them so little it was not worth complaining of; but when the advance once commenced, it did not soon stop and, in comparison with things of today, it reads like a page from the Arabian Nights Entertainment. I often wish I had kept a diary of the times—there is so

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much, both grave and gay, forgotten that would have been worth remembering. Many a laugh have we had in talking over the outre things we, as well as our friends, were delighted to get, and the marvelous prices paid. What a bonanza the war must have been to the English merchants, in clearing off the unsalable stock that had accumulated for years, and that we blockaded Southerners were only too glad to get.

In the fall of 1861, the enemy landed upon our seacoast, and the planters, with their families, had to make a hasty exit from Edisto, St. Helena, Beaufort—in fact, all the sea islands. In most cases the flight was so sudden they were compelled to leave all household effects behind; everything had to be concentrated in moving the negroes and, if possible, the cotton; in many instances, this had to be burned, and at night the seacoast for miles would be illuminated with fires from the burning cotton that meant so much loss of credit to the Confederacy!

Fort Walker was the first reverse we met with in South Carolina, and a terrible one it was, for we were never able to regain what was there lost. It was here, too, that was first brought home to us the cruel sight of brother arrayed against brother, when the two Draytons (brothers), one commanded the Federal, and the other the Confederate forces. Our sympathies were much excited for those who were driven from their homes at this time, who in one day fell from wealth to poverty. Later in the war we saw refugees living in box-cars (and glad to get them), but by that time we had all had our share of suffering, and were able to resign ourselves to whatever came. Nothing ever seemed as pitiful as the woes of the sea island refugees. Many of them came to Charleston only in time to undergo the horrors of the great fire of December 11, 1861, which swept Charleston from east to west—from the Cooper to the Ashley!

Although December, the night was warm enough for us to stand bareheaded, and without discomfort, on the piazza, and watch an apparently unimportant fire that had broken out in a machine shop, not more than a square away. As though Pandora had opened her box, before 11 o'clock the wind commenced to rise, and we could see the flames reach higher and higher, and burn steadily in a south-westerly course. All night long vehicles of every kind were passing, laden with the effects of those seeking safety, and when some stopped at our door and asked shelter for furniture moved from the south-western part of the city, it was hard to understand how so much damage had been done in so short a time. Direful, indeed, was the

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tale we heard next day; many near and dear to us were homeless; the public buildings, the pride of the city, were, many of them, in ashes. The Institute Hall, where the Ordinance of Secession had been passed, the Circular Church (Presbyterian), St. Finbar's Cathedral, St. Peter's (Episcopal), covering an area of certainly a half-mile apart, were all in ruins!

This, coming so soon after the fall of Fort Walker, and all the reverses we had met with that season, seemed more than our share. The working people, in many instances, having lost their all, means for their relief had to be immediately thought of, and, in providing them with shelter, food and raiment, the woes of the richer were, for the time, thrust out of sight.

Many of those who had lost their homes now commenced their refugee life, the military advising the removal of noncombatants from Charleston. Columbia was the point of safety(?) agreed upon by nearly all of the first refugees as being nearer communication with their friends—only a few families at this time sought refuge in the upper counties.

By May, 1862, almost all Charleston were refugees. The up-country towns were overcrowded, food was scarce, prices exorbitant; in many instances Confederate money was refused at any price, the farmers preferring to hoard their provisions rather than sell for money they deemed worthless. The refugees all over the State had a hard time, although at the hands of many they met with unlimited kindnesses which could never be forgotten or repaid.

The men all away at the war, only those over or under age were left to plant the crops. The struggle for food was terrible, and many were the shifts the low-country people were put to. Among the ignorant farmers were many who regarded a "refugee" as a bitter foe, who was personally responsible for the war, and the privations they and theirs were enduring. They refused to sell us provisions, except in the way of barter, and in that light, almost everything, particularly clothing, had a market, but with no means of replenishing, it was not often we could spare our clothing. Going out into the country on one occasion to see what we could get to eat, we had stopped at a farmhouse where the woman refused all overtures we had made her. On this day I wore a white waist, known as a "Garibaldi," and then considered most stylish, somewhat on the order of the shirtwaist of today. The woman suddenly turned to me, and said: "I will give you a turkey for your jacket." I replied: "It is not for sale." She kept on urging the exchange; at last she said:

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"I will give you two turkeys." After hesitating some time, as to whether my wardrobe would allow of the exchange, I consented. Our household consisted of thirteen women and children, and turkeys were a rarity with us!

Almost the greatest privation the refugees had was the want of wood. The severity of the climate in the upper counties was especially hard to them. The farmers having their stock of mules or oxen much reduced, needed their services for farmwork, so that it was only during a spell of bad weather they would consent to haul wood. I am afraid many were the heartfelt prayers put up for a rainy day, particularly if the woodpile was growing beautifully less!

After this, events came so thick and fast, it is impossible to recall them in anything like order, and, until Sherman overran South Carolina in 1865, most of us were removed from the seat of war. We were constantly cheered by rumors of England's recognition, and never lost hope. Poles never loved their cause more deathlessly than we Southerners our "Lost Cause," although today we may forgive and try to forget.

Forget the rage of the hostile years,
  And the scars of a wrong unshriven,
Forgive the torture that thrilled to tears
  The angels calm in heaven.

Forgive and forget? Yes, be it so,
  From the hills to the broad sea waves,
But mournful and low are the winds that blow,
  By the slope of a thousand graves.

MARTHA B. WASHINGTON.

Coast Women in the War.

MRS. THOMAS TAYLOR, COLUMBIA, S. C.

My Dear Mrs. Taylor: During your term of office as president of the South Carolina division, Daughters of the Confederacy, you urged me if possible to give you some outline of the work done by the women of St. Helena Parish for the relief of our soldiers during the War of Secession, in order that it may be incorporated with others now in your possession. I hesitated thus long to comply, as the task seemed well nigh hopeless after the expiration of so many years, and was disposed to leave it to some one more able than I to do justice to the subject; but how can I consult my own inclination when I may recall a few incidents which perhaps will be of interest

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to some persons and of assistance to you. It is with great pride and gratification I am at last enabled through the courtesy of friends to preserve for future reference what was accomplished by these noble women in six short months for the comfort of our men in the field and in hospitals—a record second to none, and should be handed down to generations "in letters of gold and pictures of silver." To understand the enormous amount of work done, it must be borne in mind that the parish was composed of islands on our coast with two summer resorts—Beaufort and St. Helenaville—and it was during the summer of 1861 only they had concerted action, or the means to carry it out, for in November of that year the whole section was abandoned to hordes of negroes and unscrupulous confiscators. Surely "doth the city sit solitary that was full of people. How is she become as a widow, she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary!"

The first endeavor to effect any definite plan of action for the relief of our soldiers was in the town of Beaufort, in the Baptist Tabernacle, August 14, 1861. The Rev. Dr. Jos. R. Walker, the venerable Episcopal clergyman, opened the meeting with prayer. The Hon. Edmund Rhett organized the association to be called the Soldiers' Relief Association, and wrote the constitution and by-laws for its governance.

The following ladies were elected: President, Mrs. Wm. A. Morcock; Vice-President, Mrs. Thomas Fuller; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Edward Barnwell; Recording Secretary, Mrs. Thomas J. Wells; Treasurer, Miss Elizabeth Barnwell. Enthusiasm was at fever heat and work was immediately begun to uniform the Whippy Swamp Company. I quote from a letter of one of the co-workers: "About this time cloth was becoming scarce. The pants were made of bed ticking, all blue, except some which looked like peppermint candy and were reserved for the non-commissioned officers." Blankets also were lined and quilted before distributing them. Dunnovant's Regiment and a command from Kershaw County were indebted to these same untiring workers for caps, uniforms and "clothes" marked with the owner's names. In many instances, shoes and socks were also provided. Besides the work pledged as members of the association, circles of willing workers were formed, meeting at private residences. Mrs. Stephen Elliott's parlor was converted into a cap manufactory at short notice; and the home of the Rev. Wm. H. Barnwell, "The Castle," was a depot for rival cotton comforts, "which were freewill offerings outside of the society, amount-

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ing to a round dozen." These were made and quilted by his daughters and their friends. Mrs. Middleton Stuart is particularly mentioned "as having done much apart from the Relief Society." Fancy work and delicate stitches were things of the past, giving place to sewing machines and knitting needles, which had undivided attention, and were in great demand, as no material was too rough or work too arduous to supply the soldiers' needs. Mrs. Paul Hamilton was treasurer and quartermaster-general for all the organizations, great and small. She received moneys from those outside and supplied promptly the demands for funds as the occasions presented themselves. She also packed and shipped supplies to several destinations, seeing personally to this important branch of the work and sending the right thing at the proper time, when most needed. Just about this time, the Hon. C. G. Memminger (at the instance of Rev. Robt. W. Barnwell, then in Richland doing hospital work), wrote to Mrs. Jos. D. Pope, describing the sufferings and dire need of our sick and wounded soldiers after the Battle of Bull Run, and asked her aid in their behalf. No time was lost in bringing this communication to the notice of the ladies, and a hospital committee was established, consisting of Mrs. Pope, chairman; Mrs. Stephen Elliott, Mrs. Louis DeSaussure, Mrs. Prioleau and Mrs. James Verdier, her able and indefatigable associates. In a short while, lint, bandages, sheets, pillows, towels and blankets were packed and hauled thirty miles distant to reach the Charleston and Savannah Railroad, and sent with all possible speed to the hospitals in Virginia. Delicacies also which could bear transportation were not forgotten. But work now nearer home demanded their attention. Under their supervision, two rooms on Murray's wharf were secured and fitted up as a hospital for the use of the soldiers from the up-country, then stationed at Bay Point and Hilton Head. This move was the result of a suggestion from Dr. Turnipseed, who was army surgeon, and from his experience in the Crimean War recognized the great necessity of more comfortable quarters for the fever-stricken volunteers from the interior of the State. In a few days, the hospital was reported ready. Dr. Jos. T. Johnson, the able practitioner and their townsman, offered his services as local physician, which were gratefully accepted by these earnest though sadly inexperienced women in their self-appointed task. The care of the sick at home did not prevent, however, their continuing their monthly consignments of necessaries to Richmond, which only ceased when they themselves, in common with the whole community, were homeless and almost destitute

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refugees, bravely bearing untold privations for the cause they loved so well. Ten miles away, at St. Helenaville, the ladies were equally busy, having the mounted riflemen of that island as their especial charge. These men mounted and equipped themselves for service at their own expense. The only thing lacking was a flag. This deficiency the ladies determined to supply. Contributions were solicited and a generous amount realized, which was sent to Charleston for the purchase of the necessary materials. Before many weeks had elapsed, the handsome banner, the work of the deft fingers of Mrs. Jos. D. Pope, Mrs. Daniel T. Pope, Misses Caroline and Ellen Pope and Miss Edwards, was completed. This was made of heavy blue silk, with the Palmetto tree and crescent on one side; on the other the star (emblem of State sovereignty) and motto "Vive Libertas in Patria, organized January 20, 1861," and was presented by Rev. Robert W. Fuller in the name of the ladies of St. Helena Island. Mr. Jos. D. Pope received the flag in behalf of his comrades.

As one part of an army always receives the hottest fire and bears the brunt of the battle, so too this section of our State experienced the most disastrous consequences of our great struggle, and no people in our broad Southland gave more in blood and treasure, or of the work of their hands, to our glorious cause than these patriots —the women of St. Helena Parish.

The current of our history has not flowed as we once hoped, but there must be a future for us, with such heroic men and public-spirited women as we have. "He may be unwise who is sanguine, but he is unpatriotic and unchristian who despairs."

Hoping that this sketch, imperfect though it be, may serve your purpose, and wishing you every success for the book you are engaged in compiling, I am, very sincerely,

Your friend,

ADELINE P. STONEY.

Columbia, S. C., May 15, 1902.

Our First Confederate Flag.

Would you know why I am a "Veteran" "Daughter of the Confederacy," and of the making of our first flag? Then must I tell you something of my story.

My father, an eminent lawyer, active in public work, and a member of the Legislature, died at the age of thirty-three, leaving my mother and three little children.

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His State honored his memory by the monument which marks his grave, and his name is held in loving memory by his associates.

My mother belonged to quite an old family, that can count its ten quarterings. My great-grandfather owned the first brick house in the city of Savannah. There it was that the first General Assembly of the State of Georgia was convened by Governor Reynolds, January 7, 1755. Up to my young girlhood the place still bore the name of the old Eppinger house. My grandfather, James Eppinger, was Marshal of the State of Georgia during the war of 1812. He occupied afterwards many positions of trust in his native city, Savannah, and was for twenty-eight years Senior Judge of Pike County.

My mother was the most intellectual woman in her community, and often the referee of committees of gentlemen on matters of public business. She belonged to the old school, and thought children should be taught early. I do not know when I learned to read. I seem always to have known, and loved it. My mother taught my sister, brother and myself, and a feature in her instruction was "conversations" on topics of interest, local, literary or historical. While we read and talked of those who had done brave deeds, my heart would burn within me. I almost envied every Revolutionary heroine, and longed to prove my love of country.

When the war clouds of 1860 began to lower, we looked, and listened, and read with interest every item on the situation. We were all States' Rights Southerners, and the blue cockades of the "Minute Men" decorated not only the lapels of the coats, but the girls also thus attested their readiness to give themselves to the young Confederacy of States that followed so quickly the lead of South Carolina.

When the tidings flashed over the country that the Confederacy was formed and her flag flung to the breeze, every town floated a banner. My mother was asked to make the one for ours, and I, among others, helped to make the first Stars and Bars ever kissed by the sunlight in our Courthouse Square.

Now the roll of the drum was heard daily. The blue-cockaded "Minute Men" were organizing into companies; the women into "Soldiers' Aid Societies." One day every week, for four years, these societies met to do anything they could for the soldiers. While at home they were still first in our thoughts—study of anything personal came afterwards.

We made tents, uniforms, caps, underwear, knit socks, gloves, comforters, all with our fingers, and often spun and wove the thread

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and cloth from which they were manufactured. Lessons were learned at night when the day's work was done; or, we memorized lessons and poetry as we walked to and fro at the spinning wheel drawing out the soft thread for soldiers' jeans. We conned French, Latin and English grammar as we carded the cotton into snowy rolls; read Shakspeare, Scott and other standard authors while we plaited palmetto to fashion into hats. Even as we walked in the gloaming, the busy needles clicked, knitting for the soldiers, and those who stayed at home were also in active service for our country.

My mother was the Treasurer and Secretary of our Aid Society; therefore, our home was the depot for the supplies sent through that channel. As the war continued, we scraped lint, rolled bandages, scoured the country for old, soft cloth, packed boxes of vegetables and dainties for the hospital service, and collected for the comfort of the wounded whatever we could find.

But all this came later. I was asked to tell you of the flag of our first company, "The Confederate Guards," Company A, Thirteenth Regiment, Georgia Volunteers, Gordon's Brigade.

I had early been taught to sew very nicely. As soon as the company was formed, aided by contributions from some ladies, I purchased the materials and made a beautiful company flag, embroidering on it the name of the company. When it was finished I wished to get one of the young ladies to present it, but my uncle and other officers said they knew I had made it, and they wished me to give it to them myself.

The day selected was a militia drill, and there were thousands present. My chosen attendants were little girls, dressed in white with red and blue sashes, each representing a Confederate State. My bouquet was a floral Stars and Bars; my address, that of a child with a woman's heart, responded to by one of the company.

A beautiful May morning it was. The bright sunlight "shone on fair women and brave men," with faces all aglow with patriotic feeling. The company in their beautiful new uniforms of Confederate gray, arms glittering, colors flying, faces illumined and ennobled by the high, brave spirit within, marching, marching away. Away from home and love, into danger and death; away from the sunshine of hope, into the darkness of the shadows. Ah! 'twas a picture to stir the soul, that of those gallant heroes marching away. Few, few shall return of the many who pass from us, with the thrilling sounds of martial music.

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Women gave their husbands, sons, fathers, brothers and lovers, and then themselves took up the work left at home. I had seven uncles in the Confederate service.

Nobly, too, did the faithful slaves perform the work given to them—true to "Massa," "Missis," and "the chillen"—servants, protectors, friends. 'Tis sad to know that the mutual love of master and servant passed away with the Confederacy. Such devotion should never die.

Forty years of change do not lessen our sorrow for the unreturning brave or the death of the fair young Confederacy, sleeping 'neath her trailing banners. Time, the healer, soothes our pain, and while our eyes are dimmed by age and tears, faith sees more clearly now, and the rainbow of hope spans the sky. We know the dark things will be made plain on the other side, where the loved, who have left us, dwell. We know it is well, for God rules. A. S. ARNOLD.

Johnston, S. C.

Incidents of the First Battle of Manassas.

No fairer land under the sun has ever been baptized with the life-blood of heroes than the grand old commonwealth of Virginia. Virginia! the very name thrills the heart of every true South Carolinian with pride and pleasure—pride in her glorious past and pleasure in the remembrance of what she was to us in the dark days of the Civil War. Her daughters bound up the wounds of our loved ones, cheered the sick and fed the hungry, comforting as only woman can, and this unparalleled devotion to those dear to us by the ties of blood binds the heart of every daughter of South Carolina to them with "bands of iron and hooks of steel," that were forged in the fires of Adversity and hammered into beauty and strength on the anvil of Destiny.

Look backward with me—skip the long years this afternoon, and we find ourselves in full view of the historic plains which lie in the mountain-crowned and sun-kissed land of Virginia.

Whilst I give you a brief and impartial history of the First Battle of Manassas, I would, if it were possible, carve in imperishable characters the name of every member of the glorious Fourth South Carolina Regiment, composed of the chivalry and strength of Anderson, Pickens and Greenville. Oconee was at that time part of Pickens, so our sister County, that sits enthroned on a thousand hills, is justly entitled to her part of the glory achieved in the great drama.

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My heart thrills with an exultant pride to be able to speak to you of your countrymen and mine, born and brought up under the very shadows of our own lofty Blue Ridge Mountains. They sprang to arms as one man when the tocsin of war sounded the call, and no braver regiment ever looked into the jaws of death.

Rallying under the leadership of their matchless commander, Col. J. B. E. Sloan, they covered themselves with glory, and to his bravery, and that of the gallant soldiers who loved him so well, is due much of the honor of the triumphal victory in this, our first great battle.

Colonel Sloan is an Anderson County man, and now lives in Charleston, South Carolina. The mothers, wives and sisters of those who served under him most especially delight to do him honor, and it is a pleasure to lay a tribute to his valor in the archives of the Dixie Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Let me urge you, my dear compatriots, to hand down these traditions, if I may call them so, to your sons and daughters, that they, in turn, may do likewise, and thus perpetuate the memories of those brave defenders of our rights as effectually as the epitaphs chiseled on the hard, cold face of the marble shaft.

Let me call your attention to this important fact: the Confederate Army was composed of *volunteers,* all newly-drilled men, fresh from the cities, villages and farms, whilst a large number of the Federal Army was composed of *Regulars,* veterans who had been drilled for years; were, in reality, what is known as seasoned troops.

It is a well-known fact that Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, who was then the general-in-chief of the army of the United States, was considered by far the ablest and most distinguished military officer on the Western Continent, and the movements of this army of invasion were directed by him. Brigadier-General Irvin McDowell, who was placed in immediate command, had the reputation of being an able officer also. So you will perceive the great advantage of the enemy in numbers of men, experienced officers, battle maneuvers, in commanding in battle, and in numberless other things —and to combat all this, and wring victory out of such odds, we had—what? that peerless Southern chivalry that has been made immortal by peerless Southern heroes!

This army of McDowell's advanced from Washington City and other points along the Potomac toward Manassas. It is conceded by competent authority that it was intended by the Federal forces to make the attack. In the meantime, General Patterson, who, with

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a large force, was in the lower part of the Shenandoah Valley, had been instructed to prevent General Joseph E. Johnston, who, with his force, was in the upper valley, from joining General Beauregard before or during the battle the Federal officers knew was soon to be fought.

In answer to an appeal from General Beauregard, President Davis telegraphed General Johnston to join his forces with those of Beauregard at once and, with skilled cavalrymen, who skirmished between his marching army and General Patterson's, he covered his departure and kept the Federal general in ignorance of the whole movement until Johnston was on the field of battle. This intrepid general double-quicked his men much of the way and, using the cars that had been sent up the Manassas Gap Railroad to meet him, disembarked, double-quicked his men into the left flank of the Federal Army. As they rushed into the fight, the terrific "rebel yell" they gave was heard amidst the roar of artillery and musketry, screaming shells, and hissing minie balls. Although Johnston was the senior officer, his courtesy conceded a continuance in command to Beauregard until the battle was over.

A slight engagement took place on the 18th of July. It was thought the Federals were trying to force a passage of Bull Run, although they deny this.

Beauregard claims that this slight encounter was of immense advantage to his men, as they were raw troops; it certainly made McDowell more cautious in laying his plans for attack. And we now find ourselves ready to study the positions on the morning of the 21st of July, 1861—the day of the great conflict.

The Confederate forces engaged were Wheat's Battalion, Hampton's Legion, the Sixth Regiment North Carolina Volunteers, the Second, Fourth, Fifth, Eighth, Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth, Thirty-third, and Forty-ninth Virginia Regiments, the Second and Fourth South Carolina, Seventh and Eighth Georgia, Fourth Alabama, and Second Mississippi, and Elzey's and Early's Brigades.

I do not think it would interest you to know the different commands under the Federal officers, but will simply give the estimate of numbers made by General Beauregard, who tells us in a published statement that the combined Confederate Army at Manassas mustered 29,188 men, rank and file, and fifty-five guns—that of these, 21,923 infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and twenty-nine guns, belonged to his Army of the Potomac. It is estimated that only about

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18,000 Confederates were actually engaged in the battle, while General Beauregard estimated the Federal force at 50,000 men, well equipped for offensive service.

Many judges consider Johnston's coming the turning tide of battle.

General Beauregard arranged his men so that the many fords across Bull Run, where it was thought the Federals might cross, were guarded by the different brigades, until over a dozen miles were covered; this line extended to the Stone Bridge, which was a prominent point in this battle.

Of the maneuvers of the two armies, and their positions, outside of the brief sketch I have made, I think it useless to speak, so will bring you at once to the orders of General Beauregard when he concluded to make an offensive movement. The different commanders were well instructed, as commanding in battle was new to them. At half-past four a. m., on the 21st, the different brigades were ordered to be in readiness to move at short notice. The plans were changed by the altered tactics of the Federals, who were making a feint of attack to cover a movement to fall on the left flank of our army.

Wheat's Tigers attacked the skirmishers of the enemy and drove them back into the woods, but they were rapidly reinforced and rallied, but General Evans held them in check until General Bee went to his assistance. The increasing forces of McDowell, with their batteries of rifled ten-pounders, caused the conflict to be a deadly one; our forces retreated in confusion across Young's Branch. About 2,000 men under Evans and Bee could not be rallied, although the commanding generals joined in the effort. The enemy, steadily advancing, were thinning our ranks, when General Bee galloped up to Jackson and, in a voice pathetic in its tones of despair, cried out, "General, they are beating us back!" The reply is characteristic of the immortal hero, who, with his eyes glowing with the fires of defiance, said, "Then we will give them the bayonet!" This inspired the intrepid Bee and, riding back to his disordered men, cried, "Look! there is Jackson standing like a stone wall! rally behind the Virginians! let us determine to die here, and we will conquer! follow me!" his clarion notes rang out on the summer air, and his men followed him to the charge which was the death knell of the gallant Bee. From this time on, Jackson was called Stonewall Jackson, and his command the Stonewall Brigade; the name, christened as it were by the life-blood of the heroic Bee, will go down in history as one of the most famous of modern times.

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Our own Fourth Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers, under Col. J. B. E. Sloan, was marched from near Centerville and crossed the stone bridge which is over Bull Run at this point, and encamped on a small stream beyond the bridge. Being short of rations, the soldiers stripped the bark from the elm trees that grew on the banks, and chewed it to appease their hunger.

The body servants of Captain Prue Benson, Wilton Earle and Dave Gaillard, of the Palmetto Riflemen, were faithful foragers, and many a good fat sheep was pressed into service and divided among the members of that company; this mutton was the only meat they had for forty-eight hours before the battle. The regiment was formed in line near Stone Bridge, and General Evans rode up to give last instructions to the men, saying: "When you see a puff of smoke across the Run, fall to the ground at once, for you can see the smoke before you hear the report, or the shell or cannon ball can reach you." Just as he was concluding, the men saw two or three puffs of smoke in the direction of Centerville; they at once fell to the ground; when they arose, Lieutenant Gus McCalister, whom some of you know, saluted General Evans, and said, "That order was promptly obeyed!" A grim smile went over the face of the general that those who saw will never forget. The forming of this line was to prevent the enemy from crossing Stone Bridge; unfortunately, it was near a Confederate signal station, which the enemy shelled so furiously that the officer in charge beat a hasty retreat, leaving his hat behind him. Between the regiment and the Van Pelt house, a battery of Confederate artillery was stationed. One of the caissons being disabled, the officer in charge prepared to blow it up. Seeing this would endanger the lives of our own men, Major James Whitner and Mr. James A. Hoyt, both Anderson men, protested so vigorously that the idea was abandoned. When it was discovered that the Federals had crossed the Run above, and were marching down the left flank, six companies of the Fourth South Carolina Volunteers and Wheat's Battalion of Tigers were sent to meet them, whilst four companies were left to guard the bridge. One company, under Captain Kilpatrick, was sent above the bridge to watch the movements of the enemy and, by annoying them, lead them to believe we had a large force there. The six companies and Wheat's Tigers endeavored to drive back ten times their number, charging at double-quick; they held the enemy at bay until the heavy reinforcements of the Federals forced a retreat. The Federals were all the while shelling above and below the bridge,

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following with grape and canister, until the earth was in places literally plowed up; still the four companies referred to held their position. In the meantime, a courier came galloping up and called for a volunteer who would face that rain of shot and shell and take a message to Captain Kilpatrick, telling him to retire, or his company was in danger of being cut off by the enemy. As the officer rode up and down, not a man answered the stirring appeal, for all saw possible death in the effort. A fair-faced lad of seventeen stepped out of the ranks and offered to carry the message. As the brave young soldier started on the dangerous mission, a shout of admiration rent the air—brave men who knew him well wept as he sped with flying feet over the open plain. As if he bore a charmed life, the screaming shells and hissing minie balls, that rained like a besom of destruction around and about him, touched him not, and he reached the beleaguered company in safety and delivered the message to the captain. Before retiring, Captain Kilpatrick took a Mississippi rifle from the hands of his servant, deliberately walked to a tree that leaned over the Run, and took a farewell shot at the Federals, who could be plainly seen, thousands and thousands of them, marching and countermarching, a short distance away.

The boy who carried that message was John R. Cochran, of Anderson, a member of the Palmetto Rifles, of the gallant Fourth. He was severely wounded in battle that selfsame day, and as he lay in the hospital at Culpeper Courthouse, Virginia, Captain Kilpatrick went there to see him and, with eyes brimming in tears, thanked him for saving his company; he also said he would have a man detailed to wait on him until he was able to go home, and would see that he had every care whilst in the hospital. This pledge of the gallant Kilpatrick was carried out to the letter. A brave young Irishman—George Martin—was detailed for this service, and the big-hearted soldier tenderly nursed the wounded boy for months. No more loving hands could have tended a brother, and when a devoted mother and sister took his place, he went back to his company to face the common enemy. Loyal and brave Confederate soldier! True as the native born, he did his duty nobly. His body lies in Virginia soil, waiting for the resurrection morn! Father, mother, sister, brother, in far-off Erin, wept over the news from one Southern battle. Their loved one died for our country.

The four companies were driven from above the bridge, and fell back a short distance below it, the Federals pouring out a deadly fire of shot and shell. It was here the gallant young Wilton Earle was

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shot and, supposed to be dead, was left on the field until later in the fight, or probably until the battle was over.

We will now keep in touch with the Palmetto Riflemen of the Fourth Regiment. This, you will remember, was our own town company, made up of men here and in the county. This company bore no colors into the battle, as many suppose. The color-bearer of the regiment bore the only flag that was used. First Lieutenant Claude Earle commanded the company in the battle; Lieutenant Felton was second, and Lieutenant Mike McGee was third; Mr. Prue Benson was orderly sergeant, and Mr. James A. Hoyt was second sergeant. From some slight cause—perhaps indisposition—Capt. W. W. Humphrey did not command his company during the battle; nevertheless, when his company was ready for the fight, he shouldered a Mississippi rifle and joined them. His gallantry on that blood-stained field endeared him forever to every member of the Palmetto Riflemen, and laid the foundation for the reputation among his superior officers as being one of the best commanders of a skirmish line in the Army of the Potomac. He was often placed in positions where only the most efficient and trusted officers were sent. A wreath of laurel, graved in granite, should be placed by Anderson women on his tomb.

The four companies of the Fourth, with some companies of other regiments, who were separated from their commands (the Palmetto Riflemen were included in these four companies) were placed under command of Colonel Thomas, of Maryland, a brave soldier and a gallant officer; he led in the grand charge on Rickett's Battery, which had been captured and recaptured by the Federals. The ground around the battery was covered with dead men and dead horses from both armies. The uniforms of blue and of gray, the bright, fancy dress of the New York Zouaves, and the plain homespun suits of the Confederates, the glittering bayonets, and the blood-stained swords, all made the deadly field a gorgeous picture—one that impressed those actors so vividly, the memory only goes out with death.

In the charge of our soldiers through the pines up to this battery, Colonel Thomas called out, "Boys, give them hell!" In a short while, the ringing voice that gave that order was stilled in death. It was near this battery that our Anderson men were wounded, most probably by the New York Zouaves, who were in a clump of pines on the left of the company. From the most authentic information I have received, I am convinced the four companies who were in the charge on Rickett's Battery got back in line with the other companies of their own regiment.

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Major James Whitner rode up and down the line, calling on the men to cease firing—the Federals were using a Confederate flag, and in this way deceived Major Whitner; but in a few minutes the deception was apparent, and the firing was renewed with interest. Our men suffered fearfully for water; they had fought nearly all day, under the scorching rays of a midsummer Southern sun. Water! water! was the cry of the wounded and suffering soldiers. We recall with pain one particularly pathetic scene: one of the handsomest men of Anderson County, the brave adjutant of the Fourth Regiment—Sam Wilkes—with more than a dozen canteens swung on his shoulders, galloped away toward "Free Robinson Spring," thinking only of his suffering men. On, on, he swept, and when near the spring, a voice suddenly called out, "Surrender!" the click of a hundred guns was heard, by a man hidden in the bushes close by; instead of surrendering to his hidden foe, he drove the rowels into his gallant steed, which sprang almost upright into the air, and before he barely reached the ground, the bodies of steed and master were riddled with bullets from a whole company of Federals. This death was witnessed by a man who lived on the battlefield, and in 1880 he gave a graphic account of it to my informant. After the shooting, a Federal soldier came out of the woods and cut the shoulder straps off, took off the boots and spurs, and possibly his coat; taking the military saddle and trappings from the dead horse, he put them on the horse he brought with him, mounted, and rode away, leaving half-dressed the body of one beloved by all who knew him. Brave, handsome, talented Sam Wilkes! Time heals all wounds, but the memory of your priceless sacrifice still lives in the hearts of your old-time friends.

Lieutenant Felton, of the Palmetto Riflemen, was too sick to go into the fight, but he dragged himself out to hospital headquarters and rendered invaluable assistance to the wounded men; his big, warm heart full of love and sympathy, he would lift them in his great, strong arms and place them in the ambulance with all the tenderness of a mother for her sick babe. All honor to his memory. His brave deeds are still remembered, and whenever the glorious old Fourth is spoken of his name will shine with a luster that only time can dim. Our boys were wounded near the place where Bartow and Bee were killed. This was close to the "Henry House," where most of the short-range fighting was done.

When the Confederates began to yield before the mighty Federal host, this order was passed along the line: "Stand firm! President

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Davis is on the field, and in command!" Note the magic in a name! The Southern soldiers idolized the President of the Confederacy, and this appeal made wavering men stand firm and contest every inch of ground against the most fearful odds. The very thought that the man whose bravery had been tested on the bloody fields of Mexico was in command inspired them with a courage such as the world has never rivaled, and the palm of victory was the reward!

This incident took place just before Johnston's army joined Beauregard—but it was not true. I do not know how the mistake occurred. You will remember that the first session of Congress met in Richmond, the new capital, on Saturday, the 20th of July, and it was impossible for Mr. Davis to leave until he had delivered his message, which law and precedent required. He left the capitol on Sunday, the 21st, for Manassas, but did not reach the field until after the tide of battle was turned in our favor. As Mr. Davis' work, "The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy," gives you the most minute details, I will not weary you with anything more on the subject.

Between three and five o'clock the decisive blows were struck, and to grand old Early's brigade of Virginians belongs the honor of starting the rout of McDowell's army. To show you how complete was our victory, I will quote a few lines from an article in the *Century Magazine,* written by Major-General James B. Fry, who was a member of McDowell's staff at the time of the battle:

"About half-past three, Beauregard extended his left to outflank McDowell's shattered, shortened and disconnected line, and the Federals left the field about half-past four." "Cohesion was lost; the organizations, with some exceptions, disintegrated, and the men walked quietly off—no excitement, except the frantic efforts of officers to stop men who paid little or no attention to them. There was no panic until the retiring soldiers, guns, wagons, congressmen and carriages were fired upon on the road east of Bull Run." Then the panic begun, and the most disgraceful rout ever recorded in history left a stain on the army of the Federal government which time will never remove. Walt Whitman, a noted Northern writer, says: "The defeated troops poured into Washington over the long bridge at daylight, on Monday, the 22d, a day drizzling all through with rain, but the hour, the day, the night, passed, and whatever returns, an hour, a day, a night, like that can never return—it was indeed a day bitterer than gall—a crucifixion day."

This closes that day for us.

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When Congress received the dispatch from President Davis on the day after the victory, it adopted resolutions of "thanks to the most high God, and invited the people of the Confederate States to offer up their united thanksgiving and praise for the mighty deliverance."

GRACE G. COCHRAN,
Historian of the Dixie Chapter, U. D. C.

Anderson, S. C.

Some of My Reminiscences of the War.

In looking back through the long vista of years, I think I must always have had quite a big spark of patriotic feeling, for I sang the "Star Spangled Banner" at each recurring Fourth of July celebration with unabated enthusiasm, and listened with equal interest to the annual reading of the Declaration of Independence.

And so, by the time the Ordinance of Secession was passed, and the year 1861 had dawned upon us, the spark of ardor had developed into a flame of rebellion, and I was at once a full-fledged Secessionist, and I determined to do all in my power to further the cause of the Confederacy.

Cheraw, which was my native place, and which was also one of the oldest towns in the State, had always taken prominence in matters of patriotism, and she now proved no exception in allegiance to the cause she deemed right.

One of the first things attempted was to establish a women's sewing club, under the leadership of Mrs. Inglis, she being chosen on account of her husband's prominent position in South Carolina.

I was very zealous, and at this period had my first experience in knitting socks. My zeal came very near overreaching any service I might have rendered, if there had not been an unusually large man in the Twenty-first Regiment, to which command my husband belonged, and that we knew of, so I was much comforted in being told I might send this special pair of socks to him, as they were of such tremendous proportions we did not know if they would find any other owner so worthy. I refer to Colonel Graham, a connection of our treasurer, Mrs. Harllee.

As time passed on, I must have improved wonderfully, for I soon became quite an adept in tailoring. I remember, one Saturday afternoon, I assisted my sister and a friend in town to turn a coat for the friend's brother, which had to be accomplished in those few hours, as the soldier had to leave on Monday to join his regiment.

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After that, at different times, I made two suits of uniform, with my sister's help, for my husband, and if I may be pardoned for saying so, both were very creditable.

I suppose we were like everybody else in making all sorts of contrivances, and using substitutes, and though on several occasions we were quite fortunate in receiving some presents from more favored friends, as I look back I often wonder how we made both ends meet.

The last calico dress I had cost $175, and was purchased in Augusta, Ga., and in the same place I got two bunches of yarn for having some homespun dresses made, paying for each $175.

One bonnet did me during the whole war. It underwent many changes and divers colors of trimmings. Sometimes it would have a piece of pasteboard put on in front to give the additional height known in those days as sky-scrapers; then when fashion changed, the pasteboard could be taken off to diminish the shape.

I was the fortunate possessor of a black and brown silk, and as it had seen good service, towards the end of the war a friend gave me a puff of black silk, which she had ripped from one of her own dresses, and which I was charmed to put on the bottom of mine.

There was a dress with a similar trimming worn by a lady in Cheraw during the invasion, where she secreted valuable papers in said wonderful puff. A friend of mine sat knitting very complacently while the house was being searched, and had her watch concealed in her ball of knitting cotton. At the same time, she had a bag of flour slipped into each pillow-case on the bed, and they escaped detection. Lucky escape, as my mother at that time was paying $500 for a sack. Cowpeas and rice were two of the principal articles of diet, and we sometimes had molasses pies for dessert. We tried all kinds of substitutes for coffee, and I wonder now, even with all my patriotism, how I drank it—and it sweetened with sorghum. Unlike the provision for coffee, however, we were so fortunate as always to have a small supply of genuine tea on hand, generally sent as a present to my mother.

We chanced to have a diminutive teapot, whose capacity was only for a small-sized cup, and after my mother and sister had the first and second drawings, I came in for the third. This was a luxury almost unsurpassed, and I doubt if, even now, I would think of it in comparison with the most cheering cup dispensed from a five o'clock tea table. All this time my husband was stationed on Morris Island, and once or twice had the good fortune to procure a few articles from a blockade runner, and from the "Keokuk," which was sunk off

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its coast. As long as these lasted, we indulged in extras on special occasions, one of these being when *he* came home on a furlough; and I recollect once I bought some other ingredients I needed for a whortleberry pudding, costing me $30, and still another time I had a poundcake for which I paid out $25.

Towards the end of the struggle, our work was diversified by a hospital being established in the town hall, that being the largest and most central place to be found.

I recall very distinctly a young soldier who was brought in, and who had been shot in the skirmish on the river bridge, just as our troops were evacuating the town. Rather than let the enemy use this bridge, it was, just after the skirmish, set on fire. The poor fellow spoken of was so badly wounded as to have one of his legs amputated. He was so boyish looking, and withal so good looking, I felt much drawn to him. And, I am very glad to say, he finally recovered. His name was Charlie Bruce, and I have often wondered where his lot has since been cast.

The soldiers who died in the hospital were buried in the old cemetery of St. David's, and the devoted women of Cheraw raised a monument to their memory. Their poor dust is cared for every spring by loving hands. Some of the mounds are marked "Unknown," but the living remember always that "somebody's darling lies buried here."

I do not think it will be out of place for me to mention that the Episcopal Church in Cheraw is one of its landmarks, and is one of the very oldest colonial churches in the South. It is venerable, historic, and interesting. The same old wrought nails, the foundation of imported English brick, and the identical sash, glass and shutters are as sound and perfect today as they were in 1770 and 1772, although the erection of the church was begun in 1768. During the War of the Revolution, after General Gates' defeat at the Battle of Camden, the British troops converted the church into barracks and stabled their horses there. The burial ground around the church is associated with many endearing memories, and in it there are many old and moss-grown stones, among them an ancient looking mound composed of brick, said to be that of General McArthur, a British officer.

But with all our privations, trials, anxieties, and troubles, so far, nothing was equivalent to the greater sorrow still in store for us, and which fell upon us in the afternoon of the 3d of March, 1865. The town was filled to overflowing with our troops, leaving in all

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directions, and my little nephew, in going to see a soldier cousin stationed near town, met with a terrible accident. It has been supposed he lost his footing in crossing the railroad track, and fell backwards, while a car loaded with heavy artillery passed over his left leg. Could there be a greater climax of misery? He was borne to his home by four soldiers, and immediately visited by several physicians from the hospital, who gave orders for him to be kept perfectly quiet until the next morning.

Then the town became infested with Sherman's army, and 60,000 entered during the day. Our soldiers left by one way as they entered by another, and it was while a Georgia regiment was passing our door, headed by a band of most elegant music, that the amputation took place, I standing by and holding the little sufferer's hand.

In a few hours our miseries increased, for crowds of rough and rude soldiers besieged us most continuously. Most unfortunately, we had buried all the valuables we were possessed of—most of them put in the cellar for greater security—and everything was found. One thing I particularly regretted was the capture of one of the uniforms before spoken of, as being so proud of having helped to make. It was perfectly new, and had been left behind when my husband was ordered to Virginia. When found, it was claimed by a Lieutenant Dayton, of Ohio, and by a strange coincidence, was spoken of some years after in Cheraw by a Northerner as having been exhibited by Lieutenant Dayton as a trophy.

For several days, all we had to eat was what our servants shared with us, of what had been given them by the Yankees. We were in great anxiety as to getting something to eat for our little boy, and several times were annoyed by calls at the door, telling us they were sure we had a rebel concealed upstairs. After fruitless attempts to persuade them of the untruth of such a thing, Dr. Kollock, our family physician, sought out a Dr. Rose, a surgeon in the Northern army, and brought him in to see for himself. I think when he did see the terrible sight, and that it really was a little boy only ten years old, he was moved to pity, and afterwards sent him something suitable to eat. We were also indebted to his influence in having a guard placed at our front gate to stay interruptions from that quarter. About the third morning after the operation, the news flew through the town that preparations were being made to shell it, and we were all panic-stricken, and did not know what to do ourselves, nor with our little cripple. So, after a consultation with the doctor, it was decided to remove him to the upper part of town,

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which was about a mile from our home. His faithful nurse lifted him in her arms, though at the peril of her life, and carried him to Dr. Kollock's house, where a shutter was unhinged and he was laid upon it, and borne on it until an open field was reached, where, after several hours were passed, and only one shell had been fired, he was taken to a friend's house, and kept the rest of the day. This same shell killed several Northern soldiers in its explosion, and they were taken to St. David's for burial, and one of them actually placed in our family lot. When I found it out, I had the fence moved, thereby putting him outside. He was afterwards brought to the National Cemetery here, as well as the others.

For several days the immense army remained in Cheraw, one of those days being Sunday. On the morning of that day, as we lived just across the street from the Presbyterian Church, we were forced to listen to sounds painful in the extreme, but intended for high revelry. A band was placed in the pulpit, so many times adorned by the illustrious Thornwell and the gifted Coit, to furnish music for a company of dancers in the body of the church. If any of us chanced to be peeping from a window, for we never dared to take a deliberate view, it was very usual to recognize some friend's carriage piled high inside with bacon, or filled with negro women, probably lured from their old homes, and going to follow the army.

The larger portion of our house, during all these dreadful days, was occupied by a number of officers and men, and oftentimes the back yard swarmed with the rougher class of privates, intent on plunder. They destroyed a quantity of furniture, and entirely laid waste the contents of a china closet that they broke into.

My room happened to open on a side piazza, and I. suppose they must have found out my name, for one afternoon they knocked at my mother's room, where I was, and asked for me. I went to the door, and saw one of the most pompous of small men—a very sprig of military—who told me he had been informed that I had whiskey concealed in my room. I assured him it was not so. In fact, if I had wanted to be at all communicative, I certainly could have added I had not seen any for several years. But I simply offered him my key, and to go with him to the suspected place, which, from my view, standing on the threshold, I thought he searched thoroughly, and he appeared satisfied, so went his way. In about an hour's time, he came back again, assuring me he had been told beyond a doubt that I *did* have liquor. So a second time we made a tour of investigation, he still doing the searching very diligently. He

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looked into everything available except the stove, which, as he was on the point of leaving, I suggested he should do, but he did not notice me, and went out, and I saw him no more.

It was during this raid that the flag of the Eighth South Carolina Regiment, which had been made by some ladies of the Pee Dee section, was concealed in the house of a most loyal and enthusiastic matron of Carolina, who sent six sons to its defense. Last year it was carried to the Richmond Museum by a captain belonging to the regiment, and who is now a prominent veteran in Cheraw.

All this time, and for several months, I had heard nothing of my husband, who, however, was making his way home, under many difficulties. He had served throughout the entire war—on Morris Island and James Island, near Charleston, and at different points near Georgetown, and afterwards was ordered to Virginia. He raised his own company in Chesterfield County, promising at the same time never to leave them. Once, when at Georgetown, the position of lieutenant-colonel was offered him, but he refused, remembering his promise, and preferring faithfulness to his word, and fidelity to his men, to an added honor. I have the original roll of his company now in my possession, also his commission as captain in the Army of the Confederate States, signed by General Harllee, when he was Lieutenant-Governor of the State—both of which I intend sending to the Confederate Memorial Institute, as soon as it is established, in order to preserve forever the memory of his duty and service to his adopted State and to his country. Loyal in life—faithful unto death!

And it is in his memory, too, that I am, and always will be, a devoted Daughter of the Confederacy.

MRS. VIRGINIA C. TARRH.

Florence, S. C.

A Southern Household During the Years 1860 to 1865.

I am told it is my duty to write what I can personally recall of the days of our hard struggle with fate, and because it is so considered, I shall make the effort to penetrate the dark chambers of my heart and brain for what I know lies there, hidden away from even my present consciousness. To bring it back, I must take myself to the beginning of events that bore immediately upon the grand tragedy of the century, to the summer of 1860, the last time

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our whole family was gathered together under our mother's roof. Our home was on the outskirts of Columbia, a very large, square house, great rooms, opening by French windows, on long double piazzas, extending along the whole front, and supported by columns from the ground to the roof. The steps were of rough granite, the first stone quarried in this county, and came from "Tickle-bury Farm," now the State Fair Grounds and Elmwood Cemetery, then owned by my grandfather—Governor Taylor. Ours was one of the family places only once out of such possession, and bought back by my mother on her return to Columbia, after the death of my father—Colonel Elmore—in 1850.

We made a large home circle—my mother and six daughters: the eldest, Mrs. Thomas Taylor, being often with us, for her own home was quite near; the youngest, Rose, a schoolgirl, and two sons, Frank and Albert, living with us; the second, Albert, a student of the South Carolina College. Mrs. Taylor and two of the sisters spent part of the summer of 1860 in Virginia and New York. To us at home it was a quiet time, for, although we felt the disturbed condition of the political atmosphere, nobody really expected what did happen. And when the boys would come in and tell us of new military organizations and weekly drilling, and when Albert's cap was decorated with a great "M. M.," and he told me it meant "Minute Men," ready at a moment's call to fight the "Yankees," I only smiled, as I thought how impossible was a war between the States!

By the time the Legislature met, the leaven had worked; the Convention was called, and passed the Ordinance of Secession, which placed South Carolina just where she had been before her entrance into the "Confederation of the United States of America."

From that time, all was movement around us. Our home became a center of gathering for not only the boys of the family, but for their young college friends, who, being away from their own homes, depended upon our activity to supply them with army fittings and comforts, for all had joined some one or other of the organizations made up during the summer. Most of the young boys belonged to the "College Cadets," who offered their services among the first, and were preparing to take the field. All were working for them—black and white. My business, as general housekeeper and provider, was to see to the parching and grinding of coffee, making of crackers, and filling of haversacks, in which I was heartily aided by our faithful cook, Cynthia; while the other girls, being clever workwomen,

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with Nellie, Phillis, Phoebe, and others, made up the flannel Garibaldis and gray wool hunting shirts, which were thought indispensable at that time. Ah! how much good material and energy we wasted in making our heroes fit for the camp! But, after all, was it not buckling on the sword, fastening on the spurs, throwing on the mantle, placing our colors, and, lastly, bidding "God speed, and do your devoir," to our knights? And did not they do their duty all the more gloriously for the spirit which our sympathy put into them?

I can see the splendid young fellows as I saw them then, running up and down the stairs, seeking what and whom they wanted, in any room they pleased to enter, for the whole "Castle" was theirs to command; and my mother, moving in her grand way from group to group of workers, suggesting this or that of comfort or convenience to be added to the boys' knapsacks, tearless and quite like a Roman Cornelia, sending her sons to do their duty; she who, the summer before, at the first suggestion of the possibility of war, had passionately cried out that her "country was nothing in comparison with her children." And when Captain Radcliffe's company, of which her favorite nephew—James Taylor—was a member, was called, she made me go with her in her little pony carriage to look him up, and when she found him on the streets, and called him to the carriage she said, "James, you are too young; sixteen is too young." But she had no reply to make when he looked into her face and said, "Why, Aunt Harriet, I am the very one to go, for I leave behind me no one dependent on me; the fellows with wife and children ought to stay at home and take care of them." She felt that he had judged for himself and believed himself to be on the line of duty.

When the other companies were called, we went to the South Carolina Depot to see them off, and as the train pulled out of the shed, we could hear a deep, continuous rumbling, which we later knew was the bombardment of Fort Sumter. The house seemed empty of everything when we returned to it; but soon the loud and continuous ringing of the big dinner bell outside startled us, and we all came running from our rooms to see what could be the matter; and there was our dear old mother, walking up and down the piazza, and ringing the bell as hard as she could. "Why," she called out, "Texas has seceded! and I want you all to know it; come and see the star McDonald (our Scottish gardener) has laid out in her honor!" And there it was—a beautiful star garden bed, with a fine young magnolia in the center, just under the dining-room windows.

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Such was our mother, from first to last—brave, energetic, thoughtful, helpful, always ready to sacrifice and to work, and never a word of weakness or of unwillingness to give her best and dearest to the country she loved next to her God; and such were the matrons, old and young, all over our land.

My mother owned a large cotton and grain plantation on Broad River, in York County, and a mill place, with a provision farm, in Lexington County, about ten miles from Columbia. On both of these places she had first-rate overseers; but they had to be supervised, and my mother, with one or other of us girls, visited them frequently: later we had to give these men up, as they were required in the army; and the plantations were carried on by our faithful negroes, under the sole management of my mother and myself. I recall my consternation when my Uncle Alex. Taylor told my mother that I could manage a lumber mill and make all the lumber accounts. My brother Frank, who had been keeping the books for a year, gave me encouragement, and promised to coach me; and thus I became my mother's business agent to the close of the war, and had the honor of supplying to the government most of the heavy timbers required here; and, moreover, had the satisfaction of hearing from all parties that the business had never been so satisfactorily conducted. This was truly a feather to my woman's cap; but we feminines, before the war ended, were to pick up many a one dropped from the helmets of our brave fellows who had work to do beyond our powers, and in which we could aid them only by doing what it had been theirs to do hitherto.

Soon there came to be a systematic division of labor in our household, and so little did we cross into each other's fields that I really cannot say how my sisters were distributed in the work—but work they did, as every man, woman and child worked during these years. I do know that some were engaged in hospital and relief work; others, being clever workwomen, in making clothes, and in spare time knitting socks. I remember that I helped with some uniforms and shirts; but my main energies during the four years were concentrated on the matter of supplies, and to secure these, the mill and plantation affairs required most careful consideration, and a large amount of foresight. So long as we could retain our efficient overseers, the routine of both places was well kept up, and I owe much to the application of their practical knowledge, and to the docility and faithfulness of the negroes I was called on to manage—for this part of the business my mother turned entirely over to me. Both

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men belonged to the class that knew the details of labor, and had not yet been removed from dependence upon home supply for the necessities of life; and their use of this knowledge on our plantations made us independent, and gave me many lessons. In 1861, at the mill, our man Walker was able to fit up wheels and looms and set our women to spinning and weaving; made a tan vat to cure the leather obtained from our cattle, which he butchered and sold in the market, but which I had to see properly cut up, as he did not know how to prepare the meat for city kitchens. He also readily took in new crops of such things as could not be procured from the stores. Rice, sorghum, and sweet potatoes never failed, and fruit and vegetables were secured to our table.

At the York place, Inman did even more, for it was a large plantation, and had to sustain many souls, a large number of them old people and children. Being more remote from a city, there was less opportunity to secure, before they should be exhausted, the conveniences necessary to the carrying on of such work as was now required to be done. But he was clever and resourceful. The cow-kettles did double duty, for they were turned into molasses boilers, and when barrels could not be procured, he cut down four immense gum trees, and from their boles dug out troughs for the syrups and to put away the meat in ashes, to secure it from flies. Both men made their own cane-presses.

Salt failing, the dirt floor of the smokehouse was dug up, and the clay washed, to recover the salt that had been absorbed. We raised the sheep, spun and wove the wool and cotton for our negroes' clothes, tanned the leather for shoes, and made them, our old carpenter, Daddy John, making the wooden soles. He even improved upon the pattern sent us, by making a transverse diagonal cut in the sole, which made it move a little under the foot. But, oh! the clatter of those wooden soles on the wooden floors! Some of our wool my mother had dyed and woven by skilful women in the neighborhood, and each of us was presented with a lovely black and white winter suit. How I wish I had mine now, to send to the relic and record room exhibit in Charleston! It was a skirt and long coat, trimmed with great smoke-pearl buttons, presented by my childhood's friend, "Daddy Moses," who brought me a quart when he heard me say I wanted some buttons just like those on his coat.

I think it was in 1862 that we had to give up our overseers. And, although we found two white men to stay on the places, we soon discovered they were of no service, and my mother and I had to be

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constantly on the alert. Finally my mother decided to give up the York man, and to depend upon ourselves, and three specially competent and faithful men—Ben, Charlie, and Gabriel—not leaving out good old Daddy John, who was general supervisor, and truly a gentleman in bearing and unfailing in devotion to "mistress and young mistress." I think our interests were well cared for by these people, and certainly they had much in their hands, especially towards the last. Indeed, throughout the war, our negroes were our friends, and I believe if they had not been meddled with for political purposes, we should never have had the terrible disturbances which continue to this time (1901).

At home we employed a white gardener, who himself suggested that the thirteen acres around the dwelling could be made to pay all the expenses of the garden, and give the table all of the fruit and vegetables we could require. My mother was willing he should make the experiment, provided she had none of the troubles, and gave him what help he wished, and a little pony and wagon to haul his truck to market. This was our first effort in these small businesses, which have since become so familiar to our ken. One great benefit we had then was that we had plenty to give to the hospitals and to our unfortunate friends who had taken refuge in Columbia when driven from the coast.

Sad as these days were, taken as a whole, we were not without some happy hours. Concerts, fairs and bazaars gave relief from the strain upon our hearts and brains, and when our soldier boys came on furlough and wanted to dance and sing, who of us would refuse to do their bidding, even though there were some croakers who talked about the sin and shame of such proceedings when calamity might be so near. My good, wise mother was of a different mind, and opened her hospitable doors to all the social calls of the situation. The city was full of people from the low country and elsewhere who desired something more than mere shelter, and soon a pleasant society grew up, out of which could be gotten, at any moment, the material for a good concert, the proceeds of which would go to some wartime necessity. To Signor Torriani, of the Italian Opera, stranded here in 1860, we owe many delightful evenings, and much valuable assistance in our musical entertainments. Our first concert was given to help the hospital service, by Miss Garnett and her young pupils, all school girls, but well worth listening to. Can we forget the splendid Gunboat Fair, when our parlors were emptied of pretty things, to be supplied again by the purchase at the stalls, of what had adorned

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the tables and mantels of our friends? And so the war-tide rolled on to the last heavy days of dread and terror, when we were told to prepare for the worst, for Savannah had fallen, and the next objective point of Sherman's terrible army would be our dear little city—the "cradle of secession."

I will not tell you of the great bazar held in the State House, nor yet of the last one, a section of the first, in the City Hall, for others have written of them; but hasten on to the last day I spent in our home.

My uncle, who planted near us in Lexington, came one day to tell my mother that their places were on what would be the enemy's line of march, and she must do as she meant to do—get off all stock, supplies and able-bodied men to the upper plantations. "And the girls had better go, too," he added. How was it to be done? "The girls" could go by rail—but the rest? And so little time! It was decided that the stock, etc., should be brought over and make the start under charge of one of the most reliable men we owned—Nick; and later in the day, I and my youngest sister, Rosa, in a little carry-all, with two pet ponies, driven by our regular coachman, Dick, and accompanied by my sister's (Mrs. Taylor's) team, should follow and catch up with the caravan, consisting of wagons, cattle, sheep, and about fifteen young negroes. This plan was carried out to the letter. Before night, three of the girls were off by rail, and my party was on the road next morning. One of the party—Nick's wife, Liddy—did not wish to go, and, to my surprise, slipped off after making the start, and went back to the mill. I was sorry on Nick's account, for he was a great favorite of mine, and devoted to me. I am told he said she "might do as she pleased; but he had done said he would stick to Miss Ellen as long as he lived, and he meant to do it."

The city was in a furore. Rumors on every side of a most alarming character. General Hampton was in command. I knew my brother-in-law, Captain Thomas Taylor, was with him, and my brother Albert scouting, but I had not time really to attend to anybody's business but my own. Mrs. Taylor, and Grace, who was to remain with my mother, though she had not told her determination to any one but myself, were waiting that last evening in the dining-room, and had placed some supper at the fire for Captain Taylor, when two young men came in—Peter Trezevant and Julius Pringle. My mother offered them supper, but both declined; and Mrs. Taylor said that was a most unsoldierlike thing to do, for how did either know when he would get the chance to eat another meal.

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Whereupon both agreed with her, and immediately took up the plate, saying they had eaten nothing all day, but had declined because they thought they would be taking what was intended for another. Captain Taylor came in and said the enemy were indeed upon us, and whoever expected to leave had better not delay. I told him I was all ready, and my cattle train would be on the road by daylight, and his wagon and people with them, but that I would not start with the carriage before 10 a. m. He told me to stop the first night with an old friend of his—Mr. Nelson—and say I was Tom Taylor's sister, and he must give me shelter. How we spent the night I do not remember, nor what we did next morning till the hour came for starting.

Isaiah came up with his pretty team of black Morgan mares, and announced to his mistress, in his best style, that he was ready to take her orders, which were to meet her at Chester, where she would go by rail. Then came Rosa's and my little carriage and our home-raised pet ponies, Selim and Nettie, and our good Dick on the driver's seat. What I did, and how I got in the carriage, I do not know. I seemed to be turned to stone, and I knew I forgot to say good-bye to any one, even to my mother, for she came to the steps, saying, "Why, Ellen, you have forgotten to say good-bye to me." All of us were deathly quiet, for God only knew if we should ever meet again.

Outside of town, I met Olivia Middleton, of Charleston, with somebody in a carriage, and we put them in their right road; and farther on we came upon our travelers, moving along quietly, for the cattle were not yet worried, and the sheep were, as yet, quite docile, the men as lively as though on a picnic, for my mother had seen to their provisions. We traveled slowly, and reached Mr. Nelson's at 9 o'clock p. m. He declined to take me in until I told him Captain Taylor had promised for him that he would not refuse to receive his sister; then he could not get us out of the carriage fast enough, but said he could only give me shelter, as his house was taken possession of by a rough lot of cavalry, but he could not let Tom Taylor's sister camp out, as I had said I must do if he sent me away. We were taken into a neat parlor, where was a handsome piano, and Mrs. Nelson asked if either of us played, that she did want to hear her daughter's instrument once more before it was destroyed, as she understood the Yankees always did with such articles as were too heavy to be carried away. Rosa was a beautiful pianist, and immediately got up and played for the good, kind woman, who

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longed for one more touch of the sweetness of life before it should be torn from her forever.

When I next passed that road, returning to Columbia, in October, only the chimneys of the kind, hospitable home were left.

At daylight I was on the road, for little sleep could we get, and I think both Nick and Dick were uneasy lest the soldiers of whom Mr. Nelson spoke should make a grab at our horses. Dick came under my window to tell me we had best be moving, and please to hurry. We drew some tea, and ate some cold biscuits and bade adieu to our entertainers; and, to the music of our lowing cattle, and baaing sheep, pursued our way, as I said, slowly, reaching the house of Mr. Brice, beyond Winnsboro, where we usually stopped on our way to the plantation. Old Mr. Brice said he was very sorry, but illness in the house compelled him to refuse, and recommended us to the house of a widow lady at White Oak, a mere country settlement, where we spent the night. The poor woman had not the remotest idea that she was in any danger, and I advised her to secure all valuables, and not to remain in the house alone. These houses also were gone when I next passed that way, leaving only the tall chimneys like sentinels over the hearthstones. At Mr. Brice's, the gateposts were standing, but no friendly roof to shelter those who might pass between them. Many, many times have those gateposts and those chimneys come to me in appeal against those whose cruel hands destroyed the happy homes they represented. At this moment, I recall a set of iron steps in Columbia, up which I had often gone on festive occasions, and which, with the chimneys, was all that was left of the gay, bright home of Mr. Wm. DeSaussure.

But to my journey: We reached Chester about 2 p. m. and, sending the caravan around the town, we in the carriages proceeded to look up Mrs. Taylor. We found her, and my sister-in-law, Mrs. Frank Elmore, at Mrs. Anderson's; but she decided to wait in Chester till Captain Taylor should pass with the troops, and turned her carriage over to Mrs. Elmore and her two children. After much difficulty, we induced Mrs. Elmore to accept the opportunity of reaching the plantation, as I told her there could be no certainty of when I could be able to send for her. I told her if she did not hasten, we might be forced to camp out with the children, as there were few houses on the road at which we could stay. To be on the safe side, we had stopped at a house and bought a lot of fodder, for we had used up our supply of horse feed, and stowed it away in and about the carriage till Rosa and I could scarcely breathe; but the smell was sweet

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and clean. Night caught us about halfway, and Dick, who knew the road and every house on it, recommended that I should try at Mrs. Montgomery's, who might take us in. Alas! She could not, and came to my carriage to tell me she was sorry, etc.

"Then," I said, "can you tell me a good place to camp, and will you let me have food for my horses and mules?" As she was about to answer, I heard a tired little whimper from the other carriage, and a child's voice crying, "Mamma, I am so tired; and I want my milk." Instantly the woman's voice and manner changed, and she exclaimed: "Have you got children (she saw our faces dimly through the fodder blades) in there? Where are they? No, I can't turn children from my door this time o' night; git right out and take them children in to the fire." We got out, and so did the fodder, and I told her the children, with mother and nurse, were in the other carriage; but the size of the party did not change her welcome, for she left us and went to the other party, telling Mary and her nurse, Margaret, to "bring them children right into the house, and she would git them their milk in a hurry."

We were ushered into a large, what you might designate truly a "living room," on one end of which was an immense fireplace, occupied by a very old man, and numerous little barefooted children, interspersed with cats and small dogs. At the other end were two large beds, which I felt sure were occupied. Poor Mary Elmore was one of the impossible kind; a new situation was something she could not take hold of, and here was one utterly foreign to her town-bred experience. It was different with us, for we were brought up to "take the bull by the horns" and, besides, our experience of life had made us acquainted with all sorts and kinds of people. How I blessed the teachings of my father and mother, which made us able at once to understand the simple nobleness and mother heart of this good woman who took us in because that baby cried—our dear, dear little Hallie.

After a while, the door between the big beds was thrown open, and we were invited into a large parlor, with a splendid fire, neatly furnished in mahogany, and a handsome rosewood piano, whose legs were well wrapped as though it were in danger of taking cold. On one side, a shake-down on the floor was assigned to Mary and the babies, and an adjoining room to me and Rosa. Milk was brought for the children, and Mary managed a private inquiry of me as to its wholesomeness, etc. Poor woman! how little she knew of the unwholesomeness the changed conditions of the country

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would bring to us all. Notwithstanding my protests, and only by insistence, could I make the good lady take pay, except for the large quantity of feed our horses had consumed.

Again we were on the road, and reached the plantation about midday, finding the girls preparing to return, as they had heard nothing since they left Columbia, and concluded they had been sent off under an unnecessary alarm. A strange redness in the sky had, however, made them anxious, but they never dreamed that its true cause was the burning of the city by Sherman's soldiers. A sad but excited party we made—six young women and two babies—Hallie and May—guarded and supported by nearly two hundred negroes, and not an idea but that we were safe from all but Yankees. And so we were. There were several families upon whom we rested absolutely. Dick, Nick, Phoebe, Elizabeth, Africa, and Charles Prioleau, and their brother, our old butler, Horace, among his company known as Dr. Prioleau, a name he fancied to adopt from our old neighbor in Charleston, Dr. S. G. Prioleau, and which Horace fitted to his brothers and sisters as they came into house-service, were our personal attendants. Dick was our coachman; Nick my teamster; Charles and Africa, carpenters, and Phoebe and Elizabeth, our maids. The others belonged to the plantations, and all were faithful throughout our time of trial.

And now began our strange life as refugees, full of anxiety and work, for we could hear only rumors from below, but must keep up heart and make preparations for the probable necessities of the future. We divided our household, one taking possession of the little cottage that had been built for my mother's use, and I, with three of the girls, of the overseer's house; but we all took our meals together at the cottage. I took up the roll of overseer systematically, as I had seen it practised by Inman. Dick, Gabriel, Nick, Charlie, and old Ben and John, were my coadjutors. At daylight, the call was made at the overseer's house by old John, for the hands to go out; after breakfast, I went to the lot, looked over the cattle and hogs, and learned that Paul was off with the sheep; looked into the corn houses; called at the children's house, and carpenter's and blacksmith shops; and looked up the sick, but before prescribing, went to the house and looked up the case in the old doctor's book, which, fortunately, had been brought with us. Thank God! I was not called upon for any dangerous case, except once, when I was told old "Aunt Rachel was just a-bleeding to death, and she said please to come and stop it." I flew down to the cabin and found

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the report not much exaggerated, so flew back to consult Dr. Ewell, who told me to administer saltpetre in broken doses, which I verily believe saved the good old woman's life. Afterwards I gave her quinine and kept up its equivalent—dogwood bark tea—for some time. I also had gathered certain roots and bark suggested by my advisor, and whether they were rightly administered or not, the negroes believed they were, and asserted that "Miss Ellen was just as good as Dr. Sims," in whom they thought all medical wisdom was concentrated. I speak of these things because I am told that it is desired to have the experiences of our women under new and difficult conditions so expressed as to convey a true conception of what was being carried on by their steady and systematic work at home.

For myself, I never questioned if I *could* do the work that came to my hands, but did it as well as I had ability for, and *never* looking backward with heartbreaking regrets, which I felt would take from me all strength.

But to go back to my day's routine: After dinner, the cows came in, and feeding time came round, and Paul brought in his "sheep tally," which was compared with mine; and John brought in the keys; and he, Dick and Gabriel came to give me private information and advice. Food began to be a serious consideration, and I found it necessary to make many horseback journeys through the apparently deserted country in search of corn. I frequently rode from ten to thirty miles a day, under the escort of Dick, Gabriel, or Charles, who always rode as a groom would ride, at my horse's tail. One day, passing a blacksmith's where was a group of rough looking men, I felt Dick pushing between me and the party. He explained, "I was afraid, Miss Ellen, those men might speak to you; but I think they knew who you was." Evidently, I was a great somebody in Dick's estimation.

I thought I might find corn in Union County, on Pacolet River, and determined to make the effort through our friend—Major Sims—who lived there; but it was too long a journey to make on horseback, and Dick advised the carryall, which was light and easy-going. Nick was to drive me; but the night before, the sick nurse—Minda—sent me word that Nick was too sick to leave home; and I ordered that Gabriel take his place. I heard the carriage come up, and told Phoebe to take Gabriel a cup of coffee and some breakfast and she came back grinning, and said, " 'Taint Gabriel; it's Brother Nick; and he say he ain't gwine to git off the seat for nobody—

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nobody ain't gwine but him, for he done said in Columbia he ain't gwine to leff you tell he die; and, Miss Ellen, Brother Nick won't let anybody else go with you today."

I went out, and there were both the men ready, but I—the mistress—had to give way, and truly I was not sorry, for I felt such absolute trust in Nick's ability to steer through the difficulties. He seemed to be doubly endowed with eyes, ears and intuition. He and Dick were the most intelligent negroes I ever saw, and never seemed at a loss for a way to do a thing if I—their mistress—said it had to be done.

When we got to the river, we found the flat had gone a-visiting down below, as it was in the habit of doing, and staying there till some one had occasion to bring it back. What was to be done? Nick soon solved the difficulty. There was a small bateau, a pole and the ferryman. "So," said Nick, "git out, Miss Ellen, and I will take the body of the carriage off the wheels, and we will take it over on the bateau, and come back for the wheels, and then we'll swim over the horses, and come back for you." I suggested going in the bateau at the same time, but he said no, for the horses might upset the bateau, and I would fall in the river; and so it was all done much after the transit of the goose, the fox and the bag of corn; but we got to Mr. Sims' all safe. Nick became too ill to return with me, and I was driven home by a reliable man belonging to Major Sims. My poor, faithful, devoted servant and friend never came back alive, but I sent for his remains, and had him laid to rest in the little plantation cemetery, reading the burial service over him, and doing all I could to honor the memory of one who had been truly "faithful unto death."

As I said, the problem of how to feed so many mouths began to press heavily upon my mind. I had had the wheat ground whole, and we ate that at our table, leaving the corn for the negroes and stock. A neighbor—Mr. Smarr—sent us a wagonload of peas, and helped us in many ways. But at last I had to put both negroes and stock on short allowance, which measure the less intelligent of our people could not understand, their idea being that their owners could command everything. Then began my first difficulties in managing them, and I had to go among them in their cabins, and where they were at work; but although they would accept all that I would say, it would be forgotten, and their privations and needs be all that they could apprehend at the moment. Our neighbors, with the exception of Mr. Smarr, held aloof, evidently ranking us as rich people, who

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could not be in need of their assistance. After a while, it became known that we had valuable stores of household goods and wearing apparel, and from day to day, one or another young woman would come with a chicken, or a pound of butter, or something to trade. The first day a girl came in, she caught sight of an artificial rose, which, among other ball finery, had been rammed into a chest to keep things steady; and upon that she set her heart and offered her chicken in exchange. Imagine the joy of my sister Cornelia, a quick, impulsive nature, at the discovery of the direction in which the girl's desires tended. Out of the room she rushed, and hauled out a lot of flowers, ball dresses, and hats; and from that time we did quite an extensive millinery business, and had chickens and butter quite often on the table. Some came for crockery and clothing. One day a woman took a fancy to some heavy delftware, the remains of an old dinner set, that had been sent to the plantation years before; and as I emptied the plates on the cloth (for we were at breakfast when she came), my little niece said softly, "Lolla" (as she called me) "is going to sell all the plates; I spec' we will have to eat off the leaves."

In March, we began to hear frequently from Columbia, and I knew all that had taken place there. My brother's man—Billy—had returned from the army to Columbia very soon, for, he said, he "could not rest tell he knew how Mistis and Miss Grace were getting on." My mother had kept with her Cynthia, the cook; an old family servant, Nellie; our butler, Horace, and a man she thought a great deal of, Jim, a good enough fellow, but who would always think of himself first, and was the only one to fail her, for she lost sight of him, and a beautiful black pony, entirely. My mother afterwards saw the pony and a handsome Gordon setter of Dr. Taylor's—"Jet" by name—moving in the Yankee line, as the property of General Logan.

My sister Grace has a diary of what she and my mother passed through in Columbia, and I shall only allude to what I have heard of. Billy did faithful service, securing to them salt and a hog, which he cut up and stored; then, weighting himself with all sorts of things, he took his way to the plantation to see what had come to us. I shall never forget his appearance on the Quarter street, and his happiness as he emptied his pockets of his gifts—a pound of coffee to one, sugar for the children, a candle to another, and a lot of preserves from Miss Grace to all—not one was forgotten. Billy, good Billy—I do not say *one* among a thousand, for there were many, perhaps

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thousands, of such among the best grade of our slaves; but he was "our Billy" to the day of his death.

But my narrative must close, since I have brought it so nearly to the close of all the beautiful life that had hitherto been ours.

The spring brought changes; some of us returned to Columbia to see what could be made out of what was left to us there. Our house was not burned, owing to the guard my mother had secured from General Sherman; but our mill place was destroyed utterly.

I remained on the York plantation till fall, when I left to go to Chester, having secured the position of principal of the Female Academy.

The death of my mother caused an entire break-up of the family, each going to work in his or her own way, for there was little left of old wealth and comfort, and necessity compelled. I am grateful that the way was opened to me for self-support in the school at Chester, and later in my native city—Columbia—where for thirty odd years I had a "Home School for Young Ladies," which was well patronized from all parts of the State. And this ends my story of a "Household During the War." ELLEN S. ELMORE.

Columbia, S. C., December, 1901.

Tales of a Grandmother,

or,

Recollections of the Confederate War.

NO. I.

You have asked me, dear grandchildren, as one of the women of the war, to write you my recollections. Were you sitting by me, I could *tell* you pages, but my eyes are weary and dim, and my fingers stiffening with age, so I will open the book of my memory and write you but one or two chapters.

To write of war is to write of horrors. No pen can draw a true picture of it. No matter how graphic the description, it would fall far short of the reality. I will not tell you of shelled cities, of burning towns and villages, of miles of country with nothing left of the dwellings but the chimneys, all desolated by a powerful, merciless, conquering foe. During four years our women lived through the anguish of this terrible strife. When the first blast of war was sounded, we, almost as one, gave our fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons, to duty, to honor, to that which we believed was right in God's sight.

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In your schoolbooks you have read of the "Act of Secession," and know what is meant by it. Soon after it was passed, a friend called to see me. (I was living at Columbia at that time.) The only topic of conversation then was the prospect of war. My friend said: "I do not approve of this thing. What do I care for patriotism? My husband is my country. What is country to me if he be killed? If your husband should be killed, you will be left provided for; I will have poverty and my children for my share." Not long after this conversation, coming out of church, on a day appointed for fasting and prayer, where we had listened to one of the great Dr. Thornwell's stirring appeals, this friend—Mrs. F. W. McMaster—said to me: "I feel that I could do deeds of heroism." God spared her husband to her, who fought through many bloody battles; and for years after, they walked hand in hand through life's journey, without a break in their household of fourteen children.

The daily life of the women of the war was one of trial, of privation, of sorrow; but it was borne by women of patience, of fortitude, of trust. Many of us did not see our husbands and sons for months—sometimes for more than a year. But our hearts were brave. We concealed our cares and bore our trials without complaint. One day, a splendid young soldier—Captain William Haskell, of Abbeville, S. C.—called to see me, with news from your grandfather. I said something to him about the privations of camp life. "Ah! madam," said he, "the soldiers do not need pity; it is you uncomplaining women, left at home to struggle with poverty, weary waiting, ceaseless anxiety, who have the greater hardships." That was the last visit of this gallant young man to his home. After his return to the Army of Northern Virginia, his father and mother drove to their postoffice to hear from their soldier sons. That mail brought them triple sorrow. The son above referred to—Captain William Haskell—was killed at Gettysburg, and another son and their mother's brother—Langdon Cheves—were killed at Battery Wagner.

No mail came without bringing sad news to some home, and the telegraph wires would flash the report of the deaths of hundreds and thousands of loved ones, who had lost their lives for the "Cause." You go to a funeral now, dear children; the solemn burial service is read in a church; mourning friends follow the beloved form to the grave, and put it away with all the tenderness of the human heart. Do you think such was the burial of our brave, dead soldiers? Ah! no! no! Some there were whose mortal remains were brought home in rude coffins, and now rest in peaceful churchyards or cemeteries,

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and year by year you go with those who strew the garlands and flowers, and thus keep green their memories. Gorgas, sands fill unknown graves; thousands were piled in heaps without even the poor blanket wrapped around them, for a could sheet; some were blown to atoms, and no trace left of them; dreds languished and perished in Northern prisons.

Did all these events, wringing our hearts with anguish and distress, daunt us and make us give up our "Cause?" No. We but clung the more closely to it; our sorrows purified us; our necessities kept us from sloth and selfishness; our thousands of hands were as one pair. 'Twere idle to try to tell of the sandbags, socks, havelocks, shirts, drawers, etc., we made for our soldiers. As secretary of "The Woman's Auxiliary" during the war, my book could have furnished most interesting items of tents made and given, of boxes of food, clothing, medicine, blankets, etc. Alas! like too many other more valuable things, it perished with the burning of Columbia.

At our meetings we were always furnished with a laugh by one member interested in the Hampton Legion, whose invariable inquiry after my report was in a piping voice: "Anything for the Hampton Legion?"

We lived through the fiery tribulation. We lost our "Cause"; we seemed to have lost all that life was worth living for; we passed into poverty and degradation under the rod. But the smoke and din of battle have rolled away. Peace is in our land, and we women have again taken up our role. We look back to the days "before the war" as a pleasure enjoyed; we think of them with emotion, but not with despair. But, my children, my reflections are for myself, my memories for you. I have kept no dates, turned down no corners. I try to forget all those dark days.

When your grandfather, James Pickett Adams, major of a battalion of cavalry, was with the army, there was always one thought present with me—he will be wounded, and I shall have to go to him. Believing this, I kept my trunk packed, ready for departure at short notice—not with many clothes, dears, for our garments were few, and we had to take care that they "waxed not old." (I saw a bill not long ago, that I paid a milliner, during the war, of $100 for retrimming a straw bonnet with pink tarlatan.) But I had in it also sheets, towels, bandages, old linen, soap, candles, a bottle of pure French brandy—all the things I could collect that, in my many trips to the hospital, I saw were so necessary for the sick and wounded. At the beginning of the war, many soldiers were brought

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In your schomps near Columbia to the hospital (the buildings at know what rounds being used for the purpose), sick with measles. to see meiam Wallace, the dear friend of my girlhood and after topic of whom you have often heard me speak, and I had our days at "I dotal together. On one of our days, we had gone around, dis- Mbuted mulled wine, arrowroot custard, clean underclothing, etc., Ihd spoken all the pleasant words we could to the poor sick fellows, and we were about to say good-night when one poor fellow said to me, "Please, ma'am, look at my blister; it has been on my throat all day." Mrs. Wallace held the candle, and I looked at the blister. You need not laugh, children, for though your "nanma" cannot bear to look at your cut fingers and stumped toes, she did look at that soldier's blister. It was large and painful. I had no scissors with which to clip it, and it needed it much. Another soldier took his old, dull knife from his pocket, rubbed the blade back and forth on his dusty shoe, and handed it to me. I picked the watery sacks, dipped some soft cloth in hot water, and applied it to his throat, receiving many thanks from the grateful man.

The news I was always dreading came at last—your grandfather, then a staff officer, was wounded in the Battle of Trevilian Station, and was at the house of a gentleman, near Charlottesville, Va. Your mother was a little girl then, and was playing at Sidney Park. I did not think there was time for her to get home before I would have to leave on the train; but she got there in time for me to press her to my heart, say good-bye, and leave her with my kind relatives, Mr. and Mrs. John A. Crawford. In an hour after I had received the telegram, I was, with my old nurse, Selina, hurrying on my way to Richmond. At Winnsboro, Mrs. H. K. Aiken got on the train, going on to her husband, who was also wounded at Trevilian Station. How glad I was to have her company! How long seemed the night! How the rapidly turning wheels seemed to say, "Coming, coming, coming!" How the frogs screamed all along the road! I never hear them now without living over that night.

When we reached Charlotte next morning, the train had gone. We could do nothing but wait until late in the day for the next one. As we were about to get on, we were told that the Yankees had cut the road at Greensboro. I said to Mrs. Aiken, "Shall we go back?" "No, indeed," she replied, "I am going to Hugh," meaning her husband. The news of the Yankees proved to be untrue. We met, however, with another detention at Danville. I was most fortunate

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in having fallen in with Mrs. Aiken, who, when we arrived at Richmond, took me with her to the house of her sister, Mrs. Gorgas, whose husband was chief of the Ordnance Department.

Railroad communication with Charlottesville was broken. I could not go to your grandfather; and a few days after my arrival at Richmond, the Yankees cut the railroad at Burkeville Junction. Thus I was shut up at Richmond, unable to go to my husband, unable to get back to my child. I do not know how many days passed, nor how long, but I can hear it now, as I heard it then, one night, when waiting, hoping, a footstep. "Oh! Mrs. Gorgas," I cried, "it is he," and away I ran to be clasped in the arms of your grandfather. His wound was in the neck, the place over which your curious little fingers have so often passed. It was another of those hairbreadth escapes, which so many of our soldiers made. The slightest deviation from the course of the ball would have caused instant death. I wish I had kept the coat he wore; it was pierced with bullet holes, in the skirt, sleeve and collar, in six places. The wound was exceedingly painful, and for a time your "old da" was a very stiff-necked fellow. As danger of erysipelas disappeared, I felt anxious to return home. How to get there was now the question, for the road between Richmond and Danville was not open, and the enemy held a portion of the Petersburg and Weldon road. Colonel Armistead Burt, of Abbeville, of whose sad death we heard some time ago, was at Richmond, and was made the bearer of important government dispatches to Wilmington, N. C. Your grandfather placed me under his care to return home. We went by rail to Lynchburg, and there we took a government ambulance for Danville. It was a shabby affair, all stained with blood of wounded soldiers; but we seated ourselves in it, Colonel Burt by the driver, and Selina and I on the floor, without even any straw, propping ourselves against the trunks, without a thought of discomfort. We were told before leaving Lynchburg that we would overtake a number of Yankee prisoners, who were on their way to Danville. All morning we were on the lookout for them—said to number 2,700, besides the guard; at midday, we overtook them, and, as we could not pass them, we jogged on behind. A prisoner broke away and ran down the road towards us. That was not *jolly* for us, as the guard fired at him as he ran. The man escaped into the woods. Our driver thought he had a chance to get ahead, and tried to drive between two trees. They were too close together, and the ambulance became fastened. Instantly several of the prisoners jumped on the wheels, loosened

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the top, and lifted us out of our embarrassment. Again we got in motion with the prisoners before us. If we passed a house, they would go to the well for water, and they would drink it dry; if we crossed a stream, it was the same case, and no water was left for us; if there happened to be any vegetables in a garden, as far as they would go around, every man, "Reb." and "Yank.," helped himself; and as they walked along, peeling the turnips and onions, we could hear them address each other familiarly as "Yank." and "Reb."

When I think of this trip *now,* I feel afraid; I did not then. Finally Colonel Burt said we must stop and allow them to get a good distance ahead of us. We did this at the first house we came to. Colonel Burt went in to make inquiries about the roads, distances, etc. The good lady of the house refreshed us with hot biscuits and apples, a kindness which we greatly appreciated. Colonel Burt had talked a little, Selina had smoked her pipe, and our tired old horses napped while resting. So we resumed our journey and again overtook the prisoners. They no doubt thought, as well as their guard, that we had food, medicine, etc. One of the officers of the guard asked Colonel Burt to give him something to revive a dying prisoner. He had really nothing but a phial of brandy, of which he gave him part. The officer said he would have to leave a Confederate with him, for he would die on the roadside. That evening at dark we crossed Stanton River. The prisoners had all crossed over, and were in a field, knocking down shocks of wheat, on which to make their beds. I pitied the poor farmer to whom the wheat belonged. The old horses seemed to think they should stop too, as they were with soldiers, and could hardly be urged to drag us a half-mile farther on, where we found a very humble house. The owners were very poor, and unwilling for us to stop with them. But Colonel Burt found the "open sesame," and we were allowed to go into the house. Better by far to have remained in the ambulance. Mark Tapley would have certainly been gratified, in finding an occasion on which he could "come out strong." We could not have slept under such circumstances; but the fact that there were over 2,500 of our enemies at the foot of the hill kept our eyes wide open, and at daybreak we once more resumed our journey. It was clear, and soon got very warm. I heard Colonel Burt say, "William, that horse is sick; lookout, he will fall on the pole." Both jumped to the ground, and Colonel Burt bled him in the mouth. Turning to me, he said, "You see, I know something of phlebotomy." Our journey had become one of anxiety; we were in a strange and

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sparsely settled country; if the horse failed us, where could we get another? We drove over miles without hearing a cock crow. At length we reached a house, at the sight of which we "thanked God and took courage." But we congratulated ourselves too soon, for the man of the house, who came out to us, was very surly. He said, "You must go on; I do not want you to stop; do not want you to water your horses at my well." The horse was still bleeding at the mouth, and was feeble. Colonel Burt asked the man to sell him some salt, to stanch the bleeding. He refused flatly, and not until after a long parley, and when he found that we could not "go on," did he yield, and sell us the small quantity of salt needed. His family knew the hardships of living, had little or no money, were far away from a town, and husbanded with jealous care the little they had. We moved on very slowly, for we feared we would lose both horses from the great heat and insufficient food. At midday, we halted. Colonel Burt chewed a piece of tobacco for his dinner; I ate a green apple, one left from those our friend of the hot biscuits had given us; William and the horses looked as if life were a burden to them, and they did not care how long they remained where they were; Selina sauntered off to smoke her pipe, but she found not the comfort she looked for in her "smoke," for in a few moments she came running back, terrified, crying out, "Oh! Miss Ma'gret, Miss Ma'gret, they'se coming, they'se coming!" "Who are coming?" I asked. "Oh! de Yankees, de Yankees! I seed 'em wid de guns in deir hands, and deir *lamsacks* (knapsacks) on deir backs!" And she clung to me in her fright. They proved to be a relay from Pittsylvania, detailed to assist the guard in charge of the prisoners.

At dark, we reached Composition, a town of ambitious space. The houses were so far apart, one almost required a vehicle to visit her next door neighbor. The townspeople had heard of the coming of the prisoners, and when the ambulance was seen, great curiosity was excited. A crowd collected and followed us to the tavern, where we were to spend the night. They thought I was the wife of a Yankee officer. Colonel Burt had often made me laugh by repeating to persons on the road that he was the bearer of important dispatches to Wilmington, and that I was the wife of a wounded Confederate officer, whom I had left at Richmond. It probably helped us on a little. After another long, fatiguing day in the ambulance, we reached Danville, where we took the train for Columbia. We met with frequent delays, and did not arrive at Columbia for

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two days. There I parted with kind, courteous Colonel Burt, with whom I never met but once again.

Now, children, you will think that this trip to Richmond and back to Columbia, of which I have written you an account, was not much of a feat. It was, however. It was one of peril, of anxiety. I left home not knowing where I should meet your grandfather. Confederate money was not worth much, and it took a great deal to cover the expense of such a trip. I left your grandfather, on my return to Columbia, unfit for service, and did not know when I would see him again. We had then "hearts for every fate." I will write you one more letter of my "Recollections of the War," and I hope you may never know anything of war—hideous, shocking war—but what you may read from the experience of others.

Your affectionate grandmother,

MARGARET CRAWFORD ADAMS.

Wavering Place, Congaree, S. C.

NO. II.

MY DEAR GRANDCHILDREN: "From the sessions of silent thought I summon up remembrance" and resume my narrative. As early as 1863, after our repulse at Gettysburg, our men began to lose hope of success. Their best efforts had been put forth; the bravest of the brave had been laid on the "altars of sacrifice." Those who were left were courageous and true, and the "Cause" for which they were fighting was as dear to them as ever. Our noble army was still making a gallant defense in front of Richmond, but was gradually weakening under repeated assaults of a superior force, which, like a mighty serpent, was slowly but surely tightening its coils around the throat of the Confederacy. What was there to encourage a hope of ultimate success? The wide world was open to our enemy, from which to gather forces, supplies, etc., without limit. The Confederate States were orphans to all the world, shut in to themselves. France and England sympathized with them in their heroic struggle, but what did that avail? The few men who were left at home, the women, and the negroes, were all to whom the army could look to raise supplies. Of the negroes, I can say they were, all through the war, our humble friends, and on the plantations, where there were but unprotected women and children, with here and there a white man, these people worked as cheerfully as they had ever done, and not for a moment believed that Southern men, their masters, could

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be overcome. They knew nothing of superior numbers, of superior advantages. They knew that Southern men were brave and honest, and the thought, with the majority of them, that they were slaves, in the abolitionist's sense of the word, had never dawned on their minds.

Our trouble was in our own midst. There was waste of the provisions contributed for government supplies, which made want and discontent. Our horses were "impressed" without even "by your leave." I had already given two to the cavalry service, and the two that I had still were too old, except for my own driving about town. One day, my old coachman, Louis, was returning from Main street, when he saw a man riding one of *his* horses, as he called them. He said nothing until he came to me, when he said, "Ma'am, I saw a man riding old 'Dick Allan' on the streets." On inquiry, one of the servants told me that a man had gone into the stables and ridden him off, saying "he was to be sent to Georgia for the artillery." I remonstrated against this, saying the horse was unfit for service, for if he were, my husband, who was a cavalry officer, would have used him himself. I appealed in vain. Colonel William Wallace told me he was very sorry "Old Dick" was taken, for he felt a curiosity to see how long the old pair would live, treated as they were. They were eighteen years old then.

To mention defeat to our women was an insult. They would not believe it even when it was a reality.

Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, was, towards the close of the war, a city of refuge for wanderers from all parts of the distracted South; a depository for public and private treasure, and where were established bureaus, with their attendant officials, notably the Treasury Department, which furnished means of living for many ladies who had lost their property by the war. Its population was quadrupled, and the beautiful city, far from the seat of war, was gay and festive. Like Belgium's capital before the Battle of Waterloo, it was soon to witness a scene of flight and disorder, and the life of the unsuspecting little city was to go out like a brilliant feu d'artifice.

In January, 1865, the ladies planned and held a bazar at the old State House, thereby to raise means for aiding the soldiers. Garrets and cellars, closets and trunks, were ransacked, and products of the needle and culinary department were brought forth, which astonished those who made and those who bought. There was no Barmecide Feast, but an abundance of tempting food and delicacies.

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For a week, the old State House was a transformation scene, brilliant and changing. Each Southern State was represented by name, having booths arranged tent-shape, draped with the Confederate colors, and surmounted by the shield or coat-of-arms of the State represented. When I think now of the blockade of the ports of the South, its isolation, how long since a ship had brought in aught of beauty or fashion, the splendor of the bazar seems marvelous. Stately matrons presided at the various booths, assisted by bevies of pretty girls, who sold their wares at fabulous prices. My State was Mississippi, and, with my assistants, we made $17,000. Does this sum seem large to you? It was very small in value, owing to the great depreciation of Confederate currency. In our sales, we forgot all else but to make money for our soldiers, and we received sometimes withering glances and angry words. An old man wanted to buy of me a piece of cake for his wife. "Now, give me," he said, "a good sizable slice." The cake represented to me, not butter and eggs, sugar and flour, but something delicious, almost unattainable, and when I cut the good man a slice from the center out, and half-inch thick, I thought it was indeed "a good sizable slice," and was stunned when he said, " 'Tain't worth my money!"

Mrs. Lallah Adams had given me a jar of sliced peaches, beautiful, yellow peaches, the like of which had almost faded from the memory of Confederates. For each *slice* I asked, and got readily, $5. An old couple came to the table, looked around, and the old lady's eyes lighted on the bright, yellow slices. "I will take a *saucer* of peaches," she said. I handed her *one* slice, saying, "The price is $5." She took it and asked her husband to pay for it. "No, I won't," he said; "it is robbery"; and, taking her by the arm, led her out, looking back at me, muttering, and I imagined they were very bad words he was saying.

I have never known what became of all the money made at that bazar. It was perhaps too worthless to be accounted for; or there was too little time before the Confederacy expired in which to expend it.

Who that was a looker-on in that vast assemblage could believe that in a few weeks all would be scattered, fleeing they knew not where, or remaining to see the city laid in ashes? Such was the case. The 17th of February, 1865, witnessed the destruction, by fire, of Columbia, by Sherman's invading army. Who can describe the dismay of the people when it was known that Sherman was thundering at her gates, like Alaric, with his horde of Goths, before the

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ancient city of Rome, who, however, barbarian though he was, in sacking the city, spared her churches, while this modern Goth burnt them? To flee, to get away from the approaching host, was the feeling communicated from one to another, and few remained who could get away. Oh! the wild confusion, the headlong haste. Many, who had not thought of leaving their homes, caught the contagious panic, and, at the eleventh hour, determined to flee too, though it was then possible for them to take with them but a few necessary articles, the railroads having more than they could do to take off government supplies and treasure. Among this number were your mother and myself. On Thursday morning, February 16th, we went to the Charlotte depot, intending to go to Winnsboro and decide there on our future movements. What a crowd was there, shoving, pushing, cursing, swearing, trying to find room on the train for their worldly goods. I saw a man with a box so heavy that six men were staggering under its weight; one of these men moved aside for a lady, when the owner of the box rushed at him and beat him furiously with an umbrella. It was very cold, and sleet covered the ground and trees. I was told, after I had secured passage, that I could take no luggage. Your mother said she would not go without her clothes, so we returned home. Late in the day, we heard from a gentleman, Mr. Rufus Johnston, who had chartered a box car for transportation of his *servants* and their effects, that we could go in the same box, and take two trunks with us, and also that that was the last train which would leave Columbia. We decided at once to go. In one trunk I packed my silver; in the other, summer and winter clothing. To give more room in the trunk, your mother and I put on as many of our clothes as possible—Wemmeck like, making our property "portable." I was so much incommoded by the weight and tightness of each successive garment that I took them off; but your mother kept hers on. She wore a half-dozen pairs of stockings, and underclothing in proportion, several dresses, two cloaks, and two hats. She was a picture of fun, not easily recognized. When she passed through a door, she had to go sideways. She was just recovering from measles, and this great weight of clothing, which she wore for twenty-four hours, gave her a severe cold, from which she did not recover for months. I was glad I had not gone on the morning train, as I had now a little time to arrange my household which I had left as if going to pay a call. I put some blankets and a few other things, a bag of flour and some bacon, in a wagon of a friend, and sent them off to Winnsboro with

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my faithful old servant, Louis Brooks. It was a trial for me to leave your grandfather's well-selected library, my furniture, valuable pictures, bought in Rome; my glass and china, one set of which had been brought from Ireland, of exceeding beauty, and I was the fifth Margaret who had inherited it; my father's portrait, painted by Scarborough, after he was eighty years of age; all to be left for the destroyer. I tore up all the letters which I had received during the war from your grandfather, a matter I now much regret, and provided for the servants, who were to be left behind. Only one of them—Charlie Brown—showed any fear. The city was shelled at intervals through the day, and whenever he would hear an explosion he would sink to the floor, overcome with alarm and blanched with terror.

Some of the negroes had no conception of what was meant by "Yankee," and on first sight of them, one said, "Why, dey's folks!" I parted with my servants with sorrow, taking with me only my cook—Hannah—a servant whom my Grandfather Crawford gave me when I was a child, who had no children.

About dark, your grandfather, who was then in the city, went to the depot with us, and saw us safely packed in the aforesaid box car. In it was a family of six or eight negroes, with their possessions. At each end, they had chicken coops, piled one above the other, which, when the train got in motion, threatened to topple over on our heads. It was the last box of the train, except the one next, which was filled with *gunpowder*. Wheeler's Cavalry, a noisy set, was encamped all around the depot, and occasionally one of his men would come to our car door, saying, "Fellows, let me in; I say, fellows, let me in." I had the door closed except about an inch, left open for air, and held a lighted candle in my hand. When these prowling soldiers came near, I would have the door fastened, and then we would almost suffocate. Your grandfather had left us, thinking the train had moved off; but it was simply to run a short distance, then return to our starting point. We kept up this see-sawing until midnight, when we went on to Winnsboro. Meantime, we did not know what was going on in the city, but in our occasional sliding of the door, we saw that it was lighted up, and heard that it was from the burning of Congaree bridge.

Arriving at or near Winnsboro, we found the train which had preceded us broken down on the track, and no probability of its early departure. We got out of our train, and into a wagon which was there, and went to the house of a relative. My purpose, when I left

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Columbia, was to go to Union with my uncle, Mr. Andrew Crawford, but we found that there was risk of being overtaken by the Yankees, and we determined to remain at Winnsboro. The wind blew a furious gale all day, and with the storm without, and the distraction within, I was without hope. Vainly did I wish I had remained at home. Some time after dark, we saw the horizon towards Columbia reddening, and until a late hour we watched it growing brighter. We doubted if it could be Columbia burning, as we did not suppose we could see light from a fire thirty miles away; but we were not long in doubt, for evil news flies fast, and next day we heard that Sherman had laid "the cradle of the rebellion" in ashes.

On Sunday morning, our army, under Beauregard and Hampton, entered the town of Winnsboro. Was it from this handful of men we looked for victory? I could but admire the sublimity of their courage. This army was near to Winnsboro for several days, and thus we saw your grandfather and many of our soldier friends. Knowing that Sherman would soon be upon us, we busied ourselves in hiding our valuables. My aunts dug holes and put into them their silver and watches, which, when they took them up, they found seriously injured by being soaked in water. I called to my aid my faithful servant—Louis Brooks—and gave into his charge my silver, which he hid securely, and my watch and jewelry, which he concealed on his person. He told me he thought it best for us that he should go off the premises and stay away until Sherman's army had passed through, to which I assented. My aunt sent all of her servants into the country also, leaving in the yard only my cook and a strange young woman, with a baby a few weeks old. In the house there were eight females, including one very sick lady, who had asked to be brought there from her own home, and who died a day or two after Sherman left the town. Into the room occupied by her we carried most of our wearing apparel.

Our first intimation of the approach of the army was seeing a "bluecoat" rush into the house, and commence a search. He was soon followed by a number of others. The house, located on the outskirts of town, was first reached. I had "laid the table" and put on it two cooked hams, a large quantity of biscuits, and other food, supposing these men would eat like other people. One man came in, stuck his bayonet in a ham, and marched out with it; another did the same; and in a moment everything was swept off the table—plates, knives, forks, everything. A hundred men were in the house at a time, searching every part of it, breaking open doors, closets,

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drawers, trunks, in their "search for arms." The noise they made was as if they were a herd of cattle. Finally, my aunt said to a new arrival of them, "There is indeed nothing left in the house for you to take; suppose you remain here below and send one man up to search." They did this, and their fellow soon came back with empty hands. The sick lady was lying insensible, unconscious of what was going on around her. All of us took refuge in her room, as it seemed to be respected. One fellow came to the door, putting his hands on either side, and said, "I'm a bummer, I am; I'm a bucktail." I thought he should have said he was "the flower of the land," as he wore a girl's hat, with a wreath of flowers around it. I said to him, "Please do not come in here, for you will disturb that lady, who is very ill." He looked at her and said, "Oh! I have seen plenty like that; she's pretending." But he did go away. A young soldier took his seat by her bedside, and remained there all day, watching her, wiping the damp from her face, raising her up when she was deathly sick, and caring for her as tenderly as if he had been her son. He was ashamed of the conduct of his comrades. He was from New Haven, and gave us news of the family of Dr. Wills, who had formerly lived at Columbia, and was our family physician.

These men came in advance of the army. What a contrast was its entry to that of the Confederates, a few days before! An army sixty thousand strong, with bands playing, banners flying, wagons two and three abreast, disregarding roads, but driving right across the fields. The burning of Columbia seemed about to be repeated, but the burning of a number of houses seemed to satisfy hate, and the fire was stopped.

The lady of the house where I was staying—Mrs. Fraser—a fragile, timid woman, when she saw the approach of the head of the column, went out alone, stood in the road by the Presbyterian Church, waved her hand, and halted it. An officer rode up to her and said, "What do you want, madam?" "I want a guard for my house, and for two others," pointing to them. "You shall have them," he said, and he told a soldier to follow her. An officer went with her also. On their way, he saw a soldier carrying off a box of tobacco on his back. He rode against him, knocking him down, and cursing him as he rode on. When he got into the yard, he found a soldier setting fire to the kitchen. He had him arrested at once. In his fury, he called for an axe to cut away the burning part. The axe had been taken; but he thought we withheld it, and shouted at us, "Will you do nothing to help me save your own property?" He

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was a huge man, sunk low in his saddle, on a sheepskin. He soon restored order in the yard, and left two men to guard the house.

The cats and goats seemed to feel it in the air that something was approaching, for they had disappeared, and did not reappear for days. The watchdog had, in fear, crouched under the dining table, when a soldier, spying him there, shot him! All day the bummers were passing through the yard and garden, searching, prodding, digging, for hidden treasure, which, happily, they did not find. They did find, and took off, everything we had to eat. One man carried off sorghum in a *trunk*. Hundreds of them passed through, loaded with poultry of every kind, which hung in strings from their saddles to the ground. They could not catch the guineas ("little speckled chickens," as they called them); they were too fast for them. Others drove herds of cattle. They turned my aunt's cow out of her house, which, when my aunt saw, she rushed out, crying to them, "Oh! don't drive off our cow; we have nothing left but her!" Seeing her distress, one of the men said to her, "If you can separate your cow from the others, you may have her." Think of an old woman, over seventy, going through this crowd of rough men, with their drove of cattle, with a stick in her hand, trying to save her cow! One fellow laughed and called to her, when he saw her cape falling off from her shoulders, "Look out, old woman, you are losing your coat!" She followed after a long time, but at last returned, exhausted, failing to get her cow.

Night closed in on us, hungry and uncomfortable. None of us went to bed, and we had no light but firelight. I was watching the sick woman and had made my cook and the woman with the young baby come into the room with me. The baby began to fret, and, having seen a bottle of asafetida on the table, I dropped, as I supposed, a few drops into a spoon, and gave it to the mother to give her baby. Before putting the bottle down, I looked at the label, and great was my consternation when I found it was "elixir of vitriol." I did not speak, but sat down by the woman and her child, staring at it, fearing every moment it would go into convulsions. If it moved, I jumped. I was afraid, if the child died, those dreadful Yankees would think I had given it the dose intentionally, and would murder me. Putting my hand to its neck, I found it all wet, and then I knew that the sleepy mother had spilt the medicine.

While Sherman's army remained in Winnsboro, none of us left the house. For days after it left, we lived on bread, which we made with meal, sifted from wheat bran, or on corn, which was gathered

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up from where the horses had been most abundantly fed, and which was scattered on the ground. Our guard told us we had more to fear from stragglers than from the army; but after it moved out, we were not again molested. When the people began to mingle together again, each one had a thrilling tale to tell, some indeed shocking—of old men who were hung up, time and again, by the neck, to force them to disclose the hiding place of their treasure; of women who had spoken sharply to some of the soldiers, who, for so doing, were tied in chairs in their yards and made to witness the burning of their own houses.

When one of the ladies in our house said something to a gay young Prince Rupert of an officer about the unnecessary destruction of the articles in the house, he laughingly said, as he, too, proceeded to put into his pocket an elegant copy of Campbell's Poems, "Sich is the fate of war."

The coming, the going, of this army was a horrible nightmare. We awoke from it to realize we were destitute. Your grandfather bought us some supplies at Yorkville; among them, I remember a *bandbox,* filled with *lard,* and some corn. A lady from Charleston had a hand-mill (every mill in the country was burnt), and with this we ground our corn into hominy. We would boil a small piece of bacon with hominy, for our breakfast, and for dinner we had a small slice of bacon each, with bread. We did not have even the luxury of rye coffee or parched sweet potato or persimmon seed. I noticed that my aunt, the old lady who tried to recover her cow, did not eat her allowance of bacon, and that every day after dinner she went out. I said to her, "Aunt Margaret (Miss Margaret Crawford, of Winnsboro), why don't you eat your bacon? You are getting thin and feeble." "Oh!" she said, "I take it to Elymos (a negro), who is sick; and today he was very vexed, and told me if that was all I could bring him, I had better not come." She was always doing something for somebody and forgetting herself.

Louis came back after the army had gone. I did not recognize him, he was so thin and haggard. A Yankee soldier had taken his shoes from him, and my watch and chain were at the time in his sock, which he restored to me, with my jewelry. A negro man, who belonged to one of our family, in returning to his home, called at the yard to see Louis. When I was telling him of how the house had been pillaged, he exclaimed, "My God! Miss Margaret, where was Mas' Jimmy?" showing, as I have said before, the confidence the negroes had in the power of Southern men.

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The Confederacy seemed suddenly to have changed, a glory had passed from it, and, without acknowledging it, we felt the end was near. It came sooner than we expected. In April, 1865, the war ended. Would that with it all the heartburnings, caused by the deluge of blood which flowed from the first drop shed, could in some wise have ended; that the millions of property lost could in some wise have been restored. But it was not to be so. Long years of toil were before us, with all the corruption and demoralization of interstate war.

We have rebuilt on the ruins of our buried hopes. The lava of time encrusts the past. We poor "Rebels" have found new homes, new hopes, and we strive to forget the bitterness of defeat. But memory often carries us back over the bloody chasm to that other life, to commune in those then happy homes with loved ones now absent and dead. Your affectionate grandmother,

MARGARET CRAWFORD ADAMS.

Wavering Place, Congaree, S. C.

Why I Am a Daughter of the Confederacy.

(A few extracts from a diary.)

I was in the country when the first sound of the war bugle reached my ears. This is an extract from my diary at that time: "How bright the sun shone on this, my natal day. How the birds seem trying to welcome its coming with their songs. But alas! I am far away from home and loved ones, and it is a sad time with us all. News is rife even in the country: even here, the sound of the tocsin of war has reached the ears of old men, young men, and even boys; and as every mail brings some account of added provocation from the North, they rise up in the glory of their manhood and feel that they must go forth and fight for the rights of our own fair Southland. The quiet of the country is broken; confusion runs riot. Each day some pupil leaves the school, and soon I feel that I will have to close, as the patrons have become demoralized and think they will soon be on the verge of starvation, and fear to spend a dollar."

In a few weeks from the time this entry was made I was at home. I found our village full of enthusiasm, and the ladies and girls busy as bees, making a Confederate flag. Oh! how many hopes were stitched into the folds of those Stars and Bars! often with bleeding fingers, for that was before the day of sewing machines in the South. How proudly we watched the men run it to the top of an immense

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pole, while our voices joined in the huzzas as its folds floated to the breeze. There was no time to sit with folded hands and grieve over the situation. Indeed, we of the younger class felt it almost a picnic to assist in making fatigue shirts, knitting socks, and cooking dainties to send to "our boys" in gray.

My home, being on the W. & W. R. R., a great number of the soldiers had to pass there, en route to Richmond. A committee of nearly every one in the village was formed to have lunch for the troops, whenever the train would stop to take on wood and water. The older ladies would have something substantial; the girls, flowers for the gallant boys; while the boys too young to take up arms would take buckets of water for all. Until now I had only sympathized with others in parting with loved ones. My father had been dead many years, and my oldest brother was just twelve years old; but his youth was no drawback to his patriotism. When the first company left, my mother appealed to the captain to tell him he could not go. Another company was soon raised and, the colonel being from our town, words, tears, nor anything else, could keep him at home. A proud boy he was when Colonel Parker made him his orderly. He soon marched away to Virginia, where so many of our brave boys fought, bled and died.

Now came a time of dire trouble and suspense. We feared to scan the list of dead and wounded after each battle. One day, news came that Colonel Parker's orderly had been wounded while carrying dispatches during the fight around Richmond. Alas! the news proved only two true, and a widowed mother boarded the outgoing train with a sad, anxious heart. But fate was kind, and she was so happy to find her soldier boy only slightly hurt. There was a warm welcome for both when she reached home again, bringing Orderly Wallar S. Turner, who had been honorably discharged from duty on account of his youth. I think he was glad to be back with mother, for awhile, at least.

Those terrible years of war crept on, as a wounded snake drags its weary length along. Slow, tedious, as they were, each day was full of interest and work for those left at home. Soldiers were passing constantly. Sometimes we would hear that several regiments were on the way to the "seat of war." What a lively, hurrying time we had then. The women made cakes—the best our material afforded; the older ones would tie up packages, socks, or woolen comforters, to give to those who needed them; the girls would gather huge bouquets, to be divided into small boutonnieres, to pin on the pockets of the

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brave soldier boys; while each small boy considered himself a committee to see that buckets of fresh water were ready for them. Then we would meet near the depot or "water tank" and wait their coming. The trains did not tarry long, but sometimes long enough for an exchange of hearts, and on one occasion that I knew of resulted in marriage.

At that time, I had no soldier sweetheart, but was more interested in the conductor who had charge of the train than in the soldiers; so my buttonhole bouquet was generally pinned on the lapel of "Captain Ivey's" coat whenever he was aboard. Just here let me say that Captain Ivey raised a company of cavalry and reported for duty, but the president and superintendent of the W. & W. R. R. would not let him leave the road; he was detailed and brought back, and served in the civil service during the war.

Those were times that tried women's souls as well as men's, and though we worked hard and prayed often for those who were giving their lives for us, there were times when the young folks, at least, had fun. A soldier boy would come home on furlough and persuade his sweetheart to marry him before he returned. Then we were all alive. Old trunks were opened and ransacked for remains of finery that had been long hid away. Sometimes we were fortunate enough to find white slippers, discolored by age; we would chalk them, mend the holes, or would beg or pay the old negro shoemaker "at the quarters" to put soles on jeans uppers. Happy the girl whose mother or aunt had once been a belle, and had left some embroidered or India muslins. Sometimes a light silk would be found and utilized. An old threadbare black silk apron was considered a treasure; when picked to pieces and mixed with wool, it made a nice filling for cotton warp; and when woven, such a lovely soft gray dress the bride would have, trimmed with persimmon seed, or with buttons made of round bits of pasteboard, covered. Then the hat was made of shucks or oat and wheat straw, plaited and trimmed with paper or feather flowers. Having secured the dress, now we turned our attention to the wedding supper. The old black "maumers" would try their skill in this and, with preserved watermelon rind for citron, dried cherries, and other small fruits, we would have a delicious fruitcake.

So the years rolled on—sometimes sunshine, sometimes shadow, but with never a doubt as to the final success of our Cause. I can never forget the first news we had of Lee's surrender. It was a warm Sunday afternoon in April. Several girls were down by the river bank, where the falls make a miniature Niagara. We were

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chatting or singing, all thinking of loved ones and wishing "this cruel war was over" when we saw a ragged, sick-looking soldier coming slowly along the dusty road. A spring of cool water bubbled near; he saw the gourd hanging by a nail that was driven in a tree, and stopped and asked for a drink. We soon gathered around him, each one with a question. One girl asked why he was coming home alone. "Indeed, Miss," he replied, "I am not alone; others are behind, and all that are left of the army are coming, for the war is over; General Lee has surrendered." In a few moments, two other soldiers came up and confirmed what the first had told. We were quite indignant, turned away from the "deserters," as we called them, and then hastened home to repeat the news. In a few days, our worst fears were confirmed. The soldiers continued to come, all telling the same story. Lee had indeed surrendered. He was confronted with overwhelming odds. Our boys were compelled to lay down their arms; but never conquered.

To this day, the Lost Cause is ever green in the memory of those who lived and acted through the vicissitudes of that cruel war. For this reason we are banded together, that our children, and their children, may not forget our wrongs. Our flag is furled; but the bravery of the men on the field, and the women at home, will live in the memories of the lovers of freedom while the sun shines on our beloved Southland. ELEANOR S. IVEY, née TURNER.

Some Heroic Women.

As historian of this Chapter, I feel it an honor, as well as a privilege, to be able to testify to the many acts of heroism among the women of the South during that trying period of the four years' war. As my life at that time was not cast among the hills of old Edgefield, I must beg that I be not confined to that County, not even to the State of South Carolina, in telling some of the reminiscences of heroic deeds.

Those of you whose lives have dawned since the blessed Angel of Peace spread her wings over our dear Southland, or even those who were children at that time, can have no adequate conception of the labor and trials the wives and mothers, and even the young girls, endured. There was work for all. While the mothers were looking after the carding and spinning that had to be done, not only to supply the family with clothing, but to send to the soldiers; or riding over the farm, directing the hands, so that the crops would not fail; the

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young girls were busy knitting socks, or making garments to send to the loved ones in the camp. "They also serve who only stand and wait." And those brave women who took the part of man, as well as woman, deserve as much praise for their heroism as those who left home and followed the loved ones in the battlefield. History does not tell of those, but they deserve more than praise for their patience in waiting, and their energy in doing.

There are others who won for themselves names that will live so long as the historian's pen shall immortalize their bravery in giving up the comforts of their homes, leaving all that a woman holds most dear, to share the dangers, trials and privations of a soldier's life. Edgefield had one daughter whose name will be honored together with her generals and great men while a veteran of the Rebel army lives: Mrs. Neal Horn, who left her home and went with her husband and son to Virginia and, sharing their tent life with them, served through the war—not with guns, pistols, and swords, but ever by their side, to supply, as far as she could, home comforts in cooking, and keeping their clothes clean and mended. When the God of Battle held high carnival, and the wounded and dying were all around, her womanly ministrations were not confined to her own loved ones, but many a mother's boy was comforted, and his dying hour made easier, by her presence.

There are many in Edgefield who know and love the name of Mary Ann Bowie, "the soldier's friend," as she was called. While she was never amid the frightful scenes of the battlefield, still she gave her time and life, and traveled all over the country, soliciting contributions of money, clothing, or anything that could be used for their comfort.

Among those whose deeds were prompted by charity and love of country, there were others who were wild over the excitement and romance that the war offered. Belle Boyd sprang into notoriety first as a Southern spy and newspaper reporter. Many were the acts of bravery she did in obtaining useful information for our generals. About a year before the close of the war, she was on the privateer "Greyhound," bound for Nassau, when she was captured by the Yankees and suffered all the privations of a prison until she was exchanged.

Of all who have gained a reputation for reckless daring and deeds of valor during the Civil War, there are none who outrank the brave Cuban girl, Loretta Valesque. Naturally of a romantic turn of mind, she became so enthused over the wrongs of the South that she

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determined to have a part in the tragedy there being played. The first act in her life of adventure was to marry a young American officer who was serving in the United States Army. She was only fourteen at that time; but the girls of Cuba mature so much earlier than here, she had a woman's form and a woman's heart. When war between the States was declared, his regiment was ordered back to the United States, and such was her influence over him that, yielding to her persuasion, he left the Union Army and enlisted with the South. Loretta, full of the excitement pertaining to war, wanted to share the danger with him. She longed to be where she could hear the music of the bullets as they whistled past, and see the lightning of the swords as they flashed from the scabbards. Pleading with him to let her accompany him, she was, as she thought, justly indignant when he refused his consent. Womanlike, she concealed her impatience, and while he thought she had given up the idea, she only bided her time. "When a woman wills, she wills," and you may depend on it. His farewell kiss was scarcely cold on her lips when she sought a tailor, to have him make and pad a suit of clothes for her. Thus disguised, she boarded a train for New Orleans. Alas! Lieutenant Harry Buford, her "nom de guerre," had not calculated on the heat of the city, consequently the padded garments became unendurable; so she had to find another tailor to substitute wire for cotton in the padding; these she fastened under her arms, giving her the necessary squareness to her figure. After getting rigged up, her next step was to raise a company of recruits, and, at the head of these, she made her way to Pensacola, to join her husband. Words cannot express his surprise and chagrin when she was shown into his presence and made herself known to him; but he was a wise man, and appreciated the romantic side of the situation, so instead of giving her away and opposing her, he helped to drill her soldiers. Unfortunately for her, her husband was killed not long after by the bursting of his carbine. Nothing daunted, she succeeded in having her company transferred to Virginia, and marched into line at the Battle of Bull Run. A writer, in speaking of her on that occasion, says, "No man on the field fought with more energy than she did; fear was not known to her."

Getting tired of active duties, she decided to assume her female dress and take the part of a spy. Having bribed an old negro to ferry her across the Potomac one freezing cold night, she arrived safely in Washington. There she renewed her acquaintance with some officers of the Northern Army. Bringing all her powers of

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fascination to bear upon them, she gained what valuable information she could and then returned to the Confederate lines.

In giving us a short history of her life as soldier and spy, the writer remarks that, in the midst of her varied experiences, she found time to be married three times, and left the romantic adventures of her life as a legacy to her children. A wound on her arm caused her sex to be discovered. Once known, she managed to escape to some other section of the country, and again assumed her masculine garb. The last that was heard of this wonderful woman, she had gone to California as a miner.

MRS. JAMES H. WHITE.

Johnston, S. C.

Reminiscences of the Confederate War.

I can recall the four years of the Civil War with many sad and some pleasant recollections. I was young, and the dark days, interspersed with those of sunshine, kept us ever watching and wishing for the "silver lining" to deck our clouds of despair. We did not realize the suffering and privation that would inevitably befall the South until 1864-65; then, being deprived of any foreign aid, as recruits for our army, clothing and the usual luxuries in our culinary department, we resorted to devices which would at the present day seem quite commonplace and ludicrous. Coffee was not in store; therefore, wheat, rye, and sweet potatoes were substituted; syrup made from the sugarcane; the ripe pulp of watermelons and persimmons were used for sugar; our choicest cakes were made with syrup; corncobs burnt, and the ashes were used for soda. Clothing also exercised our ingenuity. Silks, worsteds, and even calico, were seen in a few tattered garments left to remind us of the "days gone by." All of the old cards and spinning wheels, looms which had been stored away so many years, covered with the cobwebs of antiquity, were brought into use, and homespun was the most fashionable material, dyed in all of the colors of the rainbow; and although we had no Paris Delineator from which we could cull patterns, we imagined our costumes adorned us quite becomingly. Gloves, hose, shawls, and scarfs were knit with Confederate thread, not only for our use, but our soldiers. Hats and bonnets were made of wheat and rye straw, bleached or dyed, braided and fashioned into shape; our domestic feathery tribe were deprived of some of their plumage, a small bow of faded ribbon (if such an article could be found among the war wreck); and we donned our Confederate tiara with as much

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self-conscious loveliness as some of our Rock Hill butterflies of fashion do nowadays. Buttons were made of wood, seed of persimmons, and palma-Christi; quite a pretty button was made with a needle and thread.

I was living twelve miles northeast of the town of Chester, within three miles of the Southern Railroad, about ten miles west of Landsford, on the Catawba River. It was surmised that Sherman's army would pass through our vicinity. Oh! the horrible suspense! I can recall each day and night as a dreadful nightmare; sleep seemed to haunt us, and when Morpheus wrapped his alluring mantle around us, visions of bluecoats would startle us in our dreams. Our silver was deposited in a spring near our home, by one of the servants, and all other valuables hidden. The rain poured in torrents unceasingly for two weeks; the Catawba River and creeks were overflowing their banks; bridges demolished; roads impassable, which impeded Sherman's march through that portion of Chester County.

It would consume pages to unravel some of those thrilling experiences; yet we were blessed in comparison with those unfortunate ones whose homes were within the line of Sherman's march from the sea to Virginia. "May the night of sectional hate be rolled away, and our beautiful Southland stand in perfect day," with face ablaze, with eye hope-lit, that Peace will spread her wings abroad, heralding forth the tidings of a free field under the favor of a just God.

MRS. W. B. DUNLAP.

Rock Hill, S. C., February 7, 1901.

A Sketch of Life During the War Between the States.

What a blessing it is to us that God, our Heavenly Father, has so ordered it that time softens our sorrows. When a great grief comes to us, it seems as if it is more than we can bear, and so it would be if the pain continued as sharp as we first feel it. But time, while it *cannot* obliterate our troubles from our memories, rubs off the sharp points that are so painful at first. As the shadows of the evening subdue the fierce rays of the noonday sun, and give us the soft, beautiful glow of twilight, so the events of our lives, if we live submissive to God's will, soften the pangs of grief and make our lives as beautiful as the light at eventide.

Living now in peace and prosperity, the time of trial and peril through which we passed during the Civil War seems like a troubled

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dream, from which we have slowly awakened. Time has softened our grief for the loss of dear ones who gave their precious lives for the Cause so dear to every true son and daughter of our loved Southland, and we can now see how merciful God has been to us through it all.

At the beginning of the war, in 1861, both of my brothers volunteered, which left my mother and myself alone on our farm. It was very lonely for us, but the Cause was so dear to us that we were willing to make any sacrifice. But little did we then think, when we bade them good-bye, that it would be four long years of anxiety before they would live in the old home again. Many of the leading men of the South thought the war would not last more than six months or a year; some of our more thoughtful statesmen read the future better, and predicted a long and bloody contest. The South only thought of establishing her rights, or dying in the struggle.

My mother, being almost an invalid, the whole care of the farm, as well as most of the housekeeping, devolved on me. I managed the farm, with a great deal of worry; but had it not been for the faithful negroes, I could not have done it. We made not only an abundance of food for ourselves, negroes and stock, but, at the close of the war, had $1,800 worth of cotton. We welcomed to our home sick and wounded soldiers. We gave them all the dainties we could make, tenderly nursed them, and, as far as we could, replenished their wardrobes. We had yarn spun, and cloth woven, to make them clothes. I knitted undervests of homespun yarn, also socks and comforters.

In the summer of 1861, I asked the mothers and sisters whose sons and brothers belonged to Waxhaw Jackson Grey's company—Company B, Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment—to assist me in getting a flag for the company. We got a beautiful silk flag, and I was selected to present it to the company July 4, 1861. My brother belonged to this company. The first year of the war, we had not learned what war meant to a country, nor what a soldier's life was. When we sent our loved ones to the army, we thought that they must have all the luxuries of home except the house, so we packed trunks with everything we could put in, that we thought a gentleman going on a pleasure camping trip ought to have; and as we could not put a servant in a trunk, we sent him outside, to look after the trunk and its master. The two last years of the struggle, we learned what war meant, and how a soldier lived. One was considered well equipped who had shoes and clothing, though they were threadbare, or well patched, and not ragged; a blanket, gun, and a canteen.

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My brother, Thomas Cureton, who was captain of Company B, Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment, was wounded four times during the war. Once he was disabled for five months, and he was with us most of the time during his sickness, and what a comfort it was! My younger brother, Taylor Cureton, took fever at Petersburg, Va., and was at one time very ill. I heard of his sickness one Saturday night. The next day, I went twenty-five miles alone in a carriage, with a colored man driving, to my uncle's plantation, to get him to go with me to my brother. We didn't get to Petersburg until Wednesday. Oh! the dreadful suspense of those three days no one can ever realize unless they have had a similar experience! I knew the regiment had left Petersburg, and my poor, sick brother left alone among strangers. It seemed that I would never get to him. I brought him home and nursed him for weeks. Long ere he was well, he would return to his regiment. It was always so with the Confederate soldiers; they felt that every man was needed at the front, and many died from returning to the army before they were well enough to bear the hardships and exposures of camp life.

Thus the days, months and years passed wearily by, the remnant of our brave army fighting overwhelming numbers to protect us, and we praying, with hearts full of trouble and anxiety, and busy hands, trying to make food for the army and keep homes for those dear ones who would come to us when the cruel war would end. In February, 1865, came news that struck terror to every woman's heart, viz.: that Sherman, a cowardly monster in human form, was coming through our State. The few, very few, men (for the Yankees said we robbed the cradle and the grave to fight them) too old to join the army, tried to protect us by moving us out of that portion of the State through which he was passing. It was sad indeed to see frail women and little children camping out in cold, wet weather, risking their lives rather than meet the bluecoated fiends of Sherman's army. I was persuaded to start with a few friends, leaving my mother at home, as we then thought, with very devoted and faithful servants. In a few hours, I grew so uneasy about mother that I could not go any farther. I got a horse and rode twelve miles alone to get back home. That was a ride of terror to me. I was afraid to look before, for fear I should see a bluecoat. The joy that came into my mother's face when she saw me ride up to the door, I shall never forget. It more than repaid me for that dreadful ride.

The life of the Confederacy was now drawing to a close. We still hoped, but it really seemed in vain to do so. I cannot describe

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my feelings when the news of Lee's surrender reached me. Our cause was right, just, and noble. For it was not the question of slavery for which the brave men of the South poured out their life blood on the battlefields of Virginia, Tennessee, the Carolinas, and the States of the West. It was the right given us by our forefathers, in the Constitution of the United States of America, of separate State action. How reluctantly the Yankees acknowledged this!

Our fathers and brothers were brave patriots, fighting for their rights. This is the truth that every Southern mother should instill into the hearts and minds of her children, as did Jochebed teach the little Moses to love the Hebrew people and give his life for their freedom. God bless the memory of our dead Southern heroes, and may it ever be kept fresh in the hearts of their children in all the coming years.

MRS. ANNA CURETON STEVENS.

The Trials of a Confederate Officer's Wife in 1864.

From the four years of our Confederate history I select a brief period of the last, the summer of 1864, as embracing some of my most trying experiences. My husband was the colonel of one of the four South Carolina regiments of infantry that belonged to the Western Army—the Twenty-fourth S. C. V.—regiments that did as hard fighting and lost as many gallant men as any four of the regiments of our State that followed the glorious banner of Lee, and were true and faithful soldiers to the last.

I cannot restrain the promptings of my heart, and must mention the names of two heroes who belonged to that band of Carolinians in the Western Army, both of whom fell in the forefront of their brigades, dying, as said the gallant Gregg, "for South Carolina." The names of Brigadier-Generals States Rights Gist and Clement H. Stevens, written by the women of Charleston in enduring brass, will never be forgotten by their children while the spirit of their State animates the hearts of their mothers.

At the period of which I write Atlanta was invested by the army of General Sherman. To be near my husband, I had removed, with my little boy, then just three years old, to Oxford, near the Atlanta and Augusta Railroad, and forty miles from the besieged city. Here I had a comfortable house, and here I could receive letters or telegrams from my husband, and we thought ourselves

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most fortunate in the arrangement. His letters had apprised me of the results of General Johnston's campaign, and of the battle of the 20th of July under General Hood. I was given fully to understand that Atlanta was in danger, and that hard fighting for it was before our army. We could hear the great guns occasionally, and now that the siege had commenced, my letters did not come, and I was in all the anxiety of constant suspense. Those only who have felt this anxiety know what it is. With nothing but the great fact ever before us, that any moment might record our deepest sorrow and loss, what had we to relieve our hearts but a sense of His protection, whose providence could cover the heads of our loved ones in the day of battle and deliver us from trouble.

From my husband's letters I was encouraged to hope for the best. It was impossible for me to remove from the place where I was living, as our little daughter was but six days old. On this day, as I lay in bed, the only white adult in the house, a lady friend rushed into my chamber and exclaimed, "Mrs. Capers, the town is full of Yankees!"

The famous raiders were indeed upon us! I had no one with me but my nurse, Maria Wall, a faithful free colored woman from Charleston, two young servants, my little boy and babe. Vivid pictures of the cruelty to which so many of my countrywomen and their children had been subjected rose to my mind and agitated my heart. I felt almost overcome. One thing saved me—a powerful sense of God's omnipresence, and an almost immediate remembrance of an incident of which I had recently read in the wars of Napoleon. A cottage lay right in the path of his conquering army, the inmates of which consisted of an aged grandmother and her grandchildren. Dreading the approach of Napoleon's army, and trembling with apprehension, the aged Christian, at family prayers that night, had prayed that God would raise up a wall of defense for them against their devastating foe! This was the prayer of faith, but the young people ridiculed the prayer and told her that this was not the day of miracles. During the night, however, the snow fell heavily and drifted before the winds in great banks, so that the cottage was literally hidden from the highway by a "wall of snow," and the invader passed by! This incident came to my mind with so much force that I felt strengthened for the terrible ordeal that was before me. Nothing, I felt, could harm me unless it was the will of my Heavenly Father, and if it was His will that I should be molested, it was my duty to submit.

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I was nerved to think what I had best do to save the huge flag of my husband's regiment, which he had sent me to work the names of battles on, and which hung from the staff in one corner of our chamber. I got the nurse to tear it from the staff, which she hid under the house, and, taking the flag from her hands, I folded it up and wrapped it around a little pillow, sewed one case over it, and slipped it in another in the usual way, and put the little pillow under my baby's head. I then concealed some pictures and little articles I valued about my person, but, finding I became feverish and over-excited, I determined to let everything else go, for I was looking for the soldiers to come in and rob the house every moment. My nurse saved our silver. This was her expedient: Taking it from a trunk in an adjoining shed-room, she put it into a carpetbag, meaning to bury it in the garden, but while in the act of leaving the room the soldiers entered the house. Hearing them, she threw the bag into a barrel containing some bran, and threw a number of old stockings and socks over them.

One of the soldiers walked up to the barrel and took a pair of socks. The nurse pleaded with him to spare me the stockings, as they could be of no use to him. Her earnestness overcame him and, throwing back the old socks, he ran his hand round among them and turned away from the barrel, little dreaming what was hidden there. As soon as he left the room, Maria took the silver and concealed it more effectually. But for her activity and intelligent thoughtfulness, all of it, including the valued and valuable gifts of our marriage, must have gone into the treasures of the raiders, for the trunk from which Maria took it was broken open and robbed of everything in it.

The lady who brought me the news of the presence of the soldiers had promised to spend the night with me, but her heart failed her, and well it might. She resided in the family of a most excellent gentleman, a Methodist minister, the Rev. Walter Branham, whose house was immediately opposite ours. He promptly proposed that I should be brought over to his house for safety, and, accordingly, I was put into an easy chair and carried across the street, Maria bringing the baby, with her flag pillow, the house and its contents being surrendered to General Gerrard's soldiers, who made good use of their opportunity, breaking every trunk open and emptying them of their contents.

At Mr. Branham's, I was put on a bed in a chamber on the first floor, the baby on another, and the excitement being intense, every

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one rushed out to be absorbed in the scenes of disorder and confusion. As I lay on my bed, I heard the uproar of voices in the street and the passageway, the tramp of horses on the stone pavement of the yard leading to the smokehouse, the rude demands of the soldiers, and the pleadings of the ladies to be spared something for the family to live on. I feared every moment that the door would be forced open, and that these raiding soldiers would enter my room.

Alone in the chamber with my baby, too weak to take her from the bed on which she was to my arms, and my heart beating at fever heat, I remembered my little boy Frank, and wondered where he was, for in the haste and confusion of my removal he had escaped from my chamber before I had time to tell him to remain. He was only three years old, and he might be trampled by the soldiers under their horses' feet; or, for their amusement, they might have taken him up for a ride. I could not call to any one, and my only refuge was in prayer. Too weak to stir, and fearing the worst, I resigned my boy to God's holy keeping, and tried to compose my anxious heart. At this moment the door opened, my little son came running in, his face beaming with intense excitement, and exclaimed, "Ma! you know pa is come!" I cannot describe my feelings at this announcement. How could he escape capture, or death! Every man capable of bearing arms was being seized, and resistance was death, for he must be the only Confederate soldier in the town!

Revolving these thoughts in hurried succession in my mind, the door again opened, and my husband entered the room, kissed me and the baby, hastily explained that he had just arrived; that the raiders had cut the railroad and torn up the track for miles; that the soldiers in town were only stragglers from Stoneman's command; that our cavalry were after them; that to prevent capture, he and his faithful servant had left the cars, and had walked more than forty miles since the night before, and had been "dodging Yankees all the morning!" He told me that, learning from General Hardee that "Red Jackson" was in the track of Stoneman's raid, and taking advantage of the time when our army had fallen back to the trenches of Atlanta, he had obtained leave for a few days to remove me, if possible, to South Carolina.

At this moment we were warned that a squad of cavalrymen were approaching the front door, and in another moment my husband was gone. He had arranged with Ben where he would be, and, going into a wood back of the house, he passed the night there, his faithful servant taking him a blanket and something to eat.

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Oh! the horrors of that night! When the morning came, my husband again entered the room and assured me that the cavalry were all gone. But how was I to get away from the town? Now that my removal seemed impossible, the perplexity of my husband, and his anxiety to return to his regiment, only made me feel more miserable. The baby grew sick and cried incessantly, and hourly alarms of "Yankees coming!" kept me fearfully nervous, for I knew not at what moment I might be apprised of my husband's capture or death.

After four such days, Mr. Capers told me that he must either risk my removal or return to his command. We resolved on the risk. Ben was commissioned to pick up an old broken-down horse, left by the raiders, to take what was left to us, with our young servants, in a cart to Madison, and to wait for us there. Mr. Capers obtained a carriage from a kind friend who resided nine miles from Oxford, on our way to Madison, and, putting me into it, with our children and Maria, we bade adieu to our friends in Oxford, and I was driven safely to Mr. Graves', the kind old gentleman who had loaned us the carriage and invited us to stop at his home to rest. My baby was only ten days old, and it was evident that I could not go on to Madison. The delay was necessary to my life, but it made me more unhappy, for the Federal cavalry was reported within a few miles of us, being in retreat after their defeat and the capture of their general at Macon. The cavalry actually passed at night, and my husband again left me to escape capture; and again was I in dread of the presence of the soldiers in my chamber.

After a few days of such anxiety of mind, we learned that the cars were now coming within five miles of us, and we determined to go on, for Mr. Capers told me he could not remain another day. But what were we to do for horses? The retreating raiders had stripped the place of every available horse and mule, and left only poor, jaded and broken-down creatures in their places. Selecting a pair of these, Mr. Capers hitched them to the carriage, and again we were on the road. It was a terribly rough way, full of stumps, and great hills to climb. To reach the train for Augusta, it was necessary to drive fast, and the jolting at one time was fearful to endure! A thunder and rain storm coming up, the horses refused to pull on a steep hill, and the carriage commenced to descend the hill. Mr. Capers jumped down and held it, and, after working to no purpose with the horses, he took us out in the rain, forced the horses up the hill, carried me up and put me back on the pallet in the carriage. We

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knew that all this was running a fearful risk of my life, but I had deliberately chosen it rather than be left in the country which my husband feared would be overrun by the Federal cavalry.

We reached the railroad just in time to get on the train about starting for Augusta. At Madison, we took up Ben, who told us that the retreating raiders had robbed him of his money and of all he had to eat; had "swapped" horses with him; had again ransacked our effects, and that he had shipped the remnants on to Augusta.

I cannot express my sense of relief, the power of hope, the feeling of restfulness, that came over me when, as we left Madison, Mr. Capers told me all danger of his capture was now over, and that we would be in South Carolina by morning. Arriving at Kalmia, near Aiken, very early the next morning, my ever kind uncle and aunt, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Yeadon, were waiting to greet us. I was made as comfortable as the tenderest love and kindness could make me, and at three o'clock I bade farewell to my husband, who took the train for Augusta and returned to his regiment, leaving Ben to rest a few days, and to bring him tidings from me.

My nerves were shattered. The reaction came, and I was fearfully prostrated. But for the loving care of my sister Eliza, and my ever kind aunt, I must have died. Every emotion that can stir the heart had kept me up under the excitement of hourly dangers, but now that I was safe under the roof of affection, my bodily weakness made itself felt.

The mails were interrupted, and I could not hear from Atlanta, except that the city was closely besieged, and that our gallant men were falling daily in the trenches. This burden of anxiety which I was now to bear in my weakness none can ever know but those of my Southern sisters with whom I shared it in common.

The remainder of the summer of 1864 was passed at Kalmia, and in the fall I went to my mother's plantation, "Cherry Grove," in the upper part of Charleston District, to spend the winter. Atlanta had fallen, and my husband was now with General Hood on his unfortunate Tennessee campaign. Early in December, I received, by telegram, intelligence of his being severely wounded in the Battle of Franklin, where so many of our soldiers gave their lives for the Confederacy—and among them the able and gallant Brigadier-General Gist.

The army of General Sherman was investing Savannah, and it became apparent that our low country would be overrun by the enemy. Arrangements were being made by my mother to remove

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from the plantation, and before they were perfected, my husband arrived from the West, badly wounded and worn down from the long journey. He decided to take me to the up-country of our State, and as soon as he could travel, we went to Charleston, and thence to Columbia.

A friend had imported successfully through the blockade supplies of provisions from Habana, and offered to share with us if we would go up to Spartanburg; and this decided our destination. We remained in Columbia until it was announced that General Sherman's army was approaching the city, and were among those who left on a crowded train, probably the last to leave from the Charlotte depot before the arrival of Sherman. It was intensely cold, the freight car in which we were being without doors, and crowded with people. My baby was very unwell and fretful, my husband too lame to be of much use to me, and my head throbbing with a violent sick headache! We could get no milk for the baby, and some kind ladies fed her with bread and water.

Our route was to Blackstock, then by stage across to the Spartanburg and Union Railroad. The journey was terrible to contemplate in such weather. Arrived at night at Blackstock, there was but one room for the accommodation of every one, black and white, with no chairs, and no bed. A lady from Spartanburg had a lounge mattress which she kindly put at my disposal. I was too sick to hold my head up, and most thankfully rested on this mattress in one corner of this crowded room. The next day, we crossed Broad River and took the train for Spartanburg, where we arrived in safety, and were most kindly welcomed and cared for by our friends, Mr. and Mrs. Leonard Chapin, until my husband could make arrangements for our living. A cottage was taken together with a brother soldier, Capt. C. C. Chichester, and we arranged to live together, my husband thinking it fortunate that he could leave me in good hands when he returned to his command. Nothing worthy of note occurred here except our visit from the brigade of the Federal General Palmer immediately after the surrender of our armies.

At Oxford, near Atlanta, I had not seen a single soldier, though they were in the same house with me. Now that they were riding into Spartanburg, I was intensely excited, for we had not heard of the arrangement between Generals Johnston and Sherman, by which hostilities had ceased east of the Mississippi River. My knees trembled with excitement. I walked out into the piazza to witness their approach, and to make the best of it.

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The sight of those soldiers changed my feelings and fired me with indignation. I realized for the first time how men could fight with zest in a war like ours. All my fear left me, and, ridiculous as it now seems, I felt an impulse, hard to suppress, to hurl defiance at the whole of them. Captain Chichester, with whom my husband had rented our cottage, was too much disabled from his wound, received at Battery Wagner, to rejoin his command, and we were now under his protection. To secure us from harm, he invited two officers to make their quarters in our house. One of these officers, an Ohio man, asked my little boy to come and sit by him. This was too much for my indignation to stand, and I promptly forbade his complying with the request. I had fully purposed not to speak to, or be spoken to by, these officers, but my resolution was overcome when the Ohio man said to Captain Chichester, "I would like to talk this whole matter over with you, but it would seem mean, now that we have whipped you." "I would be ashamed," I said, "to mention it, since you have taken four years, with the help of every nation under the sun, to crush, not to whip, a handful of Confederate soldiers." He looked amazed, made no reply, and resumed his talk with Captain Chichester. I astonished him again at supper. He remarked that he admired "the pluck of Southern women," and said if he were not a married man he would like to marry one of them. I could not keep quiet, and, in spite of my resolution not to open my mouth to these officers, I exclaimed, boiling over with indignation, "And what Southern woman do you suppose would marry a Yankee?" The other officer, a lieutenant from Massachusetts, looked daggers at me; but the Ohio captain, who was evidently a gentleman, behaved very well.

Palmer's Brigade did not remain long in Spartanburg. The general, as we learned, was in pursuit of President Davis; and it was with great satisfaction I saw our Ohio and Massachusetts protectors leave the cottage.

This is but the record of a few facts. It tells not of the long privation of wholesome food which our families endured; and of the pain we suffered in seeing our little ones languish and die for the sheer want of proper nourishment and comforts; of the heartaches which telegrams and letters brought in from Virginia and from the West; of the sad bereavements which befell us in the loss of those we loved most dearly; of the ruin of our homes, and the wreck of our property; of the grief and disappointment which defeat and surrender brought. Here I leave the record. I write with no

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bitterness, and without the feeling of resentment which I once felt at the bare mention of the events I have referred to. The sense of duty done, and the knowledge of God's providence overruling all things have brought peace and quiet to my heart, and many blessings have come to my life to make me feel abundant gratitude to Him who is the God and Father of us all, and whose sovereign will orders all things well.

CHARLOTTE PALMER CAPERS,

Wife of General Ellison Capers, afterwards Bishop of South Carolina.

The Last Bazar.

A young soldier on furlough passed through the streets of Columbia on the 26th of January, 1865. When he reached the State House, he entered the open portals, and, mounting the stairs, passed into the Hall of Representatives. The midday sun streams in through the red-draped windows. In front of the entrance is the Speaker's desk, canopied with gray moss; the delicate tendrils overhang it, and give a fairy lightness to the structure, increased by garlands of evergreens, flowers and vines which decorate the white pillars by which it is upheld. From among these shine out, in letters of gold:

"A tribute to our sick and wounded soldiers."

From this center extended a half-circle of booths, each marked by the shield of one of the Confederate States, the lady in charge being, in most instances, from the State designated. Each held equal rights, and exercised her own ingenuity in making the booth attractive. The variety was wonderful—green garlands everywhere; the rich embroidery of a white crepe shawl, caught in with tiny Confederate flags, which had run the blockade; groups of gaily dressed dolls which, on inspection, proved to be of cloth or pasteboard in tissue paper; flowers closely watched in the garden till they opened their hearts to serve the soldier.

But, besides many make-ups, there were many articles of intrinsic value. Much had been received from over the waters; and much had been sent from depleted stores of households where there was ever willingness to spare a blanket, some yards of calico or flannel, a pair of shoes, home-knit socks and stockings, and homespun.

As the young soldier glanced around that semi-circle, he recognized, among the cheery matrons and girls, many whom he knew

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to be bereft of home and fortune. Columbia had been for some time the city of refuge for the women and children of other States which had been subjected to the horrors of war. Elegance of bearing in plainest of attire there was in plenty in this assemblage in the State House of South Carolina. There was youth, beauty, joyous laughter, fuss, feathers, and fun.

Our soldier, Frank Elden, sees his Cousin Nellie coming across the hall, with her hands full of small wares and strips of colored ribbons; he draws away from her sight as she nears the Virginia table, next to which he stands, under the gallery.

"See!" she says to the starry-eyed matron in charge, "I've succeeded; give me the book to make an entry. Here are four penknives, two four-bladed knives, ten papers of pins—now this box of hairpins must be divided up, six in a parcel—and—oh! Mrs. Chesnut, look at these sugarplums! Only one box. Aren't they lovely! Two almonds and two creams, to be tied in the papers stamped with the Confederate flag, did you say was enough? My gracious!" she exclaimed, as she lifted the dainty bits from their nest. "'Tis like drawing her eye-teeth to get these blockade goods from Mrs. Snowden."

Mrs. Chesnut laughs. "Virginia appreciates the spirit that resigns individual rights when a common interest demands it; so go and ask Mrs. Snowden if she wants some eggs. The supply from Camden is more than I need."

Nellie leaves the booth as Frank puts himself in range of her vision. She comes rushing toward him with a glad cry. His first inquiry is: "Where is Alice?"

"Oh, you can't see her just now. She is in the Louisiana restaurant, giving breakfast to the officers who are on their way to Beauregard; they have only till the next train leaves, and Mrs. Slocum has put Alice and one of the Goodwyn girls to serve them."

"How long do you suppose that breakfast will last, Nell?"

"As long as they will eat. The length of time depends upon their capacity. They have been living on rancid bacon and moldy hardtack for weeks, and on nothing at all for the last twenty-four hours. That is the kind we love to serve, and see them enjoy the best we have. And how they rave over real coffee!"

She leaves him to deliver Mrs. Chesnut's message. On her return Frank says: "Nellie, that last letter of yours played the mischief with my peace of mind; till Alice's letter set all straight, I was jealous enough to have killed Harry Heyward."

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They saunter around the hall, pausing at the booths as Nell points out distinctive features in each. "See this baby house; isn't it beautiful? The handiwork of Dr. Julian Chisolm; as skilful in making doll furniture as he is at the Wayside Hospital, healing wounds." Frank tries to keep up with the keen interest of his cousin, but he is longing for the moment when Alice's guests shall be seated. "You haven't seen the crepe shawl given to the bazar by Mrs. Joe Johnston. We had a live calf given to our table; as we can't serve it whole, we mean to raffle it. Won't you take a chance?"

Their course is frequently broken into by the girls who flit about, robin redbreasts, with white caps. They give Frank joyous greeting, and make him take chances on baby dresses, berry spoons, and grabs from bags, which bring up horns of popcorn and peanut candy; but one grab brings him recompense; he recognizes the tobacco bag as a piece of one of Alice's well-remembered silk gowns. Reaching the booth on the right of the Speaker's desk, Nellie pauses and says: "No woman here ever passes this spot without paying homage to those Paris bonnets. All admire, but none buy. What could we do with that lovely pink velvet, or that blue, with ostrich plumes, gowned, as we are, in calico, homespun or woolens of four years' wear?"

While inspecting the bonnets, Frank and Nell overheard a warm discussion between the lady of this and the matron of the adjoining booth. Designating the spot with a majestic sweep of the hand, the first said: "Indeed, this space is not common property. Louisiana is taking more than belongs to her." "That is as it ought to be," answered the Louisiana lady, standing on her border with arms full of bundles, ready to be lodged on the disputed territory, "when she has more than Carolina has to show; said Carolina being dreadfully stuck up with Paris bonnets and blockade goods! She does just what she pleases to, anyway."

Louisiana withdraws into her boundaries, but not before the South Carolina lady remarks: "Well, South Carolina didn't choose any of the best places, and if she does choose to be stuck up in a corner, she doesn't intend to be hemmed in, and if you don't infringe upon her rights she will never meddle with yours."

Nell enjoys the spat between her elders, and answers to Frank's question: "What part do you take in this affair?" "Everything by turns. I pick up news mostly for the 'Night Blooming Cereus,' the bazar paper published by Virginia. Tonight I'll have in it that funny dispute on States' rights."

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Suddenly turning, Frank meets the stare of a great wax doll. "Why, Nell! Where did this come from? All the finery of the country seems collected on this child." "A wonderful doll! I would be envious of its silk and lace if not so grateful for its safe arrival. It braved the whole United States fleet, and the swamp angel besides, to be present at the bazar."

Familiar voices call his attention. In the doorway of a committee room stand two sisters—Mrs. Isabella and Mrs. Amie Snowden. They take each a hand of the young soldier, and he stands linked with the genius that brought forth the bazar. The younger lady—"Miss Amie," as everybody called her—from her girlhood had taken part in works of charity and patriotism. Among the very last to serve the Confederate soldier, her voice was the first raised after the war in behalf of a home for Confederate widows and orphans.

"Now, Bella," said Miss Amie to her sister, "be sure you give Frank a cup of Mrs. Huger's cafe au lait—made by her own hands, Frank, in the very coffee pot Mr. Huger brought years ago from France." Then she reads a number of notes handed to her. "Oh, my! how am I to manage everything? Here, Bella, is a letter about those Calhoun bonds that I have sewed in the lining of my frock, and another to say there is a trunk from Liverpool in Charleston awaiting my orders; and Dr. Chisolm wants brands; and there is a box of eggs at the Greenville depot and two muttons at the other. I'll take Mrs. Singleton's carriage—but, Nell, you girls must eat. Eat chicken salad, if you can cut around Ellen Elmore. She is at the Texas table, but Carolina feeds from Texas, and she won't let you girls have it if the supply is low."

Nell finds Alice and secures an interview for her cousin. Leaving them, she encounters the gaze of a handsome man, whose figure is well set off by a new uniform. He accosts her abruptly: "The bazar seems little patronized by military men."

"Of course not; they are at the front, which I judge you have not visited lately," looking at his fresh uniform.

"Perhaps not; I have been walking the streets of your beautiful city for some days, and I'll not forget its handsomest residences."

"It is lovely; I wish we could entertain visitors as we used to."

"Yes, I've heard of Columbia's hospitality, and some day I shall partake of it. Now my friends here are few, but in a short time I shall have lots of them."

"In Hampton's command, I suppose?" He did not answer, but is deeply interested in all that she tells him of the city, its prominent

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people and their homes. Nell has forgotten her suspicions of his being a sneak or a quartermaster, when they return in full force with his next words:

"This gayety is ill-timed. It is like Nero fiddling while Rome was burning."

"We have smiles for our men; our tears are for ourselves."

"Your self-control is wonderful," he replied, sneeringly, "when you know that the Confederacy is at its last gasp, and Sherman is almost here."

Nell flashes her eyes upon him. "Thinking this, your duty is outside of the city, to guard it."

A cynical expression passed over his countenance. "My duty is here, though it subjects me to the sharpness of a woman's tongue."

Anger leaps into her eyes. "And to being taken for a well-whipped man, or perhaps—a spy."

His face turned white, and he hurried away. She saw him several times talking with Eugenia Goodwyn, after which the mysterious stranger was not seen again in the State House bazar.

Several days later, a *New York Herald,* which came by underground railway, was received in Columbia. It contained a graphic description of the bazar, and among the beauties was mentioned Eugenia Goodwyn and her glossy curls.

The 17th of February, Sherman was in Columbia.

GRACE ELMORE.

Experiences During the Civil War.

I went to the depot the day before Columbia was burned—on the 16th of February. My father and mother went with me; but as I got on the train, I looked back and saw mother all alone, so I got out and went back home. After we got home, it wasn't very long before they began shelling the city. The shells were falling so that we got a stage and horses and hitched up and started out towards the sand hills, got as far as the Hopsons, where we thought that would be far enough, so we went in and asked them if we could stay in the yard. They said no, but we must come in the house; spent part of the next night there and about four went back home. The next morning the Yankees came in. The delegation that went to meet them was composed of Mr. McKenzie, Mayor Goodwyn, Mr. Bates, and Mr. Stork. Mr. Stork is the only one living. These went to the bridge to meet the Union forces, carrying a flag of

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truce, and surrendered the city, and asked for protection, which was promised. Our house was Janney's Hotel, on the corner where the Jerome Hotel used to be. It was about eleven o'clock when the Union forces got into the city. People asked for guards; my father asked for guards to protect his property, and they gave them to him, but they did no good. The negroes were demoralized. Colonel Stone came and took up his quarters at our house, and as nearly every one had left, father invited Colonel Stone in to tea with us. We were sitting at the tea table when the fire alarm was rung; some one told Colonel Stone, and he said he would go and see; he got up and went out. We never saw him after that.

Among the guards, we had one named Allen. This young man told father he was of a Quaker family (father, being a Quaker, was opposed to the war). Allen did his best to protect everything he could. When the house was nearly falling in, we went to the Hitchcocks. While there, Colonel Cohen, from Augusta, came and sat by me the whole evening, and protected me. While sitting on the Hitchcock steps, the guard Allen came to me and said if there was anything he could bring to me from the house he would do so. I told him I wanted a trunk and shawl, told him where he would find them, and, to my surprise, he brought them. While the place was burning, my parents stayed to see if they could save something. Two of our servants were helping, when two Yankees came in the room and seized father, one on either side, and tried to wrest his watch and chain from him; but he proved to be more than a match for them, and saved it. They saved a great quantity of provisions, about fifty barrels of flour, twenty-four of sugar, several tierces of rice, and hogsheads of molasses, and numbers of boxes of candles. All of this the Yankees took, immediately he had piled it in the middle of the street. When father said to them, "It cannot be possible that you are going to take all of my provisions, and leave my family to starve," one of them said, "Oh! no; we'll give you some." They did give him some rice, flour and molasses, and three sides of bacon. This was divided among our fellow sufferers until we had barely enough to last till father could get supplies from Alston. The piano was saved. The Yankees danced over it, but it was not seriously injured; it was carried into the Lumsdens' house; we have the piano now. Near midnight, father and mother came for me and said that I must come with them; they had gotten two omnibuses from a stableman, who wanted father to save the horses, who told him to take the omnibuses and put his trunks between the seats; so we did

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that, and rolled up the beds, etc., and put them in also; saved four featherbeds, four mattresses, etc. As we got in the omnibuses, one of the Yankee colonels rode up and asked where we were going. Father said, "I don't know where." The colonel said, "If you go with me, I'll take care of you; you can go to camp." Father said he would go.

Colonel Maddox called up an orderly and told him to take us to camp, and tell the general that Colonel Maddox sent them. We went to the camp, and the soldiers tried to steal everything; the orderly had to drive them away by main force.

The camp was at Fisher's millpond. The orderly told the officer that Colonel Maddox had sent us, and they treated us well. They offered us (father and mother) wine, coffee, and crackers; but I wouldn't touch a thing; father and mother gladly accepted the coffee. We stayed there until some time in the morning; we lay down in the omnibus with our clothes on. The next day, they told us that the regiment had to move. The colonel said he would take us back to town; told father to select a place—any place he wanted—and he would see that he had it. Father said the only place he had a right to go was the Methodist Female College—he had given a good deal of money to it. The place was full; we had the use of the dining hall; we stayed there until the following Thursday—about a week. The officers were very kind to father all that week; they came back to see that he was not disturbed. They were Orderly Davis Terrell, Surgeon J. W. Hostetter, and Colonel Maddox.

At the end of the week, Caroline Randall, a colored woman (Joe Randall, her husband, was given $5,000 for informing about the insurrection in Charleston), came to us. She owned two or three houses between the Lumsdens' and the Roses' Hotel. The Buists and the Lambs lived in the colored woman's house; they had left before Columbia was burned; they left their furniture, and Caroline came to father and begged him to move in the house where the Buists had lived; said she didn't want any money; all she wanted was protection. We went there, and carried our belongings; were there about two months, until the ferry was built; and then we went to Mr. Leaphart's father's and stayed there. Before we left the college, the omnibuses were taken away from us. Some one brought an order for the horses, and emptied everything we had out; they carried some people North in the omnibuses. The man that went North lost nothing; his house was not burned; but they had relatives there, and went to them.

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I carried money in my shoes—two twenty dollar gold pieces, one in each shoe. The day Columbia was burned, I said I was going to take a bath and put on clean clothes, so I would be ready for whatever happened. Father brought me the money, and I took off my shoes and put the money in them. Had my clothes on for a whole week. The Yankees were just as gentlemanly as rough men could well be. At the Hitchcocks, the rabble tried to come up on the steps, but Colonel Cohen told them he would knock their brains out if they didn't stay away. My father's bookkeeper—Mr. Schuler—came back from the war; he lost his leg, and was unfit for service; he also sat by me, with Colonel Cohen, and helped protect me. I didn't see any bad behavior.

I remember when Hampton left Columbia. It was in the morning before the Yankees came in. Also remember when the cotton was burned; saw the people running with the engines; the Yankees cut the hose; they prowled around and looked into everything. Our best things had been sent to Charlotte; but few things were saved out of the house—an armchair, looking-glass, and piano. There were about one hundred and twenty sleeping rooms in the hotel. Father had corn, flour, etc., stored at Alston, where the train had been wrecked. He got a wagon and brought down several loads.

MRS. MARY JANNEY LEAPHART.

Two Equipages.

In the year of unblessed memory to Carolinians, there stood on the outskirts of Columbia a residence of broad white front, with a colonnade springing up from arches, well set back from the public road, in grounds ornamented with forest trees, magnolias and flower beds. On the left of the house grew a red oak, under the shade of which the family children of several generations had located their doll village, where they passed the sunny hours of the days, as was the general Southern custom, watched and checked by the "maumers," who, placidly stitching their *own* work, sat by, on guard, so that nothing dangerous or unseemly might come into the children's play of the game of life and village visiting tattle.

Under this same oak took place an interview which was the historical finale of views taken by the owner of a toy which had for many years been a treasure to Mrs. Elmore, the lady of the mansion, and an appanage well known in Columbia. Colonel Elmore, in a late year of his life, had superintended the building of a light vehicle, to

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suit a pair of tiny marsh tackeys; and this personal equipage of his widow was ever regarded with a species of reverence by the daughters of the household; the great family compliment was conferred when one of them was invited to a seat in this phaeton with their mother. Many tackeys had dragged that carriage, and the last pair of the series had made their exit some weeks before the 17th of February, 1865, being retired, for safe keeping, to the plantation in York District.

* * * * * * * * *

There was a chariot of very different dimensions, style and majesty in the city. Columbians called it "the Boozer glass case."

The summer evening dissipation of Columbians before the war was the drive—and soda water. Old ladies went out in demure caps, and the girls appeared bareheaded. The coachmen knew, without orders, that they were to draw up in front of the druggists' stores, from which the waiters dashed, tray in hand, with the foaming beverage. I remember an old lady of unmitigated right-mindedness who always called for pepper, sassafras and ginger. She said she liked to put together profit and pleasure!

Later in the season, the heads of the girls were covered with gay hats. Light wraps added tints to the picture, which made the heart of the wayfarer give thanks that *Youth* was a part of *Life*.

The Boozer coach, with the glass windows partly folded back on hinges, "exploited" a rare vision. A mother and daughter—Mrs. Feaster and Marie Boozer—the one rich, dark in coloring and costume, the other (occupying the whole front seat) a girl of golden hair, rose shades, blue orbs, healthy, poised, delicious, pressing into the soft cushions, wrapped in ciel blue and swansdown, leghorn hat, from which the white plumes fell, curling under upon the white and pink throat. It was an angel's *seeming*—and she, beautiful as Venus, the goddess of the chariot.

* * * * * * * * *

These scenes are changed. Pale tints of tenderness and peace give place to fierce, lapping, red flames of burning cotton bales, charring homes, and toppling chimneys.

Sherman was entering the town. Mrs. Elmore walked down the stone steps of her dwelling, and on through a crowd of terrified people for a mile, to seek General Sherman. A number of old men, women and children had come to her home, fearing the bombardment, and Mrs. Elmore hastened to secure protection from the incoming army.

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General Sherman rode several blocks after turning into the Main street with his forces. Mrs. Elmore took her stand at a corner, watching her chance. She reached over the shoulders of the crowd, and with her umbrella touched the foot of the "great enemy." He looked towards her and, answering her request for a guard, said, "I will see you at headquarters." In telling of this, an irresistible flash of fun sprang into the haughty face of the lady as she said, "And it was a *cotton* umbrella I poked him with." We all know the ignominy a cotton umbrella bore in days of yore.

General Sherman was scarcely at the house of Blanton Duncan before Mrs. Elmore also was there. He recalled politely enough having met a gentleman of her name in Washington, and promised to send a guard. Mrs. Elmore replied, "I will *wait* for them." The general smiled, and ordered a lieutenant to see to the detail; and Mrs. Elmore marched out of town at the head of the men, a long crepe veil hanging to her feet behind her deep poke bonnet. Good and civil the men proved.

The second day of the occupation, the city was given over to pillage. From an upper window, Grace Elmore saw the pony carriage being dragged off by men, through the lane from the stables to the road which ran along in front of the grounds towards Camden—the memorable road by which our army preceded the Yankees—just to the spot where Mrs. Elmore gave to Gen. M. C. Butler a sword of General Leonidas Polk, which Mrs. Polk left in the house when on her way after the death of her husband.

The carriage was going, and within it was moving flour, bacon—everything the men could stow away inside—and on the top, with tied legs, jerking heads, and sad eyes—sad as those beholding them from the upstairs window—were the turkeys, geese, and chickens—every one.

The trees intercepted the view; but other conveyance must have been at the road, for the contents never reappeared in the yard, though the carriage was left at the bridge over the drain, and was rehauled by Horace and Billy, the house boys, to the red oak tree, where had flourished the baby town of ante-bellum times.

Yet a day!—and Mrs. Elmore saw a second grip upon her treasure. She went to the dining-room to speak to a guard. He was lying upon the sofa where her sacred head was wont to rest. He asked if she had had her coffee. "No," replied the lady; "it is months since we have used coffee." "Then you shall have some now," said the kindly young fellow, springing to the table. Mrs. Elmore says, "He

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didn't even *wash* the cup he had been drinking from, either, and the coffee was hot; but I wanted him to save my carriage, and I drank to the dregs." He did his best, but the detail had the order of (I think, General Howard) for a "light carriage." He seemed particular! One must understand that choice of vehicles was limited just then: most of any sort were on the road—gone off on private travels, heavy with old men, feeble women, babies, flour, hominy, candles, saucepans, as many and as much of such things as make up a *home,* chucked and filled in with despair and anxiety and suffering—and strange consternation.

* * * * * * * * *

"That is my carriage," said Mrs. Elmore, on reaching the tree. "What are you doing with it?" "We want it for a good Union lady," said No. 1. "Then you do not want it for any one you will find here," said Mrs. Elmore. "Oh! yes; we've got *two* loyal ladies, and we've got to have a carriage for them to go along with us," spoke No. 2. "But that is *my* carriage," persisted Mrs. Elmore, "and your loyal ladies have no business with it. If you have any Union ladies, you must have brought them with you." "No, we didn't; they've been here all the time," replied the soldier. So they had been, and hiding a spy in their home, under the shadow of the State House.

Meanwhile the vehicle was being gotten ready for departure. Then the owner asked a question. She says she fixed what she meant to be an eloquent eye upon the marauder and asked, "Young man, have you a mother?" He looked at her saucily, but respectfully, and replied, "Yes, ma'am—a nice, sweet looking old lady, just like you." She laughed, and recognized how small a thing is self in face of universal calamity. "The carriage must go," said the guard—the fortune of war. It went, but whether Mrs. Feaster and Marie Boozer went in it I cannot tell. But they also went, and must have enchanted those amongst whom they settled. We heard they got $10,000 for burnt cotton which they never owned. Miss Boozer made a rich marriage, much world-wide reputation—of a sort—a second real marriage with Count Portales. And the glass coach was sent by the Mayor—Dr. Goodwyn—in exchange for that little carriage. For years it remained in the carriage house, big as a boat cabin, and useless as any big thing which cannot fit to a small need.

A daughter of the house married and moved to Fort Motte. One winter, a faithful adherent of her husband's arrived at the old mansion with two animals. "I come for de Boozer," he announced. Hitching up his mismatched, scrawny horses, with patched reins,

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himself arrayed in old boots and dilapidated military vesture, he drove to the door. We heard him murmur from the high seat of dignity, "Now, I tell you, if Miss Rosa 'spects me to git up here, wid all de winds whistlin' 'round, she got to find me a overcoat somewhar." The humor was, where was the possible "whar"?

Later the car of Venus fell from its high estate, and was used for hauling between the station and home. In after years, the material still reappeared in sundry carts, wagons, etc., till all its usefulness followed its glories into nothingness. MRS. THOMAS TAYLOR.

Personal Experiences with Sherman's Army at Liberty Hill.

MY DEAR CHILDREN: What I write today seems more a dream than a reality of thirty-five years ago. In fact, it seemed then a dream that we were passing through. As you know, I was married November 24, 1864; and your father, being retired on account of the unhealed wound in his arm, that he received while carrying the flag at the Battle of Sharpsburg, September 17, 1862, he was placed on duty in the quartermaster's department in Charleston, and we lived at your grandfather's plantation, old "Gallant Hill," twenty miles from Charleston. He would go in town every morning at five o'clock, returning at five in the afternoon. The whole country was in a most unsettled condition, and we had become reconciled to the war continuing this way for ten years, or longer. One day we had reports of a victory; the next day of disaster to our scantily clothed and poorly fed soldiers. Prisoners were often carried by the plantation gates, and your dear grandmother was often terrified at the thought of some of them escaping and entering the house.

When your father left us at 5 a. m., we would busy ourselves knitting and sewing for the soldiers, helping to make Confederate coffee of potatoes, cut in little squares, dried, parched, and ground; and Confederate candles of myrtle wax, until he returned at 5 p. m. for dinner. The evenings were spent by glowing pine-knot fires, in exchanging the hopes and disappointments of the day. One afternoon he came in with a look of anxious distress on his face, and told me to pack my trunks, ready to leave by the next train. Sherman was marching through Georgia; South Carolina would soon be invaded; Charleston was to be evacuated, and everything to be destroyed; the enemy had threatened to lay the city in ashes and sow it in salt. We must leave for a place of safety; must try and get up to your

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Grandfather Bouknight's plantation, on Saluda River, fifty miles above Columbia. We took the train at Mt. Holly, a small station on the N. E. R. R. My six trunks and four servants were hurried on in great confusion, for all the plantations were unsafe, and every one trying to get away. At Strawberry, the conductor put all our servants off, to give place to soldiers. I told Frances, the oldest woman, to find her way back to the plantation, and take my room and contents into her possession, if I never saw her again, as the Yankees were destroying everything in their march. At Florence, the confusion and crowd was terrible; conflicting rumors flying everywhere; trains running all night; soldiers hurried from place to place. When we reached Kingville, there was a long wait, and we did not realize the condition or the cause until we saw a great red glare in the sky towards Columbia. Sherman had reached Columbia, and the city was burning. The railroad was all torn up between Kingville and Columbia, and we must find a way to get around and above Columbia before Sherman and his army left. Miss Fanny DeSaussure and father, and the two Misses Drayton, were with me in the depot at Kingville. We all looked in dismay on the fire of burning Columbia, and felt a horror at the thought of Sherman and his cruel army being there. The railroad being torn up, we could go no farther in that direction, but must find a way to get above Columbia and strike the C. C. & A. R. R. at Blackstock, and cross the country to reach the home of your Grandfather Bouknight's, which I had left not three months before as a bride. We took the train for Camden, and saw one of the most gorgeous sunsets on the way; once there, we found a small hotel that could barely feed the hungry people on the piazzas. We all sat around a table in the little parlor, with dimly lighted tallow candles on it, and asked each other what was best to do. When we went to our room, fatigue and anxiety struggled, until finally we fell asleep under difficulties, and awoke early in the morning to make hurried preparations for the day's journey, not knowing where it would end. A two-horse wagon was secured (all other vehicles, carriages, buggies, and everything on wheels, had been driven out of town by people seeking places of safety), for the baggage—my six trunks and a few others belonging to the men of the party, who were wounded soldiers on furlough, and trying to reach their families in the up-country.

Only one woman—myself—was the safeguard, for the men said wherever your father went they would go, and be safe; and their chance to go through Sherman's army, or surround it, would be

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sure if they followed Mr. Poppenheim and his wife. Now, after thirty-five years, I can recall the names of five of the men, viz.: Dr. R. A. Kinloch, Dr. Aimar, Captain Atkinson, Mr. Wm. Steinmyer, and a Mr. King; one man servant—Adam—and one woman servant —Rachel—who stood faithfully by me under the most trying circumstances, in the midst of Sherman's army.

The trunks were piled in the wagon, and I was seated one one of the trunks, and Rachel, the maid, near me. How queer I felt, riding through the streets of Camden, seated on a trunk in a wagon! We traveled all day, cheering each other as best we could, the men walking and taking turns to rest themselves in the wagon. At night, we came to a deserted plantation house, with comforts and conveniences enough to give us a good night's rest. The family had hastily taken their flight, on hearing Sherman was burning Columbia. Here we made ourselves comfortable for the night. One of the party, a blockade runner, presented me with a five-pound package of green tea, which made a deep and lasting impression, as I had not tasted a cup of *"bought tea"* for a year. It was stored carefully away in one of my trunks, amongst my valuables, and a few days later was stolen by the Yankee who plundered my trunk and carried the tea off as valuable "booty."

The baby's empty carriage in that deserted home told its pathetic story.

As we approached the old plantation home, a grand and glorious sunset spread out before us, giving pleasure and a topic of conversation to the thoughts of many; to me it seemed a harbinger of joy and protection, a promise of safety; and I slept sweetly, dreaming the everlasting arms were still around us. The morning came, bright, balmy and beautiful. I was happy, full of hope, and confident all would be well. I mounted my seat in the wagon as if I were going on a drive with a gay party in a coach, with four-in-hand. I had my world, my joy, my protector, by my side; and there was no fear of danger, no dread of fatigue.

The above was written from memory, after thirty-five years; and today I find an old diary, from which I copy:

"February 16, 1865.—Leave Mt. Holly an exile; everything left; nine o'clock at Florence; great excitement; everything in confusion. The question, must we go to Wilmington, then to Goldsboro, Charlotte and Winnsboro and then to Newberry, or go to Kingville and risk getting through Columbia, is being eagerly discussed when the glorious news reaches Florence that we have fought and

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defeated Sherman at Columbia and at Kingville; so we go the Kingville route. Leave Florence at half-past eleven o'clock at night, travel all night, arrive at Kingville at 5 a. m.

"Friday, February 17th.—The prospect not cheering to go to Columbia. General Clayton is camped here; hundreds of soldiers and negroes light the place with their campfires; couriers from Columbia bring very discouraging news; Sherman shelling the city, and every one leaving in confusion; much uncertainty which is safest, Wilmington or Camden; at Kingville, old Mr. DeSaussure, his daughter—Miss Fanny—the Misses Drayton, and their father, were in the party. At 2.30 p. m., we leave Kingville for Camden; a blind musician on board adds to the novelty and excitement as we ride through a beautiful country; and many on the cars are attracted to a most magnificent view of sunset. Arrive at Camden at 6.30 p. m.; the depot half-mile from the town; the party go in search of a conveyance, and I feel very lonely in this quiet depot, with a package of over one hundred thousand dollars on my lap. At Florence, Christie introduced me to' Capt. I. A. Atkinson, who immediately joined us; and tonight Mr. Charles Steinmyer also joins us, and all try to get one conveyance to carry us to Blackstock, on the Charlotte and Columbia Railroad; Christie in search of a conveyance; Messrs. Atkinson and Steinmyer attending to baggage; I am alone, with only Rachel, in the depot. Mr. Atkinson goes with me to the stage and gets our baggage, on the way to the hotel. The Draytons also stop at Robertson's Hotel with us, and we have a quiet, pleasant time before retiring. Have a miserable, small, poorly ventilated room to stay in, so we are up early. Am trying to get off. At 10.15 a. m., we leave Camden, I having a most comfortable seat that Mr. Atkinson took great pains to prepare for me; take my first view of a beautiful country from a wagon. Camden is a lovely little town, with considerable wealth. The long, long road to Liberty Hill has few houses to relieve the monotony; but most beautiful scenery on both sides of the Wateree River. We wind along the bends of the river and in view of the water for many miles; at last we near Liberty Hill and, through the kindness of a Mr. Cureton, put up at his unoccupied house, well furnished and comfortable. There we find a train of refugees from Columbia, including Governor Adams' daughter; and very unexpectedly I meet my old schoolmate and friend, Harriet Sophia Clarkson. Spend a pleasant night. Stopped there at 6 p. m. and leave next morning at 5.45 o'clock; in a little while we

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reach Liberty Hill, and must stop awhile, admiring the grandest and most extensive view my eyes ever feasted on; told Christie I could spend one month on that spot and my eyes would never tire of the scene, little dreaming then how many days of fearful anxiety I would spend at this lovely place.

"Sunday morning, ride through the place and lose our way for two miles; but it surely gives us a splendid view of the Hill; return and cross at Peay's ferry; a miserable road, a tiresome jolting in the wagon, and excitement grows greater every mile. Stop a few minutes at Mr. James Caldwell's. Dr. Kinloch kindly invites us in; his wife sends us out a hot lunch, and we conclude to go on as far as possible, though every one is wild with excitement and hourly looking for the Yankees. Arrive at General Clayton's headquarters at dark; have a beautiful view of campfires; all stop and doubt the safety of going on to Blackstock; Christie goes in to see General Clayton, who advises him not to go on, as the Yankees are very near, and Kilpatrick's raiders all through the woods. All hopes are disappointed; with heavy hearts and tired limbs, we turn our course back to Liberty Hill as the only place of safety, there to remain until the Yankees pass through and we have a safe road. In the wagon until 10 p. m. Stop at a large brick house—Dr. Hall's—and there we find two lunatics from the lunatic asylum in Columbia, placed there to preserve the house from destruction by the Yankees. It was a night of horrors; the crazy woman walked into my room, with a candle in her hand, after I was in bed, drew the curtains aside, and peered into my face to see if I was asleep, I suppose, which I did pretend to be. We left the place bright and early, and felt that our escape from danger had been very narrow. A long, tiresome day's ride; recross Peay's ferry; much excitement all the way; met many of Butler's men, and do not feel safe until we cross the ferry; joy that we have crossed the river. Arrive at Liberty Hill at 4 p. m., put up at Mr. John Brown's; very kind people; large house, and every appearance of abundant means; large grounds, and hundreds of poultry around.

"Tuesday, February 21st.—The excitement has even reached here, and the place that we thought, of all others, safest, seems to fear the Yankees; so we calmly resign ourselves to our fate of meeting them.

"February 22d.—Great anxiety; many of the citizens send off trunks and bury all their valuables. Mrs. Brown feeds a great many of our soldiers. Several scouts come in, and Christie wants to go to Columbia with one 'Orchard,' who lives in Columbia. At 4 p. m.,

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several horsemen came dashing in; we are eager for the news; I beg Christie to go and hear; he had not left me five minutes before I saw the bluecoats and realized I had sent him to meet the Yankees; I ran to the front door and down the steps; saw them halt him, then pass and seize a negro boy, take his horse and made him lead them to the lot. In a few moments, a band of ruffians, a wild, savage looking set, dashed in the house, into the dining-room, and swept all the silver from the table, that was set for dinner; ran upstairs, broke open doors, locks and drawers, and the utmost confusion prevailed; the hammering sounded like one dozen carpenters were at work, and soon all the floors were covered with scattered papers, in their search for money and valuables. I go to the commanding officer and ask for assistance; he promises protection. Christie and myself go upstairs; my trunks broken open, and everything scattered in confusion over the floor. Oh! what a scene, impossible to describe! Money, jewelry and clothing of every description taken by these demons! Lieut. B. Ulrich gives us a guard, and stays himself in the house, to protect us; but little sleep for any of us this night.

"February 23d.—Thousands of Yankees coming in; one command follows another in quick succession; all robbing and plundering; poor Mrs. Brown is robbed of provisions, silver, and almost everything; they go down in the cellar and pour kerosene oil, molasses and feathers all together, then stir them up with their bayonets. Mrs. Brown and myself go out to meet General Logan. What an awful feeling to come so close to hundreds of Yankees who are burning and destroying everything on the face of the land! Several staff officers tell us General Logan has just passed; but if we wait long enough, another corps will pass, and we can see General Wood. While waiting for the Yankees to pass, and looking on their fine horses, and hundreds of stolen cattle, the refugees from Columbia who followed Sherman's army began to pass; among them, I recognized Mary Boozer and her mother in a carriage, she in a lively conversation with a gay looking officer riding by the carriage; the scene is so sickening, I beg Mrs. Brown to let's return; waiting for the general won't pay!

"Friday, February 24th.—Today, Yankees throng the house, search and rob what others left. They ask Christie repeatedly how he keeps out of the army. Mrs. Brown and myself again go out and wait to see the general, but again he has just passed; the staff officers whom we meet look and speak as heartless as stones. Another sleepless night of suspense.

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"Saturday, February 25th.—Still they go through—hundreds and thousands—all gayety, with bands of music, and burning houses light their march; last night we could count twelve burning residences, and imagine the horror of those who dwelt in them. Mr. Brown's large mill burnt.

"Sunday, February 26th.—Anything but a quiet Sabbath; Yankees still plundering, and the negroes following them. Mr. Brown's large store burnt. A sleepless night of suspense, expecting every hour to have the torch set to the house we were in.

"Monday, February 27th.—The wicked Yankees! How they torment the people! The brutal wretches! How they insult helpless women! they take every morsel of food that is being cooked in the kitchen; every fowl and every living thing they have killed and destroyed but one lone goose hidden in the cellar by a faithful servant. We had no meat for three days, when this servant attempted to save and cook the goose for us by cooking it in the dining-room; the savory smell of roast goose was perceived by Mrs. Brown and myself, who go to the dining-room and find a horde of ruffians devouring the last remnants of the goose, and we only say, 'The last morsel of meat gone!' A foraging party, led by a lieutenant, and a squad, led by a captain, plunder every corner of the house that has not been already searched. Christie goes up in the garret to keep them from setting fire; they want to arrest and carry him off to camp; they say he is a captain in the Rebel army by his gray vest, with brass buttons; and they find an old sword up in the garret, which they swear is his. I fear he is up with them too long; I fear foul play, and tell Mrs. Brown I must go up and see what they are doing, although my knees tremble at every step, and I fear they will hear the bumps made by the sound of the money sewed up in the lining of my dress; I had over one hundred thousand dollars sewed up in this lining, to save it from the Yankees; they had taken four thousand dollars out of one of my trunks, and thought that was all. When I reached the top of the stairs, the sharp little captain had him, and Christie said, 'Mary, this man thinks I am a captain in the Rebel army, and wants to take me prisoner to camp.' I had to swear that he was not, and that we had been married a very short time, and now were on our way to my father's plantation. Then I gave him the Masonic sign of distress (which my brother gave me before going to war); he looked down, shut his mouth tight, then said, 'Go on.' And we lost no time in going. When this party came downstairs they captured

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Mr. Atkinson and Mr. Steinmyer and took them off to camp. How we all pitied their fate!

"Tuesday, February 28th.—Still harassed by the vile Yankees, and spend sleepless nights, seeing the skies lit by burning fires; at midnight, the academy is in flames, and we expect every moment to see the flames burst out from the house we are in; once a vile Yankee was caught with the torch applied; the flames were put out, and I appealed to an officer to give us a guard for the night.

"Wednesday, March 1st.—Dr. Robert Kinloch and Lieutenant Swinton Bissell come in quite early and tell us of their escape from the Yankees, after having marched several days through mud knee deep. The Yankees were pushing rapidly for Camden, to plunder and rob the peaceful, quiet little town. We are starving here; have nothing left to eat but sorghum molasses and black shorts bread. Sherman's army has left no living thing on their route; nothing but blackened chimneys and smoking ruins mark his path from Columbia here; pillage, robbery, fire and ruin marked their footsteps here; a sigh of relief and a prayer of thankfulness that our lives were spared was breathed as we saw the last Yankee soldier disappear from the devastated little village." MRS. C. P. POPPENHEIM.

Charleston, S. C.

Burning of Columbia.

Many friends insist upon my giving a narrative of that sad event, the burning of the capital of South Carolina by General Sherman. In introducing my subject, I must state that we occupied at that eventful crisis the beautiful buildings known as Barhamville, for years an institute of learning, where the daughters of the South received a polished and thorough education. The venerable head, Dr. Marks, and his lady, feeling the need of repose, placed the buildings in our hands, to which we moved from Columbia, with our boarding pupils.

We had around us the daughters of many families of the Southern States, the loveliest flowers that could adorn a nation, as well as the firesides of cultivated homes.

The scouts of General Hampton giving information that General Sherman undoubtedly aimed at Columbia, the question became very serious how to protect the dear young beings placed under our charge, and we resolved to send them, with a few exceptions, to North Carolina. Willing and trustworthy protectors we found at

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once in Columbia, for many persons of standing, as well as military men, felt the necessity of sudden flight, and to some of them we confided these precious young beings. Packing of trunks, the certainty of approaching dangers, the fear lest they might fail in reaching their homes in safety, all these occupations and varied powerful emotions kept our little community during the entire day in a state of agitation; until the long train of cars, stopping at Barhamville depot (where already a mountain of trunks was ready), arrived to receive our pupils on board.

We had still some ladies with us, whose parents were residing in the upper part of South Carolina. They were lovely children, doubly dear to us by long friendship with their parents. To send them safely to their homes was now my first duty, and I rode at an early hour to Columbia, to find a conveyance. For some time my endeavors were fruitless, until I saw the son of Major Lipscomb, a cousin of the young ladies. I beckoned that I wished to see him, and on approaching, asked him to find, at any cost or pains, a safe conveyance for his cousins. He informed me that Governor Bonham's carriage must just be passing the Congaree bridge on its way to Newberry. Not a moment was to be lost; so without ceremony I requested a friend just advancing on horseback to permit Frank to use his horse for a short time; then I told the young man to ride with the utmost speed to reach the carriage, and with it return directly to Barhamville, and take his cousins on the safest way to their homes.

The young soldier acted upon my suggestion with as much promptness as discretion; the carriage secured, he returned directly to Barhamville.

The young ladies had only a few moments to gather the necessary clothing; the faithful housekeeper provided our youthful refugees with some provisions, and upon my return to my home I met the travelers, already on their way to Newberry. This meeting and immediate parting was very touching; they were so eager to meet their friends, yet fearful to fall into the advancing enemy's hands.

Columbia, which I had just left, presented a picture of commotion no pen could depict. Military men hastening to join their posts; goods of all sorts sent to the cars in such quantities that no transportation could be had for them. Car after car left with the officials of the treasury department, and hundreds of individuals who feared to be captured by the enemy.

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The great anxiety removed to have our pupils in safety (as far as we could see), and as such extravagant stories were reported of the excesses of the Federal troops, I thought now of saving provisions and other valuables. Where should we hide them? We had no gentleman near us, and the negroes could not be trusted, so we relied on our own strength and carried our provisions into the attic, under the roof, tearing off boards, while we placed others on to hide them, to our own satisfaction. We considered these safe, unless fire should sweep everything away. A box with silver, which would have been safer in the building, we, after serious reflection, entrusted to the negro cook—for, thought we, would these great champions of liberty, these advocates of general emancipation, touch the negro's trunks, or chests? Oh! no; that would have been too flagrant a contradiction of their boasted philanthropy! So the box was hidden among the garments of our colored domestic, who really proved herself honest enough in that instance.

The advance of Sherman, and the imperfect breastworks along the Congaree River, drove a large number of people from that locality, seeking shelter in other parts. They came like a heavy tide upon us. We gave them the large drawing room and several other adjoining places for their night's rest. The feeling of terror and distress seemed to wear off as they found themselves sheltered in these comfortable quarters, and as the evening advanced we were amused by the noise and merriment of these refugees. The near approach of shells and the incessant cannonading drove them, however, at the dawn of day, to more distant places, while we remained.

I must recur now to the earlier part of Thursday, when Captain Strawinski, one of the exiles of the Polish revolution of 1830, wished to speak to me; he was our near neighbor, and for several years a teacher in our institutions at Barhamville and Columbia. He informed me that Captain A—, the son of an honored Governor of South Carolina, had charged him with the protection of Mrs. A—, his lady, and his widowed sister. This surprised me considerably, as Captain Strawinski had a large family of his own to care for. But I presently learned that this was at the command of a superior Free Mason to a brother Mason. He requested that these ladies should find a refuge with us, and I assented, of course, most cheerfully—trusting, nay, even certain, that we should not be much molested. This was my opinion as a European lady, who relied upon the honor of the military profession in respecting women and private property.

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In asking for our friend's own family, he confessed that he felt great anxiety regarding his daughter; the boys, quite a number, would take care of their mother. We begged he would send Miss Bell to us, also; and with her our number became larger, and we found her a true Polish woman in courage and determination.

Sherman had now taken his position opposite Columbia, and the shelling and cannonading were incessant.

Like a man who catches at any appearance of help, we followed the advice of Mr. Strawinski, to have a Free Mason's flag (very hastily manufactured) on the front door and rear passages; and they received soon after the curses of several troops of soldiers, saying but for those "rags" the house would be burnt to ashes at any moment.

We who for the first time witnessed a defeated army, and the distress of the men fleeing from the enemy, felt great sympathy for them. A number of our most respected citizens gave us, in passing, affectionate messages for their friends, and to us a kind farewell, whilst we already heard the drum, the din of the entering enemy; and the work of the incendiary had already begun.

How prearranged the burning of Columbia must have been was proved by the scattering of Sherman's soldiers in every direction. These soldiers were led by negroes, who not only guided them, but by whom they must have been already informed of the residences of "prominent Rebels." The eagerness and confidence by which these creatures, who called themselves soldiers, were animated, was astonishing. They flew about inquiring, "Is this the home of Mr. Rhett?" pointing in the right direction; or, "Is that the dwelling of Mr. Middleton?" also indicating exactly the locality, with many other like questions.

It was surprising to see the readiness with which these incendiaries succeeded in their work of destruction. They had hardly passed out of sight when columns of smoke and flames rose to bring the sad news that another home had been sacrificed to the demon of malice and arrogance. It was in the middle of the day which witnessed the Federal entrance into it, when Columbia was already enveloped in an overshadowing cloud of smoke, and the flames were already rising like columns of fire from a volcano. The terrible spectacle grew more harrowing as night set in, and although we lived over one mile from that city, yet from the roof of the Barhamville building the whole town of Columbia could be plainly and distinctly described.

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Through the exertions of Dr. Marks, the proprietor of Barhamville, who had remained in the town, guards were procured, who, during the day, barely succeeded in protecting us from the many attempts of the soldiery to rifle and burn the female college. Our protectors proved of unequal temperaments and dispositions, as soldiers. Only one may be said to have been active in the discharge of his duty, and, if my readers will pardon a slight digression from the main narrative, this was owing to a concurrence of circumstances at once touching and amusing.

The sight was very grand, for it was a large mansion, and quite near to Barhamville; but grander and more impressing was the heroic calmness with which the ladies of this mansion contemplated the destruction of the old homestead of their family, with all that wealth and desire for comfort had been enabled to accumulate. These ladies stood perfectly composed upon the rear of our piazza.

Finding the guard to whom I refer pleasant and kindly inclined (the other two were dogged, mean looking men), we entered into conversation with him about his political views, his native State, and found that he was a Tennessean, and resided at Knoxville.

This brought to our mind the recollection of the Rev. Mr. H—, whose acquaintance we had made some years since—a gentleman who combined with genuine piety high cultivation and refinement. We made inquiries regarding our friend, and were informed by our new protector that Mr. H— had died before the war, and that his father (the guard's) had furnished the coffin on the sad occasion.

Owing to that simple connection of facts we found a sympathizing protector and friend, without whom we should have been that night subjected to who knows what suffering?—certainly to the loss of all we possessed.

Columbia was then enveloped in one sheet of flame; we could hear the cries and lamentations of the people, even at this great distance. It was a terrible night! Soon the building of Captain A—, whose wife and sister had taken refuge with us, was set on fire by the soldiers; they watched the flames as they rose; but there was a deeper anxiety in their hearts; their minds followed the retreat of their husband and brother, and the flight of their daughters, who were subsequently overtaken by the invaders and subjected to great hardship and mortification.

Whilst with horror and indignation we watched all these scenes, Mr. Strawinski rushed towards us, in a greatly excited state of mind. He had remained at his post at Captain A—'s residence

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until convinced that nothing could be saved by his intervention. No appeals on his part could divert the fury of the soldiery. The scenes enacted at that dwelling in connection with the negro servants are not fit for female pen to dwell upon; yet that same soldiery has been lauded to the skies for its moderation and virtues, and has been styled the finest body of troops in the world! The finest body, indeed, when we understand by it a band of most expert robbers and incendiaries!

The negroes informing the soldiers of some valuable wines stored away, thus was given the signal for general bacchanalia. When the intoxicated servants disclosed to the reveling soldiery the hiding place of the family silverware and other valuables, the tumult reached its height. Suspicion seemed to have taken hold of the minds of the soldiers that poison might be mixed with the tempting bottles. Before they tasted, Mr. Strawinski was first compelled to drink of each kind. Being a temperate man, and totally averse to low associations, he resisted, but with threats and blows, he was compelled to yield. At last the negroes themselves became thoroughly disgusted, and although enriched by the booty the soldiers could not carry off—which was generously given them by the robbers—they vowed vengeance for the base treatment their women had been subjected to.

Now, a wave of that corrupted mass, inflamed by liquor and every other excess, moved towards our home, Barhamville. There were about eighty men. They were led by a tall negro—one of those towering individuals we meet sometimes. He held in one hand a torch; in the other a large cowhide; and he demanded of me to examine the basement, partly open, as they knew Captain A—'s lady had hidden some valuables here. The ladies being too much frightened, only one of my daughters could come to my assistance. The other had to guard the front door of the building, whilst some of the ladies endeavored to wake up the guards, who had gone to sleep (it was then eleven o'clock).

This attempt we resisted—by what power I do not now understand, for we were in a vast crowd of, shall I say men, or furious beasts?—until our Tennessean friend came to our assistance. The other guards pretended to be still asleep.

It was some time before that rabble could be made to understand that there was a Federal soldier present; and only after he struck his bayonet violently upon the ground, threatening to report them for contempt of military orders, they slunk away.

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Still, party after party came upon the grounds, looking with malicious eyes upon the large building, so tempting to their cupidity.

Toward two o'clock in the morning, we heard the blows of axes, and seeing lights in the direction of our stables, a considerable distance from the main building, I hastened to the spot. Under ordinary circumstances such an undertaking would have caused great hesitation of mind; but we were aroused to such a degree of energy and indignation that we had become unmindful of our personal safety. I found at the stables more than twenty men, with torches, axes and their muskets. They were partly intoxicated, and seemed to look fagged out after their day's work of destruction. When I appeared, they looked with astonishment at the coming of a single lady, and really seemed then ashamed of themselves, as well they might be. I asked them, "What are you, thieves or soldiers?" and told them, furthermore, that every person of honor must consider them a disgrace to the military profession; although I felt in my heart that they had not the slightest conception of such a sentiment. I still remember with considerable amusement the attitude of that crowd, and the reply of the chief leader: "Yes, ma'am; yes, ma'am," to all I said. When our East Tennessean came to my assistance, the axes of the assailants were already at rest.

The following morning, an individual entered the house with the air of a conqueror. It was a Mr. McDowell, a bloated, lymphatic looking man. He had nothing of manly politeness about him; he was either destitute of that natural deference which a gentleman pays to ladies or, in the style of General Butler, he considered ladies in sympathy with the Southern cause unworthy of his urbanity. Whatever, though, his views or feelings were, he behaved very rudely.

It was that very officer who afterwards expressed his opinion at his headquarters that he did not know why these European ladies should have that place left standing, when every other building in the neighborhood had been destroyed; and we believed that our renewed troubles were caused by that same individual.

During Saturday and Sunday the Charlotte railroad was broken up, and we were continually molested. Drunken and infuriated soldiers, some with saber in hand, endeavored to open the side doors. Another hour brought a party of soldiers who were inclined to harangue us on political questions. One among them, evidently not very fanatical on the negro question, made a regular stump speech, in which he endeavored to demonstrate that this country was destined

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only for the white man, and that the Indian, as well as the negro, had to be, or in the course of events would be, exterminated; furthermore, he expressed his own wish to have the entire negro race on an immense platform and power sufficient to blow them all to atoms. This latter remark was received with repeated cheers by his companions-in-arms.

Like the rapid shifting of scenes in a panorama, only a short time passed when on the front of the building appeared a party of Germans on a foraging expedition. They, like the rest, demanded the right to enter the house. Their political creeds were quite at variance. Some were Union men, others Democrats; these latter expressed themselves ready to fight for the South if the aim of the war was to be emancipation of the negro. One young man, just imported from Saxony, expressed his opinion that we would soon have another revolution, to which his companions agreed. To this interesting information we made, of course, no reply; but I took the liberty of saying that I considered it the height of folly for any European to fight on the side of the North.

That party were men of intelligence and considerable refinement, and, to our relief, their captain ordered one of the men to the rear of the building, to see "that these ladies should not be molested." So one party moved off, to give place to others of lower caste.

We were soon contending with a half-drunken set of men at the main entrance of the building, using arguments and displaying firmness in preventing them from entering the house, when our faithful shepherd dog, Cora, was seen running through the house, and testified by whining and anxious ways that there must be something wrong at the rear of the building. Some of us followed our friend and, to our astonishment, found that some party had thrown fire brands under the stairs, which had already caught fire. With the assistance of our servants, we were enabled to extinguish the fire; but we then despaired of success in resisting these incendiaries, and were expecting every moment to be compelled to leave the home we had no power to save. These marauders threatened to kill the cook should she not tell them where valuables or provisions were hidden. Others went into the houses of the poor negro women, cut and tore their bundles, and even cut their clothes wantonly to pieces; and thus, unfortunately, our box with silver, containing many old family relics, fell into the hands of these vandals.

Toward evening there arrived directly from Columbia a number of officers; and seeing one of them wearing a Mason's breastpin, I

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told him that, being a Mason's widow, I held it to be his duty to protect us from the marauders of his army. He seemed to hesitate; but, having for such an emergency Mr. Sosnowski's papers in hand, establishing his former connection with an American lodge, I placed them in his hands, again demanding protection. The party, however, left without giving us a glimmer of hope, and we looked with terror upon the declining day, when, to our joy and relief, a young gentleman came on a horse, telling us that a squad of men would presently arrive, and that we should not be disturbed that night.

Words could not express our relief and gratitude. The young man, evidently of refinement, received with great satisfaction the demonstrations of relief our little party expressed. We gave him full leave to walk through the building, and, being young, his imagination perhaps depicted to him all the lovely Southern young ladies who only a short time since made these halls resound with their musical exercises and cheerfulness. The promised guard arriving, they prepared their supper, to which we loaned all the assistance we could. Feeling comparatively at ease, we watched with interest the regular lights which lit up the entire horizon (as far as our view permitted) with the campfires of Sherman's army.

With the dawn of day, the reveille called our guards away; and we were reminded by the remarks of passing soldiers that the house was still in danger. I determined, therefore, to walk to Columbia (Sunday morning) at an early hour to obtain a guard; and soon after breakfast, accompanied by a few servants, I left Barhamville. The appearance of the citizens was despondent and weary. On reaching the Preston property, long the residence of the father of General Wade Hampton, I felt that I was in the midst of military life; but I must here remark that it was not like meeting the martial bearing of trained soldiers, such as I have seen during grand reviews in Europe. They appeared to me rather a kind of shambling set of men, squatting on the sidewalks, or in the squares made by the burned streets. It was difficult to pass, as these cavaliers had no idea of giving way to a lady.

The outer gate of General Preston's house was guarded by a soldier holding the United States flag. To my question if General Howard or General Blair was in, the man could give me no satisfactory answer. I presume these gentlemen enjoyed then the sweet repose to which their glorious achievements entitled them. I passed in, however, under another United States flag of immense size, floating over the front of the building.

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The piazza was literally crowded with men—a vulgar, debauched set. The question arose in my mind, can there be one high-toned gentleman among them? I was met by a colored man, perhaps one of the family servants; he looked frightened and sad.

The sitting-room which I entered was enlivened by various passing scenes. It was crowded with women of the lowest sort, arranging to go North with the army. Several officers came in with books and statuettes in their hands, evidently considering what to pack up among their booty. These were their war trophies. I wonder whether they are not ashamed now to possess them.

Seeing no prospect of attaining what I came for, I left the place; and now advancing through the city, the work of destruction met my eyes.

It would have struck the most careless observers that all around the localities where headquarters were established (these arrangements were made through loyal whites, before Sherman entered) no buildings were destroyed, nor were any attempts made to disturb the quiet enjoyment of Sherman and his officers during their stay in Columbia.

The headquarters of General Wood being at the old family residence of Mrs. Lucy Pride Green, we had only a few steps to reach it. We found the general surrounded by a motley crowd. Owing to some mistake of my friend, my object to obtain a guard was defeated. Although in manner the general was much of a gentleman, I was sorry to learn afterward that he stripped the old mansion of its paintings and many other valuables.

Unsuccessful so far in obtaining a guard, I resolved to go to headquarters. Reaching that locality—Mr. Myer's property, corner of Gervais and Pickens streets—I found the street virtually obstructed by soldiers of every grade; every one brimful of importance. It would have been interesting, had time permitted, to study the various characters of that crowd. The guard, a stately Western man, held with great pride the often displayed flag of the Stars and Stripes; and being, no doubt, a good Union man, it was natural that he should uphold with considerable satisfaction the emblem of his country, as it was natural that I should at the time with deep regret look upon the same standard of the founders of this republic, then waving in triumph over one of the blackest scenes of crime and desolation in the history of mankind. On being informed that General Sherman was in, I mounted the steps and found that gentleman giving directions to a soldier. My friend, Mr. W—,

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having left me, I introduced myself, and he politely led me into the apartment where already a number of persons had assembled.

I stated to him my errand, which had so far been unsuccessful, the troubles which we had already passed through, at the same time expressing my surprise—even more, my indignation—at the course the army had pursued towards a conquered, unresisting and surrendered city. I told him further that previous to the surrender of Columbia I had always expressed the opinion that we had nothing to fear except the accidents of war (to which, though, I did not consider the deliberate burning of a city); that in a civilized country battles would be fought, but private property and females would be protected, but instead of this a warfare was waged which would make it a disgrace to our present history. He showed great temper, and said, "What do you mean by that, madam?" to which I merely replied that I meant exactly what I had said. He then spoke in strong terms of the responsibility of Columbia, of South Carolina, of the sufferings caused by secession; indeed, as he only advocated one side of the question, he spoke well. In conclusion, he said, "You have suffered much already, but if I have to come back again—"—leaving his threat unfinished.

To my repeated request for a guard, General Sherman assured me there would be no need, as he expected to leave the following morning, and therefore required the whole army to be at their posts. At this, I rose, saying that I would detain him no longer. He escorted me to the steps.

On my return home, I met Dr. Fair. His looks were those of supreme suffering; and he gave me an account of the destruction of his property, a large block of tenement houses, the corner of which had been his own residence. In that home everything had been collected which refinement and comfort might desire. A long and successful practice had placed Dr. Fair in the rank of influential and wealthy citizens. His lady being, during the fire, surrounded by a rude soldiery, endeavored to save but one valuable article, and that was a portrait of a beloved mother. With this in her arms, she tried to make her escape from the flames and from the robbers, but she was not permitted to save even this, as a soldier cut the picture in pieces and only then allowed her to gain the streets.

I again entered General Preston's residence, the headquarters of General Howard. At length, a young officer promised to send out a guard; but none came. My mission had been totally fruitless. With the advancing night, however, we found an unexpected protection,

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namely, a number of Irishmen, a part of those of Sherman's troops he would not allow to enter Columbia; and this, as the men assured us, was to prevent them from protecting Roman Catholic property.

The men had lost their way, and fearing to fall into an ambush, they entreated us not to expose them to danger. This unexpected arrival was a great relief, and we assured them of perfect safety. We requested our faithful friend and housekeeper, Hannah, to give to them as substantial a supper as the stores permitted. The accounts of these men were really interesting, and as in such uncommon scenes of life the susceptibility of men finds ample scope, there was a declaration of love, of love at first sight, before supper was over—the subject of which was, of course, Miss Hannah.

Towards eleven we heard yells from the direction of Columbia, and through the woods advanced a crowd of soldiers towards our residence. We immediately called our new friends to our assistance. This startled the marauders, and they gradually slunk back in the shade of the forest.

This was the end of our dangers from Sherman's troops. We owed our safety, at least, to these warm-hearted Irishmen, and I think now without them our home would have shared that night the fate of all the residences for miles around us.

MADAME S. SOSNOWSKI.

A Confederate Girl's Diary.

Columbia, S. C., February 6, 1865.—This wild talk about the Federal Army and what it's going to do is all nonsense. Coming here! Sherman! Why not say he's going to Paramaribo? One is about as likely as the other, notwithstanding that papa shakes his head so solemnly over it, and mamma looks so grave. He is always shaking his head over something, it seems to me, and she forever looking grave. I do hope I shall be able to get around being old, somehow. Old people's weather is all bad weather; their horoscope all background; their expectation all disappointment; their probabilities all failures. No doubt I am foolish—mamma says I am—but there's a certain satisfaction in being young and foolish rather than old and wise.

February 7.—While I cannot sign the bills as rapidly as Nannie Giles can, today I finished up four packages of the denomination of fifty dollars. Mr. Tellifiere says I am a treasury girl worth having, and that I did a big day's work, and a good day's work. Took my

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vocal lesson and paid Signor Torriani for my last quarter. He is gloriously handsome in the Italian way, which is a very striking way. I also sent check to the milliner for the $200 due on my new bonnet, and paid $80 for the old lilac barege bought from Mary L—. Miss P— does not yet agree to let me have the congress gaiters for $75, and unless she does she may keep them herself, to the end of time! 'Tis a pretty come to pass when $75 of Confederate currency is not the equivalent of an ordinary pair of Massachusetts-made shoes! J. C. called this evening. He is pleasant, but stops right there, and that isn't the place to stop. A man must know how to be disagreeable to be dangerously attractive, I think.

February 8.—Saw that young Englishman again today. He isn't half the idle dreamer he pretends to be. In truth (but let me whisper it softly), *I believe he's a spy!* I can't see, otherwise, why he is so tremendously and eagerly interested in matters Confederate. Nor is he smart enough to make me believe it's *me!*

February 9.—Finished *Les Miserables,* Victor Hugo's grand work. What munificence of power! What eloquence! What strength! How sublime even its absurdities! A waggish acquaintance of mine calls it Lee's miserables. I must write a little note to James Wood Davidson and thank him for this treat. He is ever kind to think of me when it comes to a literary tid-bit.

Friday, February 10.—This being German day, I went as usual for my lesson. If I must say it, the old Frau's dressing is all top-dressing, and her conversation never more than a mild diversion. Its absorbing theme today was the same as with every one else—Sherman's movements; is he coming here? And what will he do when he does? These are the little questions which embody the vague forebodings, the monstrous prophecies that fill the air. I marvel at the ease with which some people lose their heads. You would think Sherman was a three-tailed bashaw, to hear some of them talk.

February 11.—The dawning of a doubt is a troublesome thing, for if a doubt does not out and out destroy faith, it assuredly chastens it to an uncomfortable degree. Is he coming, that terrible Sherman, with all his legions? Well, and if he does, Beauregard is coming too, and Hampton and Butler are already here, so where's the sense of getting worried? I shall continue to possess my soul in peace.

February 12.—The situation becomes more alarming—that much I am fain to confess. My father's head is not the only one shaking now; they are all shaking—all the men's heads in town. No one can tell what a day will bring forth. Steady now, nerves! Courage

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now, heart! My grandsires fought for liberty in the war of the Revolution; my great-grandmother faced the British, nor quailed so much as an eyelash before them! Is it for me to be afraid? I am not afraid.

Monday, February 13.—We were greatly startled yesterday by the firing of cannon in the upper part of the city. It proved to be a call for Colonel Thomas' Regiment of Reserves. I am sorry the weather is so cold. Our ill-clothed, ill-fed troops must suffer acutely in such bitter weather. Today I accompanied my mother to the Wayside Hospital, carrying some jelly and wafers for the sick. One of the inmates, a convalescent soldier, played with much taste and skill on the banjo. Came home to find my father much excited about me, having heard Mayor Goodwyn say that he has no hope at all of holding the city. And my father does not consider the track of a great army the safest place for young women; hence he wants me to leave; go; get out of the way! But where? Where shall I fly from Sherman's army?

Tuesday, February 14.—Such a day! It was like "a winnowing of chaos." Very little work was done at the Treasury Department in the midst of such excitement and confusion. We are to remove at once to Richmond, and I am told Colonel Joseph Daniel Pope, Mr. Jamison, and many of the employees of the printing establishment, have already departed. I do not know if this be true; I hear too many contradictory reports for all of them to be true. One thing, however, appears to be quite true—*Sherman is coming!* And I never believed it before. This afternoon, we could distinctly hear firing in the distance, and at this writing (8.30 p. m.) we can see the sky arched with fire in the direction of the Saluda factory. Must I go with the department to Richmond? In such case, my parents will be entirely alone, Johnny having gone, also, to the front. Does this not clearly show the dire extremity to which we are reduced, when boys of sixteen shoulder the musket? There are other reasons why I should like to remain here to receive Sherman: it is high time I was having some experiences out of the ordinary, and if anything remarkable is going to happen, I want to know something about it; it might be worth relating to my grandchildren! Anyhow, it is frightfully monotonous, just because you are a woman, to be always tucked away in the safe places. I want to stay. I want to have a taste of danger. Midnight.—But I am overruled; I must go. My father says so; my mother says so. Everything is in readiness—my trunks packed, my traveling clothes laid out upon the chair, and now

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I must try to catch a little sleep. And then on the morrow—what? What will be the next stroke upon the *Labensuhr?* God only knows.

February 15.—(Waiting at the depot). Going as usual to the department this morning, I found orders had been issued for our immediate removal to Richmond. Barely had I time to run home, dash a few more articles into my trunk, say good-bye, and join the others here. We girls are all together—Elise, Ernestine, Sadie, Bet, and myself. We have been seated in the train for hours and hours. Oh! this long waiting; it is weary work! A reign of terror prevails in the city, and the scene about me will ever live in memory. Government employees are hastening to and fro, military stores are being packed, troops in motion, aids-de-camp flying hither and thither, and anxious fugitives crowding about the train, begging for transportation. All kinds of rumors are afloat, every newcomer bringing a new version. The latest is that Hardee has refused to evacuate Charleston, and will not combine forces with Hampton in order to save the capital. I am strangely laden; I feel weighted down. Six gold watches are secreted about my person, and more miscellaneous articles of jewelry than would fill a small jewelry shop—pins, rings, bracelets, etc. One of my trunks is packed with valuables and another with provisions. Shelling has begun from the Lexington heights, and under such conditions this waiting at the depot has a degree of nervousness mixed with impatience. We catch, now and again, peculiar whizzing sounds—shells, they say. Sherman has come; he is knocking at the gate. Oh, God! turn him back! Fight on our side, and turn Sherman back!

Charlotte, N. C.—We stopped in Winnsboro awhile, but at last came on here. That was a sad, sad parting! Shall I ever look into their dear faces again—my father and mother, and poor little Johnnie, wrested by the exigencies of war from his mother's knee? People who have never been through a war don't know anything about war. May I never pass through another. Why will men fight? Especially brothers? Why cannot they adjust their differences and redress their wrongs without the shedding of woman's tears and the spilling of each other's blood?

But I dare not write, nor even think much on this strain. My old friend J. B. L. is along. He is very kind. Think of his lifting our heavy trunks into the baggage car with his own hands! Otherwise they would be sitting on the railroad platform in Columbia yet. Say what you please, it is, after all, the men whom we women have to depend on in this world. J. B. L's. friend, whom he asked

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permission to present to us, is a graduate of the Medical College of New York, a young Hippocrates of profoundly scientific attainments. Nor is that all—he is possessed of all that ease of manner and well-bred poise for which the F. F. V.'s are noted.

Saturday, February 18.—The people of Charlotte received us with unbounded kindness, and are treating us with royal hospitality. They met us in their carriages and, although utter strangers, conducted us, as honored guests, to their beautiful homes. How is that for Confederate Treasury girls? Bet has gone to General Young's, but the others of us have fallen to the lot of Mr. Davidson, and a very enviable lot it is for us, in a home so well ordered and abounding in plenty. I do not know how long we shall be here. Mr. Duncan, who has charge of our division, says until transportation can be secured. Tonight some troops were passing through the city, and I could hear in the far, faint distance, a band playing "Dixie" and "Old Folks at Home." It made me cry, the sound was so sweet, so mournful, so heart-breaking. How fare my old folks at home? Are there any old folks left at my home? Maybe not! Alas! we can hear nothing definite!

February 20.—The adulation we receive in this city is enough to turn our heads completely. But for this dreadful suspense I believe it would. The most appalling rumors reach us, but nothing more. Dr. S— saw one of Wheeler's cavalrymen, who left Columbia on Friday morning, at which time Hampton had notified the Mayor that the Reserves could no longer hold the city. The South Carolina depot was already in ruins, and the Congaree bridge burned, while thousands of the inhabitants were flying from the enemy. On Friday night, at Winnsboro, this same soldier reports having seen a tremendous illumination in the sky, which all who saw believed to be Columbia in flames. My God! How terrible, if true! What has been the fate of my parents, and Johnnie! Despite this horrible uncertainty, we have been to church, and are trying to keep calm and hopeful. But why was I ever persuaded to leave my home and dear ones in this time of danger!

Greensboro, N. C., February 23.—We positively hated to leave Charlotte, so many friends did we make there. Howbeit, a Treasury signer, like a good soldier, must obey orders. At this place, we are not half so pleasantly situated, being all crowded together in one small room. But we are in no mood to cavil; our soldiers fare worse. We begin to realize, as we never before have done, their hardships, and the thankfulness which ought to fill the heart of each

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one whose head is roof-covered. Daily blessings are not mere matters of course. We are too apt to think so until times like these come our way. General John S. Preston has just been in to see us. He is a grand looking man—not only that, he has the look of being somebody in particular, which he is. He could tell us nothing on the subject nearest our hearts—the fate of Columbia. But he fears the worst.

February 24.—"On to Richmond!" is the rallying cry of the period; but this end of the Confederate Treasury can't go on without the means of transportation. The whole South seems to be rallying there.

Thursday, February 25.—Mr. Duncan, the doctor, and J. B. L. are indefatigable in their efforts to make us comfortable and happy. We see them every day and, to be more explicit, almost every hour in the day. We call ourselves "The Happy Family." If you ask me wherefore, I can only say, probably because we have so much reason to be unhappy, and yet are not—exactly.

February 26.—Still in Greensboro, and I do not see how we have managed to live through these homeless and anxious days so agreeably to ourselves. It is the gentlemen who keep us cheered up and allow us no chance to fret. There is no doubt, however, that Columbia is in ashes. People who have never been through a war know nothing about what war is. It is a crushing machine, whose mainspring is anxiety, whose turnscrew is apprehension. Are my brothers all dead? Are my father and mother still living? These questions put me to the rack when I allow myself to ask them.

Ballard House, Richmond, March 1.—We have taken Richmond, if the Yankees haven't! Yes, we are here; but had some trouble to get settled. The fashionable mode of living is room-keeping, and we are strictly in the fashion. And now how nicely comes in that trunk of provisions my thoughtful papa made me bring, much against my own wishes. On opening it, we found meal, hominy, flour, a side of bacon, some coffee, tea, and a quantity of potatoes. They will help us along wonderfully, as all food products bring a tremendous price in this beleaguered city. Ernestine went to market this morning and paid $10 for a steak for our breakfast. At that rate we can only afford to take a savory smell occasionally! Ernie is simply angelic in spirit—she never loses patience, never gets cross, never says anything she oughtn't to say, even against the Yankees! The city is crowded to suffocation, the streets thronged with soldiers in uniform, officers gaily caparisoned, and beautiful women, beautifully dressed, though not in the latest Parisian toilettes. I should

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say there is no more brilliant capital among all the nations. Are there great and somber tragedies going on around us? Is there a war? I thought so before I reached Richmond!

March 2.—Our department quarters here are not nearly so comfortable as those left behind in Columbia. They do well enough, however. I have not had a chance to mention that handsome officer we saw on the train after leaving Greensboro. He was of the blonde type, with tawny, flowing mustache, and hair bright as "streaks from Aurora's fingers." Tall and broad-shouldered, he was attired in a captain's uniform, and deeply absorbed in reading a book. What was the book? Lise and I were wild to find out. We did find out, and, I hope, without exciting the least suspicion on his part. The book was "Quits." Knowing the story so well, and his face being so expressive, we could almost guess the contents of the pages as he turned them over. But after awhile he did not appear so deeply interested in it, and when our train had to be exchanged for another he stepped forward, raised his hat, and asked to be allowed to remove our packages. He was very grave and dignified. Were we wrong in accepting the attention? Sadie says we must not accept the slightest attention from unknown men while thus traveling. We have been thrust forth from the safe environment of our homes and cannot afford to take any risks. Sadie is as proper as a dowager duchess of eighty. But, ah! the strange exigencies of these times! What is to become of us? There is no longer the shadow of a doubt—our homes are in ashes.

March 3.—I find myself regarding Lise with increasing admiration and affection. She is surely the most graceful girl in existence, combining a lot of downright amiability with a vast amount of tact. Also, she has a deal of fun and mischief. That blonde stranger must have noticed all of this with his eyes, so darkly blue.

March 4.—A letter from home! A letter from home! It reached me by hand through the department—is most reassuring and at the same time most delightfully comprehensive. They are all safe—thank God, my dear ones. Johnny came through without a scratch, and so did my new Steinway. It was a night of untold horrors (the 17th), but in the general conflagration our house was saved. My father and mother made friends even among their enemies, and through their exertions and old Maum Nancy's the family were fed and protected during the whole time. A number of Federal officers were quartered with the family until the morning of the 20th. One of them, whom mamma describes as "a most attractive young

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lieutenant," examined my music, tried my piano, playing with no little skill, and then inquired, "Where is she; the young lady who plays?" And when my father answered, "Gone to Richmond," he laughingly rejoined, "Ran away from the Yankees! Now, where was the use of that? We are just as sure to catch her there as here." Are you, Mr. Lieutenant? I fancy not; Sherman's army can't expect to overrun the whole earth; we are safe enough in Richmond. And yet I regret again not being there. I might have conducted the argument on both sides, for awhile, with that attractive young lieutenant, and who knows? perchance make one Yankee's heart ache a little. What fun! What an opportunity! What a chance to get even have I lost!

March 5.—Oh! the seduction, the novelty, the fascination of this life in Richmond! If patriotism is its master-chord, pleasure is no less its dominant note, and while it is as indescribable as the sparkle of champagne, it is no less intoxicating. Last night the parlor was full of visitors, and the same may be said of almost every night—officers, privates, congressmen, senators, old friends and new ones, from all parts of the country. They are finding out our whereabouts and paying their devoirs. And what do you think, my little book? The blonde captain was among them. Strange things are the most natural, I have begun to think, for our strange acquaintance has come about in the most natural way. Dr. S— knows his relatives in Maryland, and we are acquainted with his relatives in Carolina, so not even Sadie could gainsay the fitness of the acquaintance—nor Ernestine, who is an anxious mother to the last one of us.

March 7.—He is just as charming a gentleman as I thought he would be—I refer to the captain, of course. Last night I saw him gazing at Bet's hair in the most admiring manner. It is magnificent. I should be awfully vain of it, were it mine—but she is not. Bet is as level-headed as a girl can be, and as sweet and modest as a violet.

March 8.—Wish I had been taught to cook instead of how to play on the piano. A practical knowledge of the preparation of food products would stand me in better stead at this juncture than any amount of information regarding the scientific principles of music. I adore music, but I can't live without eating—and I'm hungry! I want some chicken salad, and some charlotte russe, and some ox-palate, and corn muffins! These are the things I want; but I'll eat anything I can get. Honestly, our cuisine has become a burning question. Dear, sweet Ernie bears the brunt, and has to, because the rest of us are simpletons! She'll be canonized some of these days, or deserves to be, if she isn't.

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March 9.—Little book, give me your ear. Close! There! Promise me never to breathe it! Blank loves Blank! Yes, he does! And she doesn't care for him—not a pennyworth! It is a dreadful state of affairs, to be sure. Why must there be so much loving and making of love? How much nicer to just keep on being friends with everybody (except one!) and nothing more. It is a shame that I have so little time to devote to my journal. We meet so many delightful people and so many famous people. The other day, attended a review of Gary's Brigade, by Generals Fitzhugh Lee and Longstreet, in an open field between the Nine Mile and Darby Town roads. We went in an army ambulance, attended by a number of our gentlemen friends. Fitz. Lee passed very near us. It was the sight of a lifetime; it thrilled and pulsated all through me. When the review was over, we were speedily surrounded by a throng of gallants, officers and privates—the noble privates, heroes, I love them! They bear the yoke and do the fighting, while some of the officers don't do anything but ornament the army. Mind, I don't say all—*some.* Do you think we women give no heed to these things? I know what kind of a heart a man carries under his brass buttons. We spoke to many of our own State troops, some of them gaunt and battle-scarred veterans, and some of them young in service but with the courage of veterans in them. Whether we get whipped in this fight or not, one thing will be forever indisputable—our soldiers are true soldiers and good fighters. Sometimes I fear that we are going to get the worst of it—but away with all fears!

To doubt the end were want of trust in God.

So says Henry Timrod, in his *Ethnogenesis,* and he is a poet, and the poet has a far-seeing eye. It open beautifully—this poem, I mean—

Hath not the morning dawned with added light?
And shall not evening call another star
Out of the infinite regions of the night
To mark this day in Heaven?

I hear Timrod's health is poor. What a pity! I hope he will live to sing us many songs. I must not forget to chronicle the fact that I saw my gallant cousin, Robert D—, out at the review. We greeted each other with unfeigned pleasure.

March 10.—The drawing room was again crowded last night, and we got up an important dance on the spur of the moment. General Kershaw, General Gary, and General Ruggles were present; also

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our friends, the congressman, the captain, the major, and the M. P. Oh! yes. We know Mr. Connelly, an Irish M. P. and Southern sympathizer. He seems to have plenty of money, and lives here in great style for war times; owns a steam yacht, and we are to have an outing on it before long. There are so many interesting things I could and ought to write about, but just can't, because I am so hungry! And having nothing to eat, I am going to bed to fill up on sleep.

March 11.—Thank goodness! I'm not hungry tonight, and for a very good reason: we dined with the Secretary of the Treasury and his family, the Trenholms. It was a symposium to us poor Treasury girls, attractive and impressive. We discussed the varied menu, elegantly prepared and daintily served, with a Confederate appetite, sharply whetted for long-denied delicacies. Mr. Morgan, the young midshipman, was there, quite *en famille.* I did not hear when the wedding is to be. I suppose after the war. Everything is going to take place after the war. As we arose from the table, President and Mrs. Davis were announced. This famous man *honoris causa,* I had already seen before in Columbia, but this was my first glimpse of his wife. She was graciousness itself. Some people whom I have heard talk, and who look upon Mr. Davis as a mere function of government, are disposed to regard him as a conspicuous failure, but, in the name of reason, how can one man please everybody? His role is certainly one of great difficulty. Socially, he may rub some persons the wrong way, but not so with us. He was pleasant, polished, and entertaining.

March 12.—A delicate piece of business is this managing of so many men in one lump! They *will* have ideas of their own, the most stupid among them! And they all want to be first in importance. I feel in a humor to "size up" some of them tonight, not ill-naturedly, but only for my own amusement. Major W— is a squire of dames and admirable as a *raconteur;* Colonel P— laughs and flatters, and flatters and laughs, and positively that is all he ever does or knows how to do; B— is an amiable, domesticated creature; T— has excellent intentions, and a great many of them, and no doubt, in due course of time, he'll find that place where such things are said to abound; C— just falls short of everything—but can he help it, poor fellow? P— is a man who has risen superior to himself; Z— is a dead level of dulness; as to C—'s manners, he is a debtor "both to the Greeks and the barbarians"; K— is a Joseph Surface; General ——— "enjoys" bad health; L— is a negative instance; F— is a

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mosaic of sentiment; and as for the others, it being so late, and I so sleepy, they will happily escape this time!

March 15.—The Trenholms are exceedingly kind to us. Whenever that majordomo of theirs makes his appearance with that big basket of his, plenty prevails in this section of the Ballard. Heaven bless them! To demolish the contents of that basket is like getting into a home kitchen. Will the time ever come when we can have real coffee to drink again? Our trunk of provisions is gone, and we often feel *gone* without them! Ernestine says Lise and I are completely spoiled for any other life than this surging, intoxicating stream of brass buttons, epaulettes, and sword-belted manhood. It may be so; I am afraid it is. There is an air of military inspiration around us; it pervades our being; we exist in a tremor of ecstasy, or else foreboding. Our Richmond life holds a little of everything, save *ennui*—not a grain of that in it.

March 16.—It is a hard thing to say, but I am going to say it. I don't admire all the men who wear the Confederate uniform! I would rather dig holes in the ground than talk to some of them!

March 17.—I could eat a tallow candle if I had a good one. But I have accepted an invitation to dine with the Trenholms—in my dreams!

March 18.—There now! Somebody was as cross today as Sir Fretful himself, and as cold as an irate step-grandmother. How ridiculous! Especially when we don't do anything to make other people like us and pay us attention.

March 19.—Made two new acquaintances today. One is a soporific, and the other—well, I don't understand him, and I haven't got time to try to understand everybody.

March 20.—A great joy has come to me this day, an unlooked-for, an inexpressible joy! A card was brought to me, and I took it with a sigh, because so many cards are brought in and we have so little time for rest. But the name upon that particular card made my heart thump and thump so fast I thought it would thump clean out of my body. It was my dear brother's name—the scout, who has been in prison two years, first at Camp Chase and recently at Fort Delaware. Without stopping as usual to give a last touch to my hair, I rushed into his presence and into his arms. He's the rowdiest, shabbiest, patchiest looking fellow you ever saw, but as handsome as ever, and the same old darling. We talked and talked; we crowded the talk of two long years of separation into two short hours of face to face. It is a thrilling romance, the way he escaped from

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prison. In a dead man's shoes it was! That man's name was Jesse Tredway, and he died in his bunk after his name had been entered on the list of exchange. My brother put his dead comrade in his own bunk and said nothing. He answered to his name in the roll call and quietly took his place in the ranks of the outgoing prisoners. The details of that journey homeward, the recital of his adventures and narrow escapes from detection all along the route, is something to be heard from his own lips in order to be appreciated. The recital made the blood tingle in my veins and then suddenly run cold; made my pulses throb and then suddenly cease almost to throb at all. Think of it! The recklessness of the deed, and his subsequent anxiety and fear of detection every moment. In the soft veil of the night, in the white light of the morning, under the noonday sun, under the midnight stars, even in the stillness of sleep, never to be rid of the fear of detection. His very life hung upon the issue, for he had made up his mind to shoot down the first man who remanded him back to prison. Thank God! he was never detected, never remanded back! He will now journey on without delay, on foot, for the most part. He has no money to pay his passage—but what of that? It is a pleasure to him to walk on God's fair earth again, no longer a shut-up animal in a cage; the earth is full of a new glory for him, the glory of sweet liberty. The exile has returned to his home.

March 23.—Congressman Farrow asked me today if I were feeling well. Come to think of it, I do not feel well. My nerve forces seem to be all out of tune, and my digestion is impaired—in fact, a general *malaise* appears to be the result of hardtack on my constitution.

March 25.—My head aches; I have no appetite (and nothing fit to eat, either); my senses are dull. Heaven grant I may not be ill in Richmond! At this particular epoch, it is the place for everything else, but no place to be sick in.

March 29.—Mr. Duncan brings us the weightiest news. The Confederacy is going to the dogs—or, did he say the devil? That young lieutenant was right. We may have to fly from Richmond as we did from Columbia. It is a profound secret as yet; but he warns us to be ready to leave on quick notice. Are we to be driven to the wall? I can't believe it! But somehow—somehow—my heart is as barren of hope tonight as the great Sahara of water.

March 30.—Indeed, something very serious is astir in military circles. After arranging everything, the M. P. has had to give up the projected outing on the James? It is not safe—a fight is brewing.

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Doubtless I should worry more if I felt better; when the head is so confused with pain, and the nerves unstrung, all other matters are secondary.

March 31.—Feel better today. Mr. Connelly gave us a collation in the hotel in lieu of the abandoned picnic. Very swell, despite the blockade. Must have cost him a pretty sum. I told Mr. Duncan I would not leave Richmond, so full of a certain charm is the life here; but of course have had to give in, and now am ready for another flight as soon as he notifies us.

Charlotte, N. C., April 3.—We barely escaped with the skin of our teeth! The flight from Richmond was even more hasty and exciting than the exodus from Columbia, only I am not equal to writing about it. Congressman F— accompanied us and other friends. I fear it is all up with the Confederacy, and with me also. I am ill; I have fever—typhoid.

April 8.—I have neglected you, my little book, but don't you know how sick I am? And how they have all been busy nursing me, so tenderly, so patiently, so untiringly—Ernestine, Elise, and the members of this kind family, the Davidsons. We are back in our old quarters with them, and I count myself blessed that such is the case. Never can I repay them for their kindness! God, you pay them for me! Heaven, if ever they come to troublous days, and dark nights, send down thy tender light upon them! I cannot pay them; I am a miserable, weak thing, with very little moral strength and very much body (all aching). I wish my spirit didn't have to be pent up in this body. My brother told me of his prison house; we all have a prison house. Death is the escape—so why should any one dread death?

April 10.—The wires being up again, I have been sending telegrams home to allay anxiety. Have been sitting up a little, and the doctor finally consents for me to be removed home. He—and every one here—treats me as a dear friend, not as a stranger. When I asked him for my bill, he said, "I have none," and when I insisted, he made out one for ten dollars. Ten dollars in Confederate money! It wouldn't buy enough salt to season his egg for breakfast! I could not keep back the tears while handing him the money, and not long ago, when I was well, I never used to cry for anything. But kindness touches where nothing else does. I do like doctors, and men in general, men of high nature, and true. Perhaps I have spoken flippantly of them sometimes, but, bless you, not a word of it was seriously intended. Whatever their foibles, men as a class are

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more generous than women; they don't laugh so much in their sleeve at other people; they are not so full of paradoxical conceits and petty animosities; they are not so apt to be distanced in the first heat of goodness; and are altogether more tolerant in mind and catholic in spirit. I say again, I like men. This world would be a very stupid place without them. The other girls have gone, but Lise and Ernestine have waited for me, and we will be off as soon as may be.

Chester, April 11.—I have borne the journey thus far well, and as the railroad stops here, the rest having been destroyed by Sherman's army, we will travel the remainder of the journey in a government train of wagons. Many, many friends have we encountered here, trying, like ourselves, to get back home. Lise's brother is to go in our party, and Mr. West.

Newberry, April 15.—The wagon trip across country was glorious! I, the invalid, was made comfortable on a cotton mattress, spread on the body of the wagon, and Lise and Ernestine, and the gentlemen in attendance, did all things possible for my comfort and well-being. Even the wagon drivers were good to me, and the very mules seemed to regard "the sick lady" compassionately out of mild eyes and patient. One night, we slept in the beautiful country home of the Means'; another at the Subers'; and the other—oh! night of nights—we camped out! Vividly do I recall the minutest detail connected with that night in the woods—the pink line that flushed the western sky, the slowly descending twilight, the soft curves of the hills, the winding courses of the roadways, the sleeping cattle, the sloping meadows, the flitting figures of the teamsters about the blazing fire, the brooding solitude, the stillness of the midnight hour. The others breathed softly, in deep repose, and I lay with face upturned and eyes opened to the tender benediction of the stars, and then it was that, with every mysterious inspiration of the night, a picture of the scene was painted on the canvas of memory. I must put on record a very singular incident which occurred during this cross-country journey: We stopped at midday near a farmhouse, to rest the teams and procure a drink of cool water. Seeing us, the farmer came out to the well and cordially invited us to enter, which we gladly did, and while conversing quietly together on the piazza, one of us—it must have been Lise, for she is always the first to see everything—happening to look overhead, espied the United States flag, and the American eagle, drawn in colors on the ceiling. The sight was electrical; it struck us with a shock.

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"But why should it shock us?" asked one of the gentlemen. "It is merely an evidence that our host is a Unionist. Every man to his own notion, say I! But it means nothing to us."

It did to me; it meant a great deal; I looked upon those emblems with a superstitious eye. "We are invincible!" was their language to me; "we are over your heads, and there we are going to stay!" Little did I dream how soon this imaginative interpretation would be literally verified.

We had heard before leaving Charlotte that the advance guard of the Union forces had entered Richmond a day or two after our departure, but that was all we knew. Now, another singular thing happened. While we still sat together on that piazza, under the wings of the American eagle and the folds of the star spangled banner, there came along a soldier in gray. He was dirty, and ragged, and barefooted, and he looked on the ground sadly as he moved upon his way, walking slowly, as if he had come from afar and felt footsore and weary. Mr. C— ran out upon the roadside and accosted him. Was there any news?

The man answered, "News? Wall, yes; I reckon there is! Ain't yer heared it?"

"No, indeed. We have heard nothing. What is it?"

There was a ghastly silence. This piece of news seemed to be an unutterable thing for the soldier in gray.

"Do speak! For God's sake, what is it?"

Then the man in gray lifted his bowed head slowly, and replied:

"Lee has surrendered!"

"It is not true! It cannot be true!"

But it was true.

"Wasn't I there?" asked the soldier, whose voice sounded as if his heart were broken. "Wasn't I there when it happened on the 9th of April?"

What more was there to be said? Failure is a bitter thing, but I think the only way to meet it is in silence and with courage.

Newberry, April 25.—Lise and Ernestine are long since home, but my dear friends here will not listen to my leaving until I have grown stronger. I do not get on physically as fast as I ought. It is very restful here, after the exciting life in Richmond. What of the city now? What of the sunshiny pavements, where I promenaded but so lately, amid scenes of such brilliancy and life? There came a sudden darkening in her sky, and I know not how weak

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I am until I undertake to touch upon these themes. Surely the feeling of utter helplessness is the worst feeling in the world.

May 5.—Home again! But, ah! how changed a home!

All but God is changing day by day.

Changed are we, and changed our home, in everything but loving hearts. We are all here; nobody killed in battle; nobody dead from disease. Have we not something, after all, to be thankful for? Now Johnny must go to college and exchange the arts of war for the arts of peace.

Judge Aldrich took charge of me from Newberry. We came as far as Alston on the train, but the railroad being destroyed thence, we hired an old ambulance, which, although in a state of chronic dilapidation, luckily held together for the trip. We entered the city from the Main street road, our way being marked with desolation and ruin on all sides. One solitary house is all that is left upon that whole street above the State House. Turning out of that street, we lost our bearings in the surrounding mass of brick and ashes. There are few landmarks left in the heart of the city to enable the wayfarer to distinguish one locality from another. It is all so strange, so sad, so hard to realize. "How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people! How has she became as a widow!" The relief to my overwrought feelings as we drove through the silent streets was in a woman's refuge—tears; my companion's in a man's—silence. We said little to each other; we only drew long, deep, sighing breaths of pain. War has no pity, yet, oh! the pity of it!

Thus we reached home.

Old mammy was the first to see, the first to greet me.

"Lawd! Lawd! young missis, dem Yankees ain't kill ye, sure enough!"

"No," said I; "they must catch before they kill."

"Bless Gawd fer dat! But I hope yer fetched yer rashuns wid yer."

"No," I was obliged to admit, "I only brought an appetite, and, I regret to state, a very good one."

"Den Lawd hab mercy on yer!" she remarked, "fer de blackberries, dey ain't got ripe yit."

And old Nancy shook her head mournfully.

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As to my dear mother, she is so happy in my safe return that she scarcely reverts to our hardships. We still have each other. We two, and old mammy, are the only ones at home at present, the gentlemen of the family having gone up to the Broad River section in a wagon, in the hope of being able to procure some provisions. It is next door to starvation with us, and no mistake. Each day we send to headquarters for a little bacon and some meal, and that is what we live on, if it may be called living. It is true, we have a little sugar, and a small quantity of real tea a dear old lady gave me in Newberry, but the sugar was buried while the Federal army was here, and in consequence is infested with those pestiferous little creatures who never fail to make the best of their opportunities. Now, some who may chance to read these lines might say that they couldn't go ant-tea. But I go it! It is much better than no tea at all. Moreover, I manage it after a way of my own which vastly increases its palatability. I found out how to do it. I skim all I can conveniently off the top, then I shut my eyes tight and fast, then I open my mouth (which is a good-sized mouth) and it all runs down (ants too), and then I open my eyes and put the cup down and say to myself, "Good! Very good! I like tea."

June 20.—Sadie came to see me yesterday, and today it is Lise and Ernestine. We often see each other, and surely we girls are never so happy as when seeing each other. We often wish for Bet, who is far away, and we read each other's letters, and talk about the generals, the colonels, and the majors, and the captains, and the no less dear, delightful privates we used to know in those days of excitement, those nights of enchantment, passed in fair Richmond, on the James. It is thus we live over again the stirring events of those stirring times, when together we fled from Sherman.

MALVINA S. WARING,
(MRS. CLARK WARING).

Columbia, S. C.

The Burning of Columbia.

[Extract from a circular letter addressed to the "Congrégation de Paris" by the "Monastère de Sainte-Ursule de Valle Crucis," near Columbia, S. C.]

In the year 1861, when the war broke out between the North and South, a great number of girls—not only children, but girls of twenty and over—came to take refuge in the Convent, their parents wishing

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CHARLESTON.

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to avoid for them the mixed state of society brought about by the war. * * *

The boarding school has never been more flourishing than at the opening of the year 1865. Nevertheless, we were then in great anxiety, as well from the absence of our bishop, who had gone to Rome, as from the approach of the Northern Army, which brought desolation along its route.

A telegram had announced the fall of Chattanooga. Charleston and Savannah were threatened, and Columbia was in great alarm.

Soon the army marched across Georgia into South Carolina, carrying destruction everywhere, burning all houses and mills along its road. The 15th of February, the enemy occupied the heights of Lexington and commenced the bombardment of Columbia. After twenty-four hours of this bombardment, which caused much damage, the commanding general of the Northern Army, William Tecumseh Sherman, received a deputation from the mayor, giving him peaceable possession of the city. About ten o'clock in the morning eight hundred cavalrymen entered Columbia, and found it occupied only by women, children, and old men.

Columbia had also been considered so absolutely safe that it had been made a depot for many of the treasures of the Confederacy. Bankers had deposited there their funds; merchants had brought their merchandise, and families their valuables. All these circumstances were known, and therefore the destruction of Columbia had been resolved upon. We here give an account of the burning of the Convent and Boarding School, from the testimony of a friend and one who witnessed these occurrences.

The Convent was, unfortunately, in the middle of the town, and could only have been saved with great difficulty from the surrounding conflagration, even had efforts been made to that end.

When the town was taken possession of by General Sherman, Father O'Connell had obtained a guard for our protection, and thus while stores and private houses were being pillaged by soldiers, the nuns were not even disturbed.

Towards midday, a cavalry officer arrived, who, after questioning the sentinel, rang the door bell. The door was opened by the portress and her companion, whereupon he introduced himself as Major FitzGibbons, and wished to see the superior of the establishment. Having presented himself to the reverend mother as a Catholic, he offered any necessary help. The nuns not understanding him, and having no suspicion of the dangers threatening them,

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declined his offers with thanks; but he insisted earnestly, telling them that the ruin of Columbia had been determined; or that at least the army thought so, and that he himself doubted if one house would be spared.

While this announcement terrified the nuns, they still believed that their Convent could not be threatened with such disaster, as General Sherman had assured a lady in Savannah, whose daughter was in the Convent, that she was perfectly safe there. "Certainly," said Major FitzGibbons, "I cannot say that your Convent is going to be burned; but," he added with a meaning look, "we can't answer for what may happen."

The lady in Savannah had consulted General Sherman as to the safety of her daughter, and he had answered that she was in the safest place. But, with the natural anxiety of a mother, she persisted, "General, to speak candidly, my daughter is in the Convent. Now, we know the terrible threats of your army against Columbia, and I am afraid for my daughter." Again he answered, "Leave your daughter where she is, madam; all religious institutions will be respected."

Mrs. Daniel Huger, whose daughter was also a scholar with the Ursulines, and whose brother-in-law had just left Savannah after its capture by Sherman, had received a similar assurance, and had communicated it to the nuns.

Major FitzGibbons listened with apparent interest to all this, and said, "I wish, ladies, that you would write this to the general; I know he will do what he can for you." But, in spite of this assurance, the major made every effort to excite the fears of the nuns, who, knowing nothing of the outside world, could not believe in the threatened danger. He also made many inquiries, apparently well-intentioned, as to the members of the community of nuns, and he learned that most of us were strangers, having no other home on this side of the Atlantic; that we had been here only seven years, and had spent all of our resources on the building we occupied; that some of the nuns had formerly lived in the Convent of Ohio, where relatives of General Sherman had been brought up; and that the daughter and sister of General Sherman were still there during the last months spent by these nuns in Ohio. On learning this, the major again urged that it should be written to the general, and offered to carry the letter himself. The nuns consented, and while the letter was being prepared he said, frowning and sternly, "You did wrong, sisters, very wrong, to make your house a place of deposit for valu-

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ables." This showed he had had information about the town. "You make a great mistake," replied a nun; "we have refused to receive anything like silver or jewels, because we are in charge of what is much more precious—the daughters of our friends—and we would not risk their safety by receiving what might invite to pillage. We have taken fine pictures, books, etc., but nothing that could be called valuables." The major left us, expressing his surprise at the calmness of the sisters, which he contrasted to the alarm of the people of Savannah. He did not know that this calm was caused by their ignorance of the outside world, and the fact that they had not a suspicion of what they were to witness. Faithful to his promise, he returned about three in the afternoon, looking much pleased, and accompanied by seven men. "Here," said he, "is a treasure, written by the general's own hand." Saying this, he gave the nuns the envelope of their letter, on which was written, in pencil: "Com: l'officier voisin de protéger the Convent avec zèle. Sherman, Maj.-Géné. Col. Palmer, 25me Ioua, fournira une compagnie (96 hommes) pour ce service. J. W. Jenkins, P. M. Sergt., S. C. Mott, Co. 25 Ia."* "Now," said Major FitzGibbons, with satisfaction, "I can answer for your safety and for the safety of all in the Convent. I have brought with me seven picked men, on whom you can rely. I have chosen purposely American Protestants as better fitted to defend you against those with whom they will come in conflict, and if you have need of my help you will find me at the Rev. Dr. O'Connell's." At this moment Dr. O'Connell was announced. He looked tired and preoccupied, but the happy major did not seem to notice it, for he saluted him cheerfully, adding, with a laugh, as he went out, "I have taken your house for my lodging."

For the first time, the sisters began to suspect that some mysterious trouble was impending. They became very uneasy for the welfare of about forty of their pupils, who, being far from their families, were, on that account, a great responsibility. These pupils, with several nuns, had been sent the day before to Valle Crucis, about three miles from the town, to avoid the shells which were falling round and about the Convent.

When the town was occupied in the morning, a vain effort had been made to get a pass and a guard to bring this party back to the Convent. To the surprise of the sisters, nuns and scholars, all

*This order is given here in French, as it appears in the circular letter. The nuns having translated it from English into French, a retranslation might not be exactly in General Sherman's words.

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returned, having as protectors a cavalry officer in front, and another in the rear of their ranks. This is what had happened: While they were waiting at Valle Crucis for some one to escort them back to town, two soldiers on horseback appeared in the avenue, flourishing their weapons in the air, and shouting, "Burn it! burn it! Hampton's palace! burn it!" One of them, jumping off his horse, ran towards the front step; the other ran into one of the front halls, to set fire to it. At this moment, the sister on guard came out to meet the man at the front door, who, amazed at the sight of a nun, bowed very politely and excused himself, saying, "Pardon me, madam, is not this the house of General Hampton?" "No," she replied, pointing to the cross and the words "Convent of Valle Crucis"; "don't you see it is a Convent?" "No, sister, I am very sorry, I assure you; if I had known it I would never have approached it, much less come in. I beg your pardon. Can I be of any use to you?" "Certainly," replied the nun; "I accept your offer and will be very glad of an escort to accompany us to town, if you can get us one. I have just received a letter from my superior, who is anxious to see us all reunited, and is much troubled that she cannot get us an escort." "Here we are, sister!" And the two soldiers put themselves at their disposal and took them safely to the Convent. On the way, they were much frightened by hearing cries of terror from the people whose burning houses they saw in every direction, with soldiers going about everywhere, as their two escorts had done at Valle Crucis. At one place, a young girl, almost crazed with fright, ran to take refuge and protection among the nuns. You may judge of the thankfulness that filled all hearts when the Convent door opened to this party. Their escort returned to them politely their little baggage, which they had insisted upon carrying.

In the town, scenes were enacted distressing beyond the imagination of these cloistered nuns. All were invited to the pillage of the town—negroes, criminals of the jails, etc. The sisters feared that the neighborhood of some government buildings might put their home in danger, and on this account they put some clothes into bags that could be easily carried; but certainly they were not prepared for what they were to witness that night. Men, running along like lamplighters, carried pots of combustibles and lighted torches, which they applied everywhere.

After giving supper to the sentinels, the sisters all met in the hall of recreation, where they were congratulating themselves on their reunion, and even laughing over the walk from Valle Crucis, when

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one of their number came in, saying that she thought there was a fire in town. "Don't be frightened," said another; "we are so happy at being all together again." "And," said another sister, "you must be mistaken, for we haven't heard the alarm bell." However, they went to look, and what was their astonishment to see the sky filled with the light of flames which, though far off, were frightful. The silence of death reigned around them; not a bell was heard; not the sound of a human voice in the condemned town. They only saw soldiers and officers going about with an expression of triumph.

However, down near the depot, where flames had been set, things were not so calm. There confusion reigned, for the soldiers were preventing the townspeople from using the fire engines.

In the awful silence of this terrible night, the sisters could hear nothing but the roar of flames and the fall of buildings; and these flames, carried by a violent wind, seemed to hasten on their way to the Convent. The nuns begged one of the guards to send for Major FitzGibbons, but he refused, saying, in a sullen tone, that he did not know where to find him. They begged two others to go on the roof, which was flat, to see what might be done in case the fire came near; they showed them buckets of water, which had been prepared in case of need; but the cold indifference of some of these men, and the undisguised pleasure of others, made the sisters understand that they had nothing to hope from them. The Rev. Dr. O'Connell had come early, accompanied by the Rev. Wm. McNeal, to carry away the Holy Sacrament. The nuns, hoping against hope, begged him not to deprive them of so great a consolation, as the danger was not yet imminent. They were much impressed by the expression of the priests' faces, but being ignorant of much that was passing outside, they still comforted themselves.

Soon the two priests came back, and then they could no longer doubt. They went with lighted tapers to the chapel, where the almoner gave them for the last time the benediction of the Holy Sacrament. The silence was broken only by sobs from the youngest sisters—a feeble testimony to the emotion felt by all. The two priests then went out, and the resting place of the Holy Sacrament during this eventful night was the breast of the young and devout priest, who was obliged, in order to avoid the insults of the soldiers, to go by the most out-of-the-way streets. This priest was the Rev. Father McNeal.

As danger approached, the parents of the scholars came to find their children, and the nuns, at last understanding their situation,

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prepared to save some clothes and other articles, dragging the trunks which contained them out into the middle of the court. The guards, seeing them exhausted by this work, said, "You deserve it; you brought it on yourselves," and, with the greatest hardness, refused any help. Three of them, however, touched by the sweet patience with which the nuns bore this rudeness, came at last to their assistance.

The danger now was imminent, and so great a number of soldiers were crowding about the house that it was thought best to send the scholars and the younger nuns to a place of safety. Each scholar was given a package, and they were told to form into ranks, so that, in spite of fright and confusion, any one who happened not to be there would be missed. The signal was given, and they went out in the same order always observed in their walks. Their good conduct excited the admiration of the soldiers, who said, "Those girls are as well disciplined as our troops; they do credit to their school." The Rev. Dr. O'Connell accompanied them to the Catholic Church, which stood in the midst of the conflagration, but far from other buildings.

By this time, sparks and pieces of burning wood were falling all around the Convent, and the nuns still remaining were advised to leave while it was yet possible. Fortunately, none of them were aged; but one was helpless from rheumatism. What could be done with her? She could not walk, and no carriage was to be had. Our anxiety was becoming terrible, when a young officer found a carriage, and we were able to take her to rejoin the others at the church.

Dr. Gallagher, a surgeon, expressed his regret that his regiment was not in town, as, being composed of Catholics, it would have helped us.

Several of the lay sisters had been shocked at the conduct of the sentinels. One of them, from Connecticut, had lost two nephews in the Northern Army. Another, from Cincinnati, thinking that her brother was in the ranks, said aloud, "I didn't believe there were such bad people in Cincinnati; at least I have never seen them." "Are you from Cincinnati?" asked a soldier; "then I will help you." * * * But he could do nothing, as we were then obliged to leave the Convent on account of the extreme danger. A third sister, with almost girlish pleasure, was looking forward to the entrance of the army, in hopes that she might see her five brothers, from whom she had heard nothing since the beginning of the war. Her joy was short, for the shock she received that night caused her death!

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The pillage of the Convent had commenced at about midnight, by the light of the flames. The guards, thinking all had gone, went upstairs, opened the pianos, and played and danced. One of them ran downstairs to the dormitory of the scholars, carrying with him a pretty little holy water font, which he, laughing, insultingly shook in the face of a nun. Then he, with others, rushed to the dormitory of the sisters; but they were stopped by a venerable old man, whose daughter was in the Convent, and who did his best to protect those nuns who were still in the building. "Those rooms," said he, "are sacred; you can't go in." The majestic manner and gray hair of Mr. S. C. stopped them for one moment; but they rushed off in another direction. Hatchets and crowbars came into play, and doors soon gave way. The handsome dresses of the pupils were thrown all over the courts; books, music, etc., were tossed in every direction, and the trunks broken and emptied. Of all the provisions, gathered with so much foresight, nothing was left but a little box of coffee, brought to the nuns by Dr. Gallagher, of Ohio. We owe thanks to this gentleman for his services to us through this night.

The guard promised us by General Sherman and Major Fitz-Gibbons were most likely engaged in a more lucrative manner during those hours.

When the first nuns left the Convent, they thought it would be only for a few hours. The first salutation they heard in the street was, "Well, ladies, what you think of the Yankees—cruel, eh?" But this was only from the common people. Father O'Connell wanted to conduct the second group through the principal streets, thinking, in the goodness of his heart, that such a scene must touch all beholders; but the increase of the fire made it too dangerous. They were met by men on horseback, who called out, with great politeness, "Go on, sisters; we will take you to a safe place." Fire was falling so thick that it burned the veils and dresses of the nuns on their way to join their sisters in the graveyard.

Deceived by false promises of protection, by ignorance of what was passing in the town, and by the cold tranquility of their guards, the nuns thought they were safe in leaving all they possessed in the house, saving only their scholars and themselves from fire, and from contact with the soldiery. In this way they lost *everything*. At three o'clock in the morning, they saw the fall of the cross which had stood on the cupola of the Convent. Up to this time, some of them still thought their home would escape; but it was destroyed with the rest.

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While the nuns from their place of safety stood watching the progress of the flames and the incendiaries as they ran from house to house, setting them on fire, a friend came to them to say that he had just seen the Convent set on fire. He had watched all that time, in the hope that it might providentially be saved; but a man—one of the guards, he thought—called out, probably in derision, "Where can I find water?" Our friend ran forward to help; but he saw the soldier himself set a torch to the building, and realized that an offer of help was useless.

The nuns, seeing and feeling the flames, thought there would soon be no safety even among the graves. Outside the graveyard, sentinels were walking, and others were grouped in front of Mrs. Ringgold's house, adjoining the church. She was the wife of a United States officer, and her house was occupied by soldiers. Others of the men, half drunk, staggered down the streets, blowing the smoke of their cigars into the nuns' faces, saying, "Holy! oh! yes; holy! We are just as holy as you are!" Two came into the church, carrying fire and inflammables, but seeing themselves watched, they went off after a moment's hesitation, and hid their incendiary materials in a ditch in the graveyard, leaving Colonel Curley, who seemed determined to save the church, walking backward and forward, looking very unhappy.

Two of the nuns, having gone apart to consult whether it was not better to take their scholars to the neighboring woods, were startled by hearing a voice behind them say, "Your position is most distressing to me." It was an officer, who had heard their conversation, and seemed deeply distressed. The sisters, distinguishing his figure by the light of the fire, said, "You seem to pity us." "Truly I do," he answered. "Are you a Catholic?" they asked. "No, madam." "From what State do you come?" "From Indiana." When the nuns expressed their surprise and gratitude at his sympathy, he went on to say, "There was a time when I was proud of being a United States officer, but when I see such things as this I am ashamed * * *."

When day broke, we were still at the door of the church, suffering from cold and hunger—without a home, without shelter, food, a bed to lie on after so much fatigue, and not even clothes enough to keep us warm!

The crowd looked at us through the railings of the church—some with sympathy, some with surprise and curiosity. One good man brought us, with tears in his eyes, a crucifix and a cloak, the only

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things saved from the fire. Another, unable to speak, went off wiping away his tears, to find General Sherman and plead our cause with him.

Three neighboring families, whose houses had escaped, sent the nuns hot coffee, which they received with gratitude. They also invited them to their homes; but, sooner than separate, they preferred to wait in the churchyard until refuge could be found for all.

Some Irish soldiers coming to see if mass were to be held in the church, cried out, on seeing the nuns, "This will never do! The general would not allow this if he knew it! Send for the general!" One of them, from Rochester, brought to a lay sister a letter from her father, and waited for her to write an answer on the blank page of a book. She wrote, sitting on the cold stone of the church step, while the man stood looking at her sadly. What could he tell her people of their daughter? Perhaps he was one who had caused the night's disaster!

At this moment General Sherman came up on horseback, with several officers, and stopped at Mr. Ringgold's door. "There is the general," cried out the Irishman; "go and speak to him." Remembering that the general had promised the day before to come to see them, and remembering his promises of protection, the nuns deputized two of their number to go and tell him that he would find them all in the churchyard.

A crowd of officers and soldiers were talking to Mrs. Ringgold and her family at her house door. The general, on horseback, smoked his cigar, and seemed in very good spirits. He received the news very civilly, but kept his seat on his horse. He said he intended going to see them. After some minutes, he dismounted and went into the graveyard to the mother superior. She came forward to meet him as he approached. He pressed her hand and said, in a very cheerful tone, "Ah! there are times when one must practice patience and Christian endurance." "You have prepared for us one of those moments, general," said the superior. "I am really very sorry," he said, "that your Convent is burned." They then had some moments of conversation.

Meantime, a number of ladies came into the graveyard. The officers dismounted and stood respectfully, holding the bridles of their horses. The nuns and scholars drew close to look at one of the greatest living generals—the Attila of his day. All around were broken and empty trunks and boxes, which strewed the ground. On the porch of the church stood a harp, with broken strings.

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The comments of some of the ladies did not seem very agreeable to General Sherman, who called out, raising his voice, "Ladies, it is all the fault of your negroes, who gave my soldiers liquor; it is the fault of your mayor, who ought to have sent off all the liquor before the army entered the town." Then, turning to the nuns, he offered them their choice of houses in the town, promising them a strong guard to protect them. A day earlier the nuns might have asked protection for their home and property. It was now too late. However, the offer was kindly made, and received with gratitude.

From here the account goes on to say that the nuns took refuge in the Methodist Female College, and from there moved to the house of General John S. Preston, thus, no doubt, saving those buildings from destruction.

The paper closes with various letters, one being from General Preston, expressing his thanks for the preservation of his house.

The Burning of the Ursuline Convent by Sherman.

Only a schoolgirl, in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-five, February seventeenth, Columbia, South Carolina, Ursuline Convent. What do these dates recall to the woman of today? A terrible "army with banners," clad in blue, burnished blades and well polished guns, an endless stream of soldiers—infantry, cavalry, and artillery—from various countries of this globe, entering a beautiful city, situated on the banks of a tawny river, which had been formally surrendered by the Mayor and Aldermen, and thus, by the laws of civilized warfare, was entitled to protection from the conqueror's soldiery.

From behind the shuttered windows of a sacred edifice, a group of schoolgirls viewed Sherman's army as it filed below on the Main street of the fair capital of South Carolina. Well disciplined, and well accoutered, on and on they marched through the city of suppressed woe, giving no omen of the awful night awaiting us, no prophecy of the dark events to be enacted in a few hours, never to be forgotten by those of us who suffered from the swift, cruel demolition of Columbia. Some of these events I am going to dispassionately portray.

So soon as the army entered Columbia, on the morning of the 17th of February, 1865, Rev. Father O'Connell, the revered and beloved chaplain of the Convent for many years, interested himself to

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obtain a guard for us. The Convent was kept free from intrusion whilst other portions of the city suffered from pillage and insults. Later in the day, a cavalry officer sought admittance to the Convent, and introduced himself to our mother superior. This elegant, accomplished woman was Miss Ellen Lynch, sister of Bishop Lynch, one of South Carolina's most distinguished prelates and students, whose works have been translated into several languages. Dr. John Lynch, another brother, who bears a conspicuous part in this narrative, was also representatively connected with his State. He was born at sea; thus it will be seen his eventful life began out of the usual auspices. "Dr. Lynch graduated at the South Carolina Medical College, and practiced the last twenty-one years of his life in Columbia. A member of the Richland Medical Society, of the Pee Dee Medical Association, of the South Carolina Medical State Society. In 1852, a delegate to the National Medical Association. In 1865, was appointed by Governor Magrath surgeon-general of the State of South Carolina. In 1877, reappointed by Governor Wade Hampton. He was physician to the State Hospital of the State Penitentiary, and professor of physiology and materia medica in the Medical School of the University of South Carolina, filling this chair until the close of the University, in 1877."—Extract from "Physicians and Surgeons of the United States."

In 1858, the second attempt to establish the Ursulines in South Carolina was made by Rt. Rev. P. N. Lynch, Bishop England having failed. The Convent in Columbia was established by a colony from St. Martins, Brown County, Ohio—Sister Baptista Lynch the superioress. The trip was a trying and tedious one for these saintly women of God, resting with the Carmelite nuns at Baltimore, in whose community another sister of Bishop Lynch was found. The Ursulines reached Columbia the first of September, and settled in a house recently vacated by the Sisters of Mercy, who had gone to Charleston.

After many trials and discomforts in the passing years, we find this saintly order of nuns prosperous and happily successful on the 17th day of February, when the cavalry officer proffered assistance to the mother superior, as an "individual," which puzzled her very much. General Sherman's promise, through Father O'Connell and Dr. Lynch, of protection to the Convent having completely satisfied our superioress, and lured her into the belief that our Convent home would be safe, this officer was thanked for his kindly interest, and his offer declined. He continued to press his services, telling the

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mother superior that Columbia was a doomed city, and the whole army knew it, and he doubted if a house would be left standing. Quite a lengthy conversation ensued, the officer showing much prophetic knowledge, and concern for our safety. After he left, the mother superior asked her brother, Dr. John Lynch, to go to General Sherman and find out if the Convent would be safe, and to give him the number of pupils and nuns she was responsible for.

Dr. Lynch was assured by General Sherman the Convent was to be protected, and advised him "to keep his sister where she was—outside the city limits he could not control stragglers." The poor confiding religieuses, unused to falsity, calmly settled into renewed security and resisted all advice of friends in the city to move from the Convent. Later on in this eventful day the mother superior was again warned of the impending fate of the city. She then wrote General Sherman a letter, reminding him of "her personal as well as religious claim upon his protection, because of her friendship with his sister, her former classmate, and his daughter having been her pupil."

To this note, General Sherman replied, advising her to remain where she was; that her Convent should be protected. Although the necessity of war compelled the destruction of certain public buildings, she need fear no harm to her Convent.

About 3 p. m., Major FitzGibbons returned to the Convent (the same officer referred to), and brought with him several guards. He gave the mother superior an envelope, on which was written, in General Sherman's handwriting: "Commanding officer near: Protect the Convent. Colonel Palmer, 25th Iowa, furnish ninety-six men for this duty. J. W. Jenkins, P. M. Sergt., J. C. Motte, Co. 25, 26." "Now," said the major, with a joyful air; "I can assure you of the safety of all in this Convent; I bring with me seven picked men; I have chosen them for a purpose—American Protestants."

We learned from several soldiers that the Catholic regiment had been left over the river. The note from General Sherman was signed by his name, as commander-in-chief U. S. A.

Father O'Connell returned at this time, looking very sad and anxious. His kindly old face aroused forebodings in the nuns; they began interviewing us in sections, and preparing small bundles of clothing for each pupil, with instruction how to act should we have to leave the Convent. We were ignorant of the wild pillaging and sacking going on all over the city. Our Convent was situated at the corner of Main and Blanding streets, remote from most of the

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dwelling houses. It is needless to dwell upon the details of that dreadful day. Magdeburg never endured greater danger and suffering. As darkness crept on, the roar as of a mighty wind over seething waters penetrated the thick walls of the Convent. Flames began to shoot up simultaneously in opposite parts of the doomed city, yet no warning note of the fire bell proclaimed the destroying tongues of flame now fast and furiously ascending.

A pathetic silence prevailed in the Convent, unbroken by the sweet Angelus bell, which we had heard for the last time, and answered by devout prayers of both nuns and pupils. Later in the evening the venerable Father O'Connell, accompanied by his assistant, young Father McNeal, came to remove the blessed sacrament, this being the second attempt to do so, the nuns wishing to keep the host near them as long as possible on their altar. Realizing now our great danger, they sadly consented to let the sacred host be taken to a place of greater safety, should one be found. Father McNeal is an aged and beloved priest, now residing in Sumter, S. C.

I can never forget the solemn, piteous sight of the black-robed nuns following their aged chaplain into the pretty little chapel to receive their last benediction of the blessed sacrament before that sacredly guarded altar. Stifled sobs, disjointed responses to the "Dominus vobiscum," evidenced the emotion of their breaking hearts. Some of us, although not Catholics at that time, instinctively followed the nuns into their chapel and witnessed a scene "nor time, nor tide, nor circumstance" will ever erase.

When we returned from the chapel, after these harrowing minutes, Protestant as well as Catholic children knelt with the nun, Madame Ursula, in a classroom very near the little "altar of God," and recited the rosary. These pious nuns, believing "more things are wrought by prayer than the world dreams of," had constant recourse to the rosary. While we were on our knees, we were brought standing by the most unearthly battering in of the chapel door behind us, and reached by a stairway from the Main street side. It was like the crash of doom. Drunken soldiers piled over each other, rushing for the sacred gold vessels of the altar, not knowing they were safe in the keeping of one blessed of God.

The summons just then came for Madame Ursula to march her girls into the long main hall; we gladly obeyed, not knowing when the door between us and the soldiers would give way to their demoniacal batterings. Curses and threats filled the Convent when they found the gold chalice had escaped their polluted hands.

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Mrs. Warren Adams, Mrs. B. W. Taylor, Mrs. Seignious (née Heyward), Belle Cohen, myself, and two little sisters, took counsel together and decided to make one last attempt to rescue our jewels from trunks in the "trunk room" nearby. While hastily gathering a few valuables, we were rudely accosted by a soldier anxious to begin his pillaging, and ordered to "get out"—and we did. I threw around me a large circular, part of my married sister's trousseau, and many times afterwards found it a great comfort, as we used it to cover us during the cold nights that followed. I took it from the trunk, however, more to conceal my case of jewels than for use.

The signal was given by the mother superior to get into ranks. We marched through the blazing streets with the precision of a military band. It was our safety. Father O'Connell led the procession, a crucifix held high above his head. The main body of nuns followed (a few remained, hoping still to save something), then the pupils, the smaller between the larger for protection. Not a cry; not a moan. Even the drunken soldiers seemed silenced for a little while by this grand sight of Church triumphing over War! The roaring of the fire, the scorching flames on either side as we marched down Blanding street, did not create the least disorder. That majestic figure of the mother superior, in the graceful black habit of the Ursuline order, following where the sacred crucifix led; the long line of anxious, white young faces of the schoolgirls, in wake of the community of religieuses, will stand out vividly before me unto my last day on earth. It was a scene worthy a Rubens or a Durer.

Reaching the intersection of Blanding and Assembly streets, Father O'Connell halted. The rioting soldiers filled him with dismay. He hesitated between the church on our left and the park on our right. He decided on the church. I do not remember how long it was before the nuns who remained in the Convent got to us. They did, though, in safety, although several of them had large holes burned in their veils. Some officers, seeing their timidity in the streets, yet unknown to them, reined in their horses and, with our faithful Father O'Connell, acted as an escort to them. Our first band left the Convent about 11 p. m., with beating hearts. It was not until about 3 a. m. that the cross above the Convent fell, and not until after other buildings near had succumbed. Some of the piously faithful believed to the last that the Convent would be miraculously spared.

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Soldiers were seen with torches to fire it from the roof. Some of the ruder soldiers asked the good nuns, as they watched their home being destroyed, "What do you think of God now? Is not Sherman greater? Do you think now you are sanctified? We are as sanctified as you." It seemed at one time as if our resting place among the tombs was to be taken from us. The old churchyard was destined to be the arena of strange enactments—the dignified religieuse, the noble sister of our great bishop, calmly and bravely and righteously facing the Attila of the day; a meeting between a soldier and his nun sister, to whom he had brought a letter from their father in Rochester, N. Y. On the porch of the church leaned a harp, with its chords snapped.

We were utterly worn out by the long strain of the bombardment, the taking and sacking of the city, the onslaught on the Convent, the march to the church, so, like the daughters of Judah "by the rivers of Babylon, we sat down and wept." The ever-watchful nuns soothed and cheered us as best they could. Some of the pupils only numbered seven and six years of age; one little girl, five. We did not need much persuasion to lie down in the cushioned pews and sleep, while, like the Master of old, "they would watch." God bless them! They did watch with a tenderness born of Him they served and loved so well.

We had not enjoyed the sweet oblivion of slumber very long when we were aroused by the fearful cry of a thieving party of "bluecoats" that the church was "going to be blown up! Get out all who don't want to be killed!" This diabolical cry was raised to cause the panic that ensued in order to get our little parcels of valuables. The nuns themselves knew not what to do. Over the graves, against tombstones, and into hedges, the frantic children flew. Officers passing the church stopped and inquired the cause of this wild rush. On being told, they quickly came to our aid, cursed the soldiers, and threatened them with punishment. A guard was then stationed around the church. But none of the promises made by these better disposed officers could induce us to return within.

It was nearly daybreak, so we clung around the nuns in the yard, under the trees, and in the vestibule of the church. That morning the interview referred to took place between General Sherman and the mother superior, midway of the walk leading to the steps of the church. She was leaning against the door of the church, tired and faint, when informed that General Sherman was coming, in answer to her request that he should do so. She stood erect, like an injured

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empress dethroned. With graceful, dignified bearing, she proceeded to the spot designated, and stood there in the majesty of her sacred order, and her own grand womanhood, awaiting the approach of the commander of the United States Army, who had betrayed her confidence in his truth and honor. How plainly I see that splendid, intellectual face, the intelligent gray eyes full of fire and self-reliance. Surrounded by her nuns and some of her pupils, she received General Sherman. He was not so calm. A guilty conscience evidently rendered him nervous, and he greeted her confusedly.

As he approached the mother superior, he removed the cigar he was smoking; in his embarrassment, he restored it to his lips, nervously chewing it. Our great respect and deference for our superioress caused me to remark to the nun beside me, "Smoking in the mother superior's presence." General Sherman removed the cigar for the second time, with an apology, holding it, throughout the interview, slightly behind him. The mother superior's hands were folded in the loose, flowing sleeves of her habit until General Sherman began explaining how the fire got beyond his control from buildings he had to burn, and blamed our men for leaving liquor in the city, etc.

This irritated rather than pacified the mother superior. With a sweep of the strong, aristocratic hand, in the direction of her Convent, and the still burning city, she said, "General, this is how you kept your promise to me, a cloistered nun." The sweet, low voice, filled with injured pathos, touched even his heart, for he left off excusing himself and began immediately to speak, offering her any of the houses "left standing" as a gift. Slightly bowing her head, and with a sad, sarcastic curve of her lips, she answered, "General Sherman, I do not think the houses left are yours to give, but when I do make arrangements for my community and pupils, I will thank you to move us and provide food for the large number it will be hard to feed."

Our sufferings would never have been what they were had General Sherman left us to the advice of the priests, and other friends, who wished the mother superior to move out to Bishop Lynch's villa. This distinguished prelate was in Rome. Dr. John Lynch discussed our removal with General Sherman, but he steadfastly advised keeping the nuns in the city. We were subjected to vandalism worse than that of the Middle Ages, for then vestal shrines were spared.

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General Sherman had with him at this interview, standing in the rear, Col. Charles Ewing and Captain Andenreid, and others. I remember their names, for the former was deputed to take charge of us, and the latter was a great friend and classmate of Gen. P. M. B. Young, on whose staff my brother Robert was, and he talked much of Captain Andenreid to me after the war. Colonel Ewing proved kind and sympathetic. He brought ambulances to move us to the Methodist College later in the day.

Mrs. Ringgold, the widow of a United States officer, lived in a little cottage next to the church, and was protected early in the night from all intrusion because of her husband's rank in the United States Army. She and Mrs. John Lynch, in whose house an officer had made himself and staff comfortable, sent us hot coffee and bread, which, after our fatigue, proved most acceptable.

Dr. Solomons, a refugee from Charleston, and a great admirer of my father, Judge Alfred Proctor Aldrich, found us in the churchyard. After getting the mother superior's consent to take the Heywards, my sisters and myself (for we would not separate) over to Mrs. Ringgold's, he insisted that we must sleep. We consented to do so after his promise to sit outside the door until we called him. This he did, and we had several hours of blessed sleep. The doctor then restored us to the mother superior, in the church.

Towards noon, the ambulances arrived—Colonel Ewing in charge—and we moved to the Methodist Female College. Colonel Ewing turned one floor over to us, placing a strong guard of soldiers around it, thereby saving it for us, as well as the unwilling neighbors on the other floors. We were given army bedding; thin pads of cotton, and a few blankets were also issued to us; rations of hardtack, by Colonel Ewing's order, and a small supply of groceries. We were very wretched and uncomfortable. This college having been a Confederate hospital, we were in constant dread of its being fired, and another routing out.

We had one pot to cook the meager rations in, and a broken tongs, washed and scoured, to stir the mess we called a meal—rice, or hominy, and a piece of meat, when so fortunate as to get a scrap given us, to flavor the cereal. This conglomeration was doled out to us in little tin cups, a legacy from the stores of the wealthy United States government. Wooden paddles, on the order of "chopsticks," took the place of spoons and forks.

Two of the nuns, too delicate for such hardships, finally entered "into that peace which passeth all understanding." The morning

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of the army's departure, two things transpired of moment: Captain Comyn, of the commissary department, brought us "ten days rations," as he termed a kind offering of meat, sugar, coffee, tea, flour, and hardtack. But for these things we would have suffered greatly, the rice and meal Colonel Ewing gave us having been exhausted.

The second event was that which led to the saving of the Preston home. Sister Agnes—one of the lay sisters—and I went down to the hydrant to fill our bucket. Being fearless, I was often sent by the nuns on errands. While we were waiting, we heard the incoming guard cursing his luck that he would not be on hand to help burn the house of the d— old rebel, Wade Hampton, and get his share of plunder, swearing the "old traitor" would not find a wall standing if he ever got home. Sister Agnes and I hastened to repeat this to the mother superior, a true friend of the Hamptons and Prestons, these two families having sympathized and protected the nuns in their early settlement in Columbia.

The mother superior was lost in thought for a few minutes, after which she said, in her self-reliant way, "This cannot be permitted," and retired, with several of her nuns, into her room. She soon returned, with a little scrap of paper in her hand—an old book leaf, it looked to be. She asked if I was afraid to go with Sister Agnes and get the guard, or any soldier, to take the note quickly to General Sherman. We all felt that anything asked by the mother superior it was an honor and privilege to comply with. We were seeking a messenger; the guard refused to leave his post. In our search, we were stopped by an officer riding up, followed by an orderly. I ran to him and repeated the mother superior's wish. He said, rather indifferently, "I guess my orderly may take the note." I handed it to him, he having dismounted by this time. He read the little piece of writing, and hastily remounted his fine horse, saying, "Tell the superioress I will take the note myself, and deliver it." He galloped off, and that was the last I ever saw of that gentlemanly soldier.

Recalling Sherman's handsome offer "of any house standing," the mother superior in that note asked for the Preston home. Very soon Colonel Ewing and Captain Comyn called. The former looked excited, and talked rapidly. He was dressed like a cavalryman, and had a crop in his hand, and struck his boot top while he talked. He asked the mother superior if she knew the Preston house was General Logan's headquarters. She said, "Yes; but General Sherman offered me any house I wished, and this one suits me better than any

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other." Colonel Ewing replied, "Well, I have come to move you; but that house, I know, has been ordered to be burned tomorrow morning, when the army leaves; but if you will take it for a convent, I will ask the general to countermand the order." This was done, and the following morning Dr. John Lynch, Madame Charles, Madame Josephine, and other nuns, some of the pupils, my two little sisters, and several of the girls stopping with the nuns, were asked to accompany the party to take possession of the Preston house, the officer in charge having sent us word that his order was to "fire it unless the nuns were in possession."

When we reached the beautiful old place, we found fire had been built, and the servants were rapidly moving out things; indeed, with the exception of the two front parlors, all the rooms had been cleared. The lovely statue of Eve, a gift from Powers to Colonel Preston, in gratitude for his help when the gifted sculptor was struggling for his education in art, stood arrayed, in the corner of one of the parlors, in an old army coat and cap, and a black mustache desecrating her "faultily faultless lips."

Mother Etienne, assistant to the mother superior, was placed in charge of this portion of the Ursuline community. After many years, the nuns paid their debt of gratitude to the Prestons right royally by saving their elegant home from the torch of Sherman's soldiers. Every Sunday, we assembled in the chapel of the Methodist Female College for the holy sacrifice of the mass, Rev. Father McNeal, celebrant. Later in the day, the Methodists held their services in the same room. In May, 1865, General John S. Preston returned to Columbia and took possession of his house. expressing sincere gratitude to the nuns for saving it. This community then returned to the Methodist College and rejoined their sisters.

August 16th of this year, Sister de Sales (Miss Clark) and Sister Camilla received the "white veil" at the hands of Rev. Father H. F. Gasche, S. J., he having traveled from Savannah, Ga., at his own expense, in a government ambulance, to conduct the annual retreat of the nuns. The railroads had been destroyed by Sherman's army on their devastating "march to the sea."

This was truly a remarkable epoch in the history of our dear nuns. Their vicissitudes, so quietly, courageously endured, could only have been thus suffered through the goodness of God and their sublime faith in Him. Their vows of self-abnegation were sorely tried in 1865-66-67. Yet, like pure gold, they passed through the fiery furnace, and today the Ursuline Convent and Academy, a handsome

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brick building, in the same Columbia, gives proof of the Master's care of those who "keep His laws."

Thirty or forty Protestant families were still in the Methodist College when the nuns rejoined the mother superior there. Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, and others, all united in showing respect—some of them reverence—to the religieuses and the kind Jesuit father. A room on the second floor was assigned him as a parlor, and it was often the pleasure of the Protestant ladies to leave on his little pine table any delicacy they had the good fortune to secure. Some days the lives of the nuns were brightened by gifts of flowers for their altar.

War is a great leveler, and in one way a great humanizer. I could give pages connected with the Convent, but space is limited. Some day, perhaps, the Ursulines may give up "Annals of the Ursuline Convent" for publication. Much of it contains a diary kept by Madame Charles, begun soon after the burning of the Convent, and from which, together with my schoolgirl notes, I have been able to give this authentic account.

Many were the privations and distresses of the nuns crowded together on the third floor. It was a blessing in disguise when Dr. Parker, president of the college, notified them they must vacate the house by September 1st, as it had been rented for a hotel. The nuns had been refused the lease of the college, and no other house in the city large enough for their number being found, they were obliged to abandon their day school, a small source of revenue, and move out to Valle Crucis, the country villa of Rt. Rev. Bishop Lynch, whose absence in Rome left his beloved sister entirely on the care of Dr. John Lynch, and other true hearts devoted to her interest.

Dr. Lynch secured from the commandant of the post, Colonel Haughton, wagons to move the nuns, and their little furniture, kindly given or lent them by their more fortunate friends. Among the seacoast refugees who aided them were Mrs. Nathaniel Heyward, mother of the three daughters in the Convent, and Mrs. Daniel Huger. These ladies came nobly to their assistance, as well as other Columbia ladies and gentlemen. Daily, dinners of properly cooked food were sent in to the nuns and shared with the sick, the delicate nuns, and schoolgirls.

Dr. Lynch had a very hard time finding sufficient food for the Convent, so little was left in the country. Through the interest of the Visitation nuns, of Washington, D. C., and Miss Meade, sister

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of General Meade, U. S. A., and other influential parties, the nuns obtained from the military in charge of Columbia an order for "rations." The Carmelites, of Baltimore, were the first religious community to send succor to their sisters, the Ursulines, and continued their ministrations for a very long time. Oh! the blessedness of the spiritual bond that knows no secular lines. It will be remembered that the mother prioress of the Carmelites at this time was our mother superior's sister. The Visitation nuns, of Georgetown, D. C., were equally loyal and generous. For several years our nuns lived largely on the assistance rendered by the "Household of Faith." This charity was shared by their homeless pupils, some of them Northern girls, and many families around Valle Crucis, for all were needy alike.

The great luxuries of tea, coffee, sugar, crackers, and some dainties were divided with the sick and destitute in the city. I regret I have not space to enter more into details, and portray the Christian battle these grand women fought, against fearful odds, to keep their community up and carry on their boarding school.

The walk from Columbia to Barnwell was the most emphasized event in our history, next to the burning of Columbia. I had been a pupil for a year at the Ursuline Convent, but was recalled by my mother to our home, The Oaks, near Barnwell Courthouse, in her anxiety to keep us all together. But God willed it otherwise. The warp and woof of our young lives were threaded too strangely for her maternal hands to guide us. My father, then Colonel Aldrich, was on Judge Gordon Magrath's staff, having been disabled while serving with Gen. M. L. Bonham in Virginia. Being one of Governor Magrath's advisory board, my father was constantly away from home, in Columbia, although his maimed arm was in a sling for many months. My mother was advised by him to restore me to the keeping of the nuns, and also to send my two younger sisters with me, and to send us by private conveyance.

Faithful old Daddy Jupiter (a thunderbolt himself, when angered) was given the custody of us. He had followed "marster" in the war, and felt himself peculiarly fitted to do battle for us, if necessary. While the carriage was being made ready and packed with our valuables, I remembered my brother's fine horse, "Stanton." He had been wounded in the Battle of Trevilian. I quickly changed my dress for a riding habit of gray homespun and Confederate brass buttons. When I returned to the yard, "Stanton" was ready for me —an iron gray horse. Kilpatrick's wing was entering our lawn, so I

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had no time to lose. The carriage had preceded me, which I soon overtook, for the faithful animal knew me and responded to the nervous, quick shake of my rein with a rapid, eager stride. When we reached Hair's mill, five miles from The Oaks, Daddy Jupe, with the cunning instinct of his race, made several turns where the roads crossed, then diverged into the woods in a winding way before he again got back into the road. He had pledged himself to "missus" that her children should reach "marster" safely. But for this clever piece of woodcraft on the part of our old "daddy" we should have been captured by Kilpatrick's marauders, who followed the fresh tracks of the horses until they got confused at Hair's mill and gave up the chase in order "to get into the booty from the old secess' big house," they informed the miller at Hair's mill.

We joined my father at our plantation. He had reached there by the last car that came over the S. C. R. R. The next morning we started on our way, having been soaked by the rain of the previous afternoon. I reluctantly left the "gallant gray" for the Yankees at last, and got into the carriage with my father and the little girls. This is how we got to Columbia, and now for our return, one month later.

After the destruction of Columbia, my mother was well nigh crazed by the dreadful accounts which reached her of the destitution and peril of the hapless denizens of the capital. Knowing my father was with Governor Magrath, engaged in efforts to save the State archives, she hoped nothing from him for us. She tortured herself over methods to convey us to her until she became exhausted, mentally and physically—strong woman as she was when she faced Kilpatrick's two wings, as they camped in separate sections on our beautiful lawn.

In this sore stress of anguish, Dr. Frank Pope, a refugee from Edisto Island, to whom my mother had been kind, came to her rescue, stating his intention to go to Columbia for his three sisters and their two servants, and that he would escort us home. My poor mother gladly accepted the offer, and gave him all the coin money she could gather—very little. Alas! the "well-laid plan" Dr. Pope narrated for getting the party back went sadly "agley"! A letter to the mother superior from my mother gave her the intelligence that "three mouths less to feed" would be taken from her. The hour of parting came sadly and tearfully. Notwithstanding the scanty meals and hard floors for beds, we hated to leave our devoted nuns and young fellow sufferers.

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The mother superior and each nun in turn folded us to their hearts, gave us their blessings and assurances of constant prayers for a safe journey. We went to tell Mrs. Wm. Lebby good-bye, and thank her for much kindness we had received from her and her aged mother, Mrs. Smith, refugees from Charleston. This dear old lady made us underwear from yellow sea island homespun, with her own hands, stitching away by torch light far into the night, to give us a change of raiment.

These kind women packed a generous supply of cooked food in a large market basket for us, and pressed raw things on our party; but Dr. Pope, thinking we would find the "relief wagons" our true-hearted sister city—Augusta—sent weekly supplies in, over the river, declined Mrs. Lebby's offer. With our bundles and the hamper of provisions, Dr. Pope, his three sisters—Anne, Julia, and Martha—man and maidservants, myself, and two little sisters, we said good-bye to the family who helped us to the very last, and set out on foot for the river.

When we got there, the demoralizing news greeted us that the ferryboat had been condemned. Some negroes, with little skiffs and shallops, were trying to make what they could by rowing people across the overflowing, angry Congaree, with the courage of ignorance that emboldens them to try what the white man would not. There we stood, the raging, yellow river before us, in the early, murky morning, raw and cold, and the blackened ruins of a starving city behind—a dilemma hard to meet and judge by the old and the young. Two of the Misses Pope wished to return; the younger and more self-reliant Julia (Mrs. Anthon Wright, of Thomasville, Ga.), myself, and the doctor urged the onward march. We began to select the ones for the trial trip in the uncanny looking boats. Taking the larger one, Julia, the younger of my two sisters, and myself, with a gentleman we found waiting to cross the river too, we started. I persuaded Mamie to remain, feeling that, in event of the boat being capsized, one should be left to my mother.

It seemed an age, while our boat rocked and darted between the huge boulders in the river, and seemed at times hopelessly beyond the darkey's control. The cool head and strong arm of our fellow traveler was a great assistance. The rushing, swirling current made by the rocks carried us down the stream, so that when we finally reached the shore we were away out of line with the starting point. I was so distressed at Mamie's forlorn little face—for, though a very young girl myself, I had the feeling I must give them safely back to

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our mother—I asked the kind, strong man if he would not return and bring my little sister over. He promptly said yes, and did give his valuable protection to the next party.

Our safe transit emboldened the others, and another boat was pressed into service, so that all the party landed.

About the same time, oh! horror of horrors! we found the Augusta wagons had left at dawn. Not one was willing to cross the rapid, rolling waters again, so we decided, with the strength of despair, to try the long, dreary stretch of seventy miles. Dr. Pope had driven from Barnwell in an old buggy, drawn by a pair of lean horses (for food was as scant for beast as man). "Diamond" and "Starlight" were the encouraging names of the pair responding to them. The sick sister, and our bundles and basket of food were put in the buggy, and the promise of "turn about" in riding was given.

A Lexington farmer gave us instructions how to go, crossing Congaree Creek about ten miles below Columbia, the most direct way to Barnwell. The road was full of water in many places, from constant rains; but youth is brave, and ignorance hopeful. So we tramped along very cheerfully until we reached the creek and beheld a sea of water. Dr. Pope arranged for three at a time to go over in the buggy, one bringing it back. Some one suggested sounding the way first. The tall young servant, Johnnie, a seacoast lad, willingly agreed to go, rolling up his trousers, and sounding with a long stick he had provided himself with in starting, and for those of us who cared for one likewise. Johnnie set forth; the water grew deeper and deeper, until it reached the boy's hips. Finally, to our grief, he disappeared, just as Dr. Pope yelled to him to "come back." Cries went up from us all, until we saw the young fellow's head bob up. Thank God! his good swimming and seacoast fearlessness of water saved him, and he returned good naturedly, laughing, saying, "Dr. Pope, you alls better be t'ankful de Lord sen' me fuss"—and we were.

The strong current had washed away the bridge over the main stream. The horses were unhitched on the narrow causeway, and the old buggy turned by hand. Imagine our poor downcast hearts when we began to retrace our steps, reaching a house near the river we had buoyantly left that morning, long after dark had set in. The people took us in, gave us plenty of wood for fires, but no food could they offer; indeed, we gave them some of our supper, which we touched frugally. Early next morning, at the first glint of light, we again started forth over another and longer route. We

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tried in vain to catch one more glimpse of the black chimneys that kept sentinel watch over the old city. We waved another good-bye to the loved ones within her ruins.

We could not go very far that day, we were so stiff and footsore. We rested oftener than on the succeeding days. At dusk we reached a little log cabin and sought rest. The man told us we could stay, but he had scarcely any food for himself and little daughter. The man, waxing kind, soon renewed the fire in his wide clay chimney, and gave us full freedom in his house, which was divided into two rooms. One he offered the ladies, and said he and Dr. Pope and the servants would "nod over the fire," around which we all sat for a long time, answering his deeply interested queries about Columbia's destruction. Just before we separated for the night, his little girl said something to her father in an undertone, whereupon he got up and went out, returning with an old battered pan full of sweet potatoes, saying, "My little gal said she kaint sleep ef them little gals don't git some pertaters." Oh! the sweet blessedness of young, unselfish hearts, beating in unison with others! Very soon the hot ashes had our potatoes as sumptuously prepared as General Marion's dinner, and we supped as contentedly as he dined with the British officer. We divided our ham with the "little gal" and her father, and all retired, happier for the "touch of nature that makes the whole world kin."

We had a fine night's rest, Dr. Pope and our host keeping up the fire; and by daybreak we were ready to start. More potatoes roasted for us, and a potation of something that tasted like straw tea, the good man's substitute for coffee. The heat enabled us to drink a little of it. He and his "ewe lamb" accompanied us several miles, glad to break their desolation, the one animal he owned to make a crop having been taken. When the couple parted from us, the poor, uncouth fellow expressed deep interest in us, giving us minute directions as to our keeping the straight road, "and mind them turns, or you will git lost agin."

Roasted potatoes were added to our fast vanishing provisions by the child, in sympathy with our children. So we lunched fairly well.

Long after dark this third day, we caught sight of a light—a "glow worm" it seemed in the dim distance. But for Johnnie's racial sight, seeing through darkness, we would not have threaded our way to the well built, comfortable house from which the glimmer of light came. A fence surrounded the yard, behind which two dogs, one dragging a block, barked furiously. My love, and

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Johnnie's, for dogs soon quieted them into a friendliness we failed to awaken in the breasts of their owners. Dr. Pope, Julia, and I, ventured to the small house behind the dwelling house, from which the light shone through the chinks. We saw a big fire, and several children. Dr. Pope asked admittance, which was refused, the boy yelling, "Mar and par's gone to mill, and told we childun not to let anybody in and not to unbar dis do' fur ennybody, you hear, and I ainter gwine to do it, nuther." We persisted in our arguments for entertainment. The stalwart boy again had recourse to his lungs, ordering us away, or he would "set Plunger" on us. One of us suggested that Dr. Pope should threaten to blow open the door with his pistol. It had the desired effect, and the door was quickly unbarred. A long bar, sunk in iron sockets, closed it.

Soon the children left, and we heard muffled sounds in the larger house. Next morning, we discovered the man and his wife had never left the place, and adopted that hostile ruse to keep off wayfarers. In the house we occupied, evidently their kitchen, we found a lot of dried meat, and tried to buy some, but they refused us, and gave us a very small piece. We added it to our slim larder, which we did not draw on for breakfast, having found some potatoes in the ashes which the children had forgotten in their hasty exit.

About noon this day we came to a well settled place, off the main road, out of which we had gotten, not paying attention "to them turns." It was a kind fate that directed us to this home, where we were so well treated, and given plenty of milk, cornbread, and other food, that refreshed us. We struck out at a right good pace and reached another house that night, and found a hospitable host this time, whose wife filled our pockets with dried apples which, she assured us, were "mighty filling up"; also some corndodgers. Thus reinforced, we felt prepared for the rest of the difficulties ahead of us. At the next home we found kindly greeting and lodgment, but no food.

Our fourth day's march dawned cold and drizzly. The newly made friends seemed in deep sympathy with us, and offered to hitch a "critter to the oxcart and spell us a piece." The "critter" proved to be a big red and white ox. We were glad to crouch in the cart, covered with pine straw, and snuggle up against the March winds, that reminded us of the fateful ides that brought our ruin.

It was very slow traveling, yet we were loath to surrender the cart and ox to the owners. We had some amusing incidents to brighten our long journey before we reached our next stopping

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place. Darkness befell us. We encountered an awfully boggy slush in the road; rotten logs on one side formed a crossing; we decided to walk over them and spare poor "Diamond" and "Starlight," whose vitality was fast giving out on the dried vines, their only food. Midway of this crossing, Mamie gave a despairing wail and informed us her shoe had gone. We made no effort to recover it. Indeed, the mate was such a pitiful sight, no tears were shed for her loss.

Stockings were comforts of the past. The day was so cold and raw we got out the big black velvet circular, with "angel sleeves," guipure lace, and white silk linings. We tried walking three abreast under its ample folds, but found our progress impeded, so decided to change around until our blood began to heat up.

Our fourth night's rest was in a house we found just as our late friends described. We were kindly cared for, given cornbread, fried pork, and sorghum syrup for supper and breakfast. At each house, the burning of Columbia was eagerly asked about. Words of horror and sympathy interrupted the oft-told tale. When we left this house, the entire family walked "a piece" with us, and we enjoyed their company.

The fifth day was marked by a sad occurrence: We had not gone over two miles after leaving our friends and entertainers when the doleful cry came from Johnnie that "po' ole 'Diamond' dun give out sure nuff." The buggy followed our cavalcade always. We ran back and, sure enough, the faithful beast tottered from side to side and panted like a stricken creature. My love for horses made me quick to do something for his relief. Hurriedly I got out the tin cups from our basket, and bade the children fill them from a ditch, in which the rains had left a brook of water. We poured water over his head while Johnnie unhitched him. As soon as he was freed from the harness he stretched himself, we feared, to die; but it proved weakness from hunger. No green food in the woods; only the dried vines spared us for our poor horses.

We all sat around "Diamond" and waited. Not one suggested leaving him while life lasted. After a few hours' rest, the good creature got up and renewed his duty. Whenever we came to the slightest elevation of ground, we got behind the buggy and pushed it forward, leaving the tired animals no load to take from their rapidly waning strength. The long stop put us far into the night. Our next "halloo" was given timidly, fearing another warm reception from dogs, and we were greatly relieved when an old man put his head out of the window and asked, "Whar you cum from?" When

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told Columbia, he urged us to "come right een, for Lord knows you must be putty well dun up." He routed his entire family. When we remonstrated over giving too much trouble, he replied, "Don't say a word; me and the ole 'oman, and the childun, will be proud to hear bout the burnen of Columby; is it a fact Sherman burnt it?" We asked, first thing, for some food for our horses, offering Confederate money. The true-hearted gentleman he proved himself refused compensation. Turner was his name—one of the few I remember until we reached our home county, where they were familiar to us. Our joy was great when Mr. Turner produced some corn for the horses, and himself saw to feeding and bedding them.

The next morning, our sixth day, we shared with the family a pot of well cooked hominy, cornbread, sorghum syrup, and some cured beef, made into a stew with sweet potatoes. We regarded this a grand meal, and were grateful for the generous spread, but more so for the sincere good will with which the hospitality was offered. Our traveling was much better, for both man and beast had been greatly refreshed, and the roads improved.

No steel rails crossed mother earth, over which snorting engines pulled elegant parlor cars, with millionaire tourists. The stillness of the woods was unbroken save by the song of birds, and occasionally a woodman's ax. So we were much surprised at noon of this day when we saw a large, well-built house in the middle of a fine oak grove, and horses and vehicles under the wide-spreading limbs. It was Sunday, and the people had repaired after church to their neighbor's home, as is customary in the country. One of our party suggested a "lame girl" would excite the sympathy of the people and add to the certainty of a vehicle being offered to us. It was decided my attempt was the best, and I should perform the lame role. On reaching the broad piazza, where a large company were sitting, a gentleman met us at the steps, his face full of kindness and cordial welcome. Hearing our names, he took us by the hand and called to his wife and daughters to "come and get Colonel Aldrich's children and give them the best in the house," showing great feeling and indignation over our rough walk from Columbia.

These hospitable, true-hearted ladies carried us into rooms, brought warm foot baths and fresh hosiery, and would have shod us anew had they been supplied themselves, but did produce one pair for my sister, whose loss I mentioned. We rested on the first soft beds since the Convent was burned. Mr. Salley, our kind host, was out of the line of Sherman's army.

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When summoned to dinner, we were surprised to find the goodly company much reduced. They refused to stay and take any of the attention of the family from the weary travelers. A golden-crusted chicken pie always takes me back to that bountiful dinner Mrs. Salley and her daughters vied with each other in making us enjoy. Mr. Salley, failing to induce us to spend the night with them, proceeded to map out the next stage of our journey, and placed conveyances at our service. "Go to Dr. Odom's, a little over five miles from here; sleep there tonight. He is your father's plantation doctor, and will take care of you and send you on to the colonel's place in the morning." We bade our kind friends good-bye with sincere thanks. In my eagerness to climb into one of the buggies, I forgot my lameness, until Dr. Pope, in smothered tones, reminded me of my affliction.

It was a starlit night, and a little moon shone, and we were so happy over our progress we sang old songs until we reached Dr. Odom's gate. More dogs rushed out, but their deep notes were soon hushed by the doctor's command, and he and his daughters made us comfortable on hearing who we were. Big fires were built, and the ladies with their own hands made good beds for us. As soon as we rested, the "burning of Columbia" was called for by this family.

The sun rose resplendently the next morning, on our last day of this long, footsore journey. Dr. Odom had a large wagon, hitched to a pair of big, strong mules, to send us to my father's Edisto plantation. He bade us God speed and we left him watching us as far as we could perceive him. As we crossed the river, I felt for the first time that we were in touch with home. This river is the dividing line between Orangeburg and Barnwell Counties. It did not take long to cover the few miles between the Odom place and our plantation. As we drove into our avenue, the ruins of the house and premises greeted our eyes, although occupied by a family routed from their own home early in the war.

The negroes began gathering. Very soon the cries of these emotional creatures resounded over the plantation, proclaiming the arrival of "missus and massa chillun, clar from Columbia," each one jostling the other to bear us off to the houses for "suthen tur eat." My old "maumer," who had nursed several of us, all her life a family servant, uttered not a word, but the tears streamed down the sad, dusky face. After the tumultuous greeting subsided, she took us in her arms, one after the other, in silent greeting, and with a dignity acquired by her intimate association with my mother, she gave

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directions for the entertainment of the travelers. The Popes were to go to the overseer's house, which had escaped, and be provided for comfortably. She greeted them with the politeness of a well-bred hostess. "My three children will come with me." Upon reaching her neatly kept cabin, Venus and Katherine were promptly ordered to prepare dinner for us. These well-trained daughters of "Maum Hannah" needed no other directions. We were taken into her bedroom, seated on her tidy bed, and our long-suffering experiences since we left her a month before were drawn from us. The white turbaned head ("maumer" always wore a white head handkerchief, and another crossed over her faithful bosom, and long white apron; white was a sign of distinction, over the bandana headgear) nodded constantly, expressive of her feelings, the clasped hands unfolding and making gestures in agreement. The two little girls fell asleep on the bed, so tempting to slumber wrought of long fatigue, and "maumer" and I held speech together. She constantly leaned over the sleeping ones and said, "Poor little children! poor little souls!" The good nuns were blessed by her throughout the recital of our woes.

Our dinner proved a splendid feast in comparison with our month's "rations." Each negro on the place contributed eggs, chickens, or whatever they had saved from "dem Yankee soldiers." They stood outside Maum Hannah's door and watched with delight our enjoyment of the well-cooked meal.

Only seventeen miles now between us and home—that blessed word! What it conveyed to our longing, hungry hearts no one will ever know.

All my father's stock had been taken or scattered into the Edisto swamp; therefore, we began the fag end of our journey on foot again, many of the servants going with us as far as Blackville, a distance of seven miles. At this little town, Charlie Stewart, a great friend and admirer of my honored father, hearing of our condition, came gallantly to our help. He managed, after much hunting, to procure an old mule and little pony, which he hitched to a small wagon, into which we thankfully tucked ourselves and proceeded to Barnwell, ten miles, over a very heavy, sandy road. No Atlantic Coast Line nor Southern Railway dreamed of.

We reached "the village" (still called village by the old people) about eleven o'clock that night, and put the Popes out at their house, where we parted, after this most eventful month of our lives, and promised lifelong friendship with each other. Crossing Turkey

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Creek, which divided the village and suburban homes, we first reached "Hard Times," a little cottage at the entrance to my father's lawn, my married sister fitted up when she left her handsome home in the country to be near The Oaks. This name, given the impromptu home, proved more prophetic than she dreamed of, for she and her children saw hard times indeed. The home, Sandy Run, hastily deserted, was burned to the ground, with all in it. We aroused my sister's household and soon fell into each other's embraces. At the cottage my strength and will power left me. The strange reaction of tired nerves, when safely anchored and cared for, came over me, and my two sisters drove on to The Oaks without me.

My wounded brother, Alfred, who returned from the hospital in Augusta, under the kind treatment of that gifted surgeon, Dr. Paul L. Eve, and our trusted friend, Mrs. Martha Emlyn, with the two youngest children, were sleeping in the house, when all were awakened by the girls rushing into my poor unprepared mother's room, before which I draw the curtain!

My mother could not be persuaded to wait until morning, nor that something serious had not happened to me. Leaving her household, she and true-hearted Mrs. Emlyn set forth down the long, oak-lined avenue, and reached "Hard Times" to find me in my sister's bed, she sitting on one side drawing from me the details of our checkered lives since our parting, and from which we "suffered and grew strong," to battle with the many trials of our War for States' Rights.

Sara Aldrich Richardson.
(Mrs. Henry Warren Richardson.)

When Columbia Burned.

Mrs. President and Ladies, Daughters of the Confederacy: It is with great hesitation that I address you this afternoon, for what I have been asked to do is to give you my personal narrative of the burning of Columbia, in 1865—what I there saw, heard and knew. Now, it is essential that a personal narrative should be in the first person, and therefore the charge of egotism is not to be escaped. Moreover, the story of this burning has been written by abler pens than mine, and you may well weary of an oft-told tale. Yet, as our president assures me that she is aiming to preserve the truth of history, I am reminded of what an artist friend of mine tells me of photography. He says that, in order to photograph a large picture perfectly, it is necessary to put the camera in three or four positions

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in front of it, and take as many photographs, each from its own focus or, as we should say, point of view. These four negatives are then placed together and another made which unites them all and gives a real and correct picture, in true and perfect proportions. So I hope, by combining these various accounts, each given from its own standpoint, our Confederate history may come to be written with the force of sincerity and truth.

I must begin my narrative at that very distressing period of our history in the month of January, 1865, when we learned that General Sherman, having left Savannah, was marching northward, along the west bank of the Ashley, leaving a broad swath of desolation behind him. The prospect of checking his progress was extremely small at any time, and when we heard that the troops in and about Charleston, instead of falling back on Columbia and uniting with the small force under General Beauregard, were to fall back to North Carolina, by way of Cheraw, even that hope vanished, and every man looked at his neighbor and asked: What next?

I should premise that at this time we were living in the northeastern part of Columbia. I can't tell the name of the street, for there were never any names on the streets, and you had to guess at them; but we were a little southwest of the asylum, and of the then Charlotte Depot, and just across the street from the Columbia Male Academy, a large brick building in the center of a large, open square. I mention these points because they were of importance at the time. The family consisted of my mother (Mrs. Edward C. Rutledge), my husband, and myself, our six children, my white nurse, Mrs. Collins, and a number of servants.

Dr. Ravenel was then chemist in charge of the very large laboratory in the Fair Grounds buildings, where were prepared almost all the drugs, medicines, styptics, etc., used by the army, and also a quantity of alcohol and whiskey—for medical purposes only. The first thing that showed us how near the danger was was an order from Richmond, "Prepare to remove all chemical and medical stores to some convenient point in North Carolina. Chemist in charge to go with them and establish his laboratory as soon as possible, wherever he may find suitable." We at once considered as to what was to be done. Probably every other woman in Columbia was considering the same question. Shall we go, or shall we stay?

To go meant horrible discomfort. To stay meant—we did not quite know what! For ourselves I promptly decided to stay. It would have been almost impossible to move such a family as ours

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single-handed—and clearly Dr. Ravenel could not go with us. We had no shelter elsewhere provided, and we, like most other families, had already laid in stores of provisions and fuel which it would have been impossible to move, and very bad to leave behind. Altogether, to us to stay seemed best, though many of our friends decided otherwise. In this we were very much influenced by what we had heard of the condition of Savannah. That city had been in the possession of the Federals for some months. Families had (we heard) been protected; no very great injury had been done to person or property. This was hearsay, and we were glad when we heard that Mrs. John Church, who had been in Savannah all during the occupation, had come up to Columbia, traveling on a safe conduct from General Sherman. She was staying with Mrs. McCord, the mother of our president, and I at once went to see her. She confirmed what we had heard of the comparative immunity of Savannah, but looked alarmingly grave when I told her of our intention of remaining. She "could not advise us to do so," she said. On the contrary, if possible, go.

A Federal officer whom she had known well in former years, and who had befriended her in Savannah, had advised her, while giving her her passports, not to be caught by the Union Army in any city or town of South Carolina, and most especially not in Columbia—"it was the cradle of secession and must be punished." She herself meant to leave at once. I went home with a very heavy heart; but for us the die was cast. The laboratory train was to go in the morning, and we had to remain. For the next three days, it was nothing but going—vehicles of every kind and trains loaded with every conceivable thing. We busied ourselves with bringing into the house, and storing in the upper rooms, whatever we could. It was suggested by my little daughter that "Yankees did not eat rice, and would not be apt to trouble it"; so we put our small supply of tea, sugar, and coffee, and also bacon and flour, in the bottom of the tierces, heaped the rice on top, and it proved a useful device.

We sent away, by the laboratory train, a big box of valuables, which we never saw again. And we tried to convert our Confederate money into anything of any value whatever. I have never understood why one man should have made me a present of two pairs of children's shoes in return for three hundred dollars of Confederate money, unless he knew that the shoes would be stolen when the enemy came, and preferred that a compatriot should have them. Some things that we wished to keep with us, we sewed around

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our waists, and these we saved, but it was very uncomfortable—a belt of double eagles is as disagreeable a girdle as a penitential iron one could be. We had also to dispose of some silver half-dollars, for which I had exchanged an ever-to-be-regretted silver waiter. The half-dollars were sent from Richmond to the laboratory, to be made into lunar caustic, with which to cauterize the soldiers' wounds. Dr. Ravenel suggested that he could, if I wished, have my big waiter weighed and exchanged for an equal weight in coin—it would be better for the caustic, being made of purer silver. I most certainly did not wish it. I hated to part with my waiter; but things were very black then, and the thought of six starving children was dreadful, so with groans I consented.

When the canvas bags came home—five hundred dollars in silver—we were in consternation. I had quite forgotten the size and weight. And where could it be hidden? At last we decided that each person old enough should put ten dollars in her pocket, and I solemnly called in old Martha, the housekeeper, and confided the teaspoons and twenty-five dollars to her care, and she was absolutely faithful. The rest I sewed up in black cloth and buried, going into the garden at two in the morning, in a rainstorm, when no one would be about, and digging a trench with a fire shovel (the only tool to be had without waking the gardener). It made me feel like Guy Fawkes! I may observe here that we nearly lost this buried treasure, for when, a month later, we went to look for it, we found that the ground-moles had cut the cloth and carried off many of the dollars. We had to dig for them, and found them at intervals all along their runs, some as much as thirty feet away. We found all but five or six.

But I am making too long a story of it. At last (when you are expecting anything, however horrible, the time seems long until it comes) at last we heard the sound of guns across the river, and knew that Sherman was approaching, shelling as he came. We lived, as I have already said, in the northeastern part of the city, and he, of course, came from the south. The shells did not at first reach us, but they fell thickly enough around the State House and college buildings, then used as a hospital. I was on the front porch early in the morning, listening to the guns, when I saw a buggy, driven by a servant, stop at the front door. A young lady, who looked very ill, was lying back in it, with a baby in her arms; and the servant called out to ask if I would take them in, as their house was under fire, and they had been obliged to leave it. Of course I brought them in, and found the baby was only one week old and

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the mother much exhausted. We did what we could—put them in my own bed, fed, and kept them quiet, and the young mother soon revived. But there was something awfully biblical in the whole thing, and the warnings to Jerusalem rang in my ears. The next day their friends came and carried them off. The incident should be of interest to this society, which will recognize that the infant did not suffer in beauty or vigor, as she is now our young State president—Mrs. William McGowan, in whose recent bereavement we all sympathize.

Soon after these refugees left us the shells began to fall about us also, the enemy having come farther up the river; but they were few and small, and beyond terrifying the servants, did no harm. That same afternoon we heard that General Beauregard had told the mayor that resistance would only bring destruction on the city; that he and his handful of men would withdraw at once, and that he—the mayor—must go early in the morning, surrender the city, and take what terms he could get. I believe that all did go that evening except a few regiments of cavalry, and we heard that they also would go the next morning, and would pass up the street between our house and the academy. We set to work at once to cook cornbread and bacon, all that we could, for we knew that it was the last time that we should be able to help the dear gray jackets. Early in the morning we heard the clang of steel scabbards, and the whole brigade passed by. They held out their empty haversacks eagerly, poor, dear fellows, and we wished that we had ten times the amount to give. At last, with blessings and sorrow at parting, and promises to "come back to you, ma'am," they went; and we felt that freedom and happiness went with them.

While they were still in sight, a servant came running to say that the Yankees were going down Main street. We went to the street in front and looked westward, and saw crossing it an endless blue column, with glittering arms, and flags flying in all the pomp of war. Our spirits sank, for we saw our conquerors. We should now have applied for a guard. Had we had one we should have been spared much. But I was too unwell to go myself to General Sherman's quarters, at the other end of town, and just as my mother was preparing to do so a clergyman, a neighbor of ours, came and offered to apply for us; he was going on his own account, and would get one for us also. We accepted the offer, and waited, expecting him, until it was too late to go ourselves. But I suppose he was unsuccessful, for we never saw him again.

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Our first trouble came about an hour after the entrance, when two horsemen rode into the yard, and came into the house, saying they had come to look for arms. Of course they found none. I had a pistol, but it was safely hidden. But they ransacked the house and helped themselves to all the small things they fancied—whatever they could put into their pockets or holsters; they did not make bundles. We had no plate then, but they took trinkets or things like silver card cases, silver-topped dressing cases, ornaments of any kind, and one or two pieces of clothing which pleased them, such as lace jabots and a silk shawl, which one carefully concealed under his coat. At last they rode off, assuring us that they would call again. After their departure, things continued perfectly quiet for some hours.

We saw in the far southwest a great blaze, which we heard was the S. C. R. R. depot burning, but this was over long before dark. The servants told us that all the shops on Main street had been broken open and plundered, and that the soldiers took some, burnt some, gave some, as one girl said, displaying a piece of colored cloth which had been given her.

Dark came on, and no guard had been brought us. Most of the ladies in similar plight had fled to the asylum; but we felt sure that if we left the house we should lose everything in it, and resolved to remain. Old Martha came in great distress and told us the kitchen was filled with soldiers, and "they did talk awful." She begged me to take my daughters to my cousin's, a square away, for they had a guard, and would be safe. "Oh! Miss; why you no get a guard?" Accordingly she and I went with the little girls through a perfectly dark and silent street to my cousin's, and left them there, under the protection of a decent looking young man, who seemed to look upon his bayonet as a talisman of protection. When we returned, instead of going into the kitchen, Martha came and sat down at my feet, as I lay upon the bed. "My place is here," she said. I was so tired, I consented to lie down a while, and my mother and Mary Collins went to the attic windows, which commanded the whole town. I believe I went to sleep, but not for very long, for at nine precisely my mother called to me. I jumped up. She called from the staircase, "Four rockets have gone up, one at each corner of the town, all at the same moment." Martha groaned. She had evidently been told more than she cared to tell. "That's it, Miss; Lord hab missy on us! it's beginning." I don't think that it was ten minutes before there came, at the same instant, knocking and pounding on the front and

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back doors. The panels would have given way, so we opened them. Such an awful sight! The hitherto deserted street filled with a throng of men, drunken, dancing, shouting, cursing wretches, every one bearing a tin torch or a blazing lightwood knot. The sky, so dark a half hour before, was already glowing with light, and flames were rising in every direction. We had no time to look at it, however; our own affairs took all our attention.

A crowd had burst in and, disregarding our remonstrances, spread themselves over everything, and from that time until morning a roaring stream of drunkards poured through the house, plundering and raging, and yet in a way curiously civil and abstaining from *personal insult.* Unhappily, they found plenty to plunder, for, although, as I have said, we had sent away our most valuable things (which we lost on the road), I had in charge a number of trunks belonging to friends of mine, which were in the house. These they fell upon, and tore to pieces. We had no plate except the teaspoons in Martha's pocket; but there were many things that attracted them—pretty things, pictures, china, and trinkets. They tore up the carpets, and took blankets and sheets. Men's clothes were in great demand, and dresses that they admired. One small man walked off in a blue silk dress, and holding a lace parasol over his head.

They took, too, what groceries they could find; but the rice did not give up its secrets, and many things lay hidden therein. Their effort was to spoil what they could not carry away; but we soon found our presence was a check upon them, and that encouraged us. When I say that they had a certain sort of civility, I mean in this way: My mother, who was a very courageous person, did not show any agitation in her manner, and suddenly a man turned upon her and said, "Old lady, why don't you look scared?" "Because I do not feel so," she answered. He nodded at her approvingly, and made her a present of her own scissors, which she was very glad to get.

They generally spoke to us as "lady" and, although they swore horribly, they seldom swore *at us.* Then, too, if a number of men were fighting over a trunk or a closet, spoiling more than they stole, and I would go and stand by, not saying a word, but looking on, they would become quiet, would cease plundering, and would sometimes stop to tell me they were sorry for the women and children, but South Carolina must be *destroyed.* South Carolina and her sins was the burden of their song. They were all more or less excited by drink; but in the early part of the night it was not as bad as later on.

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The glare of the burning town was awful, and I expected at every moment to be consumed. The servants behaved admirably, and repeatedly extinguished fires which had been set in the kitchen and outbuilding. We had to watch the sheds, for a man would snatch up a book, kindle its leaves at his torch, and throw it out of a window, and we should have been in flames many times if we had not got out at once on the piazza roof and extinguished the blaze. The worst danger was under the house, which was open, and stored with wood. To our horror, we saw two men kindling the pine. Why it did not blaze up I do not know; but it burnt slowly, and as soon as they went away I called the coachman, and he was able to put it out, and remained there on guard the rest of the night.

Our preservation came, I think, from their desire for plunder. To plunder first, and then burn, was their plan. So they did not set fire until they were leaving (they came in gangs), then they would throw a torch or handful of blazing paper into a closet, or behind a curtain, and go, and we generally had two or three minutes to fight the flames before the next set came in, and that saved us; but it was dreadfully fatiguing work.

About two o'clock in the morning, the house behind ours, and the one across the street, burnt down, and ours seemed in such danger that we took the four little children, whom we had kept in bed, and my mother took them across the street into the academy square, where many burnt-out people had taken refuge. Before this, the children had had a great fright, for some of the men had rushed up to their bed and, after pulling them about, had plunged their long knives repeatedly between them into their mattresses, to find if anything was secreted in it, thinking that the children were put there as a blind. So the poor little things went willingly enough.

By this time, it was very bad. The men who came were ruder and fiercer. We knew them for horsemen from their boots—I suppose Kilpatrick's men.

One of the servants came in and told us that he heard that General Blair had his headquarters at Mr. Wallace's, opposite the asylum, and that by sending there we might get a guard. It seemed the only chance, so my nurse volunteered to go, and Cassio (the servant) went with her. She was gone about an hour, and for that hour old Martha and I held the fort alone. It is no exaggeration to say that this was a terrible time. They assured us they meant to burn the house; "they had express orders from headquarters to burn it; we must go out at once." They tried to persuade Martha to leave me,

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jeering and hooting at her for fighting for her slave owner, her nigger driver. But they only made the old woman furious, and she never stirred an inch from my side. Then they tried to terrify me; but by this time I was satisfied that they had orders not to hurt the woman, and, moreover, *drunk or sober, every man in that army was acting under orders,* and obeying them, so I told them that I had endured the whole night to save the house for my children, and that if they burnt it they would burn a woman in it. They stamped about and swore a great deal, but at last told me I was "damned plucky," and went. That was the worst.

Mary came back at last. General Blair was very sorry, but was too sleepy to do anything. However, a young Irish soldier whom she had met in the street volunteered as a compatriot to come back and help her for the sake of the "swate Irish tongue," and help he did, getting the next comers out as quickly as possible, and pretending to be a guard, although he had no bayonet to show. Some of the officers who were quartered in a house nearby looked in about this time, but said that, though they were sorry, they could do nothing—the night was the soldiers'; they could do what they liked, *under orders.* When the little Irishman appealed to them to allow him to help us, "for the ladies have had it hard enough anyhow," they told him to do the best he could, and walked off, absolutely indifferent.

However, morning was coming, and at reveille our little friend told us all must stop. He himself took nothing, but he had seen something upstairs that he would like very much to have; would I give it to him? He had just kept out about twenty ruffians, and I would have given him anything I owned, as I told him. He vanished for a little while, and reappeared in a purple velvet cloak and doublet, and white satin hose, an old fancy dress of Sir Walter Raleigh. He thought he looked lovely, and it was a small reward for all he had done for us.

As he said, at the first tap of reveille, the men still remaining made for the gate. When the drum had ceased, hardly one was to be seen. They passed away like ghosts at the cockcrowing. We stood on the steps and looked at a wild and woeful sight. The whole center of the town was a blackened heap. Ruined houses were on every side. For ourselves, we had escaped better than we could have hoped—we were all alive and well; after all our losses, much remained, and we knew how much could be borne.

For the three days that the army remained, we, in our devastated corner, saw nothing of interest. All was profoundly quiet. When the

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immense column of men, cannon and baggage wagons filed past us, on its way to North Carolina, it seemed like a world in arms. Last of all came the mounted guard, looking into every house and yard to see if any straggler might be concealed there. But stragglers there were none, or few, for the admirable discipline of General Sherman's army cannot be too highly estimated. They greatly mistake who attribute the horrors of that night to accident or insubordination. The skilful commander held his men in the hollow of his hand, and said to them, "So far shalt thou go, and no farther."

HARRIOTT H. RAVENEL.
(MRS. ST. JULIEN RAVENEL.)

March 12, 1898.

The Sack of Columbia.

The Federal Army, under Sherman, lay just on the other side of the Congaree, and the bombarding went on steadily, without, however, doing much damage. Hampton, with a feeble force, was left in command of the defense of the capital, when General Joseph E. Johnston withdrew towards North Carolina. To the women and children of that doomed city things began to look gloomy in the extreme. Many refugees who had come from Charleston, and other parts of the low country, resumed their flight, seeking safety in the upper districts, nearer the mountains. Many residents of Columbia followed them; in fact, nearly all who could get away fled, leaving their household goods to the mercy of the invaders. Shells and cannon balls have voices of singular persuasiveness to induce non-combatants to "move on," and not many willingly keep reserved seats to listen to their music.

Never shall I forget a little incident that occurred on Thursday afternoon before the occupation on Friday morning. I was promenading the front piazza, listening to the dull boom of cannonry as it came, borne on the western breeze, from across the river, feeling all the horrors of the situation, when my attention was attracted to a ragged little darkey—one of the institutions of all Southern cities—as he went whistling quite unconcernedly on the opposite side of the street. Suddenly a bombshell came hurtling through the air, struck a limb just over his head, shivering it into a thousand pieces. Like lightning the little Arab rolled himself into an inconceivably small, black ball, crouching against the fence, with scarcely anything visible

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but the whites of his eyes, which he turned in amazement towards the shattered limb. For one brief moment he lay there, then, springing up, he exclaimed, in accents of the most abject terror, "Fore God! I thought he had me!" and fled like the wind.

On Thursday night there was little sleep in the beleaguered city. I had dressed a day or two before for any emergency, and did not remove my dress for a week. I had taken an apron of strong Scotch ginghams, doubled it up and run casings in it, and into these casings stowed away important papers belonging to my husband, some money, and a few articles of jewelry. This I wore as a bustle, and was undisturbed in its possession. Others were not so fortunate. Many had their clothing torn off and their persons searched by the lawless soldiery and the mob who reaped such a harvest on that fearful night of February 17, 1865.

On Friday morning, while we were at breakfast, a sound of musketry broke the ominous stillness, and we learned that the Yankees had crossed the river on pontoon bridges, and that the city was virtually in their hands. The mayor and some of the chief municipal officers had gone to General Sherman's headquarters and surrendered our beautiful capital, and received from him the comforting assurance that Columbia should be as safe as it had been under Mayor Goodwyn's own administration. "Some of the public buildings, such as the arsenal and armory, will have to be destroyed," said Sherman; "but I will select a calm day for the purpose, and nothing else shall be injured. Go home and sleep in peace, Mr. Mayor; your city shall be safe." How well he kept this promise, let Columbia's burning homes, her desolate streets, and her houseless, starving children, tell.

I hope but few of my readers know from experience what the sacking of a city is. I hope fewer still may ever know. Columbia had foes without and within, for though the slave population had behaved well during the war, it was but human nature, when freedom came to them so suddenly, that they should receive it extravagantly, and go with outstretched arms to welcome their deliverers. I heard of some of these deluded people who actually knelt in the street before the incoming troops, like the heathen throwing himself before the car of Juggernaut, for the wheels to roll over him. Well, the wheels did roll over many of them. Of the thousands who left Georgia and the Carolinas to follow the fateful fortunes of the Yankee Army, few reached Virginia, and fewer still returned to their old homes, which they sighed for when too late.

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A friend told me of one old "maumer" who was more fortunate than many of her compeers. On Tuesday, when the army was leaving with its motley train of camp followers, this old woman was seen seated in a stolen carriage, drawn by stolen horses, dressed in the enormous headgear of aristocratic antebellum days, fanning herself—February though it was—with a huge palmetto fan. My friend accosted her, "Hallo! Aunt Sallie, where are you going?" "La, honey! I'se gwine back inter de Union!" with a complacent and patronizing nod of her sable head.

No pen can adequately depict the horrors of the burning of Columbia. Every hearthstone was an altar on which the Yankees sacrificed to their gods—Vengeance and Hatred—and every blazing roof-tree will be a burning record against their wanton cruelty in the day of final account. All day the storm had been gathering. Here and there some outrageous act gave a foretaste of what was in store for the "Rebs." between the setting and rising of the sun.

Mr. B—, among other merchants, had struggled hard to protect his property through the day; but his store had repeatedly been broken open, and Yankees, negroes, and, oh, shame! some Southern whites, had plundered it at will. Seeing how useless it was to contend for order among the disorderly, and for law among the lawless, he abandoned everything and came home, where we waited, in a treacherous calm, the unfolding of events.

About 10 o'clock p. m. the signal rockets began to go up, and soon the incendiary fires blazed out. I was told that squads of drunken soldiers, followed by a rabble of drunken and excited negroes, paraded the principal thoroughfares, entering about every fourth house with torch and oil, and soon had blocks and whole streets one mass of living flame.

We stood in the observatory and saw these fires—these tokens of a nation's shame and sin—kindle, one by one, along the horizon's verge. Soon they flashed out of the darkness, nearer and nearer, rose higher and higher, spread wider and wider, until nearly the whole city became one seething sea of billowy fire.

My husband being Northern born, though strongly Southern in feeling, many persons thought his home would be spared; therefore, the house was packed from basement to attic with the furniture of our neighbors, sent hither for protection; but, alas! the Demon of Destruction was no respecter of persons or property, and at two o'clock in the morning I took a little bird in its cage, which I could not bear to leave to the flames, in one hand, and my little child's

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hand in the other, and walked out from under our burning roof into the cold and pitiless street. Hundreds, nay thousands, were there before me; some not so well off as I, for they were invalids. None of us had any pillow but the frozen ground, nor any covering but the burning heavens.

The terrified lowing of cattle, the frenzied flight of pigeons circling high above their blazing cotes, the ribald jests and brutal assaults of our drunken conquerors, the dun clouds of despair rolling between us and the pitying eyes of God, made up a picture whose counterpart can be found only in the regions of the eternally lost.

A Federal officer said to me next day, "I knew when General Sherman sent for the Seventeenth (Logan's) Army Corps that he had black work for it to do."

On Saturday morning we took refuge with some kind friends in the suburbs whose house had been overlooked rather than spared, and not until Sunday did we venture back to look at the ruins of our once beautiful home.

Oh! the utter, utter desolution of a city in ashes, and its people wanderers! Even the very landmarks were lost, and you stood a stranger on your own threshold. Nothing was left but the smokeless chimneys, keeping ward over the widespread ruin. Hundreds of Yankees, with ramrods and bayonets, were prodding the still smoking soil, in quest of buried treasure.

On Tuesday morning, the blue lines formed and the invaders left Columbia—a city once a synonym of all that was beautiful and elegant—a heap of ruins; her living homeless and scattered; her dead insulted and desecrated. To me the curse of the broken-hearted sounded above their steady tramp and martial music. Confusion and terror went before them, and want and despair hovered in their rear. *Vae victis* may not have been inscribed on their banners, but it was written in characters of blood and living fire on the hearts and homes of a conquered people.

I remember going, a few Sabbaths after the destruction of the city, to hear one of our ministers. He was one who had been personally abused by the vandal horde in their mad riot on that fatal night, and a just and holy indignation still burned in his clerical bosom. "My friends," said he, warming in his discourse, "let us be faithful in following our Divine Master until we come to the New Jerusalem, the golden city, not a desolate place like this, but ever bright and fair, and I assure you, my friends, there will be no villainous Yankees there." Then, remembering that he was pledged to preach a doctrine

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of forgiveness, he added, reluctantly and doubtfully, "Unless they have entirely new hearts." I could not refrain from adding a mental amen to this sentiment.

Necessity is said to be the mother of invention. If this be true, Columbians should have been the most inventive people on the face of the earth during that spring of 1865, for their needs were certainly great. Left without shelter, clothing or food, and with no means to obtain either, their condition was indeed deplorable. I heard of many persons sustaining life for several days upon the corn picked up around the feeding troughs of the Yankees' horses.

A lady, whom I had known in her days of prosperity, came to me with the tears streaming down her cheeks, and said, "If you have anything, divide with me; my little children are at home, crying for bread!" Alas! I was but little better off.

To the eternal honor of the negroes be it spoken that many of them aided and sustained their former owners in these trying times with a devotion as surprising as it was noble. One old fellow brought a store of provisions and laid it before his former master, saying, "Massa, it nearly breaks my heart to see you in dis old shanty, but it would break entirely to know you were hungry and couldn't get nothing to eat." "But, Peter, my good fellow," returned his master, "I cannot take these things from you and leave you and your children to starve." "No danger of dat; Peter's used to helping hisself, and dat, massa, you never could do; you nor old miss neither." "Peter," said the master, with a suspicious moisture about his eyes, "we have fallen upon evil days; but perhaps I might live to repay you." "You's done dat already, massa; you's took care of Peter a good many years, and I's sure its his time to take care of you and ole miss." All honor to Peter; and to all who, like him, did not forget

The tender grace of a day that is dead.

My friend, Mrs. H—, with whom we had taken refuge, had some negroes left in her charge by a relative who had fled from the city. It became a serious question how they should be fed, as she did not care to drive them away, and they showed no disposition to leave. "I'll tell you what I will do," said she; "I will go to Sherman and demand food for them. Will you go with me?" Although a disagreeable mission, I did not like to refuse, so, with a few other ladies who, like myself, were refugees, we set out to find General Sherman's headquarters. They were in the old Myers house, and a sentinel paced up and down in front of the gate.

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"Where is General Sherman?" asked Mrs. H—.

"He is not here," replied the sentinel.

"Where is he, then?" impatiently.

"I don't know," indifferently.

"When will he be here?"

"I don't know."

Turning at the end of his beat, he saw Sherman coming around the corner. "That is General Sherman," indicating the approaching figure.

Mrs. H—, with characteristic impetuosity, rushed towards the general, exclaiming, "General Sherman, what is to become of these people?" As she spoke she pointed to the negroes, who had accompanied her.

"I really do not know," he replied, with an amused twinkle in the eyes that traveled from her face to the stolid darkeys.

"Are they to starve?" she exclaimed.

"I hope not," he replied composedly.

"But they will," she cried excitedly, "if you don't give them something to eat; and it is your duty to do it," she continued, disposed to read the general a homily. "You don't make war on them; you say you are their friend; they have nothing to eat, and will starve unless you feed them. General Sherman, will you let them starve?"

"My friend," said he, going to her and patting her on the shoulder, "my friend, don't get excited. Be calm."

I forget whether he promised to provide for her dependents or not, but all the provisions they, or any one else, did get from the government was a very small portion of beef from some poor condemned cattle which were left in the college park when the Yankees took their final flitting.

Here let me give you an incident that occurred in our sister State of North Carolina: A surgeon-dentist, a man of position, ability, and unquestioned integrity, lived within that broad swath of desolation cut by the Federal Army in its victorious march. He afterwards came to Columbia, and from him I heard an account of the shameful outrage. Years had passed, and Columbia, rising from her sackcloth and ashes, had clothed herself anew in the beautiful and strong garments of energy and enterprise. We had accepted our trials as a part of the fortunes of war, and were disposed to forgive, if not to forget. Conversing one day with Dr. Gregg, our dentist, he expressed an undying hatred for the men who had caused him so much grief.

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"If anybody," said he, "hates the wretches who followed Sherman's army more than I do, it is because his capacity for hating is greater than mine. This is strong language, but I am justified in using it. When Sherman's army passed through my place in North Carolina, some of his camp followers, in their greedy search for treasure, entered the graveyard, dug up my dead children, opened their coffins, and left their bodies exposed to birds and beasts, less vile than they. Tell me to forgive them? Never! My outraged dead, with their mute lips, cry out against it! The desecration of all the nameless bones of my countrymen, left to bleach on our hillsides and valleys, forbid it. Every instinct of my manhood is hatred towards those human jackals." MRS. S. A. CRITTENDEN.

Greenville, S. C.

Recollections of the Burning of Columbia.

Several thousand women and children, a handful of men, eighty-four squares of beautiful dwellings. Such was Columbia on February 14, 1865. On February 15, General Sherman and an army of sixty thousand men occupied the banks of the Congaree, on the Lexington side, and in two days the city presented the appearance of having passed through a rain of fire.

The shelling of the city commenced early Thursday morning. The shells fell thick and fast, in every direction, the arsenal and State House furnishing conspicuous marks. One fell directly at my mother's feet, but, fortunately, the fuse had been extinguished, and the missile did not explode. The sudden attack and the fear of what was to follow rendered us numb with fear, and we scarcely had power to take ourselves to a place of safety.

Fortunately, my father, just home from the army, although nearly dead with consumption, was with us, and we felt more secure than thousands of others less fortunate.

After an almost sleepless night, we were all startled about daybreak by a loud explosion. Hastily dressing and getting out, we learned that the South Carolina warehouse had been blown up, and the wildest rumors were afloat as to its cause.

The "swish-swish" of the pontoons being laid for the army to cross told us that Sherman intended entering the city at once. In less than an hour afterward the work of pillage and destruction commenced. Drunken soldiers, the worst corps in the army, had been

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sent over, accompanied by drunken negroes, staggering around, insulting women and children, and taunting them with their helplessness. Darkness, that which we worst feared, fell, and with it began the crowning deed of all. A blaze was seen a little way off; the fire bell began to ring. Soon another blaze was seen, then another, until the whole town was a mass of flames. Soldiers, now crazy with drink, began to look for something more valuable than food or clothing. Houses were entered, and jewelry, gold and silver, plate—anything of value—was taken. This did not happen in every case. At some house an officer would stop, and that house was generally safe, as the officer would throw a guard around it. Such cases, however, were rare.

As the fire drew nearer our house on Assembly street, we began to move the household effects out. A Yankee soldier, half drunk, came by and, seeing a trunk, wanted to open it. My brother, about fifteen years of age, attempted to stop him, but was silenced with an oath, and the trunk was smashed in and rummaged through.

With our house burned, we would have fared badly, but our neighbor, Mrs. T. B. Clarkson, who came over for protection, with her baby, had the servants to erect a kind of shelter with a few boards, and under this we stopped for the rest of the night. Sleep was impossible and, half dead with fright, we huddled under these boards, waiting for daybreak.

The scene that greeted our eyes the next day was heart-breaking. On every side, where once there had been handsome dwellings, were nothing but blackened chimneys, and in the streets were women and children, weeping over their homes and not knowing where the food for that day was to come from.

The Taylor house, afterwards known as the Haskell place, for some reason was not destroyed, and, along with several others, we took refuge there. The few men in the city took charge of all the food and established a sort of commissary, where supplies were issued several times a day for several days, until outside supplies were received.

Looking back after all these years, the burning city, with the hundreds of drunken soldiers, the scream of shells, and the discharge of guns, seems like a dream, and my impressions through that awful time are hazy. I have endeavored to give only those facts which were stamped indelibly on my mind at the time.

FANNIE E. ALLEN.

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A Southern Woman's Recollections.

When General Sherman's army entered the town of Winnsboro, S. C., the writer was a little girl, but distinctly remembers many events that happened. Her father was postmaster, and to this day has his commission, signed by President Davis. He hid a few miles out of town, so mother and children were left alone.

It was about the hour for breakfast when two "bluecoats" walked into our home. They took what they pleased, and frightened the children by repeated threats to shoot down our pet, a large Newfoundland dog, named Jack.

One of our near neighbors, Mrs. Wainwright Bacot, knew General Sherman; but he denied his identity. His generals used private residences for their headquarters, but he did not.

The army was preceded by "bummers," and the little town was robbed at an early morning hour. The main army came in, and then fires broke out, and riot reigned. Kilpatrick or Kirkpatrick, a cavalry commander, galloped in and fought fire, else the entire town would have been ashes ere the sun went down.

No guards were given until nightfall. A drunken soldier at an early hour of the day staggered into grandma's home. She put him on a cot; his drunken sleep kept him there; his gun and hat were placed at the front door; his mates, in passing, would exclaim, "This house has a guard." At any rate, that house was not plundered.

Grandma gave breakfast to several soldiers. One, on leaving the table, picked up knife, fork and spoon and put them in his pocket. She walked up to him, and took them from his pocket, saying, "I thought you were a gentleman." Grandpa gave his watch to a soldier, saying, "Here, you take it, then some of your fellows can't steal it." Our guards were drunken men, and our home was soon emptied; no food of any description was left in the pantry, the cows were driven off, and the chickens shot.

Our home was near the Baptist Church, an unfinished building, on a large lot; ours was the nearest well; the church and its grounds were used as a camp; our yard was full of soldiers, coming for water; chickens were fought in the pulpit. The Episcopal Church was burned at an early hour of the night; no other building near, *so it was set on fire;* the bell stolen. I heard that a young minister of this State wears a cross made from a piece of the melted bell, but, if my memory serves me right, no traces of either bell or communion service were ever found.

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The Mount Zion College building was used as a hospital. One of our soldiers, a Mr. Manigault, died there only a few days before the army entered town, and was buried in the Episcopal graveyard. His new-made grave was dug open, his coffin placed across the grave and split open with an axe, and *left so*. This was done by those who termed themselves soldiers. "Hunting for buried treasures" was the reason for such desecration.

Among my mother's "keepsakes" was a dead baby boy's hair, kept in a little silver wire case. This was rudely snatched from its sacred place and thrown into the fire.

An aunt lived a few miles from town, and had housed and nursed a sick soldier—"one of our men," she thought. He gave her minute directions as to where and how to hide provisions and valuables. When the army of the blue marched near her home, this ungrateful wretch (for he was a spy) walked up to her and said, "Here I am again." She was so frightened that her heart ceased to beat, and forever was still.

The two days that Winnsboro was occupied by Sherman's men was a period of horrors such as this generation has never witnessed. The streets and vacant lots were filled with homeless families, many persons having nothing but the clothes they wore, for, when bringing bedding, raiment or provisions out of their burning homes, these were destroyed by the brutal soldiers, who jeered and exulted in their fiendish work. They stole much that was useless to them, for even Bibles were taken, one, I remember, belonging to a little girl friend, and to this day she would gladly recall it from beyond the Mason and Dixon line. This name was on the cover: "Mary R. Morrison, March 15th, 1855."

Governor Aiken had had buried on the red hills around town barrels, boxes and crates of fine china and silver. All were found, carried off or broken.

Sherman's men were inhuman in their treatment of women and children. I recall one soldier who had the instincts of a gentleman, for my mother asked why he was not stealing with his mates. His reply was, "I promised my mother to behave as a soldier."

A few Sundays after the raid, a group of children, with their grandfather, were walking in the "Presbyterian woods," and found a huge silver waiter, cut partly in two with an ax; some leaves were thrown over it and in a few days it was returned to its owner.

A few years after the war, some children were playing in the basement of a rented home and unearthed a little package containing

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old seals. These were sent to those who had hidden them and forgotten—the Muir family, of Charleston.

The yards and gardens were perforated with bayonets, men searching for buried treasures.

A mother had for years kept an iced cake, from the wedding table of a brother (once editor of *The News and Courier*). Soldiers' hands tore open the box, cut and ate the aged cake, with this threat, "If this makes us sick, we will burn your home."

The army left *no food* in town, and for days the women and children gathered the corn from the deserted camps, left by the horses. This was boiled and eaten without salt.

Did not our women fight as hard as our men, for while the men were on battlefields, women and children at home starved and waited without a doubt?

Dear old Winnsboro was garrisoned by a negro regiment. One Sunday morning, at the Methodist Church, just as the pastor was giving his text, a company of negro soldiers marched in and seated themselves. A look of consternation swept over that congregation, when the pastor quietly raised his hands and said, "Receive the benediction."

Daughters of the Confederacy, see to it that a true history is written, then place it in the hands of Southern boys. Thomas Nelson Page truly says, "The history of the South is yet to be written."

I thank God that the sword of the South will never more be drawn except in defense of the Union, but I thank God equally that it is without a stain. A SOUTHERN WOMAN.

January, 1901.

Mrs. Lottie L. Green's Experience.

For many years, the broad, rich acres and old homestead known as "Sylvan Hill" had successively passed from father to son, until at last, by right of inheritance, it had fallen to John Thompson Green. It was situated between the villages of Bishopville and Wisacky, and at the time of which we are speaking there were no walls for miles around more ancient, and, to *us,* no spot so lovely, as this our dear old homestead.

Not far away, near the village of Wisacky, stands an old church. Here, too, was the resting place of our loved ones, who had once gathered around the hearthstone of "Sylvan Hill." This was one more tie to bind our hearts to that of our old-fashioned home. Many

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and hallowed are the associations connected with it. Here I was brought as a bride; it was here some of my happiest days were spent; much too dear had the friends and surroundings of this place grown to me, for a darker day was to come, when my husband died, leaving me a widow, with two little children—my little boy, Willie, aged four years, and Minnie, my baby girl. My mother then came down to be with me, and help me bear this my first great grief. Not wishing to leave me alone and unprotected (for this was the third year that the Civil War had raged), she insisted on me going with her to her home in Lancaster County, near the Catawba Falls. This, my home in Sumter County, I left, with my mother, to endure—aye, the story will tell.

We reached her home safely, and had been here for about two weeks when we began noticing campfires, miles away; at nights we would watch the reflection of them on the sky, and reports came in daily that Sherman's raid would soon be upon us. That it was fast approaching, we knew must evidently be true; still, we hoped they would not cross the river, and felt that we would be safe if they remained on the other side. But we thought it best to begin hiding all the provisions and valuables, such as the silverware, etc., in order to be on the "safe side." No sooner had we done this than three corps of Sherman's army were upon us, besieging the house and grounds, and destroying everything they came in contact with. Our pleadings for mercy were treated with contempt.

They bribed the negroes to tell where the things were hidden, when the heretofore faithful servants, overcome with fear, hastened to obey their least command. After finding the provisions, they took from them such as they wanted, giving the remains to the negroes. Then satisfied that they had left us destitute of food, they went from room to room, gathering up our clothing; and breaking into my trunk, they took my baby's dresses, and distributed them among the negroes.

My younger brother, Columbus Tillman, our only protector and dependence, they captured on the day of their arrival. Already my mother had given up her oldest son Isaac; this was indeed a trial, but she stood it bravely; remembering the *cause,* she thought it best. But now to stand by and see her *youngest* son and only help thus captured was like "nailing her to the cross." My brother was then taken down by the river, a distance of about three miles, where a company was encamped. He left, speaking words of encouragement to my mother.

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Solely for the amusement of these men, my little son, only four years old, was taken each day out on the porch, where, with one of their guns, he was made to shoot at a target, while I, horrified, would stand and look on, not daring to remove him.

Among the many cruel deeds that these men committed, this is one of the most marked: With bayonets in hand, they walked around, and would thrust the gleaming blade into a hog or dog, leaving it to suffer and die. At one time there were seven dogs and two horses lying dead in the yard; besides, there were wounded hogs, dying by degrees, by wounds received in this way. It was hard indeed to stand by and see our stock slaughtered in this manner.

Our enemies stripped our beds of quilts and, throwing them carelessly upon the ground, led horse after horse upon them, to be brushed and curried. In those days women prided themselves upon making beautiful quilts. My mother was specially fond of this work, and had quite a number of them. But these things, that we would hold sacred these days as precious heirlooms, were then trodden under foot by horses.

One day, as I walked into an adjoining room, I found several men tearing my mother's Brussels carpet from the floor. I entreated them to leave us the carpet. Seeing that they did not heed my entreaties, I went to Captain Day (captain of General Kilpatrick's staff) and asked him to stop the men before they tore the carpet into shreds. He replied, "I can't do it, madam; the fellows want it for saddle cloths." Already disgusted with the fact that they had robbed us of food and clothing, and that, by their hand, starvation seemed staring us in the face, fairly goaded to desperation, I said, "Sir! you are no better than the rest of them!" With a bitter, sarcastic laugh, he replied, "Hardly as good, I guess, madam."

My brother Isaac had, a short time prior to the arrival of Kilpatrick's men, been at home recruiting. Before he was able to leave, hearing daily that Sherman's raid was approaching, he thought best to leave, which he only did in time to keep from being captured. We stood on the piazza and watched them burn the ginhouse in which our cotton, some of which we had kept there for four years, had been stored. Remembering a gun that my brother Isaac had captured, and which was hidden in the house, I hastily slipped it from its hiding place and, wrapping it in the folds of my dress, I made my way to the well, where I dropped it in, feeling greatly relieved. I knew, once they found the gun, which they would have

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known to have been captured by a "Rebel," they would, regardless of Kilpatrick's orders, burn the house.

This was Kilpatrick's headquarters, and for that reason our home was spared us. Officers guarded the house at night, for which we were very thankful. But one of them sarcastically informed me one day that my mother's home would be left, but on my return to Sumter I would find my husband's home in ashes. But it was left, and though somewhat impaired, still stands.

For three weeks we suffered untold suspense, knowing not what the next day would bring forth. When the day dawned on which they were to leave, with hearts too full for words, sighs of relief, and a silent prayer to God for the shelter left over our heads, we watched them ride away, leaving us to the tender mercies of Providence. Immediately after they left we began to realize more keenly the seriousness of our position—no food! no clothing! Going out about the premises, we picked up the corn left on the ground by the horses. Washing this carefully, and grinding it in the coffee mill, we made coffee and bread. This, used sparingly, was our only nourishment for several days. My husband's brother, Major William Green, with other friends and relatives in Sumter County, hearing of our destitute condition, hastened to our aid, and sent in bountiful supplies. These lasted until the return of my brothers, who lost no time in getting the land in readiness for planting.

Oh! daughters of the South, think not your long suffering and patient endurance was in vain! Your reward is not earthly—it is in the world beyond; there the Heavenly Father awaits you. Hail! Confederate veterans, be not chagrined; theirs was the victory here—let us aspire to something loftier, and as God in his tender mercy forgives us our daily trespasses, let us set the little flame of "forgiveness" to the great barrier that has risen up between the North and South. Let us forget the envy that they bore us, and by so doing set a far nobler example to the coming generation of the South, and may it pass from lips to lips, from generation to generation, "Long live the name of the Confederacy!" Bravely she fought for her rights, until her men became a mere remnant compared to those from the thickly settled North—then was she proclaimed defeated.

Again, as bravely as they fought on the battlefield, they fight—and win—"the battle of forgiveness."

"All praise to the Sunny South!"

MRS. LOTTIE L. GREEN.

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The Response to the Negroes' Call.

In March, 1865, after repeated messages had reached us from the negroes on our Lexington place, mother and I accomplished the trip from the extreme eastern side of the town of Columbia, through the desolation and ruins left by Sherman, and reached our people, to see after their needs as well as we could.

The Yankees had robbed the mill place of everything—horses, corn, and all the meat which had not been hidden by the overseer—LeCones—a man disqualified for the army, and therefore in our service. All the provisions left were pea-vines, cured with the peas on them. The negroes knew that LeCones had hidden enough meat and lard to supply their present necessities; but he refused to give them anything.

Columbia was eleven miles distant, and the river between. The negroes sent messengers from time to time to report the overseer to mother; but as there was no way then to cross the Congaree, Sherman having burnt the bridge, all she could do was to tell them everything would be done as soon as the mill could be reached by her. "'Taint no use to tell him nothin', miss; he ain't gwine do nothin' 'cept you come yo'self," said the last messenger.

The Yankees entered Columbia the 17th of February. I think it was about the middle of March, or perhaps sooner, that, the ferry being established, my mother and I borrowed Mr. Bostick's carriage (the one carriage then owned in Columbia), crossed the river, and drove thirteen miles without meeting a creature. After getting out of the city, and arriving at the Berry Creek mill, we found LeCones gone for the day. This compelled us to stay all night, for we found the tale of the negroes to be true—they had nothing to eat, and the astonishment was that they had not risen in a body and robbed LeCones' house, in which they knew the meat to be secreted. Mother and I went into every barn, house and storage place, except his, and found concealed some jars of lard, and a gun. These we sent to Columbia by the carriage, which had to return without us, leaving us eight miles from the only white men we knew of on that side of the river—the two old Messrs. Kinsler, sixty-eight and seventy years of age. I was myself twenty-five, and not easily daunted; but I would not wish to repeat the experience of that trip.

At sundown, LeCones returned. Mother and I had established ourselves in a cabin, having nothing in it but the loom, where the cloth had been woven for the negroes. Upon this was placed a tick, supplied by Lyddy (good old Nick's wife), who took it from her

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own bed, washed it clean, and filled it with straw, as soon as we knew we were to stay all night. Mother and I sat in the doorway, for the fireplace smoked; and there LeCones met us. The interview was stormy, he claiming everything, and justifying this by accusing us of not paying his last dues. We answered that these had been offered to him, in Confederate money, which he had refused to take. The surrender had not taken place; therefore, the negroes were our care, and we had gone to their assistance when they came to us in their trouble, and believed in our promise to do all we could for them. The quarrel was between a desperate man, with a wife and five children, and two ladies, who had their slaves. We were willing to share as a gift, but to accord nothing as a debt, and we demanded the meat, which he denied having concealed. The first of the talk was between mother and himself, but when he accused her of unfair dealing, I took it up. I told him many things, and that he needn't expect to frighten us; that only a coward could act as he was acting; that I had met Sherman's bummers, but never one more unmanly than he was, nor more impertinent, etc.; that on the morrow he was to leave, and that the hidden meat should be left behind. Well, after a time, I ordered him to go, for "we would stand no more." He rose and went off to his own house, which was quite near our cabin.

I had left my pistol at his house. I sent Lyddy for it. She returned, telling me LeCones said he wouldn't give it. I sent again, and instead of sending it, he came himself, bounding from his house (he was six feet tall) towards mother and me (still sitting in the doorway). His right hand was in the breast of his vest, and it looked as though he held a pistol. My mother sprang up, crying, "Mr. LeCones, don't shoot." I, too, rose. Putting my hand on my mother's shoulder, I cried, "Stand where you are, sir"—and he stood, whether at my order or not I do not know; and I continued pointing my finger at the man. "Mother, have no fear; he is a coward of cowards; he would not *dare* to shoot." Meantime, LeCones said, from where he stood, "You shall not have your pistol till you give me my gun." He had accused us of having the gun in the loom house, although I had told him we sent it by the carriage. I replied, "That pistol I will have this night." Drawing my mother into the house, I shut the door in LeCones' face.

The negroes' quarters were quite a distance away. Leaving mother with Lyddy, I walked to these quarters in the darkness, found old Abram and Charles Prioleau, told them to be very quiet, not to excite any alarm, but find me a pencil and paper—both of these were

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scarce in those days. After much rummaging in cracks and crevices, by the flame of a lightwood splinter, an old envelope was found which had enough white left to allow of two short notes being written—one to Mr. Bostick, at Columbia, telling him if he heard nothing of us in the next twelve hours, to come and look for us; this, Abram was to take to the river, and use the first chance to take to Columbia; the other was sent by Charles to the Messrs. Kinsler, telling them to "come at once to us." Nothing could be written, and the messengers did not know anything. We had to be very careful, lest a spark might light up negro passions and blaze in unprotected homes. (We had no light but from a lightwood knot.)

Mother lay down on Lyddy's tick in the loom, and I waited in a chair by her till about one o'clock a. m.; then we heard voices, and then a knock, and the two old gentlemen came in. Had they been angels they could not have been more welcome; we were again in touch with the outside world—they were so gentle, so calm, so reassuring. They went to LeCones' house. We could hear the knock and opening of the front door, and their coming out to a log between the two houses; then Lyddy would creep out and come back and report; she couldn't hear much, but enough to tell us LeCones was getting toned down. At last the gentlemen came to us, pistol in hand, and bearing the abject apologies of LeCones, and the confession that he did take as much meat as he could store in the loft of his house, and we could get it all on the morrow.

The next day there was a clearing out which was pathetic and funny too. Mother lent LeCones our one wagon, packed tight with pea-vines, some of the restored bacon, a big jar of lard, such pans and cooking utensils as could be spared, and any amount of kind words and good wishes for his wife and children. The last we saw of the LeCones was on this wagon, topped by his wife and five children, and driven by one of our hands. That night we slept in the overseer's house, after the negroes had scoured and cleared it. Next day, we returned to Columbia. GRACE ELMORE.

Columbia, S. C.

When Sherman Passed Through Lancaster.

We awaited the coming of Sherman's Army, in the spring of 1865, with the greatest apprehension, for the reports which preceded its approach of the destruction and burning of everything in its wake were calculated to arouse the alarm of any civilized community.

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I was but a child then, just at an age to receive the most lasting impressions. I was standing in a high back porch, looking towards the old Methodist Church, when I saw one, two, then several, Yankees riding rapidly to Main street crossing; then I heard a gun fired, and a negro girl ran through the hall and, in great excitement, said: "Lor', they done killed old Mr. Jack Crockett." He was an old citizen who was too old to go to the war, to which he gave his two sons. He was crossing the street just as the Yankees rode into town, and they fired, without hitting him.

This, the beginning of the rabble, was rapidly increasing in numbers. They were entering residences on every hand, and as I turned to enter the hall, numbers were rapidly entering our front door and, very unceremoniously walking into any bed- or other rooms; they asked for food, proceeded to closets, the store-room, dairy, smoke-house. If the keys were not furnished, the butt end of a musket served to shiver the timbers, that they might gain access.

There were but few men in town. The white women and children, and their negroes, were there to meet the emergency as best they could. As children, we looked with wonder at all those rude soldiers, going through closets, cupboards, drawers; desecrating, even by the touch of their hands, the very Lares and Penates of our household. We could see that our mother was very much exercised, for she thought best to unlock *every door, drawer,* or *any place* they might suspect her of hiding gold or silver, of which they seemed to think we had plenty.

The fall preceding, my father—D. W. Brown—had killed and cured 125 hogs, ground enough wheat to do him for one year, stored his potatoes—filled the larder, in fact, with everything essential to the comfort of the inner man. My mother had blockade coffee and sugar, and molasses from the Southern cane, with an abundance of milk, butter, and eggs; the yard was stocked with chickens, which old Mammy Silvy had raised. These Yankees filled their knapsacks with whatever best pleased their fancy. The hams were tied to their saddles, or slung two across, and they ransacked every nook and cranny of the house. Every one wanted *flour,* and when they seemed somewhat satisfied, and the crowd began to look elsewhere for a time, my eldest sister—Mrs. Cureton—seeing that only a few hundred pounds of flour had been left in the dairy, had the house-girls bring two sacks full, and put them under an iron bedstead, then took her seat on the bed; and it was well she did, for another crowd, who seemed worse than the first, came. Many of

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them seemed drunk, to me. They asked for whiskey, but my mother said she had none. They did not believe her, but went searching through everything for it. The first crowd did not seem to have plundered the smokehouse. It was still full of meat, salt, and soap. The second looked for flour, and came to the bedroom where Mrs. Cureton sat, and asked her for it. She pointed to the door, and said: "No; go on; you have it all." And they turned away, not once suspecting her of having hidden it under the bed.

These men seemed to be in a hurry. Several of them took the house servants and searched them for the jewelry we might have hidden on them. Even old mammy was forced to the smokehouse by threats and the pistol, to give up anything she had concealed. Our negroes were too indignant over this treatment ever to have any use for Yankees. They believed them to be the lowest types of *"poor buckra."* One by the name of Steve seemed to exemplify this character in their sight. He looked to be a regular cracker—so sallow, and rawboned; his voice had a whining drawl, peculiar to very common, lowborn people; and his whole mind seemed set upon finding treasure. When he was forced to go, he lingered until the officers were almost upon him before he got out.

As the main army came in, several staff officers entered the hall and informed my mother that they had selected our home for General Kilpatrick's headquarters. They gave the first floor to our family, with the exception of the room opposite my mother's room, which was occupied by Major Estes, the adjutant-general. (This was the largest, handsomest residence in the place, and located on Main street.) The back yard seemed filled by magic, the small covered wagons, horses, mules, Irish servants, and common soldiers came so rapidly. They made hitching posts of the palings, trampled the beautiful flower-yard into a pig-sty, as it seemed. The palings and shrubbery soon lay broken and pulled to pieces. The basement was turned over to Irish cooks and servants.

The officers said that we should have "every protection," and placed a guard in the hall. Here he paced hour after hour, until relieved by another, and so continued as long as the Yankees remained in the place.

General Kilpatrick occupied a front room in the second story; *a woman,* handsome and tall, *who wore fine clothes,* occupied the room opposite his; and his officers the other two.

General Kilpatrick and his staff came to our sitting-room at night and sat until bedtime.

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I know the first night General Kilpatrick made particular inquiries of my mother about Gen. M. C. Butler's troops, who had passed through Lancaster the night before. They wished to know how many there were; and then asked how long they were in passing. But they got no information from my mother.

My father hesitated about leaving home. He was so concerned about the welfare of his family. (He had been in the Fourth Battalion of cavalry, and in their practice of leaping a pole of considerable height, was thrown over his horse's head, breaking his collar-bone. This not knitting promptly, disabled him for some time.) He had left us the day before, and we were satisfied to know that he was safe, and fleetly borne by his faithful thoroughbred, as my mother had insisted that he should leave us to our fate, and God's providential care. The Yankees, however, knew of him; they had wantonly destroyed by torch and destruction his property on three large plantations en route from the village of Liberty Hill to Lancaster, carried off his horses and mules, killed his cattle, and burnt several hundred bales of cotton, his gin-houses, and two nice, but vacant, dwelling houses. They asked where he was, but of course it was not meant that *we,* nor *they,* should know. They knew of his having so recently left home, and inquired about it.

Just when there seemed to be a relief from the first part of the rabble preceding the main army, our old cook—Mammy Silvy—begged my mother to let her hide some of the nice hams in the smoke-house. My mother said "she might try it, but thought it would avail her nothing." So mammy emptied a great tierce (which was once brought, full of rice, from Georgetown), which was then used for an ash-barrel, and packed it more than half full of nice hams, which she covered and filled up with ashes again. The house servants took out the nice china, and many articles which were easily broken, and buried them. After Kilpatrick's headquarters were established, the common soldiers went over every part of the grounds, plunging long iron rods into the ground, seeking for buried treasure. So the servants went with my mother and took up everything they had buried, as the Yankees looked on, and brought them into the house. Major Estes was particularly kind and thoughtful in not allowing any one to disturb them.

The ash-barrel was seemingly doomed from the moment the army assumed possession of the premises. Old mammy saw that it was a favorite hitching-post for every passing soldier. She would stick her head out of the kitchen window, or run to the door, "Oh, please

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don't hitch your horses to my ash-barrel; you'll waste all my ashes, and I won't have a thing to make soap out of." Many of them regarded her distress, and fastened to the garden palings, or to the limbs of the cedar tree which grew nearby. Finally, there came a man who did not notice her cries, and kept watchful care over the animal, which continually shook and pulled the old staves. Finally, down the whole thing came, with the hams on display to the gaping crowds. The man ran out of the kitchen and looked. "Oh, yes; I thought the old aunty was mighty careful about her ashes, and now I see." The Irish cooks took possession of the kitchen, and would have cooked for us as well. The staff officers insisted that we should take our meals with them; they had an abundance of provisions. My mother and married sister would never go; but they would come and take the children, insisting that we *must* come. I remember, my sister—Mrs. Cureton—who was very domestic, went to old mammy at the kitchen one day. She wanted something to eat. In looking around, she found the cook had nice pies in the oven, so, with mammy's aid, she wrapped one in her apron, and carried it to my mother's room. I heard my mother say, "Now, Fannie, you had better be careful; you do not know what they might do to you."

For miles around, these Yankees came to supply their camps with meat. They knocked out the back wall of the smokehouse, and would carry it away by the pole full (the meat was strung on poles, eight or ten feet long), each one resting an end of the pole on his shoulder. At last, my mother asked Major Estes if she would be allowed to put some of the hams in her room. He was perfectly willing, and saw that the servants were not molested when carrying in about twenty hams, which were piled behind the door, and our school cloaks, and the shawls, thrown over them.

When Kilpatrick and his staff came to the sitting-room after tea, they would talk until eleven o'clock. Some of the officers smoked good cigars. They often quizzed my mother about our condition in the South. There were some good musicians who came in to play for their entertainment, and on Sunday they played piano music all day long. These Yankees found out that Mrs. Lucius Northrop (née Miss Rosine Legris), from Charleston, S. C., who was a refugee in Lancaster at that time, sang beautifully. Her sweet, full soprano had been thoroughly cultivated, and they were anxious for the general to hear her grand voice. He sent one of his trusted officers in the carriage to bring her to my father's house. She came back with him, as I suppose she was afraid not to grant the request. And

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I do not think I ever saw her look so beautiful. The Yankees were carried away with enthusiasm over her voice. They seemed to appreciate her willingness to oblige them, and the same officer returned with her in the carriage. Every afternoon, the general was serenaded by a splendid band.

After a day or two, I saw several of our citizens brought in as prisoners—Mr. Felix McLarnon, Joseph B. Boyd, Allison Chance, whom I knew, and there were some I have forgotten, and some whom I had never seen. In their eager search for gold, these soldiers had strung up Mr. Boyd and Mr. Chance to force them to confess where their treasure was hidden; but they had nothing and, failing in this object, they brought them to headquarters. Mr. McLarnon had no hat, was barefooted, and without a coat. Mr. Boyd had no hat. The very sight of these men touched the chord of sympathy, and aroused our fears for others. The prisoners could only speak to us, and were carried away.

We knew nothing of our neighbors. We were afraid to leave the house, though it was very confining to be kept there for a whole week. We were allowed the liberty of the first floor, and the piazzas. Whenever we sat anywhere outside of my mother's bedroom, these Yankees seemed to think we must be entertained. Our baby was loved and nursed by several officers, who said they had children of their own; and Captain Brinks had a play with her every day.

General Kilpatrick was a very insignificant looking man. He was small, with ugly, reddish-looking hair; his nose like the hawk's bill; pale, light-colored eyes, and a most irritable disposition. He seemed to have the *will* to carry out his designs. He always paid court to the woman who came with him; she roomed opposite his room, took her meals with him. Only on one occasion did she ever come to the sitting-room—that was the night Mrs. Northrop sang. And the morning they left Lancaster, General Kilpatrick escorted her to the carriage. This woman was placed *in our carriage,* and my mother's beautiful white blankets were piled on the front seat, almost to the shoulders of the driver; and behind them, my grandmother's carriage, which also belonged to my father, was driven. Kilpatrick's troops were run out of Lancaster by General Wheeler's cavalry, who fired on them about a mile from the courthouse. They set the courthouse and the jail on fire, and intended to burn the town, but were in such a hurry to get away they did not have time to do so.

We only saw a few of Wheeler's men—several rode up to have a few words with the ladies. We were rejoicing so over our

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deliverance from the enemy. My father's family had fared well in comparison with many others. Some thought his being a Mason might have had its influence.

The families who lived in the country suffered dreadfully. Many of them had nothing left except corn, which they picked up where the Yankees had fed their horses; they lived on it for a week after the raid. Many were deprived of their clothing, and bed-clothing, and in many instances their houses were burnt.

At Colonel Barnes' old home, they talked very roughly to his daughter and, on account of his prominence as a senator, and having been a colonel in the Confederate army, they cut his oil portrait from the frame and trampled it in the mud, and would have burnt his house had it not been for the rain.

Miss Agnes Wade was reduced to great want, and lived on parched corn for a long while.

I heard Mrs. Riley Clanton say they had taken everything she had to eat except one small chicken, which she caught and prepared to cook for herself and her little children. She was just getting ready to take it from the oven when a rough soldier reached over and lifted it out; then walked off with it. She and her children then lived on the scattered corn they picked up for a week.

Nothing could equal the devotion of the slaves to their owners during that trying period. They never considered these misfortunes apart from their own lot, for *our* grievances were, in a great measure, their own; otherwise, they, like children, were as happy as the days were long.

My father had a great many slaves, and I can recall but one instance of treachery among them all. He went to his farms *just ahead* of this horde of vandals, and instructed his negroes where to conceal the stock and cattle; on one place he had a new barn for storing corn, and it contain 4,000 bushels of corn; it was far down in the recesses of the farm, and would never have been found by persons unaccustomed to the place; here he instructed those whom he trusted to take his horses and mules; and they took with them a young boy, about fifteen years of age, called Emanuel, to help them take care of and feed the stock. Emanuel told the Yankees where they were hidden, and piloted them to the place. They carried off the stock and burnt the 4,000 bushels of corn. I do not think I ever saw my father so angry as when the older negroes told him about Emanuel's treachery. He sent some of them to the plantation for him; it took several grown ones to bring him. My father was very good to his

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negroes, but if they deserved punishment he could punish them severely. He made Emanuel confess that he had taken the Yankees to this place where the mules and horses were hidden. Then he told him that he intended to hang him. With the aid of several old servants, he strung him to the beams of the wide shed in front of the kitchen, then cut him down before life was extinct. As soon as he recovered, my father told him to leave; that he never wished to see him again—and we never did. MRS. J. H. FOSTER.

Lancaster, S. C.

Reminiscences of Sherman's Raid.

I have been requested by my friend, Miss Bessie White, a Daughter of the Confederacy of the Fort Mill Chapter, to write my reminiscences of Sherman's raid in my home and community, notwithstanding it is indeed sad and heart-rending, for I assure you, my readers, I had hoped the remembrance of such was buried in oblivion, never to be resurrected until the general resurrection, when we are "called upon for acts done in the body" and for taking things that do not belong to us.

It was only a few mornings after the burning of our beautiful city of Columbia, the great reflection of which we witnessed, that I was standing in my bedroom, with my only two little boys, completing my toilet, preparatory for breakfast, when my nurse and dining-room servant rushed into my room, exclaiming, "Miss Virginia, the Yankees are crowding in the back part of the house!" At the same time I saw numbers charging through the gates to the stables, for horses, bridles, saddles, etc. I had had the four bedrooms upstairs nicely made comfortable, and my first impulse was to meet them politely and inquire if I could accommodate them with anything, and, oh! how perfectly absurd was that impulse! "Yes," was the reply, "by God! I expect to get what I want!" I turned to go back into my room from the front piazza, when, lo and behold! I could not see my room door—they poured in back and side doors. I wended my way into my private bedroom, took my seat in the mahogany mohair rocking-chair, and there I remained the two weeks that my house was inhabited by these thieves, with Johnnie, my delicate, timid, bewildered son of four years, crouched as closely under my knees as possible, while Tom, my older son, was talking to them and answering all inquiries—"Where is your papa?" "How long since he left home?" etc.

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I must add that I was about in the center of the brigade. Sherman spent the time here. It is said eight thousand encamped here and within a mile. My husband, Mr. F. D. Green, owned a large number of slaves, and had killed over a hundred head of hogs, and in less than an hour the smokehouse and flourhouse doors were taken off and carried to make shelters for the privates' convenience. Not a piece of meat, except a hog jowl, which fell in the lye soap trough, or a dust of meal or flour, left in their respective barrels. My breakfast soon disappeared in like manner. Now and again they would demand "your sody (soda) box or bottle."

My children (the two little boys) and I had nothing to eat the whole two weeks, only what my noble, trusty carriage driver and his wife—Alex. and Mary—would bring to us. As she would pass the soldiers they would violently curse her. "If you carry another morsel to that white woman and her children we'll kill you."

Perhaps my readers would like to know how these colored friends came to have anything to bring. They would go into the camps and pick up hams, shoulders, etc., where only the lean had been taken out. Yes; they gathered up enough to last them three months after the army left our country.

My cook was a timid old woman, and left her house to their mercy. She, my nurse, dining-room servant, and dear old "Mammy" Pickett were my constant companions day and night. The latter was a very bright servant, and was all the time taken for my mother, and ordered time and again, "Give up your gold and silver; hand up your gold watch." She'd reply, "I am a servant." They'd say, "What! you a servant! whoever has you for a servant ought to be killed!" and with a most terrible oath, turning to me, "Don't you think so, lady?" My reply was, "There she is; she can answer for herself." "No, sir; I am treated as one of the family, and just as my mistress lives I live."

A Yankee told me to "go to such a man and ask for a guard." It was now near sundown. I went. Two soldiers were stationed in the hall or passage, just in front of my bedroom door, who rendered good service until about eleven o'clock that night, when, through the doors leading into the sitting-room, and the one into the hall, six or eight soldiers would open the doors, come in voluntarily, look and stare at me, often stand up by the fire, not uttering a word. I clasped my hands, and turned to "Mammy" Pickett, "My God! Have mercy on us! Mammy, how can I stand this?" I asked my visitors if any one knew in which room upstairs were the

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commanding officers. "The one over the parlor." I took "Mammy" Pickett, nurse, and another, went up, left cook and another to take care of the little boys, as they enjoyed nature's sweet repose; knocked at the door. "Come in," unbolted it and stepped back into the hall. One officer was ransacking my brother's trunk; the other raised up on his elbow in bed. I said, "Gentlemen (which was much against my will, to address them as such), will you not, for God's sake, protect me and my little children? Your men persist in opening my private room doors. I come begging your protection; I know my children and I are in your power." He said, "Certainly, madam." And he ordered the one engaged in brother's trunk, "Place a responsible guard directly in front of her doors." And we were not molested any more during the night. But, alas! alas! how could I sleep, or even *rest,* when I knew my whole house—nine other rooms—was filled by hundreds with such a rough set of thieves?

The next morning the officers inquired at my door, "Were you and your little boys disturbed any more during the night? You and the boys come and eat breakfast with us." I thanked him. "We do not feel like eating, and feel much obliged for your protection." Kind reader, that was pretty hard to swallow, to refuse an invitation to eat at my own table. Let me say that not much of my silver adorned Sherman's breakfast table that morning; it was lying in the woods, "beneath the sod."

As soon as practicable, faithful Alex. and his wife, Mary, came to see after my welfare, brought us something to eat, and filled my box with wood for the day. In a few moments Alex. was back in my room. "Missus, these Yankees will force me to go to Lancaster this morning; but don't you be uneasy; I'll be back tonight, and as I pass through the back yard I will be whistling." One can't imagine how anxiously I listened for that "whistling." It was indeed a long day.

So often was I asked by these thieves, "Why don't you lie down and rest, lady? You look very feeble and weak." I told them I was. I had just recovered from a severe spell of convulsions and fever, and showed them where my hair had been shaved, head scarified and cupped, and thought if they had sympathy that would test it. As I had been frequently told by them they would burn my house, I told them my health was too bad to be thrown out in such miserable weather. "All we want is to get you out," said they. "If you burn my house, you'll burn me up in it," I replied, for I felt it was death either way.

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About nine o'clock I heard faithful Alex.'s "whistling." Oh, how my heart went to heaven in earnest prayer for him as I heard his familiar footstep on the threshold.

The Yankees had been informed that Alex. had buried so many boxes of silver and other valuables. He was taken up and threatened in every way imaginable, but he, his wife, and my cook were true as the best of steel, and we saved all, notwithstanding the holes that were dug, and even the heavy granite tiling torn up from the hearths in the sitting-room and parlor. I did lose my mother's gold spectacles.

Mr. Green had been discharged on account of his health, and sent home to raise provisions for the Confederate army, he being a large planter. His health gave away during the second year—suffered from vertigo. As soon as he rallied, he joined his brother's (Wm. Green's) company, in Sumter County. He took measles, and was sent home again, and that was how he came to be home at the time of Sherman's raid. He left only two nights previous to the raid, and beat up towards North Carolina, endeavoring to save his and his neighbors' stock that was entrusted to his care, which he did.

On the fifteenth day, I was again at my window, and saw three cavalrymen coming into the back yard, the yard enclosure having been torn down and burnt up the first day of the raid. My *"companions"* and I soon recognized them as my brothers, James and Sam Cureton, and Mr. Reeves Wade, who had been sent out as scouts. The latter secreted himself behind my large house, *"watching,"* for fear of being flanked on the west, while my brothers were talking to me. It is needless to say I met them in tears as I said, "You three have come, tired and hungry, and *not a morsel* of anything have I to give you; the little boys are now begging for some bread." My brothers drew from their haversacks *nine* dirty, black biscuits, several days old, which they eagerly devoured, without reference to color or age.

The cavalrymen went to Mr. Wade's, a few hundred yards off. My brothers "kept watch" while Mr. Wade talked to his sister and her refugees, old Mrs. Benjamin F. Taylor and her daughters, of Columbia. They, too, of course, had a deplorable tale to relate. I regret to add that Mrs. Wade's servants were not such "steel" as ours were.

The morning of Sherman's raid, Mrs. Taylor, a lady of seventy winters, was on her knees, enjoying her "morning devotion," when fifty or more entered her room. "Get up, old woman; the

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Yankees are on you; no time to pray," and one of them walked up and lifted a pair of gold spectacles from her eyes.

I neglected to say, while our cavalry returned, "Mammy" Pickett ran to her house, got a teacup of fine Java coffee, which had run the blockade at Charleston, parched it, and had it made, without any sugar, which they enjoyed hugely. She had secreted it under the mattress of her husband's bed, who had feigned a severe case of rheumatism.

The second day after our cavalrymen left us, I reported my condition to my brother, Dr. Cureton, and he sent me a ham and a few pounds of meal and flour. I was then worried to know where to keep it; my companions advised me to hide it in the box, under the wood and chips, till we could get an opportunity of enjoying it.

It was indeed a sad spectacle to see our corncribs, ginhouse, filled with over a hundred bales of cotton; smokehouses, filled with meat and molasses (this year Mr. Green made 1,000 gallons of sorghum, not only for our own consumption, but to supply our brave Confederate soldiers), committed to flames in broad, open daylight.

During their stay with us, my nurse came to me and said, "Miss Virginia, is there anything of importance in the baby's trunk? The men are about to break it to pieces." I took her back with me, and found it as she said. I asked them, "Please don't break the trunk; there is nothing in there but my dead baby's clothes." I unlocked it, and propped up the lid. When he saw it, he picked up a garment, with a terrible oath of profanity. "I don't want your baby's clothes," he said.

In our community there were several wealthy farmers who suffered in like manner. My neighbor, Miss Mary Barnes, afterwards Mrs. Ervin, being an heiress, and her father holding an important office, and killed in the Sharpsburg battle, lost all her silverware and valuables. Her servants betrayed her. The Yankees fired her house and furniture several times, filled her handsome phaeton with meat, and thrust an ax in the back of it, and carried it off several miles, to a camp. When I know of my neighbors' unfaithful servants, I feel indeed proud of my own "dear companions." May God's richest blessings *ever* rest upon them.

I neglected to mention the sad fate of "Old Tom." When Mr. Green left me, two nights previous to the raid, he said, "Virginia, I will leave 'Old Tom,'" a family horse that was quite old, to which I and the little boys were much attached. Mr. Green thought I would perhaps need a physician, or want to send to mill. Poor "Old Tom"

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was shot, wended his way to *my window,* gave one dying groan, and fell.

I've tried to give you a mere statement, and must beg you to excuse me from the rest, some of which is too vulgar to recall to memory, much less to commit to paper; and I must beg you to pardon the briny tears, which have caused many ugly spots on this paper.

And may our South never pass through another such a trying scene. M. V. GREEN.

Lancaster, S. C.

In the Track of the Raiders.

Thirty years is a long time ago. To some of you children it seems as long ago as the flood. But your grandfathers, maybe your fathers, know all about it. It was to them the greatest, as well as the most dreadful, time they ever knew. It was then that all of the men in our sunny Southern land—and many of the boys—put on bright, new suits of gray and marched proudly and hopefully away, to fight the invaders. But those who came back! Ah! they were dressed in rags! Painfully and sadly they straggled home, after laying many of their brightest and bravest in unmarked graves.

There were little children then, just as there are now; and those children learned to know suffering and death, when they should have known only sunshine and play.

I will tell you about one little boy of those days who lived in Richmond, Va., the home of General Lee and President Davis.

This little boy heard a great deal about fighting Yankees. He wondered very much over it all, but, being a very quiet, thoughtful little fellow, he did not ask many questions, and consequently he got some very queer notions in his little head. You can never guess the funny idea he had about the Yankees. He had heard a great deal about them, and how dreadful they were, but he did not know what they were. So he imagined them to be very queer looking, fierce creatures, with two legs, just like enormous chickens, with all the feathers picked off. But he learned to know better. One day his mother told him there had been a great fight between our men and the Northern soldiers, and that very many on both sides had been killed and wounded. She said the sick and wounded were in the hospital, and that she was going to see them. So she took her little boy with her, and then he found out what a Yankee was, and what a hospital was, too.

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His mother had a basket in her hand, packed full, and they set out on their trip. After a while they came to a big brick house, and the lady and little boy went in. There they found a long room full of little iron beds, side by side; a poor, sick man, or sometimes a poor, sick boy, lay in each one. And after the beds were all filled, pallets were made on the floor, because there were more wounded soldiers than there were beds to put them in. That house was the hospital, and the sick men were the soldiers. Some of them were our soldiers, who fought for us; others were Yankee soldiers, who fought against us. But all were cared for there.

The little boy saw his mother open her basket and give soup, jelly, and other nice things to the nurse for the poor sick soldiers; and bundles of soft linen, too, to dress their wounds, the places where cruel bullets had struck them and torn great pieces out of their flesh. Some had a leg shot off; some an arm. Sometimes a poor fellow would lose both legs or both arms in battle.

After seeing those dreadful things, that little boy never forgot what a Yankee was, nor what a battle was, either.

But the two great armies meeting each other and fighting was not all of the war; that was the best and bravest part of it. There was a great deal that was mean and low. When the Yankees passed through our own little State, they left sorrow and desolation behind them.

There were many good, brave men in the Northern army who fought because they believed it to be right; but General Sherman was not one of these. There are not words enough in the English language to express how wicked and perfidious he was. The best man and most perfect gentleman I ever knew always called him "a dirty dog." He hated Southern people because they were all that he was not. And he said he would like to see every Southern woman brought to the washtub. He did all he could to bring them there. But General Sherman did not know of what stuff Southern women are made.

He and his soldiers of like type with himself came into our beautiful capital, Columbia, and only left it when they had reduced it to a pile of ashes. His army passed on their march from Atlanta to the sea, burning houses, fences, even every pig-sty and cattle pen, in their track. They carried off all the horses, and either took with them or killed all the other stock they could find. When they discovered something they could not steal, they managed to ruin it, so that it could be of no service to anyone else.

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They reached one homestead from which the inmates, hearing of their approach, had fled, because the master of that house had been one of the signers of the Ordinance of Secession, and was an influential member of the Confederate Congress. For him, dead or alive, the invaders had offered a large reward. "If we catch him," they said, "he won't be alive long." Finding that the family had escaped, the ruffianly soldiers wreaked vengeance on the property. A large and valuable library vanished in smoke and ashes under their hands; a handsome new piano, which some faithful negroes had taken from the house and tried to hide in a thick orchard, was discovered and hacked into splinters.

After helping themselves to all they could carry, they applied their ready torch to the rest until, when the owner returned, he found not so much as a chicken to crow for day on what had been a rich, well-stocked plantation.

In another place, they found a handsome carpet, which had been recently bought, that seemed to excite their vengeful spirit, and they searched the house to find oil, vinegar, molasses—anything that was liquid—and poured it all together on the carpet; then, in great glee, these brave soldiers stood around and stirred the mess with their swords. They set fire to that house, too; but the lady who lived there would not allow it to be burned. She had a little negro boy, who one day came crying to her, saying the Yankees had set fire to the house. His mistress told him to put it out. "I done put it out tree time. Dey say if I put it out agin dey shoot me," replied the child. This Southern woman hesitated not an instant. She took the pistol in her hand and, accompanied by the boy, walked out to where the bluecoat was amusing himself by kindling a fire under her house. Calmly she raised the weapon, pointing straight at the Yankee. Then, placing herself between him and the boy, she said, "Put that fire out; if he shoots, he'll shoot through me."

But, I am sorry to say, all of the mean, cowardly things were not done by the Northern men. We had some blackguards, too; but none of them held the high position, or received the honor in the South that was accorded to Sherman and Butler at the North. All of my life I have heard of the mean things done by the Yankees; but a few years ago I learned something of the other side of the story. I became acquainted with a very nice man from New York, who intensely hated Southern people. In spite of his prejudice, we became very good friends, and he one day told me how Southern soldiers had treated his father. His father was taken prisoner in

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Tennessee. He was ill, and the weather extremely cold. His clothes were taken from him, and very poor ones substituted for them. He was given no shoes and stockings at all and, barefooted, made to walk behind the army for three days, over miles of frozen ground. Even when he fell from exhaustion, and his feet had become so sore that every step left a bloody track in the snow, he was urged and driven forward until they were met by a detachment of the Northern army, and he was rescued.

I felt very bad when I heard that story, and for once was ashamed of a deed done by Southern soldiers. But I believe if any of our officers had learned of that shameful conduct the perpetrators would have suffered for it.

The children of those days fared very differently from those of the present time. They had no candy, unless on some rare occasion their mothers would spare a little molasses to make them some. Their dolls were made of rags; their blocks, and other playthings, such as they could find for themselves. We had very little money, and what we had was almost worthless. It took $150 to buy a pair of rough boys' shoes for a young lady who had lost one of her own while trudging through deep mud at night, fleeing before Sherman's merciless band.

Our people had scarcely enough to eat after Sherman passed through. I will tell you what one lady did, the same who saved her home from burning. After the raiders left her place, she went and raked up the dirt where they had fed their horses and, washing out of it all the corn that had escaped the animals, ground it up into food for her family.

A little girl who opened her eyes upon the world at that time was dressed in clothes made from her father's old linen shirts, and rocked in a cradle made of fence rails. How different that is from the pretty cradles and carriages and the dainty clothes the babies of today fall heir to!

Those were indeed "the times that tried men's souls," and very bravely they stood the trial. Let them never be forgotten, and let their children, and their children's children, rise up to honor and revere them.

LULAH AYER VANDIVER.

[The congressman whose plantation was destroyed, and upon whose head a price was set, was my father, Gen. Lewis M. Ayer, of Barnwell. The lady who saved her home and raked up the corn was his sister, Mrs. Martha Ayer Aldrich, wife of Judge Alfred P. Aldrich, of Barnwell. The Richmond lady who ministered to the

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soldiers was my grandmother, Mrs. Thos. V. Moore, wife of Dr. T. V. Moore, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Richmond. The lady who lost her shoe was my mother, then a bride.]

Recollections of the War.

The muttering discontent of two dissatisfied parties, North and South, had long disturbed our peaceful nation, and the people of South Carolina were in anxious expectancy of the bursting storm. Finally, when Lincoln was elected President of the United States, and Fort Sumter had been fired upon, war was declared inevitable, and our fair Southland was in the throes of a revolution. Despair and dismay for a while held sway. The people of the little town of Anderson gathered together and, with saddened faces and tear-dimmed eyes, would ask each other, "Oh! do you think there will be war?" And the answer would always be, "Yes; war is inevitable." And in groups we women would gather at a neighbor's house and debate the coming crisis. All was sad and gloomy, and a dark pall seemed to envelop our little town and extend its black folds far over our land. We groped about our household work in silence and death-like gloom, too sad to take any interest in our affairs, for we expected the war cloud to break over us any day.

Truly, in a few weeks after Lincoln was inaugurated, our executive head, Governor Francis Pickens, called for volunteers to hasten to Columbia for orders. The order from the Governor reached the village on Saturday evening, and by daylight Sunday morning our streets were filled with an excited crowd of people from all over the country—old men, and young men, riding, walking, hurrying, scurrying through the streets, anxious for departure to the seat of war. The entire day on that eventful Sunday in April was spent in getting things ready to send men to Columbia for inspection.

There was sorrow and weeping among the mothers and sisters over parting from their dear ones. Many a brave-hearted schoolboy, who had thrown aside his books and left his school, bade good-bye to home and its comforts, enlisted for his country's rights, and returned no more.

It was at this time the women of the proud old State showed themselves to be noble, self-sacrificing heroines in the strife. They wiped all tears away, set aside all repining, and went to work at once to help all they could in assisting the brave soldiers in the cause which they knew was right. Sewing societies were immediately

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organized, and the work of making clothing for our men in the war commenced. We met once a week in the old Temperance Hall, over the storeroom of the late Mr. A. B. Towers, located about where Mr. Ab. Kay's store now is, in what was called Granite Row.

Mrs. Rosa Webb, now deceased, was president of the sewing society. She and Mrs. Daniel Brown, and Mrs. Judge Monroe (now both dead) spent two or three days together, cutting out garments of gray jeans and cotton underwear, and when the society assembled we were each handed a garment to sew on while we remained, and our needles and our tongues would do duty for an hour or two as we discussed the army and its horrors. In this way we accomplished much in making garments. Every month we would send out a box of clothing, together with boxes of eatables, to gladden the hearts of our soldier boys, who were then in camp in Virginia.

We spent all of our spare time knitting socks, getting the thread spun on the plantations by the negroes; and we never went out to pay a visit without taking our knitting along. It was a common salutation, when we met our friends, to say, "Come, bring your knitting, and spend the day." Sometimes several days would be spent in scraping lint to be sent to the hospitals for dressing wounds. We would get together all the old, worn-out table and bed linen, and scrape it up into a soft down, make it in packages, and send it to the army surgeon. Many a poor, sorrowing mother's tears were bound up in that downy package of lint as she prayed that her boy might be spared in the coming conflict.

The years passed slowly on. Our clothes began to grow worn and thin. All the cloth in the stores was used up. Merchants had locked up their places of business, given the key to whom it belonged, and departed for the war. We then had to resort to spinning and weaving our cloth. Spinning wheels, cards, and cotton looms and reels were brought actively into use. Not only did they have to clothe the negroes on the plantation, but the white folks had to wear home-made clothes. Ingenuity and invention played an important part. We searched the woods for barks and roots to dye some pretty colors to make our dresses. There was no indigo blue or madder red for us to buy, so we used all kinds of dyestuff. We made a beautiful red dye from poke berries, setting the color with vinegar. Ivy or laurel root made a nice gray color, and red oak bark and walnut root a rich dark brown and black.

We often made trips to old Pendleton factory, then run by Mr. Ben Sloan, the same now managed by Mr. Gus Sitton.

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Confederate money got so cheap it was hard to buy thread with money. We had to barter tallow, beeswax, leather, and sheep's wool for thread. I have often thought what a blessing we had a cotton factory then to supply our country and town in thread for our use. A neighbor woman would get ready to make a trip to the factory in a buggy, sending word around to her neighbors that she would carry anything she could for them. So she started off in her buggy or one-horse wagon, loaded up with articles for barter from many families, and great would be the excitement when she returned, bringing the needed requirements for our clothing. One bunch of thread would warp about thirty yards. Ladies in the country who took in weaving would have to be paid in something more valuable than Confederate money. I heard of one woman who had thirty yards of cloth woven for a half-pint of castor oil.

When our shoes were worn out, we made the tops from any scraps of jeans we happened to have left from soldiers' clothes. And then commenced the weary walking every day for weeks to the old colored shoemaker, Elias Caldwell, who had his shoe shop on Whitner's creek, at Mr. Leverette Osborne's tanyard, the spot now built up, and a new, enterprising cottonseed oil mill nearly covering the place where the old tanyard used to be. Elias Caldwell was the only shoemaker in the town, and he was always hard pressed and filled with orders ahead. It was hard work to get him to make all the shoes we needed.

We made our own lights. Candles were made by melting tallow and pouring into tin molds, made at Mr. Luten Brady's tin shop. When the melted tallow cooled, we would draw from the molds a half dozen very shapely candles. Our parlor lights were quite fancifully made—a long cord, made from several strands of thread, was stretched across the yard, six or ten feet, and we then took a saucer of hot, melted tallow and beeswax, holding it under the cord, and walked along the line, backward and forward, until the cord was about the size of a lead pencil; then the cord was taken and wrapped around a bottle, up and down, and across, in a fanciful design, and set on the parlor mantel, to be lighted only when company came.

We made our own gloves, from bits of cloth, or knit them from homespun thread. We made buttons out of gourds, cut into molds, covering them with cloth of any color or kind. Our bonnets and hats were made from the straw hats we had before the war. We had but one milliner in our village, and all looked upon her as a great genius. Old Mrs. Garrison's house still stands on the corner,

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near the square, and is yet used as a boardinghouse. Mrs. Garrison ripped up our old hats and bonnets, dyed them, made and molded them over. She had but two styles—one she called a droop, the other a boulevard—so we had to accept one or the other. The droop was a wide-brimmed hat, strapped down with colored ribbon or scraps of silk from old silk dresses. A boulevard style hat was a small round hat, that turned over the head like a soup plate or a bowl, and was usually trimmed in palmetto rosettes, made from the native palmetto bark or leaf. With either kind of these hats on our heads we sat in church as complacently as we do now with our fashionable and richly-trimmed headgear.

Pins and needles were scarce. A half-dozen pins did duty for a year or two, and were stuck away carefully in a secret hiding place. Needles were borrowed from each other. One old lady I knew, who had but one needle, kept it hid away in the clock—she said from meddlesome busybodies. We used ink made from ink balls from oak trees; walnut juice was often used. We used a kind of coarse, thin, brown writing paper, made somewhere in the State (I have forgotten where). For shoe blacking, elder berries were cooked up and strained; with a little sorghum molasses stirred in the mixture, a beautiful, glossy blacking was produced. Our substitute for coffee was okra seed or rye, parched. Some made coffee from persimmon seed; it tasted sweet and pungent. Potatoes, peeled and dried, were sometimes used as a substitute for coffee; and I have heard some old ladies affirm that they would never buy any more coffee from the Yankees, as they had gotten used to the substitute and liked it just as well.

Before the war ended, salt became very scarce, and brought very high prices. Many farmers resorted to digging up the ground of their smokehouses, the salt having dripped from the meat which hung above during the smoking and drying process. The ground would be dug up, the dirt put into a hopper like an ash hopper, dripped down into a vessel, then taken and boiled down, getting the sediment, which was a brown salt, and used for salting the stock, and very often used on the table.

The first vessel that ran the blockade, I think, was the "Ella Warley" (though I am not certain). The vessel brought over some supplies, both in dry goods and groceries, and were sold at fabulous prices in Confederate money. Calico sold for $10 a yard, and went like hot cakes. My! my! $100 for ten yards of calico, and dingy, ugly calico at that!

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We attended parties and big dinners, where were served roast turkey, roast pig, and all kinds of eatables raised in abundance on the farms. For dessert we often had fruitcake made of dried peaches or grapes, prepared by our good housewives. We wore our homespun dresses, made en train, trimmed in palmetto buttons on the shoulders and on the sleeves, à la militaire. We wore these stylish dresses to all the social entertainments, and women vied with each other in making the most effective homespun costume. Our winter cloaks or wraps were made of brown or gray jeans, called the Chesterfield style. They were long and close-fitting, something like the automobile cloak of these days. Scarfs, made for the neck, were knit from colored wool, dyed on the plantation. Many of these scarfs we knit and sent to our soldier boys, to keep them warm while they stood picket during the cold winter nights. I remember my brother wrote home to my mother while in winter quarters:

"DEAR MAR: When the next box is sent here, please send me a pair of breeches. The scarf you sent me is all right as far as it reaches, but it only covers my neck, while the lower part of me is almost naked. My breeches are worn out, and my drawers are only pieces of drawers. Two shirts and a thin gray jacket is all I have. I am messing with Arch Saddler and Jim West. Each have a part of the work to do. I tote water; West makes up the bread, and Saddler cooks. If this is all we have until we raid somebody's hen house, then listen for squalls, for I'm bound to pull some old hen or rooster off the roost, and if they don't surrender quietly I'll knife her. That's a fact."

When any neighbor would receive a letter from a soldier it was sent around so we all might read it and keep up with operations of the army. As a general thing, all letters were bright and cheerful, and showed endurance and a willingness for duty.

Whenever there was an interval of several weeks between the receiving of letters, we knew the army was moving, something in war circles which betokened a getting ready for battle, and we awaited news with great anxiety whenever the newspapers would report a battle had been fought. And if the Fourth Regiment had been engaged, our excitement and suspense was intense, and many a poor mother's heart was rent on reading over the list of casualties.

During the last two years of the war, we had a hospital established in the old Masonic Hall, and many a poor wounded and sick soldier was nursed and attended by the ladies of our town. We also had a committee of ladies to meet every afternoon train. With pitchers

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of buttermilk, and a bottle of whiskey, we would go through the cars, and if any sick soldiers were on board we ministered to their wants. I remember on one occasion, when it came my turn to meet the train at the depot, Mrs. Marion Allen Hill and I entered the car and found several weak and sick soldiers, on furlough, going to their homes. We would stand by them, asking the question: "Buttermilk or whiskey?" "Whiskey, if you please," would almost invariably be the answer. Mrs. Hill's bottle was soon emptied, whilst my pitcher was as heavy as it was when I left home. I remember saying on one occasion, "Marion, I won't carry another pitcher of milk to that depot; if the committee wants me to carry anything to the soldiers they must provide me with a bottle, for I see you carry the favorite beverage." How we laughed as we wended our way home in the twilight.

At one time during the war a company of Wheeler's Cavalry passed through our town. This was a great time for us to turn out and show our attention to the brave Confederates. All the young ladies went out on the sidewalk and greeted them with waving of handkerchiefs and bouquets of flowers. One jolly Reb. rode by and, looking mischievously down from his horse to a bright young girl, said, "You better be bringing out your meat and bread; we can't eat flowers." This saucy speech caused the girls to realize that their flowers were not substantial food for hungry soldiers.

And so the years rolled by—four years of hardship and suffering and sorrow! Never in the history of the world did there ever exist such a noble, heroic and self-sacrificing people, both men and women, as lived in our beloved Southland. They made every sacrifice, endured every hardship, and carried forward to triumphal success every charitable scheme that would enhance the interest and comfort of the noble army. Never day so long or night so dark that they did not rise in oneness of purpose to assist in maintaining the Southern Confederacy. For four long years they toiled and suffered, and when the end came, when the great Lee had to surrender to overwhelming foes, the people with bowed heads and breaking hearts accepted the cruel fate and turned at once to work and toil to build up their fallen fortunes. We have at last reaped the reward in seeing our South arise from its ashes and take its place among the nations of the world.

MRS. SYLVESTER BLECKLEY.

[Read before the Robert E. Lee Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy, 1901.]

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With Stoneman's Raiders.

It was a clear, beautiful morning, 1st of May, 1865, when all nature smiled in kindliness at the approach of Spring, all schools had a holiday, and the gay young girls and boys, with their teachers and friends, went in big, roomy old rumbling wagons, with mules hitched in, to picnic on Rocky River's shady banks, to pull down yellow jessamine vines, to search for blue violets, and fish and bathe in the flowing stream. There was no thought of a disturbing element to mar the happy, gay laughter with that young crowd, and no one gave them a warning note of anything to disturb their pleasure.

For a day or two there had been some little anxiety of a Yankee raid. But the few older heads, whom we looked to for advice, said, "Oh, there's no danger; Anderson is the safest place in the Confederacy." It seemed it was considered so, for many had refugeed here from Charleston and other points; many people sent their trunks, with silverware, jewelry, clothing, and anything valuable, to be stored away for safe keeping, as our little village had always been considered safe from the enemy. So, with the little warning we had, we heeded not, and, like the people in Noah's time, we pursued the even tenor of our way, unbelieving, unexpecting any trouble from the enemy, particularly as Lee had surrendered, and all things were in a state of adjustment, and it took only time to bring order from confusion. On this certain May morning, my little children had gone with their nurses and teachers to the picnic and May day festival. Mrs. John B. Sloan, a near neighbor, came to see me, and together we planned to spend the day with my grandmother, who lived two miles from the town, on the Greenville road. We set out, walking the distance in a very short time. While we were at the dinner table, in the happiest and most unconcerned mood, my Uncle Elias John Earle came from the village and told us a cavalry regiment of Yankees was reported to be on the road between Greenville and Anderson, and that my brother, who had returned a few days before from the army, and had left my house that morning, had been on a reconnoitering expedition and had come suddenly on a squad of the enemy on the road between Anderson and Greenville. They had pursued him, but he outdistanced his pursuers, and rode into the town and gave the alarm. My uncle said there was great excitement in town, and he would advise us to get home as soon as possible, for the raiders would certainly be in Anderson by night.

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Mrs. Sloan and I hurriedly left the table, rushed through the front gate and down the road, running with all our speed, to reach our homes and be prepared for the raid. Suddenly we heard a mighty roaring and clashing, like a wind storm. We looked back and, oh, my! amid clouds of dust and flashing steel, and wild whoops, we saw at once we were surrounded by a thousand of Stoneman's Cavalry. "Halt!" was the order given. Never women stood so still, or hung their heads so humbly. Mrs. Sloan spoke up quickly, "We are unprotected women, returning home from a visit; please protect us." An officer then rode up and offered us an escort home, and gave the order to proceed. Then commenced that long two miles' march, right in the middle of the road, with an officer on each side of us. I never can forget the feelings I had; they were of the most bitter humiliation and disgust. I was too afraid to speak—except to answer questions in the most polite manner.

I had the most unhappy thoughts of the fate of my husband, who was in the enrolling service; of my little children, who were away from home; and how was this military escort to release us? were we their prisoners? and all sorts of horrid things crossed my brain. My companion in trouble, Mrs. Sloan, chatted brightly about the war, Lee's recent surrender, and how they came here, making this raid upon a people who had already surrendered. To all this they had a ready response to excuse themselves. As we neared the town, they gave the order to halt. We did so immediately. I thought, "We are going to be shot sure." They gave an order for us to stand aside, as they were preparing to make a charge into the town. We opened a gate and entered the yard to the home where Mrs. Lizzie Cater now lives. I do not remember who lived there then. There was no one at home. We stepped upon the porch; in an instant a large bulldog rushed upon us in the most ferocious manner; we fled again to the street, screaming with fright. One or two dismounted soldiers beat the dog away and, laughing, told us we were more afraid of bulldogs than Yanks.

So we remained right on the side of the road and let those raiders ride swiftly by, and as the last squad passed us, we set out running right behind them, through clouds of dust, taking all the near cuts, through patches and gardens, climbing fences, and shouting to our neighbors, as we went by, the news of the attack. When I entered my back door, it seemed to me a hundred of those marauders entered the front at the same time. The house was pillaged from top to bottom. In less time than I can tell you, smokehouse, dairy, pantry,

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everything had been cleaned up. Everybody's house had been entered at the same time, and all kinds of depredations made. Old men were choked and beaten to make them tell where their valuables were hidden. Some gave up rather than be so persecuted; others stood it out, and would not give them any information. The women and children were frightened nearly to death.

The picnic crowd had been surprised and their horses and mules taken from their wagons and buggies, and parties who had started home were left sitting in the road, too much frightened to know what to do. Some ladies were so frightened when they saw the soldiers approaching the house that they would rush towards them, offering them their watches and jewelry, and begging them to get away as quickly as possible. Some had time to hide away their things, but were so flustrated as never to remember where they had hidden them.

I remember a Mr. Sam Moore, who had a wooden leg. The leg was hollow. He carried six gold watches in his leg for several days, which different people had given him to hide for them. Many threw their bags of gold and valuables in their wells. Some hid them in the chimneys. These marauders took away all guns or firearms they found about the house, and took away clothing. They also ripped up the silks, tied them around their horses' necks, and paraded the streets as an aggravation to the citizens.

We dressed ourselves and children in all the clothes we had, piling on two and three dresses at once, and went about looking like stuffed animals; we hid everything else in the way of clothes between mattresses, to save them from being destroyed by the vandals.

The men were all taken prisoners as soon as these soldiers entered the town. They were locked up in the courthouses and kept secure for one night, and then let out on parole and sent by a guard home to their families, to remain a few hours.

These wretches remained in our town two days and nights, committing all kinds of depredations, and left us in a deplorable state, with nothing to eat, and our homes looted of everything valuable.

Anderson, S. C. MRS. SYLVESTER BLECKLEY.

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MRS. SARAH WATTS,
CHARLESTON.

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The Yankee Raid Through Anderson.

Indelibly impressed on the mind of the writer was the visit of Stoneman's raiders. It was May day, 1865. For days rumors had come to us that a contingent of the Yankee army was passing through the State, and would surely reach Anderson soon. Although Lee had surrendered in April, and there was no excuse for this visitation, Stoneman paid no attention to that, and continued his march through the South, accompanied by about two thousand merciless invaders, pillaging and destroying everything within reach.

Early on the morning of this beautiful May day, a party of young folks had determined to have their annual May picnic, just on the outskirts of the town, and enjoy themselves. They were reminded that the Yankees might come, but nothing deterred them, and bright and early a crowd of sweet young girls and happy-hearted boys were off to the picnic. All went well until about twelve o'clock, when a messenger came from Greenville, S. C., with positive assurance that the Yankees were on the way, and were destroying as they came. Farm houses were entered and rifled of everything valuable, their worn-out, sore-backed horses were turned loose, and the horses and mules of the farmers taken. What provisions for man or horse they could not consume they destroyed. Even featherbeds were taken out and ripped open, and cast to the winds. As this news came to the town, all was consternation. The picnic was forgotten by parents in their anxiety to hide away their valuables. In some cases, silver and jewels and other valuables were packed in jars or boxes and buried in yard or garden.

The young folks were overtaken on their return and came in terrified. By five o'clock in the afternoon we heard the clank of swords and tramp of horses, and before we knew it the whole town was filled with bluecoats, the first we had seen, as our place was remote from the actual scenes of war. Three days of terror followed their coming. Every man in town was halted on being met by the Yankees, and instantly robbed of watches or other valuables; then they, without being given any chance to communicate with their families, were marched into the courthouse, where they remained until everything about them could be found out. By communication with their servants, the Yankees found out their names and their financial standing.

The negroes were wild, and could be intimidated into telling anything. As they had been told that the North was fighting for their freedom, they were ready to bow down and worship them. If a man

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lived comfortably, they told that he was rich, and doubtless had plenty of money, and the Yankees believed it all and proceeded to get hold of some of this reputed wealth. Many of our best and most honored citizens, poor now, in that they had lost their slaves, and used all their money to live as plainly as could be, were hung up by their thumbs, or choked almost to death, to be made to tell where their money or valuables were stored.

In the meantime, every house was entered and pillaged. Ladies were insulted and required to make known the whereabouts of their valuables. Rings were stripped from fingers or ears; watches were taken. We were commanded to get supper ready for an indefinite number; this, to many of us, meant taking all that we had. The stores around the square were entered and emptied, and the little they contained which could not be carried off by the soldiers was given to the negroes, or emptied into piles in the middle of the streets, where the negroes flocked in droves to help themselves. Even the contents of the drug stores were pounded together and mixed so that no use could be made of them.

After this state of things had gone on for a day and night, the people, in order to protect themselves from utter demolition, had to humble themselves and ask the "gallant commander" of this valiant troop for a guard to protect their families from the further insulting abuse of the soldiers. The request was most graciously granted, but many times, as was the case in our own house, the guard was a terror.

By this time the soldiers had gained access to a wine cellar, and the majority of them were crazed with drink. While our old guard was lying stretched on the piazza bench, sleeping off his drunk, the house was filled with soldiers, who searched every nook and corner; even bureau drawers and writing desks were entered. The night before I had burned up all my letters, and in my desk was found only a little silk Confederate flag, which I purposely left there, and it cost me dearly, as it only exasperated these wicked men.

My father, then an old man, was ordered to pull off the only shoes he possessed and hand them over. My mother was ordered to "turn out them pockets; we knows you have something hid there." At this rude and ungentlemanly treatment, the delicate, nervous, and sensitive nature of the dear one all gave way, and she fell into our arms, all unconscious of what would pass for several hours. We became indignant. Young and hot-headed, I lost all fear, and while every drop of blood boiled in my veins, I spoke my mind. They

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declared they would burn down the house of such a d—d Rebel as my father, and all the long hours of the second night we were packing and arranging to get out at a moment's warning, expecting to see the flames from some part of our town. But it proved to be only a threat, and on the evening of the third day our hearts were rejoiced at the sound of the marching out of "the enemy."

They did not leave, however, without the shedding of blood. A noble young boy was shot in cold blood as he lingered, with a group of friends, near the principal hotel. This filled us with new horror, and another sleepless night was added to the three preceding ones. During these terrible days and nights, very few ladies had undressed, for they knew not what an hour would bring forth.

The country people along their route fared even worse than people in town. As they passed the country home of my uncle, the family, not being apprised of their approach, rushed to the front piazza to see the cause of such an unusual noise and tramp of horses. As they halted, pistols were fired, a ball just missing my uncle, and lodging in the body of his daughter nearby. She has always been a sufferer from the effects of it. A few miles distant from this, in the town of Hartwell, Ga., my uncle's eldest son, a prominent physician, who had passed through the war unhurt, lived; they entered the town in his absence, and he soon after rode up to his door to alight; as he did so, he was shot, and died instantly.

After this, affairs in our Southland quieted down, and all tried as best they could to accept the situation bravely. Our cause was precious, and as just to us as ever, but we were overpowered, outnumbered. The returning soldiers we gladly welcomed home again. The loved and lost were talked of at every gathering. Almost every home had its hero. The pride of our hearts were our wounded and maimed soldier boys. Our greatest delight was to minister to a one-armed hero, or come to the help of a soldier on crutches.

Let me say that while my young life was somewhat shadowed, and I was cut off from the privileges of an education, and over this there is much regret, still I am glad to have lived through a period like this, and believe that what there is in me of womanliness and strength of character and endurance is greatly due to the lessons of self-sacrifice and helpfulness to others taught me during the war.

R. C. HOYT.

Greenville, S. C. (MRS. COL. JAMES HOYT.)

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Incidents of the Anderson Raid.

It is hardly without the pale of the present generation's memory since the roar and thunder of Jackson's gun had ceased to echo through our happy Southland. The dying embers of Lee's campfires marked the places where recently stood watch the chivalrous flower of Southern manhood. Sherman had begun his march to the sea, and in his wake there was left naught but devastation and sorrow. Thanks to the fates that old Anderson was spared a visit from this fire fiend.

It was May 1, 1865, that a courier, said to have been a member of Wheeler's Cavalry, came dashing down Main street, giving the alarm, "The Yankees are coming." In a short while the news had spread like wildfire, creating terror and consternation throughout the village. One of the leading citizens met the raiders in front of the courthouse with a flag of truce, improvised by tying a handkerchief on the end of his cane. He claimed that the war was over, and demanded of the officer in command protection for the citizens and their property. He also informed the officers that they might make his house headquarters if they so desired. Protection was promised, but the Benson House was chosen as headquarters.

On this eventful day, there was a picnic party at Silver Brook, the pretty little stream that winds its way through the "Silent City" near our homes. Just as the merry crowd were ready to enjoy the feast spread before them, they were rudely interrupted by the raiders. All of the teams were captured, but the picnic party was given the privilege of returning to their homes in the wagons. And as the Federal soldiers rode on each side of them through the public square, it is safe to say that they never guarded fairer prisoners than those Southern girls.

The object of the raid was to capture ex-President Jefferson Davis. By some means, the Federals had ascertained that he had been in Abbeville. It was also reported to them that a large amount of Confederate gold and silver was on the road, having left that place. The raiders were commanded by General Palmer, a Kentuckian, who was candidate for Vice-President during the last campaign, on the goldbug Democratic ticket. Palmer's command was sent in every direction, and especially to all towns and to the bridges over the Tugaloo, Seneca, and Savannah rivers, hoping to learn of Davis' crossing place, and whether any gold or silver had been sent across those rivers.

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Many were the laughable scenes as this family or that rushed hither and thither, seeking a hiding place for their valuables or necessaries. One member of the family watched the front door while another hid the jewels. Garret and cellar were searched for hiding places, and floors and ceilings were ripped from their places to find storage for a handful of sugar or a cup of salt, worth anywhere from $10 to $100 per pound.

No doubt there are old wells hereabouts still holding their treasures, and many family relics bear the mark of hasty concealment. A lady who still resides in Anderson owned a very handsome watch, and when she received the intelligence that the raiders had come she was sorely distressed. In great haste, she secured a tin cup and, placing the watch therein, concealed it in the bosom of old mother earth, beneath a tree in an immense orchard, and, covering the place with grass, she felt that her watch was securely hidden. After the raiders had left town, she returned to reclaim her treasure, but, to her disappointment, she was unable to locate the tree, and finally called out the slaves to assist in the search.

It may be interesting to mention that located at Johnson University, now Patrick Military Institute, was the Confederate Treasury, or a branch of it. Our government had eighty foreign expert artists employed, who were turning out millions of dollars of cheap Confederate money. One hundred and twenty-five dollars in Confederate money was worth about one dollar in gold the day before the raid. There was a small amount of coin in the treasury. It was paid out pro rata to the employees, from officers and clerks down to the laborers in the printing department. Most of the books and papers were stored in the building now occupied by the Hill-Orr Drug Company. This building contained money, books, safes, and many valuables that belonged to citizens all over the South, some having been shipped from Richmond when the Treasury Department was removed from there.

At the time of the raid, the dining-room of the Benson House was connected by a door with the storage room of the Treasury Department. When it was rumored that the stores were being broken open, some of the citizens, with the assistance of the slaves, set about to remove the trunks and boxes into the dining-room. There, under a double row of tables, were placed the trunks and boxes. The tablecloths were arranged so as to nearly reach the floor. The Federal officers who had headquarters at the Benson House ate their meals over those boxes of silver, diamonds, gold, and other valuables.

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Many old slaves would go to the rooms of the refugees, get their jewels and hide them, and not once did they betray either native or refugee.

In some instances, most brutal and cruel methods were used by the raiders. Mr. Silcox, a wealthy refugee from Charleston, on refusing to reveal the hiding place of his wealth, was immediately hung by the thumbs and treated in a most uncivilized manner.

Standing on the corner, where formerly was Crayton's store, but now the Bank of Anderson, was a crowd of boys conversing. Suddenly eight or ten Federals rode up and shouted, "To what command do you belong, and what are you doing here?" Before anyone could reply, several shots were fired, and one of the boys, a Mr. Parker, was instantly killed.

A negro man, commonly known as "Happy Dick" Wilson, whose broad smile, fiddle and bow made lasting impressions on many of our older citizens, was shot down near the First Methodist Church, while running to his master.

Murder and robbery appear to have been the program. There was a man captured near Harrison's spring who had $700 in gold in a belt upon his person. The raiders were very much elated at that, and near the same place they captured another man and found a large amount of gold in the hollow portion of his wooden leg. The raiders searched every man they met, and not only robbed him of money but took anything of value. The stores were all looted, safes broken open, and Confederate bonds and private papers scattered. Many old iron safes could be seen around the public square for a long while after the raid, being monuments of robbery perpetrated upon defenseless people.

Hundreds of bottles of wine, said to have been a century old, were taken from one of the storerooms. Many Federals drank freely, and had planned to burn the Confederate cotton which was in front of Mr. Tolly's store. The matter was reported to an officer who had retired; he immediately hurried out, secured a squad, and put the leaders of the movement under arrest, and placed a guard around the cotton till sunrise next morning. These events occurred in May, though the surrender had occurred the 9th of April.

After the raiders had left town, a gentleman found a valise under a trap door in the hotel, and just as he was bringing it up an old darkey rushed up and said, "What you doing there, boss? That's my valise," and on being asked where he got it, he replied, "I was up all night, waiting on those Yanks., and they never gave me a thing,

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so for my reward I captured this valise, and I think it is full of gold"; but it was found to contain papers only.

The Kentuckians in that command, and many Northern troops, conducted themselves as soldiers and gentlemen, while others did not; but none were so vicious and mean as those who claimed to be Tennesseans.

Our townsman, Mr. John Catlett, who had been recognized as a Union man, and originally a Tennessean, had been roughly treated by the post guard. Be it said to his credit that in his quiet way he exerted his influence and did all in his power to restrain the Federals from their misdoings.

The people of Pendleton, on hearing of the outrages committed here, hastily organized a company of patriots and came to assist in protecting our people. So long as time lasts, Andersonians should bear the most brotherly feeling towards the Pendleton people. Mr. John Hopkins, a Union man of this place, and a relative of one of the Federal officers, used his influence and did a great deal of good for the people.

Well, I cannot enumerate all who endeavored to punish men disgracing the uniforms they wore, yet this sketch would be incomplete without mentioning the famous Manse Jolly. It is not known how many men he caught, but it is said that he captured three men at one time, near Providence Church. Seven men wearing Federal uniforms were killed and buried near Townville—not on account of the uniforms they wore, nor for being in the Federal army, nor for being Yankees, but for being with a command that robbed and pillaged old and young, white and black, and for committing crimes after the war was over that would make a Comanche Indian hang his head in shame.

The raiders fired at every man they met, but the fire was seldom returned. A United States soldier, who belonged to an Ohio regiment, was shot in the back of the neck from ambush.

While bushwhacking should be condemned, if there ever was a time when it was justifiable it was when Federal soldiers robbed and murdered a people who, without arms and ammunition, had surrendered. I can even draw a veil of charity over the acts of men who made war the science of barbarism; I cannot excuse or palliate the acts of robbery, vandalism, murder and, yea, worse than murder, committed in Anderson County *after the war was over.* Not even age or sex was respected, and children and old gray-haired men and women were shamefully and brutally mistreated.

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I have heard that all of the outrages were not committed by United States soldiers, but a great many perpetrated by ruffians known as "jayhawkers."

I love the Union and the flag of my country. But I will say that I respect and honor all who from honest convictions and sincere motives fought for or against the Union.

OLIVE COCHRAN MINOR.
(MRS. C. S. MINOR.)

Anderson, S. C.

Reconstruction.

(Read before Wade Hampton Chapter, on the eighty-first anniversary of General Hampton's birth.)

Late in the sixties, Captain Taylor and I, finding ourselves possessed of our plantation, and "nothing else besides," seeing that our living was dependent upon what his agricultural skill might bring out of the earth, it was settled that we should take with us a young relative and make a home on the plantation.

Captain Taylor had begun a new hospital for the place just before leaving for Virginia campaigns with General Hampton, upon whose staff he was serving in 1863.

An industrious little pony was much occupied in Columbia turning machinery which dragged various houses on log rollers from point to point in the city. The pony was brought to our plantation and trundled the hospital edifice from the quarters into the watermelon patch, away from the negro settlement. This building was divided into four small rooms, and replaced a statelier home, of which I had been deprived. In it, however, were my silver, some glass, engravings from old masters, wool mattresses, a Fraser miniature of my father, a piano, and infinite treasures of a life. All of these were burnt in 1873, and this increased our struggle and made me gladly accept the then generous offer of the Vestry of Trinity Church to give me a pew, with the right therewith included of interment in the churchyard, and a salary, if I would sing in the choir, where I had given service for twelve years.

Mr. Taylor put a plank enclosure upon the running gear of the carriage, which had run back and forth over the State, while Sherman was visiting us, and afterwards, bringing people home; across the railing was an odd remnant from a cariole, and upon this equipage I made my entrée to Columbia thrice weekly, sheltered by an umbrella and waterproof, and gave singing lessons. The worth of

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the law, "do today what your hands find to do," was exemplified; for Captain Taylor's great heart and ready hand had gone out to many in the days when he could do for others, and it came back to us, ennobling poverty.

By 1876 our people were ready to begin public struggles for State life. The Patrons of Husbandry had brought country communities into organizations as agriculturists. The sub-granges contained the element which turned into Democratic clubs. Captain Taylor was the first State Master of the Patrons, and I the first lady officer, and continued to be for four years. Eagerly my mind assimilated political hopes and possibilities spoken by men, so that when the campaign of '76 opened I was ready to acquiesce in the proposal that "Captain Taylor, being popular with our negroes," with other candidates, might, by hook or by crook, get elected to the Legislature; and so he engaged in the game, which, though he lost the election, was a part of the whole, resulting in the Wallace House and recovery of the State government by the inauguration of Governor Wade Hampton.

A witty young negro journalist gave a pen picture of the meeting below our plantation: "Col. A. C. Haskell, laboring with a retarding impediment of speech; Col. Wm. Wallace, with a dignity that looked as though he thought supremacy belonged to him; Captain Taylor, who grabbed the back of a chair, and silently looked and solemnly announced, 'I have always been the negro's friend, and you all know it,' was interrupted by joyous cries, 'Dat's so, Marse Tom; you's got de right of it; dat's true.' Mr. Rhett rolled his eyes and twirled his thumbs, and said not a word worth a cent." Well, the candidates were not rewarded for their labor by election, yet Federal bayonets and negro dominance were, *in the end,* abrogated.

One day it was said that one hundred men were listed for arrest, and that Chamberlain had called for United States troops to reinforce and put down sedition. This was no *constitutional* call by the Legislature, and there was no insurrection. That night Captain Taylor came in from the campaign at 12 o'clock, swallowed some coffee, and sank on a bed. I, standing still, listened to a queer, unusual thud sound, regular and dull, then a stop, then resumed, till at the corner of a third street I suddenly realized the tread of infantry. "Mr. Taylor, that is soldiery, and those arrests, I believe, are to be made; get up and go." "I am going to sleep," was the submissive answer. I was by the window, and a sudden indifference came to me. I raised the sash and drew a chair, leaning on the sill; I saw

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the gleam of arms as the troops stood at the corner of Blanding and Bull. They began to march on Bull street and, reaching the corner, right under my eye, and I in full view, the order rang out: "Halt; ground arms." The guns bumped down on the ground, and I said, "Mr. Taylor, they have stopped here; what shall I do?" "Hallo; hurray for Hampton!" he replied. But I am not given to bravado, and bridled my tongue. The troops had arrived at the Charlotte depot, and were on guard against ambuscade, it was said; therefore, they stopped at the street corners to peer around before marching on to glory.

The campaign had been a great strain upon the women. I had come in to Columbia, and rarely saw Captain Taylor. There were threats and approaches to riots, and only discretion could have saved the results of bravery and tenacity.

C. O. Marshall had been a young soldier, and was gifted with intensity in narration that fixed his stories on a listener's memory. He described to me the scene at Crane Creek, when division of time was refused by the Republicans. A. C. Haskell headed a cavalry column which marched in twos, between some chicken coops, where arms were stored, and the negroes (who, he had been told, were to get them) jamming the mouth of his charger against the platform. "Move your column, Colonel Haskell," ordered the master of ceremonies; "you endanger the crowd." "Mr. Marshall will speak," replied Colonel Haskell, imperturbable as a granite statue. (Mr. Marshall, tableau! with folded arms and set teeth, awaiting the stoppage of hisses and hoots.) "Move your horse, Colonel Haskell," shouted the chairman; "he disturbs the people." Mr. Marshall says Colonel Haskell fixed his eye (the other had been lost in battle) upon the chairman and replied, "My horse will obey *me;* he will not move one muscle, sir." "Your horses will become unruly." "No, sir; my men are born horsemen. Here we are, and here we shall stay. Divide time. Go on, Mr. Marshall." And Mr. Marshall did go on, and the negroes did not go on to those chicken coops.

This Mr. Marshall is the same who was sent by the Wallace House to a room with Myers, one of the two negroes who had been gained over from the Chamberlain House, to make the majority over the other assembly in possession of the State House, upon which attainment hung the recognition of Hampton at Washington. Myers had made a speech, and C. O. Marshall was deputed to write it out. As Myers dictated, Marshall would say, "Oh, yes; I remember, you said so—and thus." The speech was made (whether by Myers or

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Marshall), and being read by one to the other, was accepted by the originator with the remark, "That's fine; I didn't know that *was* such a fine speech when I was speakin' it."

In the weeks which preceded the march through the streets of Columbia from the State House to the Fair Grounds, in 1876, which was the winding up, there was a man whose nerve, conduct, and singular discretion during that time suggests the dignity and severity with which a great trust was discharged in the days when the Persian king had given permission to the Prophet Nehemiah to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. The seductive wiles of enemies, Sanballat and others, inviting him to come and parley on the plain, were answered by the Jewish prophet from the walls which he was resetting to insure the safety of the Jewish people, "I am doing a great work; I cannot come down." The political protections of South Carolina were being rebuilt, but besides these political walls, there were other heights upon which our State sat, and upon that moral elevation our representative was immovable. He answered "Sanballat" Denny and "Sanballat" Settle, "I *will* not come down," when they proffered a trade of Federal election vote for State government.

Gen. Bradley T. Johnson writes (and is recorded in the *Richmond State* of December 4, 1876), to General Hampton, in 1893:

"Judges Denny and Settle, who represented the Republican National Committee, proposed to you, in the presence of Gordon and myself, that if you would say to the crowd that came to your headquarters every night that you believed Hayes had carried the State, then the State government should be turned over to you. You promptly replied that Gordon and Johnson should go over the returns with an expert, Denny and Settle being along, and that you would announce the result as certified by all of us. To this Settle replied, laughing, 'Oh, we have had our game with that pack, and have thrown them away.' You then said, 'I will not make such a declaration to be President of the United States.' That day was a stirring day in Columbia. Yours truly,

"BRADLEY T. JOHNSON."

General Gordon writes: "I remained in Columbia at the request of the National Democratic Committee, and of South Carolina Democrats. I know of my own knowledge that you positively refused to entertain for an instant any suggestion upon arrangement looking to sacrificing Mr. Tilden's right or claim to the vote of South Carolina."

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It was not only the allurement of profit and position which was declined by this South Carolinian of 1876; but it was also the lurid challenge of a flaming home and the stern call of death. His family, including three young children, were swept by fire into unsheltered exposure. He did not come home to see that shoes were on the little feet, or a roof over the children's heads. Carolinians' hearts welled up to him in love and gratitude then, and the women of the commonwealth, as his sisters of a common mother, took care of them till the strain was over.

The last meeting of the campaign was to be in Columbia, the day previous being appointed for Orangeburg.

I was giving a music lesson at Miss Elmore's school. Miss Martin's head appeared above the plank fence, and she called me to the window. She told me that Wade Hampton Haskell was lying in Trinity Church, awaiting interment, having been brought down from Walhalla; that there was no arrangement for music, and she knew that the boy's mother would grieve should the child be laid away without it. I got my hat and joined Miss Martin, and we walked to Trinity by lamplight. I looked at the back of the organ when we reached the church and found one piece of candle two inches long. We agreed she should play an air she knew without notes, and I should have the candle. We selected a hymn to suit the air, and she remarked, "Suppose that hymn should not be given out?" I replied, "Never mind; you play it, and I will sing it as a solo." In the dusky light, a figure walked up the aisle with others, the grandfather for whom the dead boy was named. He did not remain until the mound was made up. An engine had been put on the track to bring him to Columbia to this funeral, but that engine could not occupy the track except for a limited time without interfering with trains, and Governor Hampton was to speak the next day in Orangeburg. He returned.

I give some incidents of that period that it may be understood what were the dangers and anxieties besetting our men, making them cautious about their families in the latter days of the campaign.

Capt. W. D. Starling gives me the following:

"While leading about fifty Democrats, under Colonel Haskell, in the campaign of 1876, arrived at Macedonia Church under our gallant leader, A. C. Haskell, we found, agreeable to our expectations, the county Republicans had erected a stand, formed a guard thereabout, composed of mounted blacks, reenforced by carpetbaggers and scalawags. Their leaders were the Comptroller-General and

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Secretary of State. Their intentions were to hold a political meeting. They were bountifully supplied with ammunition—State property at that time in their possession.

"Colonel Haskell informed them that we had come to interfere with their plans, and after a while an agreement was perfected. We were to divide time—an equal number of speakers on each side, with a time limit. All went smoothly until the negro Republicans found that there was a negro speaker on our program. This they objected to, refused to allow it, and threatened his life if he persisted in speaking. I reported the matter to Colonel Haskell; but he remained firm, refusing to alter our program, except to put the negro first, instead of last, as he had intended. The negroes clamored for blood. A line of fight (to use African parlance) was formed by the whites; but when the negroes began to form, one old darkey—a noisy, boastful fellow, too—stood up in his stirrups and addressed his leader thus, 'Daniels, no use to hurry dis line of fight; de white folks will 'just (adjust) dis matter.' Then the Comptroller-General made it known that he agreed with this negro speaker, and added that he felt sure *he* would not escape with his life if a fight took place. A well-known German among the Democrats assured him that he was not apprehensive without cause, as he had 'shust pigged him oud himself.' Order was restored, the meeting proceeded, and the Democrats carried their point."

The political campaign had set in and it continued vigorously. When the end neared, it came like an inspiration that women might serve a purpose, that a show of confidence would be made by their moving about as though already owning the country, and might have a subduing effect upon the public. It was a superb stimulant and a profound sedative which poised us when the Democratic Chairman, Mr. A. C. Haskell, accepted our offer. "You have relieved a difficulty," he said; "I was thinking how we could manage about the streets." Mrs. Douglass Plummer and I went to Democratic headquarters to counsel with Colonel Haskell. "All that I can say to you, ladies, is, remember that the least mistake or indiscretion may precipitate conflict, and blood will flow." We surely felt that we assumed a terrible commission and, setting aside all but the stupendous purpose to be served, women worked through in wisdom, and with gratitude that they were helpful in a wonderful peril.

A meeting was called through the press. Carolina Hall, behind the present Law Range, was packed with women, whose faces lit with passion, and still purpose gave the surety that no country was

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annihilated with that woman's soul left into which God had breathed patriotic life. To my eternal honor I shall feel it that this body of patriots called me to preside over it. Plans were sketched in the second meeting, and merchants gave us their conveyances; young and old got materials together. Soon we concluded we could safely leave the retired hall in which we were working up garlands, and present ourselves upon the Main street, in a large store. Here our stifled sentiments peeped out in sarcastic mottoes. Our suppressed daring glinted into printed signs. Our keen scorn cut its way into accusation by derisive pictures. That good citizen, Eugene Cramer, of the opera house, declared there was "*one* honest Yankee," and to his wit and art we owe the caricature of Hell Hole Swamp, forty acres and a mule. This big picture was hung alongside of a store—a wretched, half-drowned brute struggling out of Hell Hole Swamp, the lands bought by a lot of government swindlers for nothing and sold to the government for fortunes for their infamous gang.

The South Carolina College was in the possession of the negroes. The State House was occupied by the adverse party—negroes, scalawags and carpetbaggers. One of our committees began work just at the edge of our beloved State House grounds, then under Federal guard. Great square pillars were covered with gray moss, to simulate granite. This design we called "the gates of the city." We raised there the State flag; delay occurred in getting up the United States flag, as the evening was closing in. Some United States soldiers were looking on at the corner, and our workmen had left the spot. I looked at these men and said, "That is *your* flag; do you mind getting up that ladder and placing it *where I tell you?*" "Why, we will be glad to serve you," one man said, and three moved up to the pillar. I said, "Now, you put it where I tell you—*not above that Palmetto.*" They laughed, and obeyed, and said some very pleasant things about the Southern ladies.

One committee planned and prepared to array thirty-two little girls to represent the Counties, who should ride on a fireman's truck through the streets to the Fair Grounds, where the speaking was to be. In this committee I had to urge that the plan be relinquished, for reasons suggested by Colonel Haskell. When I presented them, Miss Mary McKenzie and her disappointed friends abandoned the plan.

Days later we had attained so much firmness by the supposed impression made on the public by our seizure of the situation that the gentlemen conceded that we might have the children on the truck.

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Another set of ladies proposed it to me; I interviewed those who had given it up, and they generously gave consent. Miss Matilda Ehrlich, Mrs. Edward Ehrlich and Mrs. Plummer and others carried out the plan effectively, and as the first little girl was lifted off the truck to the platform and stepped up to General Hampton, presenting her bouquet, she was taken up and kissed by him, the other children all on the platform.

Mr. Julian Selby told me that as the truck with the thirty-two little silver-winged girls was about entering the gate the negroes, women and men, threatened and insulted them, and a soldier (from Edgefield) cried: "Have we got to take this?" "Keep the peace," was the General's order, and he obeyed.

A child on horseback had been roughly handled near the State House, but that was a boy, and the marshal of the day had righted it, and nothing worse than invective bitterness was exhibited by the negroes.

When the campaign was closing all about were men equipped for camp. Several camps were in the environments of Columbia—one at the Fair Grounds, and the cavalry horses were the "stock on exhibition for the Fair." Days before the final parade, passing along the streets men would be seen lounging on the pavement, strapped and canteened, as with sore hearts we remembered to have seen them in '60 to '65. Scarcely breathing the words, we would ask: "Have you eaten? If not, go to such a point, all is ready for you." There was more mystery than when we were getting our men to the front of the Yankees. There was adverse strength right in our midst—we knew it and were feeling our way. When the women transferred their garland shop to the Main street, young negroes would peer in the windows and jeer, not speaking to, but at our children as they passed in and out. "Look at the Rebs"—and they would sing their songs. We charged the boys and girls going out from the workshop to neither look at or speak to them. The last day approached. My experience the evening before is one to itself. Five of the ladies suddenly determined after lamplight to walk up the street together, *and seem at ease,* and look at the effect of our plan of decoration. We started at the Gates of the City, and passed under the State arch at the corner (but we never got to the United States arch), for we felt, rather than heard behind us, tramp, tramp, increasing, and then a voice began to chant: "John Brown's bones lie mouldering in the clay," and others joined in, till a chorus of 20 or more negro youths, not violent but steady, were almost touching

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us. I completely lost my sense of identity and the five women caught hands and swung along as one—crossed the street, followed still, until we reached on our return Fisher's drug store, into which we plunged with the feeling that a weird spell had been broken. We got some of our gentlemen to see us to our homes and felt safer when daylight came.

Our forces, negro convicts and red-shirts, marched next day through the streets, and under our emblematic arches, with Bayard of Delaware and Gordon of Georgia, who had come to see us win; and win we did, by the masterful reticence, the glorious power held by the spirit of one man over the spirits of our other men, who would have taken that State House with their finger nails, being without weapons, if only Hampton had said the word. When they asked for orders, expecting again and again at certain points in the progress of affairs that he would release their energies into action, he held them still; like a giant in thongs. The words never changed. "General, what shall we do?" "Keep the peace." A giant loosed does not feel the gash of a sword—a giant bound feels the prick of a pin.

I have always been pleased to think (with a *race* pride) that Chamberlain was not a coward. He rode down from the Arsenal Hill in his coupe, alone; and our red-shirts and clubs being massed for a block in front of the State House, he bent forward, looked out and spoke to his negro driver, who turned out of Main street at Muller's corner, where I viewed him from the gallery; and he got to the State House by the *back* street.

Still, we were not in possession. I was at my sister's on Taylor street when a great boom startled us. At the gate three young negro women faced me. One exclaimed, "What's that for?" Another answered, "Just some of those damned white Democrats' foolishness." I ran over to Dr. Lyles' bareheaded (and I see now a big pile of sweet potatoes on the hearth in the room into which I burst) with the inquiry of the meaning of the noise. A number of young men were collected there for dinner. Another rushed in, gasping, "Hampton is acknowledged. The Wallace House is the government. News from Washington."

I did not know a man of those who stood in the room, but hands were wrung, and as I left the house I saw them swinging around and around in a circle like children going round the rosemary bush, hysterically saying words "fondly."

And this was the way it was begun to get the State home again.

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A long while after this paper was written I turned over some *States,* rolled and labeled "Hayes and Hampton," which caught my eye, and I found this letter of General Johnson's, written in 1893.

It gives with a man's vigorous style what I have set forth in a womanly way.

"The morning the Rifle Clubs were ordered to Columbia you had only to raise your hand and Ruger's garrison would have been swept off the face of the earth. But you held them back, and I know no more remarkable illustration of moral force than your control—and their obedience—honorable to both. You had only to say, 'There they are—take them!' and the firing on Sumter would have been repeated. I remember the great meeting before the Democratic headquarters at Columbia, the day it was attempted to pack the State House with roughs. I remember how the wires were hot that night with orders to the clubs to report at once, and how by 9 a. m. we had 2,500 old soldiers of the Army of Northern Virginia on the spot, and by sundown there were 5,000 of them—and then they were all brought up before the headquarters, and your speech was to this effect:

" 'I am glad to see you all here, come to see the State Fair. There is very good stock out there, and I hope you will all go to see it, and be very particular to behave in an orderly and quiet manner. I want you all to remember that I have been elected Governor of South Carolina, and by the God above, I intend to be Governor! Go home and rely on that. I'll send for you whenever I want you.'

"That speech, and the yell that responded to it, made you Governor, and no huckstering for advantages, no trading for benefits, was part or cause of your success. Let South Carolina and South Carolinians remember until the last syllable of recorded time that manliness and courage bore her through the ordeal of 1876, ten thousand times more trying than Cornwallis' or Tarleton's raids, or Sherman's dragonnade. No man or woman or child will ever blush for the means by which the redemption of South Carolina was achieved, but will always say, with crest erect and face to heaven, 'My blood was there; my people took part in that heroic achievement.' "

With these words we close the record of *how* Wade Hampton won!

Columbia, S. C. MRS. THOMAS TAYLOR.

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History of the Orangeburg County Monument Association.

In the spring of 1887, *The Times and Democrat,* through its columns, published an article urging upon the people of Orangeburg to bestir themselves, and not let the names and fame of our Confederate dead rest in oblivion.

At once the matter of raising the necessary funds for a monument was taken in hand, and on June 3, 1887, twenty-one young ladies met with Mr. John A. Hamilton in the Edisto Armory and organized the Orangeburg Confederate Monument Association, with the following officers:

President—Miss F. Agnes Dibble.

Vice-Presidents—Misses Fannie Moseley, May Salley, Delle Raysor.

Secretary and Treasurer—Miss May Postell.

Subsequently Miss Lizzie Dexter and Mrs. Mortimer Glover served as Vice-Presidents, and Miss Ella Fairy as Secretary and Treasurer.

This association then organized two companies, for the purpose of giving an entertainment, which consisted of a "waiter drill," which was given July 20, 1887.

As soon as the Orangeburg Association was in working order, it was deemed advisable to try to get the County organized, with local associations in every section, and letters were written by the President of the Orangeburg Association to ladies in every part of the County, inviting and urging them to organize associations and raise funds in whatever way they saw best to aid in this noble work. It was not long before responses came from many parts of the County in the shape of entertainments.

There being eight local associations, a call was made March 14, 1888, by the presidents of these associations for a meeting to be held on May 10, 1888, for the purpose of organizing a County Association. On the appointed day the following delegates met at the residence of Hon. Samuel Dibble:

Orangeburg Association—Miss F. Agnes Dibble, Mrs. Samuel Dibble, Mrs. W. J. De Treville Jr., Mrs. C. G. Dantzler, Miss May Postell.

Penn Branch Association—Miss Leila Livingston, Miss Belle Livingston.

Zion Association—Miss Mary McMichael, Mrs. E. Hughes.

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Middlepen Association—Mrs. Carrie Stroman, Miss F. R. Edwards.

Middle St. Matthews Association—Mrs. J. W. Sellers, Mrs. A. H. Beckwith.

A constitution was adopted and the following officers elected:

President—Mrs. D. E. Glover.

Vice-Presidents—Mrs. John A. Hamilton, Mrs. J. W. Sellers, Mrs. Carrie Riley, Mrs. Geo. Dannerly, Mrs. E. H. Housers, Miss Rosa M. Dantzler, Mrs. A. S. Salley.

Corresponding Secretary—Mrs. F. R. Edwards.

Recording Secretary—Miss Mary McMichael.

Treasurer—Miss F. Agnes Dibble.

Executive Committee—Mrs. C. G. Dantzler, Mrs. C. L. Stroman, Mrs. Wesley W. Culler, Mrs. M. L. Neuffer, Miss Leila Livingston, Mrs. B. Williamson, Mrs. A. H. Beckwith, Mrs. E. F. Slater.

There was also an advisory committee of gentlemen appointed. After the organization of the County Association, other local associations were organized. In those sections where no local associations were formed, local committees were appointed. All of these associations and committees did efficient work in raising funds for the monument.

The Philharmonic Orchestra, under the leadership of Mr. Henry Kohn, enlivened almost every entertainment in the city of Orangeburg. Every orchestra and band in the County give their services when called on. The Edisto Rifles tendered their armory, which was used by the County Association on various occasions. The County papers, *The Times and Democrat, The Enterprise,* and *The Spectator,* each put their columns at the disposal of the ladies, and proved of inestimable value in aiding the noble work.

Mention should not be omitted of the "Daisy Chain," an organization in the city of Orangeburg of about fifty young girls, with Mrs. M. L. Neuffer as President; Mrs. Hayne Wannamaker, Vice-President; Miss Hattie Wannamaker, Secretary and Treasurer. No workers did more for the monument than this faithful little band. It had been determined that the last effort for the monument should be a fair, given by the ladies of the whole County, and at the annual meeting, held October 5, 1891, the 8th of December was selected as the opening day. Mrs. E. F. Slater was selected as chairman. The fair continued from the evening of December 8th to the 12th, 1891, inclusive. The amount raised was $2,356.83, being the largest amount ever realized at any entertainment in Orangeburg County.

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This amount raised our fund to $7,023.10. The 12th of April, 1892, was appointed as the day for laying the cornerstone.

Then came October 18, 1893, the greatest day in the history of Orangeburg, the day on which was unveiled the handsome monument erected by the women of Orangeburg to commemorate for all time the patriotism and deeds of those dear departed ones who gave up their lives in the great struggle of the Confederate war. The day was almost faultless. The crowd was large and enthusiastic. Dear old General Hampton was too unwell to be orator of the day. Colonel Armstrong, after reading a letter from General Hampton, made the address of the day.

The following are the young ladies who unveiled the statue: Misses Lottie Chisolm, Rowesville; Mable Dantzler, Providence; Annie Dantzler, Orangeburg; Lizzie Livingston, Elloree; Henrietta Hydrick, Pen Branch; Pearl V. Dantzler, Vances; Beulah Grambling, Middle Pen; Mamie Shuler, St. Matthews; Julia Knotts, Knotts Mill; May Culler, Limestone; Hattie Beckwith, Middle St. Matthews; Addie Ownes, Willow and Liberty; Lila Connor, Zion; Mary Easterling, Willow Swamp.

At the regular annual meeting of the Orangeburg County Monument Association on October 2d, the Recording Secretary desired that some plan for preserving the roll of the Confederate dead be made. Accordingly, the following resolution was passed:

"That of the balance of cash left in the treasury after the erection of the monument, $100 be kept on interest as a reserve fund for perpetual care of the monument and the grounds, and the remainder be used to secure a tablet with the names inscribed thereon."

This tablet has since been placed in the walls of the courthouse, with almost five hundred names of our noble dead engraved on it.

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INDEX.

By Titles.

A Confederate Girl's Diary (Columbia, Charlotte, N. C., Greensboro, N. C., Richmond, Va., Chester, Newberry) 272
A Sketch of Life During the War Between the States 232
A Sketch of the Work at Greenville (Greenville) 26
A South Carolina Girl's Recollections of the First Year of the War (Charleston) 168
A Southern Household During the Years 1860 to 1865 (Columbia) .. 195
A Southern Woman's Recollections (Winnsboro) 336
Bethany Hospital and Soldiers' Aid Association, Edgefield County (Bouknights Ferry) 67
Burning of Columbia (Columbia) 261
Coast Women in the War (St. Helenaville and Beaufort) 175
Experiences During the Civil War (Columbia) 247
History of the Orangeburg County Monument Association (Orangeburg) 386
In the Track of the Raiders (Richmond, Va., and Columbia) 356
Incidents of the Anderson Raid (Anderson) 372
Incidents of the First Battle of Manassas (Anderson, Greenville, Oconee and Pickens Counties) 181
Ladies' Association in Aid of Volunteer Soldiers (Charleston) 14
Ladies' Auxiliary Christian Association (Charleston) 15-17, 19
Ladies' Clothing Association (Charleston) 19
Ladies' Relief Association (Fairfield) 36
Mrs. Lottie L. Green's Experience (Lancaster County) 338
Our First Confederate Flag (Johnston Chapter) 178
Personal Experiences with Sherman's Army at Liberty Hill (Liberty Hill) 254
Recollections of the Burning of Columbia (Columbia) 335
Recollections of the War (Anderson) 360
Reconstruction (Columbia) 376
Reminiscences of Sherman's Raid (Lancaster) 351
Reminiscences of the Confederate War (Chester) 231
Rules of the Eutawville Aid Association (Eutawville) 59
Soldiers' Relief Association (Black Oak) 56
Soldiers' Relief Association (Charleston) 11, 19
Some Heroic Women (Edgefield) 228
Some of My Reminiscences of the War (Cheraw) 190
Tales of a Grandmother (Columbia) 209
The Burning of Columbia (Columbia) 288
The Burning of the Ursuline Convent by Sherman (Columbia and Barnwell) 298
"The Days That Are Dead" (Charleston) 156
The Hospital at Florence (Florence) 53

Digitized by Google

The Last Bazar (Columbia) 243
The Response to the Negroes' Call (Lexington County) 342
The Sack of Columbia (Columbia) 328
The Trials of a Confederate Officer's Wife in 1864 (Oxford, Ga., Kalmia, Charleston, Spartanburg) 235
The Yankee Raid Through Anderson (Anderson) 369
Two Equipages (Columbia) 250
When Columbia Burned (Columbia) 319
When Sherman Passed Through Lancaster (Lancaster) 344
Why I Am a Daughter of the Confederacy 225
With Stoneman's Raiders (Anderson) 366
Woman's Work at Abbeville (Abbeville) 69
Woman's Work at Beaufort (Beaufort) 34
Woman's Work at Camden (Camden) 64
Woman's Work at Cheraw (Cheraw) 28
Woman's Work at Eutawville (Eutawville) 58
Woman's Work at Grahamville (Grahamville) 63
Woman's Work at Hopewell and Mars Bluff (Hopewell, Mars Bluff) .. 30
Woman's Work at Marion (Marion) 30
Woman's Work at Marlboro (Marlboro) 35
Woman's Work at Pendleton (Pendleton) 31
Woman's Work at Sumter (Sumter) 54
Woman's Work at Union (Union) 55

By Localities.

[Only those localities are mentioned which were the scenes of important events or actions during the war or reconstruction period, or from which contributions were made to Confederate soldiers.]

Abbeville 7, 25, 69, 132
Adams Run 75
Aiken 21, 104, 126, 141, 146
Allendale 24, 141
Anderson (County) 122, 181
Anderson 24, 25, 72, 74, 77, 118, 360, 366, 369, 372
Baltimore (Maryland) 142, 155
Bamberg 118
Barnwell 23, 75, 120, 142, 153, 318
Beaufort 24, 34, 77, 100, 121, 126, 175, 178
Beech Island 24, 133
Bishopville 24, 133
Black Oak 22, 56, 134
Blackville 318
Bluffton 24, 107
Bouknights Ferry 67
Boykins Turnout 72
Bradford Springs 132

Digitized by Google

Branchville 74, 147, 149, 151
Brick Church (Sumter District) 24
Calhoun Mills 25, 69
Camden 23, 24, 64, 72, 77
Carmel (Anderson District) 23, 77
Cedar Springs 25, 143
Charleston 8-21, 23, 25, 73, 75-78, 86-88, 102-124, 125-145, 150-175
Charlotte (North Carolina) 275, 284
Cheraw 23, 28, 53, 77, 109, 119, 143, 146, 151, 152, 190
Chester 22, 24, 103, 231, 285
Christ Church 24, 109
Claremont 21, 77, 123
Clarendon 130
Clinton 118
Cokesbury 25
Columbia . . 10, 18, 22, 74, 79-101, 126, 131, 136, 137, 142, 143, 144, 154, 155, 195, 209, 243, 247, 250, 261, 272, 287, 288, 298, 319, 328, 334, 357, 376
Dantonsville 25
Darlington 24, 53, 120, 138
Dunbarton 126
Edgefield 25, 228
Edisto 24, 103
Edisto Fork 24
Enoree Mill 25
Eutaw (Alabama) 125
Eutawville 21, 58, 71, 73, 74, 77, 103
Fairfield 36-53
Florence 24, 53, 109
Fort Motte 146
Gadsden 100
Georgetown 22, 107, 131
Grahams 25
Grahamville 21, 25, 63, 71, 77, 103, 133
Graniteville 71, 146
Greensboro (North Carolina) 276
Greenville 22, 26, 73, 120, 124, 143
Greenville (County) 122
Greenwood 151
Hamburg 23, 77, 133
Hampton 72
Helena 17
Hills Church 24
Hopewell 22, 30
Indian Town 25
Jackson Creek 23
Johns Island 21, 77, 123
Johnston 178
Kalmia 73, 141, 240
Kershaw 23, 77

Digitized by Google

Kingville 74, 141, 145, 151
Lancaster 344, 351
Lancaster (County) 338
Laurens (District) 25
Legareville 23, 77, 104
Lexington (County) 342
Liberty Hill 24, 254
Longtown 24, 126
Lowndesville 25
Lynchburg 144
Manning 25
Marietta (Georgia) 131
Marion 21, 23, 30
Marlboro 23, 35, 128
Mars Bluff 22, 30, 73, 131
Matanzas (Cuba) 129
Mechanicsville 23, 77, 138
Midway 76, 142
Milford 25
Mizpah 24, 109
Monterey 25, 70
Monticello 38
Mountain Creek 25
Mount Pleasant 103, 151
Newberry 24, 25, 118, 141, 142, 144, 285
Newchapel 24
New Hope 23
Oakland 25
Oak Lawn 24
Oconee (County) 181
Orangeburg 21, 24, 77, 109, 114, 123, 143, 147, 149, 151-153, 155, 386
Oxford (Georgia) 235
Pendleton 10, 23, 31, 71, 77, 118, 144, 375
Perry (Georgia) 72
Pickens.. 181
Pickens (District).. 122
Pine Grove 23, 77
Pineville 24, 77, 152
Pinopolis 22, 56, 72, 143
Plantersville 24, 74
Raleigh (North Carolina) 124
Richmond (Virginia).. .. ..277, 356
Rockingham (North Carolina) 132
Society Hill 21, 53, 72, 73, 101, 109, 126
Spartanburg.. .. .. 24, 141, 142, 241
Spartanburg (District) 23
Statesburg 72, 75, 77
St. Helenaville 175-178
St. James Goose Creek 23, 77

Digitized by Google

St. Johns 73, 103, 138, 143, 144
St. Matthew's Parish 133
St. Stephens 144
Sullivans Island 25, 114
Summerville 17, 22, 24, 103, 127, 141
Sumter 24, 54, 77, 126, 130, 142, 157, 160
Temperance Hill 72
Timmonsville 24
Union 25, 55
Vaucluse 146
Wadmalaw 21, 103
Walhalla 77
Walnut Grove 72
Walterboro 24, 74, 75, 143
Wedgefield 100
Williston 23, 77, 151
Winnsboro 23, 37, 41, 137, 151, 336
Wisacky 338
Woodville 23, 77
York (County) 204

By Surnames.

[Owing to the incompleteness of many of the records as regards given names, this index shows only the surname. It will be found useful in tracing family connections during and since the war.]

Aajer 114
Abney 67, 68
Adams 22, 79, 80, 81, 82, 89, 90, 99, 100, 120, 211, 216, 218, 225, 257, 302
Adger 16, 31, 36, 48
Aiken 36, 37, 41, 48, 50, 52, 53, 87, 212, 213, 337
Aimar 115, 256
Alabama 43
Albergotti 24, 108
Aldrich 287, 305, 309, 316, 359
Alexander 17, 114, 115
Allan 14
Allen 63, 103, 146, 248, 335
Almon 95
Ambler 96
Ancrum 14, 66, 119, 172
Andenreid (U. S. A.) 305
Anderson 91, 125, 168, 203
Anderson (U. S. A.) 160, 169, 171
Armstrong 16, 388
Arnold 181
Atkinson 22, 107, 137, 256, 257, 261
Ayer 359

Digitized by Google

Bachman 11, 14, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 79, 96, 106, 120, 141, 143, 144, 147, 151, 152
Bacon 111
Bacot 13, 29, 44, 52, 53, 54, 336
Baker 89
Bailey 75
Ball 114
Banks 86
Barber 36, 39, 44, 46, 49, 51, 134
Barbot 78
Barkley 48, 52
Barnes 350, 355
Barnwell 21, 34, 37, 66, 68, 76, 90, 92, 102, 103, 106, 110, 129, 146, 176, 177
Barnwell (colored) 73
Barry 116
Bartlett 55
Bartow 188
Baruch 70
Bates 17, 120, 247
Baum 36, 37, 38, 48, 50
Bauskett 18
Bayard 384
Beard 79, 96
Beattie 125
Beauregard 26, 75, 97, 126, 153, 154, 160, 170, 171, 183, 184, 189, 221, 244, 273, 320, 323
Beckwith 387, 388
Bee 16, 75, 106, 161, 172, 184
Bell 16, 264
Benedict 131
Bennett 16, 166
Benson 185, 187
Bentham 14
Berry 68
Betts 36
Bishop 115
Bissell 12, 15, 16, 17, 102, 261
Black 29, 35, 54, 89, 90
Blackman 113
Blair (U. S. A.) 269, 326, 327
Blake 13, 43, 139
Blamyer 12, 23, 25, 55, 76, 109, 113, 114, 139
Blanding 111
Bleckley 365, 368
Bliss 16
Blum 14
Bollin 93
Bolling 125
Bonham 111, 146, 262, 305

Digitized by Google

Bonneau 152
Bonney 24
Boozer 251, 253, 259
Bossard 55
Bostick 152, 342, 344
Bouknight 67, 255
Bouney 64, 66
Bowen 17, 70
Bowie 17, 229
Bowman 14, 143
Boyan 61
Boyce 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 50, 51, 53, 124
Boyd 24, 144, 229, 349
Boykin 66, 72
Boylston 36, 37, 47, 51, 52
Bradley 21, 24, 77, 123
Bradly 103
Brady 362
Branch 18
Branham 237
Bratton 36, 37, 42, 52, 53
Brazil 93
Brevard 65
Brice 203
Brinks (U. S. A.) 349
Broaddus 125
Brodie 16
Brooks 26, 102, 111, 120, 121, 155
Brooks (colored) 220, 221
Brown 13, 89, 94, 99, 100, 258, 259, 260, 345, 361
Brown (colored) 220
Brownfield 13
Browning 16
Bruce 192
Bruns 17
Brunson 26, 28, 120
Bryan 63, 95, 98
Bryce 10, 22, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96
Buchanan 36, 37, 47
Buford (assumed) 230
Buist 16, 17, 27, 125, 249
Bull 171
Burgess 16, 71
Burroughs 98
Burrows 16, 108
Burt 25, 69, 132, 213, 214, 215, 216
Bussy 26
Butler 17, 26, 27, 120, 252, 258, 273, 347
Butler (U. S. A.) 267, 358

Digitized by Google

Bythewood 5
Cabell 90
Cain 17, 56
Calder 75
Caldwell 11, 17, 37, 44, 49, 72, 75, 76, 83, 108, 110, 113, 114, 258
Caldwell (colored) 362
Calhoun 31, 87, 92, 246
Campbell 16, 17, 23, 47, 108
Cantey 65, 66
Capers 107, 119, 236, 239, 240, 243
Carlisle 24
Carne 137
Carrere 14, 16, 78
Carroll 16, 99
Carson 90
Carter 30
Cash 111
Cater 367
Cathcart 36, 50
Catlett 375
Center 36
Chamberlain 377, 384
Chance 349
Chandler 54
Chapin 17, 23, 108, 135, 241
Chaplin 124
Chapman 78
Chappell 73
Cheatham 56
Cheeseborough 71
Chesnut 23, 64, 66, 97, 98, 244
Cheves 210
Chichester 17, 241, 242
Childs 81, 87, 131
Chisholm 150
Chisolm 14, 77, 112, 113, 126, 245, 246, 388
Choice 124
Choppin 153
Chrietzberg 108
Christmas 39
Church 321
Clanton 350
Clark 37, 46, 68, 307
Clarke 36, 40, 45
Clarkson 89, 91, 257, 335
Clary 68
Clayton 257, 258
Cleveland 124
Clifford 16

Digitized by Google

Clifton 44
Clingman 63, 134
Cloud 49
Coachman 108
Cobia 141
Cochran 186, 190
Cockrell 37
Coffin 76, 123, 143
Cogswell 16
Cohen 36, 41, 52, 53, 248, 250, 302
Coit 194
Coleman 68
Collins 71, 124, 320, 324
Collins (colored) 94
Colquitt 115
Comyn (U. S. A.) 306
Connelly 281, 284
Conner 6, 13, 66, 78
Connor 388
Cooper 131
Coppock 68
Cook 50, 51
Copes 16
Cordes 152
Cornwallis 385
Corstin 43
Cothran 122
Courtenay 16, 17
Couturier 24, 36, 37, 77, 110
Cramer 382
Crawford 36, 37, 41, 44, 47, 52, 53, 83, 89, 90, 91, 98, 212, 220, 221, 224
Crayton 374
Creighton 38
Cremer 36, 47
Crittenden 334
Crockett 345
Croft 146
Cromwell 109
Cross 62
Culbreath 68
Culler 387, 388
Cunningham 14
Cureton 234, 257, 345, 346, 348, 354, 355
Curley (U. S. A.) 296
Currell 16
Cuttino 16
Daniels (colored) 381
Dannerly 387
Dantzler 44, 49, 50, 386, 387, 388

Digitized by Google

Darby .. 85, 86, 93
Dargan.. 29, 54, 120
David .. 124, 125
Davidson.. 273, 276, 284
Davis .. 16, 38, 39, 66, 89, 90, 97, 172, 188, 190, 242, 281, 336, 356, 372
Day (U. S. A.) .. 340
Dayton .. 193
Dearing .. 158
Deas .. 66
De Chantal .. 117
Dehon .. 144
DeLeon .. 112
Denny.. 105, 146, 379
DePass .. 66
DeSaussure .. 13, 66, 73, 87, 89, 130, 165, 177, 203, 255, 257
DeTreville .. 17, 386
DeVeaux .. 82
Dewar .. 13
Dewees .. 16
Dexter .. 386
Dibble .. 16, 17, 386, 387
Dickson .. 24, 153
Dillingham .. 16
Dobson .. 17
Doby .. 66
Donald.. 66
Doucin .. 17
Douglas .. 128
Douglass .. 16, 38
Dovilliers .. 120
Dowell .. 115, 134
Drayton .. 19, 20, 23, 75, 78, 87, 106, 135, 173, 255, 257
DuBose .. 24, 36, 37, 44, 49, 50, 52, 53, 77, 152
Dudley .. 102, 112
Dukes .. 17
Dunbar .. 126
Duncan .. 22, 125, 252, 276, 277, 283, 284
Dunlap .. 66, 232
Dunnovant .. 22, 103, 176
Dwight .. 36, 37, 40, 46, 52, 61, 63
Earle .. 185, 186, 187, 366
Early .. 183, 189
Eason .. 17, 152, 154
Easterling .. 388
Echols .. 89, 90
Edmunds .. 95
Edwards .. 89, 90, 91, 178, 387
Ehrlich .. 383
Elden .. 244

Digitized by Google

Elliott 13, 36, 46, 65, 66, 118, 176, 177
Ellison 36, 37, 38, 47, 49
Elmore 18, 79, 83, 89, 90, 91, 93, 96, 99, 132, 196, 203, 204, 209, 246, 247, 250, 251, 252, 253, 344, 380
Elsmarck (Germany) 86
Elzey 183
Emanuel 128
Emlyn 319
English 123, 137
Enslow 17
Eppinger 179
Erwin 87, 355
Estes (U. S. A.) 346, 347, 348
Evans 5, 7, 16, 30, 75, 123, 184, 185
Eve 319
Ewing (U. S. A.) 305, 306, 307
Fair 83, 96, 271
Fairy 386
Fanning 143
Farrington 105, 146
Farrow 135, 143, 283
Fawcet 37
Feaster 251, 253
Felder 38, 44, 51, 52
Felton 187, 188
Fenton 93
Ferguson 92, 158, 159
Fickling 121
Fillette 137
Finley 43
Finney 37, 50
Fishburne 112
Fisher 71, 79, 81, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 98, 249, 384
Fitch 13
FitzGibbons (U. S. A.) 289, 290, 291, 293, 295, 300
Fitzsimmons 78, 114
Fleming 141
Flenniken 97
Flinn 6
Fludd 16
Fogg 122
Foran 143
Ford 107, 108
Forrest 109, 113, 114
Foster 351
Fowles 89
Frank 115
Fraser 13, 36, 41, 47, 52, 53, 87, 137, 222, 376
Frazer 108

Digitized by Google

Freeman 131
Friday 83, 96
Fripp 23, 77
Frost 84, 85, 86
Fry (U. S. A.) 189
Fuller 16, 20, 176, 178
Furlis 63
Furman 125
Gadsden 14, 16, 20, 72, 136, 154
Gaillard 21, 36, 37, 41, 46, 50, 52, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 77, 185
Gallagher 294, 295
Gamble 46, 54
Gamewell 81
Gantt 16, 17
Garden 55
Gardner 120
Garnett 18, 19, 169, 200
Garrison 362, 363
Gary 280
Gasche 307
Gates 192
Gatewood 66, 73
Gebyer 128
Geddings 70, 168
Geiger 14, 78
Gerard 125
Gerrard (U. S. A.) 237
Gibbes 9, 10, 13, 70, 89, 92, 129
Gibson 16, 63
Gidiere 114
Gilchrist 108
Gilder 68
Giles 25, 70, 272
Gilliland 16, 108, 113, 114, 135
Girard 78, 114, 115
Girardeau 12
Gist 154, 235, 240
Gladden 43
Glass 42, 124, 136, 137
Glaze 89
Glover 37, 114, 386, 387
Godfrey 23, 109, 143
Gonzales 6
Goodwin 30, 79
Goodwyn 22, 66, 79, 89, 90, 93, 244, 247, 253, 274, 329
Gordon 16, 379, 384
Gorgas 213
Gourdin 58, 60, 62, 63, 71
Gracey 79, 89, 90

Digitized by Google

Graeser 13, 79, 93, 94, 133, 146
Graham 23, 77, 131, 151, 190
Grambling 388
Grant 23, 64, 65, 66
Gravely 13, 142
Graves 17, 108, 239
Gray 13, 126
Green 9, 79, 94, 96, 270, 338, 341, 352, 354, 355, 356
Greenfield 16
Greer 16
Gregg 21, 23, 29, 30, 31, 40, 73, 91, 111, 118, 141, 146, 159, 235, 333
Grey 233
Grimke 16
Guerry 63
Guignard 89, 99
Habersham 66
Hagan 16
Hagood 70, 112, 120
Hair 310
Hall 16, 37, 46, 120, 258
Halsey 159, 160
Hamilton 177, 386, 387
Hammond 16, 17, 48, 158
Hampton 18, 22, 56, 71, 80, 81, 84, 85, 89, 90, 91, 111, 129, 159, 172, 183, 201, 211, 221, 246, 250, 261, 269, 273, 275, 276, 292, 299, 306, 328, 376, 377, 378, 380, 383, 384, 385, 388
Hanahan 100
Hand 105
Hane 102
Harby 168
Hard 146
Hardee 238, 275
Harlee 22, 30, 73
Harllee 190, 195
Harrall 17
Harris 42, 43, 89
Harrison 128, 374
Harsey 16
Hart 159
Haskell 25, 70, 84, 106, 111, 210, 335, 377, 378, 380, 381, 382
Hatch 9, 76, 113
Haughton (U. S. A.) 308
Hay 66
Hayes 379, 385
Hayne 12, 23, 26, 75, 89, 109, 110, 119
Haynesworth 157
Heidt 17
Hein 124
Heise 83, 96

Digitized by Google

Hemphill 22, 103
Henderson 24
Hennegan 57
Henry 24
Heriot 107
Herndon 89, 90
Herron 48
Heyward 89, 91, 112, 244, 302, 308
Hicks 61
Hill 125, 139, 365, 373
Hines 112
Hinton 103
Hitchcock 248, 250
Holcombe 61
Holmes 66, 73, 86, 87, 89, 113, 129, 141
Honing 108
Honour 17
Hood 236, 240
Hope 81
Hopkins 100, 375
Hopson 247
Horlbeck 13, 53, 77, 96
Horn 229
Hostetter (U. S. A.) 249
Housers 387
Howard 30, 107, 108, 134
Howard (U. S. A.) 253, 269, 271
Howe 22, 43, 79, 81, 82, 83, 89, 94, 96, 137
Hoyt 185, 187, 371
Huger 39, 73, 78, 92, 113, 115, 126, 134, 152, 246, 290, 308
Huggins 89, 91
Hughes 17, 386
Huiet 67, 68
Hume 73, 87, 119, 155
Hummel 87
Humphrey 187
Hunter 31, 115
Huntington 16
Hydrick 388
Inabinet 24
Inglis 29, 190
Ingraham 13, 17, 150, 151, 154
Inman 199, 205
Ioor 124
Irby 40
Ivey 227, 228
Jackson 36, 184, 238, 372
Jacobs 8
Jaeger 120

Digitized by Google

Jamieson 9
Jamison 118, 274
Janney 248
Jeffers 122
Jeffords 17, 152
Jenkins 31, 96, 111, 291, 300
Jervey 75
Jeter 25, 55
Johnson . . . 13, 16, 17, 22, 25, 42, 63, 64, 65, 66, 80, 124, 125, 161, 172, 177, 379, 385
Johnston, ... 79, 93, 124, 126, 183, 184, 189, 219, 236, 241, 245, 328
Jolly 375
Jones 37, 100, 111, 146
Jordan 36, 37, 46, 47, 54, 124
Joye 13, 78
Just 13
Kay 361
Kelly 89
Kendrick 123
Kenefick 135
Kenerly 96
Kennedy 66, 145
Kent 116
Kern 124
Kerrison 97, 143
Kershaw 55, 90, 111, 280
Ketchin 36
Kilpatrick 10, 118, 185, 186, 336
Kilpatrick (U. S. A.) 258, 309, 310, 326, 340, 341, 346, 347, 348, 349
King 72, 136, 256
Kinloch 41, 120, 138, 256, 258, 261
Kinsler 79, 98, 126, 342, 344
Kirk 61, 63
Kirkwood 16
Knotts 388
Koepper 136
Kohn 6, 387
Kollock 193, 194
Kyle 116
La Borde 21, 79, 92, 96, 97, 103, 154, 155
Labruce 108
Ladd 22, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 47, 52, 53
Lafitte 75
Lalane 121
Lamb 17, 249
Lambert 17
Lance 108
Land 63
Lane 70
Lang 23, 64, 66

Digitized by Google

Langenback (Germany) 86
Lanneau 16
Latimer 18
Latta 31
Lauchlin 22, 98
Lauderdale 36, 37, 38, 41, 44, 51, 53
Laughlin 36, 37, 38, 39, 46, 47
Laval 13, 16, 17
Lawrence 16
Leadon 143, 144
Leaphart 249, 250
Lebby 16, 70, 88, 311
Le Cones 342, 343, 344
Le Conte 81
Lee 13, 14, 16, 24, 64, 66, 71, 72, 78, 129, 159, 160, 227, 228, 235, 273, 280, 286, 356, 365, 366, 369, 372
Legare 16, 17
Legris 348
Leitner 66
Leixas 13
Leland 50
Lemon 23, 39, 48
Lenoir 66
Lesesne 113
Leverett 89
Levy 22, 66, 80, 89, 99
Lewis 42
Ligon 36
Limbecker 16
Lincoln 360
Lipscomb 262
Livingston 68, 386, 387, 388
Logan 13, 130
Logan (U. S. A.) 208, 259, 306, 331
Long 67, 68
Longstreet 120, 280
Lucas 14, 146, 164
Lumsden 248, 249
Lyles 36, 37, 47, 50, 124, 384
Lynch 299, 300, 304, 305, 307, 308
Lyon 47
Lyons 89, 90
McArthur 192
McBee 22, 26, 28, 124, 125
McCaa 66
McCalister 185
McCall 26, 51
McCants 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 43, 49, 51
McClellan (U. S. A.) 170

Digitized by Google

McColl 35, 143
McCord 22, 79, 80, 82, 89, 90, 91, 92, 96, 97, 98, 102, 120, 141, 321
McCormack 78
McCrady 110, 144
McCully 42, 89, 91
McDonald 128, 137, 197
McDowell 16
McDowell (U. S. A.) 182, 183, 184, 189, 267
McElroy 44
McGee 187
McGowan 69, 323
McGregor 81
McIntosh 72, 126
McIntyre 23, 30
McIver 152
McKee 22, 103, 125, 137
McKensie 14
McKenzie 81, 247, 382
McKinzie 78
McLarnon 349
McLaughlin 24
McLean 89, 90
McLeod 128
McLure 22, 103
McMaster 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 46, 47, 49, 50, 53, 97, 210
McMeekin 45, 73
McMichael 386, 387
McNamara 116
McNeal 293, 301, 307
McNeil 46
McNulty 107, 108
McQueen 128
Macbeth 123
Macfie 79, 95, 97
Maddox (U. S. A.) 249
Madison 112
Maffitt 76
Magrath 55, 299, 309, 310
Maher 120
Mallory 150
Manigault 112, 337
Manning 89, 91
Marion 169, 313
Markley 56, 125
Marks 261, 265
Marsh 154
Marshall 6, 25, 69, 96, 378
Martin 17, 22, 31, 44, 52, 81, 84, 85, 88, 89, 90, 93, 94, 97, 132, 186, 380
Mathews 16, 74, 75, 93

Digitized by Google

Mathieson 14, 71
Mauldin 125
Maxwell 31
Mayes 24, 126
Mazyck 119
Meade (U. S. A.) 308, 309
Means 36, 37, 52, 53, 139, 285
Melford 61, 63
Memminger 177
Merchant 68
Middleton 122, 202, 264
Miles 14
Miller 16, 35, 41, 68, 75
Minor 376
Mitchell 17
Mobley 22, 37, 38, 46, 51, 52, 103
Moffett 13, 16, 17
Monroe 361
Monteith 22, 98
Montgomery 204
Mood 16
Moore 16, 36, 37, 45, 51, 70, 360, 368
Morcock 176
Mordecai 71, 89, 159
Morgan 281
Morral 21
Morrall 71, 151
Morris 99
Morrison 36, 43, 337
Moseley 386
Moses 54, 55, 158
Moss 147
Mott 291, 300
Moultrie 123
Mowry 17
Muir 338
Mullally 31
Muller 19, 384
Mulligan 87
Murdoch 89, 90
Murphy 42, 43
Murray 177
Murrell 16
Myer 270
Myers 13, 332
Myers (colored) 378
Nagel 13
Neil 36, 37, 41
Nelson 16, 102, 202, 203

Digitized by Google

Neuffer 387
Nichols 95, 96
Niernsee 18, 89, 90, 91
Noisette (colored) 11
North 78
Northrop 348, 349
Norton 92, 124
Nurse 79
Obear 37
O'Connell 289, 291, 293, 294, 295, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302
Odom 317
Ogier 70, 146
Olney 40
Oppenheim 66
Orchard 258
Orr 102, 112, 119, 373
Osborn 71
Osborne 362
Owen 78
Ownes 388
Oxner 45, 49
Page 338
Palmer 21, 61, 62, 63, 77, 79, 95, 96, 119, 123, 131, 152
Palmer (U. S. A.) 241, 242, 291, 300, 372
Parker 16, 25, 69, 79, 80, 89, 226, 308, 374
Patterson (U. S. A.) 182, 183
Peake 74
Pearce 137
Peay 24, 126, 258
Pegg 137
Pelzer 16
Perrin 25, 69
Perroneau 72, 74, 108
Perronneau 16
Perry 17, 68, 130
Petit 78
Pettigrew 16
Phillips 91, 121, 143
Pickens 135, 146, 158, 169, 360
Pinkind 115
Plummer 381, 383
Polk 252
Polland 137
Pool 124
Pope 177, 178, 274, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 317, 318
Poppenheim 5, 6, 67, 68, 256, 261
Porcher 13, 17, 21, 22, 23, 36, 41, 42, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 87, 135, 143, 152
Portales 253

Digitized by Google

Porter 10, 12, 23, 76, 78, 108, 109, 113, 114
Post 70
Postell 386
Potter 16
Powell 37, 89
Powelson 24, 74
Powers 307
Preston 18, 22, 80, 84, 85, 89, 90, 93, 132, 269, 271, 277, 298, 306, 307
Price 13, 90, 124
Prince 54
Pringle 78, 137, 142, 201
Prioleau 177
Prioleau (colored) 205, 343
Prior 107, 108
Proctor 93
Purifoy 68
Quattlebaum 73
Quimby 144
Rabb 36, 37, 48, 49, 52
Radcliffe 63, 91, 134, 197
Radford 125
Randall (colored) 249
Randolph 98
Ravenel 56, 70, 72, 88, 96, 320, 321, 322, 328
Rawles 83
Ray 100
Raysor 386
Read 108
Reeves 77, 110, 151
Reinhardt 120
Rell 16
Reynolds 23, 64, 66, 79, 83, 89, 179
Rhett 89, 95, 96, 176, 264, 377
Richardson 111, 146, 158, 159, 319
Rickett 187
Riggs 86
Riley 387
Ringgold 296, 297, 305
Rion 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 47
Rivers 41, 53
Robb 14
Roberts 78, 124, 125, 143
Robertson 12, 13, 16, 23, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 44, 49, 50, 52, 53, 71, 76, 108, 109, 110, 113, 135, 144, 160, 257
Robinson 16, 17, 70, 78, 113
Rodger 17
Rodgers 87
Roman 87
Romedy 43

Digitized by Google

Rose 75, 100, 193, 249
Ross 16
Rowe 147, 148, 149, 152
Rowland 124
Ruffin 112
Rosemond 137
Ruggles 280
Russell 129
Rutherford 68
Rutledge 19, 122, 154, 320
Ryan 120, 139, 146
Rydes 26
Saddler 364
Salinas 16
Salley 24, 316, 317, 386, 387
Sally 155
Salmond 23, 64, 65, 66
Salvo 160
Sanders 70
Sass 16, 74
Scanlan 120
Scarborough 89, 90, 91, 220
Schofield 95
Schreiner 143
Schuckman 121
Schuler 250
Schumpert 68
Scott 63, 89, 90
Scott (U. S. A.) 182
Screven 13, 21, 66, 71, 73, 121
Seabrook 16, 21, 25, 63, 64, 70, 71, 77, 123
Seibels 89
Seignious 302
Selby 383
Sellers 387
Settle 379
Shand 89, 90, 91
Shanklin 10, 118
Shannon 66
Shaw 107
Shedd 36, 37, 38, 45, 48
Sheely 132
Sherfessee 159
Sherman 108
Sherman (U. S. A.) . . 35, 100, 148, 164, 175, 193, 201, 205, 209, 218, 221, 223, 232, 235, 240, 241, 247, 250, 251, 252, 254, 255, 256, 257, 259, 261, 263, 264, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 279, 285, 289, 290, 291, 295, 297, 298, 299, 300, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 316, 320, 321, 323, 328, 329, 331, 332, 333, 334, 336, 337, 340, 342, 343, 344, 351, 352, 353, 354, 357, 358, 359, 372

Digitized by Google

Shuler 388
Silcox 374
Simms 76, 153
Simons 13, 62, 63, 119, 139
Simonton 16
Simpson 31, 32, 75, 113, 114
Sims 89, 206, 207
Singletary 30
Singleton 99, 246
Sinkler 21, 58, 61, 62, 63, 77
Sitton 361
Slater 387
Sligh 91
Sloan 102, 111, 182, 185, 361, 366, 367
Slocum 244
Slomans 115
Smarr 207
Smith 14, 16, 17, 68, 89, 108, 113, 124, 128, 139, 152, 311
Smyth 109, 154
Smythe 5, 6, 7
Snowden 6, 12, 13, 23, 24, 61, 70, 71, 73, 74, 77, 78, 96, 97, 109, 113, 115, 139, 150, 152, 160, 244, 246
Sollee 16
Solomons 305
Sosnowski 99, 136, 269, 272
Spear 128
Sperry 108
Squier 95, 96
Squiers 81
Stacey 22, 103
Stafford 93
Stark 79, 89, 90, 91, 94
Starling 380
Steadman 146
Steedman 17, 21, 126
Steinmyer 256, 257, 261
Stevens 56, 118, 235
Stewart 22, 36, 37, 38, 39, 45, 50, 51, 318
Stockton 102
Stoeking 13
Stokes 134
Stone (U. S. A.) 248
Stoneman (U. S. A.) 238, 356, 366, 367, 369
Stoney 71, 113, 178
Stork 247
Stoy 17
Stratton 93
Strawinski 263, 264, 265, 266
Stroman 387

Digitized by Google

Strother 68
Stuart 16, 17, 65, 108, 177
Suares 55
Suber 285
Summerford 160
Sumter 136
Swaffield.. .. .. 81, 82
Talley 107
Tanno 87
Tarleton 385
Tarrh 28, 195
Taylor 5, 6, 79, 81, 82, 83, 89, 90, 94, 96, 97, 99, 175, 196, 197, 198, 201, 202, 203, 208, 254, 302, 335, 354, 376, 377, 378, 385
Tellifiere 272
Templeton 98
Tennant 71
Terrell (U. S. A.) 249
Tew 87
Thayer 17, 108
Thomas 35, 107, 128, 129, 187, 274
Thompson 23, 37, 39, 43, 48, 53, 70, 113, 125, 134
Thomwell 89
Thornwell.. .. .. 89, 194, 210
Thum 124
Tilden 379
Tillman 339
Tilman.. .. .. 25, 69, 70
Timrod 30, 280
Tisher 14
Togno 18
Tolly 374
Tompkins 97
Toomer 78
Torre 14
Torriani 92, 200, 273
Towers 361
Toye 9
Tracey 71
Tracy 21
Trapier 17, 22, 66, 107
Traps 124
Tredway 283
Trenholm 89, 91, 113, 123, 137, 281, 282
Trescot 13
Trezevant 201
Tucker 14
Tunno 87
Tupper 10, 13, 16, 118
Turner 18, 226, 228, 316

Digitized by Google

Turnipseed 177
Ulrich (U. S. A.) 259
Valesque 229
Valk 66
Vandiver 359
Van Pelt 185
Vardell 17
Veal 22, 98
Venning 16
Verdier 177
Vincent 9, 117
Von Hagen 17
Waddell 124
Wade 350, 354
Wagener 120
Wagner 14, 74, 119
Walker 13, 14, 23, 64, 77, 78, 108, 139, 176, 199
Wall (colored) 236
Wallace 22, 25, 55, 81, 90, 93, 95, 212, 217, 326, 377
Walsh 16, 17
Walter 78
Wannamaker 387
Wardlaw 24, 25, 69
Ware 125
Waring 18, 22, 56, 57, 143, 288
Warley 9, 78, 120
Warren 139
Washington 6, 54, 118, 119, 159, 172, 175
Watson 89, 96
Watts 113
Webb 16, 361
Weir 47
Wells 176
West 285, 364
Weston 14, 22, 107
Wheat 183, 184, 185
Wheeler 17, 220, 276, 349, 365, 372
Whilden 14, 17, 134, 139
Whitaker 66
White 22, 92, 108, 112, 231, 351
Whitman (U. S. A.) 189
Whitner 185, 188, 362
Whitney 16, 17
Wigfall 13, 113, 114
Wilbur 16
Wilkes 188
Wilkie 16
Will 16
Williams 5, 7, 17, 21, 31, 43, 75, 87, 101, 102, 111, 114, 151

Digitized by Google

Williamson 387
Willis 27
Wilson 94, 95, 108
Wilson (colored) 374
Wiltberger 13
Winder 38, 39, 111
Windsor 14
Wineman 8, 13, 143
Winkler 71
Winter 23, 77
Witherspoon 72, 126
Wolfe 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 48, 50, 51. 52, 53
Wood (U. S. A.) 259, 270
Woodward 15, 36, 37, 38, 44, 47, 50, 52
Workman 37
Wotton 16
Wright 147, 311
Wyatt 137
Wylie 103
Yarborough 43
Yates 42, 43, 75, 93, 122
Yeadon 129, 150, 152, 154, 240
Yongue 21, 40, 50, 109
Young 276

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A SKETCH

OF THE

CLAIMS OF SUNDRY AMERICAN CITIZENS

ON THE

GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

FOR INDEMNITY,

FOR DEPREDATIONS COMMITTED ON THEIR PROPERTY BY THE FRENCH,

Prior to the 30th of September, 1800,

WHICH WERE ACKNOWLEDGED BY FRANCE,

AND

Voluntarily surrendered to her by the United States, for a valuable National consideration, in the Convention of that date.

BY A CITIZEN OF BALTIMORE.

James Mc Henry

The claims from which France was released were admitted by France, and the release was for a valuable consideration "in a common understanding of the United States from certain claims upon them." MR. MADISON, *Secretary of State*

"Nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation." CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Checked
May 1913

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1836.

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NOTE.

The following Numbers recently appeared in the Baltimore Chronicle, but the ephemeral character of a newspaper, its limited circulation, and its liability to contain errors, have suggested the propriety of a republication in the present form.

The subject matter is one of deep interest, not only to those having pecuniary claims involved, but also to all who feel an interest in the history and reputation of our government.

The message and accompanying documents, communicated to the Senate by the President of the United States on the 20th of May last, and since printed in a large octavo volume, will afford much useful information to every reader. Many of the facts contained therein, with others of equal authenticity, are embodied in the present work. A sufficient apology for its length will be found in the numerous documents to which it was necessary to refer; the text being generally adduced, that the reader may form a proper estimate of the truth and fairness of the positions assumed.

A careful perusal of the entire documents (most of which have slept in the archives of the government for upwards of a quarter of a century—and why?) would well reward even the best informed.

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FRENCH SPOLIATIONS.

THE extensive collection of documents relating to French Spoliations committed anterior to the 30th of September, 1800, which were transmitted to the Senate by the President of the United States, on the 20th of May last, and ordered to be printed, have just appeared. The subject to which these documents relate, is highly interesting to many of our merchants, who were forcibly stripped of their property, under the most aggravated circumstances. When a development of the case is made, the reader will be struck with astonishment, as well at the long and patient forbearance of the sufferers, as the negligence (to use a very mild term) of their own government, in withholding from them a fair and full indemnity.

The history of the early period at which these depredations were committed, their character and extent, and the manner in which the United States obtained satisfaction for them, are not generally known—owing chiefly, if not solely to the circumstance of our government not having heretofore disclosed the correspondence with France relating to them.

A recent and imposing demand by the sufferers generally, has brought forth the documents referred to, and it is my purpose to make, from them and other authentic documents, a concise exposition of some of the most material facts on which the claimants rely. These being spread over the most fruitful and portentous period of diplomatic discussion that our government has known, say from 1792 to 1806, will of necessity require that my remarks appear in succeeding numbers.

That the application of the facts as they may be presented, shall be understood, it is deemed advisable to give thus early, 1st, the form of the memorials (about 50) which were laid before the Senate, in 1823–4; 2d, the resolution of the Senate founded thereon; and 3d, the report of the Secretary of State to the President, which was adopted by and laid before the Senate by the President, in compliance with said resolution.

1st. To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled.

The Memorial and Petition of the subscribers, Merchants of ——

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH:

That among the multiplied injuries inflicted by the belligerents on the commerce of the United States, in the course of the long and desolating war, in which several nations of Europe were engaged, between and during the years 1793 and 1800, the depredations committed by the public and private armed vessels of France, were to your memorialists peculiarly injurious.

The claims of your memorialists on France for ample remuneration were the stronger in these cases, as the seizure and condemnation of their property had been made by the express authority of the French government, contrary to the plainest principles of the law of nations, and in direct violation of existing treaties.

Your memorialists will not enter into a detail of the various decrees and acts of the French government, by which their property was captured, condemned or confiscated; the archives of this government will furnish the true ~~copy~~ of them, and also of the period when they were operative; it would moreover be a useless trespass on the time of your honorable body, because the French government has admitted them to be violations; and can therefore only serve as matters of fact, not of principle.

The United States having a great political and national object in view, to wit: to obtain the abrogation of the treaties with France, and a discharge from the liabilities under them, and particularly under the article of mutual guaranty, yielded up the claims of her citizens for these great public advantages, in the convention of 1800.

Your memorialists were among the first to sanction this act of their govern-

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ment, and to see in it a strong evidence of profound wisdom; but whilst your memorialists applaud the wisdom of the measure, they must dissent from the principle of sacrificing private interests for the public good, without indemnifying the sufferers; because it violates the plainest dictates of common justice, as well as the spirit and the letter of the constitution.

The government of France, up to the date of the "renunciation of indemnities mutually due or claimed," always considered the recognition of these claims as due to her honor, and attached them as a charge upon her national character. The United States has, in like manner, and in many solemn acts, declared the claims to be fair and just; and upon this ground, as her duty dictated, volunteered her agency for the recovery from France. Your memorialists are thus placed in a new and unexampled situation: they had been taught to consider as reciprocal obligations the duties of allegiance and protection, which, as citizens, they had a right to look for and expect when their property was violently wrested from them by authority of the French government; they find their own government exercising its power and authority to prevent their obtaining indemnity. Your memorialists believe that the United States did receive a full and entire satisfaction and equivalent for their claims, and they therefore pray that your honorable body will take their case into consideration, and make provision for the payment thereof, or restore to them their claims and their remedy against France.

And, as in duty bound, your memorialists will ever pray.

A. B.

SENATE.

2d. *Resolved*, That the President of the United States be requested to cause to be laid before the Senate copies of the several instructions to the Ministers of the United States to the Government of France, and of the correspondence between the said Ministers and Government, having reference to the spoliations committed by that power on the commerce of the United States anterior to the 30th of September, 1800; or so much thereof as can be communicated without prejudice to the public interest: also, how far, if at all, the claims of indemnity from the government of France, for the spoliations aforesaid, was affected by the convention entered into between the United States and France, on the said 30th of September, 1800.

Passed the 5th of March, 1824.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, 20*th May*, 1826.

3d. The Secretary of State, in compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 5th of March, 1824, which was referred to this department, requesting the President "to cause to be laid before the Senate, copies of the several instructions to the Ministers of the United States to the Government of France, and of the correspondence between said Ministers and Government, having reference to the spoliations committed by that power on the commerce of the United States, anterior to the 30th September, 1800, or so much thereof as can be communicated without prejudice to the public interest; also, how far, if at all, the claim of indemnity from the Government of France, for the spoliations aforesaid, was affected by the convention entered into between the United States and France, on the 30th September, 1800;" has the honor to report to the President copies of so much of the instructions and correspondence in question as is supposed to be embraced in the call of the Senate; to which are added, copies of other papers and documents, to a very great extent, which are believed to be within the intention, if not comprehended in the terms of the resolution of the Senate. By reference to former messages to Congress, and to the public documents, the publication of which had been authorized, from time to time by Government, it will be perceived that many of the papers now reported, have been already communicated to Congress, or spread before the public, through the medium of the press; but it has been thought, nevertheless, expedient to submit them in their present collected *form*, that a full and connected view might be presented at the same time. There may be even yet remaining in the archives of the department, others having a bearing on the subject, which has escaped our diligence and researches.

My predecessor was unable to command, from the other important duties which he had to perform, sufficient time to have this collection completed, during his continuance in office, after the passage of the resolution of the Senate. The same

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cause, not less sensibly felt by his successor, has delayed this report until the present period—and he feels himself required to state, that, without material injury to the public service, he was, himself unable to examine the many volumes containing the very extensive correspondence, from which the copies and extracts now submitted have been taken, or even attentively to peruse the whole of those copies and extracts which has been just finished. The desire to present them to the Senate, in conformity to the anxious wish of the claimants, before the close of the present session, renders these explanations necessary, and it is hoped that they may prove satisfactory.

The closing paragraph of the resolution of the Senate enjoins another duty, which, from the ambiguous manner in which it is expressed, the Secretary feels some difficulty in clearly comprehending. The Senate resolved "that the President of the United States be requested to cause to be laid before the Senate copies," &c. and conclude by requesting to cause also to be laid before them "how far, if at all, the claim of indemnity from the Government of France for the spoliations aforesaid, was affected by the convention entered into between the United States and France on the said 30th of September, 1800."

The Secretary can hardly suppose it to have been the intention of the resolution to require the expression of an argumentative opinion as to the degree of responsibility to the American sufferers from French spoliations, which the convention of 1800 extinguished, on the part of France, or devolved on the United States, the Senate itself being most competent to decide that question. Under this impression, he hopes that he will have sufficiently conformed to the purpose of the Senate, by a brief statement, prepared in a hurried moment, of what he understands to be the question.

The second article of the convention of 1800, was in the following words: "The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the two parties not being able to agree at present respecting the treaty of alliance of 6th of February, 1778, the treaty of amity and commerce of the same date, and the convention of the 14th November, 1788, nor upon the indemnities mutually due or claimed, the parties will negotiate farther on these subjects at a convenient time, and, until they may have agreed upon these points, the said treaties and convention shall have no operation, and the relations of the two countries shall be regulated as follows."

When that convention was laid before the Senate, it gave its consent and advice that it should be ratified, provided that the second article be expunged, and that the following article be added or inserted: "It is agreed that the present convention shall be in force for the term of eight years from the time of the exchange of the ratification." And it was accordingly so ratified by the President of the United States, on the 18th day of February, 1801. On the 31st of July, of the same year, it was ratified by Bonaparte, first consul of the French Republic, who incorporated in the instrument of his ratification, the following clause, as a part of it: "The Government of the United States, having added to its ratification that the convention should be in force for the space of eight years, and having omitted the second article, the Government of the French Republic consent to accept, ratify, and confirm the above convention, with the addition, importing that the convention shall be in force for the space of eight years, and with the retrenchment of the second article: *Provided that, by this retrenchment, the two States renounce the respective pretensions which are the object of the said article.*"

The French ratification being thus conditional, was, nevertheless, exchanged against that of the United States at Paris, on the same 31st of July. The President of the United States, considering it necessary again to submit the convention, in this state, to the Senate on the 19th day of December, 1801, it was resolved by the Senate, that they considered the said convention as fully ratified, and returned it to the President for the usual promulgation. It was accordingly promulgated, and thereafter regarded as a valid and binding compact. The two contracting parties thus agreed, by the retrenchment of the second article, mutually to renounce the respective pretensions which were the object of that article. The pretensions of the United States, to which allusion is thus made, arose out of the spoliations under color of French authority, in contravention to law and existing treaties. Those of France sprung from the treaty of alliance of the 6th February, 1778, the treaty of amity and commerce of the same date, and the convention of the 14th of November, 1788. Whatever obligations or indemnities, from these sources, either praty had a right to demand, were respectively waived and abandoned; and the consideration which induced one party to renounce his pretensions, was that of renunciation by the other party of his pretensions.—What was the value of the obligations and indemnities

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so reciprocally renounced, can only be matter of speculation. The amount of the indemnities due to citizens of the United States was very large; and on the other hand, the obligation was great (to specify no other French pretensions) under which the United States were placed in the eleventh article of the treaty of alliance of 6th February, 1778, by which they were bound forever, to guaranty from that time, the then possessions of the crown of France in America, as well as those which it might acquire by the future treaty of peace with Great-Britian—all these possessions having been, it is believed, conquered at, or not long after, the exchange of the ratifications of the convention of September, 1800, by the arms of Great Britain from France.

The fifth article of the amendments to the Constitution, provides, "Nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." If the indemnities to which citizens of the United States were entitled for French spoliations, prior to the 30th September, 1800, have been appropriated to absolve the United States from the fulfilment of an obligation which they had contracted, or from the payment of indemnities which they were bound to make to France, the Senate is most competent to determine how far such an appropriation is a public use of private property within the spirit of the Constitution, and whether equitable considerations do not require some compensation to be made to the claimants. The Senate is also best able to estimate the probability which existed, of an ultimate recovery from France of the amount due for those indemnities, if they had not been renounced; in making which estimate, it will, no doubt, give just weight to the painful consideration, that repeated and urgent appeals have been, in vain, made to the justice of France, for satisfaction of flagrant wrongs committed upon property of other citizens of the United States, subsequent to the period of 30th September, 1800. All which is respectfully submitted.

H. CLAY.

As the depredations complained of, grew out of the war between the two great rival powers, England and France, it will be necessary to show the relations subsisting at the commencement of the war between those powers each to the other, and each to the United States. This shall be the subject of my next number.

A CLAIMANT.

No. II.

THAT the relations existing between the United States and France, up to the period when the depredations committed by the latter commenced, may be well understood, it may be useful to give a sketch of the treaties then in operation—and first the treaty of alliance. of February 6, 1778.

Article 1st. In case of war between France and Great Britain, the cause to be common.

2d. "The essential and direct end of the present defensive alliance is to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited of the said United States, as well in matters of government as of commerce."

3d. Each party to act as it may deem most proper to the annoyance of the common enemy.

4th. The parties shall concur in any projected enterprise.

5th. The British possessions in North America, or the Bermudas, if reduced, to belong to the United States.

6th. France relinquishes all claim to the Bermudas, &c.

7th. Islands captured in or near the Gulf of Mexico, to appertain to France.

8th. Neither of the parties to conclude truce or peace without the consent of the other. Arms not to be laid down, until the independence of the United States shall have been secured.

9th. No after claims, whatever may be the event of the war.

10th. Other powers may be invited to make common cause against Great Britain.

11th. "The two parties guaranty mutually from the present time, and forever, against all other powers, to wit: The United States to His Most Christian Majesty, the present possessions of the Crown of France in America, as well as those which it may acquire by the future treaty of peace: And his most Christian Majesty guaranties on his part to the United States, their liberty, sovereignty, and inde-

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pendence, absolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government as commerce, and also their possessions, and the additions or conquests that their confederation may obtain during the war, from any of the dominions now, or heretofore possessed by Great Britain in North America, conformable to the 5th and 6th articles above written, the whole of their possession shall be fixed and assured to the said States, at the moment of the cessation of their present war with England."

12th. "In order to fix more precisely the sense and application of the preceding article, the contracting parties declare, that in case of a rupture between France and England, the reciprocal guaranty declared in the said article shall have its full force and effect the moment such war shall break out: and if such rupture shall not take place, the mutual obligations of the said guaranty shall not commence until the moment of the cessation of the present war between the United States and England shall have ascertained their possessions."

13th. Ratifications to be exchanged within six months.

Second—The Treaty of Amity and Commerce of the 6th February, 1778.

Article 1st. Firm and inviolable peace, &c.

2d. Favors of commerce and navigation granted to other nations to be common to the other party.

3d. 4th and 5th. Duties, rights and benefits to be allowed in the ports of either, as are allowed to the most favored nation.

6th and 7th. Each party to defend the vessels of the other, and to restore them when captured in his jurisdiction.

8th. France to aid the United States to make treaties with the Barbary powers.

9th. Fishing reciprocally prohibited to each party, in places occupied for that purpose by the other, &c.

10th. The United States to respect the rights of France, with respect to fishing on the Banks of Newfoundland, &c. as established by the treaties of Utrecht and Paris.

11th. The citizens of the parties to be exempt from the laws of escheat, &c.

12th. "The merchant ships of either of the parties which shall be making into a port belonging to the enemy of the other ally, and concerning whose voyage, and the species of goods on board her, there shall be just grounds of suspicion, shall be obliged to exhibit as well upon the high seas, as in the ports and havens, not only her passports, but likewise her certificates, expressly showing that her goods are not of the number of those which have been prohibited as contraband."

13th. "If by the exhibiting of the above said certificates, the other party discover there are any of those sorts of goods which are prohibited and declared contraband, and consigned for a port under the obedience of his enemies, it shall not be lawful to break up the hatches of such ship, or to open any chest, coffers, packs, casks, or any other vessel found therein, or to remove the smallest parcels of her goods, whether such ship belongs to the subjects of France, or the inhabitants of the said United States, unless the lading be brought on shore in the presence of the officers of the court of admiralty, and an inventory thereof made; but there shall be no allowance to sell, exchange, or alienate the same, in any manner, until after that due and lawful process shall have been had against such prohibited goods, and the court of admiralty shall, by a sentence pronounced, have confiscated the same; saving always as well the ship itself as any other goods found therein, which by this treaty are to be esteemed free, neither may they be detained on pretence of their being as it were infected by the prohibited goods, much less shall they be confiscated as lawful prize: but if not the whole cargo, but only part thereof, shall consist of prohibited or contraband goods, and the commander of the ship shall be ready and willing to deliver them to the captor who has discovered them, in such case the captor having received those goods, shall forthwith discharge the ship, and not hinder her by any means freely to prosecute the voyage on which she was bound. But in case the contraband merchandises cannot be received on board the vessel of the captor, then the captor may, nothwithstanding the offer of delivering him the contraband goods, carry the vessel into the nearest port, agreeable to what is above directed."

14th. On the contrary, it is agreed, that whatever shall be found to be laden by the subjects and inhabitants of either party on any ship belonging to the enemies of the other, or to their subjects, the whole, although it be not of the sort of prohibited goods, may be confiscated in the same manner as if it belonged to the enemy, except such goods and merchandises as were put on board such ship before the decla-

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ration of war, or even after such declaration, if so be it were done without knowledge of such declaration, so that the goods of the subjects and people of either party, whether they be of the nature of such as are prohibited or otherwise, which as is aforesaid, were put on board any ship belonging to an enemy before the war or after the declaration of the same, without the knowledge of it, shall no ways be liable to confiscation, but shall well and truly be restored without delay to the proprietors demanding the same: but so as that if the said merchandises be contraband, it shall not be any ways lawful to carry them afterwards to any ports belonging to the enemy. The two contracting parties agree that the term of two months being passed, their respective subjects, from whatever part of the world they come, shall not plead the ignorance mentioned in this article."

15th. "And that more effectual care may be taken for the security of the subjects and inhabitants of both parties, that they suffer no injury by the men of war or privateers of the other party, all the commanders of the ships of his most Christian Majesty and of the United States, and all their subjects and inhabitants, shall be forbid doing any injury or damage to the other side; and if they act to the contrary they shall be punished, and shall moreover be bound to make satisfaction for all matter of damage, and the interest thereof, by reparation, under the pain and obligation of their person and goods."

16th. Ships and merchandise rescued from pirates to be restored.

17th. "It shall be lawful for the ships of war of either party, and privateers, freely to carry whithersoever they please, the ships and goods taken from their enemies, without being obliged to pay any duty to the officers of the admiralty or any other judges; nor shall such prizes be arrested or seized when they come to enter the ports of either party, nor shall the searches or other officers of those places search the same, or make examination concerning the lawfulness of such prizes; but they may hoist sail at any time, and depart and carry their prizes to the places expressed in their commissions, which the commanders of such ships of war shall be obliged to show. On the contrary, no shelter or refuge shall be given in their ports to such as shall have made prize of the subjects, people or property of either of the parties; but if such shall come in, being forced by stress of weather, or the danger of the sea, all proper means shall be rigorously used, that they go out and retire from thence as soon as possible."

18th. Relief, &c. to be granted by each party to the shipwrecked vessels of the other.

19th. "In case the subjects and inhabitants of either party, with their shipping, whether public and of war, or private and of merchants, be forced through stress of weather, pursuit of pirates or enemies, or any other urgent necessity for seeking of shelter and harbor, to retreat and enter into any of the rivers, bays, roads, or ports belonging to the other party, they shall be permitted to refresh and provide themselves, at reasonable rates, with victuals and all things needful for the sustenance of their persons, or reparation of their ships, and conveniency of their voyage, and they shall no ways be detained or hindered from returning out of the said ports or roads, but may remove and depart when and whither they please, without any let or hindrance."

21st. The citizens and subjects of each party prohibited from taking commissions from a third power to cruise against each other.

22d. "It shall not be lawful for any foreign privateers, not belonging to subjects of the most christian king, nor citizens of the United States who have commissions from any other prince or state in enmity with either nation, to fit their ships in the ports of either the one or the other of the aforesaid parties, to sell what they have taken, or in any other manner whatsoever to exchange their ships, merchandises, or any other lading, neither shall they be allowed even to purchase victuals, except such as shall be necessary for their going to the next port of that prince or state from which they have commissions."

23d. "It shall be lawful for all and singular the subjects of the most Christian King, and the citizens, people and inhabitants of the said United States, to sail with their ships with all manner of liberty and security, no distinction being made who are the proprietors of the merchandises laden thereon, from any port to the places of those who now are or hereafter shall be at enmity with the most Christian King or the United States. It shall likewise be lawful for the subjects and inhabitants aforesaid, to sail with the ships and merchandises aforementioned, and to trade with the same liberty and security from the places, ports and havens of those who are

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enemies of both or either party, without any opposition or disturbance whatsoever, not only directly from the places of the enemy aforementioned to neutral places, but also from one place belonging to an enemy to another place belonging to an enemy, whether they be under the jurisdiction of the same prince or under several. And it is hereby stipulated, that free ships shall also give a freedom to goods, and that every thing shall be deemed to be free and exempt which shall be found on board the ships belonging to the subjects of either of the confederates, although the whole lading, or any other part thereof, should appertain to the enemies of either, contraband goods being always excepted. It is also agreed in like manner, that the same liberty be extended to persons who are on board a free ship, with this effect, that although they be enemies to both or either party, they are not to be taken out of the free ship, unless they are soldiers and in actual service of the enemies."

24th. "This liberty of navigation and commerce shall extend to all kinds of merchandises, except those only which are distinguished by the name of contraband, and under this name of contraband or prohibited goods, shall be comprehended arms, great guns, bombs with the fuses, and other things belonging to them, cannon-ball, gunpowder, match, pikes, swords, lances, spears, halberts, mortars, petards, grenades, saltpetre, muskets, musket-ball, bucklers, helmets, breast-plates, coats of mail, and the like kinds of arms, proper for arming soldiers, musket rests, belts, horses with their furniture, and all other warlike instruments whatever. These merchandises which follow, shall not be reckoned among contraband or prohibited goods: that is to say, all sorts of cloths, and all other manufactures woven of any wool, flax, silk, cotton, or any other materials whatever, all kinds of wearing apparel, together with the species whereof they are used to be made, gold and silver, as well coined as uncoined, tin, iron, latten, copper, brass, coals, as also wheat and barley, and any other kind of corn and pulse, tobacco, and likewise all manner of spices, salted fish, cheese, and butter, beer, oils, wines, sugars, and all sorts of salts, and in general all provisions which serve for the nourishment of mankind and the sustenance of life; furthermore, all kinds of cotton, hemp, flax, tar, pitch, ropes, cables, sails, sail cloths, anchors, and any parts of anchors, also ships' masts, planks, boards and beams of what trees soever, and all other things proper either for building or repairing ships, and all other goods whatever, which have not been worked into the form of any instrument or thing prepared for war by land or by sea, shall not be reputed contraband, much less such as have been already wrought and made up for any other use: all which shall be wholly reckoned among free goods: as likewise all other merchandises and things which are not comprehended and particularly mentioned in the foregoing enumeration of contraband goods; so that they may be transported and carried in the freest manner by the subjects of both confederates, even to places belonging to an enemy, such towns or places being only excepted, as are at that time besieged, blocked up or invested."

25th. "To the end that all manner of dissentions and quarrels may be avoided and prevented, on one side and the other, it is agreed, that in case either of the parties hereto should be engaged in war, the ships and vessels belonging to the subjects or people of the other ally, must be furnished with sea letters or passports, expressing the name, property and bulk of the ship, as also the name and place of habitation of the master or commander of the said ship, that it may appear thereby that the ship really and truly belongs to the subjects of one of the parties: which passports shall be made out and granted according to the form annexed to this treaty; they shall likewise be recalled every year, that is, if the ship happens to return home within the space of a year. It is likewise agreed, that such ships being laden are to be provided not only with passports as above mentioned, but also with certificates containing the several particulars of the cargo, the place whence the ship sailed, and whither she is bound, that so it may be known whether any forbidden or contraband goods be on board the same; which certificates shall be made out by the officers of the place whence the ship set sail, in the accustomed form; and if any one shall think it fit or advisable to express in the said certificates the person to whom the goods on board belong, he may freely do so."

26th. The ships of either party, on the coast or in the ports of the other, not willing to unload, are to be treated according to certain general rules.

27th. "If the ships of the said subjects, people, or inhabitants of either of the parties shall be met with, either sailing along the coast, or on the high seas, by any ship of war of the other, or by any privateers, the said ships of war or privateers, for the avoiding of any disorder, shall remain out of cannon shot, and may send their boats aboard the merchant ship which they shall so meet with, and may en-

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ter her to the number of two or three men only, to whom the master or commander of such ship or vessel shall exhibit his passport, concerning the property of the ship, made out according to the form inserted in this present treaty to wit: "To all who shall see these presents, greeting: It is hereby made known that leave and permission has been given to ———, master and commander of the ship ———, of the town of ———, burden —— tons, or thereabouts, lying at present at the port and haven of ———, and laden with ———, after that his ship has been visited, and before sailing, he shall make oath before the officers who have the jurisdiction of maratime affairs, that the said ship belongs to one or more of the subjects of ———. The act whereof shall be put at the end of these presents, as likewise that he will keep, and cause to be kept by his crew on board, the marine ordinances and regulations, and enter in the proper office a list, signed and witnessed, containing the names and surnames, the places of birth and abode of the crew of his ship, and of all who shall embark on board her; whom he shall not take on board without the knowledge and permission of the officers of the marine, and in every port or haven where he shall enter with his ship, he shall show this present leave to the officers and judges of the marine, and shall give a faithful account to them of what passed, and was done during his voyage; and he shall carry the colors, arms and ensigns of the [French Republic or the United States,] during his voyage. In witness whereof, we have signed these presents and put the seal of our arms thereto, and caused the same to be countersigned by ———, at ———, ——— day of———. Anno Domini ——." And the ship when she shall have showed such passport, shall be free and at liberty to pursue her voyage, so as it shall not be lawful to molest or search her in any manner, or to give her chase or force her to quit her intended course."

28th. Visitation or search of goods to be made before they are laden, &c.

29th. "The two contracting parties grant mutually the liberty of having each in the ports of the other, Consuls, Vice Consuls, Agents, and Commissaries, whose functions shall be regulated by a particular agreement."

30th. Free ports to be allowed in France to citizens of the United States, who may contiuue to trade to the free ports in the West Indies.

31st. Ratifications to be exchanged in six months.

And third, the Consular Convention of Nov. 14th, 1788. Of this the 1st, 8th, and 9th articles only are material.

Article 1st. "The Consuls and Vice Consuls named by the most Christian King and the United States, shall be bound to present their commissions according to the forms which shall be established respectively by the most Christian King within his dominions and by the Congress within the United States. There shall be delivered to them without any charges, the *exequatur*, necessary for the exercise of their functions; and on exhibiting the said *exequatur*, the governor, commanders, heads of justice, bodies corporate, tribunals, and other officers having authority in the ports and places of their consulates, shall cause them to enjoy immediately, and without difficulty, the pre-eminence, authority, and privileges, reciprocally granted, without exacting from the said Consuls and Vice Consuls any fee, under any pretext whatever."

8th. "The Consuls or Vice Consuls shall exercise police over all the vessels of their respective nations, and shall have on board the said vessels, all power and jurisdiction in civil matters, in all the disputes which may there arise: they shall have an entire inspection over the said vessels, their crew, and the changes and substitutions there to be made. For which purpose they may go on board the said vessels whenever they may judge it necessary. Well understood that the functions hereby allowed shall be confined to the interior of the vessels, and that they shall not take place in any case which shall have any interference with the police of the ports where the said vessels shall be."

9th. "The Consuls and Vice Consuls may cause to be arrested the captains, officers, mariners, sailors, and all other persons being part of the crews of the vessels of their respective nations, who shall have deserted from the said vessels, in order to send them back and transport them out of the country. For this purpose the said Consuls and Vice Consuls shall address themselves to the courts, judges, and officers competent, and shall demand the said deserters in writing, proving by an exhibition of the registers of the vessel or ship's roll, that those men were part of the said crews," &c.

Those who feel an interest in the subject matter under consideration, will doubtless be gratified with the above sketch of the late treaties between the

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United States and France, and indeed a frequent reference to them will be indispensable while reading the documents transmitted to the Senate on the 20th May last. For like reasons it is deemed proper to shew the existing relations between the two great rival powers, France and Great Britain; and that the whole many be preserved together, for reference, a sketch of the material parts of their commercial treaty of 1786, is placed on the same sheet.

The fair and liberal character of this treaty, as between parties absurdly called "natural enemies," may raise the impression in some, that such treaties were rare in former days; to such it may be proper to remark, that upwards of one hundred equally liberal treaties, between the several European powers, of which England was a party to the greatest number, have been formed since the year 1500, and many date even much earlier.

Treaty of 1786, *between France and Great Britain.*

Art. 1. A reciprocal and entirely perfect liberty of navigation and commerce.

Art. 2. "For the future security of commerce and friendship between the subjects of their said majesties, and to the end that this good correspondence may be preserved from all interruption and disturbance, it is concluded and agreed, that if at any time there should arise any misunderstanding, breach of friendship, or rupture, between the crowns of their majesties, which God forbid! *(which rupture shall not be deemed to exist until the recalling or sending home of the respective Ambassadors and Ministers,)* the subject, &c. &c."

3d.——: "Neither shall any letters of reprisal be hereafter granted by either of the said high contracting parties, to the prejudice or detriment of the subjects of the other, except only in such case wherein justice is denied or delayed; which denial or delay of justice shall not be regarded as verified, unless the petition of the person who desires the said letters of reprisal be communicated to the Minister residing there on the part of the Prince against whose subjects they are to be granted, that within the space of four months, or sooner, if it be possible, he may manifest the contrary, or procure the satisfaction which may be justly due."

4th. "The subjects and inhabitants of the respective dominions of the two Sovereigns shall have liberty, freely and securely, without license or passport, general or special, by land or by sea, or any other way to enter into the kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, islands, cities, towns, walled or unwalled, fortified or unfortified, ports or territories whatsoever, of either sovereign, situated in Europe, and to return from thence, to remain there, or to pass through the same, and therein to buy and purchase, as they please, all things necessary for their subsistence and use, and they shall mutually be treated with all kindness and favor," &c.

7th. Both shall enjoy all the benefits and privileges in navigation and commerce granted by either to the most favored nation.

16th. The enemies of either shall not in the ports of the other, arm their privateers, sell their prizes, or provision their vessels.

20th. "It shall be lawful for all the subjects of the King of Great Britain, and the most Christian King, to sail with their ships, with perfect security and liberty, no distinction being made, who are the proprietors of the merchandises laden thereon, from any port whatever, to the countries which are now or shall be hereafter at war with the King of Great Britain or the most Christian King. It shall likewise be lawful for the aforesaid subjects to sail and traffic with their ships and merchandises, with the same liberty and security, from the countries, ports and places, of those who are enemies of both, or of either party, without any opposition or disturbance whatsoever, and to pass directly not only from the places of the enemy aforementioned to neutral places, but also from one place belonging to an enemy to another place belonging to an enemy, whether they be under the jurisdiction of the same or several princes. And as it has been stipulated concerning ships and goods, that every thing shall be deemed to be free which shall be found on board the ships belonging to the subjects of the respective kingdoms, although the whole lading, or part thereof, should belong to the enemies of their majesties, contraband goods being always excepted, on the stopping of which, such proceedings shall be had as are conformable to the spirit of the following article: it is likewise agreed, that the same liberty be extended to persons who are on board a free ship, to the end that, although they be enemies to both or to either party, they may not be taken out of such free ship, unless they are soldiers actually in the service of

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the enemies, and on their voyage for the purpose of being employed in a military capacity in their fleets or armies."

21st. "This liberty of navigation and commerce shall extend to all kinds of merchandises, excepting those only which are specified in the following article, and which are described under the name of contraband."

22d. "Under this name of contraband, or prohibited goods, shall be comprehended arms, cannon, harquebusses, mortars, petards, bombs, grenades, saucisses, carcasses, carriages for cannon, musket rests, bandoleers, gunpowder, match, saltpetre, ball, pikes, swords, head pieces, helmets, cuirasses, halberds, javelins, holsters, belts horses and harness, and all other kind of arms and warlike implements fit for theuse of troops."

23d. "These merchandises which follow shall not be reckoned among contraband goods; that is to say. all sorts of cloth, and all other manufactures of wool, flax, silk, cotton, or any other materials: all kinds of wearing apparel, together with the articles of which they are usually made; gold, silver, coined or uncoined, tin, iron, lead, copper, brass, coals; as also wheat and barley, and any other kind of corn and pulse, tobacco, and all kinds of spices, salted and smoked flesh, salted fish, cheese and butter, beer, oil, wines, sugar, all sorts of salt, and of provisions which serve for sustenance and food to mankind; also all kinds of cotton, cordage, cables, sails, sail-cloth, hemp, tallow, pitch, tar and rosin, anchors, and any parts of anchors, ship-masts, planks, timber of all kinds of trees, and all other things proper either for building or repairing ships. Nor shall any other goods whatever, which have not been worked into the form of any instrument or furniture for warlike use, by land or by sea, be reputed contraband, much less such as have been already wrought and made up for any other purpose. All which things shall be deemed goods not contraband, as likewise all others which are not comprehended and particularly described in the preceding article; so that they may be freely carried, by the subjects of both kingdoms, even to places belonging to an enemy, excepting only such places as are beseiged, blocked up or invested."

28th. Contraband goods found on board the vessels of either, bound to the enemy of the other, shall cause detention, but if the master give up the contraband goods, the captain shall permit the vessel with the residue of the cargo to proceed upon her voyage.

29th. On the contrary, it is agreed, that whatever shall be found to be laden by the subjects and inhabitants of either party, on any ship belonging to the enemies of the other, although it be not contraband goods, shall be confiscated in the same manner as if it belonged to the enemy himself, &c.

40th. "It shall be lawful, as well for ships of war of their majesties, as for privateers belonging to their subjects, to carry whithersoever they please the ships and goods taken from their enemies, without being obliged to pay any fee to the officers of the admiralty, or to any judges whatever, nor shall the said prizes, when they arrive at, and enter the ports of their said majesties, be detained or seized; neither shall the searchers, or other officers of those places, visit or take cognizance of the validity of such prizes; but they shall be at liberty to hoist sail at any time, to depart, and to carry their prizes to the place mentioned in the commissions or patents, which the commanders of such ships of war shall be obliged to show: on the contrary, no shelter or refuge shall be given in their ports to such as have made a prize upon the subjects of either of their majesties, but if forced by stress of weather, or the dangers of the sea, to enter therein, particular care shall be taken to hasten their departure, and to cause them to retire from thence as soon as possible, as far as it is not repugnant to former treaties made in this respect with other Sovereign States."

The manner in which this last treaty was violated by England; the result whereof—war with France; and the assumed bearing of that war, by our government, upon the reciprocal guaranty of the treaty of alliance between the United States and France, will be the subject of my next number. A CLAIMANT.

No. III.

From the dawn of the French revolution, in June, 1789, to the declaration of war against England by the National Convention, in February, 1793, the neighboring Powers, and particularly England, perpetrated a series of secret and open acts of

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enthusiastic hostility to the people and government of France. Of the first are the treaties of Pavia, of the 6th of July, 1791, and of Pilnitz, of the 27th of August, of the same year, for the restoration of the King's prerogatives, and the partition of a considerable part of the French territory.

In 1791 and 1792, England furnished in secret, arms and succors to the emigrants, who were in arms against France.

In November 1792, three months before the declaration of war by France, the English ministry directed the detention of all vessels in the ports of Britain, and bound to France, including in their order as well French vessels as those of neutrals. And Parliament subsequently passed a law, prohibiting the exportation of provisions to France.

In December, 1792, Parliament passed an alien act, by which the Executive was authorized to send aliens out of the country:—This was specially directed against the French, and like the act just mentioned, was a direct and hostile violation of the treaty of 1786.

In January, 1793, the Prussians took possession of the Hanse towns; French and neutral vessels, to escape seizure, left the ports, but had scarcely reached the sea, when they were detained and sent into England.

The historian has already recorded these acts in the following strong terms. "These violations of the law of nations, of treaties, and of neutral rights, were committed when England was in a declared state of neutrality and peace with France: and whilst a French minister was in London, begging the ministry to remain at peace, and to permit the exportation of provisions to keep his countrymen from starving. So atrocious, indeed, were these acts, that the British ministry were compelled to take refuge under an *act of indemni'y*, to escape impeachment and punishment." Alluding to those outrages, in a debate in the House of Commons, January, 1793, Mr. Fox said, "The prohibition to allow the exportation of provisions to France, whilst they are allowed to be exported to any other country, is an act of hostility so severe, as can have no excuse or justification but in hostile acts of France, *and it is not even pretended that such hostile acts have taken place.*"

On the 24th January, 1793, the British Government ordered the French Minister (Chauvelin) to quit the kingdom, and to aggravate the insult, published the order in the London Gazette. This act, according to the very letter of the treaty of 1786, article 2d, was a declaration of war against France by England. And on the 1st of February, 1793, France seeing that all her humiliating supplications for peace, made through the resident minister, Chauvelin, and the special minister, Marat, were only treated with contempt and insult, declared war in turn against England.

These, from many existing proofs, are adduced as conclusive, that, as between England and France, the former was the first to make war, both in form and in fact. This position is established, however, not for the purpose of palliating or lessening in any degree, our just indignation for the unrighteous acts of either, but simply to remove the false impression, made in party times and for party purposes, on the minds of a few of our citizens, who were led to believe that as our treaty of alliance with France of 1778 was purely defensive, and the war then existing *offensive* on the part of France, so no obligation on the part of the United States existed to defend the French West India possessions. A CLAIMANT.

No. IV.

The ostensible parties to the treaties of Pavia and Pilnitz, of July and August, 1791, referred to in my former number, were Austria and Prussia; but England was the master spirit, who for obvious reasons agreed to assume a neutral character, and subsequently, with Holland and other Powers, openly acceded. To these treaties may be justly ascribed all the wars that desolated Europe from 1791–2 to the treaty of Luneville in 1801. Their objects may be stated in brief: To enter France with five divisions of 100,000 men each; to divide the French territory, not only among the ostensible parties, but several others also therein named, giving to Spain the entire Island of St. Domingo; and to reinstate the King of France (whose death they caused, or at least hastened,) in despotic power. They were subsequently renewed and modified in separate treaties with the different Powers, respectively, without mitigation of rigor, however: and England openly appeared

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as the head of the most powerful combination that the world has witnessed. In about six months England had formed twenty-three separate treaties, the character of which will be sufficiently explained by the following extract from that with Prussia of the 14th of July, 1793.

"*Article* 3d. The high contracting parties having already taken the resolution to shut all their ports against French ships, and not to permit the exportation, in any cases, from their said ports for France, of any military or naval stores, or corn, grain, salt meat, or other provisions, they reciprocally engage to continue those measures, and promise to employ all other means which shall be in their power, for injuring the commerce of France, and for bringing her by such means to just conditions of peace. Art. 4th. Their Majesties engage to unite all their efforts to prevent, on this occasion of common concern to every civilized state, other Powers, not implicated in the war, from giving, in consequence of their neutrality, any protection whatever, directly or indirectly, to the commerce or property of the French, on the sea or in the ports of France." Similar provisions were contained in all the treaties with Russia, Holland, Spain, Sardinia, the two Sicilies, Austria, Portugal, &c.; in each and all of which England is the party *first named*. She coerced some of them to join the coalition; and openly declared that she wanted no neutrals. Several of the allies declared war against France, no otherwise than by said treaties; and against some of them, France *never* made a formal declaration of war.

An English author of celebrity says: "It was not necessary for Great Britain to justify her future proceedings, by asserting the commission of injury or insult toward herself, or by alleging the legitimacy of the motives by which the Continental Powers were actuated in their hostile demonstrations against France. Under what pretensions or circumstances the war between France and the most formidable of the combined Powers commenced, it was obviously the interest of Britain to make a common cause with the opponents of an enemy whose views were evidently hostile, and to become a participator in the contest, while exertion and union might yet be effectual. Whatever might be the disasters, the misfortunes, and the errors of the Continental Powers, it cannot be doubted that their alliance with England mitigated their distresses and relieved their misfortunes, while it counteracted the triumphs and impeded the progress of the enemy. Had we persevered in the defensive system recommended by superficial politicians, we should first have witnessed the downfall of Austria and Prussia, and have been compelled to struggle single handed with the violence and the augmented power of an inveterate and triumphant enemy."

Perhaps enough has been adduced to show that the war on the part of France was defensive, at least in reference to England—and she alone captured the Islands which the United States were bound to defend. There is, however, one more authority to be examined,—the text itself, viz: The treaty of alliance of 1778 between France and the United States. If this instrument, which all admit to be the binding rule between the United States and France, had intended to hold the United States to the guaranty stipulation, only in the event of *defensive* war, it is a little remarkable that it contains no such condition. And the circumstances under which it was formed, imperatively forbid the idea that such condition entered into the contemplation of the parties. France was in fact committing *offensive* war against England in joining our cause, and her signature to the treaty of alliance was a virtual declaration of war, and was so considered by England. Let the treaty speak for itself:

"*Article* 11. The two parties guaranty mutually from the present time, [February 6, 1778,] and forever, against all other Powers, to wit: The United States to his most Christian Majesty the present possessions of the Crown of France in America, as well as those which it may acquire by the future treaty of peace, &c. &c. Article 12th. In order to fix more precisely the sense and application of the preceding article, the contracting parties declare, that in case of a *rupture* between France and England, the reciprocal guaranty declared in the said article, shall have its full force and effect the moment such war shall break out," &c. &c.

It need hardly be stated that a "*rupture*," resulting in the independence of these United States, took place between England and France, soon after the date of the said treaty, February 6, 1778, and according to the recited terms of the treaty, from the moment of such *rupture* thenceforward and forever, unless otherwise disposed of by treaty, (which in this case was not done,) the United States were bound to defend said possessions. The *casus fœderis* then attached, and existed until released by the consent of both parties in the Convention of the 30th Sep-

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tember, 1800. France had performed with great liberality her part of the duties thereby contracted; and she held our bond, our plighted faith, and the example of her own conduct, as pledges for our fidelity. Vattel says, B III, chap. 6, sec. 91. "But if the defensive alliance imports a guaranty of all the territories at that time possessed by the ally, the *casus fœderis* takes place immediately on the invasion of these territories, or when threatened with an invasion. If they are attacked for a just cause, the ally must be induced to give satisfaction; but we may on good grounds oppose his being deprived of his possessions; as generally the guaranty of them is undertaken for our own security." A CLAIMANT.

No. V.

THE Government of the United States was promptly apprized through its Minister, Mr. Morris, of all the important events as they occurred in Europe, in 1792,-3. In his letter to the Secretary of State, Mr. Jefferson, of 22d August, '92, he states "that the British Ambassador had received a despatch which he immediately laid before the French Government, and at the same time asked for passports. This dispatch, turned into plain English, is, shortly, that the British Court resent what is already done, and will make war immediately, if the treatment of the King be such as to call for or to justify measures of extremity." On the 21st December, '92, he writes, "The circumstances of a war with Britain becomes important in more cases than one. The question respecting the guaranty of the [French] American possessions may, perhaps, be agitated, especially if France should attempt to defend her Islands—I will only pray your indulgence while I express my wish that all our treaties (however onerous) may be strictly fulfilled, according to their true intent and meaning. The honest nation is that which, like the honest man,

> 'Hath to its plighted faith and vow, forever firmly stood.
> And tho' it promise to its loss yet makes that promise good.'

I feel nevertheless the full force of your observation, that, until the [French] nation shall have adopted some regular form of government, we may not know in what manner, or to what persons, our obligations are to be acquitted." Again, on the 25th January, '93, he writes, "I consider a war between Britain and France as inevitable. The Continental Powers opposed to France are making great and prompt efforts; while on this side, I as yet, see but little done to oppose them. There is a treaty on foot (I believe) between England and Austria, whose object is the dismemberment of France. I have not proof, but some very leading circumstances. Britain will, I think, suspend her blow till she can strike very hard; unless, indeed, they should think it advisable to seize the moment of indignation against late events [beheading the King, the 21st instant,] for a declaration of war." And again on the 13th of February, '93, he writes, "Since my last of the 25th of January was written, I have every reason to believe that the execution of Louis XVI. has produced on foreign nations the effect which I had imagined. The war with England exists, and it is now proper, perhaps, to consider its consequences: to which effect we must examine the objects likely to be pursued by England: for, in this country, notwithstanding the gasconades, a defensive war is prescribed by necessity. Many suppose that the French colonies will be attacked; but this I do not believe. It is, indeed, far from improbable, that a British garrison may be thrown into Martinique;* but as to St. Domingo, it would require more men than can be spared to defend it, and as much money as it is worth. In this view of the subject, to take her Islands is to possess but the parings of her nails; and therefore, more serious efforts must be made."

It is clear that the time had nearly arrived at which the United States must declare her course of conduct between the contending parties. The English, by the joint means of entreaty and coercion, enlisted on her side all the maritime Powers, except the United States, Sweden and Denmark, and the two last it was feared would yield to the incessant threats and importunity with which they were goaded. France, our ally and our friend, was contending with a world in arms against her: she could not harm us if even so disposed, and in all probability would sink under

* This actually took place early in April, '93.

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the pressure of her foes. England, on the other hand, rode triumphant on the ocean and as she had the power, so we did not doubt the will to do us injury—both as the ally of her deadly foe, and as her late rebellious colonies. To conciliate both was impossible. To volunteer a compliance with our treaties with France, however sanctioned by the laws and usages of nations, and compatible with the laws of neutrality, would be but to court and secure the jealousy of England, and plunge ourselves forthwith into the contest. France had not yet demanded succors under the treaty of alliance, and until she did, *perhaps* we were not bound to furnish them. The *casus fœderis* existed; but the necessity for aid had not arisen, and might not occur,—or if it should, might be parried. Mr. Morris' letters, above quoted, are silent as to the desire of France on this subject. These communications, however, with intelligence from other sources, caused the President to submit to his constitutional advisers certain questions relative to the performance of our duties, arising out of existing circumstances, and those which would necessarily occur. The motives which governed the President on this occasion were doubtless pure and patriotic; but the conflicting opinions in the cabinet greatly embarrassed him, and subjected two of its members, particularly the Secretary of the Treasury, General Hamilton, to very severe censure. But, as in this country the President is held responsible for the acts of his ministers, so in this case, the censure intended for them was profusely poured on his head.

Our Government was new and had much to learn; it is not matter of surprise, therefore, that, under such extraordinary circumstances, error should be committed. While it was conceded on the one side, that the President might, and perhaps ought to have consulted his council, with a view to his own judgment; yet, on the other, it was insisted, that Congress had not expressed its will upon the subject matter, and until it did so, the Executive had no right to make known *authoritatively* its sentiments. Be this, however, as it may, it is certain that the course adopted by him in his proclamation of *neutrality*, produced alarming discontent, not only among our own citizens, which continued in the shape of rival parties for nearly thirty years, but also with the French Government. The British Government, it is believed, were satisfied.

A CLAIMANT.

VI.

On the 18th of February, 1793, the President submitted to his Council thirteen questions, "with a view to forming a general plan of conduct for the Executive." Three only of these questions are material to our present object, to wit:—

1st. Whether a proclamation shall issue for the purpose of preventing interferences of the citizens of the United States in the war between France and Great Britain? Shall it contain a declaration of neutrality or not? What shall it contain?

8th. Does the war in which France is engaged appear to be offensive or defensive on her part? or of a mixed and equivocal character?

9th. If of a mixed and equivocal character, does the guaranty in any event apply to such war?

They unanimously agreed that a proclamation ought to be issued forbidding the citizens of the United States to take part in the hostilities on the seas,* with or against any of the belligerent powers. On the 8th and 9th questions the Secretary of State, Mr. Jefferson, and the Attorney General, Mr. Randolph, were of opinion that there was nothing in the alteration of the French Government or in the character of the war, which could impair the right of France to demand, or lessen the duty of the United States to perform, the engagements she had solemnly made; and that there was no necessity for deciding upon it. The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Hamilton, and the Secretary of War, Mr. Knox, considered the treaty of alliance with France merely defensive, and as the war was first declared by France, it must be considered offensive on her part. These variant opinions were not known till long after they were made, and hence made no part of the popular feelings which were subsequently manifested.

* The qualifying words "*on the seas*" were omitted in the proclamation; nor is the general import of the decision preserved therein.

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By reference to the proclamation it will be seen, that the relative position of the belligerent parties, as stated in the first question, was reversed. This circumstance is of importance, as it defines with fairness and precision the offensive and defensive parties in the war, and doubtless such was the intention in making the correction—in order to its proper connection with our defensive alliance with France. This idea is further confirmed by the fact, that the proposition to include in the proclamation "a declaration of neutrality" was not adopted. The word *neutrality* was not used either in the proclamation, or the several messages of the President to Congress, though he frequently refers to that instrument. The proclamation runs thus: "Whereas it appears that a state of war exists between Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Great Britain, and the United Netherlands, of the one part, and France on the other: and the duty and interest of the United States require that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers, &c."

The contingency provided for in the guaranty article had occurred, as stated in my last number: but no aid had been demanded, and though we were at peace, and extremely anxious so to continue, yet being in constant expectation of a demand being made to take part in the war under the guaranty, there would have been an evident impropriety in making a formal declaration of neutrality; but none in declaring the fact that peace then existed. The proclamation appears to have been drawn up with a view to several objects, the leading one to gently apprize France that our great interest and desire was peace; that she might be induced thereon to relieve us from the guaranty, or by taking counsel from her interest or her fears, prefer accepting the supplies we could furnish from our neutral state, rather than by pressing for succours, tempt us to join the coalition against her. It is recorded that "Washington's proclamation of neutrality was a novelty in the political world. It was however the wisest measure, as adapted to the circumstances, that history records. It accomplished the purpose for which it was intended, and that purpose was one of the best and most salutary of which any nation had ever experienced the benefit. It was intended to prevent the French Minister from demanding the performance of the guaranty contained in the treaty of alliance, and it was admirably calculated to prepare the minds of the people for approving of the refusal which, if he made the demand, Washington was resolved to give him."* And the President's message to Congress of the 3d Dec. '93, seems to convey the same meaning. He says: "As soon as the war in Europe had embraced those powers with whom the United States have the most extens ve relations, there was reason to apprehend that our intercourse with them might be interrupted, and our disposition for peace drawn into question, by the suspicions too often entertained by belligerent nations. It seemed therefore to be my duty to admonish our citizens of the consequences of a contraband trade, and of hostile acts to any of the parties, and to obtain *by a declaration of the* EXISTING *legal state of things, an easier admission of our right to the immunities belonging to our situation.* Under these impressions, the proclamation which will be laid before you was issued." After recommending that the nation be put in a state of defence, the message continues, "If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war." This proclamation caused great excitement throughout the United States: it was declared to be without competent authority, unnecessary, unfriendly to France, and in violation of our treaties with her. Mr. Hamilton, to whom all its unfavorable features were ascribed, appeared in its defence in the public journals; and Mr. Madison took the opposite side. The French government complained also, and declared it to be *insidious* and unjust, especially as it made no reservation of the exclusive rights secured to her by the treaties of 1778 and 1788. The rules prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury to govern the collectors of the customs, in regard to acts therein *first* detailed, and deemed punishable by virtue of "*the President's deductions from the laws of neutrality established and received among nations*," the execution of which was given to Govenors of the States,

* Had the demand and refusal ensued, the result must have been, if not war with France, an obligation in her favor of pecuniary indemnity from the United States, equivalent to her West India losses when ascertained; and the latter would have been preferred, as least onerous to us. Whether such a result was in the contemplation of the President, does not appear; but it is well known that a demand was subsequently made, which we did not comply with, and that several of her Islands were in consequence captured by the English.

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were also much complained of. The principal objections were, that they gave the force and effect of law to the Executive will; diverted the decision of important judicial questions from the established courts of the country to the Governors of States; and gave said rules a retrospective operation. They were so generally resisted that the Executive found it expedient, at the first moment of the meeting of Congress, to request the passage of a *law* to cover the case. In his message before referred to, he says, "In this posture of affairs, both new and delicate, I resolved to adopt general rules, which should conform to the treaties and assert the privileges of the United States. These were reduced into a system, which will be communicated to you. Although I have not thought myself at liberty to forbid the sale of prizes, permitted by our treaty of commerce with France to be brought into our ports, I have not refused to cause them to be restored when they were taken within the protection of our territory, or by vessels commissioned, or equipped in a warlike form, within the limits of the United States. It rests with the wisdom of Congress, to correct, improve, or enforce this plan of procedure; and it will probably be found expedient, to extend the legal code, and the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States, to many cases which, though dependent on principles already recognized, demand some further provision."

If the injunctions and penalties laid down in the proclamation and rules referred to, were grounded on existing laws, the necessity of a further law is not perceived. But they are not so grounded, and hence France might justly complain; especially as her important and exclusive right, to bring in and sell her prizes in our ports, had been fully recognised, and expressly admitted in the message just cited, while the proclamation enjoins "a conduct friendly and *impartial* towards the belligerent powers."

A CLAIMANT.

No VII.

The early part of 1793 was marked with acts strongly indicative of the temper of the United States, France, and Great Britain. As the violations complained of by either, have their origin in that epoch, it may be useful to point out a leading act of each. First: the President's proclamation of 22d February, mentioned in my last number:—second, the French decree of 19th February, which opened the ports of French colonies to our trade, and equalized the duties and privileges with their own vessels, on import and export, both in the ports of France and her colonies:—and, third, the engagements of England by treaty of 25th of March, with Russia, and with other powers, to stop the exportation of provisions to France, to take all other measures in their power for injuring her commerce, and to unite all their efforts to prevent neutral powers from giving any protection whatever to her commerce or property on the sea or in her ports. England had anticipated this engagement, by seizing both French and neutral vessels in her ports laden with provisions bound to France, and had also captured vessels so destined, among which were some under the American flag.

The failure of the crops in France, and a threatened famine, the existence of civil war in her bosom, and great dissentions in her colonies, added to the pressure of more than twenty warlike powers in close league against her, could not fail to excite a strong sympathy in her behalf in the American people. Their government, however, found it expedient to moderate the enthusiasm with which the cause of France was on every side espoused, and perhaps, in this respect, deemed it good policy to do too much rather than too little. In forming a just estimate of this policy, it is proper to bear in mind that while the British Government at various and late periods highly complimented ours for its conduct on that occasion, the French never ceased to complain.

The President's proclamation of 22d February had scarcely been promulgated when the British Minister interposed several remonstrances against the acts of French resident agents, including the Minister. On the 16th of May, Mr. Jefferson informed the French Minister, that the British Minister had complained that arms and military accoutrements are now buying up by a French agent in this country, with an intent to export them to France—to which complaint he has answered: "It [the law of nations] is satisfied with the external penalty pronounced in the President's proclamation, that of confiscation of such portion of these arms as shall fall into the hands of their enemies. To this penalty our citizens are warned that they will be abandoned." In treating on the President's proclamation, I purposely omitted touching on this point (and others which will follow) un-

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til its application should be called in question. The clause referred to is as follows: "And I do hereby also make known that whoever of the citizens of the United States shall render himself liable to punishment or forfeiture under the law of nations, by committing, aiding, or abetting hostilities against any of the said powers, or by carrying to any of them those articles which are deemed contraband by the *modern* usage of nations, will not receive the protection of the United States against such punishment or forfeiture." How far the President by proclamation, or the Secretary of State by official communication, had a right to abandon the citizens of the United States to punishment, or their property to forfeiture, will more fully appear on examining the 13th article of our treaty with Prussia of 1785—one of the parties to the war, and named as such in the proclamation."

"Article 13. And in the same case of one of the contracting parties being engaged in war with any other power, to prevent all the difficulties and misunderstandings that usually arise respecting the merchandise heretofore called contraband, such as arms, ammunition, and military stores of every kind, no such articles carried in the vessels or by the subjects or citizens of one of the parties to the enemies of the other, shall be deemed contraband, so as to induce confiscation or condemnation, and a loss of property to individuals. Nevertheless, it shall be lawful to stop such vessels and articles, and to detain them for such length of time as the captors may think necessary to prevent the inconvenience or damage that might ensue from their proceeding; paying, however, a reasonable compensation for the loss such arrest shall occasion to the proprietors; and it shall further be allowed to use in the service of the captors, the whole or any part of the military stores so detained, paying the owners the full value of the same, to be ascertained by the current price at the place of its destination."

The very case provided for in the above article existed; and it would seem to be the duty of this Government to have interposed its protection to our citizens who manufactured and traded in contraband goods, of which a large portion of our exports consisted. Its abandonment of their rights and protection was the more unexpected and unpalatable, because it was voluntary.

It was moreover injurious to France, inasmuch as it not only left to her enemies to determine what articles were contraband, (and the sequel will show that they deemed provisions of all kinds such,) but left them at liberty to take them without compensation; which would of course aid them in carrying on the war, and operate, as far as their value, to relieve their finances.

Complaints were also made by the British Minister, against the issuing commissions to privateers and letters of marque by French consuls—fitting out and arming privateers in our ports—and condemning prizes brought in and selling the same. To the first, Mr. Jefferson answered: "It is the standing usuage of France and all other nations in all wars to lodge blank commissions with all their foreign consuls, to be given to every vessel of their nation, merchant or armed. That the *delivery* of a commission is immaterial, as it may be sent by letter to any one, so it may be delivered by hand to him any where—the place of *signature by the sovereign*, is the material thing." To the second Mr. Jefferson answered: "The principal agents in this transaction [equipping two privateers in the port of Charleston] were French citizens. Being within the United States at the moment a war broke out between their own and another country, they determined to go in its defence; they purchase, arm and equip a vessel with their own money, man it themselves, receive a regular commission from their nation, depart out of the United States, and then commence hostilities by capturing a vessel. If, under such circumstances, the commission of the captors was valid, the property, according to the laws of war, was, by the capture, transferred to them, and it would be an aggression on their nation, for the United States to rescue it from them, whether on the high seas, or on coming into their ports. If the commission was not valid, and consequently the property not transferred by the laws of war to the captors, then the case would have been cognizable in our courts of admiralty, and the owners might have gone thither for redress. So that on neither supposition, would the Executive be justified in interposing." And in the same letter he says: "The latter part of your letter desiring restitution of the prizes is understood to be inconsistent with the rules which govern such cases, and would therefore, be unjustifiable toward the other party."* And the President's

* This letter was dated the 5th June, '93; and on the same day Mr. Jefferson by letter to Mr. Genet, forbade the issuing commissions and equipping vessels in the ports of the United States, and required the departure from our ports of all vessels so commissioned.

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message to Congress, of the 3d December, '93, not only answers the third, but furnishes an interesting commentary on the two answers already given by Mr. Jefferson. He says: "Although I have not thought myself at liberty to forbid the sale of prizes, permitted by our treaty of commerce with France to be brought into our ports, I have not refused to cause them to be restored, when they were taken with in the protection of our territory, or by vessels commissioned, or equipped in a warlike form, within the limits of the United States." A CLAIMANT.

No. VIII.

As the French Government has always shown great sensibility at our restraining them in what they deemed their rights in relation to privateers and prizes, and have invariably declared their intention to hold us responsible for whatever political or pecuniary injury she may have suffered in consequence thereof, it may be useful to give a little further attention to that subject, without however going into the various pleas and objections which are spread over a very extensive correspondence. And as Congress had passed no law touching the matter, until the 5th of June '94, it seems proper to confine myself within that period.

Immediately after England had openly determined to take an active part in the war against France, citizens of the latter, in conjunction with some of our own, fitted out and armed several cruisers in the ports of the United States; their commissions were regularly executed in France, and furnished through the resident minister.—They cruised, and brought prizes made from the English into our ports. The British Minister made incessant complaints; and from the several extracts from Mr. Jefferson's letters, heretofore given, it is seen, that our government deemed to be innocent the *delivery* of valid commissions in the United States; and that prizes made on the sea, in virtue of such commissions, though exercised on board of vessels fitted out and armed in our ports, vested the prizes *legally* in the captors. But it was soon after discovered that the issuing such commissions within the United States was a trespass on our sovereignty, notwithstanding Mr. Jefferson had just before officially declared that the practice was uniform with France, and common to all other nations. He might have added, that the United States also, during the revolutionary war, sent blank commissions to our Minister in France, Dr. Franklin; some of which he transmitted to other countries, where they were used. Our *quasi* war of 1798 with France, when commissions were sent to and used in England, and our late war with England, when they were sent to and used in France, are also memorable examples. Nevertheless, the French Minister was forbid issuing them, which he yielded to, under protest. The fitting out and arming privateers was also forbidden, and though resisted at great length, was also finally yielded to, under protest. On the 12th July, Mr. Jefferson requested Mr. Genet to detain French cruisers and their prizes until the President should submit all the questions, arising out of the several complaints both of the British Minister and himself, to persons learned in the laws—these persons were the Judges of the Supreme Court, who declined giving their opinions. On the 7th of August, Mr. Jefferson wrote to Mr. Genet, as follows: "In disregard, however, of this desire, the Little Democrat went out immediately on a cruise. I have it now in charge to inform you that the President considers the United States as bound pursuant to positive assurance* given in conformity to the laws of neutrality, to effectuate the restoration of, or to make compensation for, prizes which shall have been made of any of the parties at war with France, subsequent to the 5th day of June last, by privateers fitted out of our ports. That it is consequently expected that you will cause restitution to be made of all prizes taken and brought into our ports, subsequent to the above mentioned day, by such privateers, in default of which, the President considers it as incumbent upon the United States to indemnify the owners of those prizes—the indemnification to be reimbursed by the French nation. That besides taking efficacious measures to prevent the future fitting out privateers in the ports of the United States, they will not give asylum therein to any which shall have been at any time so fitted out, and will cause restitution of all such prizes as shall be hereafter brought within their ports by any of the said privateers." And a corresponding circular order, with a

* These assurances shall be explained in my next number.

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list of the prescribed vessels, was forthwith directed to the Governors of the several States, who were charged to use force if necessary to expel such vessels, and to restore their prizes to the former owners. By this rule of conduct a judicial decision was not contemplated,—and no purgation in a French port, no change of commission or ownership, length of time or circumstance, could remove the taint acquired by the original outfit; they were condemned to inactivity. The Governor of New York was instructed from the War Department to dismantle one of said privateers: the Governor communicated said order to Mr. Genet, who answered that the vessel in question "is intended to serve as an advice boat, to our correspondence with the French Islands, which, by our treaties you are bound to guaranty, and in whose fate your property is no less interested than ours; I will give orders to the Consul, and to the French Commodore of the road, to conform themselves to every thing that your wisdom may think proper to direct." The French Minister continually appealed to the treaties; and expressed from time to time the difficulty he labored under in seeking a justification of these acts on the part of the President, or the authority on which they were founded; there being no law of Congress upon the subject; and if referred to the law of nations, the difficulty was not lessened, as he found, by the Constitution of the United States, article 1, sec. 8, that "the Congress shall have power to define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and *offences against the law of nations*." So also, by the 1st and 2d sections of the third article: "The judicial power shall be vested in the Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time establish." "The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or shall be made, under their authority." But in this case the Courts declined to act for want of jurisdiction, and the Governors of the States were called in—not to judge, for it never was pretended that judicial power was conferred on them—but as ministerial officers to obey the mandate of the President, to force certain named vessels out of our waters, and to restore their prizes to the former owners. Several prizes were restored to the English owners, and compensation for several others was subsequently made under Mr. Jay's treaty of November 19th, '94. It has been seen that Mr. Jefferson explicitly admitted, in his letter of 5th June to Mr. Hammond, that the United States had no right to restore the prizes made by two cruisers confessedly fitted out of Charleston; and that afterwards the President, by message to Congress, as explicitly declares, that he had ordered prizes under the like circumstances to be restored;—the discrepancy between these two decisions is palpable.

Another fruitful source of complaint arose out of the condemnation of prizes by French Consuls. The first was a *legitimate* case—a British vessel captured by a French frigate; she was condemned by the French Consul in Charleston, and sold. In the remonstrance of the British Minister he observed, that this judicial act is not warranted by the usage of nations, nor by the stipulations existing between the United States and France. To which Mr. Jefferson answered: "It is true it is not so warranted, nor yet by any law of the land, and that therefore it is a mere nullity, can be respected in no court, make no part in the title to the vessel, nor give to the purchaser any other security than what he would have had without it." He then enjoin on the French Minister to forbid the repetition of such decision by French Consuls: to which inhibition the Minister entered a formal protest. It will be recollected, that neither the President's proclamation nor the rules prescribed under it, make any provision or reservation, either for the introduction, trial, or sale of French prizes; and that the President informs Congress by message of December 3, '93, that he had not thought himself at liberty to forbid the sale of the prizes, permitted by our treaty of commerce with France to be brought into our ports. How could they be sold without condemnation and how shall they be condemned? Independently of the 17th article of the treaty of commerce, and the 1st and 8th articles of the Consular Convention with France, the 5th and 6th article of the Convention of '82 between the United States and Holland may be referred to as a full answer to both questions. This convention is made applicable to France and the United States reciprocally by the 2d, 3d and 4th articles of the treaty first named. Article 5th. "The vessels of war and privateers of one and the other of the two nations shall be reciprocally, both in Europe and in the other parts of the world, admitted in the respective ports of each, with their prizes, which may be unloaded and sold according to the formalities used in the state where the prizes shall have been conducted, as far as may be consistent with the 22d article of commerce [which

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reserves to France the benefit of exclusion from our ports of privateers and prizes of foreign powers at war with her:] *provided always, that the legality of the prizes of the Low Countries, shall be decided conformably to the laws and regulations established in the United Netherlands, as likewise that of prizes made by American vessels shall be adjudged according to the laws and regulations determined by the United States of America.* Article 6. Moreover, it shall be free for the States General of the United Netherlands, as well as for the United States, *to make such regulation as they shall judge necessary*, relative to the conduct which their respective vessels and privateers ought to hold in relation to the vessels which they shall have taken and conducted into the ports of the two powers." In conformity with this stipulation, the French government *did* make the authorized regulations, by a legislative act, and charged their execution upon the *Consuls residing in the several ports of the United States.* But the President persisted in his decision against the exercise of such authority, notwithstanding Congress had *struck out of the bill** (which became a law on the 5th of June '94) a provision to prohibit the condemnation and sale within the United States of prizes made by French cruisers—and actually restored, *without judicial inquiry*, several prizes to the British owners after the passage of said law.

A CLAIMANT.

No. IX.

In redeeming my promise to explain that part of Mr. Jefferson's letter to Mr. Genet, in which he says, "I have it now in charge to inform you, that the President considers the United States as bound, pursuant to positive assurances, given in conformity to the laws of neutrality, to effectuate the restoration of, or to make compensation for prizes," which have been brought into our ports by cruisers originally fitted out in them,—I find the letter to Mr. Hammond itself sufficiently explanatory, and not being susceptible of reduction, I give it entire.

Mr. Jefferson to George Hammond, Esq. dated Philadelphia, September 5, '93.

Sir: I am honored with yours of August 30th. Mine of the 7th of that month assured you that measures were taken for excluding from all further asylum in our ports, vessels armed in them to cruise on nations with which we are at peace, and for the restoration of the prizes the Lovely Lass, Prince William Henry, and the Jane of Dublin; and that, should the measures for restoration fail in their effect, the President considered it as incumbent on the United States to make compensation for the vessels. We are bound by our treaties with three of the belligerent nations *by all the means in our power*, to protect and defend their vessels and effects in our ports, or waters, or on the seas near our shores, and to recover and restore the same to the right owners when taken from them. If all the means in our power are used, and fail in their effect, we are not bound by our treaties with those nations to make compensation. Though we have no similar treaty with Great Britain, it was the opinion of the President, that we should use towards that nation the same rule, which, under this article, was to govern us with the other nations: and even to extend† it to the captures made *on the high seas*, and brought into our ports; if done by vessels which had been armed within them. Having, for particular reasons, forbore to use *all the means in our power* for the restoration of the three vessels mentioned in my letter of August 7th, the President thought it incumbent on the United States to make compensation for them, and though nothing was said in that letter of other vessels taken under like circumstances, and brought in after the 5th of June, *and before the date of that letter*, yet when the same forbearance had taken place, it was and is his opinion, that the compensation would be equally due. As to the prizes made under the same circumstances, and brought in *after the date of that letter*, the President determined, that all the means in our power should be

*This bill, entitled "An act in addition to the act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States." was intended (in addition to the provision referred to) to prevent the fitting out, arming and commissioning French privateers within the United States. It originated in the Senate, and would have been negatived but for the decision depriving Mr. Gallatin of his seat, which had been made just before taking the question. The bill passed the Senate only by the casting vote of the Vice President. In the House the 6th section containing the provision referred to) was struck out, in which the Senate subsequently concurred. And the President approved the bill *as amended*, on the 5th June, '94.

†At whose cost—for whose benefit—the reader will determine

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used for their restitution. If these fail, as we should not be bound by our treaties to make compensation to the other Powers in the analogous cases, he did not mean to give an opinion that it ought to be done to Great Britain. But still, if any cases shall arise subsequent to that date, the circumstances of which shall place them on similar ground with those before it, the President would think compensation equally incumbent on the United States. Instructions are given to the Governors of the different States to use all the means in their power for restoring prizes of this last description found within their ports. Though they will, of course, take measures to be informed of them, and the General Government has given them the aid of the custom-house officers for this purpose, yet you will be sensible of the importance of multiplying the channels of their information as far as shall depend on yourself, or any person under your direction, in order that the Governors may use the means in their power for making restitution. Without knowledge of the capture they cannot restore it. It will always be best to give the notice to them directly; but any information which you shall be pleased to send to me, also, at any time, shall be forwarded to them as quickly as distance will permit. Hence you will perceive, sir, that the President contemplates restitution or compensation in the cases before the 7th of August; and after that date restitution, if it can be effected by any means in our power. And that it will be important that you should substantiate the fact that such prizes are in our ports or waters.

Your list of the privateers illicitly armed in our ports, is, I believe correct. With respect to losses by detention, waste, spoliation, sustained by vessels taken as beforementioned, between the dates of June 5th and August 7th, it is proposed as a provisional measure that the Collector of the Customs of the District, and the British Consul, or any other person you please, shall appoint persons to establish the value of the vessel and cargo, at the time of her capture, and of her arrival in the port into which she is brought, according to their value in that port. If this shall be agreeable to you, and you will be pleased to signify it to me, with the names of the prizes unde stood to be of this description, instructions will be given accordingly to the Collectors of the Customs where the respective vessels are.

I have the honor to be, &c. Signed, THOMAS JEFFERSON.

At the time this letter was written, the orders of the British Government to capture our vessels bound to French ports were in full operation, and many of them known to have been captured. They had also impressed our seamen, and used them on board their vessels of war, not only against our ally France, but against our own vessels. It was not long before the British Minister required a practical proof of the President's "assurances," by demanding compensation for one or more prize vessels. The Executive was much embarrassed, as no funds had been provided to meet the pledge; nor was it politic to break the subject to Congress: hence postponement, till some fortuitous circumstance might work the matter off, was resorted to: and the following year a favorable opportunity presented itself. In drawing up the treaty with Great Britain, Mr. Jay admitted an article to cover these cases;* and to show how valuable the admissions in the above letter were deemed by the British Government, the letter was copied entire into and made a constituent part of said treaty—in virtue of which a great number of British claimants actually received indemnity; toward the accomplishment of which, the Secretary of State furnished the British Minister with a list of the cases. These remarks are necessary to a proper understanding of the letter. Upon the letter itself I need make no other remark than, that, four months before its date, Mr. Secretary Jefferson and Mr. Attorney General Randolph entertained the opinion that prizes made at sea by cruisers fitted out in ports of the United States *ought not to be restored:* and in three months after its date Mr. Jefferson threw up his commission, because, as is understood, he would not go the full length of the administration.

Although the British had captured our vessels bound to France, from the early part of the year '93, it was not until the month of September that our Government had information of the pretext or authority under which said captures were made. On the 12th of that month Mr. Hammond transmitted to Mr. Jefferson a copy of

* This is, however, no matter of surprise, as a provision of that nature is common to treaties. The surprise is, that the Executive should have made an unauthorized pledge; which good faith made it necessary to cover, when reduced into form by authority of the President, and sanctioned by the interested foreign government.

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the English *additional* instructions to his majesty's ships of war and privateers, dated June 8th, '93. By these it was made lawful to stop and detain all vessels loaded wholly or in part with corn, flour and meal, bound to French ports—the corn, &c. and the freight to be paid for, and the vessel to be restored. And further directing the seizure of all vessels, whatever may be their cargoes, found attempting to enter a blockaded port, and to send them, with their cargoes, in *for condemnation*, except the ships of Denmark and Sweden, which shall be prevented from entering on the first attempt, but on the second shall be sent in for condemnation likewise.

The exemptions in favor of Sweden and Denmark, Mr. Hammond says, has reference to existing treaties with those Powers; and cannot therefore give any just grounds of umbrage or jealousy to other Powers between whom and Great Britain no such treaties subsist. On this point Mr. Jefferson answers: "We had conjectured, but did not certainly know, that the distinction which the instructions make between Denmark and Sweden on the one hand and the United States on the other, in the case of vessels bound to ports blockaded, was on the principle explained by you, that what was yielded to those countries by treaty, it is not unfriendly to refuse to us, *because not yielded to us by treaty.* I shall not contest the right to the principle, as a right to its reciprocity, necessarily results to us." In what does this reciprocity, if exerted, consist? In carrying into effect, in favor of France the exclusive advantages she had secured in her treaties with the United States, and which we had in part, without her consent and against her most pointed remonstrance and protest, extended, to her great disadvantage, to her enemies.

Mr. Hammond, though entirely wrong as to the principles of blockade, was certainly right in his argument. If England had contracted with Sweden and Denmark to give theirs exclusive advantages over other neutral vessels, in a case within her competency, and on a certain contingency which had occurred, by what rule of right could they be restricted to a bare *equality?* It is very true that the United States were acting on the opposite principle, and, I deeply regret to find, without having justice on her side. And in proof, I will give one out of many examples. By the treaty with France of '78, French prizes were to be admitted into our ports, and those of her enemies excluded. In February '93, and from thence to 1801, the French and English being at war, French prizes were entitled to an entry into our ports, and those of England excluded. On the 7th of May, '93, Mr. Jefferson directed Mr. Pinckney, our Minister to England, as follows: "With respect to our conduct, as a neutral nation, it is marked out in our treaties with France and Holland, two of the belligerent powers; and as the duties of neutrality require an equal conduct to both parties, we should, on that ground, act on the same principles towards Great Britain. We presume that this would be satisfactory to her, because of its *equality.*" And again, in the instructions to Mr. Jay: "You may discuss the *sale of prizes in our ports while we are neutral; and this, perhaps, may be added to the considerations which we have to give, besides those of reciprocity.*" In short, instead of carrying into effect the stipulations we had made, and which were the supreme law of the land, we were continually wasting our strength and character in the attempt to establish *equality* between the parties at war, which, had we accomplished, would only have been a monument to our ill faith to France, because we had contracted with her that *equality* should not exist.

Mr. Jefferson in charging our Minister, Mr. Pinckney, to remonstrate against these instructions, says: "This act too tends directly to draw us from that state of peace in which we are wishing to remain. It is an essential character of neutrality to furnish no aids (not stipulated by treaty) to one party, which we are not equally ready to furnish to the other. If we permit corn to be sent to Great Britain and her friends, we are equally bound to permit it to France. To restrain it, would be a partiality which might lead to war with France, and between restraining ourselves, and permitting her enemies to restrain it unrightfully, is no difference.* She would consider this as a mere pretext, of which she would not be

* This is sound doctrine; but, unfortunately, we departed from it—not, however, until Mr. Jefferson had withdrawn from the administration. By a treaty concluded soon after with Great Britain, in 1794, we permitted our vessels bound to France, our ally, to be captured, on the condition of their paying for the cargo and a reasonable profit thereon—which usually was, as compared with the profit derived from sales in France, only as ten to thirty or forty—and in a little further time England made a *slight* modification in this article, for while she continued to capture our vessels, she suspended both the promise and practice of *paying* therefor.

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the dupe; and on what honorable ground could we otherwise explain it? Thus we should see ourselves plunged, by this unauthorized act of Great Britain, into a war with which we meddle not, and which we wish to avoid, if justice to all parties and from all parties will enable us to avoid it. In the case where we found ourselves obliged by treaty to withhold from the enemies of France the right of arming in our ports, we thought ourselves in justice bound to withhold the same right from France also, and we did it. Were we to withhold from her supplies of provisions, we should, in like manner, be bound to withhold them from her enemies also, and thus shut to ourselves all the ports of Europe, where corn is in demand, or make ourselves parties to the war.* This is a dilemma, which Great Britain has no right to force upon us, and for which no pretext can be found in any part of our conduct. She may indeed feel the desire of starving an enemy nation; but she can have no right of doing it at our loss, nor of making us the instrument of it."

Mr. Pinckney, in detailing to Mr. Jefferson the objections he had interposed against said instructions, says: "I urged every argument that suggested itself to me, in support of the neutral rights which I contended were injured in this instance, pointed to inconveniences that would attend the execution of the instructions, and urged that the case put by Vattel, of a well grounded hope of reducing the enemy by famine did not exist, provisions being now cheaper in the ports of France than in those of England. Lord Grenville, on being asked, said Spain would pursue the same line of conduct; and upon its being observed that even their late convention with Russia did not extend to this object, he answered that though it was not expressly mentioned, it was fully understood by both parties to be within the intention of it. At the close of the conversation, I told him I should transmit these instructions to you, accompanied by his reasons in their justification. Lord Grenville spoke in high terms of approbation of the answers to Mr. Hammond's memorials which he received by the packet." It would be a source of solid gratification, if a similar compliment could be found from the French Government.

A CLAIMANT.

No. X.

I HAVE already noticed the French decree of the 19th February, '93, which opened the French colonies to our commerce, and established an equality of duties and privileges to French and American vessels. On the 26th of March, a similar decree, but more minute in character, was passed by the National Convention. On the 24th of March, Mr. Morris, our Minister to France, complained to the French Government of several violations committed by French privateers on American vessels. On the 30th of March, the Minister of Marine wrote the following circular to the civil ordannateurs of the Republic: "Citizens, being informed that some French privateers have taken vessels belonging to the United States, I hasten to engage you to take the most speedy and efficacious measures to put a stop to this robbery, which essentially compromits French honor and loyalty. You must be sensible of how much importance it is to the Republic to preserve the good intelligence subsisting between her and the United States, and to tighten, if possible, the bonds of a fraternal alliance with people, who, having conquered and obtained their liberty, value our principles and respect our rights. To secure the execution of the measures you shall have taken on this subject, you will concert as well with the marine districts, as with the constituted authorities, who will, doubtless, readily concur in this act of justice, and of the law of nations. Signed, Monge. P. S. I notify you, that the National Convention has decreed, on the 1st March, in the present year, liberty for all cargoes of non-prohibited articles, on board of neutral vessels, and has ordered that mention shall be made of it in the passports which shall be delivered to them, that they may be sheltered from all insult on the part of the French privateers."

On the 9th of May, the National Convention passed another decree, the preamble to which refers to captures made by the English of neutral vessels bound to France as early as the 2d of March, and after naming, among the vessels so captured, three American, one from Papembourg, one Danish, with divers reports

*A promise of *payment*, however, in the treaty of '94, enabled us to keep our ports open for the exportation of corn, and quieted our qualms as to our duty, and as to the hazards of war.

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from the maratime cities of the Republic that similar acts are multiplied daily, declares, that all the rights of nations being violated, the French people are no longer permitted to fulfil towards the neutral powers in general, the vows they have so often manifested, and which they will constantly make for the full and entire liberty of commerce and navigation—decree, as follows: Neutral vessels with provisions or with enemy's property shall be captured: enemy's property shall be confiscated to the captor, and provisions belonging to neutrals shall be paid for according to the value in their destined ports; neutral vessels, after discharging the parts of their cargoes consisting of provisions and enemy's goods, shall be released, their stipulated freight shall be paid, and the tribunals shall allow them a just indemnification for the detention. This decree shall cease to have effect, as soon as enemy powers shall have declared free, although destined for the ports of the Republic, the articles of provisions belonging to neutrals, and French goods laden in neutral vessels.

This decree is manifestly and confessedly in violation of our treaty with France of '78, and upon these grounds was complained of by Mr. Morris, whereupon, on the 23d of May, a decree was passed which declares that the vessels of the United States are not comprehended in the decree of the 9th of May; and on the 17th and 29th May, satisfactory compensation was made for two of the detained American vessels.

On the 28th of May the Convention passed a decree which so far repealed that of the 23d, as to place in a state of provisional sequestration the property seized under that of the 9th. This repeal was obtained by the captors of a rich prize (the American ship Laurens) by bribing some of the members of the Convention, with a view to secure their prize.

On the 27th of June Mr. Morris filed a complaint, in behalf of the American holders of bills drawn by the administration of St. Domingo on the French Minister at Philadelphia, for cargoes purchased and others seized in the ports of said Islands, which bills were protested.

On the 28th of June Mr. Morris demanded of the French Government its decision relative to the decree of 28th May, and adds: "I receive numerous complaints of them [privateers] and they frequently conduct to one French port that which was destined to another." On the first of July the Convention decreed, "That the vessels of the United States are not comprised in the dispositions of the decree of 9th May, conformably to the 16th article of the treaty concluded on the 6th February, '78" The 16th article of the treaty referred to, is as follows: "All ships and merchandise of what nature soever, which shall be rescued out of the hands of any pirates or robbers on the high seas, shall be brought into some port of either state, and shall be delivered to the custody of the officers of that port, in order to be restored entire to the true proprietor, as soon as due and sufficient proof shall be made concerning the property thereof." The application of this article is not distinctly seen; I have construed it to mean, a provisional sequestration.

On the 14th of July, the ship Juno of Philadelphia, one of the captured vessels, was released and compensation made for goods pillaged from her.

By a note among the documents transmitted to the Senate, it appears, "that on the 27th of July, the Convention again put in force the decree of the 9th of May, but no copy of the act by which this was done, is to be found in the Department of State." It is, however referred to and complained of by Mr, Morris, who mentions several condemnations being made under it, on appeal from other tribunals where acquittal had been decreed: from this circumstance it is inferred, that it contained, not only the repeal of the decree of July 1st, but also *some new enactment*. This also is supposed to be the result of *bribery*.

On the 14th of October the French Minister of Foreign Affairs informed Mr. Morris, "that the extreme rigor with which the English and other belligerents treat all the neutral vessels destined for France, has put the Republic to the painful necessity of arresting, by way of reprisal, in such vessels, the provisions belonging to its enemies." He refers for explanation to the decree of the 9th of May, "which is the result of the most imperious circumstances, and will continue only as long as our enemies employ against us means disapproved by the laws of humanity, and by those of war." He then makes a comparison of the acts of France and her enemies, of course favorable to the former, and concludes his letter thus: "We hope that the Government of the United States will attribute to their true cause the abuses of which you complain, as well as other violations of which our cruisers

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may render themselves guilty, in the course of the present war. It must perceive how difficult it is to contain, within just limits, the indignation of our marines, and in general, of all the French patriots, against a people who speak the same language, and having the same habits as the free Americans. The difficulty of distinguishing our allies from our enemies has often been the cause of offences committed on board your vessels; all that the administration could do, is to order indemnification to those who have suffered, and to punish the guilty. P. S. I enclose herein, sir, an arrete, which fulfils in part the objects proposed in your letter of the 13th inst." The arrete referred to, relates to and recites, that the prize ship Lauren with a very valuable cargo, all American, was captured on the 2d of March, '93, and was ordered to be restored with damages by the Tribunal of Havre, on the ground that there existed no law to authorize the capture of an American vessel. It further recites that *intrigue* had effected the repeal of the several decrees which exempted American vessels from the operation of the decree of 9th of May, in order, on the appeal of the captors to the Executive Council, to bring said prize under the decree last mentioned, and then only by giving to it a retrospective operation. The Executive Council, notwithstanding said repeals, confirmed the first decision, and the captors had the audacity to appeal to the National Convention, where the Havre decision was definitively confirmed.

Mr. Morris having communicated to the French Government his doubts of the purity of the French prize tribunals, on the 8th November, the National Convention passed a decree, directing "all disputes arisen or which may arise, on the validity or invalidity of prizes made by privateers, shall be decided by way of administration, by the Provosary Executive Council. The decree of the 14th February attributing the judgment of these matters to the commercial tribunals is repealed." In communicating this decree to Mr. Randolph on the the 28th March, '94, Mr. Fauchet, the French Minister, says, "If any of your merchants have suffered any injury by the conduct of our privateers, (a thing which would be contrary to the intention and express orders of the Republic) they may, with confidence, address themselves to the French Republic, which will never refuse justice to those whose claims shall be legal."

Mr. Morris complained also of an embargo, which continued several months, on all vessels in the port of Bordeaux, including 103 belonging to the citizens of the United States. The object of this embargo was declared to be (though most probably not the true one) to detect some English vessels known to be trading between Bordeaux and England, under the American and other flags, and with forged or *assimulated* papers. On this subject Mr. Fauchet writes to Mr Randolph, "as to the embargo on American vessels, imperious circumstances, the salvation of the country, have imposed that measure, but the interests of none will be injured, and to convince you of this, I recite an extract of a letter which I have just received from citizen Tallien, representative of the people at Bordeaux. It is possible, he writes to me, "that some malevolent persons may make use of this pretext (the embargo) to disturb the harmony existing between the Americans and us, or might represent this measure as a violation of treaties between the two nations; the interest of individuals may for a moment cause the general interest to disappear. It is then to you, brave republican, and the true friend of your country, that we consign the care of defending it to Congress (should the measure happen to be there calumniated)—say to our brethren, that it is the intention of the committee of public safety, the actual centre of the French government, to indemnify all the owners or captains who, by the operation of the embargo, have been obliged to remain a length of time in France, and that the proposition, which will soon be made to them in the name of the committee, will be advantageous to both nations."

On the 18th November, '94, an arrete was passed, making provision to indemnify for the detention by the Bordeaux embargo, and for supplies (by contract and by force) furnished to the administration of St. Domingo; but the provision was not carried into effect, owing to the deranged state of the French finances. The decree itself however was a standing and conclusive proof of the *obligation*, the *acknowledgment*, and the *promise of the French Government to indemnify these claims.*

The following is an abstract of the decree just referred to:

Article 1. All neutral vessels shall be permitted to enter freely and depart from the ports of the Republic when they please; no person shall retard their departure, or oblige the captains to sell their cargoes against their will.

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2. When said captains choose to sell their cargoes to the public they shall be paid for according to the contract.

3. Enjoins on all commanders, upon their responsibility, to respect the rights of the neutrals and allies, the rights of nations, and the stipulations of treaties, confining themselves strictly to the terms of the decree of the 27th July, '93.

4. In consequence neither persons or goods are to be taken from neutral vessels, except soldiers or sailors actually in the service of an enemy power, contraband or enemy goods, until such enemy shall declare free French goods on board neutral vessels.

5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. Regulate the manner of proceeding where neutral vessels are brought in upon the presumption of having enemy's goods on board.

10. "The commission of marine shall present without delay, a statement of the individuals born subjects of the powers with whom the Republic is at war, who were taken before the present day upon neutral vessels, that particular ~~aspects~~ may be taken in each case."

11. "The indemnities which are due to the captains of neutral powers who were detained by an embargo at Bordeaux, shall be liquidated without delay by the commission of marine and colonies, conformable to an arrete of the committee of public safety of the 17th Germinal; and this commission shall render an account in the course of ten days of the actual state of these demands."

12. "The commission of marine is specially charged to receive and adjust the accounts which shall be presented to it by an agent of the United States for such supplies as the Americans have furnished to the administration of St. Domingo; and it shall take the necessary measures to procure to the parties interested the most prompt justice, and shall also present to the committees of public safety, of finance, commerce, and supplies, the result of its operations in these respects."

13. "The commission of foreign relations is instructed to deliver a copy of this arret to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, in answer to his memorial of the 3d September last."

While this decree, or law, remained upon the French statute book, or the copy furnished to our minister as a pledge and promise remained in our possession, so long the claims therein provided for, were, beyond all doubt, entitled to compensation.

The sequel will show that the United States voluntarily gave up this pledge, and intentionally exonerated France from liability, in consideration of a *part* only being paid to the claimants, and the application of the residue (with other claims, all of which shall be explained) to the discharge of obligations due to France from our *government*. And the question now is, who is the debtor to the individual sufferers?

A CLAIMANT.

No. XI.

Being desirous not to encroach on the events which occurred in '94-5, until all preceding matters have been disposed of, I now return to the events of '93. But before I proceed to subsequent acts, it is proper to notice a curious fact (appertaining to the British instructions of June 8, '93, and the French decree of May 9th, '93,) as evincing the rapacious disposition of both the English and French Governments. By the instructions, our provision vessels bound to France were to be detained, and their cargoes paid for at the value of such articles in the English ports, (the English prize courts, however, when they awarded payment at all, usually fixed it at ten per cent. on the invoice prices.) No one can doubt, that, if they had the legal right to make the capture at all, they were under no obligation to make payment—and a promise of that kind, is a virtual denial of the right. But why not pay the price at the port of destination? Because it was two, three, and sometimes four hundred per cent. higher in France than in England. So also, under the French decree, similar captures were authorized when bound to England, and to be paid for; but the prices were to be fixed at those at the port of *desination*—and why? Because they were so far below the prices current in France. The effect on the American commerce stood thus: Suppose one of our vessels to arrive in France with 1000 barrels of flour, her cargo would yield from twenty to thirty thousand dollars—flour being from $20 to 40 per barrel. The same cargo, if carried into England, would yield only the cost, say about six thousand dollars, and ten per

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cent. thereon, making together six thousand six hundred dollars. There would result a loss from the capture, therefore, *though paid for*, of from fourteen to twenty-four thousand dollars. But, while the prices in England and France were so highly unequal, no merchant would ship provisions to England, and in that view the French decree was inoperative, and the British instructions produced nearly all the loss of profit that resulted from shipments made from this country. These remarks relate to shipments made to Europe only: those to the West Indies were infinitely more disadvantageous, on account of the return cargoes.

On the 6th of November, '93, the following "additional instructions" were issued by the British government to their ships of war and privateers: "And they shall stop and detain all ships laden with goods, the produce of any colony belonging to France, or carrying provisions or other supplies, for the use of such colony, and shall bring the same with their cargoes to legal adjudication in our courts of admiralty." Under the English rule of 1756, all such captures were liable to condemnation; and it was most rigidly enforced:—the rule being, that no trade to or from the colonies of a nation at war, was admitted to be legal, which was not authorized previous to the war.

These instructions were intended to counteract the French decrees of the 19th of February and 26th of March preceding, which opened the French colonies to our commerce; they had nearly their whole operation against American vessels; and not only prostrated our trade with the Colonies but with all the world. The indignation of Congress was strongly excited; an embargo was laid and continued for sixty days, on *all* merchant vessels and letters of marque, and sundry resolutions were reported by committees appointed by the House of Representatives, for the sequestration of British debts to the use of American sufferers—for an additional impost on British goods, for the like object—and for non-importation and non-intercourse with Great Britain. While these several reports were under consideration, the President of the United States recommended a special mission to Great Britain, to demand (among other matters) compensation for injuries for captures, &c. and this proposition having prevailed, Mr. Jay, was appointed envoy extraordinary, which postponed indefinitely the consideration of said resolutions.

On the 8th of January, '94, the British government issued the following instructions: "Whereas by our former instructions to the commanders of our ships of war and privateers, dated the 6th of November, 1793, we signified that they should detain all ships laden with goods, the produce of any colony belonging to France, or carrying provisions or other supplies for the use of any such colony, and should bring the same with their cargoes to legal adjudication, we are pleased to revoke the said instruction, and in lieu thereof we have thought fit to issue these our instructions, to be duly observed by the commanders of all our ships of war and privateers, that have or may have letters of marque against France.

1st. That they shall bring in for lawful adjudication all vessels with their cargoes that are laden with goods, the produce of the French West India Islands, and coming directly from any port of the said Islands to any port in Europe.

2d. That they shall bring in for lawful adjudication all ships with their cargoes that are laden with goods, the produce of the said Islands, the property of which goods shall belong to subjects of France, to whatsoever ports the same may be bound.

3d. That they shall seize all ships that shall be found attempting to enter any port of the said Islands, that is, or shall be blockaded by the arms of his majesty or his allies, and shall send them in with their cargoes for adjudication; according to the terms of the 2d article of the former instructions, bearing date the 8th of June, 1793. [All vessels on the *first* attempt, except those of Sweden and Denmark, and those on the *second* attempt only.]

4th. That they shall seize all vessels laden wholly or in part with naval or military stores, bound to any port of the said Islands, and shall send them into some convenient port belonging to his majesty, in order that they, together with their cargoes, may be proceeded against according to the rules of nations."

The blockade herein mentioned, independently of the objection to its including an indefinite extent, prescribes neither the condition of being *first warned off*, or that an *adequate force* shall be kept before said Islands—both of which are indispensable in a legal blockade. But the following order, of the commander of his majesty's forces in the West Indies, clearly shows that no conditions whatever were contemplated; and that no human precaution could effect a shelter from the operations of arbitrary power. A total annihilation of American trade was both the motive and effect of said order.

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"The several French West India Islands are to be considered as under blockade, from the arrival of the armament at Barbadoes, the 6th of January: therefore all neutral vessels trading with these Islands, within that period, are clearly intended to come within the King's order in Council, dated the 6th of November, 1793. Dated on board the ship Boyne, in Port Royal Bay, Martinico, 18th March, 1794.

Signed, J. JERVIS."

This promulgation of lawless power should be preserved, as a curious and extravagant innovation on all the principles of blockade: it stands alone in English history, and it is not believed there is another on record that bears upon its face a retrospective character of more than seventy days.

On the 18th of August 1794, the British government issued the following instructions: "Whereas by an article of our instructions to the commanders of our ships of war, &c. of June 8th 1793, we thought fit to declare, that it should be lawful to stop and detain all ships laden wholly or in part with corn, flour or meal, bound to any port in France, or any port occupied by the armies of France, and to send them to such ports as should be most convenient, in order that such corn, meal, or flour, might be purchased on behalf of government, and the ships be released after such purchase, and after a due allowance for freight, or that the masters of such ships, on giving due security, to be approved by our court of admiralty, should be permitted to dispose of their cargoes of corn, meal or flour, in the ports of any power in amity with us.

"We, not judging it expedient to continue for the present the purchase of the said cargoes on behalf of our government, are pleased to revoke the said article until our further order therein, and to declare that the same shall no longer remain in force. But we strictly enjoin all our commanders of our ships of war and privateers, to observe the remaining articles of the said instructions: and, likewise, all other instructions which we have issued, and which still continue in force."

By these instructions it will be seen, that his majesty *most graciously condescended* to continue to capture our vessels and cargoes, *without compensation*. And this too at the very moment that our envoy extraordinary, Mr. Jay, was, as it were, in the royal presence, remonstrating, no doubt, against the *abuses* committed by his majesty's *officers*—he could not have known that the authority to commit such unheard of abuses emanated from his majesty himself, as the following extract from one of his letters would seem to imply. Extract of a letter from Mr. Jay to Lord Grenville, dated London, July 3d, 1794.

"I cannot conclude this letter without expressing to your lordship how sensibly I feel and am gratified by the friendly disposition of his majesty towards the United States, manifested by the very gracious reception with which I have been honored by their majesties, and the magnanimity of the sentiments which the King condescended to express on the occasion."

A CLAIMANT.

No. XII.

As the President's proclamation of 22d of April, '93, professes to withhold the protection of the United States from any of our citizens who shall aid any of the powers at war by certain acts, or by carrying to any of them those articles which are deemed contraband by the *modern* usage of nations, &c."—the word *modern* being therein italicised, it is necessary to know how far this denunciation extends, notwithstanding the denial of the right being in the President to make it.

The modern usage, or law of nations, is emphatically of American origin. The principles on which it is founded had been the conventional law at different periods, between the powers of Europe respectively, for several centuries; but it remained for the United States, through her favorite and able diplomatist, Doctor Franklin, to give these conventional laws such body and consistence as should entitle them to be respected as the laws of nations.

In 1779 England announced her resolution to suffer no trade with the American rebels, and had put her threats against France into execution, by the seizure of Russian and other ships bound to French ports. Franklin proposed to Vergennes, the French Minister of State, to use that occasion of excitement to induce the northern powers to assert the independence of the seas. Vergennes seized the proposition with avidity as calculated not only to aid the American cause, but to

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promote the freedom of commerce, which France had advocated from a very early date: he instructed the French minister at all the northern courts to take the necessary steps for its accomplishment, and soon after every thing desired was obtained.

In February, 1780, the northern states made known to the belligerents, that they had determined to support, by armed fleets fitted out for the purpose, "the freedom of trade and navigation," and in particular these principles, founded upon the universal law of nations:

1st. That it shall be lawful for any ship whatever to sail freely from one port to another, or along the coasts of the powers at war.

2d. That all merchandise and effects belonging to the subjects of powers at war, and shipped in neutral vessels, shall be entirely free; excepting contraband goods, (cannon, mortars, muskets, pistols, flints, matches, gunpowder, sulphur, saltpetre, pikes, swords, saddles, or other articles positively forming munitions or implements of war.)

3d. That to ascertain what constitutes the blockade of any place or port, it is to be understood to be in such a predicament, when the assailing powers has taken such a station, as to expose to imminent danger any ship or ships that should attempt to enter or depart.

4th. That no neutral ship shall be stopped without a material and well grounded cause; and in such cases justice shall be done them, without loss of time, and besides indemnifying each and every time, the party aggrieved by being stopped without sufficient cause, satisfaction shall also be given to the power, whose flag may be thus insulted.

5th. That all decisions in cases of capture shall be determined by the principles here laid down. And these articles were to form the ground-work of all subsequent treaties. These principles and rules were adopted by Sweden, Denmark, Russia, Holland, France, Spain, Austria, Naples, Prussia and Portugal—"all the states of Europe combined in common defence, against the usurpations of England, whom it was necessary to treat as a common highwayman, by proclaiming a law of nations, and announcing the punishment due to the disregard of all law and justice." The United States also had sent in her accession to said principles; she had before incorporated them in her treaty with France, and subsequently with Holland, Sweden, Prussia, Spain, Morocco; and in short, in every treaty to which the United States was a party, excepting that with Great Britain of 1794—which will be more particularly referred to hereafter.

To this manifesto, England answered, that, without acknowledging the principles of the league, she would commit no offence to any of the parties to it, but so far from keeping this promise, she continued to capture neutral vessels. Russia threatened war, which produced the release of the vessels; and not long after, England herself acceded to the principles of the league to the full extent, and in the following manner. Russia offered her services to Holland (then at war with England) as mediator. The Dutch declared, in answer, that no peace could be made unless England would accede to the rights and principles set forth by the parties to the armed neutrality.

This declaration was sent by Russia to the British government, who answered immediately, through the prime minister Mr. C. J. Fox: "His majesty anticipated the councils of the court of Petersburg, by having offered the Hollanders the entire liberty of navigation, according to the treaty of 1674, between Great Britain and the republic; a treaty by which the principles of the armed neutrality are established in their widest extent to all the contracting parties. His majesty, therefore, accepts as the basis of a separate peace with Holland, a free navigation according to the principles demanded by her Imperial Majesty, in her declaration (of armed neutrality) of February 26th, 1780." This is a most explicit and *voluntary* acknowledgment by England herself, that free ships make free goods, except contraband; that contraband means only implements and munitions directly applicable to war; that neutrals, if unjustly stopped by billegerents, must be indemnified for the detention, and *satisfaction made to the Sovereign for the insult to his flag*. Hence, the whole world having acceded to the principles referred to, they were laid down as the *modern* law, or usage, of nations. The United States had a deeper interest in their preservation than any other nation whatever; of which the President was very sensible, since they were considered and respected in his proclamation of '93. Immediately after the promulgation of this proclamation, a case involving these principles presented itself to the Executive, but so far from any attempt being made

to maintain them, they were surrendered, in a manner ungracious to the feelings and the interest of France.

In May, '93, some British cruisers having stopped American vessels and taken out of them the property of French citizens (not contraband) Mr. Genet, after referring to former conversations with Mr. Jefferson on the subject, demanded in writing, a positive answer what measures should be adopted in the case. And again, on the 25th July, he writes: "It is for the Americans to make known their generous indignation at this outrage, and I must confine myself to demand of you, a *second* time, to inform me of the measures which you have taken in order to obtain restitution of the property plundered from my fellow-citizens under the protection of your flag. It is from our government they have learned that the Americans were our allies, that the American nation was sovereign, and that they knew how to make themselves respected. It is then under the very sanction of the French nation that they have confided their property and persons to the safeguard of the American flag, and on her they submit the care of causing those rights to be respected. But if our fellow-citizens have been deceived, if you are not in a condition to maintain the sovereignty of your people, speak; we have guarantied it when slaves, we shall be able to render it formidable, having become freemen." Mr. Jefferson answered on the 24th of July. "I believe it cannot be doubted, but that, by the general law of nations, the goods of a friend found in the vessel of an enemy are free, and the goods of an enemy found in the vessel of a friend are lawful prize. Upon this principle, I presume, the British armed vessels have taken the property of French citizens found in our vessels, in the cases above mentioned, and I confess I should be at a loss on what principle to reclaim it. It is true, that sundry nations, desirous of avoiding the inconveniences of having their vessels stopped at sea, ransacked, carried into port and detained, under pretence of having enemy goods on board, have in many instances, introduced by their special treaties, another principle between them, that enemy bottoms shall make enemy goods, and friendly bottoms friendly goods, a principle much less embarrassing to commerce, and equal to all parties in point of gain and loss;—but this is altogether the effect of particular treaty, controlling, in special cases, the general principle of the law of nations, and therefore taking effect between such nations only as have so agreed to control it. England has generally determined to adhere to the rigorous principle, having in no instance, as far as I recollect, agreed to the modification of letting the property of the goods follow that of the vessel, except in the single one of her treaty with France.*—When we shall have established it with all nations, we shall be in a condition neither to gain nor lose, but shall be less exposed to vexatious searches at sea. To this condition we are endeavoring to advance; but as it depends on the will of other nations as well as our own, we can only obtain it when they shall be ready to concur." Nothing can be a more explicit or unequivocal abandonment of the rule, that free ships make free goods, and *vice versa*, than is contained in this communication. And again, in Mr. Jefferson's letter of instructions to Mr. Morris, of 16th August, '93, he says: "Another source of complaint with Mr. Genet, has been, that the English take French goods out of American vessels, which he says is against the law of nations, and ought to be prevented by us. On the contrary, we suppose it to have been long an established principle of the law of nations, that the goods of a friend are free in an enemy's vessel, and an enemy's goods lawful prize in the vessel of a friend. The inconvenience of this principle has induced several nations latterly to stipulate against it by treaty, and to substitute another in its stead, that free bottoms shall make free goods, and enemy bottoms enemy goods. We have introduced it into our treaties with France, Holland and Prussia; and French goods found by the two latter nations in American bottoms, are not made prize of. It is our wish to establish it with other nations. But this requires their consent also, is a work of time, and in the meantime they have a right to act on the general principle, without giving to us, or to France, cause of complaint."

Why the *modern* law of nations was entirely overlooked by Mr. Jefferson is the more remarkable, because all the parties to the then war, and indeed all neutral powers also, including the United States, had acquiesced in its establishment.

We do not simply forbear to oppose—we do not offer to France as an excuse for

* I have a list of treaties now before me in which free ships make free goods; I find that England is a party to more than *fifty* of them. And further, if the adoption of this simple and just rule depended upon the *majority* out of all the commercial treaties ever formed, there would be no difficulty in producing a very considerable majority.

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our forbearance, that it is inconvenient or hazardous to us to assert the right. But we tell her peremptorily that no such right exists. The English cruisers, thus justified, continued to capture our vessels with (or without) French property on board. The French continued to complain thereof for a little while, and then practised the like acts themselves: and the proclamation outlived the acts of either, *having never been repealed.*

A CLAIMANT.

No. XIII.

During the whole period of the French revolution, the onerous stipulation of mutual guarantee, contained in the treaty of '78 with France, caused great inquietude with our government. For a just conception of its object and effect, it will be necessary to recur to its origin. When the French accepted of our proposition, to guarantee with their whole force our independence, there could have been no inducement for that act in reciprocity, as we had nothing to offer. It would seem, from the gloom which pervaded our cause at that time, and our utter inability to defend ourselves, that the introduction of guaranty on our part of the French colonies, was more from a generous motive, to lessen the weight of obligations naturally arising from a sense of the benevolent and powerful aid proffered by the French, than from any practical benefit she could promise herself. Had our engagements, however, been completely fulfilled, it would nevertheless have been but a poor return for the valuable benefit received.

There is no room to doubt the motive which dictated the conduct of France. She cheerfully undertook the heaviest part of the duties upon herself—they were certain, and to be immediately performed; while ours were remote and eventual. She had to furnish immense sums of money, ships and men, *gratuitously*, (for the treaty provided that no after claims should be made on either side, for advances or expenditures made during the war,) while we had neither the one nor the other. And if the promised aid on our part could be at all useful to her, it was only at some remote period, when our strength should have grown into manhood—with the further proviso, that we should escape the halter which "His Majesty" had promised us.

Scarcely had the stipulation been concluded, when France performed even much more than she had engaged to do. The free gift of arms, military stores and clothing, with many millions of livres in money; the loan of many millions more; the guarantee of other loans made through her instrumentality in Holland; and the relinquishing of a large sum of interest which had accumulated against us, to say nothing of her influence in our favor with other nations, were among the evidences of her good faith and liberality.

After fifteen years had passed, the effect of our revolution displayed itself in France; and the violence of the neighboring powers threatened to arrest from her the colonies we had stipulated to defend. The first act which required our aid, arose out of an insurrection in St. Domingo; in this transaction the good faith of our government was manifested. "We stepped forward to their relief with arms and money; taking freely on ourselves the risk of an unauthorized aid, when delay would have been denial." Soon after this event, England openly declared against France, and thereupon the President issued his proclamation of the 22d April, '93, which was not only calculated to make doubtful the obligations we had contracted with France, but was intended to disclose, that we should not comply with it. One of the first acts of the French minister, Mr. Genet, was to inform the President that, "In consequence of the distance of the United States from the theatre of action, and of other circumstances, France did not wish to engage them in the war, but would willingly leave them to pursue their happiness and prosperity in peace." This was a verbal declaration only, (and therefore of no binding force) and has been rendered, as stated, by Judge Marshall in his life of Washington. The theatre of action being distant referred evidently to the war in Europe, and not to the defence of the West-Indies, which were not "distant." And according to all the writers on the law of nations, we could have supplied the defence stipulated, without being a party, or becoming thereby a party in the war. The declaration moreover is neither an acknowledgment that the *casus fœderis* did not exist, or that we should not be called on eventually for its fulfilment. It was evidently one of Mr. Genet's diplomatic subtleties, without any meaning what-

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ever, and which are known to be common in all negotiations between governments. Our government chose, however to consider it a waiver of the guarantee stipulation altogether, and adhered to that position, even when a demand for its execution was repeated again and again. This circumstance makes it necessary to remove all doubt on the subject, and the following extract from Mr. Genet's instructions seems to do so. "France at this moment has a particular interest that requires us to be prepared to act with efficacy against England and Spain, if, as every circumstance announces, these powers, in hatred of our principles, shall make war upon us. The reciprocal guarantee of the possessions of the two nations, stipulated in the 11th article of the treaty of 1778, must form an *essential clause* in the new treaty, to be concluded. The Executive council therefore instructs citizen Genet early to sound the American government on this point, and to make it an *indispensable* condition of a free trade to the French West-Indies."

By the above it is quite clear that, so far from intending to exonerate the United States from the guarantee, it was the direct aim of the French government to make it effectual in the very case which had occurred, a war with England.

On the 18th September, '93, Mr. Genet wrote to Mr, Jefferson, "that the Secretary of War, to whom I communicated the wish of our government of the Windward Islands, to receive promptly some fire-arms and some cannons, which might put in a state of defence possessions guarantied by the United States, had the front to answer me, with an ironical carelessness, that the principles established by the President did not permit him to lend us so much as a pistol—that the Secretary of the Treasury, with whom I had a conversation on the proposition which I had made, to convert almost the whole American debt, [advances made by the French to aid in our Revolutionary war] by means of an operation of finance authorized by law, into flour, rice, grain, salted provisions, and other objects which France had the most pressing need, added to the refusal, the positive declaration, that even if it were practicable the United States could not consent to it, because England could not fail to consider this extraordinary reimbursement furnished to a nation with which she is at war, as an act of hostility." On the 6th of November, '93, the General and Extraordinary Commission of Guadaloupe, addressed to the Congress of the United States a formal demand for provisions, ammunition and men. The same demand had been some time before made of Mr. Genet. who, in his letter to Mr. Randolph of February 4th, '94, says, "I have informed them of the obstacles which prevented me from executing them; and, alarmed at the dangers in which this disappointment placed a source of riches, as precious to France as to the United States; they have conceived it a duty to present to you their situation, in colors most lively, &c."

On the 14th November, '94, Mr. Genet wrote to Mr. Jefferson, "I beg you to lay before the President of the United States as soon as possible, the decree and the enclosed note,* and to obtain from him the earliest decision, either as to the guarantee *I have claimed the fulfilment of for our colonies*, or upon the mode of negotiation of the new treaty, &c." And only eighteen days after, on the 2d of December, Mr. Randolph wrote to Mr. Monroe, our minister to France, as follows: "The omission to demand its fulfilment [the guarantee] up to this day is a proof, that *their* policy did not approve of such measure: and in this they were wise; since we should have been less advantageous to them by associating in the war, than we have been in our neutral character." This truly extraordinary letter, while it explicitly denies the fact, just established, that a demand under the guarantee had been, does not convey any thing like a denial that the state of affairs provided for had actually occurred. Had such a denial been made, it would have been entitled to no greater weight than that just stated: Because, on the 1st of January, '95, he again wrote to Mr. Monroe, "Would they [France] have hazarded a hint, that we must have no treaty of commerce with Great Britain? We should have quoted their own example, *in having repelled by arms the meddling of other nations in their internal affairs.*" Thus proving, by the testimony of the Secretary himself, that the war on the part of France was *defensive;* which settles the question of *casus fœderis:* and hence, our plea for withholding the stipulated aid, because the war was *offensive*, results in a mere pretext. There are several more important facts appertaining to this point, which shall be the subject of my next number.

A CLAIMANT.

* Neither "the decree and enclosed note," *nor an answer to this letter*, have been made public; the reader as well as the writer would doubtless derive much light from their perusal.

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No. XIV.

In continuation of my last number, I shall state a few only of the many facts in relation to the guarantee of the French colonies.

In the instructions to Mr. Monroe of 10th June, '94, he is charged to declare to France that "we are unable to give her aid of men or money." The plea of inability was a direct admission of obligation:—the more degrading, because known to be unsound, and ineffectual, as a shield from responsibility, if even true. Because, if the matter stipulated were ever so unfavorable, or even impossible, the right of France to have the unfavorable stipulation executed, or the impossible one compensated, would be in full force. Vattel, book 3, ch. 6, sec. 94, says: "To refuse an ally the succors due to him, without a just dispensation, is doing him an injury, and there being a natural obligation of repairing the damage caused by our fault, and especially by our injustice, we are bound to indemnify an ally for all the losses he may have sustained from our unjust refusal."

That our reluctance to furnish the required aid, arose out of the apprehension of inducing hostility from England, is openly avowed in numerous instances. We had a *perfect* right to furnish the aid. In such a case, Vattel says, "The succors furnished to my enemy are the payment of a debt; they do me no wrong in discharging it, and consequently give me no just cause to make war on them." And again, "We have already seen that when a sovereign furnishes the moderate succor due in virtue of a former defensive alliance, he does not associate himself in the war. Therefore he may fulfil his engagements, and yet observe an exact neutrality. Of this Europe affords frequent instances." Book 3, ch. 7, sec. 105. If England therefore, contemplated making war upon us, beyond the seizure of our ships and seamen, which she then practised, she would not have waited for the performance of an act on our part, which could afford her no justification. And we could have met a complaint, if indeed her dignity would stoop to make one, by the production of her own example; and the following declaration of her prime minister, lord Grenville, to her minister in France, lord Malmsbury, dated london July 20, '97: "Your lordship well knows that it is a principle universally recognised in the public law of Europe, that when one of the parties in a defensive alliance furnishes to his ally the stipulated succors, those succours remain entirely at the disposal of the requiring party, to be employed wherever he shall judge proper, subject only to the limitations of the treaty which before existed; and if the amount of those succors is not increased beyond that engaged for, nor the means of using them extended by new facilities, the party furnishing the stipulated assistance *is not understood to violate the laws of neutrality.*"

During the whole of Mr. Monroe's mission to France, the guarantee stipulation was a never ending source of embarrassment to him. He admits that he declined to demand the repeal of the French obnoxious decrees under which our vessels had been seized, lest it should give rise to a counter demand to execute the guarantee: and for the same reason, he abstained from asking for certain favours of diplomatic aid, though specially charged by his instructions so to do. And further, as a motive to induce their silence on that point, he formally proposed to relinquish, what was of great value to our commerce during the war, the principle and stipulation in our treaty of 1778, that free ships make free goods. On a particular occasion he was pressed by the French government to answer the question, whether he demanded the execution of the treaty of commerce? He found it necessary to evade the question, lest it was intended to found upon his answer, the demand of aid under the treaty of alliance.

Nor were these difficulties confined to Mr. Monroe; they were no less active in this country. On the 11th of August, '95, Mr. Adet wrote to Mr. Randolph, that "*his government had ordered him to claim the literal execution of the treaties.*" Similar demands were subsequently made; and various complaints, of which the transportation of horses, provisions, &c. in American vessels for the English forces acting against the French colonies, and the impressment of our seamen on board of British ships of war to be employed against them, were, perhaps, the most conspicuous.

In '97, Messrs. C. C. Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbrige Gerry, were appointed envoys extraordinary to France and in their instructions, dated the 15th of July of that year, we find the following: "In such revision [of the treaties] the first object that will attract your attention, is the reciprocal guarantee, in the 11th article of the treaty of alliance. This guarantee we are perfectly willing to re-

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nounce. The guarantee by France of the liberty, sovereignty and independence of the United States, will add nothing to our security: while, on the contrary, our guarantee of the possessions of France in America, will perpetually expose us to the risk and expense of war, or to disputes and questions concerning our national faith. When Mr. Genet was sent as the minister of the French republic to the United States, its situation was embarrassed, and the success of its measures problematical. In such circumstances it was natural that France should turn her eyes to the mutual guarantee: and accordingly it was required, in Mr. Genet's instructions, to be an 'essential clause in the new treaty,' which he was to propose: and on the ground 'that it nearly concerned the peace and prosperity of the French nation, that a people whose resources increase beyond all calculation, and whom nature had placed so near their rich colonies should become interested, by their own engagements, in the preservation of those islands.' But, at this time, France, powerful by her victories, and secure in her triumphs, may less regard the reciprocal guarantee with the United States, and be willing to relinquish it. As a substitute for the reciprocal guarantee may be proposed a mutual renunciation of the same territories and possessions that were subjects of the guarantee and renunciation in the 6th and 11th articles of the treaty of alliance. Such a renunciation on our part would obviate the reason assigned in the instructions to Mr. Genet before cited, of *future danger from the rapidly growing power of the United States.* But if France insists on the mutual guarantee, it will be necessary to aim at some modification of it. The existing engagement is of that kind which, by writers on the law of nations is called a general guarantee of course the *casus fœderis* can never occur except in a defensive war. The nature of this obligation is understood to be, that when a war *really* and *truly defensive* exists, the engaging nation is bound to furnish *an effectual and adequate defence*, in co-operation with the power attacked: whence it follows, that the nation *may* be required in some circumstances, to bring forward its whole force. The nature and extent of the succours demandable not being ascertained, engagements of this kind are dangerous on account of their uncertainty: there is always hazard of doing too much or too little, and of course of being involved in involuntary rupture. Specific succours have the advantage of certainty, and are less liable to occasion war. On the other hand, a general guarantee allows a latitude for the exercise of judgment and discretion. On the part of the United States, instead of troops or ships of war, it will be convenient to stipulate for a moderate sum of money or quantity of provisions; at the option of France: the provisions to be delivered at our ports, in any future *defensive* wars. The sum of money, or its value in provisions, ought not to exceed *two hundred thousand dollars a year*, during any such wars. The reciprocal stipulation, on the part of France, may be to furnish annually the like sum of money, or an equivalent in military stores and clothing for troops, at the option of the United States, to be delivered in the ports of France. Particular caution, however, must be used, in discussing this subject, not to admit any claims, on the ground of the guarantee, in relation to the existing war, as we do not allow that the *casus fœderis* applies to it."*

After our non-compliance with the repeated and earnest demands of aid, it was very natural to cover the refusal with an injunction "not to admit any claims" in consequence thereof. We were not prepared to acknowledge, what no sovereign or nation ever did, that we knowingly and therefore willingly violated a positive solemn stipulation. Nor does the expression "as we do not allow that the *casus fœderis* applies to it, amount to a *denial.* It merely imports that, as both parties had a right to judge, so we will not "admit claims," or "allow" that we stand committed, before the other party at least demands compensation. In short, the terms used are softened down to the lowest grade of objection, which a decent regard for self respect could dictate.

But, admitting for a moment, to avoid all obscurity, that the *casus fœderis* never did exist, and that France was therefore without a claim to compensation on that score, still we find the President deemed the purchase prospectively of the guarantee article alone, a great object to the United States at the annual cost of *two*

* The very first sentence in these instructions, contains the following: "It is known to you, that this affection rose to enthusiasm, when the war was kindled between France and the powers of Europe, *which were combined against her, for the purpose of restoring the monarchy, &c.*—Thus the Secretary of State who wrote these instructions, Mr. Pickering here admits the *casus fœderis* expressly.

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hundred thousand dollars. This was the first bid of the purchaser, and by him called "moderate"—what was the probable price of the holder?

If to the French estimate of the then present value, be added the estimate of our responsibilities already incurred, involving the sum total of several of her richest Islands, the two sums together—truly immense, will make the actual value of the abrogation of that article.

A CLAIMANT.

No. XV.

In March, '94, Congress laid an embargo on all merchant vessels and letters of marque in the ports of the United States; this act remained in force for sixty days, and during its existence was loudly complained of and protested against by the French minister. Our government repeatedly hinted that this measure was aimed at Great Britain; but that plea did not absolve us from the claim of France to compensation, especially as in an analagous case, the Bordeaux embargo before cited, we had claimed a like compensation from her, which was admitted, and a decree promptly enacted for our indemnity. But the circumstances under which this embargo was laid, connected with the known fact, that France was closely pressed for food, operated to inflame the jealousy of the French minister, which is thus noticed by the Secretary of State in his instructions to Mr. Monroe, of June 10th, '94. "There is reason to believe that the embargo, when it was first laid, excited uneasy sensations in the breast of the French minister. For it so happened that the moment before its operation, pretty considerable shipments of flour were made to the British West Indies, and a snow called La Camille, laden with flour for France, was arrested near New-Castle, on the Delaware, after she had quitted the port of Philadelphia." These *uneasy sensations* were not confined to the *breast* of the French minister, as is shewn by the next sentence of the instructions: "My letters to Mr. Fauchet will explain the case of La Camille, and *all his complaints* about the embargo."

While the English captured all provision vessels, including many American, which overstocked them with food, in addition to which they purchased in our ports merely to keep it from the French, confessedly to starve them, we permitted large quantities, shipped on English account in American vessels, to leave our waters for the British Islands, and suddenly restrained like shipments to France, not only in the La Camille after clearing and sailing upon her voyage, but many other vessels likewise. The French minister could not be made to understand how the measure was aimed at the English. On another similar occasion, when horses and provisions were shipped on English account in American vessels, the French minister put the question to the Secretary of State, after protesting against the act, "Whether in a British fleet and army destined for a military expedition against the French colonies, our vessels so laden, following in the train and bearing supplies for such military force, would not make a part of it?" In answer the Secretary says, "I confess to you that the question presents some difficulty, but as the case does not exist, it is not necessary for me to answer it. I am not informed what is the custom of the maratime powers in this respect." This question, put hypothetically, was the fact though not known here at the time; not only were our vessels so used, but our seamen were constantly and in great numbers forced on board the English ships of war, and used in many expeditions of that kind. In one instance the entire crews of upwards of 20 vessels were so taken from an out port in St. Domingo.

In June, '94, upon the earnest recommendation of the President, Congress, after six months discussion, passed an act making penal the fitting out privateers in the ports of the United States. This law originated in the Senate, and passed that House by a very small majority, after great opposition to the sixth section, viz: "That it shall not be lawful to sell within the United States, any vessel or goods captured from a prince or state, or from the subjects or citizens of a prince or state with which the United States are at peace, which vessel or goods shall have been captured by any other foreign prince or state, or by the subjects or citizens of such prince or state, unless such vessel and goods shall have been first carried into a port or place within the territory of the prince or state to which the captors belong; but such vessel and goods shall be carried out of the United States, by those who shall have brought them in. And the sale of any vessel or goods prohibited at

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aforesaid, shall be utterly void." But the House of Representatives struck out the entire section, and so amended; it became a law. As this section contained no penalty or disqualification, the naked question of *admission and sale* was at issue, and as Congress had expressly refused to prohibit, so they had as clearly conveyed their intention to *admit and sell*. Had this section been retained in the law, it would not have covered the restoration of prize made by the President before its date: and within a few days after this law was passed, the President ordered the restitution to British subjects of several prizes, and caused to be instituted legal process against a citizen of the United States, to recover from him one he held by purchase, with a view to her restoration to the British owner.

The corvette Cassius belonging to the French *government* was seized in the port of Philadelphia, and after being acquitted again and again, was held to answer for offences alleged to have been committed on the seas. The French minister abandoned her to the United States. Several other French armed vessels, some of them also belonging to the government, were from time to time seized and held to answer for like charges.

The governor of Guadaloupe was arrested in the United States and detained two years; he had in his official character seized an American vessel in that island laden with counter revolutionary writings from Philadelphia. This act induced the Executive Directory to pass the following decree: "The minister of foreign affairs will declare to citizen Monroe, minister plenipotentiary of the United States, that if the federal government does not put a stop to the procedure against citizen Collet, and does not refer those who sue him before the government and his natural judges in France, the Executive Directory will take the necessary measures, that reprisals shall be used for reparation of all the injuries of the American government, and of its agents, towards the French citizens and government."

But it is not my intention to detail the complaints of France, nor am I even able to enumerate them—probably the extensive collection of documents, 840 octavo pages, lately laid before the Senate by the President, does not contain the whole by some hundreds; those I have referred to are only secondary in character and small in amount, but it seemed necessary to dispose of them before I enter upon those of a more enlarged and serious nature, particularly Mr. Jay's treaty, an act by which the ties with France were severed, and in place of good feeling, all the evils she could invent were heaped upon us. And, in order that this act may stand upon its own merits, I cite the following extract to show the state of our claims upon France, and also the general relations existing between the two nations at the time of its date. Extract from the President's message to Congress, of 28th February, '95. "Our minister near the French republic has urged compensation for the injuries which our commerce has sustained from captures by French cruisers, from the non-fulfilment of the contracts of the agents of that republic with our citizens, and from the embargo at Bordeaux. He has also pressed an allowance for the money voted by Congress for relieving the inhabitants of St. Domingo. It affords me the highest pleasure to inform Congress that perfect harmony reigns between the two republics; and that those claims are in a train of being discussed with candor, and of being amicably adjusted."

A CLAIMANT.

No. XVI.

In attempting to give a view of our treaty with Great Britain, of the 19th November, '94, usually called Mr. Jay's treaty, the necessity for citing the prominent parts of the instructions under which he acted is obvious, particularly as this is the first time they have been submitted to the public view. It will be recollected that the House of Representatives, when that treaty was under consideration, called upon the President by resolution and also by deputation for a copy of them, which was refused. They point out as the primary object of the mission, to demand compensation for vexations and spoliations committed under the several British instructions of June 8th, '93, November 6th, '93, and January 8th, '94*—and, the execution of the clause of the treaty of peace, of '83 which relates to the giving us

* The spoliations under these instructions were not less than ten times the extent of those committed by the French up to that period.

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possession of certain military posts then occupied by British troops, together with compensation for negroes and other property taken away at the conclusion of the war, in violation of the 7th article.

And the second object, the preceding points being adjusted, to make a commercial treaty, which should contain:

1st. Reciprocity in navigation, particularly to the West Indies, and even to the East Indies.

3d. Free ships to make free goods.

4th Provisions never to be contraband, except in the strongest possible case, as the blockade of a port, or, if attainable, the abolishing contraband altogether. By defining a blockade, if contraband must continue in some degree, as it is defined in the armed neutrality.

6th. Free exports of arms and of military stores.

11th. *You may discuss the sale of prizes in our ports while we are neutral; and this perhaps, may be added to the considerations which we have to give besides those of reciprocity.*

18th. No stipulation whatever is to interfere with our obligations to France.

The last 18th item was shown to the French minister, to allay his suspicions of our yielding to the desire of England to detach us from France, and he was assured (as also Mr. Monroe, our minister to France, who was instructed to communicate the same to the French government,) that Mr. Jay's mission *was solely "to obtain immediate compensation for our plundered property and restitution of the posts."* It was upon this simple declaration that Mr. Monroe had to combat the continual suspicions of the French government, as he had not then, and probably *never has* seen a copy of Mr. Jay's instructions.* This declaration, however, with the confidence reposed in Mr. Monroe by the French government, had the desired effect; for, on the 13th of January '95, he wrote to the Secretary of State: "I have the pleasure to inform you, that upon the report of the united committees of public safety, legislation, commerce and finance, a decree has passed the convention since my last, whereby it is resolved to carry into strict execution, the treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and this republic. I beg leave to congratulate you upon this event, and particularly the unanimity with which it passed the convention, since it demonstrates the good disposition of that body, and of the nation generally, towards us; it was finally accomplished, without the least difficulty, and without exciting the animosity of any one."

"Early in June '95, accounts were received in Paris that the British government had revived its order for the seizure of provision vessels destined for France. At that period Paris and many other parts of France, were in the greatest distress for provisions, in consequence whereof, the attention of the government was directed with great solicitude to those quarters whence supplies were expected, particularly to the United States, where great sums had been expended in the purchase of them. Unfortunately however, but few of those vessels reached their destination, for in general they were taken into port by the British cruisers. It was soon obvious that this aggression of Great Britain upon the rights of neutral nations, being made with the intent to increase the distress of famine which was then raging at Paris, and thereby promote the disorders which were in part attributable to that cause, excited a ferment in the French councils which was not pointed against Great Britain alone. The neutral powers were likewise animadverted upon, particularly the United States, to whom the attention of the committee was, as I had reason to believe, in a more especial manner drawn by the report of one of its secret agents from England, who stated that he was advised there through a channel to be relied on, that the English administration had intimated the measure would not be offensive to our government, *since it was a case provided for between the two governments.*"

On the 14th of July, '95, the Secretary of State wrote to Mr. Monroe, "the treaty is not yet ratified by the President, nor will it be ratified, I believe, until its return from England, if then. The late British order for seizing provisions is a weighty obstacle to a ratification. *I do not suppose an attempt to starve France will be countenanced.*" In August '95, a copy of Mr. Jay's treaty first appeared in France, and then only in an unofficial publication in a newspaper. In December, '95, Mr. Monroe was first apprized of the conditional ratification of the treaty, (but without

* The popular excitement to gain possession of these instructions, and the pertinacity with which they were withheld from the public view, are alike unparalleled in the history of our government.

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an official copy) there being added thereto a new article, which made it necessary to lay it again before the British government for confirmation, which being done and obtained, it was finally ratified on the 20th of February, '96, and on that day promulgated by the President *without having been again submitted to the Senate.*

My limits do not admit of a critical examination of all the parts of this treaty, I confine myself therefore to an exposition of its general character, and such particular parts as may be necessary to the subject under consideration. And for the sake of brevity, shall sometimes italacize the text.

Article 2d. Provides for the restoration of the posts: but the claim for negroes and other property *is tacitly surrendered.*

Art. 3d. Provides for *free* trade in America.

Reciprocity! American vessels not admitted "into the *seaports, harbours, bays or creeks* of his majestie's said territories, nor into such parts of the *rivers* as are BETWEEN *the mouth hereof and the highest port of entry* from the sea. British vessels not to be admitted into the rivers of the United States BEYOND *the highest port of entry.*" "The river Mississippi to be open to both parties." The parties were indeed making free with the river, which at its mouth belonged exclusively to Spain, and gave her the sole right to dispose of it, as we afterwards found.

"All goods whose importation is *not wholly prohibited*, may *freely* be carried *in the manner aforesaid*, by each into the territory of the other." Every article, the growth or manufacture of the United States, was prohibited in the English territory, and nothing whatever of the growth or manufacture of the English was prohibited in the United States. Hence, the vessels and goods of the United States, were effectually excluded from the English territory; while English vessels and goods were admitted in our ports and harbours, up to the very highest ports of entry upon our rivers, and on the same terms as to *duties* and other charges as American vessels. And the article calls this *free trade!!!*

The succeeding articles of the treaty shall be noticed in my next number.

A CLAIMANT.

No. XVII.

In continuation of Mr. Jay's treaty of November 19, 1794.

ARTICLE 6. Provides compensation by the United States to British subjects, who were barred by lawful impediments in the recovery of debts, due to them before the revolutionary war.

The British commissioners acting under this article, contended for claims to the amount of nearly twenty millions of dollars, and in consequence of their extravagance the board was dissolved, and a new stipulation entered into with the British government. The President authorised our negotiator to agree to compensate said claims in a round sum, which should not exceed one million sterling (about four millions and a half of dollars) but the sum ultimately agreed on, was six hundred thousand pounds sterling, (two millions six hundred and sixty-four thousand dollars) which was paid by the United States in instalments. This sum added to sundry awards and expenses before paid, makes the sum total $3,289,500.

Art. 7 Provides compensation by the British government to merchants of the United States, who, by reason of irregular or illegal captures, suffered losses under color of authority of the former.

Under this clause the sum of about five millions of dollars was paid by the British government—from which sum, however, should be deducted about $101,000 for expenses paid by the United States.

Same Article—And compensation by the United States to British subjects for losses sustained by captures made by French privateers fitted out in the ports of the United States, or by captures made by them in the waters or jurisdiction of the United States, according to the tenor of Mr. Jefferson's letter to Mr. Hammond of the 5th September, '93, which letter is hereto annexed.

Under this clause the United States paid to British subjects, with the expenses of settlement, the sum of $303,000. The result of all these pecuniary arrangements may perhaps be thus stated:

Paid by the British in the whole	$4,900,000
Paid by the United States in the whole	3,600,000
Balance in favor of the United States	$1,300,000

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But this balance in our favor is to be placed to the credit of the "negroes and other property" *surrendered to England*, which has always been estimated at $1,500,000:—the result would then be a loss to the United States of about $300,000.

Art 12 Provides for *free trade* to the West Indies.

Reciprocity! "American vessels not to exceed seventy tons!!!"

"American vessels to carry to, and land their cargoes in the United States *only*"!!

"It being expressly agreed and declared that during the continuance of this article, the United States will *prohibit and restrain the carrying any molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa or* COTTON, *in American vessels, either from his Majesty's Islands or from the United States* TO ANY PART OF THE WORLD!!! On the other hand, British vessels of *any burthen* may be used.

American vessels may carry to the Islands such of the produce or manufactures of the United States as are not prohibited: and the English may carry from the Islands to the United States such articles as are allowed by the laws of both. The charges and duties to be equal."

Under the then existing British colonial regulations there was scarcely an article of the growth or manufacture of the United States permitted to be introduced into the Islands—while the laws of the United States permitted every article the growth or manufacture of the Islands, and of the mother country also through them, to be imported into the United States. Hence this article of *free trade* was about as favorable to his Majesty as his own hand could have made it.

☞ This article thus far was stricken out by the Senate, leaving the following part in force:

"This article shall continue in force during the continuance of *the war in which his Majesty is now engaged* and for two years thereafter; at the expiration of which time the two parties will endeavor further to regulate their commerce in this respect according to the situation in which his Majesty may then find himself with respect to the West Indies. And the said parties will then also renew their discussions and endeavor to agree whether in any, and in what cases, neutral vessels shall protect enemy's property; and in what cases provisions and other articles not generally contraband, may become such."*

Art. 13 Permits our trade to the East Indies, confined, however, to the transportation of India goods to the United States *only*.

Art. 17 Provides that "where vessels shall be captured on just suspicion of having *on board enemy's property*, or of carrying to the enemy any of the articles which are contraband of war, [according to the list prescribed by this treaty—but not according to the ancient or *the modern* law of nations prescribed by the President's proclamation of 22d April, '93,] they shall be brought to the nearest port, and the enemy's property shall be made prize:—and the next article disposes of the contraband goods in the like manner. This article, therefore, is in direct violation of the instructions to make *free ships free goods*.

Art. 18 Contains a list of contraband goods—cannon, muskets, &c. &c., "as also timber for ship building, tar or rosin, copper in sheets, sails, hemp and cordage, and generally whatever may serve directly to the equipment of vessels, unwrought iron and fir planks only excepted.

These last are all *in addition* to the contraband list contained in our treaty with France—they are in addition, also, to the list laid down by all the powers of Europe, including England herself, in the armed neutrality of 1780, which is referred to in Mr. Jay's Instructions.

Doubtless the motive of the British in thus enlarging the list of contraband was to keep down the navigation, commerce, and particularly the military marine of France, all which she was bound by her treaties with all the European powers to effect. And it is equally clear, to judge from her subsequent practice, that the indiscriminate plunder of our commerce was not less in her view; since numerous captures of our vessels took place which her courts did not fail to condemn, because they had on board "*nails, osnaburgs and the like*, which were construed to be applicable to *the equipment of vessels*.

* The parties seem to have agreed *very well* as to the stipulations on these points for the *period limited to the war*; for by the 17th article, enemy's property on board our vessels "shall be made prize;" and by the 18th, England may, as she did, capture our provision vessels. France preferred an *earlier performance of our duties* on these points—and being an interested party, claimed a right to be heard—she was not heard!

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The next sentence of this article professes "to guard against the difficulties which might arise in determining when provisions may, by the law of nations, become contraband, by agreeing to pay for them the cost, a profit, freight and demurrage."

Could any man be at a loss to decide the motive for so miserable an attempt to impose on his judgment? Could there be a more effectual joining with the allies, against France than our consent to such a stipulation? By the law of nations, as laid down by every writer, then or now respected, provisions can only become contraband upon a *second* attempt to enter a blockaded port, and is then, *not to be paid for, but confiscated.* It will not be pretended that England, in thus stipulating to pay for our provisions, intended to relax this rule, for her whole conduct, and repeated declaration, warranted the frequent official assertion of our Secretary of State, that she intended to adhere to the *rigid* rule. And the next sentence of this article proves it.

"It is agreed that every vessel so circumstanced [sailing for a blockaded port, without knowledge thereof] may be turned away from such port or place, but she shall not be detained, nor her cargo, if not contraband, be confiscated, *unless, after notice*, she shall again attempt to enter."

A confiscation of contraband and other goods, under such circumstances, is in strict compliance with the acknowledged rule, and could give us no offence. But the seizure of our provision vessels, under the preceding clause, would be a violation of all rules, and her agreeing to pay for such, is a conclusive proof that she herself so considered it. Taking these two clauses together, the meaning cannot be mistaken: England may capture our provision vessels when she pleases, on paying for them; and may confiscate those found making a *second* attempt to enter a blockaded port. The latter she would be justified in exercising *without* a treaty, while the former is entirely gratuitous on our part; and this was the view France took of it. What were the facts then existing? England was bound by all her European treaties, to *starve* France "by all the means in her power," and she had already, with that view (for she was not in want of provisions herself,) captured some hundreds of our vessels, for which Mr. Jay was then claiming compensation. Why did she consent to pay for these? Why did she pay five millions of dollars for captures made *expressly under her authority?* For the sole reason that such authority was in *violation* of the law of nations.

The stipulation, therefore, to pay for all similar *subsequent* captures, was a direct avowal of intention to violate the law of nations still further, the sole object and bearing of which was to distress our starving ally, France. The promise of payment was only an appeal to our cupidity; the French called it "too thin a veil for common decency," and even in this, there was no sincerity, but a direct insult: since, at the very moment of signing the treaty, an order of council was in operation, which had been issued during Mr. Jay's residence there, directing the capture of our provision vessels, and expressly declaring *that they would not be paid for.* Of this it is not possible Mr. Jay could have been ignorant. Nor was our *government* unapprised of this fact long before the ratification of the treaty; as, on the 25th of August, '95, Mr. Pickering, acting Secretary of State, instructed our minister, to whom the amended treaty was sent to negociate the ratification. "But if, after every prudent effort, you find it [the British order] cannot be removed, *its continuance is not to be an obstacle to the exchange of ratifications.*"

A CLAIMANT.

No. XVIII.

I have concluded it best to lay the residue of Mr. Jay's treaty against the parts of our treaty with France, with which it conflicts, as the incongruity will be more apparent to every reader, and will relieve me from the necessity of pointing out the discordant provisions.

British treaty, of November 19, 1794.

Art. 23, The ships of war of each of the parties shall *at all times* be hospitably received in the ports of the other, &c.

Art. 24. Prohibits the arming foreign

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privateers, and the sale or exchange of what they have taken, in the ports of either; and allows them to purchase only sufficient provisions to carry them to the nearest port of their country.

Art. 25. Prizes made by ships of war and privateers of either party, allowed to enter and depart from the ports of each other, without examination. No shelter or refuge shall be given in their ports to such as shall have made prize upon the subjects or citizens of either of the parties, but if forced by stress of weather or the dangers of the sea to enter therein, particular care shall be taken to hasten their departure, and to cause them to retire as soon as possible. Nothing in this treaty contained shall, however, be construed to operate with other sovereigns or states contrary to former and existing treaties. But the two parties agree, that while they continue in amity, neither of them will in future make any treaty that shall be inconsistent with this or the preceding article.

French Treaty of 1778.

Art. 17. No shelter or refuge shall be given in their ports to such [ships of war and privateers] as shall have made prize of the subjects, *people** or property of either of the parties, but if such shall come in, being forced by stress of weather, or the danger of the sea, all proper means shall be vigorously used, that they go out and retire from thence as soon as possible.

Art. 22. The same word for word, as the 24th of the British treaty.

**Quere:* are impressed seamen "*People?*"

With regard to the French treaty, Vattel, in his Book 2, ch. 12, sec. 164, suggests the proper remark. "As the engagements of a treaty impose on the one hand a perfect obligation, they produce on the other *a perfect right*. To violate a treaty, is then to violate the perfect right of him with whom we have contracted, and this is to do him an injury. A sovereign already bound by a treaty cannot make others contrary to the first. The things about which he has entered into engagements are no longer at his disposal. If it happen that a posterior treaty is found in some point to contradict one that is more ancient, the new treaty is null with respect to that point, as disposing of a thing that is no longer in the power of him who appears to dispose of it.

As the very letter of the above articles in the British treaty are each and every one in direct opposition to our engagements with France, it is very difficult to account, with good faith, for their being introduced; they are not mere surplusage, because, being "the supreme law of the land," every word has some appropriate meaning.

If the words "Nothing in this treaty contained shall, however, be construed or operate contrary to former and existing treaties," &c. were intended to save our engagements to France, they had not that effect; nor did our government so construe them, notwithstanding that sentence was constantly relied on, both as argument and proof, that we had not impaired any of our obligations to France. While the treaty was negotiating, Mr. Randolph, Secretary of State, wrote to Mr. Jay, on the 12th November, '94: "If the prohibition to sell French prizes should commence sooner than the termination of the war, we shall be placed in very great difficulties, and I am pleased to observe that you are impressed with the force of this idea." Scarcely was the treaty ratified (in February '96) when it was carried into effect on a point, which had long before excited the jealous apprehensions of France, and on which she was more interested and sensitive than any other whatever, to wit: the prohibition to sell her prizes in our ports. On the 30th June, '96, the Secretary of State, Mr. Pickering, wrote to Mr. Ellsworth, Chief Justice of the United States, "I am sorry I did not think to ask of you the precise result of the question agitated before you at Charleston and Columbia, relative to the sale of prizes taken by a French privateer from the British. I presume your decision was, that the sales should not be made, it appearing that the permission of such sales would be a violation of the 24th article of our treaty with Great Britain. The principal difficulty which has occurred here, on my inquiries, respects the *mode of proceeding* to prevent the sales. You ordered an injunction to stay the sales in Charleston. May Judge Cushing do the same at Boston with regard to the prize lately carried in there? Can the District Judge do the same? Trusting that you have fully made

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up your mind on this subject, I beg the favor of you to communicate it immediately to Judge Lowell, of Boston, to whom I have written on this occasion, and, at your leisure to indulge me with an answer, particularly as circular instructions may be proper to be transmitted to all the district judges and attorneys, as well as the collectors of the customs."

On the 12th of July, the Secretary of State wrote to Mr. Otis, district attorney at Boston, "Since I wrote to you on the 30th ult. orders have been issued from the Treasury Department, to the collectors, *not to admit to an entry*, any prizes taken by foreign privateers, commissioned by any prince or state at enmity with Great Britain. Judge Ellsworth's expected statement, I trust, will shew that Judge Cushing may proceed in Massachusetts as he did in South Carolina. The British consul, I think, omitted an act of duty, in not making the remonstrance against the sales of the prizes, or the entry of them, *as you proposed:** unless there were on the spot agents of the owners of vessels and cargoes, on whom that duty would be incumbent. If no formal injunction should be obtained to prevent the sales, the agents of the captors may, I presume, be properly informed that the sales will be unlawful, and that they will subject themselves, if they proceed to sell the prizes, to indictment and punishment, for a violation of a supreme law of the United States. In one way or the other, I hope we shall be able to escape the charge of infringing a treaty: or, if the sales of any of the prizes should take place, that the United States will be justified by a rigorous prosecution of the agents. The attorney general is absent from the seat of government, or I would have requested his advice on this occasion."

On the 14th of July, '96, the French minister wrote to the Secretary of State; "The consul at Boston has just informed me, that the collector of the customs there has prevented the unlading and sale of the prizes carried into that port, by two French privateers. The consul has ineffectually complained to him. The collector founds his refusal upon a letter which he says *he received from you.* I request you sir to inform me, whether the President has caused orders to be given for preventing the sale of prizes conducted into the ports of the United States by the vessels of the republic, or privateers armed under its authority, and if so, upon what foundation this prohibition rests."

And on 19th of July '96, the Secretary of State, in answer, writes as follows: "Under this view of the case, sir, as soon as a provision was made on both sides, to carry into effect the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, it behooved the government of the former to countermand the *permission* formerly given to French privateers, to sell their prizes in our ports. Such sales, you have seen, the United States had always a *right* to prohibit, and by the above mentioned stipulation, this right became a duty. These, sir, are the foundations of the orders which have been given to prevent the sales of the prizes lately carried into Boston by French privateers, to which you refer, it being understood that the prizes were British property. Those orders have since been made general, and communicated to the collectors in all the ports of the United States. But at present those orders are confined to prizes brought into our ports by *privateers.*

On the 27th of July '96, the Secretary of State, wrote to our minister to Great Britain: "Orders have been given to prevent the sales of prizes brought into our ports by French *privateers*, conformably to the the 24th article of our treaty with Great Britain, &c." On the 15th November, '96, the Secretary of State, answered several questions put to him by the French minister, viz: "1st. Will the prizes made by the ships of the republic upon the English continue to be sold here? I have had the honor in some former letters to state to you the sense of the government on this point, with the reasons to support it. Permission to sell prizes was considered by the government not demandable as of right. The power permitting could therefore restrain the sales. The only restraint, yet imposed, has respected captures made by *privateers.* 2d Question. Will the prizes made by the privateers of the republic upon others than the English be sold? As the original permission to sell prizes extended to those taken from *all* the enemies of the French republic: and as the restraint lately imposed refers merely to British vessels, pursuant to the article of the treaty just mentioned, so the indulgence, in other respects is to be considered as remaining at present on its original footing."

And on the 15th of July '96, the Secretary of State made a report to the President in which he says: "Mr. Adet asks whether the President has caused orders to be

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given to prevent the sale of prizes conducted into the ports of the United States by vessels of the republic, or privateers armed under its authority. On this, I have the honor to inform you, that the 24th article of the British treaty having expressly forbidden the arming of privateers, and the selling of their prizes in the ports of the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury prepared, as a matter of course, circular letters to the collectors to conform to the restrictions contained in that article, as the law of the land. This was the more necessary, *as formerly the Collectors had been instructed to admit to an entry and sale the prizes brought into our ports.*

If the Constitution was *right* in giving the interpretation of treaties to the judicial department of our government, then the Secretary of State was travelling out of his sphere in meddling with the judges, district attornies, collectors or British consuls as to what the 24th article of the treaty intended. Nor could the British in any event desire more from the United States than to keep our courts freely open to their claims, it being fully within their knowledge that in two essential points we stand aloof and distinct from all other nations, to wit: that treaties are the supreme law of the land, and that our judges are independent. An American writer of great celebrity says: "there is no principle of the law of nations more firmly established or generally recognised than this, that it is the duty of a state when about to discontinue even an *indulgence* accorded to the subjects of another, to give due notice to the latter of the intended change, if it be of a nature materially to affect their interests. To attach penal consequences suddenly and without any previous intimation of an offence given, or of umbrage taken, to a course of action either generally admitted to be lawful, or long indulged with impunity is on the part of a government, if done with regard to its own subjects, the rankest tyranny, and, when practised in relation to those of another state, a gross violation of the principles of public law."—And so says common sense.

The extraordinary zeal manifested by our Secretary of State to stop the sales of French prizes, would seem to imply, that the British government had earnestly pressed for such a construction of the 24th article of the treaty. But from aught that appears such was not the fact; that construction was gratuitous on our part, and must have produced an agreeable surprise to the British, equal in degree to the mortification manifested by the French.

My next number will conclude my notice of this treaty. A CLAIMANT.

P. S.—It should not be overlooked that the Secretary's report just quoted, left the President to infer that the order therein referred to goes to restrain only the sale of prizes made by French privateers *which had been fitted out in the ports of the United States* while all the preceding letters quoted expressly declare the restriction to be on prizes made by French privateers *generally*. Whether the object was to mislead the President, or whether the report had that effect with or without such intention, is not for me to determine. But the position assumed that the French had not the *right*, but only the *permission* of our government to introduce and sell their prizes, may with propriety be questioned. Vattel B. 3 ch. 7 sec. 132, says: "When the capture is completed and the booty absolutely in the enemy's power, no inquiry is made how he came by such effects, and he has a right to dispose of them any where. A privateer carries his prize into a neutral port and there freely sells it." Now we had, by treaty, admitted *exclusively* French privateers and their prizes, for which we had a consideration, to wit: a like stipulation in our favor when we chose to use it:—but we took credit to ourselves for a *gratuitous* admission of their prizes, after they had enjoyed for years the benefit thereof as a *right*. But let it be remarked, that we did not call this a permission or attempt to restrain it whether in the character of permission or right until after we had entered into an arrangement with the enemy of France not to permit the sale of *any* prizes made by French privateers. After the many proofs of desire in our government to conform to that strict neutrality that a feather should turn either scale—with a view solely to prevent the jealousy and hostility of England, can it be supposed—will any believe that the United States indulged France by *permission* in the enormous advantage over her enemy, of selling her prizes in our ports—professing, too, all the while a rigid *neutrality?* Could it be expected of England to witness the sale of her vessels, as French prizes, in our ports for years, under a gratuitous permission without a solitary complaint? Would she tolerate and be the dupe of such a permission? And was there any person in the United States in authority, or out of authority, authorised to grant such permission? The proposition was absurd in terms.

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No. XIX.

The French minister had made frequent and loud complaints, as before stated, that the British ships of war were in the practice of increasing the force of their crews by the impressment of seamen from American vessels, such complaints had been made as far back as '92, and the evil seemed to increase regularly with the progress of time. The documents relating to this subject were submitted to Congress by the President at the time of the nomination of Mr. Jay as minister to Great Britain: and this outrage was embraced in the list of vexations charged against that government, which it was the object of his mission to redress.

The humiliating expedient—the more degrading because unprecedented, of marking our seamen carry in their pockets what were absurdly called "*protections*," as a shield from British impressment, though brought into use at the direct instance of our own minister, and sanctioned by the British government, afforded but little mitigation of the evil. The *protections* were not respected, and thus the great principle, nay, the only principle which called into being any and every government, the protection of its citizens was violated in its most vital part. The proof was before us: the practice constant and increasing, and the indignation of our whole people so much excited that vengeance was quivering on every lip. But it so happened that neither Mr. Jay's instructions nor the treaty concluded by him *contained one syllable on that subject*—and why? Since "all things not mentioned in the treaty are to remain as they were at the conclusion of it." Vattel B. 4 c. 2 sec. 21. "The state of things at the instant of the treaty is to be held legitimate, and any change to be made in it requires an express specification in the treaty."—*Ibid.*

From the moment this treaty was ratified, the complaints of the French minister of the capture of American vessels laden with provisions, and the impressment of seamen from our vessels were greatly increased. On the 29th of March '96, Mr. Adet wrote to the Secretary of State, "Now, sir, I complain upon a point infinitely more essential, and which does not to me appear susceptible of delay: I mean the impressment exercised by the English on board of American vessels. For some time each successive vessel arriving from the colonies brings in this respect more frightful accounts than the former; and I have just received from the vice consul at Alexandria, a letter relative to the impressment used by the English ship Swan and the frigate Success, upon the crew of the brig Fair Columbian, from Alexandria, freighted on account of the English by Messrs. Patterson and Taylor. It is not then sufficient for the English to purchase a number of vessels which they load with all sorts of provisions, to navigate their vessels under your flag, to carry horses for remounting the cavalry, to enrol grooms for this military service; but they must also take by force the American crews in order to make them serve on board their vessels of war to the ruin of our colonies. You must be sensible, sir, that simple and ordinary measures are insufficient in such circumstances. We have neither the right nor desire of interfering in your internal administration, but when hostilities are in question, France may request an account of the measures you have taken for putting a stop to them, and repairing the damage they already have caused, or may hereafter do. The English division in the colonies is entirely recruited by mariners taken from on board your vessels. It is by their means that they block up the republican ports; it is to their succour we ought to attribute the loss of these immense possessions if the American government should not take steps which the duty of neutrality dictates to it." And again, on the 21st of April '96, he writes: "The vice consul at Alexandria announces to me the return of Messrs. Evelitts and Scammon, captains of the schooners Chloe Anne and Industry, whose entire crews have been impressed at the Mole. Twenty-five vessels purchased by Mr. Cavan are still in that port, and recent orders have been given to him for the expediting fifty more. Mr. Kenna, captain of the schooner Freemason, is also arrived from Martinique, where he left twenty vessels, as well as his own, whose crews have been forcibly taken off." On the 27th of July, '96, the Secretary wrote to our minister to Great Britain, after informing him that orders had been issued to prevent the sale of prizes made by the French. "A certain class of our citizens raised some little clamor, that the prohibition was not only unfriendly to France, but a violation of our treaty with that nation." The "little clamor" here referred to was so general and extensive, pervading the whole United States, that an octavo volume of one thousand pages would not contain the animadversions, strictures and direct censures against the administration; these I must not disturb. The French

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minister and a large portion of our citizens alleged that the condescension to the British, whatever might be the intention, had a tendency to sacrifice the French colonies: and this idea was strengthened and even the motive questioned, on recurring to a document which was laid before Congress by the President with his message of 14th February, '91,—the message states that authority had been given to hold informal conferences with the British ministers, to learn their disposition as to the entering into a commercial treaty with the United States. Mr. Morris had charge of this duty, and in his letter to the President dated London, September 18, '90, after detailing much conversation with his Majesty's principal Secretary of State, he adds: "I proceeded therefore a little further and prayed him to consider that in a war between Britain and the House of Bourbon, (a thing which must happen at some time or other) *we can give the West India Islands to whom we please, without engaging in the war ourselves; and our conduct must be governed by our interest.* He acknowledged that this was naturally to be expected; and it seemed from his manner that the same thing had been represented before, but not in such strong colors."

But the objections to Mr. Jay's treaty were not confined to the French government and the citizens of the United States. The government of Holland and of Spain, through their respective ministers, presented formal and strong memorials, the character of which will be seen by the following extract from that received from the former, of September 27, '96:—"We cannot let the present opportunity pass without requesting you to state to your government how useful it would be to the interests of the inhabitants of the two republics, that the United States should at last seriously take to heart the numberless insults daily committed on their flag by the English; to represent to them, that, when circumstances oblige our commerce to confide its interests to the neutral flag of American vessels, it has a just right to insist that the flag be protected with energy, and that it be not insulted at the expense of a friendly and allied nation."

The French minister did not relax in his demand to have excluded from the waters of the United States, British ships of war that, in violation of the French treaty, entered our harbors after having made prize of French vessels. This had been a constant source of irritation to the French ministers; not only did the English ships come into our ports and repair (by consent of the authorities) after having captured French vessels, but had sometimes brought their prizes with them into our waters and there fitted them to cruise—a considerable fleet was stationed near the capes of Virginia, whence they cruised and returned, remained and departed, when, and as often as they pleased. Our government was much importuned on this subject by the French minister, whose complaints were sometimes more than once made on the same day. Our general plea was, that we had not a competent naval force to expel them; but this was no longer to be used after the ratification of the British treaty—since the French could have answered, that, it did not require a naval force to keep such permission, by stipulation, out of that treaty.

Until the 15th November, '96, Mr. Adet pressed his complaints with great earnestness, and on that day made a long and highly pathetic communication to the Secretary of State, in which he announces the order of his government to suspend his functions as minister. The last act he performed was to demand the execution of the guarantee of the West-Indies, in the following words: "The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, now fulfils to the Secretary of State, of the United States, a painful but sacred duty. He claims, in the name of American honor, in the name of the faith of treaties, the execution of that contract which assured to the United States their existence, and which France regarded as the pledge of the most sacred union between two people the freest on earth."

A CLAIMANT.

No. XX.

During the whole progress of Mr. Jay's negotiations in England, the suspicions of the French government placed Mr. Monroe under great embarrassment; his republican principles and undoubted integrity, however, kept him on high ground and gave to his representations weight and confidence; but he was continually in the dark as to Mr. Jay's movements, and the views of his government. On the

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30th November, '94, (the day after Mr. Jay signed the treaty, but unknown to him,) he wrote to the Secretary of State, "When I mentioned in the committee [of public safety] the danger which menaced us, of a war with Britain and Spain, and asked what reliance we might have on France in such event, I was answered: "*they should consider ours as their cause.*" In a letter to Mr. Monroe of the 1st June, '95, the Secretary of State at great length, answers certain general objections to Mr. Jay's treaty, without however communicating either a copy or any particular part thereof; he reiterates the declaration, "you will be amply justified in repelling with firmness any imputation of the most distant intention to sacrifice our connection with France, to any connection with England; and in conclusion says," we acknowledge nothing to be undone, on our part, which friendship, would dictate, our faculties could accomplish, and our neutrality would permit. If injuries are complained of, let us reason together like cordial allies, and compensate where either may have been in fault." But the deed was done; and cordiality given to the winds. On the 26th June, '95, Mr. Monroe wrote to the Secretary of State, "Since my last, it is reduced to a certainty, that the British government has revived its order of the 6th Nov. '93, and commenced on this side of the Atlantic the same system of warfare and pillage upon our commerce, that was practised on it by that government at that very calamitous era. Between thirty and forty sail destined for this republic, charged with provisions, have been already taken and carried into the ports of that Island; and as the period has arrived, when the invitation which the distresses of this country gave to our merchants, here and at home, to embark their fortunes in this supply, is likely to produce its effect, it is probable that other vessels, and to a great amount, will share the same fate. Among our merchants here this measure has created a kind of panic. What effect this measure will produce upon this government, under existing circumstances, I cannot pretend to determine. Formerly it adopted the same measure for the purpose of counteracting its enemy, but the impolicy of that procedure was afterwards discussed and demonstrated, and the measure itself in consequence abandoned. At present, the distress of the country, is great, and the government will no doubt be mortified to find that, while our flag gives no protection to its goods, nor even to our goods destined for the ports of this republic, the whole of which becomes the spoil of its enemy, that it does protect [from French capture, under the treaty of '78] not only our goods destined for English ports, but likewise British goods destined equally for those and the ports of other countries.* The measure has obviously excited a kind of ferment in their councils, but which, I presume, will be directed against their enemies only. It will obviously attract your attention, that this measure was so timed by the British cabinet that it might have no influence in the decision of the Senate upon the treaty of Mr. Jay; nor can the motive for such an accommodation be less doubtful, for in case it be rejected, they will deem the stroke a lucky one, since thereby they will say they had fortunately gained so much time; and if it be adopted, they will probably presume that so much time will be consumed in convening the Congress, should that measure be deemed expedient, that the course of events here may render it impossible for our efforts to produce a favorable effect, and which consideration, they will likewise infer, will be an argument against convening the Congress. This kind of policy, however, shews not only the profligacy but the desperation of that government, and will probably precipitate the crisis, which notwithstanding all its follies and enormities, might yet have been postponed for some time to come. I think the measure will give new vigor to the French councils, and will probably bring immediately upon its authors Denmark and Sweden."

That our government should be desirous to conciliate the good feelings of the British, *in common with other nations*, was very natural and in strict accordance with the sense of all the people of the United States. But that this spirit of conciliation should be confined to the British, (who practised every species of violence upon us,) not only in total disregard of our engagements with other nations, but in direct opposition to their earnest overtures to sustain the principles of free trade, which we had consecrated in every treaty we had formed, was at least not to be expected. The principles laid down by the armed neutrality, were mentioned in Mr. Jay's instructions as the proper basis for free trade in the treaty of commerce he was authorised to make. And he was accordingly instructed to sound the ministers of Sweden and Denmark, powers that have always been the champions of neutral rights, and who have done more to sustain them than all the world beside, and in all

*Could there be a stronger proof of our having violated the treaty with France?

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their exertions for this purpose have made themselves respected by every belligerent,* with a view to their co-operation on this head. There is nothing extant to show that he held any conferences with them, and the treaty itself manifests his hostility to their principles.

It has often been alleged, and never denied, that Sweden and Denmark proposed directly to the United States, to unite with them to support, with force if necessary, the rights of the neutral flag; and that the American administration absolutely refused. Sweden and Denmark then united their councils, and successfully resisted the violation of their rights, while the United States abandoned them by actual stipulation in Mr. Jay's treaty, in manifest breach of our subsisting treaties with France, Sweden, Prussia, Holland, &c. The sincerity of Sweden and Denmark was then as now beyond all suspicion, and their spirited answers in '93, to the demand of Russia, to suspend their commerce in provisions to France; that the conspiracy of kings to starve the French nation might be consumated, were sound, dignified and in every respect worthy of our imitation. That of Denmark, after protesting against the principle, or rather the want of principle assumed, runs thus: "To restrict the commerce in grain, as it now subsists, is a thing quite insignificant to the cause which Russia has espoused; but it is not so to Denmark, because it involves a sacrifice of her rights, *of her independence and of her treaties*, which she intends to maintain. His majesty refrains from entering into a more serious examination of this subject, since Russia has thought proper to reject the only judge whom Denmark could acknowledge, namely, the common law of nations." And Mr. Monroe declares, that he had carefully avoided several conferences that were sought by the Swedish minister, because he knew nothing could result from them, as he was authorised to say nothing: And he also declares "that it was impossible for him to succeed in conciliating the French government towards the British treaty, since his efforts were not only not seconded in that respect, by our administration, but absolutely counteracted by it." He labored under still greater difficulty with regard to conciliating his own government with himself, for he was censured in direct terms, and, without much punctilio, recalled. Such disapprobation, in an ordinary case, would have been disgrace beyond redemption; but in this, he was *sustained by the whole nation*, who have from that day till recently, confided to him the most important duties both abroad and at home.

Looking at this treaty in relation to our *interest*, putting all questions of principle aside for a moment, still nothing is found to satisfy us; for while our exports in '94-5, to France were $12,653,635, those to Britain were only $9,218,540. The whole of the former was for French consumption, but much of the latter was for re-exportation. The return cargoes from France were chiefly hard money, but those from

*The following instructions were given by Russia to her Admiral Tchithakoff, conformably to her treaty with England of March, '93.

"We have ordered a fleet of 25 sail of the line and frigates, to be equipped for four months and put under your command. The principal duty of our naval armament consists in what follows:—We are bound according to our stipulations with his majesty the King of Great Britain to endeavor to prevent these French, who persist in their rebellion, from receiving any supplies of which they may be in need. The hostile measures employed against them, *are not strictly conformable to the natural laws of war*, when it unfortunately takes place between nations under lawful government: but as those measures are taken against those arrant villians who have overturned all duties observed towards God, the laws, and the government, who have even gone so far as to take the life of their own sovereign— the means of punishing those villians ought in justice to be employed in such a manner as to accelerate and insure success in so salutary an affair. We have made representations to the courts of Sweden and Denmark, but our just demands have not been satisfactorily answered: wherefore we have declared to them, that we cannot see with indifference provisions or stores sent to France which serve to nourish the rebels. By this you will clearly see our will and our intentions; and we order you to seize all those French vessels you may meet with, *and to send back to their own ports all neutral vessels* bound to France." The British orders went further, and authorized the *capture* of neutral vessels, and several Swedish vessels were captured under them; but a spirited remonstrance produced compensation for them, and as assurance that such acts would not be repeated; accordingly we find Swedish and Danish vessels specially excepted from their future most oppressive orders in council.

It will not escape the attention of the reader, that the Russian order above, does not allege that any injury had been sustained from France, and explicitly acknowledges, that the captures thereby authorised were not *conformable to the laws of war*.

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Britain were wholly manufactured goods. The exports in '96 for France and her colonies, from the port of Philadelphia *alone*, amounted to $4,185,431.

The objections to this treaty are without number, and are pourtrayed with much force, and at great length, in many official documents now before me. But I find no small difficulty in finding out who were its friends. There was objection from every quarter,* save one individual *now in obscurity*—And the Congressional record shows, that it was ratified by the Senate by *precisely* a constitutional majority (produced by the vote of a member who was carried to the chamber in the pains of expiring life) and carried into effect, in the House of Representatives, by a majority of three only. The question, in committee of the whole, was carried by *the casting vote of the Speaker;* and, on being reported to the House was adopted by a vote of 51 to 48.

This unexampled close vote, showing that the absence only (not conversion) of *one* of its friends, in either House, would have lost the treaty, seems to justify the popular allegation, that it was Executive influence alone that procured its adoption. Mr. Secretary Randolph asserts, that scarcely a day passed, on which the President saw him (during the period of several months that the treaty was held under advisement,) that he did not enumerate many objections to it—to the commercial part, to the Canada article, to the omission of compensation for the negroes and property plundered, and to other parts. From what has been stated, and from what might be stated, which neither my limits nor the occasion call for or permit, it may be safely affirmed that Mr. Jay's treaty, as to its inception, progress, ratification, and effect, is the most extraordinary state paper ever formed. Its violation of principles and engagements resulted in all the evils at home, from party spirit, and abroad, from violence and plunder, which we have borne up to this day, not excepting, perhaps, the late war with Great Britain.

A CLAIMANT.

No. XXI.

On the 3d of January, '95, the French government passed a decree giving full and complete effect to the treaty of 1778, and acknowledged therein that the departure from it, under the several prior decrees, were by way of *reprisal.*† Under this decree our navigation and commerce had perfect security; and notwithstanding the occasional suspicion of Mr. Jay's movements, and even some indirect intimation of the contents of the treaty he had agreed to, yet every confidence was manifested that our government would not confirm it; and under that impression our vessels were undisturbed; and they extended to us many acts of unequivocal kindness. But the moment that treaty was ratified, the disappointment and mortification of the French government broke forth. They charged the President of the United States with having lulled them into security while courting and consum-

*Mr. Alexander Hamilton, who wrote numerous essays in its defence, admits there are valid objections to the commercial parts; that the prohibition to sell French prizes in our ports, is the most material cause of complaint on the part of the French; and that he recommended, that the repeal of the British order to capture our provision vessels, should be a *sine qua non* to the exchange of ratifications. He asserts that Mr. Jay himself was dissatisfied with the commercial articles, which, he says, might have been better arranged had Mr. Jay been familiar with commercial matters, which he was not. But Mr. Hamilton's admission, that the treaty contained a prohibition to sell French prizes, is itself an error. The treaty contains no such thing—the saving clause excepts it. But if it did contain such prohibition, it would in that respect be void, since the prior treaty with France gave them *the right.* The true objection on the part of France, therefore, was, not that the treaty contained such prohibition, but that *our* construction gave it that effect.

†If it could be conceded, that the French *had a right* to make reprisals on the commerce of the United States, the individuals whose property might be seized on that plea, would still have a valid claim on their own government; particularly as the cause of reprisals would be found in the acts of the *government*, and not in the acts of the individual sufferers. According to Vattel, B. 2, Chap. 18, sec 345, "he who makes use of reprisals against a nation, on the goods of its members *indiscriminately*, cannot be taxed with seizing the wealth of an innocent person, for the debt of another, for *in this case*, the sovereign is to recompense those of his subjects, *on whom the reprisals fall. This is a debt of the state or nation, of which each citizen ought only to support his quota.*"

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mating a close alliance with her enemy; that he had acted with partiality to England throughout, and cited as a proof, that he had not failed to announce to Congress, sometimes by special message, the several obnoxious decrees, while he had carefully abstained, in his message of December 8, '95, from announcing their repeal by that of January 30, '95: and that the effect was, that the people of the United States were led to believe that their commerce was suffering alike under the British orders and French decrees, when in fact, the British were capturing their vessels, and the French protecting them.

They ordered their minister in the United States to protest against Mr. Jay's treaty; to demand the execution of the French treaties, particularly the guarantee article of the treaty of alliance; and to suspend his functions forthwith. They claimed the right, and exercised it without consulting us, to modify our treaty with them so as to embrace the favors granted to England, and in making this change, did not stop at equal measure. And on the 2d of July, '96, they passed the following decree: "The Executive Directory, considering that if it becomes the faith of the French nation to respect treaties or conventions which secure to the flags of some neutral or friendly powers commercial advantages, the result of which is to be common to the contracting powers, those same advantages if they should turn to the benefit of our enemies, either through the weakness of our allies, or of neutrals, or through fear, through interested views, or through whatever motives, would in fact, warrant the execution of the articles in which they were stipulated, decrees as follows: All neutral or allied powers shall without delay, be notified, that the flag of the French republic will treat all neutral vessels either as to confiscation, as to searches or capture, in the same manner as they shall suffer the English to treat them. The minister of foreign relations is charged with the execution of the present decree, *which shall not be printed*."

On the 7th July, '96, the minister of foreign affairs wrote to Mr. Monroe: "Time, citizen minister, has sufficiently ripened the points that were then [15th of March and 27th of June preceding] in discussion, and far from being enfeebled, our complaints against that treaty have acquired since, in our estimation, new force. I will content myself then, without entering into details, to announce to you that the opinion of the Directory has never varied upon that point. It has seen in this act, concluded in the midst of hostilities, a breach of the friendship which unites the United States and this republic; and in the stipulations which respect the neutrality of the flag, an abandonment of the tacit engagement which subsisted between the two nations upon this point, since their treaty of commerce of 1778. The abandonment of the principles, consecrated by this treaty has struck us with greater force, from the consideration that all the other treaties which the United States have made; contain them, as from the further one, that these principles are since so generally acknowledged, that they now form the public law of all civilized nations. After this, citizen minister, the Executive Directory thinks itself founded, in regarding the stipulations of the treaty of 1778, which concern the neutrality of the flag, as altered and suspended in their most essential parts, by this act, and that it would fail in its duty, if it did not modify a state of things which would never have been consented to, but upon the condition of the most strict reciprocity." Numerous communications passed to and from the minister of foreign affairs and Mr. Monroe, and also to and from Mr. Adet and the Secretary of State, all relating to the articles in Mr. Jay's treaty; these are too voluminous to copy here, and do not admit of reduction in any shape, hence, I must solicit the reader to examine for himself, they will be found among the documents laid before the Senate by the President in May last, and since that time printed in a large octavo.

In December, '96, Mr. Monroe notified the French government that he was recalled, and that General C. C. Pinckney was appointed resident minister in his place. He received for answer that the Directory would "no longer recognise, nor receive, a minister plenipotentiary from the United States until after a reparation of the grievances demanded of the American government, and which the French government has a right to expect. I beg you, citizen minister, to be persuaded, that this determination, which is become necessary, does not oppose the continuance of the affection between the French republic and the American people, which is grounded on former good offices and reciprocal interest; an affection which you have taken pleasure in cultivating by all the means in your power."

On the 18th December, '96, the American consul, Mr. Mountflorence, made a report to Mr. Pinckney of the situation of our commercial interests in France, he says: "Since several months the directory executive has given evident symptoms of displea-

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sure towards our government, which has been generally attributed to the treaty of commerce with Great Britain. In consequence thereof, orders have been issued to their cruisers to visit every neutral vessel going to or coming from an English port. But these orders were common to the Danish and Swedish vessels as well as our own. Numbers of our vessels have been brought into the ports of France by virtue of these orders. Several of them have been already released, some of the cargoes temporarily sequestered, and others now libelled before tribunals of commerce. The tribunals of commerce are chiefly composed of merchants, and most of them are directly or indirectly more or less interested in the fitting out of privateers, and therefore are often parties concerned in the controversies they are to determine upon. This happened in the case of Capt. John Bryant of Norfolk. As to the several claims of American citizens against the French government, for supplies furnished here and in the West Indies, spoliations, embargoes at Bordeaux and Brest, and other ports; indemnities for illegal captures and detentions of our vessels; freights of vessels chartered by the French agents in the United States; drafts of the colonial administrations upon the national treasury, delegations of the said administrations upon the minister of France near the United States; nothing can be done with them for the moment: but this suspension is common to all the claimants of the other neutral nations, as likewise to the French creditors, for indeed the embarrassments of their finances are such, that many of the officers of government cannot obtain the payment of the arrears due them." On the 21st Jan. '97, Mr. Pickering, Secretary of State, wrote to Mr. Pinckney: "The commissioners and special agents of the French republic, in the West Indies, are destroying our commerce in the most wanton manner. They have issued orders for taking American vessels bound to or from English ports; not only those which the English occupy in St. Domingo, but those of their own Islands. They condemn without the formality of a trial. These orders appear, from the information I have received, to have been issued in consequence of letters from Mr. Adet, who you will see in his note of November 15th, said, the French armed vessels were not merely to capture American vessels, but to practice *vexations* towards them, and who, I am further informed, wrote to the commissioners that they could not treat the American vessels too badly. This state of things cannot continue long. It makes little difference whether our vessels go voluntarily to French ports, or are carried in as prizes. In the latter case, they condemn without ceremony—and, in the former, they forcibly take the cargoes, heretofore with promises of payment, which they generally broke; and now, I am told, without deigning to give their faithless promises."

On the 1st of August, '96, Victor Hughes and Lebas, special agents of the Executive Directory to the Windward Islands, passed the following decree: "Considering that laws, as well ancient as modern, forbid neutrals to carry to the enemy contraband or prohibited merchandize:—Considering that, notwithstanding the complaints of the ministers of the French republic near the United States, of which he has informed us by his letter of the 2d July, 1796, those states, and especially Virginia, have fitted out vessels loaded with horses for the English: Decree, that from this day forward, all vessels loaded with merchandize, designated by the name, contraband, as arms, instruments, munitions of war, of what kind soever, horses and their furniture, shall be stopped by the ships of war and privateers, to be seized and confiscated for the benefit of the captors."

On the 27th of November, '96, Le Blanc, Santhonax, Raimond and Pascal, commissioners of the French government to the Leward Islands, passed the following decree:—The commission resolves, that the captains of French national vessels and privateers are authorized to stop, and bring into the ports of the colony, American vessels bound to English ports, or coming from the said ports. The vessels which are already taken, or shall be hereafter, shall remain in the ports of the colony, until it shall be otherwise ordered."

This decree refers to no *law*, does not call the captured vessels *prizes*, nor threaten *condemnation*: It is nothing less than a *carte blanche* to rob,—and was so understood and practised by the privateers.

On the 11th of February, '96, the Secretary of State wrote to Mr. Pinckney: "The spoliations on our commerce by French privateers are daily increasing, in a manner to set every just principle at defiance. If their acts were simply the violation of our treaty with France, the injuries would be comparatively trifling; but their outrages extend to the capture of our vessels merely because going to or from a British port: nay, more, they take them when going from a *neutral* to a

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French port. In truth, there is, in a multitude of cases, little difference, whether our vessels are carried in as prizes, or go voluntarily to the French ports in the islands, for the purpose of traffic; the public agents take the cargoes by force, and fix their own terms, giving promises of distant payment, which are seldom duly performed. With regard to the vessels carried in as prizes, the agents and tribunals of the French government act in concert with the privateers. The captured are not admitted to defend their property before the tribunals, and the proceedings are wholly *ex parte*. We can account for such conduct only on the principle of plunder; and were not the privateers acting under the protection of commissions from the French government, they would be pronounced pirates. Britain has furnished no precedents of such abominable rapine. These proceedings are rapidly rendering the name of Frenchmen as detestable as once it was dear to Americans, and if suffered by their government to be continued, a total alienation will be inevitable."

A CLAIMANT.

No. XXII.

On the 1st of February, '97, Victor Hughes and Lebas, special agents to the Windward Islands, passed the following decree: "Considering that, in virtue of the second article of the Treaty of Alliance, concluded at Paris, on the 6th February, '78, between the United States and France, the former power engaged to defend the American possessions in case of war, and that the government and the commerce of the United States have strangely abused the forbearance of the republic of France, in turning to its injury the favors granted to them of trading in all the ports of the French colonies; that, by permitting neutral vessels any longer to carry provisions of war and of subsistence to men, evidently in a state of rebellion, would be to prolong civil war, and the calamities flowing therefrom: Decrees as follows:—Article 1st. The ships of the republic, and French privateers, are authorized to capture, and conduct into the ports of the republic, neutral vessels, destined to the Windward and Leeward Islands of America, delivered up to the English, and occupied and defended by the emigrants. These ports are Martinico, St. Lucia, Tobago, Demerara, Berbice, Essequibo, and of the Leeward, Port-au-Prince, St. Marks, L'Archaye, and Jeremie. 2d. Every armed vessel, having a commission from either of the said ports, shall be reputed a pirate, and the crews adjudged and punished as such. 3d. The vessels and cargoes described in the first and second articles are declared good prize, and shall be sold for the benefit of the captors. 4th. Every captured vessel which shall have cleared out under the vague denomination of *West-Indies*, is comprehended in the first and second articles. 5th. The decree of the 4th Nivose, in pursuance of the resolution of the Executive Driectory of the 14th Messidor, 4th year, [decree of 2d July, '96.] shall be executed, till further orders, as far as shall not be contravened by the present decree."

On the 2d of March, '97, the Executive Directory passed a decree, of too great length to transcribe here, but in character and extent of operation far exceeding any of its odious predecessors: the following is a brief outline of it. The preamble recites all the offensive decrees since and including that of the 9th of May, '93, and the 1st article revives and puts them all into operation. The 2d and 3d articles give notice that the treaty of '78 with the United States, "has been, from the terms of its second article, in strict right, modified by that which was entered into in London on the 19th November '94, between the United States and England. In consequence, agreeably to the 17th article of the treaty of London, of the 19th November, '94, all merchandise belonging to an enemy, *or not sufficiently proven to be neutral*, loaded under the American flag, shall be confiscated; but the vessel on board of which it shall have been found, shall be released and returned to the proprietor. It is enjoined on the commissioners of the Executive Directory to cause to be accelerated, by all means in their power, the judgment on the trials which shall take place, either in relation to the validity of the capture of the cargo, or in relation to freights and demurrage. 4th. Agreeably to the 18th article of the treaty of London of the 19th of November, '94, there shall be added the following articles to those declared contraband by the 24th article of the treaty of the 6th February, '78, viz: Wood for ship building, *pitch*, tar and rosin, copper in sheets, *canvass* hemp and cordage, and every thing that serves directly or *indirectly* for

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the armament and equipment of vessels, except unwrought iron and fir plank. These several articles shall be confiscated, *wherever they shall be destined*, or when it is attempted to carry them to the enemy. 5th. Agreeably to the 21st article of the treaty of London, of the 19th November, '94, every individual known to be American who holds a commission, given by the enemies of France, *as also every mariner of that nation making a part of the crew of private or public ships of the enemy, shall be, from that act alone*, declared a pirate, and treated as such, *without allowing him, in any case, to show that he had been forced by violence, menaces, or otherwise.* 6th. In conformity to the law of the 14th February '93, the regulations of the 21st October, '94, and of the 26th July, '78, as to the manner of proving the right of property in neutral ships and merchandize, shall be executed according to their form and tenor. In consequence, every American vessel shall be a good prize which has not on board a list of the crew (role d'equipage) in proper form, such as is prescribed by the model annexed to the treaty of the 6th of February, '78, a compliance with which is ordered by the 25th and 27th articles of the same treaty. 7th. It is enjoined on the commissioners of the Executive Directory to call the severity of the tribunals to the fraudulent manœuvers of every ship-owner calling himself a neutral, American, or other, on board a vessel in which shall be found, as has frequently been done during the present war, either maritime papers in blank, though signed and sealed; or papers in form of letters containing the signatures of individuals in blank; or of double passports, or sea letters which indicate different destinations to the vessel; or double invoices, bills of lading, or any other ship papers which assign to the whole, or to a part of the same merchandize, different proprietors or different destinations. 8th. From the regulations of the present decree, that of the 29th November, '95, concerning the freights and demurrage, is referred to what relates to the demurrage only."

The 2d, 3d, 4th and 5th articles in the above decree professes to extend the provisions of the treaty of '78, so as to embrace those of Mr. Jay's treaty. I have *italicised* the parts of said articles which *exceed* Mr. Jay's treaty, to which I now add the remark, that all the other articles of the decree are also additional to the treaty just mentioned. But the attempt to equalize the two treaties and the long preamble, and the plausible style, are manifestly intended—as the figs in the basket to cover the asp—to bury in the mass the *sixth* article, which, though the shortest in size, in effect rendered all the others unimportant. This article declares every vessel to be lawful prize which has not on board a *role d'equipage:*—Now, we had not a single vessel on the ocean so documented, consequently every vessel met with was lawful prize; hence it was idle to enact the other articles. Booty was the object, and under this article the captured had no better hope than the victim on whom the gullotine had made the fatal stroke. The role d'equipage provision and its consequences will be the subject of a future number.

On the 4th of April, '97, the Secretary of State wrote to Mr. Pinckney: "The depredations of the French in the West Indies, are continued with increased outrage; and we have advices of captures and condemnations in Europe, which apply to no principle heretofore known and acknowledged in the civilized world." And again on the 8th: "Although no official account has been published of the ignominious treatment you received from the French government, yet the facts are pretty well understood by various ways of intelligence, throughout the United States, and have excited a proper sensibility. These expressions are strengthened by the unexampled atrocities committed by the French agents and privateers in the West Indies, to say nothing of the flagrant depredations in the European seas, sanctioned by the tribunals of France, and by her consuls in the ports of Spain. I am satisfactorily informed that some of the latter are concerned in the privateers with French commissions equipped in the ports of Spain, and the report of Mr. Mountflorence, which you transmitted, shows that the merchants in the ports of France who constitute the tribunals of commerce in which our captured vessels are tried, and on the most frivolous and shameful pretences condemned, are often, if not commonly, owners of the privateers on whose prizes they decide. The indignant reflections which such proceedings naturally excite need not be mentioned. Accounts of the French captures, piracies and robberies in the West Indies would fill a volume. They are become so common, as, while they increase the general resentment excite no surprise."

In compliance with a resolution of the House of Representatives of the 10th of June, '97, the Secretary of State on the 21st. laid a report of the depredations generally committed on our commerce before the President; from which the following

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is taken: "Besides these several decrees, and others which being more limited, the former have superceded, the old marine ordinances of France have been revived and enforced with severity both in Europe and the West Indies. The want of, or informality in a bill of lading—the want of a certified list of the passengers and crew—the supercargo being by birth a foreigner, although a naturalized citizen of the United States—the destruction of a paper of any kind soever—and the want of a sea letter have been deemed sufficient to warrant a condemnation of American vessels and property, although the proofs of the property were indubitable. The West Indies, as before remarked, have exhibited the most lamentable scenes of depredation. Indeed the conduct of the public agents and of the commissioned cruisers there has surpassed all former examples. The American vessels have not only been captured under the decrees before mentioned, but when brought to trial in the French tribunals the vessels and cargoes have been condemned without admitting the owners or their agents to make any defence. This seems to be done systematically and for the obvious purpose of ensuring condemnations. By this monstrous abuse in judicial proceedings, frauds and falsehoods as well as flimsy and shameless pretexts, pass unexamined and uncontradicted, and are made the foundation of sentences of condemnation. The persons also of our citizens have been beaten, insulted and cruelly imprisoned: and in the forms used towards prisoners of war, they have been exchanged with the British for Frenchmen. American property going to or coming from neutral or even French ports has been seized; it has even been forcibly taken *when in their own ports*, without any pretence or on no other than that they wanted it. At the same time their cruisers are guilty of wanton and barbarous excesses by detaining, plundering, firing at, burning and distressing American vessels. Under this distant and discouraging prospect of obtaining compensation, the citizens suffering by more recent depredations, have generally omitted to present accounts [to this office] of their losses: and they have in many cases had no opportunity of getting the evidence of the condemnations which are attainable before the tribunals of other nations; the mock trials, as before observed, being very often carried on, and sentences of condemnation pronounced in the absence of the American owner, master or supercargo. There have been frequent accounts of attempts to effect condemnations by bribing the officers and seamen of our vessels to swear falsely: but it was reserved to these times when offered bribes were refused and threats despised, to endeavor to accomplish the object by torture. This was inflicted by a French privateer. The evidence of the fact appears in the protest of Capt. Wm. Martin, of the ship Cincinnatus, of Baltimore, in which he is supported by the testimony of his mate and one of his seamen. A copy of the protest is annexed, together with an extract of a letter from Mr. King, minister of the United States in London, who examined Capt. Martin's thumbs, and says, the marks of the torturing screws will go with him to his grave."

It would naturally be supposed that nothing could be added to the violence and injustice detailed in the above report; and yet one material fact—which is disclosed in some of the official documents, not now in my recollection, but certainly before me, has been omitted, viz: That it was generally the practice of the privateers, to send or carry the entire crews and passengers from their prizes, either to a distant port, to an uninhabited Island, or put them on board vessels destined to a distant quarter. The object being to convey their prizes to some port, unknown to the crew or owner; so that no defence, protest, or other proceedings could, by possibility ensue. And so effectual was this system that numerous vessels were captured, the owners of which *never* knew where they were carried to. Taking this, with the preceding facts into consideration, the conclusion seems to be inevitable that the owners of captured property could not carry their claims, by appeal, through the intermediate to the highest courts of the country, to entitle them to make demand from the sovereign as in ordinary cases. And if such proceedings on their part had been even practicable, they would have been attended with great expense, without adding one tittle to the character of their claims or their prospect of indemnity, since the *laws* of France, which *all* the courts were bound to enforce, justified all the acts of violence committed. The laws themselves, *not the abuses under them*, were the violations we complained of; and for these the sovereign is alone answerable.

A CLAIMANT.

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No. XXIII.

The French government resorted to a species of privateering entirely new, the character of which would indubitably fix the responsibility directly upon the nation, for all irregular or illegal captures which might ensue. On the 25th October, '97, the Executive Directory passed a decree, directing that the sloops of war and other light vessels belonging to the republic shall be chartered, to cruise, to private adventurers. The equipment and outfit to be at the expense of the government. Captures to be made according to the laws for privateering; and one third of the proceeds, after deducting a per centage for the charterer, to result to the government for the use or hire of such vessels; another third for provisioning the cruisers; and the remaining third to the officers and crew. The minister of marine to designate the cruising ground, issue instructions, settle accounts, and make the distribution of the prizes. The funds arising from the sales of the prizes shall be deposited under three keys, in the chest of the treasury, and in a chest committed to the care of the *consul in neutral ports*,* one of these keys shall be given to the administration of the marine, one to the agent of the crew, and the third to the charterer.

*The United States subsequently held France liable for all captures made under her authority, whether carried into her own ports or those of her allies or neutrals; and also, held such allies or neutrals liable for those of our vessels which were carried by the French into *their* ports. This was right and just. France was the maker of the bond to *us* for the whole, and her allies or neutrals were endorsers thereon, for so much only as came into their charge. If France discharged the entire bond, it is clear that the endorsers were exonerated. But, notwithstanding the bond was discharged and cancelled, by the convention between the United States and France, of the 30th of September, 1800, the United States still held *Spain* answerable to the extent of her endorsement, and in fact received from her the amount thereof, to wit: In the Florida treaty. And, although the United States were thus *twice paid*, in behalf of her citizens, for many French captures, yet the commissioners acting uder said treaty rejected many of their claims, and thus left them to seek indemnity from the United States under the convention of 1800.

Neither such rejection under the Florida treaty, nor the retrocession of the claimants to the convention of 1800, (for such French captures as were carried into Spanish ports, prior to the 30th September, 1800,) can, in any degree, impair the validity of such claims, or weaken the right of the claimants to indemnity from the United States. So far as relates to these particular claims, the Florida treaty created no new obligation on the United States, save what an increased ability to meet them, out of an *additional* consideration, would, impose, because the obligation to satisfy them all was complete, under the convention with France, of 1800.

By the treaty of '78, between the United States and France, the latter was not warranted in capturing American vessels under any circumstances whatever; the strongest possible case, of carrying contraband goods to an enemy, only subjected the contraband goods to seizure, and left the vessel to pursue her voyage with the residue of her cargo; and on the captain surrendering, at sea, such contraband goods, his vessel could not be carried into port or otherwise further molested. Hence, the moment a capture took place the French responsibility attached; but, if the prize was carried by the captor into a Spanish port, the responsibility of Spain would not attach until the failure of France to make satisfaction. The single fact, of the prize being carried into the Spanish port would not raise an obligation against Spain in favor of the United States: because, that would of necessity imply, the right and duty in Spain to determine the question, of prize or no prize, as between France and the United States. And it will not be doubted, that if the prize, though in a Spanish port, be regularly condemned by a competent court within the territory of the captor,—or, if the prize be subsequently removed by the captor from a Spanish to a French port, and there condemned and lost to her owner, Spain in either case would be acquitted of all responsibility. In other words, the captor, if duly commissioned, had a right, under the general principle, to carry his prize into the port of any nation at peace with France, without any other risk than being ordered to depart.

The chief, and perhaps the only difficulty between Spain and the United States, in relation to *these* captures, was confined to a single fact, to wit: Whether France had embraced *them* in the satisfaction she made to the United States in the convention of 1800. If she had, Spain contended there could be no claim on her; if she had not, Spain admitted her liability.

The United States took the position that France had, in that convention, made satisfaction only for the illegal or irregular acts committed in her own ports: and that no demand had been made on her for prizes carried into Spanish ports. The Spanish government produced

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On the 13th of November, '97, Victor Hughes and Le Bas, special agents to the Windward Islands, made the following decree: "Several Americans have escaped our vigilance, and that of the tribunal of commerce of Gaudaloupe. The intention of government is to treat them with the severity that their treaty with our enemies has deserved:—decree, 1st. Every American who shall not have a register, sea letter, role d'equipage, invoices and bills of lading; all in order and without contradiction, signed by public officers, shall be deemed a good prize. 2d. Those whose captains and supercargoes are Englishmen by birth, and naturalized since the declaration of war, are to be condemned conformably to the laws. Although all the Americans clear out for Gaudaloupe, the better to deceive us, those shall be declared to be good prizes which shall not be taken in the latitude thereof. The tribunal shall summon officers of the navy, appointed by the rear admiral, to verify

the convention of 1800 in evidence, to show that France therein made satisfaction for *all* captures made under her flag, wherever made and wherever carried. The United States rejected this proof as inadmissable. Spain appealed to the French government, and received for answer, that Spain was not liable, as France had paid the whole. The United States still demurred; and Spain produced a formal certificate from the French government (and also the certificate of three of the first lawyers in the United States, stating their opinion, that such was the legal operation of said convention) confirming the previous declaration—and, it is understood, that France, at the same time, made a similar formal communication to the United States directly. But our government was inflexible: Her minister to Spain, however, in concluding the convention with that power, of August 11th, 1802, agreed to an article which should postpone the consideration of the question till a more convenient period, recognising at the same time the existence of the claim generally, (embracing all captures carried into Spanish ports, without distinguishing those therein condemned or distributed, from those condemned in French ports,) and the mutual rights and pleas in relation to it. Doubtless, this article was drafted from the second article of the convention of 1800 between the United States and France; it was intended to secure a similar object—to hold the foreign government bound to indemnify our citizens for injuries of the same character; and had the same effect and result, to wit: The United States became liable for the claims to her citizens, in consideration of equivalent *national* benefits received from the debtor government.

The convention so formed was rejected by the Senate upon the ground that it contained no specific provision for French captures, nor had Spain in any of her official communications made any declaration or admission from which an acknowledgment of liability could be inferred. But, after the time limited in the instrument for an exchange of ratifications had elapsed, the United States signified its assent to ratify it, but Spain then refused. When the terms of the Florida treaty were agreed on (in December 1818,) the parties ratified said convention, *pro forma*, and immediately thereafter annulled it by an article in said treaty—which was ratified by the United States on the 22d of February, 1819, and by Spain on the 24th of October, 1820; and was promulgated by the President on the 22d of February, 1821.

The numerous communications between the American ministers, Mr. Charles Pinckney and Mr. Monroe, and the Spanish government; and between said ministers and the Secretary of State, preliminary to said convention of 1802—and the subsequent negotiations through their successors, embracing the period from 1802 to 1818, when the convention was ratified by both parties, contains probably one hundred references to the "bargain" (so called by Mr. Madison, Secretary of State,) made with France in the convention with her of 1800—in all of which the ground is maintained, by the United States on the one hand, that France had only therein made satisfaction for the captures carried into her own ports, and by Spain on the other hand, that France had satisfied every capture made under her flag, including those carried into Spain. But *all* these numerous documents either admit or directly avow, that France had satisfied the United States in said convention, for all captures carried into French ports. And the last page of this book contains an official, direct and explicit avowal of the Secretary of State to that effect, to which the reader is referred. In refering to this document it is necessary to explain the declaration contained in it, "that the United States had not demanded of France compensation for prizes carried into Spanish ports by the French," which I regret; because it brings into view the Louisiana convention of 1803, a subject of much interest; and the matters connected with which should be presented separately, as I have concluded to do at a subsequent but early period.

By the 5th article of the convention of 1800, France held herself liable to the United States for "debts" due to her citizens; and the term "debts" was understood to embrace "claims for supplies, embargoes, and captures made at sea *in which the council of prizes had ordered restitution*,"—(excluding indemnity for spoliations, which were confined to the 2d article, and were subsequently given up to France for a consideration that will be explained hereafter.) In the Louisiana Convention of 1803, between the United States and France, the latter set apart twenty millions of francs out of the purchase money, to be distributed among the Ameri-

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the journals of the ship's course, as well as the declaration of the captors. The decision of the said officers of the navy, shall be annexed to the papers of the case, and the tribunal shall pronounce judgment, according to the said declaration and other documents."

The only copy of the above decree which was transmitted to the Department of State, was found on board a French privateer captured by the British and carried into Martinique. Doubtless there were many decrees issued, of which our government never had knowledge. Plunder, and to harrass and distress our commerce, were the sole objects of the agents of the French government, and these could be attained without, as well as by virtue of decrees.

I have given copies or abstracts from all the French decrees within my knowledge, up to the close of the year '97, with a view of exhibiting them as acts of the French government itself, and to enable the reader, from them, to form a just es-

can claimants for "debts;" the liquidations to be made in Paris by an American board, subject to the final and absolute decision of the French government. Soon after said board commenced its labors, the Spanish minister in the United States ascertained the fact, and in defence of his government, used it in argument to the Secretary of State,—that the United States' agent in Paris, had prepared and laid before the said board some of the very claims for French captures, compensation for which had been sought from Spain by the United States —thereby intending to sustain the position always taken by his government, that the convention of 1800 covered *all* French captures. On this information the Secretary of State immediately advised our minister in France, to order the agent of claims to abstain from bringing any such claims into view before said board, as the United States intended to hold Spain accountable for them. But the agent had already submitted to the board with the sanction both of the French government and our minister, several such cases; which were subsequently withdrawn. The peculiar hardship in the cases so withdrawn lies in this:—(I give two cases only as examples.) The Barbara and cargo, of New York, and the Rover and cargo, of Baltimore, had been brought, by the American government agent before the council of prizes with the express intention of determining the fact by its decision, whether they were claims against France or Spain. The council in both cases ordered restitution; which brought the claims for both vessels and cargoes within the character of "debts," and thus threw the responsibility on France; and the French government by express authority directed the claims for said vessels and cargoes to be laid before said board. This reference was in compliance with a form of proceeding stipulated in the convention, and therefore indispensable; but it was form only. The decision of the court was a safe guarantee that the whole claims, with interest, would be allowed and paid, whether the board assented or not; because the French government had the revision of all claims passed upon by the board, whether admitted or rejected, and was interested in pressing every "debt" into the fund stated. But, when the American government expressly declared that it did not make claim *at all* for said vessels and cargoes, and actually withdrew the papers relating to them, it was not possible for the French to proceed further. The withdrawing the claims, under such circumstances, was as effectual a discharge of France as their payment would have been. The order of the Secretary of State to prevent the presentation of said claims; produced the remark in the answer of the agent to the Secretary of State, dated 28th June, 1804, "It is therefore relinquishing a chance almost certain to prevent the case of the Rover (and Barbara) coming before our board of commissioners, and embracing the very precarious one of future negotiations between the United States and Spain, in respect to property captured by French armed vessels and carried into the ports of his Catholic majesty." The two cases stated as withdrawn, were subsequently urged before the commission under the Florida treaty of 1819, and were *rejected* —the first in part, the second in the whole. So that the claimants, without any neglect or misconduct on their part, but solely by the interference of their government, have failed to obtain compensation—notwitstanding the French high court of admiralty had ordered restitution, and the French government was willing to make compensaton. And the inference seems to be irresistable, that the United States is liable, because she has not only acquitted both France and Spain, confessedly for a valuable consideration, but has effectually barred the claimants from any recourse to either of said governments for indemnity.

In the tedious negotiations, at Washington, preliminary to the Florida treaty, the Spanish minister, Don Onis, and the Secretary of State, took the same ground respectively as had been assumed in the negotiations before stated. Finally, the Secretary of State making the recognition and payment of said claims by Spain, a *sine que non* condition, the Spanish minister yielded, on the acceptance of *his* proposition, to insert in the treaty an assurance that the United States had not received from France satisfaction for French captures carried into Spanish ports, and that it should further contain a promise to furnish Spain with an official statement of the said prizes made, and of their true value, that Spain may avail herself of the same, in such manner as she may deem just and proper:"—which statement was evidently in-

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timate of the temper of that government towards ours: viewing them in relation to the claims of the American merchants whose property fell a sacrifice to their operation, they claim but little consideration;* since by the treaty of '78, the French were not allowed to capture our vessels *at all*, under any circumstance whatever—the extreme case of carrying contraband goods to an enemy, would not justify a seizure beyond the contraband goods; and the giving up these at sea, would exonerate the vessel and the residue of the cargo from further molestation.

The depredations committed by the French privateers in the early part of '97, were so numerous and aggravating, and the contemptuous conduct of the French government, in refusing to receive our minister, Mr. Pinckney, so offensive and insulting, that the forbearance of our government was driven to its utmost limit. The President recommended to Congress measures looking to a more serious state of things; and accordingly, in June and July, Congress passed several acts—for prohibiting the exportation of arms and military stores—for the further defence of the ports and harbors of the United States—for authorizing the calling out and arming eighty thousand militia—to man and employ certain frigates—to raise a revenue by a stamp duty, and an additional duty on salt—to borrow eight hundred thousand dollars—to appropriate four hundred thousand dollars for completing certain vessels of war, &c.

While these measures were under discussion in Congress, the Executive Directory in France were occupied with a communication from the commissioners of the republic at St. Domingo, to this effect, which was entered on their Journal—"That having found no resource in finance, and knowing the unfriendly disposition of the Americans, and to avoid perishing in distress, they had armed for cruising: and that already eighty-seven cruisers were at sea; and that, for three months preceding, the administration had subsisted, and individuals been enriched, with the product of their prizes. They felicitated themselves that American vessels were daily taken, and declared they had learnt, by divers persons from the continent, that the Americans were perfidious, corrupt, the friends of England, and that therefore their vessels no longer entered French ports, unless carried in by force." On reading this extraordinary state letter in the council Mr. Pastaret, one of the members, exclaimed, "We should think we had been dreaming; that we had been transported into a savage country, where men, still ignorant of the empire of morals and of laws, commit crimes without shame and without remorse; and applaud themselves for their robberies as Paulus Æmilius or Cato would have praised themselves for an eminent service rendered to their country. Cruisers armed against a friendly nation!! Reprisals, when it is we ourselves who attack!! Reprisals against a nation that has not taken a single ship of ours!! Riches, acquired by the confiscation of the ships of a people to whom we are united by treaties, and whom no declaration of war had

tended to enable Spain to claim over from France. Accordingly said clauses were incorporated into the treaty, and ratified by both parties.

Upon his return to Spain, Don Onis, in 1820, published a "Memoir" in which he sketched his negotiations with the United States, and the effect of the Florida treaty on Spain. He states that the claims of the American citizens upon Spain, which that treaty satisfied, amounted, including interest, to about fifteen millions of dollars, of which sum he estimated eight millions for French captures, "for which France must be responsible to Spain.

When the board of commissioners acting under said treaty had the claims under consideration, the question of allowing *interest* upon them arose, and caused great excitement among the claimants. The Spanish minister, it is understood, made a formal representation on that subject to our government, alleging that it was a matter in which Spain had a direct concern, since she intended to claim over against France for all French captures, and that the rejection of interest by the board (contrary to the intention of Spain, who contemplated interest on all the claims embraced by the treaty) would reduce the claim of Spain for so much.

The answer given by the United States is not known; but the Board did not allow interest. After the board had closed its duties, the certified statement of French captures, required by the treaty, was furnished to the Spanish minister, amounting, as is understood, to about three millions of dollars; and that he again complained, stating that his government had lost several millions of dollars in consequence of the disallowance of interest.

It is not known whether Spain has made a demand on France for the certified three millions. Whatever may be the result, however, it is clear, that the United States has received either from France alone, or from France and Spain collectively, at least the whole sum of French captures made prior to the 30th September, 1800. And hence, the liability on her is complete for their entire discharge.

*Neither the privateers or tribunals respected them, further than interest prompted.

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separated from us!! The whole discourse of the commissioners may be reduced to these words: Having nothing wherewith to buy, I seize; I make myself amends for the property which I want by piracy, which enriches me; and then I slander those whom I have pillaged!! This is robbery, justified by selfishness and calumny." On the reading of another letter from the Journal, from Merlin, the minister of justice, to Mr. Skipwith, consul general of the United States, in which he says, "Let your government break the inconceivable treaty which it concluded on the 19th November, '94, with our most implacable enemies, and the French government will cease to apply in its own favor the regulations in that treaty, which favor England to the injury of France; and I warrant you that we shall not see an appeal to those regulations in any tribunal to support *unjust pretensions*."—"Have I (exclaimed Mr. Pastoret) read this rightly! Unjust pretensions!! Could it be possible that they should thus have been characterised by the minister who is himself their agent and defender!!"

A CLAIMANT.

No. XXIV.

In June, '97, Gen. Charles C. Pinckney, Gen. John Marshall, (now chief justice of the supreme court,) and Eldridge Gerry, were appointed Envoys Extraordinary to France; and their full powers runs thus:—"hereby giving and granting to them, and any, and *each* of them, full power and authority, and also a general and special command, for and in the name of the United States, to meet and confer with the minister's commissioners or deputies, of the French republic, being furnished with the like full powers, whether *separately or jointly*,* and with them to treat, consult, and negotiate, of and concerning all claims and all matters and causes of difference, &c." Their instructions, after referring to the several decrees of the directory and its agents—and the depredations on our commerce runs thus:—"These injuries and depredations will constitute an important subject of your discussions with the government of the French republic, and for all these wrongs you will seek redress. In respect to the depredations on our commerce, the principal objects will be, to agree on an equitable mode of examining and deciding the claims of our citizens, and the manner and periods of making them compensation.† As to the first, the 7th article of the British and the 21st of the Spanish treaty, present approved precedents to be adopted with France. The proposed mode of adjusting those claims, by commissioners appointed on each side, is so perfectly fair, we cannot imagine that it will be refused. But when the claims are adjusted, if payment in specie cannot be obtained, it may be found necessary to agree, in behalf of our citizens, that they shall accept public securities, payable with interest, at such periods as the state of the French finances shall render practicable. These periods you will endeavor, as far as possible, to shorten. Not only the recent depredations, under color of the decrees of the Directory, of the 2d of July, '96, and the 2d of March, '97, or under the decrees of their agents, or the illegal sentences of their Tribunals ‡ but all prior ones, not already satisfactorily adjusted, should be put in this equitable train of settlement. To cancel many or all of the last mentioned claims, might be the effect of the decree of the Executive Directory, of the 2d of March last, reviving the decree of the 9th of May, '93: but this being an *ex post facto* regulation, as well as a violation of the treaty between the United States and France, cannot be obligatory on the former. Indeed, the greater part, probably nearly all the captures and confiscations in question, have been committed in direct violation of that treaty, or of the law of nations. But the injuries arising from the capture of enemies property

* From the documents which will be cited in a future number, it will be found, that Mr. Gerry had an opportunity of settling all our differences with France; but that, while he acknowledged the sincerity of certain repeated French overtures, he reiterated his refusal to treat, upon the sole ground that he was not authorised to negotiate *separately* from his colleagues. By the above extract, however, he was not only so authorised, but under "*special commands*" to treat separately.

† Our government considered the claim for *spoliations* a matter of *account* only, as the principles on which it was founded were unquestionable.

‡ Can there be a doubt that these instructions contemplated a demand on France for all injuries arising out of the acts of her privateers and tribunals, *including those committed in the ports of Spain?*

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in vessels of the United States, may not be very extensive; and if for such captured property, the French government will, agreeably to the law of nations, pay the freight and reasonable demurrage, we shall not, on this account, any further contend. But of ship timber and naval stores, taken and confiscated by the French, they ought to pay the full value, because our citizens continued their traffic in those articles under the faith of the treaty with France. On these two points we ought to expect that the French government will not refuse to do us justice; and the more, because it has not, at any period of the war, expressed its desire that the commercial treaty should in these respects be altered.

Besides the claims of our citizens for depredations on their property, there are many arising from express contracts made with the French government or its agents, or founded on the seizure of their property in French ports. Other claims have arisen from the long detention of a multitude of our vessels in the ports of France. The wrong hereby done to our citizens was acknowledged by the French government, and some, perhaps in most of the cases, small payments towards indemnifications have been made: the residue still remains to be claimed. All these just demands of our citizens will merit your attention. The best possible means of compensation must be attempted. These will depend on what you shall discover to be practicable in relation to the French finances. But an exception must be made in respect to debts due to our citizens by the contracts of the French government and its agents, if they are comprehended in any stipulation; and an option reserved to them, jointly or individually, either to accept the means of payment which you shall stipulate, or to resort to the French government, directly, for the fulfilment of its contracts. Although the reparation for losses sustained by the citizens of the United States, in consequence of irregular or illegal captures or condemnations, or forcible seizures or detentions, is of very high importance, and is to be pressed with the greatest earnestness, yet it is not to be insisted on as an indispensable condition to the proposed treaty. You are not, however, to renounce these claims of our citizens, nor to stipulate that they be assumed by the United States as a loan to the French government." Why not renounce them? Because they were just in fact, and so our government had always regarded them;—they are so styled in terms in these instructions, and the French government itself had explicitly given them that character—by passing decrees of indemnity—by repealing decrees, because they were confessedly in violation of the treaty of '78, and the law of nations; and subsequently, by direct propositions to make satisfaction.

The United States were bound, therefore, to sustain the claims: 1st as the point of honor, because to renounce them would be a derogation from the dignity and character of the nation; 2d, as a point of duty, because every citizen in the performance of lawful acts, is entitled to the protection of the government; and 3d, as a point of interest, since a renunciation of the claims would render the United States liable, to their full amount, to her claiming citizens, under the general principles, that governments never stipulate without equivalents, and the provision in the Constitution, that "private property shall not be taken to the public use without just compensation." Besides, there could arise no necessity for renouncing them without an equivalent; if the French were unable, or even unwilling to satisfy them, we could at least wait their convenience, or notify them that we stood upon our rights—and although existing circumstances induced us to stand aloof from coercive measures, yet we would look forward to a returning sense of justice in the French nation, or till our growing strength should enable us to make her feel the weight of our wrongs. Such a declaration would have been an appeal to the pride and moral sense of that government, and a blot upon its escutcheon, the motive and the power to efface which, being ever present to her view, would doubtless ere long have been applied. It would, moreover, have saved the dignity of our government, and at the same time served as a satisfactory guarantee to our pillaged citizens that their claims would be ultimately paid.

Why the envoys were charged, "not to stipulate that the claims be assumed by the United States as a loan to the French government" is not so distinctly seen. It would appear that, next to a present payment, an acknowledgment of the claims, *as a loan* would have been most desirable, because most obligatory. The French government would more readily make a promise of that kind, redeemable at a future period, than make present payment, if even in her power, which it was not; her pride would dictate that course. Was she even as faithless as her greatest enemy could desire, still her recorded acknowledgment of obligation would have been an object of solicitude on our part, one would imagine, as removing all opportunity

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of equivocation. But if she offered us such an acknowledgment and promise of future payment, upon the ground of present inability—the truth of which was manifest, would not our non-acceptance be some proof of unfriendliness, and want of ordinary confidence on our part? It will be seen that she did make us such offer: that we did not accept it, and that mortification and unfriendly feelings were the consequence.

The instructions are throughout minutely drawn, embracing all matters of difference, and of great length. The points above referred to, with those relating to the guarantee of the West-Indies, are most material to the present purpose; on the latter point I have given in a former number a copious extract—to show the substitute proposed by the United States; and shall therefore content myself now with giving the following brief sentence, viz:—"On the part of the United States, instead of troops and ships of war, it will be convenient to stipulate for a moderate sum of money or quantity of provisions, at the option of France. The provisions to be delivered at our own ports, in any future *defensive* wars. The sum of money, or its value in provisions, ought not to exceed *two hundred thousand dollars a year* during any such wars.

It need hardly be remarked that the above offer, to purchase out the guarantee article alone, at the cost of $200,000 a year, embraces the *prospective* time from '97; leaving all the responsibilities incurred by the United States to France, before that date, under that article and all other articles, to be satisfied in some other shape.

A CLAIMANT.

No. XXV.

As the first part of the correspondence between our Envoys, Messrs. Pinckney, Marshall and Gerry, and the French government, brought into view the *role d'equipage* claims, it is necessary, to a proper understanding of the negotiations, to explain when and how the assumed necessity for our vessels being furnished with such a document originated.

By referring to the abstract of the treaty of '78, given in my 2d number, it will be seen that our vessels should, during any war in which France might be engaged, be furnished with a *passport* in the form therein stated; the object of which was, to establish the national character of the vessel and owner. "And when she shall have shown such passport, shall be free and at liberty to pursue her voyage, so that it shall not be lawful to molest or search her in any manner, or to give her chase, or force her to quit her intended course." The passport referred to is simply an official certificate of the collector of the port, usually called "a clearance," stating the names of the vessel and master, her burthen, the port sailed from and the port of destination, with the captain's oath annexed, to this effect—that the vessel belongs to one or more citizens of the United States; that he will obey and cause his crew to obey the laws of the United States; that he has deposited with the collector a list and designation by name of his crew and of all who shall embark on board her; that he will take no other persons on board without the consent of the collector; that on his arrival at a foreign port, he will shew this permission to the proper officer of the marine, and give a faithful account of what was done during his voyage. No other paper whatever was necessary, or demanded, to prove the nationality of either vessel or cargo, up to the period when the French professed to *punish* us for entering into a treaty with Great Britain. The French Decree of the 2d of March, '97, and the Guadaloupe Decree of the 13th November, '97, are the first notices we had that such a "*role d'equipage*" (crew list) would be required;—the latter does not mention by what authority the role was deemed necessary, and the former simply revives certain French laws of 1681, 1704, 1744, 26th July, 1778, and 14th Feb. 1793, by which neutral vessels should be so documented to shield them from capture and condemnation. To trace the character and bearing of these laws, would be idle; since we are to look for the rule only in the treaty of '78:—and, indeed, worse than idle, since the French have plainly told us, that punishment and plunder, (not a just compliance with the stipulations of the treaty,) were the motives for demanding a role.

On the 30th of April, 97, the French Minister of Marine was charged to give an official opinion on the two points; whether American ships not having on board a role d'equipage are good prize; and 2d, whether in such case the ships *only* are law-

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ful prize. He decided that every vessel without such role is considered *an enemy*, consequently both vessel and cargo are subject to confiscation.

On the 24th of May, '97, the American consul at Alicant, claimed of the French consul at Carthagena, the restoration of six American vessels, which, immediately after sailing from Alicant, bound to the United States *all furnished with roles d'equipage*, were captured by three French privateers and carried into Carthagena. The French consul answered, "You can assert their being in the best order, even as to what regards the role d'equipage, you can require me to deliver them up immediately, and upon my non-compliance you can also protest against me and make me responsible. I will not be deterred from deciding according to the laws which I am charged by the executive directory of my republic to put in execution. They were all condemned. Thus, our vessels were not respected, with or without the role; plunder, and plunder only was the object.

On the 28th of June, '97, Mr. Pinckney wrote to the Secretary of State:—"Mr. Adet arrived at Havre in an American ship without a role d'equipage. I enclose you the remarks of the 'Courier Maritime du Havre' on this circumstance. He infers that Mr. Adet must have been convinced, with all other publicists, that a role d'equipage was not necessary, and that all that was requisite was the passport, conformable to the model annexed to the treaty of '78."

In the case of the American brig John, Scott master, condemned in April, '97, by the tribunal of commerce of Morlaix—(the members of which were charged with being interested in French privateers) for want of a role, the captain appealed to the civil court at Quimper, where the condemnation was reversed on the 22d of August, and the captors subjected to costs of both suits and damages. The court declared expressly, that a role was not necessary, and that the passport found on board in the form prescribed by the treaty of '78, was the only document necessary to establish the ownership and national character of both the vessel and cargo: that the laws of France requiringa role on board neutral ships, are all of earlier date than the treaty, and were by it, so far as regards the United States, virtually repealed. The decree of acquittal enjoins on all civil and military officers to put the sentence into execution, and in case of resistance, (which was anticipated) to call in the armed force. Nevertheless the sentence was not executed, and of course the captain did not obtain his property, which was of great value: the following will show that the government overruled the decision of the court, which act gave the property to the captors.

On the 3d of Nov. '97, the minister of justice made to the executive directory a report, upon a diplomatic case, referred to him in order to establish the principle It was the American ship Royal Captain, in which the want of a role was at issue. The report recites the captain's plea—"that, as the treaty of '78 does not impose upon American vessels the necessity of having a (role d'equipage) crew list, the consuls of that nation have alone the power to examine and censure these (roles) lists." To this plea the judge answers. "*It is true, that the treaty makes no mention of a (role d'equipage) crew list*," &c. Yet he condemned the vessel, avowedly under the laws of France before-mentioned:—which was approved by the directory and established as a rule for all cases. Our ministers informed the Secretary of State, that the above opinion was obtained from the judge at the cost of four thousand *louis* paid by the privateersmen!! Doubtless, the directory also, was not without a suitable reward.

Although the treaty of '78, and the passport annexed thereto, are too explicit to leave the least doubt; yet, I have felt myself warranted in citing the few cases stated, out of the large mass before me, because of the great importance in having this point well understood, as to the practice no less than the rule—not less than three-fourths of all the captures having been made under the plea or pretext referred to. I will only add, that the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and those of other departments, our several ministers, and perhaps every individual of our country, and of any other country who have at any time expressed an opinion upon the subject, agree, that a role d'equipage was not necessary, and that our vessels were not subject to molestation in the absence of such a document.

On the 22d of October, '97, the envoys, Messrs. Pinckney, Marshall and Gerry, wrote to the Secretary of State: "The subject of the role d'equipage, was also mentioned; and we asked what assurance we could have, if France insisted on the right of adding to the stipulations of our treaty, or of altering them by municipal regulations, that any future treaty we could make, should be observed. M. Bellany said, that he did not assert the principle of changing treaties by municipal regula-

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tions, but, that the directory considered its regulations concerning the role d'equipage, as comporting with the treaty. We observed to him, that none of our vessels had what the French termed a role d'equipage; and that, if we were to surrender all the property which had been taken from our citizens, in cases where their vessels were not furnished with such a role, *the government would be responsible to its citizens for the property so surrendered;** since it would be impossible to undertake to assert that there was any plausibility in the allegation that our treaty required a role de' oquipage."

A CLAIMANT.

P. S.—On the 20th December, '97, the envoys wrote to Mr. Skipwith, consul general of the United States at Paris,—"Although we have very little hope that a certificate of the seamen and passengers on board can be of any service to our oppressed and injured commerce, yet we think it advisable to give such certificates if requested; we conceive that no injury can result from it, and we are more inclined to advise it, as such a practice has, we understand, prevailed in some of the ports of the United States, and although we give this opinion we deem it unquestionable that our treaty with France dispenses with the necessity of any such paper, and, therefore, care must be taken to avoid any expression which might be construed to imply such necessity."

No. XXVI.

On the 12th October, '97, Gen. Marshall, one of the envoys, wrote to the Secretary of State—"Some of the owners of privateers have been in Paris since our arrival, and I think it not improbable that their object has been to exert their influence, which, unfortunately, is very considerable, to prevent any accommodation which may rescue from them the specie they have not yet received. I greatly fear they will be successful. It is said that Merlin, when minister of justice, received four thousand louis from the owners of privateers for the direction concerning the role d'equipage: and it is said publicly by them that money influences the tribunals. However this may be I am entirely persuaded that the courts, even in the last resort are political, and will carry into effect the will of the directory without any respect to its legality. This is ensured on by the nice appointments made since the last revolution. The members of the tribunals who judge, in the first instance, are, generally speaking, themselves the captors. It is notorious that a greater number of privateers are now fitting out than have been employed in any former period of the war: and the government is consigning to the merchants the national ships of war for the purpose of cruising."

On the 22d of October, '97, the envoys wrote to the Secretary of State,—Mr. Duclos, the advocate employed in behalf of the owners of the American vessels who have appealed in the last resort to the tribunals of cassation, informs that, notwithstanding all the arguments he made use of to the reporter and commissary of the Executive Directory, to put off the hearing of the Rosanna, as a diplomatic case, till the issue of our negotiations is known, that case is set down for hearing and will come on the 29th or 30th instant, The same advocate also says that it is obvious that the tribunal have received instructions from the officers of the government to hasten their decisions, and that it was hardly worth while to plead, for all our petitions in cassasion would be rejected."

As the laws authorising the captures were themselves violations both of the treaty with us and of the law of nations; as the judges were the captors, as the high courts and the directory itself were by *bribery*, influenced to establish a rule which would inevitably condemn all our vessels, and as all the cases of appeal were rejected with a manifest determination to reject all others—the conclusion seems irresistible that the claimants were no longer bound to appeal to the courts, but

*It is submitted to the sense and candor of the reader, whether, when subsequently, the United States *voluntarily* surrendered these claims to France *for a valuable consideration*, the individual sufferers, in demanding indemnity from the United States, are not entitled to the benefit of the testimony and opinion herein expressed of Gen. Pinckney, Chief Justice Marshall and Elbridge Gerry:—and if they are so entitled, whether any further testimony should be required?

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were at liberty to seek redress from the sovereign *directly*. On the 8th November, '97, the envoys transmitted to the Secretary of State several French propositions, and the envoys answers thereto, from these the following are extracted:

French propositions.	*Envoys answers.*
2d. "There shall be named a commission of five members agreeably to a form to be established for the purpose of deciding upon the reclamation of the Americans relative to the prizes made on them by the French privateers.	2d. "On this article it is believed there can be no disagreement.
3d. The American envoys will engage that their government shall pay the indemnifications, or the amount of the sums already decreed to the American creditors of the French republic, and those which shall be adjudged to the claimants by the commissioners. This payment shall be made under the name of an advance to the French republic, who shall repay it in a time and manner to be agreed upon.	3d. This article, as explained, would oblige the United States to advance, not to their own citizens, but to the government of France,* sums equivalent to the depredations made by the coarsairs of the republic on the American commerce, and to the contracts made with their citizens by France; and this advance, instead of benefitting the citizens of the United States would leave them precisely what they are, the creditors of the French republic; the more extensive the depredations and the more considerable the contracts uncomplied with, the more would the government of France receive from the United States. Independent of these objections, the ministers of the United States cannot engage to assume, in any form, the debts due from France to their fellow citizens; they have no such power.
4th. One of the American envoys shall return to America to demand of his government the necessary powers to purchase, for cash, the thirty two millions of Dutch rescriptions, belonging to the French republic, in case the envoys should conclude a treaty which shall be approved by the two nations."	4th. If the negotiations be opened and the proposition for a loan, or any other proposition exceeding the powers of the Ministers be made, the government of the United States will be consulted thereon with expedition."

Viewing the above propositions in relation to the existing state of affairs in France, they may be regarded as very favorable to the claimants.

France was certainly unable to pay our claims promptly, as is fully proved through various sources, some of which have been already referred to. Her promise of future payment, therefore, was all that her means justified her in offering, and the proposition to give that promise the highest character of obligation—a loan, with the pledge of the public faith for its redemption, was at least some proof of sincerity.

With regard to the 4th proposition, it will be perceived, that the purchase proposed is upon the condition, that a treaty shall be concluded satisfactory to the United States. And it will also be perceived that the envoys answer, places the *considering* of the proposition conditional on the opening of general negotiations. This brings into view the leading objects of the two governments. First, France was greatly in want of money, and proposes to pay for spoliations, at a future period (but the liquidations to be made forthwith) with interest, probably then amounting to from ten to fifteen millions of dollars, provided, the United States will purchase with ready money thirty-two millions of Dutch stock, then worth about six

* This difficulty was subsequently removed by Mr. Talleyrand's proposing as a modification that the payments should be made by the American government to its own citizens *directly*. Had this been accepted, the claimants would have been then paid, or at least held our government securities bearing interest—which would have been convertable into active means at all times, and our government would have held French securities, bearing interest for the like sum; so that the entire claims would have been discharged without any advance of money on either side, and ultimately the redemption of the securities fallen upon France alone. The envoys declined the proposition, as their instructions expressly charged them "not to stipulate that the claims be assumed by the United States as a loan to the French government." The French regarded this decision as unfriendly; and the reasons assigned by the envoys that such an assumption by the United States would be offensive to England, and be considered a breach of neutrality, was not calculated to allay such impressions.

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millions of dollars. Upon the other hand, the United States had for its leading object, to open the negotiations with a view to the revision of the treaties with France, in regard to which the instructions to the envoys state, "The first object that will attract your attention is the reciprocal guarantee in the treaty of alliance" which, as before shewn, they were authorized to reduce into a stipulation to pay to France 200,000 dollars a year during any defensive war in which France might be engaged. The two governments, therefore, having national objects of great magnitude to attain, were encumbered with their own difficulties, and not with the spoliations, about which there was no dispute, except as to the mode of payment: and even this was soon after reconciled, in the further proposition of M. Talleyrand, as follows: "The first arrangement [the purchase of the Dutch stock, now reduced to sixteen millions of florins, but held at par] being made, the French government will take measures for reimbursing the equitable demands of America, arising from prizes, and to give free navigation to their ships in future." But the envoys were inflexible, and in consequence they were not received by the French government but were treated with great disrespect. During the informal conferences, however, it was proposed to them, to include in the contemplated treaty, a provision in favor of M. de Beaumarchais, for his claim then pending against the state of Virginia. In communicating this circumstance to the Secretary of State, General Marshall adds: "Having been originally the counsel of M. de Beaumarchais, I had determined, and so I informed General Pinckney, that I would not, by my voice, establish any agreement in his favor; but that I would positively oppose any admission of the claim of any French citizen, if not accompanied with the admission of the claims of the American citizens of property captured and condemned for want of a role d'equipage. My reason for conceiving that this [the role d'equipage claim] ought to be stipulated expressly, was a conviction, that, if it was referred to commissioners, it would be committing absolutely to chance, as complete a right as any individuals ever possessed."

Relying upon the soundness of the above opinion, with the facts and opinions stated in my last number, I conclude that the claims in the role d'equipage cases (making three-fourths of the whole number at issue,) are established to be both just and legal. If these claims were just and legal, as against France, and the United States surrendered them for a public consideration, as shall be hereafter shown, I take it for granted that the United States will, in this respect, stand in the shoes of France and be in the like degree responsible to the individual sufferers:—not as favor, or by compromise, but of *right*.

A CLAIMANT.

No. XXVII.

For some months after the arrival of the envoys at Paris, there were various propositions made to them, and arguments used, by persons representing themselves to be secret agents of the French government; and in consequence the envoy's communications to the Secretary of State, designated them by the letters X. Y. Z. They were on many occasions recognized by Mr. Talleyrand as acting with his authority, and he gave the envoys to understand, that "their representations might be always relied on"—they accompanied the envoys to the minister several times, at his instance. But he afterwards found it convenient to deny having any knowledge of them. The leading objects with these agents were, to obtain the consent of the envoys to make a *douceur* of £50,000 sterling, for the Directory, and a loan to the government—these being adjusted, their reception would be the consequence, as also a satisfactory arrangement of the American claims. No doubt they had the further objects, to sound the political principles of the envoys, the extent of their powers, &c.—this mode of proceeding being quite common in France at that time. After countenancing these agents for some time, the envoys found it necessary to decline any further informal discussions with them.

On the 17th Jan. '98, the envoys addressed a letter to the minister of foreign affairs, M. Talleyrand, detailing the complaints of the United States. 1st—The seizures under the decree of the 9th May, '93. 2d—The detention of our vessels under the Bordeaux embargo. 3d—The non-payment of Bills and other evidences of debts due, drawn by the colonial administrations in the West-Indies. 4th—The non-payment for cargoes appropriated to the public use by force. 5th—The non-payment for supplies furnished under contracts—All these had been specially re-

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cognized by the French government, and by a decree ordered to be liquidated and paid, which had been very partially executed. 'They pass to complaints still more important for their amount, more interesting in their nature, and more serious in their consequences"—referring to the captures made under the several decrees, which they designate, and make copious remarks on each, particularly those relating to the modification of our treaty of '78 to meet the British treaty of '94, and requiring a role d'equipage; the latter as the most direct deviation from the established rules, and most serious in its consequences.

On the 18th Jan. '98, the following decree was published in Paris:

Art. 1. "The character of vessels, relative to their quality of neuter or enemy, shall be determined by their cargo; in consequence, every vessel found at sea, loaded in whole or in part with merchandize, the production of England or of her possessions, shall be declared good prize, whoever the owner of these goods or merchandize may be. Art. 2d. Every foreign vessel which, in the course of her voyage, shall have entered into an English port, shall not be admitted into a port of the French republic, except in case of necessity; in which case she shall be bound to depart from the said port as soon as the causes of her entry shall have ceased."

On the — day of January the envoys addressed a second letter to the minister of foreign affairs, remonstrating in strong terms against this violent decree, and declaring "their conviction, that, under existing circumstances, the demands of France render it entirely impracticable to effect the object of their mission. They now request that passports for leaving France may be furnished them." This letter Mr. Gerry refused to sign, but his reasons are not stated. The demands referred to, no doubt relate to the loan to France before proposed; and which was again and again pressed in conferences held with the minister.

On the 18th of March, '98, M. Talleyrand made his first formal written communication to the envoys, in which he detailed at great length the complaints of France. 1st. That the envoys did not bring with them the disposition and temper of the people of the two nations. 2d. That the priority of complaint is with France, which had been brought to the notice of the American government repeatedly, and long before it had any cause of complaint against France. 3d. That the exposition of complaints made by the envoys, "as partial as unfaithful," would make it appear, that the French republic has no real grievance, no legitimate reparation to demand, whilst the United States should alone have a right to complain, should alone be entitled to compensation. 4th. The inexecution of treaties and other items mentioned in the letter of Mr. De la Croix to Mr. Monroe, dated March 9, '96, and the letter of Mr. Adet to the Secretary of State, dated Nov. 15, '96. 5th. That the courts of the United States took cognizance of the validity of French prizes, contrary to the letter of the treaty of '78, which caused the detention of French property and totally discouraged French cruising in the American seas. 6th. That the United States permitted enemy's vessels, contrary to the literal meaning of the above treaty, to put into the ports of the United States after having captured the property and ships belonging to French citizens. 7th. The seizure of the national corvette Le Cassius and her commander. 8th. The arrest of the governor of Gaudaloupe. 9th. The refusal of the United States to furnish French consuls and agents with the legal means to carry into effect the consular convention of 1778. 10th. The reference to the courts of the United States of matters in dispute, while the United States modified the exercise of the powers of the courts, as suited to the system of the government. 11th. The claiming as of right, the non-fulfilment of the guarantee of the French West Indies. 12th. That the French government was kept in false security in relation to Mr. Jay's mission to England, while at the very time France was redoubling her regards for her ally. 13th. That when the French agents complained of the mysterious conduct of the United States, in relation to Mr. Jay's treaty, they were answered by an appeal to the independence of the United States solemnly sanctioned by the treaty of '78. 14th. That the treaty with England of '94, has turned the neutrality of the United States to the disadvantage of France, and the advantage of England, that concessions have been therein made to Great Britain, incompatible with the interest of the United States, and derogatory to the alliance with France. 15th. That from the moment the English treaty was made, the United States seemed to feel itself freed from the necessity of keeping any measures with France, notwithstanding the reiterated assurances which had been given to its ministers, that the treaty would in no respect change the pre-existing state of neutrality of the United States; yet, in '96, notice was given to the French cruisers, that they could no longer, as had till then been practised, be permitted to sell their prizes in the

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ports of the United States; and this decision was founded upon the English treaty of '94. 16th. That the President, in his message to Congress of '97, denounced the Executive Directory as endeavoring to propagate anarchy and division in the United States. 17th. That the instructions under which the envoys have acted, have not been drawn up with the sincere intention of obtaining pacific results. 18th. That the United States has sent envoys whose opinions and connections are too well known to hope from them dispositions sincerely conciliatory; while a contrary spirit is manifested in relation to England.

The letter then declares the willingness of the Directory to treat with one of the envoys whose opinions are presumed to be more impartial, "to which no serious objections can be made, as they are authorized to treat separately or jointly."

In the answer of the envoys, (without date) which is of great length, *most* of the complaints mentioned in the ministers letter of 18th march, were replied to—and they add, "The undersigned however, declared, and they still declare, that if the government of the United States has given any just cause of complaint to that of France, in any case, they are ready to consider and compensate the injury; that negotiation, the opening of which they have for nearly six months unremittingly solicited, and patiently attended, would, if entered upon, demonstrate the sincerity of this declaration." They recapitulate the complaints of the United States upon France; and they decline the proposition to treat with one of the envoys, upon the ground that neither is authorized by their powers and instructions to treat *separately*—and again ask for passports to leave France, with letters of safe conduct to shield the vessels in which they may respectively sail from the cruisers of France.

Mr. Marshall and Mr. Pinckney returned to the United States, leaving Mr. Gerry in Paris: The French government having chosen him out of the commission to treat with,—he remonstrated very earnestly against this arrangement, declared he had no power to treat separately, and would not treat: but M. Talleyrand holding out to him that war would probably immediately follow if he withdrew, induced him to remain. Before Mr. Marshall and Mr. Pinckney left France, a letter of recal from the Secretary of State had been received, dated the 23d of March, '98,—it states, "that if, on the receipt of this letter, you shall not have been received, or, whether received or not, if you shall not be in treaty with persons duly authorized by the Directory, with full and equal powers, you are to demand your passports and return." The letter intimates that the President considered them as having quitted France long before its date, and after directing them to break off the negotiation, if in treaty and a design is discovered to procrastinate, it adds, "For you will consider that *suspense* is ruinous to the essential interests of your country."

After the arrival at Philadelphia of General Marshall, the Secretary of State wrote to Mr. Gerry on the 25th June, '98, stating that the letter of recal of 23d March, had been dispatched by six several conveyances, one of which was an express boat, and directed him, if the present letter should find him in France, to consider it a positive recal. *without regard to the disposition of France or the state of negotiations.* Before Mr. Gerry received this letter, however, he had been frequently and earnestly importuned by M. Talleyrand to enter upon the necessary negotiations, and these overtures were repeated in a manner and to an extent that satisfied Mr. Gerry himself that they were made with sincerity. M. Talleyrand's first letter to Mr. Gerry, of June 10th, '98, manifests a disposition to now unfold his views with frankness, he says, "The French republic desires to be restored to the rights which its treaties with your republic confer upon it, and through those means it desires to assure yours. You claim indemnities; it equally demands them; and this disposition being as sincere on the part of the government of the United States, as it is on its part, will speedily remove all difficulties. It remains for me to ask you, sir, whether you are at length in a situation to proceed towards this important object." It is proper to remark that after Mr. Marshall and Mr. Pinckney left France, there was no further proposition for a *douceur* or a loan—Mr. Gerry says expressly that he did not hear one word on the subject of money in any shape.

A CLAIMANT.

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No. XXVIII.

On the 18th of June, '98, M. Talleyrand wrote a second letter to Mr. Gerry, in which he says, "All negotiations between France and the United States must essentially rest upon three principal points. 1st.—Frank and amicable declarations concerning certain circumstances which malevolence has and may yet misrepresent. 2d.—Fixing the meaning of certain articles of the treaties between the two countries, and the absolute enjoyment of the rights which flow from them." He then remarks upon the articles in the consular convention of 1788, relative to deserters and to the jurisdiction of consuls, and adds, "these have been completely null by interpretations foreign to them. It is necessary to perfect them. By the 6th article of the treaty of alliance, France has renounced the Bermudas, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Canada, in other words, it has renounced the procuring for itself one of the ports which would have been so necessary for it to possess for the protection of its sugar Islands. It devoted, in preference, the effort of its arms to the defence of the United States. It was understood that it would find proportionate advantages in their ports. One of these advantages is found implicitly in the 17th article of the treaty of commerce. The French ships, public and private, may freely enter into the American ports with the prizes which they may take. The ships, public and private, of the enemies of France who may take prizes from it, shall not, on the contrary, have any asylum in those ports. Such is the literal sense: such is the intended sense. Does good faith permit a distinction between the vessels of the enemies of France who leave their prizes without the port and those who come in with them. Can it be decided that the latter only should be excluded without evidently violating the clause of the treaty, which is the most important to France? Can it be invalidated by subsequent engagements? Doubtless not. In virtue of the same 17th article no authority whatever of the United States is permitted to interfere with the prizes taken by the French ships, public and private. The captains are bound only to show their commissions, because it is necessary to be able to distinguish the pirate from authorised vessels." He admits the right in the United States to release vessels captured within their jurisdiction, but he insists on the right being in France (in virtue of the 17th and 22d articles of the treaty of commerce, and is so recognised and acknowledged in the treaty between the United States and Holland, of October 1782, article 22d) to introduce and sell her prizes and to change the armament of cruisers in the ports of the United States; and he insists on modifying the treaty of '78, to meet that of Great Britain of '94, as of right under the 2d article of the former treaty. And the third point, "The impartial examination of the damages which have resulted from the deviation from the treaties of '78." He refers to the decree of Nov. 15th, '96, as unfolding for the last time the complaints of France after having exhausted itself in fruitless representations:—And adds, "the present complaints of the United States might have been prevented if those of the French government had been attended to. The complaints which the United States now make, are, in fine, only the consequences of a state of things which has cost the French republic and its citizens the most considerable damages. The French government nevertheless has not ceased to offer the exact justice which it demands. It has never refused, and never will refuse, to enter into discussion upon every proper subject. Although it [the treaty of '78] be reciprocal upon the whole, some provisions are more specially applicable to the fixed position of the United States; and others have allusion only to the eventual position of France. The latter has stipulated few advantages, advantages which do not in any respect injure the United States, and the lawfulness of which no foreign nation can contest. *The French nation will never renounce them.*"

Mr. Gerry's answer is entirely evasive: he declared that he had no powers, he would not apply for them, nor would he act if they were even tendered to him by his government. He renewed his demand for passports.

On the 27th June, '98, M. Talleyrand wrote a third letter to Mr. Gerry in which he charges the President with having concealed from Congress the fact that the directory had determined to treat with him separate from his colleagues. He again pressed Mr. Gerry still more earnestly to negotiate, and appealed to his love of country and his desire to establish reconciliation—"I may almost venture to say that it is your duty." He refers to the third point mentioned in his letter of the 18th June, and says, "The first point will take but little time, *and may be postponed*—The third point [relating to the spoliations] *will doubtless experience no diffi-*

culty on either side, after the second shall be amicably settled. It is to the second therefore that we should first attend; and it is so much the more important as it embraces the source of all our difficulties. A calm and candid discussion will successively clear up every article of them. I do not see that the voluminous discussions which have been entered into at Philadelphia have shed any light upon it. They have rather contributed to set up the passions in the seat of reason. Ours shall always be followed by a conclusion either in the cessasion or admission of the right reclaimed, It is necessary in order to effect the act declaratory of the meaning of our treaties. As to the eventual arbitrament of a third power I do not know whether the United States have sometimes had recourse to it. The French republic has never experienced the want of it; and I am persuaded that on this particular occasion it will readily come to an understanding with the United States if they are determined to be just towards it as it desires to be towards them." He enclosed a note on the consular convention in relation to deserters, which is in the order stated under the 2d point.

Mr. Gerry's answer is again evasive, and renews his demand of passports.

On the 6th July, M. Talleyrand wrote a fourth letter to Mr. Gerry, in which he says, "I will not retrace the causes which have prevented the envoys collectively from attaining the most complete success: but I will affirm, that they are foreign to the French government and that, in any state of the cause, it depends upon you to fulfil the expectation of the two countries." He again presses Mr. Gerry to negotiate, and encloses two notes on the consular convention.

Mr. Gerry answers evasively and tartly, and peremptorily demands passports.

On the 12th July, M. Talleyrand wrote a fifth letter to Mr. Gerry, in which he says, "It is in your character of envoy of the American government that I received you, and wrote to you it depended upon yourself to be publicly received by the Executive Directory." He recapitulated his several and earnest solicitations that Mr. Gerry would remain in France, and consummate the work of reconciliation—and as passports were peremptorily demanded, he enclosed them, adding, "may you return to the United States, and the communication of what has passed between us, since you have solely represented your government, remove there the injurious opinion of hostile intentions on the part of France, you have often repeated to me, since you pressed your departure, that, if you could not treat here as an envoy, your good offices in the United States should not be spared as a citizen. You have it not in your power to render to the two countries a more signal service, than by contributing to make their political and commercial relations accord with their inclination and interest.—Assure your government, that the Executive Directory perseveres in the intention of conciliating with sincerity the differences which have arisen between the French republic and the United States, as soon as an opportunity for that purpose shall be sincerely presented. If it be really true, that the dispositions of your government correspond therewith, let it give a proof, and you may answer beforehand for the success. You cannot dissemble, sir, that if nothing prevented you from pursuing with me the examining and reconciling of the grievances which divide the two countries, we should not long stand in need of any thing but the respective ratifications. You have not even given me an opportunity of proving what liberality the Executive Directory would use on the occasion. You never wrote, in fact, but for your departure. And it is the French republic which is accused in the United States with not wishing for peace!" He then briefly runs over the complaints of France, particularly those connected with Mr. Jay's treaty, and says—"The French government never interferes in them: it reposes upon the hope that their own interest would lead the United States to perceive that England was drawing them within its vortex. Far from taking a hostile attitude, it affects indifference in order to show itself patient with dignity. The crowd of complaints which it receives, obliges it finally to change this line of conduct. It causes its grievances to be declared on the 15th November, '96, [alluding to the decree of that date, modifying the treaty of '78, to meet Mr. Jay's treaty, and requiring a role d'equipage] and in order to produce a negotiation, too long delayed, it draws from the treaties of Paris and of London, the most suitable means of hastening it. It is animated by no view of aggression, by no hostile intention. In order to obtain from the United States some degree of justice, it places them in a situation to be obliged to demand an arrangement themselves. Let us now see whether it has rejected any honorable propositions.—Mr. Pinckney had departed before the declaration of the 15th November, '96, which suspended the customary relations. He came to succeed Mr. Monroe, and like him, to ex-

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plain and palliate the conduct of the United States, without any special power for the negotiation demanded by France. He could not be received, because he was not in a situation to fulfil the conditions required, upon the resumption of political connexions. The President of the United States thought it his duty to call an extraordinary meeting of the legislature. I shall not review the opening speech, nor the turn which the debates took in that session. But I will say, that the impression which resulted therefrom, at Paris, was unfavorable previous to the arrival of the envoys: that this circumstance alone raised an obstacle which ought to have been foreseen at Philadelphia, that the envoys themselves, unwilling to comprehend the natural effect of this kind of provocation, have contributed to render the impression more durable. It has finally, however, yielded to the primitive desire of a sincere reconciliation. You find a proof of it in the very expedient suggested, of treating with you separately; for a government hostilely disposed would not have taken the delicate course which guards its honor and fulfils its pacific intentions. You have given me to understand, sir, that it would have been well had the Executive Directory supported the declarations which I have made in its name, by a change in the measures which affect the commerce of the United States. I might answer you, that your government might have also secured its object by restoring at first the French republic to the rights which flow from treaties. But let us exact less rigidly, and be more equitable towards each other. Although the measures of France are no more than the consequences of those of the United States, you must have remarked, that in my propositions of the 18th June, the intention of the Executive Directory is, that the respective pretentions may be *collaterally examined and adjusted.* It intends to place in a single act, a durable monument of the future friendship of the two republics, and the justice which they owe to each other, and no idea of false glory enters its mind. On taking leave of you, sir, I have supposed that I owed you a testimony of my esteem: it consists altogether in the unreservedness with which I have just spoken to you, and in the expression of the regret which your departure, under the present circumstances, gives me."

The correspondence between M. Talleyrand and Mr. Gerry, presents a curious spectacle, of impartiality on the one hand, and evasion on the other. It cannot be doubted that Mr. Gerry might have obtained, if not the object desired by the United States, at least such admissions and acknowledgments, as would have resulted in a speedy satisfaction and reconciliation. Mr. Gerry's purity has not been questioned; but the timidity he evinced on all occasions is conclusive of his total unfitness for such a mission. He was, it is true, placed in a situation of real embarrassment, having the Secretary of State's positive recal in his pocket, regardless of his feelings or the state of negotiations in which that recal might find him. But he would have been more than justified in remaining in France; first, because his government did not know the existing state of things; and second, because the French having declared that they would consider as official and binding their communications to him, while his communications should be regarded as the acts of a private gentleman, without being obligatory on his government—added to the fact, established by himself, that the French were sincere in their overtures, which were amicable and liberal, he run no hazard whatever of commitment. The zeal to withdraw him from France, and the panic under which he seems to have labored, are alike matters of regret since there could not be desired a more favorable opportunity to settle our differences, which was more than lost, inasmuch as unfavorable impressions of the temper of the United States were substituted.

A CLAIMANT.

No. XXIX.

On the 15th July '98, M. Talleyrand wrote to Mr. Gerry the following postscript to his letter of 12th July. "A circumstance, sir, of infinite importance, has delayed the despatching of this letter. I do not know how it happens, that at every step towards a reconciliation, a cause of irritation intervenes, and that the United States always gives rise to it. Some days since, different advices were successively received by the Executive Directory. It seems that, hurried beyond every limit, your government no longer preserves appearances. A law of the 7th of last month, authorizes it to cause every French vessel of war to be attacked which may

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have stopped, or *intended* to stop, American vessels. A resolution of the House of Representatives suspends, from the 13th of this month, all commercial relations with the French republic and its possessions. Several plans of a law have been proposed for banishing the French and sequestering French property. The long suffering of the Executive Directory is about to manifest itself in the most unquestionable manner. Perfidy will no longer be able to throw a veil over the pacific dispositions, which it has never ceased to manifest. It is at the very moment of this fresh provocation, which would appear to leave no honorable choice but war, that it confirms the assurance which I have given to you on its behalf. In the present crisis, it confined itself to a measure of security and self preservation, by laying a temporary embargo on American vessels, with a reserve of indemnities, if there be occasion for them. It is yet ready, it is as much disposed as ever, to terminate, by a candid negotiation, the differences which subsist between the two countries. Such is its repugnance to consider the United States as enemies, that, notwithstanding their hostile demonstrations, it means to wait until it be irresistibly forced to it by real hostilities. Since you will depart, sir, hasten at least to transmit to your government this solemn declaration."

On the 20th of July, Mr. Gerry, in answer to M. Talleyrand, after recapitulating the negotiation had with him, including the early demand of a loan, says, "At length the Sophia arrived [the vessel in which Mr. G. intended to return,] and a few days afterward, you informed me, that I might make myself quite easy, that France did not wish a war with the United States, that she had no thought of it, that the American affairs were before the Executive Directory, and that every thing would be arranged to my wishes. Thus were matters circumstanced until the arrival of the Gazettes, containing the despatches of the envoys to their government, [the X. Y. and Z. correspondence] which gave more than a momentary turn to your correspondence with me. You was the first, you affirm, to press seriously the negotiation: you will agree with me, that the merit would have been *greater*, had the measure itself been *feasible*. A preliminary measure appears to be requisite, in which the dignity of this government is as deeply concerned, as the interest of the United States, The depredations, outrages and cruelties, committed on our commerce and citizens, in the West Indies and on our coasts, by French privateers, some of which it is said have no commission, are perhaps seldom parallelled amongst civilized nations. It is said that this government has not been early apprized of these events, which have been a great source of irritation in the United States, and a principal cause of the repressive measures adopted by them. A recal of the commissions of the privateers and restraining them by severe penalties to the proper objects of capture, cannot fail to have a happy effect."

On the 22d of July M. Talleyrand wrote in answer to Mr. Gerry—"A negotiation may therefore be resumed even at Paris, where I flatter myself you have observed nothing but testimonies of esteem, and where every envoy who shall unite your advantages, cannot fail to be well received. Moreover, I know not, sir, why you tell me that it would be requisite to lop from this negotiation, every preliminary respecting a loan, and explanation on the subject of the speeches delivered. Be pleased to read over again the proposition which I transmitted to you on the 18th of June, they contain all the ideas of the French government, and you will not find in them a word which justifies your recurring to those two questions. An odious intrigue had got possession of them: the dignity of the French government could not permit this mixture: and it did not wish that views as pure as its own, should be associated therewith hereafter. As to the preliminary measures, which you suggest, sir, the government has already anticipated your desire. By information which it has just received, it indeed learns that violences have been committed upon the commerce and citizens of the United States, in the West Indies, and on their coasts. Do it the justice to believe, that it needs only to know the facts, to disavow all acts contrary to the laws of the republic and its own decrees. A remedy is preparing for it, and orders will soon arrive in the West Indies, calculated to cause every thing to return within its just limits, until an amicable arrangement between France and the United States shall re-establish them respectively in the enjoyment of their treaties. This period, sir, cannot be too near at hand. I do not cease to regret, that you should refuse yourself the accelerating of it, by yielding to circumstances, persuaded as I ever am, that you were fully authorized." And on the 3d of August, he again wrote,—"Presuming, sir, that you have not yet embarked, I address to you a decree of the Executive Directory, wherein you will find a part of the measures, which I announced to you the 4th of this month. Its solicitude will not

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be confined to that, neutrals in general, will have reason soon to be convinced of its firm attachment to the principles to which it is desirous that all maritime nations might agree. It depends upon the United States in particular, to cause every misunderstanding immediately to disappear between them and the French republic."

French decree of July 31, '98. "Considering that information recently received from the French colonies and the continent of America leave no room to doubt, that French cruisers, or such as call themselves French, have infringed the laws of the republic relative to cruising and prizes: Considering that foreigners and pirates have abused the latitudes allowed at Cayenne, and in the West India Islands, to vessels fitted out for cruising or for war and commerce, in order to cover with the French flag their extortions, and the violations of the respect due to the law of nations, and to the persons and property of allies and neutrals. Decrees: Art. 1st. Hereafter no letters of marque, authorizations or permissions to fit out vessels either for cruising, or for war and commerce, shall be issued in the colonies of America, but by the special agents of the Directory themselves, who shall not delegate that power to any one: they shall not exercise it only in form of owners of vessels whose principles and responsibility are well known to them; and they shall be bound to conform themselves to all the laws relative to cruising and prizes, and especially to those of the 1st of October, '93. Art. 2d. All letters of marque, &c. granted in the colonies of America by the particular agents of the Executive Directory, and all other agents civil and military, under their orders, to fit out vessels either for cruising or for war and commerce, shall be considered as not having been done, after the thirteenth day from the publication of the present decree in the said colonies. Art. 3. All agents and other deputies in the neutral possessions, appointed to decide there upon the validity of prizes taken by the French cruisers, and who shall be suspected of having a direct or indirect interest in the vessels fitted out for cruising, or for war and commerce, shall be immediately recalled. Art. 4. The special agents of the Executive Directory at Cayenne, St. Domingo and Gaudaloupe, shall studiously take care that the interests and property of vessels belonging to neutrals or allies, be scrupulously respected, and they shall in no case bargain for their cargoes, but by mutual consent and to the full and entire satisfaction of the contracting parties. Art. 5. The said special agents, the commanders of all vessels of the republic, the consuls, vice-consuls, and all others invested with powers for that purpose, shall cause to be arrested and punished, conformably to the laws, all those who shall contravene the provisions of the present decree, which shall be printed in the bulletin of the laws, and until the execution of which the ministers of foreign relations and of the marine and the colonies are charged."

A few days before Mr. Gerry left France, the Dutch minister, by order of his government, and just after a conference with M. Talleyrand on the subject, offered the mediation of his government, and intimated the wish that Mr. G. should remain in France until the United States should decide on the proposition; which he declined.

On the arrival of Mr. Gerry in the United States, he made a full communication of his proceedings to the Secretary of State, dated the 1st of October, '98, from which the following extracts are taken. On the 4th of February, the minister, by order of the Executive Directory, proposed that I should treat separately, the circumstances thereof, and of my refusal, are generally detailed in the correspondence enclosed. The minister afterwards desired me by his secretary, to communicate to the other envoys, his proposition for a loan subsequent to the war, which he soon relinquished. On this subject, our first instructions were silent; the last were explicit,* and necessary to determine my judgment." "My detention at Paris gained time, if this was requisite, and could not procrastinate a declaration of war, if the United States were prepared for it. Other considerations had their weight. France at that time was making very formidable preparations, with a professed design, to *overthrow the British government*, and such were the exertions and enthusiasm of her citizens, armies and administration, as to spread a general alarm throughout Great Britain."

If a moiety only of the exertion used to make war had been applied to securing peace, every proper object of the government of the United States would have been most probably obtained. It is not a little remarkable that Mr. Gerry should take

* "In no event is a treaty to be purchased with money, by loan or otherwise. There can be no safety in a treaty so obtained. A loan to the republic would violate our neutrality."

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credit to himself for remaining in France—not to secure peace, but to gain time to declare war, when in fact he forced himself away, and would not listen to the repeated overtures made by the French government. The contemplated attempt on Great Britain, pointed out the moment as the most favorable for negotiation that any minister could have desired; but he does not say that he attempted any thing at any time, formal or informal, except to get away, and to this object all his energies were directed.

"At our next interview, on the 28th of April, the minister informed me that he could not comply with my proposals; (to come forward with propositions for a reconciliation, and to release me from my confinement) not knowing the views of the United States in regard to a treaty. To remove this obstacle, I gave the information, and in it the fullest extent, to the claims of the American citizens against France, *but I was silent with respect to the guaranty of the 11th article of the treaty of alliance*, and to what relates to the Barbary Powers; and left it with him in the first instance, to provide for a liberal commerce to the French colonies in the East and West Indies, and to express the views of France in regard to the proposed treaty. We afterwards conferred on the necessity of sending a French minister to the United States; and he proposed to deliver me, within three or four days, the project of a treaty. On the evening of the 12th of May, Mr. Humphreys arrived, and delivered me your letter of the 23d March. Our government could not then have been apprised of the new state of affairs; but as it had signified "that suspense was ruinous," I thought myself authorized to give immediate information to the minister, that I should return to America in the Sophia, as soon as she could be fitted for sea; and that it was necessary to expedite the measures we had contemplated for effecting a treaty. The Executive Directory, as well as the minister, had, it was said, during the three preceding weeks, been indispensably engaged by the new elections, and these being finished they could now proceed on American affairs: had the latter required more time than I had allotted for them, I was determined to have detained the Sophia a short period, rather than to have defeated the proposed arrangements. This I considered my duty; for whilst the government manifested in their instructions, a just indignation at the treatment which their envoys had received, it evinced a disposition to peace: and as far as I could judge, the same temper now existed on the part of France."

"On the 24th May, the minister sent the principal secretary of the bureau to inform me, that his government did not wish to break the British treaty, but expected in the new treaty, such provisions as would indemnify France, and put her on a footing with that nation: to this I answered, that the information gave me pleasure; that it was impossible for the United States, by violating that treaty to become perfidious; that the treaty was an evidence of their good faith, inasmuch as it contained a provision, 'that it should not be construed or operate contrary to former and existing public treaties, with other sovereigns or states;' that, if in its construction or operation, France had sustained injuries, still she was sure of redress by the provisions thereof, as well as by her own treaty with the United States, and that the latter ensured to her an extention of favors, in regard to commerce and navigation, if any such had been granted to Great Britain. He said their was a second point, *which respected the claims of American citizens on the French republic; that if the latter should not be able to pay them, when adjusted, and the United States would assume and pay them, France would reimburse the amount thereof.* To this I answered, that the measure was impossible; but, that the claims might be adjusted, funded and made transferable by France; and be redeemed, pursuant to such stipulations, as might be agreed on between the two governments. On the 26th May, I had a conference with the minister. Having pressed on this as well as former occassions, the necessity of sending a minister to the United States, he now readily acceded to it. In this state were affairs on the 27th May, when I was called on by one of the city gazettes, which announced the publication of our despatches, to deny their authenticity. Having reason to suppose, that the result of this new embarrassment, if not pacific, would be very violent, I prepared for the event, being obliged to abide the consequences. On the 11th June, I received from the ministers No. 14, in which as he had informed my secretary, he revived the disagreeable subject of the despatches; and he concluded, by formally demanding, whether I was in a situation to treat? Every circumstance concurred now to prove, that the despatches had excited the resentment of the minister against the government, as well as myself; and had changed his plan in regard to the United States. The fact was, as I ascertained, to my satisfaction, that after the arrival of the despatches and other intelligence from

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the United States, the Executive Directory apprehended if a minister was sent there, that he would not be accredited; and that overtures, or any plan unaccompanied by a minister, would meet a similar fate. On the 10th July, I refused an epistolary discussion; and demanded a definitive answer to my application for a passport and other documents. Before the arrival of the despatches of the envoys, the minister appeared to me sincere and anxious to obtain a reconciliation. *He had proposed by his secretary, an assumption of the debts due to American citizens: which I rejected*: but he had made no other proposition of a loan whatever; and never renewed that. Indeed his views in general, as far as I could then ascertain them, were liberal in regard to a treaty. I had a full expectation that by the middle of June at farthest, we should have agreed on the plan of a treaty: and that a French minister would have been sent to America for completing it. I was likewise informed of the candidate, but after the arrival of the despatches, although the minister, in the name of the directory, declared that they persevered in their pacific intentions, he probably, for the reasons stated (the apprehension that a French minister would not be received,) abandoned the plan we at first agreed on, substituted a general plan of negotiation, discussed some articles thereof in *writing*, and insisted, contrary to stipulations, on my answering him in the same mode. He, M. Talleyrand, complains of my proposition for lopping from any future negotiation, every preliminary of a loan, and refers to his letter of the 18th June to prove that this step was unnecessary. But although the first point of his plan in that letter is silent on these demands, they might as I conceived, be hereafter revived, and were for this reason brought again into review; by these means they were effectually renounced. The minister is unwilling to admit that the decree of 31st July was the effect of my representations; I believe there is no doubt of the fact: but this is a matter of little consequence. On the 26th July, I left Paris, and from the best information which I could obtain relative to the disposition of the Executive Directory, they were very desirous of a reconciliation between the republics. Every impediment to my departure had been adopted by the French minister; and he would have prevented it, had he succeeded in his plan of an epistolary discussion; his object was, as I conceived, to gain time for ascertaining, whether the United States were then disposed to a treaty; of this he manifested doubts, being persuaded that their resentment was too great to admit of it."

It is inconceivable that Mr. Gerry did not endeavor to remove such doubts This was truly an unfortunate result of a *peaceful* mission.

A CLAIMANT.

No. XXX.

My last number discloses the temper of the French government, which, according to Mr. Gerry's last communication, was sincere in a desire of reconciliation, and only wanted to gain time for ascertaining whether the United States were then disposed to make a treaty.

It will now be proper to show the acts of our own government, while the envoys collectively, or Mr. Gerry alone, were in France, say from August '97, to August '98.

On the 27th of March, '98, Congress passed an act, to provide and support a naval armament, and to former appropriations added $394,679.

On the 7th of April, an act, prohibiting the exportation of arms and ammunition.

On the 27th of April, an act to purchase 12 vessels of 22 guns each; and to a former appropriation added $950,000.

On the 27th of April, an act, to raise an additional regiment of artillerists.

On the 3d of May, an act, supplemental, for the defence of the ports and harbors of the United States; and to a former appropriation added $250,000.

On the 4th of May, an act, to procure cannon, arms and ammunition; with an appropriation of $900,000.

On the 4th of May, an act, to purchase ten galleys; appropriation $80,000,

On the 22d of May, an act, for the enlistment of 10,000 men, and in addition the acceptance of such volunteers as the President may approve; appropriation $200,000.

On the 28th of May, the following act, "Whereas armed vessels, sailing under the authority, or pretence of authority, from the republic of France, have com-

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mitted depredations on the commerce of the United States, and have recently captured the vessels and property of citizens thereof, on or near the coasts, in violation of the law of nations, and treaties between the United States and the French nation: therefore, Be it enacted, &c. That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, and he is hereby authorized to instruct and direct the commanders of the armed vessels belonging to the United States, to seize, take, and bring into any port of the United States, to be proceeded against according to the laws of nations, any such armed vessel, which shall have committed, or which shall be found hovering on the coasts of the United States, for the purpose of committing depredations on the vessels belonging to citizens thereof; and also to retake any ship or vessel, of any citizen or citizens of the United States, which may have been captured by any such armed vessel."

On the 12th June, an act, making an appropriation for the Military Establishment, (in addition to a former appropriation) $2,752,695.

On the 13th of June, an act, to suspend the intercourse with France: American vessels and their cargoes to be forfeited if trading or touching at a French port in Europe, the West-Indies or elsewhere; French vessels and their cargoes to be also forfeited, if found within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, after being ordered to depart.

On the 22d June, Congress passed the following resolution, viz:

"That the Secretary of State be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to cause to be printed a number of copies, not exceeding ten thousand, of the instructions to the envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary of the United States to the French republic, and of all the despatches hitherto received from them, and which have been communicated by the President of the United States to both Houses of Congress, and to cause the same to be distributed, gratis, throughout the United States, and particularly in such parts thereof wherein the dissemination of information, through the medium of newspapers, is the most obstructed." These despatches embrace only the X. Y. and Z. details, and extend only to the period of Mr. Marshall and Mr. Pinckney's leaving France, March 31st, consequently, do not embrace the correspondence and several overtures made to Mr. Gerry after their departure.

On the 25th of June, the memorable Alien act.

On the 25th of June, "an act to authorise the defence of the merchant vessels of the United States against French depredations." Merchant vessels may oppose searches, restraints or seizures, attempted by the French; repel assaults, capture the aggressors, and make recaptures of American veseels—Captured vessels may be sold and distributed—Recaptured American vessels to be restored on paying salvage—Security for good conduct to be given previous to the clearing of armed merchant vessels—President's instructions to be observed; the act limited to the 14th May—"that whenever the government of France, and all persons acting by, or under their authority, shall disavow, and shall cause the commanders and crews of all armed French vessels to refrain from the lawless depredations and outrages, hitherto encouraged and authorised by that government, against the merchant vessels of the United States, and shall cause the laws of nations to be observed by the said armed French vessels, the President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby authorised to instruct the commanders and crews of the merchant vessels of the United States, to submit to any regular search by the commanders or crews of French vessels, and to refrain from any force or capture to be exercised by virtue hereof."

On the 28th June, an act, declaring that the French armed vessels, which may be captured in pursuance of the act of the 28th of May, with their apparel, guns, goods and effects, shall be liable to forfeiture and condemnation in the district courts, one-half thereof to the use of the United States.

On the 28th of June, an act, making an appropriation for the new regiment of artillerists, of $88,000.

On the 30th of June, an act, to purchase 12 additional vessels of 24 guns each, and to accept of any armed vessels tendered by States or individuals.

On the 6th of July, an act, to provide arms for the militia of the United States, and appropriating $400,000.

On the 6th of July, an act, "That whenever there shall be a declared war between the United States and any foreign nation or government, or any invasion or predatory incursion shall be perpetrated, attempted or threatened, against the territory of the United States, by any foreign nation or government, and the President

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of the United States shall make public proclamation of the event, all natives, citizens, denizons, or subjects, of the hostile nation or government, being males of the age of 14 years and upwards, who shall be within the United States, and not actually naturalized, shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured and removed, as alien enemies." &c. ☞ As there was no war with France this act became a dead letter—the President did not issue a proclamation.

On the 7th of July, the following act, "Whereas the treaties concluded between the United States and France have been repeatedly violated on the part of the French government; and the just claims of the United States for reparation of the injuries so committed have been refused, and their attempts to negotiate an amicable adjustment of all the complaints between the two nations, have been repelled with indignity; and, whereas, under authority of the French government, there is yet pursued against the United States, a system of predatory violence; infracting the said treaties, and hostile to the rights of a free and independent nation: Be it enacted, &c., that the United States are of right freed and exonerated from the stipulations of the treaties, and of the consular convention, heretofore concluded between the United States and France; and that the same shall not henceforth be regarded as legally obligatory on the government or the citizens of the United States."*

*Notwithstanding the imposing aspect of this act of Congress, it may be safely advanced, that nothing can annul a treaty but the consent of the parties to it, or a formal declaration of war—neither of which, in this case, has ever been alleged or pretended. In 1791 the French complained of an act of Congress, which imposed an extra tonnage duty on foreign vessels. On this subject Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State, made a report to President Washington, which was approved by him and laid before Congress, where it was also approved—it contains the following:—"It is desirable in many instances to exchange mutual advantages by legislative acts rather than by treaty, because the former, though understood to be in consideration of each other, and therefore greatly respected, yet when they become too inconvenient, can be dropped at the will of either party; whereas *stipulations by treaty are forever irrevocable but by joint consent, let a change of circumstances render them ever so burdensome.*" In another case, of much deeper importance, arising out of the treaty with the Creek Indians, involving certain rights secured to them by the British and Spanish governments, Chief Justice Marshall in his life of Washington, in a note to page 274, vol. 5, says. "In the formation of this treaty, a question came on to be considered and decided, which involved a principle that on an after occasion, and in a different case (evidently the one before us,) excited a ferment, never to be forgotten by those who took an active part in the politics of the day. President Washington required the opinion of his constitutional advisers respecting it. The Secretary of State was of opinion that a treaty made by the President with the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senate, was a "law of the land"—to which the author adds—"and a law of superior order, because it not only repeals past laws, *but cannot itself be repealed by future ones.* From this opinion there is no reason to suppose that any member of the cabinet dissented. A secret article providing for the case was submitted to the Senate, and it has never been understood that in advising and consenting to it, that body was divided."

That faithful expositor of the Constitution, the Federalist, in No. 64, page 405, contains the following:—"Others, though content that treaties should be made in the mode proposed, are averse to their being the *supreme* law of the land. They insist, and profess to believe, that treaties, like acts of assembly should be repealed at pleasure. This idea seems to be new and peculiar to this country; but new errors, as well as new truths, often appear. These gentlemen would do well to reflect, that a treaty is only another name for a bargain; and that it would be impossible to find a nation who would make any bargain with us, which should be binding on them *absolutely*, but on us only so long and so far as we may think proper to be bound by it. They who make laws may, without doubt, amend or repeal them; and it will not be disputed that they who make treaties, may alter or cancel them; but still let us not forget, that treaties are made not by one only of the contracting parties, but by both; amd consequently, *that as the consent of both was essential to their formation at first, so must it ever afterwards be to alter or cancel them.* The proposed constitution, therefore, has not in the least extended the obligation of treaties. They are just as binding, and just *as far beyond the lawful reach of legislative acts* now, as they will be at any future period, or under any form of government."

There is this wide difference between the effect of a law and a treaty: a new law repeals the old one so far as it conflicts with it; but a treaty with a second power is null and void so far as it conflicts with a prior one;—and the reason is self-evident—in the first, the favor or right has been disposed of, and is no longer within the gift of the donor.

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On the 9th of July, an act, "further to protect the commerce of the United States."—Authorizing the commanders of the United States vessels to capture *armed* French vessels on the high seas; and also authorizing special commissions for the like purpose to be issued to private armed vessels.

On the 11th of July, an act, for raising a Marine Corps of 880 men.

On the 14th of July, the memorable Sedition Law.

On the 14th of July, an act, laying a direct tax of $2,000,000.

On the 16th of July, an act, for raising an additional military force of 12 regiments, and six troops of light dragoons.

On the 16th of July, an act, authorizing the President to borrow $5,000,000.

On the 16th of July, an act, to build 3 ships of war of 32 guns each, and appropriating $600,000.

On the 16th of July, an act, appropriating $1,000,000 for the Military Establishment, and authorizing the President to borrow $2,000,000, in anticipation of the direct tax.

The instructions of the President to the commanders of armed vessels of the United States, were as follows:

No. 1. Dated 28th of May, '98—under the act dated the same day:—To seize, take and bring into any port of the United States, any *armed* French vessels which shall have been committed, or which shall be found hovering on the coast of the United States, for the purpose of committing depredations on the vessels or property of the citizens of the United States, and to retake any vessel belonging to our citizens which may have been captured by any such armed French vessels.

No. 2. Dated 10th July—under the several acts of 28th May, 28th June, and 9th July: To capture any *armed* French vessel on the high seas.

No. 3. "It being not less the inclination and the interest of our country to avoid disputes with all nations, than the fixed determination of the President never to provoke disputes, by taking or maintaining improper grounds, it is right that you should understand, that as our laws do not prevent our armed vessels from protecting from French cruisers the vessels of our merchants, with contraband goods, so it will not be lawful for you to prevent merchant vessels, although under your convoy, from being searched or detained, by the vessels of any of the powers at war, except the French."*—Dated January 16th, '99.

If Congress even had the power to annul such compacts, by a legislative enactment (which is absurd in terms,) and had exercised it, still the claims in question would not thereby be affected; since the right to indemnity for French depredations was equally well founded under the law of nations, as under the treaties with France; and the abrogation of the latter, would still leave the former in full operation.

The position assumed, that the treaties were not, and could not be annulled by the act in question, might be fortified by the declaration of every respectable writer on the law of nations; but the common sense of every reader is sufficient, and may be safely appealed to. Treaties are contracts, and of the highest order, carrying upon their face the pledged faith of the nation for their performance. But how deceptive and useless would they become, if the principle was adopted, that either party, after incurring responsibilities, or finding performance inconvenient, should be able to discharge himself at his own will and pleasure. Under such a rule no nation need demand indemnity from another, since the delinquent nation might, even in the midst of negotiations, enact a law to discharge itself. The United States, having peace, founded on common honesty, for its polar star—and its policy, to extend the principle to the whole world, should be the last to recognize such a rule.

*That the true character of these extraordinary instructions may be understood, it is proper to state, that, at the time of their date, our commerce suffered much more from *English*, than from French capture.

In the course of debate in the British House of Commons, on the 29th of April, 1801, it was stated,—in reference to the captures made at the period these instructions were operative—that, out of three hundred and eighteen cases of appeal from condemnations in the English West India Islands, under captures then made by British privateers, not above thirty-five were confirmed by the court of appeal in England. Thus, even according to the decisions of the English court of admiralty in their own causes, nearly *nine-tenths* of a given number, of the captures of American vessels, by British cruisers in the West Indies, were admitted to have been illegal.

If the British refused to condemn the prizes, it is not saying too much, to assert, that *the authority, by the United States, to permit the captures, was illegal.*

To those who are not familiar with such matters, it is necessary to remark, that an acquit-

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No. 4. "Our laws direct the capture of all *armed* vessels sailing under authority, or pretence of authority from the French republic. A vessel captured by the cruisers of France, must be considered as sailing under the authority of France; and it is scarcely to be supposed, that in times like the present, when few vessels sail without arms, a captured vessel in possession of the captors, will be so circumstanced as not to come under the description of an armed vessel, within the meaning of our laws. To justify a recapture, nothing is necessary but that the vessel be provided with such means of annoyance, as will render her dangerous to an unarmed American vessel, in pursuit of lawful commerce. If, however, the vessel cannot be considered an armed vessel, within the meaning of our laws, you are not to recapture her, unless you should have probable cause to suspect, that the citizens of the United States, or persons resident therein, have some interest in the vessel or cargo. It is always your duty to recapture American property, or property of persons resident within the United States, whenever found in possession of the French on the high seas."

These several acts and instructions, so far from being acts of war, are, it will be seen, entirely and purely defensive in fact, and are so called in their several titles, and were so regarded by the French. They were not adopted with a view to coerce satisfaction for the claims in question, but to protect other property from sharing a similar fate. Had indemnity for depredations already committed, been the object of our government in calling into action its naval force, *reprisals* would have been the proper and only course; and authority might have been given to capture French property indiscriminately, to the full amount of the depredations complained of:—but even this would not have been war, nor even a legitimate precursor of war. Vattel B. 2, ch. 18, sec. 353, says, "A sovereign has no right to oppose, force, or to make war against him who, in such a case, by ordering the making of reprisals only exercises his just right."

It can hardly be necessary to adduce proof that our acts were neither reprisals nor war, since the French have not given to them such character; but the two following facts seem to claim admission in this place. 1st. That under these acts we captured eighty-three French vessels, of which eleven were acquitted and restored because not found *armed*, (this could not have happened if reprisals or war had been our object)—68 were condemned, one half to the captors, and the other half to the United States Treasury, (if reprisals had been the object, the citizens who had been plundered by the French would necessarily have been entitled to the captured property, and not the United States)—and all the French *government* vessels were either restored, or their value paid in money, under the convention of 1800. And 2d. The convention of 1800 was not a treaty of peace. A treaty of peace is without limit: but this was limited to 8 years, therefore, if the question of peace or war had been at issue, the limitation would have made it only a *truce:* the result of which would

tal in such case, does not restore the property *in effect;* because the waste, losses of time, and highly extravagant charges, in most instances consume the whole. Besides, many cases could not be carried up to the high court by appeal, by reason of the inability of the owners to furnish the required security, to say nothing of the impediments usually thrown in their way, to prevent appeal.

In the case of an American merchant vessel rescued from the French, by an armed United States' vessel, and then tamely yielded up by the latter to any British ship that might demand it—it would be difficult to convince her owner that he enjoyed the protection of his government, or that his prospect of redress was better than it would have been under the French capture: In either case, a total loss was the certain result.

It is not necessary now to call up the question,—whether after the owner traced his property into the possession of the United States, (who afterward surrendered it to the English, without an effort for its protection) he would not have a right to demand indemnification from his own government. Nor need it be now stated how far the acts authorised by such instructions, comported with the *neutrality* we professed. As a practical illustration of the instructions referred to, I cite the following extract of a letter from the Secretary of the Navy to Captain Philips, dated February 20th, '99— there is no apprehension that the doctrine it contains will make converts at the present day.

"You are instructed not to molest the vessels of any nation, with whom we were at peace: *not even to interpose to prevent the capture of our merchant vessels by the armed ships of any nation, except the French.* Such were and such still are our laws. We arm only against the armed vessels of France; against the armed vessels of other powers, ours have no right to act, except to repel insult, or injury offered to *themselves. It was your duty therefore, not to attempt to defend against the British ships of war, the vessels under your convoy."!!!*

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have been, the revival of war at the end of the eight years: such a thought has not been uttered. It was a convention too, and not a treaty. The distinction is, that the first is made without the authority of the Sovereign, and which he is understood by all the parties, to be at liberty to accept or reject at pleasure: while the latter can only be made under the full powers of the Sovereign, which he is bound to ratify. Hence the French could not have entered into a convention *of peace.* The history of the world contains nothing of that kind. So much for the principle, which, however necessary to be established, in order to remove existing prejudices, is not material to the cause; since, as will be seen in due time, the convention of 1800 expressly recognised the existence of the treaties of '78 and '88, up to that period.

The reader will doubtless be surprised on viewing these acts of our government, taken in connection with Mr. Gerry's declaration before stated, "that the French government was sincere in a desire of reconciliation, and only wanted to gain time for ascertaining whether the United States were then disposed to make a treaty."?

But these were high party times; and it is but just to say, that, while the champions of St. Dennis and St. George were marshalling their forces, a third party, truly contemptible in number, and placing the responsibility unfairly upon the President, whom they goaded, deceived and vilified, brought about a state of things, without a name, that astonished every individual of the nation, and which none were so rejoiced to see terminated as the instigators themselves. The mantle of oblivion has long covered them.

A CLAIMANT.

No. XXXI.

As before stated, the French government, on being advised of our having authorized the capture of French armed vessels, laid an embargo on our vessels in their ports, declaring, "such is its repugnance to consider the United States as enemies, that, notwithstanding their hostile demonstrations, it means to wait until it be irresistibly forced to it by real hostilities."

On the 13th of August, '98, the French minister of marine addressed the following circular letter to the agents of marine in the general French ports: "I remark, citizen, by the correspondence of the greater part of the governors of the ports, that the embargo laid recently upon American vessels has produced the detention of their crews. The intentions of government have been ill understood by the adoption of a measure, that in the first place compromits the safety of the vessels, and in the second seems to place us in a hostile attitude against the United States; when, on the contrary, the acts of government evince the desire to maintain a good understanding between the two republics. You are therefore required by me, citizen, to order, on the receipt of these presents, the discharge of all American prisoners, who might have been considered as prisoners of war, in consequence of the detention of their vessels."

On the 16th August, the Executive Directory passed the following decree:—"The Executive Directory considering, that notwithstanding the hostile manifestations of the government of the United States, which have occasioned a momentary embargo upon their vessels, it must be believed that unless abandoned to the passions of the British cabinet, that government, faithful to the interests of the American nation, will take measures conformable to the pacific dispositions of the French republic, after it shall receive a confirmation of them; and wishing to pursue the friendly and fraternal habits of France, towards a people whose liberty is defended, decrees as follows: Art. 1. The embargo laid upon the American vessel shall be immediately raised. Art. 2. The minister of marine and of the colonies, is charged with the execution of the present decree, which shall not be printed."

On the 18th of August, the minister of marine addressed the following circular to the officers civil and military of the ports. "Our political situation, with regard to the United States, citizen, not having undergone, up to this day, any change that might have an influence upon the attentions due to neutral nations, I think it unnecessary to bring to your recollection, that no attempt should be made against the security and liberty of persons, composing the officers and crews of every American vessel, that is found regular, and that the same course should be observed towards all passengers and other citizens of the United States, furnished with pass-

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ports or necessary protections. You will use the strictest vigilance, that the intentions of government, in this respect, be followed by all persons under your command, and if any of them have failed in the due execution thereof, you will do justice to the demand which will be addressed to you, as soon as you shall have ascertained their validity."

On the 22d of August, Mr. Skipwith, consul general of the United States, wrote to the Secretary of State: "I deem it my duty to observe, that from informal communications, which I have recently and repeatedly had with some of the best informed individuals of the government on the subject of American vessels and property, now under trial before the different tribunals of this republic, I have derived such information of the present disposition and intentions of the directory, as to be satisfied myself, that they will ere long endeavor to provoke in the legislature a revision of their maritime laws, and that such a system will be organized, as will secure the most important rights of neutrality upon the seas; this pleasing event is generally expected, and will I am persuaded, arrive before this can reach you. Though many of the late arretes of the directory have certainly encouraged the tribunals in the most pernicious applications of existing laws in regard to neutral property, captured and brought in for adjudication, yet it may not be unimportant to remark to you, sir, that the directory, however well disposed, cannot change the conduct of the tribunals in regard to American and other neutral vessels now before them, without legislative interference, and that owing to particular circumstances, it appears evidently, that some time is necessary for them to prepare and dispose that body to alter some laws and make others, which shall cause the tribunals and privateers to respect neutrals in general, and the flag of the United States in particular: but from the present manifest dispositions and endeavors of the directory to produce that end, I am happy to add, that the tribunal of cassation, before whom appeals have been made on most of the American property condemned in France, appear disposed to procrastinate pronouncing upon them until the sentiment of the legislature shall be declared upon the laws which are operating against their success."

On the 28th August, M. Talleyrand wrote Mr. Pichon, Secretary of the French Legation, at the Hague: "I see with pleasure, citzen, that the intercourse of society has procured you some political conversations with Mr. Murray [American minister at the Hague] &c—what, therefore, is the cause of the misunderstanding, which, if France did not manifest herself more wise, would henceforth induce a violent rupture between the two republics? Neither incompatible interests, nor projects of aggrandizement divide them. After all distrust alone has done the whole. The government of the United States has thought that France wanted to revolutionize it. France has thought that the government of the United States wanted to throw itself into the arms of England. It does not require much skill to divine which is the cabinet interested in the two events producing each other; and which invisibly puts in motion all the expedients calculated to make them take effect. Let us open our eyes on both sides. It concerns a republic, founded on the system of representation, to support, and not to weaken similar establishments. The stability of this system abroad is a necessary example at home. France, in fine, has a double motive, as a nation, and as a republic, not to expose to any hazard the present existence of the United States. Therefore, it never thought of making war against them, nor exciting civil commotions among them: and every contrary supposition is an insult to common sense. The excess even of provocation has deadened their effect. The government of the United States surrounds itself with precautions against an imaginary attack. To stretch the hand to deluded friends is what one republic owes to another, and I cannot doubt, that the dignity of that attitude will convince the President of our pacific intentions. A single word will suffice for the rest. We want nothing but justice on the part of the United States: we ask it: we offer it to their government: it may depend upon the candor of the Executive Directory. You will not doubt, citizen, that I approve of the communications which your zeal has caused you to seek with Mr. Murray, since I enable you to resume them with official elucidations." And again of the 18th of September. "*You were right to assert that whatever plenipotentiary the government of the United States might send to Paris, in order to terminate the existing differences between the two countries, he would be, on his part, received with the respect due to the representative of a free, independent and powerful nation.* The President's instructions to his envoys at Paris (Messrs. Pinckney, Marshall and Gerry,) which I have only been acquainted with, by the copy given to you by Mr. Murray, announce, if they contain the whole of the American governments intentions, dispositions, which can only add to those the

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directory has always entertained and notwithstanding the posterior acts of that government, notwithstanding the irritating and almost hostile measures which they have adopted, the directory has shown that it persisted in the dispositions consigned, as well in my correspondence with Mr. Gerry, as in my letter to you, of the 28th August, and which I have herein before repeated in the most explicit manner.* Garry therefore, citizen, to Mr. Murray, these positive expressions, to convince him of our sincerity, and request him to transmit them to his government." On the 19th of October, Mr. Murray transmitted the above letter to the Secretary of State, and adds, "Since, the more I have reflected, the more empty it appears to me. The renewal '*of the ties of friendship*,' may have an allusion to what, for one, I hope can never be realized; a revival of the old treaty, which has been so fairly got rid of: a piece of good fortune which money could not have purchased, and the like of which I do not remember to have happened in any other case of equal importance to any nation. The enclosed was delivered to me from the French Post on the 7th inst. Such as it is, I thought it my duty to send it to you sir, although one place has a little of 'the British' in it, yet it is more free from that insult than any I have seen from the same hand. The assurances are not made in the manner which the message of the 21st June, I presume, indicated."

This letter was not intended for the public eye;—it is marked "*Private*," and breathes a strong desire to lessen the character of its enclosure, by suggesting doubts which it does not justify and even a reluctance to send it. He was evidently opposed to a reconciliation and preferred a war with France. The person he addressed entertained the like sentiments, and in an attempt to maintain them sacrificed his office and his fame. Mr. Murray was particularly unfortunate in all the conclusions contained in the sentence just cited, save one—the immense value of the treaty referred to. Could he imagine that we could get fairly rid, or rid at all, of a responsibility *which money could not have purchased*, by a legislative act of our own making? Could a matter of so great value have been realized without some equivalent? Could an individual, the maker of a promissory note for instance, absolve himself by a declaration that he would not pay it and look to the laws of any country for his justification? France held our national bond which we declared we would not pay; France insisted; and the laws of nations also insisted—how then were we absolved? Mr. Murray has himself subsequently answered these questions, by recognising the existence of that same treaty, (the act of Congress to the contrary notwithstanding) and giving as the price of its abrogation an immense value, to wit: in the convention of 1800, where he acted as one of the negotiators. And both houses of Congress with the President sustained him in this recognition and consideration, by ratifying that convention.

The President, so far from considering M. Talleyrand's overtures "empty," (which were in the very words of the message), regarded them as of the very last importance; and although the *little third party* resisted him to the utmost stretch of opposition and at every sacrifice—he burst through the bonds which had long bound him, and by virtue of said *empty overtures*, realised a reconciliation with France which he afterwards declared would afford him consolation in his last hour.

A CLAIMANT.

No. XXXII.

Before I enter upon the important negotiations which led to the convention of 1800 I find it necessary to dispose of a few preliminary facts, in order to keep up in some tolerable degree the chain of events.

On the 13th December, '98, M. Talleyrand gave to the minister of justice his written opinion upon the French demand, that American vessels should be furnished with a role d'equipage. He explicitly acknowledges that the treaty of '78 does not make a role necessary; and that if it should be continued to be required as the privateers demand, "it would occasion numbers of confiscations and revive in the United States the general discontent hitherto the greatest, and I could say the only force of the Americans against us." This letter was transmitted by Mr. Skipwith to the Secretary of State who says in reply, "The letter of the minister of foreign

* This is an unequivocal recognition of liability for all the depredations committed.

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relations to the minister of justice relative to the role d'equipage is valuable for its confession that our treaty with France did not require it."

On the 18th of March, '99, the French government passed the following decree: "The Executive Directory having examined its decree of the 2d of March, '97, concerning the navigation of neutral vessels loaded with merchandise belonging to the enemies of the republic, and the judgment on the trials as to the validity of maritime prizes; considering that the 4th article of that decree, in what relates to the roles d'equipages with which neutral vessels ought to be furnished, has had improper interpretations so far as concerns the roles d'equipages of American vessels and that it is time to do away the obstacles resulting therefrom to the navigation of the vessels of that nation: After having heard the minister of exterior relations and the minister of justice declare that, by the 4th article of the said treaty it was not understood that the navigation of American vessels relatively to the form of their roles d'equipages, was subjected to other conditions than those imposed on all neutrals by the 12th article of the ordinance of 1794, and by the 9th article of that of the 26th July, 1778."

On the 14th of August, '99, Mr. Murray, from the Hague, wrote to the Secretary of State, "From what I can collect there is no change since their [the French] knowledge of the late nomination [of Messrs. Ellsworth, Henry and Murray as ministers to France] on any one point that is in contact between the two governments. None in the class of grievances, under sea letter and the role d'equipage: though they have not that I can discover in any case admitted the idea of the annulling of the late treaties and consular convention. Affecting still to act under these, they pursue the same system of gross violation, though they have published arretes which held up the idea that the role d'equipage arrete of March '97, shall be restrained to a more just interpretation and in analogy with that of 1748, but there is not, I believe, any alteration in practice." And again on the 26th December, '99, "The enclosed report,* made lately to the consuls of the French republic by their then minister of justice. Cambaceres, on the legislation of prizes, is so important in my eyes as to justify me in transmitting it by post through Mr. King. It is an official concession that may have good effects, that he should declare that, "In a word, privateering had become brigandage," and that the laws which regulated it were "either inadequate or bad." He declares the law of 18th January, '98, to be at once "vague and arbitrary;" but he is clear that "enemy property wherever found is fair prize," though they have treaties for *free bottoms, free goods.* No arrete of the consuls has yet passed to reduce his plan of an appeal court into practice, but it is expected. This I hope will be done as I have understood that many of the cases of our captured vessels *have been suspended;* and such, if this tribunal be well filled, (Cambaceres himself being now second consul,) may have a better chance than in tribunals where the government could not, even if they had been inclined, exert official influence. Tribunals, however, can do nothing remedial; the laws and views of the republic must be changed. However, sir, as an official declaration on some points extremely interesting to us, I consider this report as useful."

In 1798—9, a correspondence was opened by the Executive of the United States with the black rebel chief at St. Domingo, Touissant Louverture, with a view to the opening of certain ports in that island to American trade; and this object was accomplished, aided by and in conjunction with the British commander on that station, General Maitland. This act was highly offensive to the French government; our joining with her enemy could in no view be regarded as a friendly act, and its object, though doubtless, trade only, was charged with a design to countenance and aid her rebellious colonists. The President's proclamation, authorising the trade to said ports, was dated the 26th of June, 1799. Similar propositions were made to the chiefs commanding other French colonies, particularly the Isle of France; these several acts were the source of much irritation to the French government, who imputed to the United States the intention to seduce the fidelity of its colonial officers.

A CLAIMANT.

* It is to be regretted that this report has *not* been published. Its import can be collected only from the above communication.

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No. XXXIII.

EARLY in 1799, the Senate confirmed the appointment by the President of Chief Justice Ellsworth, Patrick Henry* and William Vans Murray, to be envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to the French republic. On the 6th March the Secretary of State enclosed to Mr. Murray, then at the Hague, his commission, and directed him to apprise the French government of said appointment, and that his colleagues would not embark for Europe until they shall have received from the Executive Directory, direct and unequivocal assurances that they would be properly received and respected. On the 5th of May, Mr. Murray announced the appointment of said commission to M. Talleyrand, who on the 12th May, in answer, gave the required explicit assurances, and adds, "The Executive Directory sees with pleasure that its perseverance in pacific sentiments, has kept open the door to an approaching reconciliation. It has long manifested its intentions upon this subject."

On the 22d October, '99, instructions were given to the envoys, from which the following are extracts: "You have been witnesses of the enduring patience of the United States, under the unexampled aggressions and hostilities, authorised and sanctioned by the French republic, against the commerce and citizens of the United States. And you are well informed of the measures adopted by our government to put a stop to these evils, to obtain redress for the injured, and real peace and security to our country. And you know, that instead of relief, instead of justice, instead of indemnity for past wrongs, our very moderate demands have been immediately followed by new aggressions and more extended depredations; while our ministers seeking redress and reconciliation, have been refused a reception, treated with indignities, and finally driven from its territories. This conduct would well have justified an immediate declaration of war on the part of the United States; but desirous of maintaining peace, and still willing to leave open the door of reconciliation with France, the United States contented themselves with preparations for defence, and measures calculated to protect their commerce."† It is expected "that a minister or ministers, with powers equal to your own, will be appointed to treat with you; and that within twenty days at farthest, after your arrival at Paris, your negotiation will be commenced. If, however, your passports to Paris should be unreasonably withheld; if an audience of the Directory should be denied, or procrastinated, if the appointment of a minister or ministers, with equal powers, to treat with you, should be delayed; or if when appointed, they postpone the intended negotiation, you are to relinquish your mission, demand your passports, and leave France. And having once resolved to terminate the mission, you are not to resume it, whatever fresh overtures or assurances may be tendered to you by the French government."

"*First.* At the opening of the negotiation, you will inform the French minister, that the United States expect from France, *as an indispensable condition of the treaty*, a stipulation to make to the citizens of the United States full compensation for all losses and damages, which they shall have sustained by reason of irregular or illegal captures, or condemnations of their vessels and other property, under color of authority or commissions from the French republic or its agents. And all captures and condemnations are deemed irregular or illegal, when contrary to the law of nations, generally received and acknowledged in Europe, and to the stipulations in the treaty of amity and commerce, of the 6th. Feb. '78, fairly and ingeniously interpreted. while that treaty remained in force; especially when made and pronounced. 1st. Because the vessels loading, or any part thereof, consisted of provisions or merchandise coming from England or her possessions. 2d. Because the vessels were not provided with the *roles d'equipage* prescribed by the laws of France; and which it has been pretended were also required by treaty. 3d. Because sea letters or other papers were wanting, or said to be wanting, when the property shall have been, or shall be, admitted or proved to be American. Such defect of papers, though it might justify the captors, and exempt them from damages, for bringing in such vessels for examination, could not, with reason, be a ground of condemnation. 4th. When the owners, masters, or supercargoes, shall have been refused a hearing, or placed in situations rendering their presence at the trials impracticable. 5th. When the vessels or other property captured shall have been sold

*Mr. Henry declined, and William Richardson Davie was substituted.

†This is an explicit acknowledgment that we had no *war* with France.

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or otherwise disposed of, without a regular trial and condemnation. Captures and condemnations for such causes, and under such circumstances, are manifestly irregular or illegal. The French government if it has any serious wish to accommodate existing differences, can make no difficulty in admitting the general proposition, that for injuries arising from violated laws and engagements, reparation shall be made. In every claim under this general stipulation, the question will occur, has the treaty or the law of nations been violated? But such a general stipulation will not be sufficient. The five specific propositions just stated are obviously proper rules of adjudication; but the previous admission of the first and second is vastly important, to remove from hazard the most interesting claims of our citizens. To capture neutral property because it was produced or manufactured in the country of an enemy of France, is so palpably unjust, that it seems improbable that even the men who originated the law, were they still in power, would persist in it as of right: and it is scarcely possible for their successors to hesitate on this point. To hesitate, would be to doubt whether a man has a right to occupy his house, or to wear his own clothes, unless he had built the first, or manufactured the last with his own hands. The second proposition, respecting the *role d'equipage*, as well as the first, should be insisted on. Until the decree of the Directory of March 2d, '97, was passed, and we had felt its effects, we had no idea of the meaning which the French applied to the phrase, role d'equipage. There never was, indeed, any intimation on the part of France, from '78, when the treaty was made, until the passing of the decree of the Directory in March '97 that a *role d'equipage*, other than the *ships role* or *shipping paper* would be required. It was then suddenly demanded; and the decree (like the law of Jan. '98, respecting the articles of produce or manufacture of Great Britain) was instantly enforced, and became a snare to the multitudes of American vessels which, for want of a previous notice, would not have on board the document in question; if their government should permit them to receive a document which they were under no obligation to produce. For, it cannot, with any semblance of justice, be pretended, that the vessels of one nation are bound to furnish themselves with papers in forms prescribed by the laws of another. And if we resort to the treaty of '78, or to the sea letter, or passport annexed to it, on which letter the Directory pretended to found their decree concerning the "role d'equipage," we shall see that these words are not to be found in either.

"*Second.* If these preliminaries should be satisfactorily arranged, then, for the purpose of examining and adjusting all the claims of our citizens, it will be necessary to provide for the appointment of a board of commissioners"—to meet at Paris within six months, and sit two years—France to pay the awards, which should include interest, in gold and silver without deduction, or convert the whole into a transferable capital bearing interest. The board to take cognizance, 1st of captures; 2d, of all other claims of our citizens; and 3d, the claims of the United States as distinguished from those of their citizens.* As the French government have heretofore complained of infringements of the treaty of amity and commerce by the United States or their citizens, all claims for injuries thereby occasioned to France or its citizens are to be submitted to the same board, and whatever damages they award will be allowed by the United States, and deducted from the sums awarded to be paid by France. If, however, the French government should desire to waive its national claims, you may do the like on the part of the United States."

"*Third.* If the preceding claims shall be duly attended to and adequate arrangements made for adjusting and satisfying them, you will then turn your thoughts to the regulation of navigation and commerce."

The following are among the rules prescribed:

"*Twenty-first.*" Not to renew the 17th and 22d articles of the treaty of commerce (the first admits free entrance to prizes of either party; and the second prohibits the fitting out privateers of a third party, and the introduction of their prizes into the ports of either) because by the 25th article of our treaty with Great Britain those privileges are secured to her. "The aggressions of France which occasioned the dissolution of that treaty have deprived her of the priority of rights and advantages therein stipulated. If, therefore, you should find any cogent reasons for re-

*This is the first intimation of our *government* having a claim on France, the ground of which is not stated; nor was any demand made by the envoys. No part of the former or subsequent correspondence, holds out any such idea. Perhaps the true motive for now introducing it may be found in the next sentence.

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newing in substance the 17th and 22d articles of the commercial treaty with of '78, it must be with the explicit declaration that neither at the present nor any future time shall the said articles be construed to derogate from the whole or any part of the 24th and 25th articles of our treaty with Great Britain, of Nov. 19, '94.

"*Twenty-fourth*" Gives up the principle that free ships make free goods.

"*Twenty-fifth*" Admits the like provisions as are contained in the British treaty in relation to the list of contraband—and permits the capture of provisions on paying therefor. ☞ The 24th and 25th items are thus reduced, confessedly, because similar provisions are contained in the British treaty of '94.

"The following points are to be considered as *ultimata:*

1st. "That an article be inserted for establishing a board with suitable powers to hear and determine the claims of our citizens for the causes herein before expresssed binding France to pay or secure the payment of the sums which shall be awarded.

2d. "That the treaties and consular convention, declared to be no longer obligatory by act of Congress, be not in the whole or in part revived by the new treaty, but that all the engagements to which the United States are to become parties be specified in the new treaty.

3d. "That no guaranty of the whole or any part of the dominions of France be stipulated, nor any engagement made in the nature of an alliance.

4th. "That no aid or loan be promised in any form whatever.

5th. "That no engagement be made inconsistent with the obligations of any prior treaty: and as it may respect our treaty with Great Britain, the instructions herein marked *twenty-first* is to be particularly observed.

6th. "That no stipulation be made granting powers to consuls or others under color of which tribunals can be established within our jurisdiction, or personal privileges be claimed by Frenchmen incompatible with the complete sovereignty of the United States, in matters of policy, commerce and government.

7th. "That the duration of the proposed treaty be limited to twelve years at farthest, from the day of the exchange of the ratifications." A CLAIMANT.

No. XXXIV.

THE envoys arrived at Paris on the 2d of March, 1800, and on the 8th Messrs. Joseph Bonaparte, C. P. C. Fleurieu, and M. Roederer, were appointed ministers on the part of the French republic, to treat with them.

On the 7th of April, the envoys, in their letter to the French minister, say: "To satisfy the demands of justice, and render a reconciliation cordial and permanent, they propose an arrangement, such as shall be compatible with national honor and existing circumstances, to ascertain and discharge the equitable claims of the citizens of either nation upon the other, whether founded on contract, treaty, or the law of nations." On the 9th April, the French ministers, in answer, say: "They think that the first object of the negotiation ought to be, the determination of the regulations and the steps to be followed, for the estimation and indemnification of injuries for which either nation may make claim for itself, or for any of its citizens. And that the second object, is to assure the execution of treaties of friendship and commerce made between the two nations, and the accomplishment of the views of reciprocal advantages which suggested them. The undersigned observe, besides, that the French government, not authorising any measure which can furnish a pretext of inquietude to the American commerce, a preliminary very favorable to the negotiation would be, that the envoys would make known to the ministers the orders which, without doubt, have been given by the President of the United States, to discontinue the effect of the acts of Congress, which have gone out of the bounds of good understanding, which both nations equally desire."

On the 11th of April, the envoys wrote to the ministers: "The undersigned have seen with pleasure in your note, an acquiescence in the principle of compensating equitable claims of citizens on both sides, though you have proposed to include, also, claims which either nation might make for itself. This description of claims was omitted in the proposition of the undersigned, not from the apprehension of an unfavorable balance, but because, in their nature, they were difficult to define and limit; because their discussion might be unpleasant and dilatory: and because, also, to insist on pecuniary compensation for themselves, would be incompatible with

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that magnanimity which, it was presumed, both nations would prefer in an act of accommodation so auspicious to their future prosperity. If, however, after considering these objections, and others which will suggest themselves to the ministers of the French republic shall deem it necessary to provide pecuniary compensation for such claims, the undersigned will be ready further to consider the question at a convenient stage of the negotiation, which they apprehend will be, after it shall be seen what arrangement would be acceptable for the claims of citizens. The expectation of the undersigned, with regard to commerce, is not to renew or amend the former treaty, but to propose a new one, which shall have fewer difficulties of construction and execution, shall more extend the provisions for intercourse, and better adapt them to the existing state of things. With respect to the acts of Congress, which the hard alternative of abandoning their commerce, ruin imposed, and which, far from contemplating a co-operation with the enemies of the republic, did not even authorize reprisals upon her merchantmen, but were restricted solely to the giving of safety to their own, till a moment should arrive when their sufferings could be heard and redressed." This is a further proof that the United States did not contemplate a *war* with France as then existing, or having existed.

The reader is admonished to bear in mind—first, That the *parties perfectly agree, that compensation for spoliations and other claims to individuals, shall be made*, 2d, That the French ministers press a *national* claim, against which the envoys affect to have an offset, of *national* claim also; but instead of specifying it here, or at any other time, (it was altogether ideal,) they propose to suppress *national* claims on either side, or rather offset them against each other, on the score, not of right, not of equal value, but on the sole ground of *magnanimity:*—And with much diplomatic skill, propose to postpone the consideration thereof, until the French ministers shall be committed on other points. But it will be seen, that the French ministers would not hearken to such an offset or postponement; they insisted on a preliminary mutual satisfaction for *all* claims on both sides. And third, that the leading difficulties were, on the part of the envoys, to get rid of the old treaties, and the responsibilities incurred under them, *without giving an equivalent*; and on the part of the ministers, to hold on to the old treaties for the advantages they secure to France, but more particularly, because said advantages would inure to Great Britain her enemy, (under the treaty of '94) if the abrogation of the treaties of '78 was once acknowledged.

On the 13th of April, the ministers wrote to the envoys: "The ministers see no obstacle to prevent the envoys from unfolding the considerations, at which they have stopped, on the subject of the arrangements to be made concerning the individual claims of one nation against the other. These claims cannot be appreciated on one side or the other, but by the discussion of the principles of the law of nations and the dispositions of treaties; the national claims will, for the most part, be implicitly appreciated when those of individuals shall be. The national stipulations will be but the ulterior consequences of the same principles. The question whether it will be expedient to make a new treaty, cannot be resolved till after the discussions which shall have taken place relative to individual and national claims shall have determined the application which it is proper to make of the law of nations, and fixed with precision the sense of ancient treaties. It will be only after removing the doubts which have been raised in this respect, that it will be possible for the ministers of the two nations to decide whether the ancient treaties are sufficient or not for their interests." They state that the French government has repealed its offensive regulations; that it is ready to do all that justice can demand, that it expects of the United States no longer to continue to attack the ships of the republic, and that the envoys will give an assurance to that effect, promising reciprocity.

The envoys, in answer, on the 18th April say: "With respect to assurances desired of them, that the measures of the United States, which had been resorted to, for the protection of their commerce, should immediately cease, they must explicitly declare, that they are not authorized to give assurances, otherwise than by incorporating them in a treaty, it having been expected by their government, that in that way every necessary assurance on both sides would be so soon given, as to render preliminary provisions of little use. Penetrated, as the undersigned are, with the interests which both nations have in returning to a good understanding, they receive, with sensibility, a pledge of that event in the declaration that the French republic is ready to do all that justice can require to obliterate every irritating remembrance. The undersigned, conceiving that the way is now prepared, have the honor to offer for consideration, some details respecting the claims of individuals. They have

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preferred to offer them at once in the form of articles of the treaty, as the most probable way of fixing the attention of the ministers on both sides, upon the points of difference of opinion, if any such exist."

"Project of articles of a treaty, &c. Art. 2d. Whereas complaints have been made by divers merchants and other citizens of the United States, that, during the course of the war, in which the French republic is now engaged, they have sustained considerable losses and damages, by reason of irregular or illegal captures and condemnations of their vessels and other property, in ports and places, within the jurisdiction or dominions of the said republic; all under color of authority or commission from the same: for which losses and damage they have failed, without manifest neglect or wilful omission on their part, to obtain adequate compensation; it is agreed, that in all such cases, full and complete compensation shall be made by the government of the French republic. And whereas complaints have also been made by divers merchants and other citizens of the French republic, that, under color of authority or commissions from the United States, for which losses and damage they have failed, without manifest negligence or wilful omission on their part, to obtain adequate compensation, it is agreed, that in all such cases, full and complete compensation shall be made by the government of the United States." Five commissioners to determine the losses—"they shall not, in examining claims under this article, be concluded either as to law or facts, by any judicial decision, sentence, or decree, which has been had or rendered therein. And they shall decide the claims in question, according to the original merits of the several cases, and to justice, equity and the law of nations; and in all cases of complaint existing prior to the 7th of July, '98, according to the treaties and consular convention then existing between France and the United States." The award of said commissioners shall be final and conclusive; and they shall comprehend a reasonable allowance of interest on the original losses or damage computed up to the time when the award is to be performed.

Art. 3d. Vessels found without a role d'equipage, or having on board when captured, merchandise the production or manufacture of any particular country or place, if otherwise fair and equitable, to be included in the claims for which provision is herein made.

Art. 4. The awards to be made in gold or silver coin, or six per cent stock, to American citizens in Paris within three months; and to French citizens at the city of Washington, within six months from the date of the award.

Art. 5. Provides for the payment by the French government, of claims of the citizens of the United States for contracts, for provisions and other property in France and her dominions, for freight and use of their vessels, for certificates and bills issued and drawn by officers and agents of the republic—may be submitted to said board; shall be allowed interest; "but it is understood that no person, by omitting to prefer such his claim to the said commissioners, shall thereby impair his right to seek and obtain payment by any other means."

On the 6th of May the ministers, in answer, say; "The object of this negotiation is to produce the reconciliation, and to cement the ancient friendship of the two nations. The principles from which the undersigned think it unnecessary to set out, are those which can determine the true sense of those mutual obligations, whose real, or presumed inexecution, has caused the misunderstanding of the respective governments. The value and discharge of damages for the *two nations*, or their citizens, which have resulted from this transient misunderstanding, can be considered only as a consequence of the interpretation which will be given, by mutual consent, to the treaties, and as a pledge of the sincere return to the primitive relations of the two nations, and of the forgetfulness of events which have disturbed them. The communication of the project proposed by the envoys, then, tends to the removal of difficulties which may interpose between the object, which it is necessary to attain, and the priciples from which it is expedient to set out. The respective ministers agree also upon the expediency of compensation. The discussion then, is now confined to two points, viz: 1st. What are the principles which ought to govern the political and commercial relations of the two nations? 2d. What is the form most suitable to the respective interests of liquidating, and discharging, the indemnities which shall be due?

"The examination of principles, it seems, should precede that of the means of indemnification, since on the one part, indemnification can result only from an avowed violation of an acknowledged obligation, and, on the other, the agreement upon principles can alone assure peace, and maintain friendship. The ministers

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would therefore hasten to explain themselves upon the different interpretations given, respectfully, to the treaties, for several years past, if, upon reading the second article of the project of a treaty which has been communicated to them, they had not been struck with a distinction of which they neither conceive the cause or the object, and upon which an explanation has appeared to them necessary. The words which include it relate to the commissioners who will be named for the liquidation of damages. 'They shall decide,' says the project, 'the demands according to their original and intrinsic merit, conformably to justice and the law of nations; and, in all cases of complaint prior to the 7th of July, '98 [referring to the act of Congress of that date, which declares the treaties with France to be annulled] they shall pronounce agreeable to the treaties and consular convention then existing between France and the United States.' The ministers see no reason which authorizes a distinction between the time prior to the 7th of July, '98, and the time subsequent, for the purpose of applying to damages, which have taken place in the former, the dispositions of the treaty, and only the principles of the law of nations to those which have taken place during the latter. The mission of the ministers of the French republic has pointed out to them the treaties of alliance, friendship and commerce, and the consular convention, as the only foundation of their negotiations; upon these acts has arisen the misunderstanding, and it seems proper that, upon these acts, union and friendship should be established. When the undersigned hastened to acknowledge the principle of compensation, it was in order to give an unequivocal evidence of the fidelity of the French government to its ancient engagements, every pecuniary stipulation appearing to it expedient, as a consequence of ancient treaties, and not as the preliminary of a new one."

A CLAIMANT.

No. XXXV.

Extract from the Envoys' Journal, of May 7, 1800.

"A conference was held to-day for the purpose of agreeing upon the draft of an answer to the French minister's letter of 6th instant, and, as the French ministers had acceded to the general proposition of mutual compensation and indemnity, in their note of the 9th of April, and had again recognised the principle in their note of the 6th of May, connected with certain discussions, and the ulterior adjustment of the existing differences in a treaty, the envoys were of opinion that they would facilitate the arrangements, as to the preliminary object, and avoid the waste of time in the discussion of general abstract principles, by sending the entire project of a treaty which they had then prepared."

On the 8th of May, the envoys, in answer to the French ministers, state explicitly that the act of Congress of 7th July '98, having annulled the treaties with France, "that declaration cannot be recalled. And the United States must abide by its effects with respect to the priority of the treaties, whatever inconveniences may result to themselves. The government, it was understood, could not, with good faith, give to the undersigned, powers to change or effect such prior treaty, and they do not possess them. The undersigned recognise the principle, that right to indemnification can result only from the violation of a known obligation, and they conceive it to be equally incontrovertible, that the law of nations constitutes such an obligation where treaties do not enough. They have not understood that the principle of compensation proposed by them was admitted, without a supposition that other points would be satisfactorily arranged: yet they trust that satisfying the demands of justice will always be considered as the wisest of political expedients.' Enclosed they sent the further project of a treaty, which, including the six articles before noticed, made in the whole thirty-six articles.

The 7th article provides, "All ships of war or other public ships which either nation has taken from the other and detains, shall be given up, or where that cannot without difficulty be done, the full value of them shall be restored. And it is further agreed, that, if the armed ships of the United States have retaken and set free from the ships of war or other public ships of the French republic, any prizes which they had captured from their enemies, the United States will make compensation to

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the French republic for the prizes so liberated."* The other articles generally accorded with those contained in the British treaty. The principle, that free ships make free goods, is abandoned: And there is no provision, as is usual between friendly nations, *that each will treat the other as the most favored nation.*

Extract from the Envoys Journal of 23d May. "The French ministers had frequently mentioned in conversation, the insuperable repugnance of their government to yield its claims to the anteriority assured to it in the treaty of amity and commerce of '78, urging the equivalent alleged to be accorded by France for this stipulation, the meritorious ground on which they generally represented the treaty stood; denying strenuously the power of the American government to annul the treaties by a simple legislative act, and always concluding, that it was perfectly incompatible with the honor and dignity of France to assent to the extinction of a right in favor of an enemy, and much more so to appear to acquiesce in the establishment of that right in favor of Great Britain. *The priority with respect to the right of asylum for privateers and prizes, was the only point in the old treaty on which they had anxiously insisted.*" Instead of yielding this point (which, according to the envoys' own showing, would have forthwith removed all difficulty,) they contented themselves with offering the following, to be added to the 22d article of the proposed treaty,† "Nor will either of the said parties while they continue in amity, make a treaty with any foreign sovereign or state, stipulating for the privateers and prizes of such sovereign or state, an asylum in the ports of either, unless they shall have assured to each other such right of asylum for the privateers and prizes of each, in the ports of the other."

On the 23d of July, the envoys wrote to the ministers: "It appearing, however, to be the ultimate opinion of the ministers, that it did not comport with the honor of France, to be deprived of that right [by priority to introduce privateers and prizes into the ports of the United States,] and at the same time, to be called upon for compensation, the undersigned, solicitous for the honor of France, as well as for that of America, devised, and offered as their last effort, the written proposition above alluded to, and which it was conceived did essentially remove the difficulty. Its object was to suspend the payment of compensation, a consideration of much weight in the estimate of the United States, until France could be put into complete possession of the privileges she contended for, and at the same time, to give that security, which a great pecuniary pledge would amount to, for her having the privilege as soon as it could be given with good faith, which might perhaps be in a little more than two years, and at any rate within seven."

It cannot be necessary to remark, that the security offered was at least equal in value to the privileges they were intended to secure.

If the object of the French ministers had been to avoid the payment of indemnities, it is scarcely possible to conceive a more desirable opportunity than this proposition presented; because it was a relief for at least seven years, and she could at all times have so enlarged her demand of interpretation of the old treaties, (if we could even restore them after seven years, which it would be the policy and interest of England to prevent, and fully in her power under the treaty of '94) as would make us glad to relinquish the indemnities as their price. But such was not her object: She made it *the point of honor;* and such it really was, and upon that ground she adhered to it.

On the 27th of July, the ministers in answer, say: "The French ministers are obliged to repeat, that their instructions being grounded on the perfect acknowledgment of ancient treaties, it is impossible to subscribe to the annihilation of a privi-

*This is the only article in the proposed treaty (which was projected by the *American envoys* let it be recollected,) that has any reference to *national* claims as due to the United States; and in this, while the first clause points out a reciprocal restoration of public vessels (France had none of our public vessels to restore,) the latter clause discloses the fact, that the whole operation of the article would be in favor of France, to wit: not only to restore or pay her for the public ships we had captured, but also to pay her for the prizes we had taken from her cruisers and set free. It may be said, that, if we had *national* claims to urge, that was the proper time and place to have brought them forward.

†The reluctance on the part of the envoys to renew the old treaties arose out of *political* considerations only, which did not affect the admitted right of the spoliation claims to indemnity. In their letter to the Secretary of State, of the 4th of October, 1800, they declare, that *they were "unanimously of the opinion that any part of the former treaties might be renewed consistently with good faith."*

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lege assured by the treaty of '78, to the privateers of each of the two nations in the ports of the other, and above all to the establishment of this privilege, in the mutual relations of the United States and Great Britain. But, convinced that the true interest of France is strictly connected with the prosperity of the United States, and the prosperity of the United States with their perfect independence; convinced that the exclusive right granted by one nation to the privateers of another, to bring their prizes into their ports, is of a nature to compromit its tranquility, and by that its independence, either because in a number of cases, it will give just cause of complaint, or at least of umbrage, to the powers upon whom such prizes are made, they hasten to repeat, at the same time, to the American ministers, that in case of a reconciliation, they will make it a duty to insist with their government, upon the proposition which they have already made, to abolish all exclusive right of entry in their respective ports for the privateers of the two nations and their prizes, and to reduce themselves, for them, to the right of bringing in their prizes in concurrence with the most favored nation. They believe that the French government would be honored by the sacrifice of a privilege which can be prejudicial to its ally; but that it would be disgraced in depriving itself of it, to the advantage of its enemy, and without advantage to the American independence. The French ministers do not find, in the note of the 23d July, any reason to determine them to consider the treaties made between France and the United States as broken. The act of Congress of the 7th of July, '98, is the declaration of one party, but the treaty, being the work of two, one alone cannot destroy, otherwise than by war and victory, that which is the engagement of two. When Congress declares, on one side, that France has contravened the treaties, and that they are exonerated from them; and when, on the other, the French government declares that it has conformed to the treaties, that the United States had alone infringed them, and it wills their execution, where is the law, where is the tribunal, which authorizes the exoneration, rather than the execution! While there is a dispute between the two contracting parties, respecting the existence or annihilation of a treaty, there cannot result from the annihilation pretended by one of the parties, any right to the advantages of a third. If France had declared the treaty null, and the United States had maintained that it was entire, England could not have been authorized to say to America, I enter upon the rights of France. This is beyond doubt. The declaration of a rupture made by one party does not operate a rupture, If it is free to one contracting party to disengage itself when it pleases, in virtue of its own proper judgment, upon facts, upon men, upon things, there is no more obligation attached to treaties; the word ought to be erased from all languages. If a right to anteriority can be destroyed, to the prejudice of the nation who possesses it, by the sole act of the party who has recognized it, and if, by this sole act, the right passes to a third party, it must be regarded as a principle, that a nation who makes a second treaty, raises an enemy to her with whom she has made a first, and that she assures the spoil to this enemy the moment she has a mind to act in concert with her. The French ministers will not push further their observations. Those which they have repeated suffice to establish the rights of France, and to her the honor of a sacrifice, which she would make in renouncing the exclusive right of entry in the ports of America, for the French privateers accompanied with their prizes,

Passing to the second object of the note, the ministers observe, that the proposition of the envoys, offers to the republic at a distant time the hope of exclusive advantages, of which they think she ought not to be jealous, and for the present, and perhaps for seven successive years, an humiliating forfeiture of these rights, and a shameful inferiority with regard to a state, over which she had acquired these privileges, by the services she had rendered to America, when it made war with such state. When the ministers of France can subscribe to a condition unworthy the French nation, the price which they would put upon their humiliation, would not be the continuance of a subjection, which they consider to be contrary to the interest of the United States. The dependence of her ally cannot be for her an indemnity for a national suffering. The French ministers, believing it to be their duty to insist with their government, upon the immediate renunciation of a privilege well acquired, it would be contradictory that they should provide for its return at a distant time." And again, on the 11th of August, after having received fresh instructions from the government, they write: "In the first place they will insist upon the principle already laid down in their former note, viz: That the treaties which united France and the United States are not broken: that even war could not have broken them, but that the state of misunderstanding, which has existed for some time be-

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tween France and the United States, by the act of some agents, rather than by the will of the respective governments, has not been a state of war, at least on the side of France. If the reflections presented on this subject in the note, of the 27th of July, suffice to lead the envoys to the acknowledgment of the treaties, the first consequence which will result from them, and which the ministers of France will be eager to recognize anew, is, *that the parties on both sides ought to be compensated for the damages which have been mutually caused by their misunderstanding.* Thus, the propositions which the ministers have the honor to communicate to the envoys are reduced to this simple alternative:—

Either the ancient treaties with the privileges resulting from priority, and the stipulations of reciprocal indemnities, or a new treaty, assuring *equality* without indemnity."

A CLAIMANT.

No. XXXVI.

On the 20th of August, 1800, the envoys wrote to the French ministers, accepting the first proposition contained in their note of the 11th of August, which was in the following words:—"A recognition of the treaties, with the privileges resulting from priority, and the stipulation of reciprocal indemnities"—they say—"they yet think it may be more useful to search for means of healing the breach, than for the causes which produced it.

"As a further effort on their part to ascertain those means, they make the following propositions, predicated on the adoption of the first alternative in the overture of the ministers.

"1st. Let it be declared that the former treaties are renewed and confirmed, and shall have the same effect as if no misunderstanding between the two powers had intervened, except so far as they are derogated from by the present treaty.

"2d. It shall be optional with either party to pay to the other, within seven years, three millions of francs, in money, or securities which may be issued for indemnities, and thereby to reduce the rights of the other as to privateers and prizes to those of the most favored nation. And during the said term allowed for option, the right of both parties shall be limited by the line of the most favored nation.

"3d. The mutual guaranty in the treaty of Alliance shall be so specified and limited, that its future obligation shall be, on the part of France, when the United States shall be attacked, to furnish and deliver at her own ports, military stores to the amount of one million of francs, and on the part of the United States, when the French possessions in America in any future war shall be attacked, to furnish and deliver at their own ports a like amount in provisions. It shall moreover be optional for either party to exonerate itself wholly of its obligation, by paying to the other within seven years a gross sum of five millions of francs, in money, or such securities as may be issued for indemnities.

"4th. The articles of commerce and navigation, except the 17th article of the treaty, shall admit of modifications, reserving for their principle the rights of the most favored nation, where it shall not be otherwise agreed, and be limited in their duration to 12 years.

"5th. There shall be a reciprocal stipulation for indemnities; and these indemnities shall be limited to the claims of individuals, and adjusted agreeably to the principles and manner proposed by the American ministers in the project of a treaty heretofore delivered, except when it shall be otherwise agreed; public ships taken on either side shall be restored or paid for.

"6th. All property seized by either party, and not yet definitely condemned, or which may be seized before the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, shall be restored on reasonable, though it should be informal, proof of its belonging to the other, except contraband goods of the United States, destined to an enemy's port. This provision to take effect from the signature of the treaty, and if any condemnation should take place contrary to the intent of this stipulation, before knowledge of the same shall be obtained, the property so condemned shall be paid for without delay."

These propositions suggest the following remarks upon the articles respectively; they will be referred to and enlarged hereafter.

2d Art. If the reduction of the right of France to those of the most favored nation was estimated at 3,000,000 of francs, (the French ministers estimate was 8,000,000,)

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what additional sum should be estimated as the value of the rights proposed to remain, and what further sum should be estimated as the value of the suppression of those exclusive rights, from the time that the treaty with England was concluded, and some of them date even further back? The three sums together, would show the true value to the United States of the abrogation of that article—which was one of the leading objects of the United States—was subsequently obtained; and the price paid virtually out of the spoliation claims.

3d Art. The fee simple of the guaranty article is estimated by the envoys at 5,000,000 of francs—(by the French ministers at 10,000,000.) But the estimate of the total value of the abrogation of this article, must embrace as well the above sum as the immense responsibilities already incurred. The aggregate, like that of the second article, was accounted for, out of the spoliation claims.

4th Art. This, as well as the 1st and 2d articles, contained what the French ministers deemed *odious*, as securing privileges to England which they had uniformly resisted. It will, doubtless, strike the attention of the reader, that the United States gave these privileges to England in the treaty of '94, voluntarily, and without equivalent; and that the sums here proposed, and subsequently paid to France, is the price of that sacrifice.

5th Art. National claims are silently passed over. This was good policy if the French would yield to it. We had none to make, while the French had many: I will at this time notice only one, to wit: Would not France have a right to claim for the French government property taken out of American vessels, by English captures, under the authority of our treaty with Great Britain of '94? Public ships taken on either side are to be restored; France had taken none of our public vessels; we had taken several of hers.

On the 25th of August, the French ministers submitted to the envoys the following propositions:

"1st. The ancient treaties shall be continued and confirmed to have their full force, as if no misunderstanding between the two nations had ever occurred.

"2d. Commissioners shall be appointed to liquidate the respective losses.

"3d. The 17th article of the treaty of commerce of '78, shall be continued in full force, with the single addition, immediately after these words, to wit: "And on the contrary, no shelter or refuge shall be given in their ports or harbors to such as shall have made prize of the subjects of his majesty, or of the citizens of the United States." There shall be added, "If it be not in virtue of known treaties, on the day of the signature of the present, and subsequent to the treaty of 1778, and that for the space of seven years." The 22d article, subject to the same reservation as the 17th article.

"4th. If, during the term of seven years, the proposal to establish the 17th and 22d articles, be not made and accepted without reserve, the award for indemnities determined by the commissioners, shall not be allowed.

"5th. The guaranty stipulated by the treaty of alliance, shall be converted into a grant of succor for 2,000,000. But this grant shall not be redeemable, unless by a capital of 10,000,000."

The 3d article was modified the next day by the French ministers, as follows: "If, in the space of seven years, the re-establishment of the 17th and 22d articles, in their full force, be not offered, there shall be no further time allowed for the payment of the indemnities, liquidated by the commissioners; and if the re-establishment of the 17th and 22d articles in their plenitude be offered within the space of seven years, France shall have the option between the re-establishment, or an indemnity of eight millions to be paid to her in specie, or orders given for the payment of indemnities liquidated by the commissioners.

"It is understood, and it shall be stipulated, in conformity to a note of the envoys, that the privileges of prizes being abolished, as well for France as for England, at the expiration of the treaty, neither America nor France shall give them to any one power."

On the 29th of August the envoys, in answer, wrote to the ministers, "The 3d and 4th propositions leave it optional with France to reject indemnities, while they secure to her, unconditionally, the treaty of commerce with a minute exception, which is so limited by time and other circumstances, as to render it of little consideration with either party. With respect to the other treaty, [alliance] the option to reject indemnities produces no effect whatever; its inconveniences are only to be avoided by a purchase of ten millions. So that by these propositions indemnities may be sacrificed, and the treaties remain recognised and confirmed; a measure,

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which in its operation, would be a complete departure from the principle proposed as the basis of negotiation by the French ministers; and the abondonment of an object to which the envoys are bound to adhere, and upon which their sentiments have never varied.

"As to the 5th proposition, it is rendered inadmissable only by an augmentation of the sums, proposed by the undersigned, to extinguish the right of France under the mutual guarantee."

The envoys then offered the following proposition:

"If the United States shall at any time within seven years from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, offer to the French republic an article of the tenor, following, viz:—'It is agreed that the United States shall pay to the French republic, within seven years from the day of exchanging the ratifications of the treaty of ——, eight millions of francs in money, or such securities as have been or may be issued to citizens of the United States, for indemnities under the said treaty, together with interest hereafter at the rate of — per centum, per annum, until the principal shall be discharged. And that as a consideration of such engagements, the United States shall forever be exonerated of the obligation, on their part, to furnish succors or aid under the mutual guarantee of the 11th article of the treaty of alliance, of the 6th of Feb., 1778; and the rights of the French republic, under the 17th and 22d articles of the treaty of amity and commerce, of the same date, shall be forever limited to such as the most favored nation shall in these respects enjoy.' The French republic will accept the same; or if the French republic shall at any time within that term offer such an article, the United States will accept the same. And in either case, the article so offered shall become part of the present treaty. To such a stipulation, in connection with the 1st, 4th, 5th, and 6th propositions offered by the envoys, in their note of the 20th of this month, they would agree, so great is their desire to terminate, without farther loss of time, the present negotiation."

And, on the 4th of September, the French ministers submitted to the envoys the following proposition, viz:

"We shall have the right to take our prizes into the ports of America.

"A commission shall regulate the indemnities, which either of the two nations may owe to the citizens of the other.

"The indemnities which shall be due by France to the citizens of the United States, shall be paid for *by he United States*. And in return for which, France yields the exclusive privilege, resulting from the 17th and 22d articles of the treaty of commerce and from the rights of guarantee of the 11th article of the treaty of alliance."

This proposition discloses the value France set upon the old treaties, which was much greater than the sum of spoliations due to American claimants; as it not only absorbed the entire claim for spoliations, but still left France in the enjoyment of the right to bring her prizes into our ports; and this was the great object we sought to avoid.

By this proposition, it is necessary to remark, the French surrender to the United States, not only the old treaties, excepting the right to bring their prizes into our ports, but they also surrender all their *national* claims arising under said treaties and otherwise. These cannot be stated with accuracy, or their amount even conjectured: but the following memorandum may enable the reader to form some idea of their magnitude. 1st. For the suppression of their privateers, commissioned through their ministers and consuls; and for the restoration to their enemy, of prizes made by said privateers. 2d. The suppression of their right to commission other privateers. 3d. The suppression of the jurisdiction of their consuls over prizes. 4th. The taking cognizance through our courts of the validity of French prizes. 5th. The non-performance of the guarantee. 6th. The permission, under Mr. Jay's treaty, to enemy's vessels to have asylum in our ports, after having captured French vessels, &c. and the prohibition, under said treaty, to sell French prizes in our ports. 7th. The permission to England to capture French property found on board our vessels. 8th. The enlargement of the list of contraband, and surrender of the principle that free ships make free goods, in said treaty. 9th. The detention and loss of French vessels and property by our embargo. 10th. The losses occasioned by our non-importation acts, our non-intercourse acts, and the use of our seamen on board English vessels, against French vessels and the French colonies. 11th. The captures made from the French during the *quasi* war, including recaptures of foreign vessels which were restored by the United States to their owners.

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&c. &c. &c. And generally all the *political* and pecuniary disadvantages to France, stated in her several complaints, and particularly since the United States declared the treaties with France to be annulled. All these together with the onerous stipulations of the old treaties, are proposed to be given as an equivalent for the spoliation claims. Not that France will not regard the spoliation claims as just and to be paid, but that the individuals shall be paid *by the United States*, in consideration of the equivalent given to her for that purpose by France.

A CLAIMANT.

No. XXXVII.

On the 6th of September, 1800, the envoys wrote to the French ministers, that the propositions contained in their note of the 4th inst. are "altogether inadmissible. The nearest approach to them which the envoys can make, is:

"1st. The former treaties shall be renewed and confirmed.

"2d. The obligations of the guaranty shall be specified and limited, as in the first paragraph of their 3d proposition of the 20th August.

"3d. There shall be mutual indemnities, and a mutual restoration of captured property not yet definitively condemned, according to their 5th and 6th propositions of that date.

"4th. If, at the exchange of ratifications, the United States shall propose a mutual relinquishment of indemnities, the French republic will agree to the same; and in such case, the former treaties shall not be deemed obligatory, except that under the 17th and 22d articles of that of commerce, the parties shall continue *forever* to have for their public ships of war, privateers, and prizes, such privileges in the ports of each other, as the most favored nation shall enjoy.

"Upon these propositions a conference was held with the ministers, at the instance of the envoys, at which the 1st and 3d articles were agreed to. The 2d and 4th were considered together, and after considerable discussion, the ministers said they were determined not to accede to these, unless an option perfectly similar and reciprocal was assured to the French republic, the operation of which enabled her to get rid of the indemnities, by an offer of abandoning the exclusive privileges. The following is their proposed modification of the 2d and 4th articles taken together.

"If, at the exchange of ratifications, the United States offer to the French republic, or if the French republic offer to the United States, the reciprocal relinquishment of indemnities, this proposition shall be accepted, and, in this case, the obligation of guarantee arising out of the 11th article of the treaty of alliance, and the privileges resulting from the 17th and 22d articles of the treaty of commerce, shall be reduced to the privileges which the most favored nation shall enjoy."

The envoys' journal states: "The subject of the modification of the guaranty was now particularly pressed [by the envoys] in the manner agreed. (That is, in a place of a general guarantee, a stipulated succor of 2,000,000 francs, redeemable with a capital of 10,000,000 francs.) The conversation on this subject closed by a declaration of the president of the French commission, that such a modification could not be acceded to, without new instructions; that they had no powers to assent to such a stipulation; but that if their government should think proper to instruct them to make a treaty on the basis of indemnities, and a *modified* renewal of the old treaties, he would resign sooner than sign such a treaty; the other two commissioners made similar declarations. The envoys retired a few minutes, and agreed that it was now clearly in vain to make any further attempts on this ground. The envoys being now convinced that the door was perfectly closed against all hope of obtaining indemnities, with any *modifications* of the treaties, it only remained to be determined whether, under all circumstances it would not be expedient to attempt a temporary arrangement, which would extricate the United States from the war, or that peculiar state of hostility in which they are at present involved; save the immense property of our citizens now depending before the council of prizes, and secure, as far as possible, our commerce against the abuses of captures during the war."

Suppose the negotiators had agreed, (and a treaty to that effect been concluded,) that the American spoliation claims on the one part, and the French claims and the surrender of the old treaties on the other part, should be considered of equal value: and that each should be given in exchange for the other, could there remain a doubt of the liability of the government of the United States to her citizens for their

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claims so surrendered? The sequel will show that the case supposed actually occurred, not indeed through the envoys, but through higher authority, to wit, the Senate and the President jointly.

On the 13th of September the envoys wrote to the ministers, "The discussion of former treaties, and of indemnities, being for the present closed, it must, of course, be postponed till it can be resumed with fewer embarrassments. It remains only to consider the expediency of a temporary arrangement. Should such an arrangement comport with the views of France, the following principles are offered as the basis of it:

"1st. The ministers plenipotentiary of the respective parties, not being able to agree respecting the former treaties and indemnities, the parties will, in due and convenient time, further treat on those subjects; and until they shall have agreed respecting the same, the said treaties shall have no operation. In the meantime,

"2d. The parties shall abstain from all unfriendly acts; their commercial intercourse shall be free, and debts shall be recoverable in the same manner as if no misunderstanding had intervened.

"3d. Property captured, and not yet definitely condemned, or which may be captured before the exchange of ratifications, shall be mutually restored. Proofs of ownership to be specified in the convention.

"4th. Some provisional regulations shall be made to prevent abuses and disputes, that may arise out of future cases of capture."

On the 24th of September the ministers submitted to the envoys the following counter propositions:—"The French and American ministers having admitted, at the close of repeated discussions, that they could not then agree upon the interpretation of the 11th article of the treaty of alliance, and of the 17th and 22d of the treaty of commerce of 1778, or upon the reciprocal indemnities that may arise out of the capture of prizes from individuals of both nations, have agreed upon what follows:

"1st. The parties put off to another time the discussions of indemnities and of the above three articles of the treaties of 1778, which treaties are, moreover acknowledged and confirmed by these presents, as well as the consular convention of 1788.

"2d. The ships of the two nations, and their privateers, accompanied by their prizes, shall be treated in the respective ports, as those of the most favored nation.

"3d. National ships shall be restored or paid for.

"4th. The property of individuals not yet tried, shall be so according to the treaty of amity and commerce of 1778, in consequence of which a role d'equipage shall not be exacted, nor any other proof which this treaty could not exact."

The envoys' journal states, that "the business was now conducted by conference from day to day until the 30th of September, when the convention was finished under the title of a '*Provisional Treaty*' which at the instance of the French ministers, was stricken out, and the word *convention* substituted."

The matters of disagreement were the *treaties* and *indemnities;* and these were connected and included in the convention, and became the 2d article thereof, in the following words:

"Art. 2. The ministers plenipotentiary of the two parties not being able to agree at present respecting the treaty of alliance of the 6th Feb. '78, the treaty of amity and commerce of the same date, and the convention of 14th Nov. '88, nor upon the indemnities mutually due or claimed, the parties will negotiate further on these subjects at a convenient time; and until they may have agreed upon these points, the said treaties and convention shall have no operation, and the relations of the two countries shall be regulated as follows:

"Art. 3. The public ships which have been taken on one part and the other, or which may be taken before the exchange of ratifications, shall be restored.

"Art. 4. Property captured, and not yet definitely condemned, or which may be captured before the exchange of ratifications (contraband goods destined to an enemy's port excepted) shall be mutually restored, on the following proofs of ownership. The proof on both sides with respect to merchant ships, whether armed or unarmed, shall be a passport in the form following. [This passport is precisely the same word for word as that specified in the treaty of '78.]

"Art. 5. The debts contracted by one of the two nations with individuals of the other, or by the individuals of one with the individuals of the other, shall be paid, or the payment may be prosecuted in the same manner as if there had been no misunderstanding between the two states. But this clause shall not extend to indemnities claimed on account of captures or confiscations."

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The convention contained 27 articles, including the above, and the whole were confirmed and ratified by "Bonaparte, First Consul, in the name of the French people."

This ratification was a direct and unequivocal recognition by the French government, of the existence of the spoliation claims, and a solemn pledge that they should be discussed and compensated.

Our government cannot claim any extraordinary credit at the hands of the claiming citizens, for obtaining an official pledge of this kind; first, because the French never hesitated to make it; and second, because it was obtained without sacrifice. If, on the one hand, the claiming citizens were benefitted, by the converting of an *implied*, but no less obligatory, liability, into a direct and solemn *pledge*, the United States, on the other hand, were benefitted in a much greater degree, by getting rid of the operation of the old treaties till the reserved difficulties should be adjusted, by getting rid of the disadvantages and expense of the *quasi* war, and above all, to save its honor. Hence, there is no room for regret on either side.

A review of the discussions leading to the convention, presents the following result: That the parties agreed on all points, save *the exclusive right to France to introduce her prizes into the ports of the United States.*

Lest it might be supposed that the French did not regard this right as really important, though they made it the point of honor, but interposed it as a mere pretext to avoid their liability for spoliations, and that as the envoys could not admit that right to be reserved in good faith to England, so the disagreement was *insurmountable;* the following is adduced which will apply as well to the future as to the past discussions. France was then at war, and the advantage of the exclusive use of our ports, then, and in future wars, is self evident; and for the rest, the envoys themselves have supplied what is necessary. In their letter to the Secretary of State, of 4th October, 1800, they say that a state of war itself does not import that the treaties have in fact ceased to exist, but simply renders them inoperative during its continuance, and that a cessation of war restores the treaties to operation without any express provision to render them so. And in reference to the act of Congress which suspended the old treaties with France, they say: "the treaties in question having had only the usual inoperation, might, *without a breach of faith*, have the usual recognition," which is understood to imply that the old treaties could be revived by act of Congress. They go on to say, "as far as the opinion of Great Britain goes [she was the only power interested] there would be no difficulty in recognising a treaty which gives to France an exclusive right to introduce prizes into the ports of the United States; because she, by a project of a treaty of peace drawn up at her own court in '92, and offered by lord Malmsbury to the French plenipotentiaries, proposed to give to France such exclusive right in the British ports; that is, the project renewed the treaties of Paris of 1763 and 1783, both of which renewed the commercial treaty of Utrecht, of 1713, which contained such a stipulation. The foregoing considerations induced the undersigned to be *unanimously of the opinion that any part of the former treaties might be renewed consistently with good faith.*"

These opinions are certainly entitled to great consideration, seeing that chief justice Ellsworth was at the head of the commission who gave them.

That the treaties were not renewed, therefore, was not from any intrinsic difficulty, but solely because it did not comport with the *policy* and *interest* of the United States to renew them.

I consider it as established that the French ratification of the convention vested in the claimants a *perfect right* to indemnity from *France.*

A CLAIMANT.

No. XXXVIII.

IMMEDIATELY after the ratification of the convention by the first consul, and before it had reached the United States the French government gave operation to some of its provisions, particularly in issuing orders for the suppression of privateers. These orders from the minister of marine directed to the agents in the colonies, and dated the 12th Oct. 1800, after enjoining a strict watch over their privateers contains the following: "There may be no occasion for me to awaken your attention upon this subject, but multiplied facts, and those too of a recent date, forced me to believe

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that the privateers in our colonies are guilty with impunity, of the most shameful robberies. Instead of attacking the real enemies of France against whom it would be glorious and useful to engage, the privateers employ the whole time of their cruise in interrupting the trade of allies and of neutrals. But I will not conceal from you, citizens, that the charges which I have mentioned against the privateers, are daily made by the agents of every foreign power and are often made even by those of our citizens who have been compelled by circumstances to make use of a neutral flag, and pointed against the *superior officers* of the administrations of the colonies.

"They are accused of openly suffering these abuses, of permitting weak and feebly armed privateers to take the sea, better fitted for pillage than for combat; of not requiring from every person fitting out a privateer, the bail which the law of Aug. 11th '95, with so much reason requires as a security for indemnification to the navigator illegally captured, and of declaring to be valid prizes taken in contempt of the law of nations, of treaties and of our own laws and regulations."

The convention was laid before the Senate on the 16th December, 1800, who held it under advisement until the 3d February, 1801. The cause of this great delay is not yet disclosed; but it is understood that the *second* article caused much discussion, and that the Senate were divided on the question of striking it out; the opposition arose from the desire on the one part to get rid of the old treaties in toto, and on the other to avoid taking upon the United States the responsibility for spoliations. The result of these discussions was a decision by vote on the 3d February 1801, for striking out said article, and limiting the convention to eight years, and with these modifications their advice and consent was given to the ratification.

The President made a special message to the Senate on the 2d March, 1801, in which he says: "Although it would have been more conformable to my own judgment and inclination to have agreed to that instrument unconditionally, yet in this point I found I had the misfortune to differ in opinion from so high a constitutional authority as the Senate. I judged it more consistent with the honor and interest of the United States to ratify it under the conditions prescribed, than not at all."

And on the 18th of February the President ratified it, "saving and excepting the second article of the said convention, which I hereby declare to be expunged and of no force or validity; and I do moreover hereby declare that the said convention, saving the second article as aforesaid, and the additional article, [limiting the convention to eight years] form together one instrument, and are a convention between the United States and the French republic, made by the President of the United States by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof.

In testimony whereof, &c.

(Signed) JOHN ADAMS."

This ratification being conditional made it necessary to obtain the concurrence of the French government, and the convention was for that purpose sent back to France. Without waiting, however, for the French ratification, the United States forthwith carried into effect the provisions of the convention, by causing to be restored several French vessels which we had captured and making pecuniary compensation for others which we had destroyed or otherwise disposed of.

On the 18th of March, 1801, the Secretary of State transmitted to Messrs. Ellsworth and Murray the amended convention to be laid before the French government for ratification. This letter does not contain the reasons for the suppression of the second article, but he says: "It appeared from the documents you transmitted that the 2d article was chiefly of your own soliciting, and that its omission is not likely to be disagreeable to France. There was in the Senate a considerable diversity of sentiment on it, and as, by our constitution one-third of that body can negative a treaty or any particular article of it, there was found to be a sufficient number against this article to effect its negative. With respect to the additional article limiting the duration, you will recollect there was an express instruction to that effect among those given to you. It is perhaps unwise policy in any nation to bind itself perpetually by an act which requires the consent of another nation to annul.*

* The consent *only* of the parties, then,—and not *an act of Congress*, could annul the treaties with France!!! Where, then, was the difficulty? Certainly not in reference to the spoliation claims. But in this—If the United States recognised the continuing obligations of the treaties, (as the Secretary of State admits they were bound to do,) then, all the *national* claims of France would be, confessedly, valid; and the United States would not only be bound to satisfy them, but would still labor, and for an indefinite period, under the onerous stipula-

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It is most unwise in us of all nations, because the circumstances of our existence and our relations with others change so rapidly. What is now advantageous may soon become otherwise, and our increasing strength is daily facilitating the command of just dispositions on the part of others. It has, therefore, been the invariable policy of this country since the date of its earliest treaties, to enter into none which shall not be limited to short terms, and now look forward with desire to the moment when we shall be free from compact with every nation and have a right to govern ourselves with every one according to the principles of justice and of friendship, proportioned to what we experience from them. We hope and trust these modifications by the Senate will meet with no difficulty, and you are accordingly desired to use your best exertions to obtain an acquiescence in them and a final ratification in that form: nevertheless, should the suppression of the 2d article meet with obstacles on their part, which we do not expect, rather than keep things between the two countries in their present unsettled state, you might accept a ratification re-establishing the 2d article, only reserving to the Senate their constitutional right, to advise or refuse a ratification in that form: But as to the additional article, limiting the duration it is a *sine qua non* from which we cannot depart. In every event we are carrying the convention into execution in all its parts." And again on the 23d of April, 1801, "The beneficial effects of ratifying the convention with France is extensively felt and generally acknowledged. On our part it is carried into execution. Our ships of war are called into port. Our trade is passing through channels which have been obstructed, and spreading on seas which have been infested. Our shipping and produce are in quick demand, our former intercourse with France is restored, and it is to be hoped, you have already obtained her confirmation of the treaty which has in part produced these advantages,"

Mr. Ellsworth had returned to the United States, and Mr. Murray alone became charged with the further negotiation; his first letter to the Secretary of State, of the 20th May, 1801, requests particular instructions on the following contingency, which he anticipated would arise. "That they would agree to strike out the article excepted to by the Senate, provided we would not press the limitation, [of eight years;] or that they agree to admit the limitation, if the second article be retained, *on the ground that during the term they still have us under a treaty engagement to renew the negotiation on points interesting to their pride.*"

Mr. Murray, therefore, did not anticipate that the French would be eager to get rid of the spoliation claims in exchange for the old treaties: And again, in his second letter of the 1st of June, he says: "If appearances without words can give a clue to what should be anticipated, I believe that they will accept the ratification, but will make some difficulties for the credit of apparent sacrifice on their part.

tions, to guarantee the French West India islands, and the exclusive right to introduce into our ports French privateers and prizes. Nor would the embarrassing consequences stop here. We should be further involved, in a controversy of a most serious nature, with the British government, arising out of the stipulations in the treaty of, '94, relative to the exclusive introduction into our ports of English cruisers and prizes, and the corresponding exclusion of those of France. Hence, it became the interest and the duty, if not the only alternative of the United States, to extinguish the old treaties and French national claims, by purchase. This was, in effect, proposed, and the consideration tendered, in the simple act of striking out the second article of the convention of 1800.

As a motive for that act, the United States may be supposed to have entertained impressions such as these: "We are now within a complete circle of difficulties, and the only avenue to peace and safety lies in the breaking down the treaties with France—this must be accomplished at the cost of any and every sacrifice. France will not yield them up at our request; we cannot efface them by coercion; we must therefore win her assent by purchase."

"The spoliation claims due to our citizens, France has acknowledged, and they now hang as a charge not only on her treasury, but on her *honor* also—and their redemption is beyond her present means. In this view they are more valuable to us as a consideration to offer, than so much money—if, indeed, her pride would permit her to receive it. We will offer her the spoliation claims in a shape which may effect our object, and may not eventually lose them, to wit: We will strike out the second article of the convention of 1800 *unconditionally*. If France accepts the proposition, the treaties and claims of France will be thereby extinguished, but the spoliation claims will, in part, and principally, be still valid against her, under the general law of nations. If, on the other hand, she declines the proposition, unless upon the condition that treaties and indemnities shall mutually offset and discharge each other, we will agree to said condition:—We will then pay our own citizens, for this public application of their property, and consider the bargain, as it really is, a good one."

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The defect of the northern coalition will, doubtless, operate in our favor. Had that succeeded, or even continued, new conditions had probably been held up, *as the price of their acceptance of the ratification.*"

In Mr. Murray's third letter to the Secretary of State, dated June the 9th, he says: "On the 6th, at a public audience, I delivered my letter of credence to the first consul. He did not appear much pleased with the provisional ratification; but imtimated that the exchange of ratifications would not meet with insurmountable difficulties; on the same day, Mr. Joseph Bonaparte informed me that, as President of the commission, with Fleurieu and Roederer, he had received instructions to enter upon the business of the exchange of ratifications." The letter then details a conference held with the French ministers, and adds, "Mr. Roederer made a remark which has excited some reflections. He observed, that by expunging the second article we abandoned forever, all claim to indemnity. I observed, that if that be the consequence, they could have no objection to our ratification. I fear that they will press an article of formal abandonment on our part, which I shall evade."

On the 14th of June, the French ministers requested Mr. Murray to inform them, what were "the motives of reciprocal interest that induced the suppression, by both, of the 2d article." In answer on the 15th, Mr. Murray "frankly assures them that he is uninformed by his government, of the motives which led to the suppression of the 2d article, and is absolutely uninstructed upon the object of their enquiry. That article promised a negotiation upon treaties and mutual indemnities; and the two powers had under it, not only a right, *but were bound to negotiate in future upon them.* These are precisely the things which, had the *casus fœderis* been claimed, must have tended to disturb the peace, and to throw the friendship of the two nations out of its course. This article being thus rejected and out of the convention, the act contains but defined objects of mutual good will and easy accomplishment, bottomed on returning amity, commerce and navigation. But it would have been to put all these three last great interests eventually on the issue of a future negotiation if the 2d article had remained in the instrument."

Mr. Murray's letter to the Secretary of State, of June 23d, details a conference held with the French ministers on the 13th, he says, "I found that the objection to the suppression of the 2d article, would be in this idea, that they thereby would resign their claim to the treaties, and yet not exonerate themselves from the claim of indemnities. I stated the substance of what I afterwards wrote to them on the 15th, in which an attempt is made to reconcile the suppression to a more generous policy, and to the interest of both nations, without pledging a formal abandonment of claims; fearing, as I did, that a word hazarded in pressing the suppression might have this effect at some future period. On the 18th and 19th, I saw the French ministers. I could learn only that my note of the 15th was under consideration, but found that the abandonment, as they call it, of their treaties, was still an obstacle."

It is quite amusing to see the coquetry with which the ministers, on either side treat the point of difficulty. First, the American minister wishes to avoid a formal abandonment of indemnities, for two reasons; one, that a formal abandonment would remove the responsibility for indemnities, to American citizens *from* France, *and place it directly upon the United States*, (which, however, was precisely the result) and the other, that a simple suppression of the 2d article, would leave the responsibility for indemnities still upon France, *under the law of nations*—while it would effectually surrender the claims of France under the old treaties, and operate a total abrogation of the old treaties also, without an equivalent. The first object of the French minister was to save the national pride; and the second—if he must, however reluctant, yield up the treaties as an equivalent for indemnities, to convert the ambiguous proposition of mutual renunciation (which was the true character of the act of the United States, in striking out the second article) into a *real* discharge of his government from all further liability for indemnities.

In an extract from Mr. Murray's letter to the Secretary of State, before cited, it will have been seen that he was aware of said ambiguity and its effect. And the following letter of M. Talleyrand, of Aug. 4th, 1801, to Mr. Pichon, French resident minister in the United States, fully explains the views of France on the latter point, he says: "You know that the 2d article had not been introduced into the convention, without repugnance on the part of the American minister. It would have been extremely easy and plausible to terminate this discussion by a refusal to ratify, in citing the radical defects of the American ratification; but then the reconciliation of both nations would have remained uncertain and would have been

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left to the chances of an unknown futurity. The government has preferred to terminate this debate in the manner the most conformable to the interests and to the sentiments of the two nations. However, as in ratifying without explanation, the two governments would have found themselves in an unequal position relative to the pretentions expressed in the suppressed article; the suppression of this article releasing the Americans from all pretensions, on our part, relative to ancient treaties, and our silence, respecting the same article, leaving us exposed to the whole weight of the eventual demands of this government relative to indemnities; it has become necessary that a form be introduced into the act of ratification, in order to express the sense in which the government of the republic understood and accepted the abolition of the suppressed article. A CLAIMANT.

No. XXXIX.

Mr. Murray wrote to the Secretary of State on the 24th of June, 1801: "From a conversation which I had to-day with one of the French ministers, I believe that neither they nor their government will consent to the unconditional suppression of the 2d article."

On the 27th of June the French ministers wrote to Mr. Murray, "If the mutual relinquishment of the pretensions that have been the object of the 2d article of the convention of the 30th of September, 1800, is to be the condition for the plain and simple suppression of this article; or if the private opinion and personal sentiments of the Minister of the United States relative to the circumstances that this suppression may produce, are to imply a responsibility on the part of the American government, the French ministers may be led to believe that the interests of each party demands it, and they may perhaps look upon it as a means of strengthening the good understanding happily re-established between the two nations. But they do not believe it to be compatible with the interests and rights of France, to consent freely and positively to the suppression of the article now under discussion."

On the 1st of July Mr. Murray wrote to the Secretary of State, "By the No. 14 and 15, which I have the honor to enclose, you will see that the French ministers have refused to agree to the unconditional suppression of the 2d article. To you, sir, I can say that I wish I had been authorised to subscribe to a joint abandonment of treaties and indemnities. As claims, they will always be set off against each other by them; and *I consider the cessation of their claim to treaties as valuable.*"—And again on the 15th "I understand that the French ministers are deliberating upon the choice of one of the two following modes of ratification: To ratify on condition of reciprocal abandonment of pretensions under the 2d article, or, to ratify on our terms, but with a declaration incorporated in the language, that they consider the suppression of that article as an abandonment of all claims and pretensions under it. Next to a pure and simple adoption of our act, the last appears to me to be the best for the United States, and if nothing better can be done, I shall exchange on their offering me such a ratification."

The same proposition in substance had been before made to Mr. Murray, which he declined, upon the ground, as he informed the Secretary of State, in his letter of the 2d July, of "having no power to dispose *of what may be considered as a valuable claim for the future, &c.*" And again, on the 23d July, 1801, Mr. Murray wrote to the Secretary of State, "At length they will ratify, but with a declaration in the body of their act that the omission of the 2d article, and the addition of the new one of limitation, to both of which they will formally assent, are to be considered as an abandonment respectively of the pretensions under that 2d article. Convinced, sir, as I am, that nothing better can be gained, and confiding in a liberal judgment in government upon the situation in which I am placed, I shall exchange upon these terms." And again on the 3d of August, he informed the Secretary of State that the exchange of ratifications had been made, adding, "Perfectly in the dark as I am, on the views of the Senate in suppressing the second article, *I cannot know the extent of the responsibility, which I have assumed, in accepting the French ratification.*"

The French ratification is in the following words, viz:

"The government of the United States having added to its ratification, that the convention should be in force for the space of eight years, and having omitted the second article, the government of the French republic consents to accept, ratify,

and confirm the above convention, with the addition importing that the convention shall be in force for the space of eight years, and with the retrenchment of the second article: *provided, that by this retrenchment the two states renounce the respective pretensions which are the object of the said article.**

This ratification being conditional, it became necessary to lay the convention again before the Senate for advice and consent, which was accordingly done, and on the 19th of Dec. the Senate resolved "that they considered the said convention as fully ratified, and returned the same to the President for the usual promulgation." And on the 21st of December, 1801, President Jefferson, by proclamation, announced the convention to be finally ratified.

The words "*fully ratified*" used by the Senate, taken in connexion with the proviso in the French ratification, establishes the fact, that the motives of the two governments, in suppressing the 2d article, were precisely the same. This is confirmed in a letter from Mr. Madison, Secretary of State to Mr. R. R. Livingston, our minister to France, dated the 18th of December, 1801, he says: "I am authorized to say that the President does not regard the [French] declaratory clause as more than a legitimate inference from the rejection by the Senate of the 2d article."

And the conclusion is irresistable, that the United States voluntarily surrendered to France the claims of her citizens—and not because they could not be recognised and secured, for that was already accomplished; but to obtain a great political object. An object admitted to be of the very last importance, and to the price of which the claimants, in common with their fellow citizens generally, were bound to contribute. But it would be a violation of common sense to assert, that they alone should bear the entire burthen.

It will not be imputed to the United States, that an allegation will be made that the claims were without value; for such would be as little consistent with its honor and dignity, as with truth: since it is seen, that its envoys have repeatedly offered many millions of francs to purchase out a portion only of the onerous articles of the old treaties (the parts reserved the French would not sell out at any price that could be offered:) And even further, by their proposition of the 6th of September, 1800, 4th article, [No. 37] they propose to give the spoliation claims for the old treaties, reserving to the French, *forever*, the onerous stipulation, which it was the greatest object, next to the guarantee, to extinguish—of the rights and privileges in the ports of the United States, to their privateers and prizes, which the most favored nation should enjoy.

This right, although it appertained to the old treaties, the French refused to incorporate in the 2d article of the convention; they insisted on its being specially provided for, and accordingly it became the 6th article; the convention being without limit of duration, this privilege was perpetual. The ratification on the part of the United States was conditional, that is (in addition to the suppression of the 2d article) that the convention should extend to eight years; and this limitation was made a *sine qua non* for the sole purpose of enabling the United States to rid itself of that privilege at the expiration of eight years. The limitation was acceded to by the French along with, and in consideration of, the suppression of the 2d article. So that the entire treaties, together with the French national and French individual claims, were extinguished at the cost of the spoliation claims alone.

Could the French have deemed the claims of no value? and this is the proper question; since they were the debtor, and alone interested in avoiding the payment. Their several propositions furnish the answer in part; they demand 10 millions of francs, for the guarantee, and 8 millions more for *parts* of other articles, which sums the United States should pay out of the spoliation claims when liquidated; so far, at least, their value was known to be appreciated; how much further than the above sums, is not distinctly stated. But this is known, that throughout the entire correspondence, and in every proposition they made, they expressly recognized and offered to stipulate for them. And if their sincerity was at any time questionable, which does not appear, certainly their ratification of the original convention would remove it. The faith of the French nation was then pledged to discuss and compensate these claims. They had thereby, in effect, placed in the hands of our government, a French national bond promising the payment of, say, ten millions of

*Bonaparte at St. Helena, speaking of this subject, said, "The suppression of this article, at once put an end to the privileges which France had possessed by the treaties of 78, and *annulled the just claims which America might have made for injuries done in time of peace.*"

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dollars,* to certain American citizens:—The United States had no interest therein; it was the sole property of the individuals to be compensated, and the United States was their agent only. But the United States had a great political object in view, and *voluntarily* offered this bond to the French government as its price, which was accepted; and thereupon the French nation was formally discharged from all further liability, and the bond cancelled. A CLAIMANT.

No. XL.

The United States, as in duty bound, had pressed the spoliation claims upon the attention of the French government, early and constantly, always regarding them, upon the score of strict justice, as entitled to protection:—their ministers had been emphatically charged "not to renounce them;" and their envoys, with chief justice Marshall at their head, had declared officially and explicitly "that if they renounced them, or did not by an article in the treaty save them, the United States would thereby become liable for them to her citizens." If their renunciation by the envoys would, therefore, have so fixed the liability on the United States, how much more distinct and forcible has that liability become, by the renunciation being made by the highest constitutional authority known to our government, to wit: the Senate and President together, acting under the treaty making power:—and that, too, after France had recognised and pledged the faith of the nation for them.

The ratification of the original convention by France, gave to the United States the option, of holding France to the indemnities, or taking the charge of their redemption upon herself, she chose the latter, and France yielded reluctantly. The profit of the bargain was clearly with the United States; the choice she made clearly proves it was so considered.

The claiming citizens were not indifferent to the desire of their government, and did not murmur at the national benefit which might be obtained, by the unsolicited temporary use of their property. They were, moreover, satisfied in the change of their debtor, by the superior confidence in their own government: but they never sought this change, nor complained of the want of security or confidence in the pledge given by France. Whether they have been placed in a better or worse situation by this change, or whether this superior confidence was just, is not with them to decide. The constituted authorities have now the subject before them, and there ought not to be a doubt, that justice will be done. But the fact cannot be concealed, that, for the time which has already elapsed, they could not have fared worse under the most faithless government on earth.

In the absence of all proof, the idea has been entertained (not indeed by our government,) that France held on to the old treaties, only as an offset to the indemnities. Nothing can be more fallacious. She yielded with reluctance, only at our earnest importunity, and as proof of her sincerity for reconciliation. On the arrival in France of the amended convention, M. Talleyrand wrote to Mr. Pichon, under date of June 12th 1801. "The French government, after having given proofs of their desire of reconciliation, with so much candor, and even without reserve, have necessarily observed with reluctance, that there were yet some discussions to enter into respecting an act, which ought to have terminated them all. I cannot represent to you after what manner the points in dispute will be regulated; I will only say to you, that the liberal dispositions of the French government towards the United States are not changed, and that they are always disposed to terminate, by a course

*The envoys estimated the aggregate claims of all descriptions at 20 millions of dollars, including the cases then pending in the French courts, many of which were subsequently acquitted. I have taken that sum as the only data within my reach, and from aught that appears is not wide of the true sum. Then deducting, for acquittals and previous payments, say two millions—for payments out of the Louisiana purchase money, (which is a matter of some interest, and shall be explained hereafter) near four millions, being for debts, &c. (excluding spoliations) under the 3d, 4th and 5th articles of the convention of 1800—and making a proper allowance, first, for claims without proof, and second, unfounded claims, and third the claims of deceased persons, assignees, trustees, bankrupts, &c. whose proof is lost or mislaid, or without legal representatives, and probably the sum I have set down (ten millions of dollars) will be the extent of net principal. Should this calculation approximate correctness, it will doubtless be very satisfactory to our government, since it has been declared on the floor of the Senate that the claims would amount to 200 millions.

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the most honorable to both powers, the differences which have for some time kept them apart." And in Mr. Livingston's letter of Sept. 16th, 1801, he says: "France is greatly interested in our guarantee of their Islands, particularly since the changes that have taken place in the West Indies, and those which they may have still reason to apprehend there. I do not therefore wonder at the delay of the ratification, nor shall I be surprised if she consents to purchase it, by the restoration of our captured vessels" [spoliation claims.] And again on the 13th of January, 1802, "The reluctance we have shown to a renewal of a treaty of '78 has created many suspicions. Among other absurd ones, they believe seriously that we have an eye to the conquest of their Islands. This business of Louisiana also originated in that; and they say expressly that they could have had no pretence, so far as related to the Floridas, to make this exchange, had the treaty been renewed, since, by the 6th article they were expressly prohibited from touching the Floridas. I own I have always considered this article and the guarantee of our independence, as more important to us than the guarantee of the Islands was to France; and the sacrifices we have made of an immense claim to get rid of it, as a dead loss."* And again on the 2d of June, 1803: "The first consul had expressed much resentment at the change made in the former convention when ratified."

In truth, it matters little whether the exchange was made reluctantly or not: the exchange was certainly made, and at the instance of the United States, who, doubtless, had motives for urging it far beyond what has or ever will meet the public eye. Enough has been seen, however, without seeking for motives, to convince the most fastidious, that it was an object of great solicitude to our government, and that it considered, that a full equivalent had been obtained for what was given up to France. In Mr. Livingston's letter to M. Talleyrand of the 17th April, 1802, he says: "It will, sir, be well remembered by the distinguished characters who had the management of the negotiation, that the payment for illegal captures, with damages and indemnities was demanded on one side, and the renewal of the treaty of 1778, on the other, that they were considered as of equivalent value, and that they only formed the subject of the 2d article."

Immediately after the final ratification of the convention, several memorials were laid before Congress and the proceedings of 1802, 3, will show that that body was not insensible of the obligations of the government to the individuals; a bill of indemnity was proposed, and lost, as has been understood, only in consequence of the then prevailing party feelings. In 1807, the subject was referred to a select committee, from whose report the following is taken—it was laid upon the table, and has not since been acted on.

"From a mature consideration of the subject, and from the best judgment your committee have been able to form on the case, they are of opinion that this government, by expunging the 2d article of our convention with France, of the 30th Sept. 1800, became bound to indemnify the memorialists for those just claims, which they otherwise would have rightfully have had on the government of France, for the spoliations committed on their commerce by the illegal captures made by the cruisers and other armed vessels of that power, in violation of the law of nations, and in breach of treaties then existing between the two nations; which claims, they were, by the rejection of the said article of the convention, forever barred from preferring to the government of France for compensation." A CLAIMANT.

No. XLI.

THAT a few individuals only, urged their claims upon Congress together, may be one, and perhaps the principal reason, why none have been paid. To meet the aggregate of the claims was considered inconvenient; and the effect of paying the few who pressed, would be to invite all others, many of whom might not make a de-

*Mr. Livingston says, in his letter to the Secretary of State, of the 22d of March, 1822, "The injury that our country has received by the precipitancy of the last administration, the revocation of the treaty, and the abrogation of the 2d article in the convention are incalculable." Whether the bargain was a good or bad one, is not the question at issue. The government differed widely in opinion from Mr. Livingston. The fact to be determined is, whether the bargain *was actually made*; and no official paper has been, or can be found, that contains a solitary doubt on the subject. Mr. Livingston's communications, on this point, are as conclusive as those of others.

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mand, save by such invitation. To remove this difficulty, which should never have existed, the claimants have united in their demands,* the first fruits of which is the production of the official documents, which have slept till now in the archives of the government. On these they are willing to rely:—and surely the government cannot do less. When these are duly weighed, it may be safely asserted, that the magnitude of the sum will be the only difficulty. And on this point, the following extract from the able report made to Congress upon another occasion, by Mr. Madison, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Ellsworth, upon claims no stronger in principle, but of tenfold amount, presents an unanswerable argument: "The magnitude of the debt makes no part of the question. It is sufficient that the debt has been fairly contracted, and that justice and good faith demand that it shoud be fully discharged. Congress have no option, but between different modes of discharging it." It is besides a very agreeable reflection, that the payment of the claims can be made with so little inconvenience to the United States—the annual interest only, would be required, for the longest period that the government might prefer.

Standing erect upon their rights, the claimants make no appeal to the sympathies of their fellow-citizens or their government, other than their sense of justice may extend to them; justice is the polar star of the American people, and upon questions of right they have never been divided. The whole matter now submitted to them, is, *whether the claims referred to were taken to the public use?*

The wisdom of the founders of this government is in nothing more manifest, than in laying down, as a fundamental principle, the absolute in violability of private property. It is true that the hand of power sometimes strikes upon the principle; and that Congress, always tardy, does not, either in season or degree, repair the injuries of violence or breach of contract: they do not act upon the maxim, that delay is always a breach of duty, the unfavorable effect of which is not removed by an eventual and reluctant discharge of obligation.

On the contrary, the practice, and indeed sometimes the language of our representatives is founded upon the idea, that the government has the right to use private property for the public good. But in this there is a lamentable error. The constitution says emphatically, that "private property shall not be taken to the public use without just compensation," the only fair construction of which is, that, in cases of emergency, private interests shall yield to the safety of the whole; but that the exercise of this power is regarded as a violence, and the compensation to be made, as an atonement for the wrong committed.†

The decision of Congress upon matters of this description, have been regarded as final—this also is an error. The Supreme Court has been wisely raised as a barrier between the government and people, to shield the latter from the power of the former; and cognizance of matters of right, both of law and equity, where either is a party, are within its jurisdiction. In reference to the subject in question, this feature of our public institutions is peculiarly proper, since a denial of justice by Congress, (which will not be presumed, and the reference now made to that body is proof that the claimants have so considered,) would result in an appeal to said court; in the character of which, there is a safe guarantee, that whatever of right or equity their claims may possess, will certainly be awarded. This appeal would be in the shape of offset to debts due to the government, including custom house bonds.

I had contemplated extending this exposition to the correspondence, conclusion, and payments, under the Louisiana convention, of 30th of April, 1803; but having greatly exceeded my limits already, must postpone these matters till a more convenient time.

I shall, therefore, present only a summary of the claims surrendered by France

*Their petitions conclude with the following forcible sentence:—

"Your memorialists believe, that the United States did receive a full and entire satisfaction and equivalent for their claims, and they therefore, pray that your honorable body will take their case into consideration, and make provision for the payment thereof; *or restore to them their claims and their remedy against France.*"

†This is a principle common to all civilized governments; the history of our own is filled with cases where it has been observed--and the history of others is alike decisive. But a little while since, we witnessed tribunals within the walls of our capitol, meting out justice to our injured citizens from two of the proudest nations on earth; and it is not less gratifying to witness the efforts now making, to draw from others, compensation for similar wrongs. Shall it be said, that foreign governments will do justice to our citizens, and our own, where the obligation is stronger on principle, and oldest in date, shall alone be wanting.

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and the United States respectively, under the convention of 1800, which will be the subject of my next number, and then conclude with an official document, showing the acknowledgment of the United States, that a valuable consideration was obtained for the spoliation claims surrendered to France.

A CLAIMANT.

No. XLII.

It is very desirable to present a summary of the respective claims of France and the United States, which were mutually set off against each other, in the convention of 1800. But, as they do not admit of being stated with precision, I shall content myself with making the list very general; leaving to the reader, to form his own judgment of the merits of many of them; while others, and the ground on which they stand, have already been referred to in the preceding numbers. And many items are no doubt omitted. It is proper to remark, that many of the items are political claims, others are pecuniary, and others of a mixed character.

The claims of France may be thus stated:

1st. For the injuries arising from the President's proclamation of neutrality, of Feb. '93, establishing *equality* between the parties at war, and the corresponding instructions to the collectors of the customs, and governors of states forbidding certain acts—making them penal—authorizing the seizure of French privateers and prizes, in violation of the treaties with France, when there were no laws of the United States to justify any such proceedings, and giving said instructions a retrospective operation.

2d. For prohibiting eight or ten privateers, originally fitted out and commissioned within the United States, from bringing into our ports their prizes—denying asylum to said privateers, under every change of circumstances—and causing their prizes to be restored to the British owners. The value of prizes so restored, may probably exceed $600,000.

3d. For prohibiting the fitting out and commissioning other privateers.

4th. That when the courts had decided, that there were no laws prohibiting the introduction and sale of prizes, and the free entry of privateers, and that they had no jurisdiction over them, the President, by his own act, restored said prizes to the British, denounced the privateers, and directed the governors of states (without trial or any judicial proceedings,) to restore similar prizes, and prohibit asylum to said denounced privateers.

5th. That subsequently, when Congress had passed a law prohibiting the fitting out privateers in the United States, (but declined an executive proposition, to prohibit the sale of prizes,) under which the courts could take cognizance of such, the British agents harrassed and detained privateers, *generally*, by fictitious and vexatious prosecutions, and that the United States refused the demands of the French minister, that security should be required from said agents, to indemnify the owners of said privateers, for costs, damages and detentions. By which proceedings, and refusal, great injury was sustained, to wit: in heavy costs, charges and fees, in the support of the crews, in damage and pillage of the vessels, in desertion, insubordination, and dispiriting the crews and officers, and in the consequent inactivity and discouragement to cruising.

6th. For permitting the courts to take cognizance of prizes, notwithstanding the clause in the treaty of '78 expressly against it.

7th. That after the law of June 5th, '94, had been enacted, by which the courts were authorized to take cognizance of prizes, the President continued, of his own act, to restore prizes to the British.

8th. That certain British vessels were permitted to arm in the United States, with the consent of the authorities, on the plea of being merchant vessels arming for defence only.

9th. For permitting British ships of war to enter, repair and refit, after having made prize of French vessels.

10th. For permitting a British squadron, for a long period, to occupy a station near the capes of Virginia, from whence to cruise against French vessels, return and remain at pleasure. And the failure of the United States to arrest and restore certain French vessels, captured by said squadron and brought into our waters. Some of said prizes were fitted within our waters, to cruize against French vessels, and

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also against American vessels. The crews of said squadron were kept up by impressments from American vessels.

11th. For permitting the exportation of horses, and other contraband articles, in vessels purchased within the United States by British agents, but sailing under the American flag; said articles being evidently, and confessedly, destined to aid the British land and naval forces in the reduction of the French colonies; many of said vessels sailing in the train of said forces, and bearing provisions and other stores for their use.

12th. For the absolute refusal of the United States to defend the French colonies after the most earnest and pointed demands had been made. And that the United States were instrumental in the reduction of said colonies, by not restraining the impressment of their seamen by the British, who were, in great numbers, used as auxiliaries by the enemy—by the exports of horses, provisions and other stores, from the United States, for the supply of the enemy, as before stated; and in trading with, and furnishing supplies of military and other stores to the colonists, who were then in a state of rebellion, and acting in open concert with the enemy.

13th. For the voluntary and express acquiescence, by the United States, in the capture and confiscation by the British, of French property found on board American vessels.

14th. For permitting the seizure and detention of several French *national* vessels, some of which were abandoned to the United States by the French minister. Though they were all acquitted, they were subjected to a long and expensive detention, and one or more was totally lost.

15th. For permitting the arrest and detention, for more than two years, of the governor of Guadaloupe and the arrest and imprisonment (notwithstanding bail was offered by the French consul,) of the captain of the *national* corvette Cassius.

16th. For prohibiting the exportation in neutral vessels, of prize property, in cases where the prize vessel was incapable of putting to sea.

17th. For the discouragement to French cruising, by divers vexatious proceedings against privateers and their prizes, under color of lawful authority.

18th. For co-operating with the enemy through the British general, Maitland, in a successful attempt to open the ports of St. Domingo, then in possession of the black rebel chief, Touisant Louverture, for the admission of British and American trade, by which supplies were furnished to the rebellious colonists; thereby producing the double injury to France, of aiding her enemy, and causing the loss of said colony.

19th. For the attempt made to seduce the governors and other officers in command of other colonies, particularly the Isle of France, to enter into stipulations of trade with the United States without the approbation, and against the authority of the French government.

20th. For injuries arising to the French government and its citizens, from the detention of their vessels, the detention and loss on provisions and other articles purchased, on public and private account and detained under the embargo of 1794.

21st. For the disadvantages to France in the circumstances of said embargo, particularly, that large supplies of various kinds were permitted to leave the ports of the United States, destined to aid the enemy in the reduction of the French colonies, and immediately thereafter the embargo prevented the sailing of sundry French, American, and other vessels, with provisions, destined to relieve the French nation from threatened famine.

22d. For the disadvantages to the French government and its citizens, arising out of certain privileges granted to England by the United States in the treaty made with that nation while the enemy of France which, was concluded secretly, and after the United States had repeatedly and under light pretexts refused to modify her treaties with France. The special objections to said treaty may be thus classed:

1st. That it makes no provision to secure from impressment, seamen from American vessels, which seamen were added to the crews of the enemy's vessels, and were used in the war against France, and particularly against her colonies.

2d. That it gives up the principle that free ships make free goods.

3d. That it permits the seizure and confiscation of French goods, though not contraband, found on board American vessels.

4th. That it permits (during the continuance of the war) the capture of provision vessels, including American, bound to French ports, thereby effectually joining the allied enemies of France in their attempt to starve the French nation, and tending to sacrifice to them the French colonies.

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5th. That it enlarges the list of contraband, to the great detriment of France, particularly in articles appertaining to the building and equipment of ships by which the naval marine of England was promoted, and the naval marine of France in a corresponding degree depressed, and so far effectually aiding the allied enemies. The finances of England were also relieved to the extent of contraband goods captured.

6th. That a further aid was given to the enemies of France, in the stipulation to prohibit the sale of prizes, made by French privateers, in the ports of the United States, which privilege or right they had long enjoyed, and which was suddenly withheld from them, in virtue of said stipulation.

7th. That it grants, by stipulation, the right of asylum in the ports of the United States, to British vessels of war generally, without regard to the prohibition contained in the treaty with France, against such as had captured French vessels.

23d For the prohibiting French consuls from deciding on the validity of prizes, and depriving one of said consuls of his exequator, because of exercising consular functions over one of said prizes, notwithstanding he was several times acquitted of the charge of illegal proceedings by a jury.

24th. For permitting the British ship Africa to remain in the waters of the United States and block up a French frigate in the harbor of Newport, after having attempted to seize the person (and in fact did seize the papers and effects) of Mr. Fauchet, the French minister.

25th. For the tacit assent of the United States to illegal and defective blockades, under British proclamations, of the entire French coasts and those of her colonies.

26th. For injuries arising to the French government and its citizens, by the non-intercourse and non-importation acts of the United States.

27th. For damages sustained by French citizens, the owners of eighty-one privateers, captured by the United States vessels, during the *quasi* war and condemned.

28th. For damages sustained by the French government, in the loss of one frigate and several smaller vessels, captured by the United States vessels. And in the loss of the use of said vessels, together with the loss of the use of eighty-one privateers during the war.

29th. For damages sustained by the French government, and its citizens, from the recapture of French prizes by the vessels of the United States, and their restoration to the original owners, being foreigners.

30th. For the political and pecuniary disadvantages to France, in being deprived of the use of the ports of the United States for privateers, prizes, and commerce generally, during the *quasi* war; and also, the disadvantages in having some of those privileges yielded to her enemy.

31st. For the relinquishment of the rights, privileges and benefits secured to her in the treaties of '78, and convention of '88, comprehending more particularly the following:

1st. The guarantee of the French West Indies, for the extinguishment of which the American envoys offered the round sum of 5,000,000 of francs or the modification of 1,000,000 each year of war, in which France might be engaged. But the French demanded 2,000,000 annually, or 10,000,000 for its abrogation. Both propositions were founded upon the prospective value only.

2d. The exclusive right to the ports of the United States for privateers and prizes, valued by France, prospectively, at the whole sum of spoliations due from France to American citizens. The American envoys offered the sum of 3,000,000 of francs to reduce this right, from exclusive, to that of the most favored nation.

3d. The responsibilities already incurred and due, from the United States to France, under said treaties and convention.

4th. The claims upon the United States of French citizens.

32d. The restoration by France, of sundry prize vessels (American) and other property then waiting trial, amounting to probably 10,000,000 of francs.

33d. The renewal of the obligation of the French government, to provide compensation to sundry American citizens, for "debts," contracts, supplies, bills of exchange, drafts, and other evidences of "debt," including "prizes made at sea, in which the council of prizes had ordered restitution," amounting in the aggregate to about 25,000,000 of francs, of which, the sum of 20,000,000 was paid to the American claimants, out of the Louisiana purchase money.

34th. To the above list may be added, the release of the United States from the

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unpromising and expensive prosecution of the *quasi* war, and that with a saving of the *national honor*.

In consideration of the French giving up the aforegoing claims, rights, privileges, advantages, and responsibilities, the United States gave up to France.

1st. The brig of war "Berceau, and one smaller vessel.

2. In lieu of the frigate Insurgente, lost at sea, and other vessels, the sum of $918,000 in money.

3d. The claims of American citizens upon, and acknowledged by, the French government, for spoliations, being those now under consideration.

A CLAIMANT.

No. XLIII.

It is alike the interest and duty of every citizen, to cherish and preserve inviolate, the integrity of our government. Confidence once lost is irrecoverable, and confidence cannot be maintained by any government which deprives its citizens of the rights and property it was instituted to defend. On a memorable occasion, Washington, whose lessons were calculated for all times, thus admonished Congress: "A long and continual sacrifice of individual interest for the general good, ought not to be expected or required. The nature of man must be changed, before institutions built on the presumptive truth of such a principle can succeed."

When the whole operations of the convention of 1800 were fully developed, and every circumstance connected with it fully known and weighed; when the administration was no longer embarrassed with party spirit on one side, or uncertainty on the other, then, the following were its sentiments in relation to the surrendered claims. The communication arose out of this circumstance: our minister to Spain, Mr. Thomas Pinckney, had pressed upon the attention of the Spanish government the claims to indemnity of our citizens, and among others, those arising from captures and condemnations made by French privateers fitted out and cruising from Spanish ports, and French consular condemnations within them. The Spanish government rejected those claims, upon the ground that France had, in the convention of 1800, satisfied the United States for them, and Mr. Pinckney required of his government further instructions on that particular plea. The instructions were communicated to him in a letter from Mr. Madison, Secretary of State, under date of Feb. 6th, 1804, from which the following is extracted. "The plea on which it seems the Spanish government now principally relies, is the erasure of the 2d article from our late convention with France, by which France was released from the indemnities due for spoliations committed under her immediate responsibility to the United States. This plea did not appear in the early objections of Spain to our claims. It was an after thought, resulting from the insufficiency of every other plea, and is certainly as little valid as any other. The injuries for which indemnities are claimed from Spain, though committed by Frenchmen, took place under Spanish authority; Spain therefore is answerable for them. To her we have looked and continue to look for redress. If the injuries done to us by her, resulted in any manner from injuries done to her by France, she may, if she pleases, resort to France as we resort to her. But whether her resort to France would be just or unjust, is a question between her and France; not between either her and us, or us and France. We claim against her, not against France. In releasing France, therefore, we have not released her. *The claims again, from which France was released were admitted by France, and the release was for a valuable consideration in a correspondent release of the United States from certain claims on them.* The claims we make on Spain were never admitted by France, nor made on France by the United States; they made therefore *no part of the bargain* with her, and could not be included in the release."

A CLAIMANT.

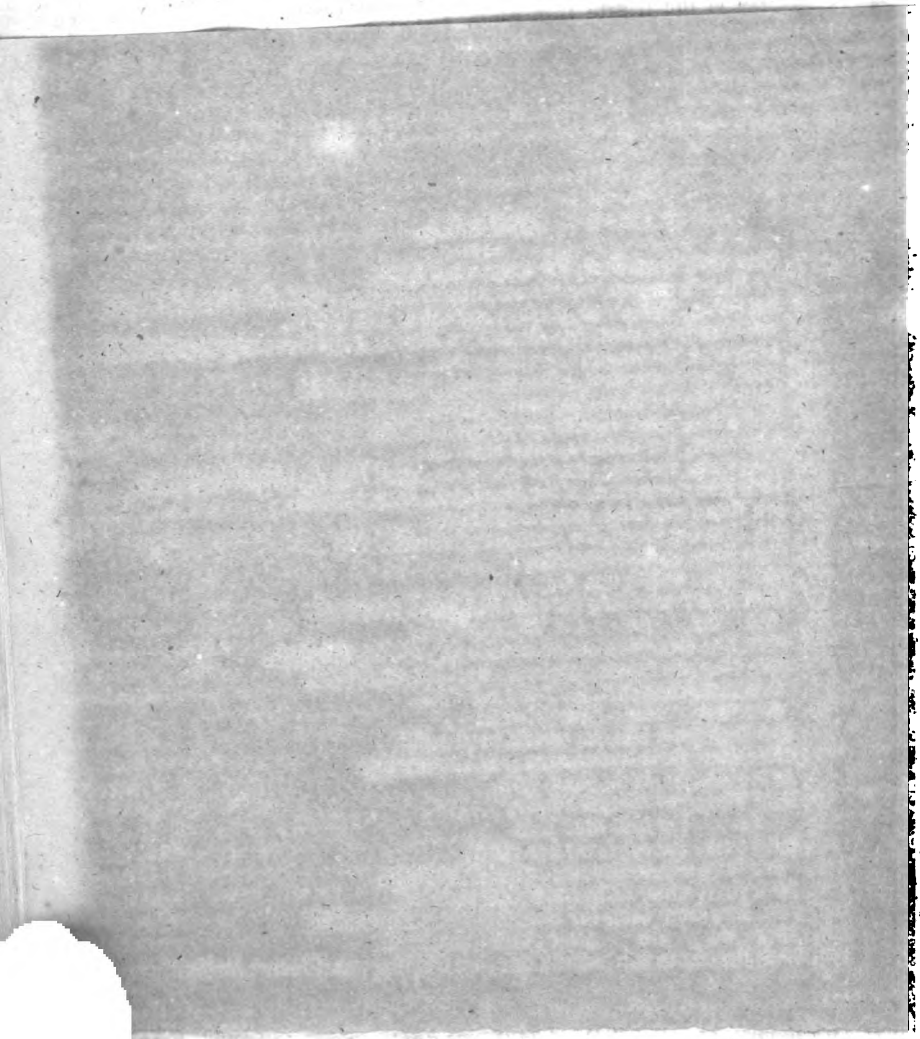
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ERRATA.

Page 3, line 11th from foot, for *copy*, read *type*.
11, 3d line from top, for *the* existing relations, read *the then* existing.
12, 10th line, for *other kinds*, read other *like* kinds.
12, 8th line from foot, for *Sovereign States*, read Sovereigns *or* States.
21, 28th line, in warters, strike out *r*.
24, 10th line from foot, after *restraining*, insert *it*.
26, 29th line, for *Islands*, read *Island*.
28, 4th line, after *rights of*, strike out *the*.
28, 14th line, for *arrests*, read *arretes*.
29, 29th line, for injuries *for* captures, read injuries *from* captures.
34, 14th line from foot, after *had been*, insert *made*.
42, 6th line from foot, for *as*, read *on*.
53, 4th line from top, for *term*, read *terms*.
55, 27th line, for *the*, read *to*.
57, 32d line, strike out *to*.
69, 15th line from foot, for *eventful*, read *eventual*.
69, 8th do do for '93, read '98.
78, 20th line from top, after *shall have*, strike out *been*.
80, 30th line, strike out *general*, and insert *several*.
81, 8th line from foot, for 8th read 28th.
87, 8th do do for *if*, read *it*.
88, 33d line from top, for *made*, read *paid*.
88, 45th line, for *un*necessary, read *necessary*.
93, 32d line, for 15th, read 17th.
93, 51st line, for *this*, read *the*.
93, do for *the*, read *this*
94, 24th line, for *said*, read *present*.
102, 5th line, for *to* become, read *it* become.
102, 19th line, after *citizens*, strike out *and*.
102, 16th line from foot, for *demand*, read *demanded*.
104, 18th do do after *power*, insert *in*.
106, 18th line from top, strike out *for; bidding*, and insert *forbidding*.

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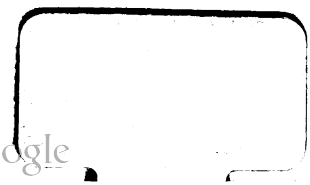
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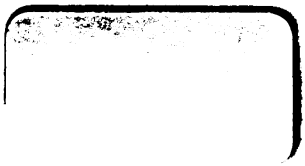
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IN

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

HERBERT B. ADAMS, Editor

History is past Politics and Politics are present History.—*Freeman*

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IN THE

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1784-1900

BY JAMES MORTON CALLAHAN, PH. D.

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History is past Politics and Politics are present History.—*Freeman*

AMERICAN RELATIONS

IN THE

PACIFIC AND THE FAR EAST

1784-1900

BY JAMES MORTON CALLAHAN, PH. D.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introduction	9
I.—Pioneers in Trade and Discovery: Early Commercial Enterprises between the American Coast and China	13
II.—Occupation of Madison Island in the War of 1812	25
III.—Early American Interests on the Pacific Coast	30
IV.—Early Relations of Whalers and Traders with the Natives	37
V.—The United States Exploring Expedition, 1839–43	49
VI.—Colonial Establishments	60
VII.—Unlocking the Gates of the Orient	72
Japan	72
China	84
Corea	111
VIII.—Americanization of Hawaii	114
IX.—Relations in Samoa	135
X.—Occupation of the Philippines	149
Appendix	165
Index	175

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INTRODUCTION.

The Pacific—the sea of Eastern legends—upon whose warm currents unwilling emigrants were carried to primeval America, and a place of interest and excitement which Europe long hoped to reach by some passage across the American continent,[1] for over a century has mirrored upon its waves the silent and persevering efforts of American

[1] The Pacific was unknown to Europeans when Columbus sailed in search of the Indies in 1492, and when England sought a northwest passage in 1497. It was first seen by Balboa from an eminence on the Isthmus of Darien; and after the remarkable voyage of Magellan, in 1520, the "South Sea" became a place of interest and excitement. England, through the influence of her daring buccaneers who appeared on the scene, friends to the sea, but foes to all on its waves, soon rose like a sleeping leviathan to rule the deep. The Cape of Good Hope route to the Indies was found to be better than that by Cape Horn, but the idea of cutting a canal through the Isthmus was early suggested, and the hope of a western passage to the Indies did not finally die out for many years. The English, in the days of Gilbert, had visions of reaching the Pacific by the St. Lawrence, and the early settlers of Jamestown sailed up the Chickahominy with the same thought. Fictitious ideas of wealth to be obtained in the South Pacific resulted in the "South Sea Bubble" and were soon afterwards dispelled by voyages of Wallis, Carteret and later explorers. While the conflict with her American colonies was in progress, England was putting forth efforts to control the commerce of the Northwest coast. In 1776, Captain James Cook was sent to explore the coast and, after discovering the Sandwich Islands, landed at Nootka sound in 1778. He then sailed through Behring Straits, and returned to the Sandwich Islands. All previous voyagers had sailed along the coast of South America to Panama or California, and then across the Pacific to the south of the Sandwich Islands. Cook did not confine himself to former tracks, but made accurate surveys of his own route for the use of subsequent voyagers. Besides the Sandwich Islands he visited the Friendly and Society islands, and New Zealand. He wrote of his discoveries along luxuriant isles and picturesque shores where perfumes were borne on every breeze, and Vancouver and many other explorers followed.

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citizens who, trained in the school of hardships, seeking new fields of daring adventure, romance or maritime enterprise, were the pioneers in discovering safe paths and harbors, and in obtaining commercial knowledge of the Pacific, which led the way for American influence in the Far East.

Its waters were navigated by American trading vessels soon after the Revolution. In 1784, the *Empress of China*, fitted out at New York, reached Canton laden with ginseng. Other vessels were soon fitted out in Boston, to engage in trade between China and the Northwest coast—in which Jefferson showed a lively interest. The number of vessels engaged in trade, or in pursuing the sperm whale, soon increased rapidly. Though the danger from French privateers in 1778, the seizures by Spanish authorities at Valparaiso in 1800, the embargo of 1807, the acts of Peruvian corsairs before 1813,[2] and the effects of the War of 1812,[3] were depressing in their effects on enterprise, after 1815 American commerce and fisheries in the Pacific were renewed with vigor and continued to increase.

During the Spanish-American revolution, the influence of American sailors played no unimportant part along the coasts west of the Andes. Even at that early date, a United States consul at Manila, under instructions from Monroe, was studying the conditions in the Philippines, and reporting on the prospects for American trade there. In mid-ocean, the natives were gradually introduced to the virtues of a higher civilization, whose vices, also, they often saw.

As commerce with the islands and the Far East in-

[2] In April, 1813, J. R. Poinsett, sent to remonstrate against the acts of the Peruvian corsairs, directed the Chilean army in a successful attack upon the Limian forces.

[3] During the War of 1812 many American whalers in the Pacific were captured and burned or turned into British transports. The island of Nantucket alone lost twenty-seven ships. Captain David Porter, entering the Pacific to protect American interests, destroyed a number of British whalers, and occupied Madison Island as a United States naval and supply station, but was finally defeated by the British near the harbor of Valparaiso.

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creased,[4] the necessity of some national protection and supervision [5] induced the American government, after 1825, to keep a naval squadron in the Pacific.[6] It was the interest of the entire nation to preserve friendly relations with the islands, prevent the evils growing out of desertions and mutinies, investigate the irregular conduct of libertines who were so far removed from the arms of the civil law, and make surveys and charts that would lessen the dangers of shipwreck.[7] In 1831 the *Potomac* was sent to the coast of distant Sumatra to retaliate upon the natives of Quallah Battoo for their outrageous seizure of an American trading vessel. For the purpose of protecting and extending commerce with the East, Edmund Roberts, a sea-captain, was sent in 1832 to negotiate treaties and obtain safe ports. After much discussion and delay the United States Exploring Expedition, projected by J. N. Reynolds and others, was organized under Captain Wilkes, and from 1839 to 1841 examined many parts of the Pacific, sailing far toward the south polar regions and northward to the Sandwich Islands and Oregon.

By the settlement of Oregon and the acquisition of California, the United States became almost a neighbor to Russia, Japan and China, and an arbiter in the affairs of the Pacific, the sea of great and increasing activity. With her keels plowing the waves of the Polynesian world, and the western waters of the Pacific, she soon renewed her efforts to open the gates of the stubbornly exclusive Orient to the commerce of the West, increased her interest in the Sand-

[4] By 1829 there were about 100 United States vessels calling at the Hawaiian Islands in a period of 12 months, with a tonnage of 3500 and valued at $5,000,000.

[5] Benjamin Rodman, of New Bedford, writing J. N. Reynolds, June 11, 1836, suggested that a superintending influence over "our marine colonies" was just as important as the establishment of governments and law in our territories.

[6] During the South American revolt the United States had kept a small squadron on the west coast of Chile and Peru.

[7] The log-books of American whalers were a valuable source of information.

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wich Islands where conditions after 1850 were preparing the way for a voluntary offer of annexation, took steps to protect American rights to the Guano Islands, contemplated the establishment of distant naval and coaling stations, conducted explorations along the eastern coasts of Asia and in the Northern Pacific, and threatened to bombard the delinquent Fijis.

The Pacific felt the thrill of awakening life, and gradually our back gardens beyond the Cordilleras became front terraces. In 1867 a regular line of steamer service was established between San Francisco and the Asia coast. Soon afterward, Seward, who had watched the growing importance of "the historic sea of the future," purchased Alaska and the Aleutian Islands and brought us within 45 miles of Russia and 700 miles of Japan.

The policy of acquiring distant islands naturally evolved with the course of events. The determination to allow no territorial control which would cut Hawaii adrift from the American system developed into the policy of annexation. The desire to hold a naval station at Pango Pango, led to participation, first, in a tripartite international convention for the neutrality and government of the Samoan Islands, and finally, in an agreement for partition. The logic of history and the exigencies and incidents of the humanitarian war of intervention to end Spanish misrule in Cuba, increasing American opportunity, duty and responsibility, resulted in the acquisition of the Philippines and other islands.

The United States has now become a leading power in international politics, with increased means for the accomplishment of her beneficent mission in the Pacific and the Far East.

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CHAPTER I.

PIONEERS IN TRADE AND DISCOVERY.

Early Commercial Enterprises Between the American Coast and China.

Maritime enterprise was one of the earliest characteristics of the American people. The colonists soon had many trading vessels. The early settlers, becoming accustomed to work, privations and frugal habits, were led to daring enterprise and determination to secure wealth. The spirit of our fathers on the waves among the fisheries was one cause of the envy that resulted in wars between England and France and America. In 1775 Burke said there was no climate that was not witness to their toil, and no sea but what was vexed by their fisheries "among the tumbling mountains of ice . . . beneath the Arctic circle, into the opposite region of the polar cold, on the coast of Africa, and along the coasts of Brazil." In the school of hardships, the Americans had even become able to capture the vessels of the British during the Revolution. American privateers, by prolonging the conflict on the waves, made success possible.

No sooner had the war closed than American merchants, seeking to be among the first to engage in direct trade with the Far East, fitted out vessels to sail the Pacific.[1] The American flag first appeared at Canton, China, during the "Canton War," in 1784, upon the *Empress of China*, which,

[1] There had been an early American trade with China, via British vessels, tea being received in return for ginseng, which was purchased from New England Indians who received their pay in money, calico and trinkets.

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having been fitted out for the China trade by Daniel Parker & Co., sailed from New York via Strait of Sunda, in February of that year, laden with ginseng.[2] Samuel Shaw, the supercargo of the *Empress*, was appointed consul to Canton in 1786. At that time, John Ledyard, of Connecticut, who had accompanied Captain Cook around the world, and now desired to engage in trade with the Northwest coast and Canton,[3] was at Paris talking with Jefferson, at whose suggestion he undertook to go, via Russia, Siberia and Kamschatka, to explore the western part of America.[4]

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[2] Diplomatic Correspondence of the U. S., 1783-89, vol. vii. Samuel Shaw to John Jay, May 19, 1785.

Major Shaw wrote a full account of his relations with China and Batavia. [Josiah Quincy: Journals of Major Samuel Shaw ... with a life of the author. Boston, 1847. 360 pp.] Soon after reaching China on his first voyage, he had occasion to cooperate with the British, who had so recently been our enemies in war. A British gunner, while firing a salute, killed a Chinaman. The Chinese officials asked the delivery of the gunner, and, failing in their demand, they finally seized Mr. Smith, the supercargo of the British vessel. The Europeans unanimously agreed to make common cause, and the Americans joined. Shaw, at the request of the British, ordered his vessel to Canton to help enforce the demand for the release of the supercargo, and was the last to leave. The British submitted, however, and agreed to deliver the gunner. The harmony maintained between the Americans and the British was particularly noticeable by the French, who had been our recent allies. After his return to New York in May, 1785, Shaw wrote John Jay, the United States Minister for Foreign Affairs, an account of his voyage. He soon received a reply which stated that Congress felt "a peculiar satisfaction in the successful issue of the first effort of the citizens of America to establish direct trade with China." After he returned to Canton, in January, 1787, as the first American consul to China, he wrote Jay a long letter in which he said: "On the whole, it must be a satisfactory consideration to every American, that his country can carry on its commerce with China under advantages, if not in many respects superior, yet in all cases equal, to those possessed by other people."

[3] Jared Sparks: Life of John Ledyard. Jefferson's Works, vol. i, p. 68.

[4] On returning to America in 1782, he had induced Robert Morris to take an active interest in the northwest trade, and to begin to fit out a vessel, but Morris finally abandoned the enterprise on account of pecuniary embarrassments.

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Failing to receive the permission of the Empress of Russia, but still hoping to be "the first circumambulator of the earth," with "only two shirts and yet more shirts than shillings," he continued his journey eastward over Siberia until he was arrested when within 200 miles of Kamschatka. Jefferson already saw the commercial and political significance of the region, and had received impressions which later led to the expedition of Lewis and Clarke, who were sent to determine whether the Missouri and Columbia rivers would afford a practicable route to the Pacific.

In 1787, the *Canton* (Capt. Thos. Truxton), the old *Alliance* (Capt. John Reed), and no less than three other vessels were engaged in the China trade. In the same year, shrewd New England merchants, seeking new fields of commerce between the Northwest coast and Canton, also sent the *Columbia* (Captain Kendrick) and the sloop *Lady Washington* (Captain Gray) to the vacant lands south of the Straits of Fuca to trade, explore, buy lands of the natives and build stores and forts. The captains were provided with sea letters issued by the United States Government, passports by Massachusetts, and letters of recommendation from the Spanish plenipotentiary in the United States. The vessels became separated in a storm, after rounding Cape Horn (January, 1788). The *Washington* reached Nootka sound on September 17, 1788, a few days before the *Columbia*, and spent the winter there. In the following summer she sailed northward, and Gray saw islands which he named Washington Islands in honor of George Washington. They had already been called Prince Edward's Islands by the British, and are now known as the Charlotte group. Captain Kendrick afterward took command of the *Washington* to sail with Captain William Douglas, of the *Grace*.[5]

The *Columbia*, by her appearance in the Pacific, "agitated

[5] Joseph Ingraham: Journal of the Voyage of the Brigantine *Hope*, from Boston to the Northwest coast of America. 4 vols., in MS. at Dept. of State.

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half of the Spanish dominion in America."[6] In May, 1788, she entered the harbor of the island of Juan Fernandez for repairs. Ambrose O'Higgins, the Captain-General of Chile, arrested and cashiered the Spanish commandant who gave the vessel friendly treatment. Lacroix, the viceroy of Peru, sent a ship from Callao in pursuit, and requested the authorities on the coasts of Chile, Peru and Mexico, to seize any foreign vessel which should appear. Notwithstanding the alertness of the Spanish officials toward the south, the American vessels were not disturbed by the Spanish authorities at Nootka.

The *Columbia*, after remaining at Nootka until October, 1789, carried furs to Canton, exchanged them for teas, completed the circumnavigation of the earth,[7] and in August, 1790, her return was celebrated at Boston with much enthusiasm.[8] Captain Ingraham, the mate, brought with him from the Sandwich Islands a native crown prince, Opye, who became the centre of interest, and whose visit was the beginning of our friendship with Hawaii.

Other American vessels had recently stopped at the Sandwich Islands, and had not been favorably impressed with the character of the natives.[9] In the latter part of 1789 the *Eleanor*, an American armed trading vessel, commanded by Captain Metcalf, of New York, stopped *en*

[6] Since the royal ordinance of 1692, every foreign vessel in those seas, without a license from Spain, had been treated as an enemy. The fur traders in the North Pacific excited the apprehensions of the Spanish Government.

[7] The *Columbia* was the first vessel to carry our flag around the world. In 1789 there were fifteen American vessels at Canton. The number largely increased in a decade. According to the Canton custom-house record, 20 ships and two brigs from the United States visited that port from June 11, 1800, to April 27, 1801. For the year ending June, 1802, there were 29 ships and 2 brigs. From June, 1802, to January 9, 1803, there were 31 ships and 1 schooner. [Pitkin: Statistical View, N. Y., 1817. p. 246, and Appendix No. 2.]

[8] The *Massachusetts*, built for China trade, had sailed for Canton on March 28, 1790. See Delano's "Voyages."

[9] John White: Voyage to the South Sea, Boston, 1823.

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route to China. Natives stole a small boat in order to get nails and iron, and Metcalf, a few days later, took revenge by firing into a crowd, who had come in canoes to trade, and killed many innocent persons.[10]. The *Fair American*, commanded by Metcalf, after having been detained at Nootka, arrived a few days later, and was captured by natives, who proceeded to kill all on board except Isaac Davis. The latter's life was saved by interposition of one Ridler, the carpenter's mate of the *Columbia*, who had remained at Hawaii. Davis and John Young, an Englishman, were detained, and finally became chiefs, and instructed natives in the use of firearms. The natives were preparing 26,000 canoes to attack Captain Metcalf's brig, a few miles away, while pretending to be trading, but the Americans on the island exaggerated the power of Metcalf's guns and obtained permission of the king to send a letter requesting the captain to depart, but not stating what had occurred. Six months later, Captain Douglas, in the schooner *Grace*, arrived, and sent a letter requesting the delivery of the whites that remained, but failed to get them. He left Young and James Cox in care of the king to oversee the collection of sandalwood for the China market.[11]

From a financial standpoint the voyage of the *Columbia* was not a success, but the enterprising Bostonians were determined not to neglect the "infant and lucrative China trade." Among the first, after the return of the *Columbia*, to reembark for the Pacific was Captain Joseph Ingraham.

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[10] Ingraham's Journal, vol. ii, p. 70. Greenhow: History of Oregon and California (Boston, 1845), chap. x, p. 224.

[11] The sandalwood traffic soon became important, and was a valuable source of revenue for the Hawaiian chiefs. Kamehameha compelled the natives to go on long journeys to the interior in search for sandalwood trees, and to hew the wood and bring it to the coast where he exchanged it for guns and vessels, by means of which, he made himself master of his own and then the surrounding islands. The wood was carried to China by the traders who exchanged it for teas and silk. The supply in a few years became much decreased.

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At the Department of State[12] are four interesting volumes of an illustrated manuscript journal in which he has given an account of his voyage and descriptions of the natives wherever he found them. On September 16, 1790, taking Opye with him, he accepted the command of the brigantine *Hope*, bade an affecting farewell to his native shores,[13] and again braved the perilous ocean, sailing via Cape Horn.

In April, 1791, he reached the Marquesas Islands, discovered by Spain in 1595, and anchored a mile and a half off the shore, where naked savages, men and women, came swimming and in canoes, bringing a pig and cocoanuts. Opye went on shore to buy water, of which the natives soon brought a plentiful supply, likewise of wood, bananas, small pigs, etc., which they exchanged for small nails. They had little knowledge of iron, and showed much curiosity. They became so bold in climbing the sides of the vessel that it was found necessary to drive them away. They had, also, a propensity for stealing, but immediately returned articles when they were discovered. The females diverted the attention of the sentinels from the frying pans and cooking utensils, which they proceeded to appropriate. At night they drew off and gave the crew a partial rest from their intolerable noise; but at daylight they came again, "swimming like a torrent," and bringing more wood and water. About 60 canoes with 600 persons, some with horse-palm umbrellas, collected around the vessel. The male natives, not being allowed to come on board, for fear they would divert the crew from their work, became very troublesome. The young men, notwithstanding the efforts of the older ones to check them, swam under the bottom of the vessel, and, with long poles, broke the cabin windows, and one of them struck Ingraham with a stick of wood. They all

[12] They probably came into the possession of the United States Government shortly before the settlement of the Oregon question.

[13] The *Hope* was soon followed by the *Columbia*, then the *Hancock*, the *Jefferson*—and also by the *Margaret*, of New York.

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seemed sorry, however, when the boat was preparing to leave.

No observations were made on shore. Opye, the only one who landed, said the women crowded about him so thickly that in his efforts to pay attention to them he could see nothing else. The fact that many men were seen with only one eye indicated that peace did not reign supreme.

On April 19, 1791, Ingraham, near latitude 8° 7′ South and longitude 140° West, unexpectedly found several islands not indicated on the charts of the Spaniards or of Cook. He named them Washington, Adams, Federal, Lincoln, Franklin, Hancock and Knox.[14] He intended to go on shore, but finding no convenient place to anchor, he called together his men, and was greeted with cheers when he announced that the islands were newly discovered and belonged to the United States.[15]

On May 20, Ingraham reached "Owhyhee" [Hawaii], where a hundred trading canoes soon brought plenty of hogs, pigs, fowls and potatoes. Proceeding to Mowee, where 200 canoes soon collected, he received on board Tianna and "Tommahammahan," who were at war with Titierce and Tio. Feeling that the natives desired an opportunity to make an attack, he refused to go nearer shore as requested by Tianna, who said it took the natives' breath to bring hogs so far. Leaving Opye, he went farther along the coast, and found three white men, recently left by an American vessel, who warned him that the natives would take the first opportunity to capture his vessel. After finding it necessary to fire upon some of the natives, he saw about "700 canoes and 20,000 fighting men" collecting around him, and taking the whites with him he retired. Pyamano, a son of Chief Titierce, remained on board, intending to go to America; but Ingraham, not desiring to

[14] Captain Roberts, of Boston, in 1792, named some of them Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton and Madison.

[15] When Ingraham reached Macao he learned that the French had discovered four of the islands twenty days later.

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carry away a great chief, nor wanting to give the natives more chance to lament that they had ever been discovered by civilization, and, probably influenced by the arrival of a canoe from the windward to announce a declaration of war, discharged him at the next trading place.

On June 1, the *Hope* sailed from the Sandwich Islands, and on June 29 reached Washington Islands on the Northwest coast (Prince Edward's or Charlotte's isles) where repairs were made, and water and wood obtained. On July 4, the crew killed a hog, dined on the shore, and drank to the President's health. Sailing farther to the north to "Port Ingraham," they were approached by women natives, who came in canoes singing and offering to sell their foul fish. Chief Cow agreed to have skins brought, and soon other tribes sought to trade in fur. After reaching 54° 21′ N. and starting to return southward, the *Hope* met the *Columbia* July 23, on its second voyage.[16] Going on board, Ingraham received letters from Boston, and learned from Captain Gray that the Spaniards had augmented their settlement at Nootka and established another in the Straits of Juan de Fuca. He was not willing to concede that Spain could claim the entire Northwest coast by right of discovery. Contemplating the recent disturbance between Spain and England, and the possibility of three other nations contending for the territory claimed by each of these powers, he was about to lay out the whole Northwest coast and assign to each his lot, but decided to leave the question for national assemblies to discuss when it should become a matter of more serious consequence.

After more trading with the natives toward the south of the Washington Islands (some of whom offered to go to "fight for more skins"), the *Hope*, on September 2, sailed away, and, on October 6, reached "Owhyhee," where Ingraham

[16] In June, 1791, the Columbia started on a second voyage under the command of Captain Gray, who discovered the mouth of the Columbia river, giving to the United States an advantage in the trade between China and the Northwest coast.

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found the brig *Hancock*, of Boston, bound for Macao. While the natives were trading, the king's son again came on board with the desire to go to America. Starting on October 12, the *Hope* reached China on November 27. At Macao roads, Ingraham was informed by Captain R. D. Coolidge (who had formerly been on the *Washington*, but had become commander of the *Grace* after the death of Douglas) that China, on account of being at war with Russia, prohibited fur ships from entering the port of Canton, but he disposed of part of his furs there and left the others to be sold by Captain John Canning, of the *Nonsuch*. Two other American vessels arrived from the Northwest coast in the early part of December. One was the brig *Washington* (Captain John Kendrick), which had been in Nootka sound while Spain still held possession. The other was the *Snow Fairy* (Captain William Rogers), recently the property of Douglas.

Ingraham left Canton June 22, 1792, and in April sailed from Macao to Nootka, where, on July 2, he and Gray sent a joint letter to the Spanish commander. In November, after a twenty-two days' sail, he reached "Owhyhee," where his "Journal" suddenly ends.

The direct trade of the North Pacific between the American coasts and China soon grew in its importance, and remained almost entirely in the hands of Americans until 1814. After 1784, when the Northwest Company was organized at Montreal, the latter took the place of New York as the principal seat of the lake fur trade; but the Northwest and Hudson Bay companies became involved in disputes with each other, which resulted to the advantage of the Americans in the Pacific trade, which for twenty-five years was carried almost exclusively by vessels from Boston. It finally declined on account of the scarcity and high price of furs, caused by the competition of the Russians who advanced southward.[17] The American vessels usually

[17] R. J. Cleveland: Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises, 1792-1818. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1843.

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started with valuable cargoes of West India productions and British manufactured articles—many with knives, iron, copper pans, and various trinkets for the natives—perhaps gathered a few seal skins or butts of oil in the South Pacific or obtained turtle at the Galapagos, sold a few articles at Valparaiso, bartered with the natives of the Northwest coast for furs, completed their cargo with sandalwood and other articles at the Sandwich Islands, and exchanged everything for teas, silks and nankins at Canton. On these voyages the Americans used the Sandwich Islands as a principal place of resort, but they also visited islands in all parts of the Pacific.[18] Their industry finally resulted in the settlement of Astoria and the colonization of Oregon, and contributed to the establishment of American influence along the western coast of South America, in the islands of the Pacific, and in the Far East.

The early occupation and enterprise of Americans in the Pacific was not limited to the trade between the Northwest coast, Hawaii and China. Many were engaged in whaling and sealing, and some in obtaining the pearl oyster and bêche-de-mer. In 1791 six ships from Nantucket, and one from New Bedford, sailed for the Pacific to pursue the sperm whale, which had fled from his old haunts in the Atlantic.[19] Notwithstanding the dangers and hardships incident to the occupation, the number of vessels engaged in

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[18] They also furnished the Russian-American settlements with European articles in exchange for furs. In 1809 Russia complained of the "illicit" trade of American citizens on the North Pacific coasts. Later, Count Romanzoff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, at St. Petersburg, proposed to J. Q. Adams, the American plenipotentiary, an arrangement allowing Americans to supply the Russian settlements on the Pacific with provisions and manufactures, and transport the furs of the Russian Company to Canton, under the condition that they abstain from all intercourse with the natives of the Northwest coast. To this Mr. Adams explained that he could not agree. [Greenhow: History of Oregon and California, chapter xiv.]

[19] Alexander Starbuck: History of the American Whale Fishery.

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it rapidly increased and exceeded that of any other nation.[20] The thrilling excitement of chasing such gigantic game had a tinge of the romantic, and made privations more easily endured. "The blood more stirs to rouse a lion than to start a hare." Sometimes there were exciting races between English and American vessels for the same whale, and when the agility of the American sailor won by successfully throwing his ponderous harpoon, he was greeted with repeated shouts of applause.[21]

The plan of getting seals in the South Seas for the China trade was early undertaken. Mr. Edmund Fanning tells us in his "Voyages Around the World," that in May, 1792, the brig *Betsey*, under Captain Steele, and owned by Mr. Nexsen, left New York upon such an expedition by way of Cape Verde and Falkland islands, but it never reached Canton. In 1797, Fanning, as commander of the *Betsey*, sailed by the same route to the Pacific, and after visiting Washington, Fanning and other islands, reached Macao and Canton. He found living on Tinian Island Mr. Swain, of Nantucket, and several others who had escaped from a wrecked English vessel. Among them were the widow and servant woman of the captain. On the route back to New York he defeated a band of pirates.

In January, 1800, the *Aspasia*, with twenty-two guns, was sent by New York gentlemen to explore and get seals in the South Seas. She was commissioned by the United States Government as a letter of marque. At Valparaiso she was detained by Spanish officials, who suspected that she was a British ship-of-war.[22] She continued her voyage to Canton and returned to New York, but part of her cargo

[20] In June, 1795, and again in May, 1811, the British Parliament passed an act offering premiums in order to encourage British fisheries in the South Seas. The act also encouraged Americans to reside in England except when on the whaling voyage. The United States offered no bounty.

[21] See an article in the N. Am. Rev., Jan., 1834.

[22] Fanning's Voyages around the World, etc., 1792-1832. Boston, 1833.

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was lost by a wreck and the adventure resulted in no financial gain. The brig *Union*, under Captain Pendleton, left New York on a similar voyage by way of Sydney, and to the Fiji Islands, and in 1803, Delano, who had sailed to China in the *Perseverance* by way of Hawaii in 1799, went directly across from Peru to Canton,[23] stopping at Lobos Islands and Wake Island.

A few Americans reached the Fiji Islands early in the century. Charles Savage, reputed to be an honest sailor belonging to the American brig *Eliza*, which was wrecked in the Fijis in 1808, became a kind of "head man" at Bau, the Fijian capital. His influence in the government probably was due to the disturbed condition of the islands and the presence of several shipwrecked and runaway seamen, and of twenty-six convicts who had escaped from New South Wales in 1804.[24] Firmly established at Bau, he demanded and received some of the "highest ladies of the realm" for wives,[25] but his children were all still-born, and his hopes to establish white sway were wrecked. The arrivals from New South Wales died out rapidly by fights or irregular life in the hot climate.[26] Savage was put to death and eaten in March, 1814.

By the close of Jefferson's administration American interests in the Pacific were of sufficient importance to attract the attention of the Government. In the spring of 1812 President Madison gave Fanning a commission as commander of an expedition of discovery, to consist of the ships *Volunteer* and *Hope*, and to go to the southern hemisphere and voyage around the world. Secretary Monroe furnished him letters from European ambassadors and consuls recommending him to the kindness and protection of vessels and officials of their nationality. When the expedition was nearly ready, war with England was declared which prevented it from sailing.

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[23] Delano's Voyages. Boston, 1818.
[24] Seemann, p. 406.
[25] Capt. I. Erksine: Western Pacific, p. 197.
[26] Dillon: Discovery of the Fate of de la Pérouse.

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CHAPTER II.

OCCUPATION OF MADISON ISLAND IN THE WAR OF 1812.

One of the most interesting American episodes in the Pacific is the formal occupation of Madison Island by Captain David Porter in 1813, while he was engaged in protecting American whaling interests in that vicinity.

Before the declaration of war with England in 1812, American whalemen on the coast of Peru often suffered from the piratical acts of Peruvian privateers, who also cut them out from Chile ports where they had gone to recruit.[1] J. R. Poinsett, of South Carolina, was sent to remonstrate, but when the Anglo-American war began, he found that the corsairs, as a fresh pretext for plunder, claimed they were allies of England.[2] Learning that an expedition sent by the authorities of Lima had captured Concepcion and Talcahuano, and that at the latter place a Limian armament of two men-of-war and 1500 troops was detaining many American vessels, he resolved to resort to stronger measures than those of diplomacy. Joining the Chilean army, he directed its movements until the enemy was driven from the town and the whalemen released. Though Lima yielded to muskets and cannon, her depredations did not entirely cease until the arrival of Captain Porter in the United States frigate *Essex*, the first United States ship-of-war to spread her sails in the Pacific.

On October 6, 1812, Porter had received his orders for

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[1] Alex. Starbuck: History of the American Whale Fishery.

[2] Porter: Journal of a Cruise in the Pacific, 1812-14. N. Y., 1822.

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a long cruise. After reaching the South Atlantic, he had learned that the people in Buenos Ayres were starving, and unable to supply his wants, and that Montevideo was invincible. He at once shaped his course for the Pacific, and on March 15 landed at Valparaiso, where he was astonished to learn that Chile had declared her independence from Spain, and that the viceroy of Peru had sent out cruisers against American shipping.[1]

Porter's appearance in the Pacific was of great importance to American whaling interests. He at once proceeded to destroy unfriendly vessels, and to break up the British whale fisheries off the coast of Chile and Peru. After capturing British property worth two and a half million dollars, and 360 British seamen, whom he liberated on parole, he decided to seek a place of safety where he could put his ship in a condition to return home, and, at the same time, give his men some amusement.

Sailing to the group discovered by Ingraham in 1791, he anchored at Madison Island (Nukuhiva, or Sir Henry Martin's Island), which he proceeded to occupy for the United States, and to conquer and make them tributary to the United States by the request and assistance of the friendly tribes. He built Fort Madison (4 guns) and a village which he called Madisonville. The waters where he anchored, he named Massachusetts bay. In taking formal occupation on November 19, 1813, Porter declared that the natives by their own request, and in order to render secure the United States claim to the island, were adopted into the great American family; and that they, on their part, had promised to give welcome hospitality and protection to American citizens who visited the islands; and also to endeavor to prevent subjects of Great Britain from coming among them during the continuation of the War of 1812.

In his declaration, which he read, he said: "Our rights

[1] Navy Dept. Tracts, vol. xiv, No. 22; Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., vol. x. Salem, 1870.

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to this island being founded on priority of discovery, conquest and possession, cannot be disputed . . . Influenced by considerations of humanity, which promise speedy civilization . . . as well as by views of policy, which secure to my country a fruitful and populous island, possessing every advantage of security and supplies for vessels, and which, of all others, is the most happily situated, as respects climate and local position, I do declare that I have in the most solemn manner, under the American flag displayed at Fort Madison, and in the presence of numerous witnesses, taken possession of said island, called Madison Island, for the use of the United States . . . ; and that the act of taking possession was announced by seventeen guns. . . . And that our claim to this island may not hereafter be disputed, I have buried in a bottle, at the foot of the flagstaff in Fort Madison, a copy of this instrument, together with several pieces of money, the coin of the United States."[4] This deed was signed by Porter, nine United States naval officers and others.

While on the island the American forces intervened to secure peace between the natives, and joined the friendly tribes in their wars against the Happahs.

On December 13, Porter sailed for Valparaiso, leaving Lieut. Gamble in command with four prize ships, twenty-one marines and six prisoners. He reported that he had completely broken up British navigation on the Pacific, and injured her navigation to the extent of two and one-half million dollars. In the following March, however, after a desperate encounter[5] outside the port, watched by thousands of witnesses from surrounding hills, he was compelled to surrender to Commodore Hillyar, of the British navy, who had recently arrived with the *Phoebe* and the

[4] Capt. D. Porter: Journal of a Cruise to the Pacific in 1812-14. N. Y., 1822.

[5] Poinsett, during the engagement, requested the Governor of Valparaiso to protect the *Essex*, but his request was not granted. He left the country soon after.

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Cherub. He and part of his crew, on parole, were allowed to sail for New York on the *Essex, Junior.* Several of the crew of the *Essex,* who were left at Valparaiso, enlisted in the "patriot" army at Santiago.

Gamble found his stay at Madison Island far from pleasant. His life was rendered miserable by rains and squalls, and by the character of his crew, some of whom were worthless and ready to desert at every opportunity. He was also much troubled by the natives, who showed signs of attack and soon began to kill the swine left by Porter. Threats of devastation being insufficient to prevent theft by some of the natives, he found it necessary to attack and chasten them. After they had fled and the chiefs offered to replace the swine, he asked an indemnity for his trouble and also demanded the surrender of the thieves, whom the chiefs claimed they could not apprehend, but finally closed the affair by exacting a promise of future vigilance. Later, when intertribal quarrels and wars were renewed, he successfully restored tranquillity by intervention. Supplies becoming precarious, he sailed to other islands to barter iron for swine and vegetables, and at almost every place he landed the natives asked his aid in intertribal wars which had arisen chiefly over fishery regulations or property. But he had enough to engage his attention in watching and punishing his own men, who went to sleep on watch, or permitted the clandestine visits of female natives, or left camp without permission or under pretence of washing their clothes at a distant brook. Early in May, seven men on deck defiantly refused to work, bound and imprisoned Gamble and others, hoisted the English flag, spiked the guns at the fort, took the powder and other materials and set sail. Gamble again had reason to become alarmed at the natives, who began to repeat their thefts and finally attacked the ships, massacring four midshipmen.

Burning one of his vessels, with seven men and a leaky ship without a boat or anchor, he sailed to Owyhee (Hawaii) for supplies and men. In June, after he had

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started to return to Valparaiso, he was captured by the British warship *Cherub*. Reaching Valparaiso (on September 23), where he was entertained by the American vice-consul, Blanco, he heard the strange news that Wellington had been sent to the United States with 20,000 troops and created Emperor of North America! He finally arrived at New York in August, 1815.

Though Madison Island was afterwards recommended as a convenient location for a naval and supply station, the United States never took any step toward occupation.

Porter published an account of his experience in the Pacific, in which he described the natives and made numerous references to the beauty and grace of the native women, who roamed at pleasure and were promiscuous in their intercourse with the sailors. The English *Quarterly Review* ridiculed him for occupying the island, and severely criticised him for his voluptuous descriptions of the island beauties, and for the freedom which he permitted between them and the sailors, as well as for cruelty to the natives. Porter, in reply, after stating that Ingraham's discovery of 1791 gave the United States a just claim to the island, referred to the license of the sailors under Captain Cook and others, and to previous writers, who had described feasts with native women. In defending himself from the charge of cruelty, he presented the British record in the Pacific on that score, and stated that men away from law and in danger, must judge of the means of safety and act according to circumstances. He declared that the safety of his ships, prizes and men depended upon maintaining a position on the island, and that it was necessary to conciliate the natives by joining them against their enemies.

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CHAPTER III.

EARLY AMERICAN INTERESTS ON THE PACIFIC COAST.

American interests on the Pacific coast increased with the number of American ships sailing between that region and China, though its political importance for the United States attracted little attention until 1803, when President Jefferson sent Meriwether Lewis and William Clarke to explore along the Missouri and trace some convenient stream to the Pacific with a view of opening an inland trade route.[1] Jefferson favored every reasonable facility and patronage by the Government to encourage the trade of United States citizens with that distant region.[2] In 1810 he considered that an early settlement on the western coast would be a "great public acquisition," and looked forward to the time "when its descendants should spread themselves throughout the whole length of the coast," covering it with free Americans, independent and self-governing. By invitation, and the offer of government protection, he encouraged Astor to fit out a vessel with seed and provisions and to send 120 persons (some by sea and others by the overland route) to the mouth of the Columbia, where in 1811 they established the American settlement of Astoria.[3]

Astor had long been engaged in commerce and trade between the Northwest coast and China. For the purpose of securing such a control of that trade as to lessen the danger of rivalry by the Northwest Company, in 1810, at

[1] Lewis and Clarke: Expedition, etc. Phila., 1814.
[2] Jefferson's Works, vol. vi. To John Jacob Astor, May 24, 1812.
[3] Washington Irving: Astoria.

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New York, he assisted in the organization of the Pacific Fur Company with himself at its head. For clerks and *voyageurs* he selected principally Canadians. Macdougal, who was appointed to superintend the new enterprise, sailed in the *Tonquin* in September, 1810. At Owyhee, in February, 1811, he made an unsuccessful attempt to negotiate a treaty with Kamehameha, but he obtained supplies, and also men, to engage in service on the coast. His settlement at Astoria, near the mouth of the Columbia, was joined in January, 1812, by the overland detachment of sixty men, who had endured many hardships and dangers on the route. On May 5, 1812, the *Beaver* arrived with more men from the United States and with 36 Sandwich islanders. In January, 1813, the community, already embarrassed by the destruction of the *Tonquin* and her crew by the Indians near the entrance to the Straits of Fuca, was thrown into gloom by the news that the United States had declared war against Great Britain. On October 16 the Canadian managers of the company entered into an agreement by which all the establishments, furs and stock were sold to the Northwest Company for $58,000. The captain of a British vessel, which arrived soon after, hauled down the American flag, replaced it by the British flag, and changed the name of the place to Fort George. Astor, on hearing the news, considered the sale disgraceful.[4]

In 1815 Monroe demanded the restitution of the post. Two years later he sent the *Ontario* to establish a settlement on the Columbia. When Castlereagh expressed regret and a desire to avoid collision, Secretary Adams wrote Rush, at London, that it had not been anticipated that England would be disposed to start questions of title with us on the shores of the South Sea, stating that she would hardly find it useful or wise to resist every possibility of extension to our national dominion.

The expansive designs of Russia in America were a

[4] Greenhow: History of Oregon and California, chap. xiv.

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source of some concern to officials of the United States Government. Prevost, the United States agent who had received the surrender of Astoria by the British, in a letter to Adams dated at Monterey, November 11, 1818, after referring to the Russian settlements made in 1816 at the Sandwich Islands and near the harbor of San Francisco, said: "May we not infer views to the early possession of this harbor, ultimately to the sovereignty of entire California. Surely the growth of a race, scarcely emerged from the savage state, on these shores is to be deprecated, and should excite the jealousies of the United States and induce her to preserve a station, which may serve as a barrier to northern aggrandizement."

Floyd's Report[5] in the House in January, 1821, estimating that there were already $8,000,000 of property owned by the United States in the Pacific, and calling attention to Russia's menaces against Turkey, Persia, Japan, China and Spanish America, and her plans to command the North Pacific, urged the propriety of taking energetic steps to guard our increasing interests on the Columbia, whose valley, Benton thought, might soon become the granary of China and Japan, who had not yet opened diplomatic relations with us. It was suggested that settlement of the country might be facilitated by the immigration of Chinese. Though the friends of the report, in support of their views, emphasized the importance of fisheries and trade with China, and spoke of possible growth of the lumber trade, and of agriculture, in the future, the members of the House gave the subject little discussion and voted to table it. The majority probably considered such an extension of the Union chimerical. Tucker (of the opposition) of Virginia, said necessarily the Rockies always would be an impassable barrier between interests.

Russia had not only made establishments in California and Hawaii, but threatened to enforce the Russian claim

[5] Rp. Com. 45, 16-2, Jan. 25, 1821.

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to make the Pacific a *mare clausum* north of 51° on the American coast and 45° on the Asiatic coast. An edict of Alexander, September 4, 1821, under pretext of preventing smuggling, stated rules for limits of the navigation and communication along the coast of East Siberia, the Northwest coast of America to 51°, the Aleutian, Kurile and other islands, and prohibiting foreign vessels from coming nearer than 100 Italian miles to these places, except in gales or when in need of provisions, etc. President Monroe was surprised at the Russian claim to 51°, etc., and Secretary Adams, February 25, 1822, asked Poletica, the Russian minister, to explain the Russian grounds of right.

Poletica, in a long reply, of February 28, denying that Spain had ever had a right to claim north of 42°, said 51° was only a mean point between the Russian establishment of New Archangel at 57° and the American colony on the Columbia at 46°. In justification of the 100-mile prohibition, he said that the foreign adventurers, nearly all of whom were American citizens, by their illicit trade and irregular conduct, and by selling arms to natives of Russian America, had been the source of pressing but unsuccessful remonstrances from the time when Russia began diplomatic correspondence with the United States, and that coercion, though not conceived in a hostile spirit, or to strike a blow at maritime interests of the United States, had become a necessity.[6]

Adams could not understand how Russia could claim to 51° when she had only claimed to 55° in 1799, and was persuaded that American citizens would remain unmolested as heretofore in exercising their right to sell to the natives of Northwest America. He had no proof that the trade had been exercised in a spirit unfriendly to Russia. In his reply of March 30, he said that the right of the United States to navigate the seas near Behring, as well as elsewhere, was a part of our independence, and that her ves-

[6] Exec. Papers, 112, 7-1, vol. vi, Apr. 15, 1822.

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sels had exercised that right from the period of her existence as a nation. In reply to Poletica's suggestion that Russia had a right to exclude foreigners from the sea north of 51° in America and 45° in Asia, Adams reminded him that the distance between those two points was only about 4000 miles.

Poletica, in a letter of (March 21) April 2, referred to eight Russian settlements in latitude 48° and 49° (462 persons) existing as late as 1789, and ventured to say that the great width of the Pacific would not prevent Russia from making it a closed sea, but he referred the matter to his government.

After the protests of the United States and Great Britain, Russia suspended her edict, and soon after Monroe's famous message of 1823, she granted the right of United States citizens to fish along the coasts of Russian America, except in the rivers and harbors; but, after 10 years, believing that the privilege had been abused, she refused to renew the agreement for allowing either fishing or trading.[7] Thus was the way prepared for the future acquisition of Alaska and the islands skirting the Behring sea.

The Americans, at an early day, also exercised considerable influence along the Pacific coast of Spanish America. R. J. Cleveland, in his "Voyages," tells us that as early as 1802 our sailors were advocating self-government to the people of Chile at Valparaiso. The revolution which opened in Chile, in 1817, gave a stimulus to American trade[8] and induced the United States to keep a small squadron on the west coast of Peru and Chile. With the emancipation of all Spanish America from the colonial rule of the mother country, Americans stopped more frequently along the west coast of Mexico and California.

The growth of American commerce and whaling interests

[7] Van Buren's Message of Dec., 1838.

[8] For an account of affairs on the coast of South America, 1817-20, see "Voyages" of R. J. Cleveland, who undertook a voyage under the auspices of John Jacob Astor.

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in the Pacific and the Far East, during the administration of Monroe and J. Q. Adams, and the desire for ports essential to their protection, induced the Jackson administration, in 1835, to seek for the acquisition of territory north of 37° that would include the bay of San Francisco, and to undertake negotiations for purchase, but in vain. In December, 1841, Upshur, Secretary of State under Tyler, knowing that Americans were settling in California, and considering that the increasing commerce of the United States within the Gulf of California, and to San Francisco, together with the weakness of the local authorities, rendered it "proper that occasional countenance and protection should be afforded to American enterprise in that quarter," instructed Commander Thomas ap Catesby Jones to . . . "examine bays and harbors in the interest of commerce and science."

In May, on reaching Callao bay, Jones learned that a strong French squadron had sailed from Valparaiso in March, 1842. He strongly suspected that its purpose was to colonize or occupy California, or the Sandwich Islands, or the Washington Islands[9] [a part of the Marquesas group]. His anxiety was increased by subsequent rumors and movements. On September 5, having learned from the Mexican papers that relations with the United States were strained, and having heard the rumor that Mexico had ceded California to Great Britain for $7,000,000, considered that he would be justified by the Monroe doctrine in seizing California in self-defence, thereby securing a prior claim of conquest before Great Britain could obtain a claim by occupation. Sailing to Monterey on October 19, acting on his own authority, he took possession and ran up the United States flag, but on the next day he restored the Mexican standard.

Though Secretary Webster disavowed the exploit of

[9] Discovered by Captain Ingraham in 1791 and occupied by Captain Porter in 1813. Occupied by the French in 1842.

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Jones, the United States Government continued to contemplate the acquisition of the port of San Francisco by peaceable cession, and finally occupied it in the interests of civilization and future security, opening opportunities for American protective influence in Mexico, and giving a stimulus to communication with the Orient and Panama by lines of ocean steamers.

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CHAPTER IV.

EARLY RELATIONS OF WHALERS AND TRADERS WITH THE NATIVES.

The islands of the Pacific have often been the scenes of thrilling disaster, romantic adventure, unbridled license, conflict, mutiny, treachery, and bloodshed. Along the track of the early whalers and traders, who carried with them the vices as well as the virtues of a higher civilization, were occasional shipwrecks, horrible massacres, and shocking indecencies. In cases of collision with the natives, the latter were not always the first offenders. Among the daring whaling captains, many of whom were scientific navigators, some were unprincipled, severe and indiscreet, and others were sometimes unable to control a crew so far removed from the arm of civil law.[1]

The crews were a motley collection of Indians, runaway slaves, renegade tars from the British navy, Irish, Dutch, and Hawaiians, as well as the shrewd natives of Massachusetts. The majority, like "Long Tom Coffin," were brave, hardy, intelligent sons of toil from New England's scant soil, who, by the offers of a share of the cargo, were induced to leave home and friends for a three-years' voyage, and to become alert and vigilant in their business. Sometimes a youth, who had worn out the forbearance of friends and tutors, left the counting-room or college for the novelty of an adventurous life on the broad ocean, where bones were sometimes broken and lives lost in rough contests with the mammoth spouting inhabitants of the deep.

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[1] Cheever: Island World of the Pacific. C. S. Stewart: A Visit to the South Seas in the U. S. *Vincennes*, 1829-30. N. Y., 1831. J. N. Reynolds' Address, 1836.

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Broils and mutinies occurred, but were usually put down. That, in 1823, on board the *Globe*, owned by a Nantucket firm, is the worst recorded.[2]

With Thomas Worth, commander, and twenty others, it left Edgarton December 20, 1822, sailed via Cape Horn and Hawaii to Japan seas, from which it returned to Hawaii with 550 barrels of oil. The crew had complained among themselves as to the irregularity of the meat supply. At Hawaii, six men deserted, and were replaced by five others, after which the vessel cruised toward Fanning's Island. The officers found frequent occasion to reprimand the new members, and caused one to be severely flogged. In January, 1824, one Comstock planned a mutiny and murdered the captain and mates. He ordered the third mate to be thrown overboard alive, and had his hands chopped off when he attempted to hold the ship. He then directed the ship via Kingsmill and Marshall's Island to the Mulgrave Islands, where he proposed to form a settlement. Here he joined a gang of natives, and, being suspected of treachery, was shot by Payne, one of his fellow-mutineers. Smith and six others, fearing Payne, escaped with the *Globe* to Valparaiso, where they were arrested by United States Consul Michael Hogan and sent to Nantucket. Payne, who, with nine others had been left at the Mulgraves, went into a paroxysm of rage when the absence of the vessel was discovered, but soon drowned his trouble by taking a native wife whom he had brought from another island, and his example was followed by others, who seemed to have had no fear of the natives. One morning, Payne, awakening and discovering that his wife was gone, grabbed muskets and started in search, found her, shot at her, flogged her severely, and put her in irons. His severities irritated the natives, who soon began to steal and to resist the restoration of articles. Probably because they were jealous of the

[2] Wm. Lay and C. M. Hussey: Narrative of a Mutiny on Board the *Globe*, New London, 1828.

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chastity of their wives, the natives finally murdered all the whites except two, Lay and Hussey, who were saved only by the interposition of the natives, and were rescued in December, 1825, by Lieutenant Hiram Paulding, of the United States naval vessel *Dolphin*, which had made search by order of Secretary of the Navy.[3]

At Onavoora, in the Hawaiian group, which was a rendezvous for whale ships,[4] especially from January to April, many seamen, freed from a long confinement on board their vessels, often became so insubordinate and licentious that the captains were unable to restrict their propensities. In some cases they threatened a riot unless the chiefs and missionaries should acquiesce in their demand for the repeal of the restrictions that deprived them of the society of females.[5] Even some of the crew of the United States ship *Dolphin*, in 1826, joined in opposition to missionaries. Deserters were often secreted by the natives, and, in many cases, only to obtain the large rewards which captains offered for their return.

The Secretary of the Navy, seeing the extensive interests of the United States in every part of the Pacific, and having knowledge of the difficulties which not infrequently occurred in the neighborhood of many of the islands, considered the occasional presence of a public force very important. During the South American revolt, the duties of the small squadron on the west coast of Chile and Peru, where American commerce was in danger from Spanish ves-

[3] Paulding: Cruise of the *Dolphin*.

[4] Honolulu became a depot for fresh supplies, repairs, and the temporary storage of whale oil. As early as 1823, sometimes forty whaling vessels could be seen there on the same day. The importance of the islands was recognized by the United States Government on September 19, 1820, when Secretary Monroe appointed John C. Jones as "Agent for Commerce and Seamen."

[5] In 1825 the chiefs of Hawaii issued a proclamation against women visiting vessels for immoral purposes, and crews tried to get missionaries to have it revoked. Lieutenant Percival arrived on the *Dolphin*—protested against the decree and by threats induced the chiefs to rescind it.

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sels, had prevented it from visiting the Society and Sandwich Islands, etc. In 1825-6, the unsettled condition of the South American governments and the possibility that many from the former navy of Peru and Chile would resort to piracy, still exposed our commerce to dangers which seemed to require a "competent naval force" on the coast from Cape Horn to California.[6] The need of a passage through the Isthmus of Panama was felt,[7] and in 1826, Captain Thomas ap Catesby Jones was ordered to go to the Hawaiian Islands to protect commerce, to relieve the islands of American seamen who had improperly deserted from whalers, to arrange to prevent desertions in the future, and to secure debts due American citizens. He induced the sailors there to join ships in need of their services, and proceeded to negotiate[8] a treaty with the king (December 23, 1826) by which the latter agreed to permit trade, to aid wrecked vessels, to assist in preventing desertions, and, in time of war, to protect United States ships and citizens, in the Hawaiian Islands, against all our enemies.[9] He found that the British consul and influential foreigners and shipmasters were against the missionaries.[10]

American commerce in the Pacific was at this time augmenting very rapidly. In 1826 there were 2000 seamen at Honolulu alone, and, for their protection, the Secretary of the Navy, in December, 1827, recommended that six vessels be kept in commission in the Pacific.[11] By 1828 there was no longer any fear of our commerce being molested by Spanish ships, and the Navy Department hoped that our armed vessels might frequently visit the Society, Sandwich and other islands most frequented by our merchant ships.

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[6] Rp. Secy. of Navy, Dec., 1826.

[7] H. Res., Dec., 1825. Naval Com. Rp., Jan., 1826.

[8] Ruschenberger: Voyage Around the World, 1836-37, chapter iv.

[9] Though this treaty, or convention was never ratified by the United States it continued to be a tacit understanding.

[10] Rev. J. M. Alexander: Islands of the Pacific, chap. vii.

[11] Rp. Secy. of Navy, Dec. 1, 1827.

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In 1829 it was estimated that in one year Hawaii was visited by 100 American vessels with cargoes valued at $5,000,000. American merchants were seeking to increase trade with the Orient, and to secure a greater protection from the American Government.

In 1829 Captain Finch, with the United States ship *Vincennes*, was sent by the American Government to endeavor to improve our relations in the Pacific.[12] He visited Nukuhiva [of the Washington Islands], and, through William Morrison, as an interpreter, who was collecting sandalwood there, endeavored to persuade the chiefs to stop the civil wars which arose from tribal jealousies, and often from some mere petty theft, insult or misunderstanding. He explained that our purpose was good-will and peace, and that our vessels fought only those who ill-treated our defenceless trading vessels.[13]

Passing on to Tahiti, where natives were less rude and naked than the Nukuhivans, he saw several white persons, attended a mission church, and found that since 1821 the island had been governed by a code of laws (and penalties) including trial by jury. Finding the seventeen-year-old Queen Pamaré I. at work (September 1, 1829), he alluded to the recent conduct of herself and the regent toward some deserters from an American whaler, and, after the diplomatic attempt of the regent to screen herself and the queen, he pleasantly dismissed the subject in a manner calculated to prevent a recurrence of such conduct. Several secondary chiefs made short speeches expressing pleasure as to the purpose and the manner of the visit, and the queen sent a letter to President Jackson, saying: "Continue to sail your vessels without suspicion. Our harbors are good and our refreshments abundant."

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[12] C. S. Stewart: A Visit to the South Seas.

[13] In his reports, Finch said that for the convenience of the United States the situation of Nukuhiva was more convenient than Oahu or the Society Islands—unless a canal should be cut through the Isthmus.

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Conditions at Hawaii caused the missionaries to welcome the arrival of the *Vincennes* and Captain Finch, as well as Chaplain C. S. Stewart, who had been a missionary there in 1822-5. Unfortunately, the merchants and the missionaries were at loggerheads, the missionaries saying that Americans, and other foreigners, had been guilty of bad conduct on the islands, and had opposed all efforts of the religious teachers, and that on the slightest pretext the foreign officials threatened vengeance upon the "timid and peace-loving rulers," who had accepted the decalogue as their only code of laws. On the other hand, the foreign residents (merchants) complained that the government was controlled by the missionaries, and was unsatisfactory. Finch saw at Oahu many indications of irregularities in commerce, severity to crews, and bad effects of desertions. Consul Jones, speaking (October 30, 1829) of the growing importance of the Sandwich Islands to the increasing American trades, said there should be semi-annual visits of United States war vessels to reduce desertions and mutinies, and to punish the guilty.

At a reception given by King Kanikeaouli, Captain Finch presented him with maps and books, and read him a friendly message from the President,[14] assuring him that the United States desired to preserve his sovereign rights, and sent war vessels for protection only where native governments failed to protect. Capt. Finch advised him to prevent the secretion of deserters, to liquidate his debts, to cease competing with private individuals in the tavern business, to spend his time usefully, to learn English, and to hold semi-annual meetings of his chiefs to revise state affairs. He stated that United States citizens violating the laws should be censured.

American merchants and traders, residing at Oahu, protested against communication with the king by the Secretary of the Navy instead of through the regular channels

[14] Laura Fish Judd: Honolulu, etc., N. Y., 1880.

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of the State Department. They denied that American citizens had been guilty of bad conduct on the island, declared that the United States would have no cognizance of offences committed beyond the limits of its jurisdiction, and insinuated that the *Vincennes* had done nothing but aid in saddling a religion on the "ignorant and unsuspecting islanders."

The king wrote to President Jackson (November 23, 1829) thanking him for the maps and globes and hoping for perfect agreement. The chiefs, in a conference with Finch, acknowledged that they owed American merchants $50,000 and pledged themselves to pay it in nine months.[15]

During the next few years there were still other sources of dispute at Hawaii. The king, who had charged no tax or rent to foreigners, feared that by leasing land he would run the risk of losing control over the islands, and claimed the right to prevent American citizens from selling or otherwise transferring their houses, stating that they reverted to him when they passed from the original owner. In 1836 Commodore E. P. Kennedy, of the United States ship *Peacock*, opened negotiations with the king as to subjects of dispute, but no agreement was reached.[16]

Captain Benjamin Morrell, of the *Antarctic*, who sailed from New York September, 1829, leaving his wife at Manila (with the wife of an English merchant), in April, 1830, started on a trip to the Fijis, and has left us an interesting narrative of his relations with the natives of Williams (c. 5° N., 153° E.), Monteverdeson's, Massacre and Bergh's Islands, and of islands discovered by him north and east of New Guinea. At Williams Island, while the girls were bringing him wreaths of wild flowers and receiving beads, other natives were lurking in the bushes ready for a treacherous attack. At the Monteverdeson's Islands, the natives

[15] Stewart: Visit to South Seas, vol. ii, p. 212.

[16] Ruschenberger: Voyage Around the World, 1836-37, pp. 498-502.

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brought cocoanuts and bread fruit, and those who wore clothes (the married) stripped it all off to trade for old knives and beads, but some were preparing to make an attack in canoes, and Morrell said he left to prevent slaughtering them. At the Massacre Islands Morrell made a treaty of amity and commerce with King Nero, but soon after beginning to erect a house and plant garden seeds, he saw signs of treachery, thieving and dissimulation, and later, sixteen of his men were killed while making a desperate defence. The natives suffered a heavier loss, and Morrell, after going to Manila for more men, returned in September to administer a wholesale chastisement. With "eloquent cannon," he repulsed a flotilla of the natives, and then, after quieting those of the excited crew who wanted to depopulate the island, he purchased with cutlery a small island (Wallace's) and landed seventy men to cure bêche-de-mer. On September 18, he repulsed several hundred yelling natives that invaded the island, but being still harassed from time to time, he did not wait to complete his cargo, but burned his houses and bade adieu to the crowds of inhospitable islanders who had eaten the whites they had killed, and had apparently never suffered any bad effects. After visiting other islands north and east of New Guinea, where he obtained two natives, Morrell returned to New York via Manila, Singapore and the Cape of Good Hope, and in 1832 published an account of his voyages, claimed that he had discovered a group of islands where a great opportunity was waiting for the advance of enterprise, and encouraged the fitting out of a good vessel with a crew of young men.[17]

In March, 1834, T. J. Jacobs, aged 16, and just out of college, joined a small trading expedition to the Pacific in the clipper *Margaret Oakley*, of which Morrell was captain. The expedition proved to be principally one of adventure, exploration and romance in the region of Papua (New

[17] Capt. Benj. Morrell: Narrative of Four Voyages, 1821-31, N. Y., 1832.

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Guinea), Bidera (New Britain) and the picturesque Admiralty Islands. Trade was opened with well-armed savages, beads and pictures were given to the girls and young women who came to the vessel in canoes, and interest was taken in watching the natives in their love-making and their daily sea-bath. Some of the crew would have been willing to remain in this rural, romantic land of paradise, whose simple-hearted people sometimes besought them not to go. Jacobs, whom the prince and several women tried to induce to marry and settle on their island, wrote: "I felt strongly tempted to embark forthwith, in company with several shipmates, for the uninhabited island of Garone, in the Morrell group, and colonize the beautiful bay. At present it was impracticable; but at another time the captain intended to return with a party of young men and women from the United States for that purpose." In 1844 he was still contemplating a trading and colonizing expedition to that quarter, which he considered to be "exceedingly inviting." The *Oakley*, during her voyage, reached the vicinity of Norfolk Island, which had been uninhabited when visited by Captain Cook, in 1774, but was now a penal colony for life convicts—for those of a worse class than were banished to Sydney (Botany Bay). She then sailed through the Sulu straits and traded at Sulu harbor, passed the mouth of Manila bay and exchanged cargo below Canton. Morrell, stating that the romance of the voyage was ended, dismissed many of the crew and started to return to New York, but probably engaged in some enterprise in the South Seas.[18]

Many Americans suffered shipwreck, privation and death in the Fijis. About 1827, the *Oeno* of Nantucket, was shipwrecked there, and most of the crew were massacred. In 1830 an English vessel brought news that a young lad, whose widowed mother lived at Nantucket, was still alive on one of the islands. Captain Coffin and part of the crew

[18] T. J. Jacobs: Scenes, Incidents and Adventures in the Pacific Ocean. N. Y., 1844.

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of the *Awaskonks* were murdered on the islands a short time later, and the brig *Fawn*, of Salem, Massachusetts, was lost there in 1830. In the same year the *Glide*, owned by Joseph Peabody, of Salem, struck a rock and sprung a leak, and after going to Manila for repairs, returned to trade and soon found it necessary to retaliate on natives by driving them to the mountains and destroying some of their canoes.[19] The king seemed friendly, and rebuilt drying houses destroyed by his hostile natives, but after his retirement to his town, thirty miles in the interior, the *Glide* found it convenient to leave, and was wrecked near by in a storm. A chief claimed the wreck, and the natives were soon laden with plunder. The officers and crew seemed to enjoy the life on the island, amidst bounteous fruit, festival and entertainment. They (16) were finally carried by the *Harriet* (which arrived from New York May 22, 1831) to Wallis Island, which they said had a beautiful climate, plentiful fruits and hospitable natives. Arriving soon after at Oahu, where American missions had been established since 1820, some of them, reflecting that missions accomplished more good than warriors "armed to the teeth," stated that the Fijians could be improved like the Hawaiians and Samoans.[20]

In many instances unfortunate seamen were held as captives by the islanders. In 1833, A. S. Joy, of Nantucket, learned that there were white prisoners on the Tonga and also on the Navigators' Islands. On July 30, 1830, twenty-two young men, excited with the hope of seeing distant regions and bettering their fortunes from the treasures of the deep, left New Bedford in the *Monitor*, under com-

[19] When the *Glide* (in November, 1830) stopped at Overlau, of the Fijis, David Whelpy, who had been an American chieftain there since deserting a whale ship from Nantucket several years before, was on friendly terms with the King of Bau, and seemed to have great influence over the natives.

[20] W. G. Dix and James Oliver: Wreck of the *Glide*, with Recollections of Fiji and Wallis Island. N. Y., 1848.

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mand of Captain E. C. Barnard. They rounded the Cape of Good Hope and started for one of the Ladrones, but after much bad weather, their vessel struck on a coral reef off Pelew Islands, nearly 1000 miles east of the Philippines, and was lost. The survivors were detained by the natives, and through the influence of an Englishman, who had deserted his vessel twenty years before, and was now a kind of chief, they lived a life of ease and plenty for six months; but tiring of the place, they escaped to North's Island, where they were attacked. Captain Barnard and one other returned to New York to tell the story of their adventure.

The news of the capture and plunder of the *Friendship*, of Salem, Massachusetts, at Quallah Battoo on the coast of Sumatra (where she was engaged in the pepper trade) on February 9, 1831, induced the United States Government to take prompt action for securing better protection for American sailors and commerce along the coasts and on the islands of the Far East.[21] The United States frigate *Potomac* was immediately sent to investigate, and being able to obtain no satisfactory negotiations, proceeded to retaliate by attacking the town. The American troops silently disembarked after midnight, firing soon began, and notwithstanding the hard fighting of the whooping natives, in which even women participated, the Malays were defeated and the American colors in a few hours waved over their forts.[22] Captain Downs, in making peace, informed the natives that if they perpetrated any more outrages they would be punished again. J. N. Reynolds, who went with the expedition, urged that a few instances of prompt retaliation would have a good effect by impressing nations with our power. Sailing home via Oahu, he learned from a letter of Consul J. C. Jones to Captain Downs, that persons from nearly all the whalers caused trouble to the captains by at-

[21] President Jackson's Message, Dec. 6, 1831.

[22] Francis Warriner: Cruise of the U. S. Frigate *Potomac* round the World, 1831-34, N. Y., 1835. J. N. Reynolds: Voyage of the *Potomac*, 1831-34, N. Y., 1835.

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tempts at mutiny or desertion, and afterwards became outlaws on shore. He believed that some of the causes of abuse in the whale fleets could be reached only by the strong arm of the United States Government, and advocated that, besides regular visits of war vessels, the number of consuls should be increased and that they should receive regular salaries.[23]

Observing our increasing interests at Valparaiso and northward, and looking westward to the new and extensive island world, Reynolds said the vast Pacific was, by force of events, becoming an ocean in which the Americans were immediately interested, and would probably be the theatre of our future sea fights. He urged the necessity of a government exploring expedition to the South Seas, greater protection to trade, and the establishment of safe harbors.

Soon after the dispatch of the *Potomac* to Sumatra, the Jackson administration, in view of the fact that the United States had no colonial establishments, felt the necessity of securing ports in the vicinity of Borneo, Siam and Japan, at which American vessels might always be received and protected, and sent Edmund Roberts with instructions (1832) to negotiate for treaties for the safety of seamen and commerce.[24] Soon the project for a United States exploring expedition to the Pacific, proposed long before, was revived, and the Government was finally induced to undertake it.

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[23] The *Potomac*, stopping at the Galapagos group, carried the news to J. Vilomil, a native of Louisiana, that he had been appointed consul at Guayaquil but he could not be induced to accept it. See page 60.

[24] 1 Sp. M., 52.

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CHAPTER V.

THE UNITED STATES EXPLORING EXPEDITION,[1] 1839-43.

During the first half century of her existence, though her vessels sailed around the globe, and European powers were planting colonies and making explorations on far-off shores, the United States did not adopt any systematic effort to obtain geographical knowledge in the Pacific where American enterprise and commerce had been extending so rapidly. It was a period of internal development; but the importance of pointing out harbors and paths for seamen in the Pacific was gradually learned from the school of experience.

From the earliest times the desire to secure a lucrative trade was not the only motive which induced men to sail on long journeys to the distant seas. Some sought adventure and romance, and others were urged by the desire to discover new fields of activity. In the spring of 1812, President Madison took steps to aid an expedition under Captain Edward Fanning to make explorations in the South Seas and voyage around the world, but the enterprise was abandoned on account of the opening of the war with England.[2] In September, 1817, the *Sea Fox* sailed from New York to the New South Shetlands and Palmer's Land.[3]

[1] Charles Wilkes: The U. S. Exploring Expedition. 5 vols. Phila., 1845. [Subsequently, eleven additional volumes were published.]

[2] H. Doc. 57, 26-1, vol. ii.

[3] Captain Briscoe, of London, in 1832, observed an island 67° 15′ south latitude, 69° 29′ west longitude, which he took possession of in the name of William IV. and called Adelaide Island, in honor of the English queen. Commenting on this act, Captain

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In 1822 Captain Benjamin Morrell sailed to the Antarctic seas in the *Wasp*. Reaching 70° 14′, he resolved to make an appeal to the United States Government for countenance and assistance to enable him to go farther. "To the only free nation on the earth," said he, "should belong the glory of exploring a spot of the globe which is the *ne plus ultra* of latitude."[4] Fanning was confident that vessels could reach the South Pole, and in 1829-30 he was in charge of the brigs *Seraph* and *Annawan* on an "infant expedition" to the South Seas.[5]

In 1826, John N. Reynolds, a native of Ohio, and a congressman (who went with the *Annawan* expedition as far as the west coast of South America), had proposed the project of a Pacific and Polar expedition under the auspices of the Government.[6] His idea was seconded by citizens of Nantucket and other New England seaports, and by the legislatures of seven States. The Maryland House of Delegates, mentioning the enterprise of other nations in acquiring geographical knowledge, extending their influence, and opening new channels of commerce, asserted that the United States, after its success in the stu-

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Morrell said: "But these lands were visited fifteen years ago by our sealers and taken possession of in the name of our sovereign, the people; and when a true record shall be made . . . the name of Adelaide Island must be changed . . . . We have a long running, unsettled account in this matter of giving names to places, with some of our neighbors, which we may as well begin to have posted up, for the purpose of preventing future disputes. . . . Our hardy seamen feel able even to cast anchor on that point where all the meridians terminate, where our flag may be unfurled and left to wave." [J. N. Reynolds' Address, 1836.]

[4] Capt. Benj. Morrell: A Narrative of Four Voyages to the South Sea, etc., 1822-31, N. Y., 1832.

[5] Edward Fanning: Voyages Around the World, etc., 1792-1832.

[6] During the summer of 1828 Reynolds had obtained data from whaling captains of New London, Newport, Nantucket, etc., and from their log-books, showing that 200 American vessels were engaged in whaling and seal fisheries, capturing about 8000 whales each year, and that our enterprising seamen had often discovered rocks, reefs, and islands, and in many cases had given valuable information to European chart makers.

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pendous experiment of self-government in politics, with its increasing population and commercial relations and interest coextensive with the civilized world, could afford to enter into the "interesting and extensive field for enterprise in the Southern hemisphere," and offered a resolution that "a polar expedition could scarcely fail in adding something to the general stock of national wealth and knowledge, and to the honor and glory of the United States."[7] Other petitions or memorials urged that the American industry in the Pacific having increased the wealth of our country, and furnished a nursery for bold and hardy seamen, as well as a source of employment and human comforts, had made intercourse with the Pacific a matter of public interest and should be encouraged by the survey of islands and coasts.[8]

In January and February, 1828, the subject was brought before Congress by executive documents, and on May 21 a resolution of the House requested the President to send one or more small vessels to the Pacific and South Seas to examine coasts, islands and reefs, and ascertain their location. The Secretary of the Navy selected the *Peacock*, and in November, 1828, suggested the purchase of another vessel and the selection of instruments and scientific men.

In February, 1829, the House still urged the expedition, and the Secretary of the Navy, in a document sent to that body, stated that the object was to examine islands and coasts, "both known and unknown," as far south as circumstances, safety and prudence would permit explorations, and that an additional appropriation would be needed.[9]

The Senate, to which the House resolution had never been submitted, feeling that the expedition would be expensive and was related to the foreign policy, favored delay and investigation, and hoped that the Secretary of the Navy

[7] H. Exec. Doc. 88, 20-1, vol. iii, Jan. 22, 1828.
[8] H. Exec. Docs. 179 and 201, 20-1, vol. v, Feb. and March, 1828.
[9] Sen. Exec. Doc. 77, 20-2, Feb. 16, 1829.

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would never again feel justified to act upon the resolution of the House alone. The Senate committee, considering the wide unsettled and unexplored regions at home, saw nothing in the condition of the United States to recommend distant voyages of exploration, and feared that the discovery of countless islands or new continents might result in the evils of adventure, visionary hopes and large emigration, tending to urge us "to plant the American standard on soil discovered by American enterprise," and, perhaps, to establish distant and expensive colonies, "which could only be defended at an expense not to be estimated, and which could not be taken under the protection of the United States without an abandonment of the fundamental principles of our policy, and a departure from those wise and prudent maxims which have hitherto restrained us from forming unnecessary connexions abroad."

The majority of the committee thought that before venturing upon a premature expedition to distant seas, where even to survey the 200 known islands would be a large undertaking, the Government should make accurate surveys of our coasts. Though they held that the opening of new sources to commerce, as well as agriculture, might safely be left to the enterprise and instinctive sagacity of individuals, they favored a small expedition to make surveys in the track of our vessels in the Pacific.[10]

After sailing to the Pacific and circumnavigating the globe, Reynolds returned to the United States in 1834, and prepared to renew his project in Congress. Collecting information which he had received from the whalers,[11] he proposed exploration on both sides of the equator from South America to Asia, and southward beyond previous discoveries. (Captain Cook had been stopped by ice at 68° south latitude, but Captain Palmer and other Americans had

[10] Sen. Rp. 94, 20-2, Feb. 23, 1829. Mrs. A. E. Carrell, on the "First American Exploring Expedition," in Harper's Mag., vol. xliv, Dec., 1871.

[11] Exec. Doc. 105, 23-2, Jan. 24, 1835.

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gone beyond that in search of furs and seals.) J. Q. Adams led the House in favor of the expedition, and an act of Congress, May 14, 1835, authorized it. Many thought the expedition should be scientific, and that it might throw some light on the source of the American aborigines. Some opposed the enterprise on the ground that it was an eastern measure, and a visionary one.[12] Hawes, of Kentucky (May 5, 1836) compared it to the establishment of light-houses in the skies, and said, if it passed, he expected a proposition for a voyage to the moon next. Others urged that it was for the general interest. Though Jackson favored the expedition, his Secretary of the Navy, Dickerson, did not, and during the three years of preparation Russia sent out three expeditions.

Reynolds continued to urge that the United States should increase our knowledge of the Pacific[13] in order to render less hazardous the voyages of our hardy sailors upon the rock-chafed billows of seas only partially explored, and in unfrequented bays of barbarous natives. Of the coast of Sumatra, where many of our vessels sailed and where we had recently sent the *Potomac* to punish the natives who had captured the American *Friendship*, we had no charts; nor had we any of the Fijis, where several of our ships had been lost and men slaughtered. In the vicinity of the Society, New Caledonia and Solomon's Islands, where we had over 200 whale ships, there was much danger of shipwreck. The stories of lost mariners were not fictions. Almost every arrival from the Pacific[14] brought some news of shipwreck, mutiny or massacre. Even at the Friendly Islands captains had been seized in order to exact ransoms, and the presence of a man-of-war seemed to be necessary to protect seamen who had never received any bounties, but who, as children of the sea, might be called to bear a double share

[12] Cong. Globe, May 9, 1836.
[13] J. N. Reynolds' Address, Apr. 3, 1836.
[14] In 1837 it was estimated that the United States had 460 vessels in the Pacific. This was one-tenth of all our tonnage.

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of usefulness in some great ocean conflict of the future. The United States squadron on the Pacific coasts at this time consisted only of one frigate, two sloops and a schooner. Reynolds considered that a judicious exhibition of a stronger force, together with a humane policy, was necessary to gain the confidence of the natives.[15]

Those who urged the expedition proposed that it should have the following purposes:[16]

1. To note accurately the position of islands and harbors and rocks along the paths of United States whalers and traders.

2. To release from the islands unhappy captives left there by wrecks.

3. To suppress misconduct on American vessels, prevent mutiny and desertions, and endeavor to end cruelty, licentiousness and extortion in the islands.

4. Look for land in the South polar seas.

5. Collect specimens and facts to subserve the advancement of science in natural history, linguistics, etc.

Leaders in Navy Department circles held that it would encroach upon the rights of naval officers for a corps of scientific citizens to accompany the expedition. Many obstacles were presented to defeat the object of the enterprise. The people were told that it would be expensive, confer no benefit upon commerce, and that it aimed at nothing but to explore Antarctic icebergs. The Navy Department decided Reynolds should not accompany the expedition, and taking advantage of the crisis of 1837, convoked a

[15] On June 11, 1836, Benjamin Rodman, of New Bedford, in a letter to J. N. Reynolds, referring to the advantages which the expedition would have upon our marine colonies, said: "Why should we have governors, judges, and all the paraphernalia of courts in territories where there is a bare possibility that an Indian may be murdered, or become a murderer, steal a horse or have his horse stolen; and not have a superintending influence abroad, where our ships are daily traversing from island to island . . . . that the savage may be awed into respect, and the mutineer's hand bound in submission?"

[16] N. Am. Rev., Oct., 1837.

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new commission to cut down the force. Jones, who was to have commanded the expedition, resigned; Shubrick declined to take his place; Kearney was prevented from accepting the command; Captain Gregory, being a friend of Reynolds, declined, and Wilkes, who had been in Europe making purchases of instruments, was appointed over the heads of his fellow-officers.

The expedition was finally organized in 1838.[17] Its purpose was purely "scientific and useful," though several scientific men were not permitted to sail with it.[18] It was divested of all military character, the armament being adopted merely for necessary defence against natives, while engaged in surveys, and not adopted with views of conquest or war. There were six vessels in the squadron:[19]

The *Vincennes*, sloop-of-war	780	tons	
" *Peacock*, sloop-of-war.....	650	"	
" *Porpoise*, gun-brig	230	"	
" *Relief*, slow-going store ship.			
" *Sea Gull*, New York pilot-boat..	110	"	} tenders.
" *Flying Fish*, New York pilot-boat.	96	"	} tenders.

Wilkes was directed by his instructions to determine the longitude of Rio Janeiro, examine the resources of Rio Negro, make researches at Terra del Fuego, explore the South Antarctic between Powell's group and Palmer's Land, sail to Cook's *ne plus ultra* in 105 west longitude, return to Valparaiso for supplies, visit the Society Islands, verify the position of certain shoals in the Navigators' group, examine the Fijis with a view to the selection of a harbor for whaling vessels, go to Sydney and from there make a second attempt to penetrate within the Antarctic circle south of Van Dieman's Land, and after returning to the Sandwich Islands for more stores, to explore along the Columbia river and

[17] Exec. Doc. 147, 25-2, vol. vii, Feb. 5, 1838. 630 pp. with good alphabetical index.

[18] For the sake of harmony, Reynolds was not allowed to go.

[19] Exec. Doc. 255, 25-2, vol. viii, Mar. 16, 1838.

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California, then direct his course to Japan, endeavor to find a safe route through the Sulu sea which would shorten the route of our vessels to China during the season of contrary monsoons (and facilitate our navigation with the Philippines) and return to the United States via the Straits of Billiton, Singapore, and the Cape of Good Hope.[20]

Before reaching the Pacific Wilkes stopped at Madeira, made a brief stay at St. Iago, of the Cape Verde group, and remained at Rio six weeks for repairs and to replace inferior supplies. The passage around Cape Horn was dangerous and the *Sea Gull* was lost. On April 14 the *Relief* reached Valparaiso. In May the *Vincennes* and *Peacock* arrived. The squadron next stopped in Callao, the harbor of Lima. The *Relief* then went to the Sandwich Islands and to Sydney carrying supplies. Wilkes, with other vessels, went to the Poumotu group (Low Archipelago or Tuomata). A month later he reached Minerva Island (Clermont Tonnerre) of the same group and began the study of corals. The few natives seen gave no welcome, and apparently did not want to be discovered. "Go to your lands," said they, "this belongs to us and we do not want to have anything to do with you."

Tahiti, where Cook observed the transit of Venus in 1769, was the next rendezvous. American, British and French consuls lived there (also missionaries), and whaling vessels often came for supplies. The natives brought a profusion of pigs, cocoanuts and bananas. Owing to the clamorous press of natives, only *great* chiefs were permitted to come aboard.[21] The latter came to solicit laundry work. While surveys were being made the scientists studied the geological formations of the island. Wilkes found it necessary to protest against illicit trade and excessive use of intoxicants.

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[20] Synopsis of the Wilkes Expedition, Washington, 1842.

[21] Women were not allowed to come on the ship at night, as they had evidently been accustomed to do with other vessels.

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After a visit to Eimeo, Wilkes sailed to the Samoan Islands and surveyed and mapped them as he had Tahiti. At Oloosinga he dined with the king, and not understanding Samoan etiquette, came near creating a disturbance by showing the same courtesy to a kanaka (common) as he did to the king. He surveyed Pango Pango harbor, of Tutuila, and the Bay of Apia, of Upolu. The council of chiefs of the Malo party, in the presence of the naval officers and missionaries (November 5, 1839), agreed to rules and regulations for protection of foreign consuls, vessels and seamen, the apprehension of deserters, prohibition of all trade in spirituous liquors, and all work on Sunday, except when absolutely necessary, and regulating landing anchorage and pilotage. For a dangerous renegade that the United States desired, a large reward was offered.

From Apia, Wilkes sailed to Sydney via Fijis, and after examining into social problems and penal colonies, prepared to explore in the polar ice-fields. Leaving the scientific corps, he started on a voyage of two and one-half months, and on January 16, 1840, discovered land within the Antarctic circle.[22] After completing repairs at Sydney, he went to New Zealand and witnessed native war dances, but was not interested in what he saw there. On reaching the Tonga (Friendly) group he found the natives quarrelling and trying to annex neighbors' territory, and he attempted to reconcile the parties.

At the Fijis, where he lost two officers through the treacherous character of the cannibalistic natives, he obtained (June 10, 1840) the signatures of eleven kings and chiefs to the agreement concerning rules and regulations previously accepted by Samoan chiefs.[23]

At the Sandwich Islands (October, 1840) he received information from the United States. He was impressed

[22] U. S. Exploring Expedition, vol. ii, chaps. ix and x.

[23] G. M. Colvocoresses: Four years in a Government Expedition, 1838-42. N. Y., 1852.

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with the good influence of the missionaries in the transformation of the natives. After a brief rest, the *Vincennes* and *Porpoise* were directed toward the coast of Oregon, and the *Peacock* sailed to the Phoenix group, Samoa, Ellice and Kingsmill groups, and then via Honolulu to the Oregon coast, where it was wrecked.[24]

Returning to Hawaii in October, 1841, Wilkes sailed to Manila[25] and made observations in the interior of Luzon. Of the Sulu sea he made surveys and charts, and, at Sohung, obtained a treaty (a promise) from the Sultan, guaranteeing protection to all United States vessels visiting his dominion. Reaching Singapore in February, 1842, he sailed home via Cape of Good Hope, with a cargo of plants and seeds, from the South Seas, which formed the nucleus of the Botanical Gardens at Washington.

Soon after his return to the United States, Wilkes was arraigned before a court-martial on charges of oppression, injustice to his men, illegal and severe punishment of merciless savages, falsehood and scandalous conduct, but he was acquitted after an investigation of six weeks.[26] In his own report of the expedition, Wilkes said: "I shall always have the proud and conscientious feeling of having done my duty; and that I have carried the moral influence of our country wherever our flag has waved."

The Wilkes expedition was followed by exploring expeditions to other parts of the world: Lynch to the Dead sea, Fremont to California, and Dr. Kane to the Arctic regions. The second national enterprise by the United States in the Pacific was undertaken in 1853, under the direction of Commander Cadwallader Ringgold, and its purpose was to make explorations and meteorological observations in Behring sea, the Japan sea, the Yellow sea,

[24] U. S. Exploring Expedition, vol. v.

[25] His report of the expedition gives a summary of the history of Manila.

[26] Navy Dept. Tracts, vol. xiv, No. 25. Wilkes: Antarctic Exploration. [Letter to Washington Union, Aug. 12, 1847.]

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and the Japan, Kurile, Aleutian and Bonin Islands [27] in the interests of commerce, and for the welfare and protection of the many American citizens who were engaged in the whale fisheries. It consisted of five vessels: the *Vincennes*, the steamer *John Hancock*, the brig *Porpoise*, the tender *J. Fenimore Cooper*, and the *John P. Kennedy*. Important surveys in the North Pacific were conducted under the command of John Rodgers[28] The increasing importance of South America, the interesting islands to the westward, and California and Oregon, induced the Secretary of the Navy, in December, 1856, to recommend that the regular Pacific force should be supplemented by a second squadron.[29]

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[27] F. D. Stuart: Journal of a cruise of the U. S. Ship *Vincennes*. [In MS. at Navy Department.]

[28] Rep. of Secy. of Navy, Dec. 3, 1855. Lieut. A. W. Habersham: My Last Cruise. Phila., 1857.

[29] In 1855, the regular Pacific squadron cruised in the vicinity of Astoria, Hawaii, Fiji, Mexico, and Chile. In December, 1855, the Secretary of the Navy announced that a vessel would soon be sent to correct irregularities of the natives in the Marquesas group.

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CHAPTER VI.

COLONIAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

The Port Lloyd Colony in the Bonin Islands.

Among the many American pioneers in the Pacific who for over a century, with silent and persevering efforts, have led in a movement of whose magnitude they scarcely dreamed, there were some who long ago had views of establishing settlements or securing advantageous stations on islands in the Far East.[1] Delano, who sailed from Boston

[1] Others were interested in establishments on islands nearer to the American coast of the Pacific.

In 1813, Captain D. Porter, asserting American rights by discovery, conquest and possession, and "influenced by humanity" and the request of the friendly natives, as well as by views of national policy, and the immediate need of security and supplies for his vessels, formally took possession of Madison Island, of the Washington group, and took steps to hold it.

In 1832, Governor J. Vilomil, a native of Louisiana, established on Charles Island, of the Galapagos group, a colony which he had long projected. In 1811, he thought of applying to Spain for permission to make the settlement, but heard that Spain would probably not permit it. When Colombia established its independence he again contemplated his colony, but his friends discouraged him and kept him inactive until 1820 when, influenced by the death of his wife and two children, and tired of society, he petitioned for a charter which, granted in 1831, conceded the possession of the islands and authorized the establishment of a colony. Colonel Hernandez and twelve colonists who, in January, 1832, were sent to take possession, were followed in April and June by both men and women, and, in October, by Governor Vilomil and eighty others. They labored with zeal, and soon the productions of the island were enough for several hundred more inhabitants. Governor Vilomil, who, seated upon his rock, exercised almost absolute power, under the severest penalties prohibited the introduction of liquors, and administered severe punishments when they were considered necessary to teach the colonists that their true

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as second officer on the *Massachusetts*, March, 1790, left the vessel at Macao and entered English service under Commodore McClure, who planned and began a romantic project of making an establishment on the Pelew Islands.

In 1834 Captain Morrell visited some small islands of the Admiralty and other groups, which he had intentions of colonizing with a party of young men and women from the United States.[2]

In 1832, five white persons,[3] with a small party of natives, sailed from the Sandwich Islands to establish a colony on Peel Island, one of the uninhabited, picturesque Bonin group, 500 miles from Japan. Having tried and become tired of various climes, they sighed for a far-off isolated island where they "could love as they loved in the golden time." They had been informed by Charlton, the British consul, that the islands had waters abounding in fish and turtle, woods full of game, shores with safe harbors, and fertile valleys green with verdure and capable of yielding rich returns. On reaching Port Lloyd with their stock and garden seeds, and the British flag, they found that they had been misled, but saw that it was too late to return. The beautiful scenery—bays, valleys, ravines, natural tunnels, and wide-spreading trees—were attractive, but Mazarra saw nothing to invite permanent settlement, and his party soon found that in this Far West men must work, and that waters reflecting the bright stars on silent nights were frequently tossed by typhoons, earthquakes and irregular winds.

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interests were peace among themselves and justice towards the people of visiting vessels. Though appointed United States consul at Guayaquil, he declined the position, stating that he could be of more service as governor of his colony, and that his enterprise would be valuable to at least one branch of American commerce. J. N. Reynolds visited the island in 1833 and said it might soon become very important to the whaling interests of the United States in the Pacific where a new and extensive world was opening to the people of the West.

[2] See p. 45.

[3] They were: Matthew Mazarra, a Genoese; A. B. Chapman and Nathaniel Savory, of Massachusetts; Richard Millechamp, of England; and Charles Johnson, of Denmark.

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The group had been discovered as early as 1675 by the Japanese. In 1823, Captain Coffin, of the American whaler *Transit*, had visited one of the islands and given his name to it. An English whaler, *William*, had visited the harbor in 1826 and was lost by neglect. In 1827, Captain Beechey, of the British vessel *Blossom*, had taken possession of Peel Island. The convenient intermediary position of the group for watching the trade with China, the Philippines and Russia was not fully seen at that day.

The settlers built snugly thatched, comfortable cabins and prepared to furnish supplies for passing whalers, but their life was by no means peaceful. Dissensions arose. The whaler *Cadmus*, in 1833, left fifteen refractory seamen, who defiantly committed outrages. In 1836 the settlers agreed to a written code called "The laws of the Bonin Islands," which was posted on the wall of the dwelling of Mr. Chapin, who had a library of fifty or sixty books and was characterized as polite and intelligent. This code provided that all disputes should be settled by the opinion of the majority; that none should sell turtle or aid vessels in getting it; that none should maltreat another's slaves or servants or endeavor to seduce any woman from her lord; and that none should encourage or aid desertions from ships. Later in the same year, an American vessel on a voyage around the world, stopped at the settlement. Ruschenberger has given us a picture of the people at the time. There were then nineteen women on the island. The morality of the community was of a low grade, and religion was out of the question. Infanticide and infidelity were common. Both men and women lounged on rough-hewn logs in the shade, abandoning all work and devoting their time to the consumption of three barrels of New England rum which had just been received, the first they had had for nearly a year.[4]

After Millechamp returned to England, the task of gov-

[4] Ruschenberger: Voyage Around the World, 1836-37. Chap. xli. Phila., 1838.

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erning the little colony devolved upon Mazarra, who, in 1842, returned to the Sandwich Islands in an English whaler to encourage additional settlers and laborers to emigrate. He also obtained from Alexander Simpson, the British consul, such recognition as he felt necessary to establish his authority. Though there were then only twenty persons in the small colony, he had found it no easy matter to govern. Simpson drew up a paper requesting that Mazarra should be considered the head of the colony until he should be replaced by some officer appointed directly by Her Majesty.

The events of the next few years placed Savory at the head of the colony. Millechamp returned to the Pacific, but took up his residence in Guam. Mazarra died, leaving a young widow, a pretty native of Guam. Savory married the widow, began to rear a family, and became the patriarchal magistrate. Cultivating his little farm, he sold to whalers the sweet potatoes which he raised and the rum which he distilled from sugar cane. He made considerable money, which he deposited in the ground; but one day he became too confidential and friendly with visitors from a schooner carrying the American flag, who carried away his money and his journal, taking with them also two women of his household, who afterwards declared, at Honolulu, they had no desire to return.

In 1853, Perry visited the settlement while on his expedition to Japan.[5] He found a population of thirty-one, of whom eight were whites, who had chosen good-natured wives from the Sandwich Islands emigrants. The people seemed happy and contented; they cultivated sweet potatoes, corn, pumpkins, onions, taro, watermelons, bananas and pineapples; they raised enough sugar and tobacco for their own consumption. Seeing the importance of the islands to commerce, between California and China, he made explorations, distributed seeds, left live stock and various

[5] Japan Expedition, vol. i, p. 201.

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implements of husbandry, and purchased from Savory the title to a piece of land suitably located for the construction of buildings for a naval depot.[6] In a report to the Secretary of the Navy, on June 25, he said if the Department desired he would take possession in the name of the United States. The inhabitants practically disowned the sovereignty of England, hoisting the British flag only as a signal on the arrival of a vessel. They recognized that they were able to take care of themselves and needed no foreign control.[7]

After Perry left, the settlers, following his suggestion and advice, met in convention at Savory's house and established a form of municipal government for the colony of Peel Island, electing Savory chief magistrate. The magistrate, acting with the two councilmen, who were also elected by the convention, were to serve for two years, and were given authority to make such rules and regulations as they should consider necessary for the public good. Such laws required the approval of two-thirds of the whole number of residents. Two pilots for the port were selected by unanimous vote and given authority to appoint capable substitutes. Among other regulations was one against the discharge of crews by captains when in the port. Another prohibited the enticing or secretion of deserters, placing the fine at $50. All penalties were to be pecuniary. The magistrate was to be the final court for all claims and disputes. He and the council were given power to direct the seizure and sale of any property of any offender, sufficient to liquidate fines against such offender. All fines were to constitute a public fund, kept by the chief magistrate and appropriated as he and the council might deem proper, but a published statement was to be made each year. At the end of each year, all unexpended moneys were to be equally divided, unless otherwise ordained by the convention. The

[6] Japan Expedition, vol. i, p. 211; vol. ii, pp. 127-33.
[7] Japan Expedition, vol. i, pp. 199-200.

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magistrate and council were authorized, whenever they should consider it necessary, to call a convention of the people to amend or increase the laws.

In December, 1853, at Hong Kong, just before leaving for Japan, Perry was surprised to learn from Sir George Bonham, the English superintendent of trade, that his visit to the Bonins and his purchase of a coal depot had attracted the attention of Lord Clarendon, of the British Government, who, acting on a statement of Alexander Simpson, who had once been the British representative in the South Seas, gave instructions to ask some explanations.[8] In reply, while expressing his doubt of the right of Great Britain to claim sovereignty, Perry stated that the purchase of land was of a strictly private character, and without any instructions from Washington. The question of sovereignty he was willing to leave "to be discussed hereafter."[9]

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[8] Japan Expedition, vol. i, p. 203.

[9] Perry favored colonies in those distant regions.

While at Maderia, en route to Japan to negotiate for commercial relations, safe harbors, and coaling stations, Perry (on Dec. 14, 1852,) wrote the Secretary of the Navy that as a preliminary step the United States should at once secure ports of refuge and supply on islands south of Japan, and conciliate the inhabitants so that our friendly purposes might be better understood by the Japanese Government. He suggested that the occupation of the principal ports of the Loo Choo Islands for the accommodation of warships and merchant vessels would be justified by the rules of moral law and necessity, and by the amelioration of the condition of the natives whom the Prince of Satsuma ruled by fear rather than by power to coerce obedience. Great Britain already held the most important points in the East India and Chinese seas. Perry, therefore, thought the United States should lose no time in adopting active measures to secure ports in the islands that fortunately were still left. [Sen. Exec. Doc. 34, 33-2, pp. 12-15.]

The President concurred in Perry's opinion, and Secretary Everett (Feb. 15, 1853) gave instructions to secure ports either in the Japanese islands or elsewhere, but to use no force except in the last resort. [Ibid., p. 15.] On Jan. 25, 1854, Perry, while at Napa in Great Loo Choo, wrote Secretary Dobbin of the navy that, in case of failure to negotiate with Japan, it was his aim "to take under the *surveillance* of the American flag, upon the ground of reclamation for insults and injuries committed upon American

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Desiring to consummate an arrangement to fill up the remaining link of a great mail route of the world, he considered that the question of sovereignty was not so important as that of an open door for the hospitable reception of all nations. At another time, speaking on the extension of American trade in the East, he said: "What benefits the commerce of the United States and extends American territory cannot but result advantageously to other powers."[10]

Perry's plan was to secure the organization of a stock company of merchants and artisans, to send two vessels laden with building materials and supplies for whalers and naval vessels, and as trade grew up, to send out young married people, gradually building up a thrifty community which would extend over the entire group and perhaps send missionaries to Japan, Formosa "and other benighted countries."[11]

Contemplating British rivalry in maritime enterprise, he had often suggested that commercial settlements in China and Pacific waters would be vitally necessary to the continued success of American commerce in those regions, but considered it unadvisable to erect for these settlements any defences except such as were necessary for protection against pirates and common marauders.[12] After the success of his Japan expedition, speaking of the tendency to seek

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citizens, this island of Great Loo Choo." The people seemed friendly, and he intimated that they should not be abandoned "as found, defenceless and overburdened." The President, however, feeling that such a course might prove embarassing, was "disinclined, without authority of Congress, to take and retain possession of an island in that distant country," unless demanded by more potent reasons. Secretary Dobbin wrote (May 23, 1854) in reply: "If, in future, resistance should be offered and threatened, it would also be rather mortifying to surrender the island, if once seized." He approved Perry's suggestions as to the establishment of a coal depot at Port Lloyd, however, and also his correspondence with Bonham, as to the sovereignty of the Bonins. [Sen. Exec. Doc. 34, 33-2, p. 112.]

[10] Japan Expedition, vol. ii, p. 180.

[11] Japan Expedition, vol. i, p. 212.

[12] Sen. Exec. Doc. 34, 33-2, Perry to Secy. of Navy, Dec. 14, 1852.

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further expansion, he said: "Perhaps we cannot change the course of events, or avert our ultimate destiny. . . . It belongs to us to act honorably and justly . . . and to encourage changes in the political condition of Japan, China, and especially Formosa." He urged that in Formosa,[18] whose commanding position resembled that of Cuba, there should be an American commercial settlement from which communication might be established with China, Japan, Loo Choo, Cochin China, Cambodia, Siam and the Philippines. He quoted with approval the statement that colonies are as necessary to a commercial nation as ships and that it would be difficult for any government to prevent the establishment, in distant regions, of trading or religious settlements which would naturally grow into flourishing and self-governing communities.

The British consul at Yokohama, who visited Port Lloyd, in 1875, said Perry's code of government for the Bonins was never enforced, and soon forgotten. In the years following 1854, whalers and men-of-war visited the island occasionally, but the conditions were not favorable to rapid increase of population. In 1861, Japan made an effort to colonize Peel Island by sending 100 colonists from Yedo, but soon wearied of the scheme, and by 1863 all her settlers had withdrawn, leaving only a stone stating that the islands were discovered by Japan and were still her property.

By 1875 the community at Port Lloyd numbered 69—37 male and 32 female, 20 being children, but only 5 were entirely white. The settlers, with their few wants supplied by whalers, still lived in rudely-constructed, sparsely-furnished cottages in sheltered nooks, cultivated patches of

[18] In Feb. 1857, Parker, the United States Commissioner in China suggested the policy of occupying Formosa. In his despatch to the Department of State he enclosed a letter from Gideon Nye, Jr., who urged occupation in the interest of humanity and commerce, and offered to assist in colonizing the island, if the United States would protect him. Sen. Exec. Doc. 22, 35-2, exhibit G., pp. 1203-04.

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sugar cane and maize, raised pigs, geese and ducks, and caught turtle. They appeared to live in decency and order, and to be comfortable, but they had no thought of religion, and with the exception of one person, could not read or write. Life had often been insecure among them, eleven men having met violent deaths within twenty-five years. The settlers had a repugnance to settled government. Though the American flag was displayed from one of the huts, the American Government apparently had no idea of taking possession. By the opening of Japan to the world the Bonins became less important. They were left to the southward of the steamer line routes between the United States and the Orient, Yokohama being a more convenient and more desirable station. Mr. Robertson, the British consul at Yokohama, who visited Port Lloyd in 1875, proposed that Great Britain should take the Bonins beneath her sheltering wings, initiate some simple inexpensive form of government there, and attempt to guide the young settlement through its early perils.[14] Japan then seemed unable to colonize Yesso, right at her doors, but in 1878 she took undisputed possession of the whole Bonin group.

The United States, especially after the ratification of the treaty with Japan, probably had no desire to enter into discussion regarding questions of title to an island so far distant.[15] In 1835, Edmund Roberts, who had succeeded in negotiating a treaty with Siam, was instructed to endeavor studiously to inculcate upon all (including Japan) the idea that the United States, though strong and resourceful, had a history indicating no ambition for conquest and no desire for colonial possessions, and a policy whose essential part was to avoid political connection with any other government.[16]

Wilkes, during his explorations in 1841, had surveyed

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[14] Chambers' Journal, July 5, 1879.
[15] See p. 52; also Senate Doc. 77, 20-2, February 16, 1829.
[16] 1 Sp. M. 131.

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Wake Island (19 N. lat., 166 E. long.) and asserted title, but the United States Navy never took possession.[17] Webster, in June, 1852, agreed to send a naval vessel to protect American guano interests on the Lobos Islands which were not occupied by any of the South American States, and had been visited by American fishermen for half a century, but he decided to yield to the protests of Peru, who declared her ownership had never been questioned before.[18] Under an act of Congress of August 18, 1856, conferring discretionary power on the President to assume the ownership of guano islands discovered by United States citizens,[19] Commander Davis, of the *St. Mary's*, sailed from the coasts of Central America in 1858 and took formal possession of Jarvis and Nantucket islands in the name of the United States, and deposited in the earth a declaration to that effect. Lieutenant Brooke, in the next year, took possession of Bird and Necker islands, near the Hawaiian group.[20] In October, 1858, Cakobau, the principal chief of Bau, and also king of the whole Fiji group, in a document offering the sovereignty to Queen Victoria,[21] declared that his action was

[17] The United States took possession of Wake Island, in January, 1899, with a view to using it as a station on a cable-telegraph line between Hawaii and the Philippines.

[18] Sen. Exec. Rp. 109, 32-1, Aug. 21, 1852.

[19] Under this act the United States, in 1898, owned 57 islands and groups of islands in the Pacific, and 13 in the Caribbean sea.

[20] Report Secy. of Navy, Dec. 2, 1859.

[21] This deed of cession was ratified, and signed by 21 chiefs on December 14, 1859, and by others in August and September. The legislative assembly of New South Wales recommended the acceptance of the proffered sovereignty, and captains in the British navy recommended occupation, but after sending Dr. B. Seemann to secure further information, the British Government decided to decline the offer. Seemann reported that the islands would become a flourishing colony. American whaleships which had been getting supplies at Samoa or Tonga were now beginning to go to Fiji on account of the exorbitant prices recently asked by the natives of the former islands. [Berthold Seemann: Viti, Cambridge, Eng., 1862.] In 1864, an attempt was made to establish a regular government based on English models, but was not a success. Meanwhile the rumor went that the United States intended to

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for the purpose of preventing severe measures threatened by the United States against the king and the sovereignty and the territory of the islands in case of the non-payment of a debt of $45,000 [22] which, under the existing state of affairs in the islands,[23] he would not be able to collect within the brief time stated in the contract.

In 1867, by the acquisition of Alaska, the United States became the owner of the Aleutian Islands, extending almost to the Asiatic coasts. On August 28 of the same year, Captain Reynolds, by order of the United States Navy, occupied the Midway Islands [28° 12′ north lat., 177° 22′ west long.] which had been discovered by Captain N. C. Brooks on July 5, 1859, and first occupied by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company in July, 1867.[24] The Senate Committee, in January, 1869, for both political and commercial reasons, favored making a naval station there, stating that the United States should have at least one harbor of refuge on the route to China, and should prevent the possibility of European occupation of any island which, under their control, might become another Nassau. The Secretary of the Navy, in his report of the previous December, had

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assume the protectorate. In 1869, Lord Granville considered that there would be "more disadvantage in Great Britain taking the responsibility of the government of Fiji than in the risk of the United States assuming the Protectorate." [Parl. Papers, 1875.] But the Australian colonies at the Conference of 1870 called for British annexation, and Lord Kimberly decided to send a commission to report. The report of Commander Goodenough and Mr. Layard was strongly in favor of annexation. The cession was accepted in October, 1874, and the islands were organized as a crown colony with Sir Arthur Gordon as Governor.

[Egerton: History of English Colonial Policy, p. 396.]

[22] Quarterly Review, July, 1859, p. 203.

[23] The Fijis, which had become the resort of the European trader, "threatened to become an anarchic Hell." [Egerton: History of English Colonial Policy, p. 396.]

The natives, however, were not such ferocious cannibals as they had formerly been. [Quarterly Review, July, 1859, p. 203.]

[24] Senate Rp. 194, 40-3, Jan. 28, 1869. Sen. Exec. Doc. 79, 40-2. Report of Secy. of the Navy, 1870, p. 8, and 1871, pp. 6, 7 and 8.

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said the rapid increase of Pacific commerce and of American interests springing up in connection with our recent extensive acquisitions, our rising States on the Pacific, ever-increasing intimacy with the islands of the ocean, made the United States interested beyond any other power in giving security to mariners in the Pacific. On March 1, 1869, the sum of $50,000 was appropriated for opening a harbor at Midway; but, after spending that amount, it was seen that $400,000 would be required, and the plan was abandoned. The United States, however, still owns the island.

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CHAPTER VII.

UNLOCKING THE GATES OF THE ORIENT.

Until a comparatively recent date, the Orient remained a sealed mystery to the nations of Western civilization and progress.[1] It was only by the persistent and increasingly determined efforts of foreigners that Japan was finally induced to open her doors and windows. China, assuming an arrogant supremacy, though she had permitted a limited trade, endeavored to erect barriers of exclusiveness, but was finally forced to be more liberal in commercial relations, and slowly extended her intercourse with the younger and more progressive nations of the West.

Japan.—The Japanese policy from 1637[2] to 1854 was one of exclusion and inclusion—to keep the world out and the Japanese at home—and the Dutch factory at Deshema of Nagasaki was the only window or loophole of observation during that time. All attempts by foreigners to secure trading advantages were successfully resisted. The strict isolation of Japan, closing her eyes to keep out the light of the universe, and refusing to open her arms to the West,

[1] Humboldt once said that the narrow neck of land forming the isthmus of Panama had been the "bulwark of the independence of China and Japan."

[2] Between 1542 and 1600 Christian missionaries exerted considerable influence in Japan. By 1581 there were 200 churches and 150,000 converts. A few years later the rivalry of the opposing orders, the Spanish Jesuits and the Portuguese Franciscans, created animosities, and resulted in persecution by the Japanese. At the battle of Sekigahara, in 1600, in which 10,000 lives were lost, the Christian army (of Southern Japan) was defeated. A reactionary policy of the conservatives followed, and an edict of 1606 prohibited Christianity. The last Christian uprising was defeated in 1636.

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provoked American enterprise which elsewhere had been mastering opposition. As early as 1815 Commodore Porter proposed an expedition to open trade, and Monroe intended to send him, but the plans were never matured.[3]

In 1832 (as previously stated), just after the plunder of the American ship *Friendship* at Quallah Battoo, Captain Edmund Roberts,[4] who had been well acquainted with the commerce of the Far East, was sent as United States confidential agent to negotiate for treaties.[5] He was instructed to proceed to Japan to open trade, in case he found prospects favorable, but he was directed not to enter the country until he should receive assurance that nothing unbecoming the dignity of the United States would be required. Though he succedeed in securing a treaty with Siam[6] and the Sultan

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[3] De Bow's, Dec., 1852. In 1797, the *Eliza* of New York, carrying the American flag with seventeen stars, sailed to Nagasaki, under the command of Capt. Steward, but did not open trade. Capt. John Derby, of Salem, Mass., soon made an unsuccessful attempt to open trade. In 1803, Capt. Steward returned to Nagasaki, but found that the Japanese desired no American products except ginseng. The discovery of valuable whale fisheries near the Kurile Islands, and southward, increased the importance of friendly relations with Japan. Soon there began a long story of shipwrecked seamen who were imprisoned by the Japanese. J. Q. Adams denied the right of Japan to remain a hermit nation, but his was "the voice of one crying in the wilderness."

[4] See pp. 48 and 68.

[5] Sen. Exec. Doc. 34, 33-2, Jan. 31, 1855. Sen. Exec. Doc. 59, 32-1, vol. ix, Apr. 8, 1852.

[6] In Siam, with her old and venerable code of crude and incomplete laws, where the creditor still had absolute power over the life and property of the debtor, American commerce had been subject to any pecuniary extortions or other impositions which avarice might inflict. At Bankok, on March 30, 1833, Roberts, secured a treaty of amity and commerce, nine feet and seven inches long, removing the imposition on imports, releasing debtors from pains and penalties in case they delivered all their property, fixing port charges, allowing American citizens to trade directly with private individuals instead of through the king who had hitherto fixed prices and delayed trade, and obviating the necessity of enormous presents to officials. [Edmund Roberts: Embassy to the Eastern Courts of Cochin China, Siam and Muscat in the Sloop *Peacock*, 1832-34. N. Y., 1837.] A new treaty was

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of Muscat, and began negotiations with Cochin China, he did not proceed to Borneo [7] nor to Japan.

In 1837 C. W. King, a merchant, went to Japan in the unarmed *Morrison* to return some shipwrecked Japanese, who had been saved from a junk which had gone ashore near the mouth of the Columbia river in 1831, but his vessel being fired upon at Yedo, he returned without succeeding in his mission.[8] The Japanese probably understood that his principal motive was to open commercial intercourse. In 1845 the *Manhattan*, of Sag Harbor, attempting to return several castaways, met with a similar reception. In the same year Zadoc Pratt, of New York, laid before the House a report advising hostility and proposing to send an embassy to Japan and Corea.

The successful negotiation of a treaty with China in 1844 increased the efforts to secure communication with Japan. In 1846 Commodore Biddle, by instructions of May 22,

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negotiated by Mr. Harris in May, 1856, and was ratified by the United States the next year. It was modified in 1867. Relations with Siam have remained undisturbed, the United States enjoying the rights and immunities extended to the most favored nation. In 1884 an agreement regulating the liquor traffic in Siam was concluded.

Roberts had also endeavored to secure a treaty with Cochin China, but after engaging in a protracted correspondence and enduring much Eastern prevarication he failed on account of disagreement as to conventionalities and excessive formalities. But he made a treaty with the Sultan of Muscat, who wrote Andrew Jackson an extravagantly figurative and loving letter. After the Siam treaty had been ratified by the United States Senate in June, 1834, Roberts was sent to exchange ratifications, and renewed negotiations with Cochin China, whose etiquette as to titles he met by a ruse diplomatique, but whose consent to a treaty he was unable to obtain. [W. S. Ruschenberger: A Voyage Around the World, including an Embassy to Muscat and Siam, 1836-37. Phila., 1838.] He died at Macao, June 12, 1836.

[7] On June 23, 1850, at Bruni, Joseph Balestier concluded with the Sultan of Borneo a convention of amity, commerce and navigation, securing liberty of residence and trade, protection of United States citizens and shipwrecked seamen, the privilege of extraditionality, and the use of ports for war vessels.

[8] Perry: U. S. Japan Expedition, vol. i, pp. 47-49.

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1845, sailed to Yedo bay and remained ten days, but failed in his peaceful attempt to gain access to the country. He was informed that, by law, no trade could be allowed with any foreign nation except Holland, and that every nation had a right to manage its own affairs in its own way. He received an anonymous, undated communication asking him to depart as soon as possible and to consult his own safety by not appearing again upon the coast. While on board a Japanese junk to receive the official reply, he also received an unpleasant push from a common Japanese soldier. Captain Glynn afterwards (1851) said that Biddle was too lenient.

A. H. Everett, of the United States legation at Macao, who had received full power to negotiate with the Japanese Government, but had transferred it to Biddle, and who still had power to renew the attempt at a treaty in case any new combination of circumstances should increase the prospect of success, wrote Secretary Buchanan on January 5, 1847, that perhaps Biddle's attempt to open negotiations had not been made with sufficient discretion, and had "placed the subject in a rather less favorable position than it stood before."

Americans, following the whale to the far off seas, were sometimes wrecked on the coast of the Kurile Islands, and arrested and cast into Japanese prisons. Even while Biddle was at Yedo bay, though the Japanese did not mention it, it seems that American citizens (from the *Lawrence*, which had been wrecked May 27, 1846) were already in Japanese prisons. After repeated "trials" they were released through the kindness of the Dutch director at Nagasaki. Other sailors from American vessels, having been thrown upon the coasts of Japan in 1848, were imprisoned as spies,* and some were punished for attempting to escape, or for other insubordination.

* On April 14, 1847, the Netherlands' *chargé d'affaires* notified Buchanan that Japan, in 1843 had given warning against the exploration of Japanese coasts.

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With the settlement of the Oregon question and the acquisition of California, and a corresponding expansion of opportunity and duty, the United States became more vigilant in guarding American interests in the Pacific, and more determined to break down Oriental exclusiveness. On January 31, 1849, Commander Geisinger, of the United States East India squadron, hearing in Chinese waters that sixteen Americans were imprisoned, sent Commander Glynn with the United States ship *Preble*[10] to demand their release.[11] The Japanese officials first threatened offensive operations, then assumed haughty indifference, and finally tried evasive diplomacy, but they acceded to Glynn's peremptory demand for the immediate delivery of the prisoners.[12]

Glynn, on returning to New York, was enthusiastic in his desire to secure some arrangement which would divert the commerce of half the human family from foreign channels into the bosom of the United States. On February 24, 1851, he wrote Howland and Aspinwall that he had found a strong interest on both sides of the Pacific in favor of establishing a line of steamers between Asia and America; and he suggested that Shanghai should be the terminus, and that an effort should be made to secure coal from Formosa and Japan.[13] He proposed that the United States desiring fuel and depots in Japan, and having good cause for quarrel, should go on with the recent congressional inquiry into the Japanese imprisonment of Americans, ask redress, and compel them to adjust the controversy by

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[10] The *Preble* had sailed from New York in September, 1846, during the Mexican war. She was at Honolulu during the trouble of the French with the Hawaiian Government in November, 1849. Later, at San Francisco, many of her crew were discharged, and others ran for the "gold diggings." She arrived at New York January 2, 1851. [N. Y. Herald, Jan. 3, 1851. In Sen. Exec. Doc. 59, 32-1, Apr. 8, 1852.]

[11] H. Exec. Doc. 84, 31-1, vol. x, Aug. 15, 1850.

[12] Perry: U. S. Japan Expedition, vol. i.

[13] Sen. Exec. Doc. 59, 32-1, vol. 9, p. 59.

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granting depot privileges in some Japanese port. Reflecting on the possible necessity of using force, he said: "We could convert their selfish government into a liberal republic in a short time; such an unnatural system would, at the present day, fall to pieces upon the slightest concussion. But it is better to go to work peaceably with them if we can. . . . If I read the signs aright this is the time for action."

On June 10, 1851, Glynn, urging that intercourse with Japan was demanded by the interests of civilization, and should be secured, by peaceable means if possible, or by force if necessary, advised the President to select some naval officers of tact,[14] able to conduct hostile operations if necessary, to bear to the Japanese Government a document that would be a future justification before the world, disclaiming any desire to interfere with internal affairs, and making no complaints for past conduct. He suggested that the Dutch should be conciliated, and that England, who was alarmed at our strides in the East, should be reconciled by the assurance that we were asking Japan for no exclusive privileges.

President Fillmore had already decided, in the interests of commerce and humanity, to send an envoy to make another appeal to Japan for friendly intercourse, and to endeavor to secure coaling facilities for the line of steamers projected by American citizens. On May 10, 1851, he wrote a letter to the emperor, informing him that the United States had expanded to the Pacific; that in order to form the last link in the chain of navigation, American ships must pass near Japanese shores; and that we desired trade, and needed the coal which Providence had deposited in Japan for the human family.

Commodore Aulick, in command of the East Indian naval

[14] Glynn said Biddle's visit of 1846, was unfavorable to the United States—the Japanese and Loo Choo Islanders having given out exaggerated reports of his chastisement.

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forces, was instructed by Webster, on June 10, 1851, as a special (non-missionary) envoy to make an effort to secure from the Japanese the assurance of supplies of coal at fair prices, either in Japanese ports or on some near island easy of access, the right of access for American trading vessels, and the promise of protection of shipwrecked sailors and property. In 1852, his powers were transferred to Commodore Perry.

On November 13, 1852, Commodore M. C. Perry,[15] invested with both naval and diplomatic power, was instructed to go to Japan with an imposing fleet (as a manifestation of power) to state that we sought no interference with religion and we were connected with no European government, and to use all amicable means to secure a treaty of friendship and commerce, but to resort to no force unless in self-defence in protecting his vessels or crews, or to resent acts of personal violence to himself or officers. He was directed to show that our forbearance had not resulted from timidity; and, in case argument failed to secure a treaty, he was to change his tone and inform Japan that American citizens, driven to her coasts by wind and weather, must be treated with humanity. He was to use caution and vigilance, and all journals and private notes of persons in the expedition were considered to be United States property until the Navy Department should give permission to publish them.[16]

The letter which he carried from President Fillmore to the Japanese emperor, urged the necessity of new laws, from time to time, to meet such new conditions of the world as those resulting from American expansion to the Pacific,

[15] M. C. Perry (1794-1858) had served as a boy in the War of 1812, and against the pirates in the West Indies, and in the capture of Vera Cruz (1847) and belonged to the same combative stock as O. H. Perry, the author of that laconic dispatch: "We have met the enemy and they are ours." His idea was to occupy one of the Loo Choo Islands as a stronghold from which to terrorize Japan, but Fillmore counselled peace.

[16] Sen. Exec. Doc. 34, 33-2, Jan. 31, 1855.

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the sudden growth of California, whose trade with the East was rapidly increasing, and the development of steam navigation which required coal depots. "There was a time," said the President, "when the ancient laws of your Imperial Majesty's government were first made." It was suggested that the experiment of trade might at least be tried for five years.

Several persons, including von Siebold, a German, who had been banished from Japan, and was supposed to be employed as a Russian spy, made application to join the expedition in the interests of science, but their applications were refused in the interests of order.

On November 24, with models of American inventions and other articles for presents, Perry sailed from Norfolk via Cape of Good Hope, and on May 4, 1853, he reached Shanghai.

He resolved to act with firmness and decision, and to refuse to meet any but an officer of the highest rank.

At Napa, of the Loo Choo Islands, where he stopped to get provisions and to make explorations, he declined to receive two dignitaries who came alongside his vessel to present their enormous red cards. By the advice of the English missionary, he asked an immediate conference with the chief authority of the islands. On May 28, the regent, with a score of attendants, actively fluttering their fans to reduce their temperature, were received on board the *Susquehanna* with great ceremony and granted the requests to sell provisions, permit surveys, and allow the officers a house on shore. When the officers visited the shore, most of the merchants closed their shops, and the gentry turned upon their heels and disappeared. For the provisions which the natives carried to the ship the officials received the profits. Some of Perry's men, accompanied by Loo Choo spies, whom they walked almost out of breath, explored nearly one-half the island in six days, but they had no opportunity to converse with the people or to see their interior life.

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Perry resolved to pay a return visit to the regent in the palace of Sheudi. The regent sent a long diplomatic roll, stating that the "Queen Dowager" had been ill since the visit of the British admiral, who invaded the sacred palace. Perry, expressing deep sorrow, offered to send one of his surgeons to her. Seated in a sedan chair, carried by four "coolies," and accompanied by a gay procession of 200 persons, he went to the palace of the capital. He was met with profound salutations by a throng of officials with flowing robes, fans and umbrellas, and was ushered into the "elevated enclosure [hall] of fragrant festivities" where the Americans received weak tea, "dabs of gingerbread," and tobacco. Then he accompanied the regent into his own private residence where, with chopsticks, they partook of a twelve-course Loo Choo dinner, and drank to the health of the Queen Dowager and son and to the prosperity of the people.

After a brief visit to the Bonin Islands, where he took possession of the Bailey or Coffin group in the name of the United States, and purchased land for a coal depot at Port Lloyd, Perry returned to Loo Choo on June 23 and was surprised to find that the regent, though still in full possession of his faculties, had been deposed and replaced by a younger man. After astonishing the people by exhibitions of the Daguerrotype, telegraph, submarine armor, etc., he sailed away (July 2), feeling that they would be glad to see him return, and that it was his duty to protect them as far as possible against the "vindictiveness of their cruel rulers," who favored exclusiveness.

Sailing to Japan, Perry entered the bay below Yedo on July 8, where his presence, and his refusal to heed the scrolls of warning which minor officials held out before him, created considerable excitement. He refused to go to Nagasaki, insisted upon talking with none but the highest dignitary, and his persistence finally induced the Governor of Urago to apply to the shogun, who, being embarrassed both from without and within, arranged for an official con-

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ference on July 14, at which two venerable princes received President Fillmore's letter and presents. Notwithstanding Japanese intimations that it was now time to go, he resolved to go farther up the bay. It seemed that the nearer he approached the imperial city the more polite and friendly the officials became. When he informed Yezaimon and Tatsnoski of his intention to leave on July 17, the latter expressed regret, endeavored to drown their grief in fresh supplies of wine, grew very affectionate, and whispered that all would be well with the President's letter.

Sailing to Hong Kong, Perry refitted his vessels, giving the Japanese time to come to a decision. His return was hastened by the suspicious movements of French and Russian vessels in Eastern seas. He feared that there might be an attempt to forestall the American negotiations, or to obtain a foothold in Japan by lending aid to the latter in case of collision with the Americans. On February 13, passing the Japanese boats, he confidently advanced up Yedo bay to the "American anchorage," where he proposed to meet the Japanese officials. After ten days' "negotiation" he moved near enough to Yedo to hear the striking of the night watches, and obtained the promise of a conference at Yokohama. In a specially prepared "Treaty House," on March 8, 1854, he met five Japanese officials who, with imposing ceremonies, submitted a long roll containing a reply to the President's letter. The shogun had sent copies of the letter to most of the daimios and had received from many of them answers adverse to the opening of the country, but, after prolonged conferences he consented to a favorable treaty which was completed on March 31, and conceded the opening of Shimoda and Hakodate to American vessels. His power was already tottering, and Japan would have been revolutionized from within if she had not been invaded from without.

Perry's treaty far exceeded expectations, and other powers were not slow in securing the advantages which he had gained. A Russian admiral had stopped at Nagasaki in the

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latter part of 1853 and demanded a neighborly attitude, the opening of ports, and a settlement of the boundaries of Sagalien. On November 12 he had made a proposition to join forces and cooperate with the Americans, but Perry civilly declined to take any step which might be interpreted as "inconsistent with our policy of abstaining from all alliance with foreign powers."[17] Perhaps a Japanese distrust of the purposes of Russia had some influence in causing the success of the American negotiations. The Dutch, who in 1852, had advised Japan to change its policy of exclusion in favor of all peaceful nations, claimed that they had aided in securing Perry's success, but Perry had never invoked their aid and was not willing to admit their claim.

Having made a good beginning, the United States, in the interests of trade and international relations, and, with a spirit of tolerance, liberality and justice toward Japan, sought new concessions. In 1857 Townsend Harris, who had been residing at Shimoda as United States consul-general, negotiated a treaty enlarging the privileges granted in 1854 and securing the opening of the port of Nagasaki and the right of permanent residence for Americans at the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate. At Yedo, in 1858, without any show of force or compulsion, he won a diplomatic triumph which revolutionized the relations of Japan with the world. By firm, honest diplomacy he concluded with the shogun's ministers a treaty providing for unrestricted commercial relations, diplomatic representation at Yedo, rights of residence, trade at certain ports, regulation of duties, religious freedom and extra-territoriality.[18]

Other powers soon concluded similar treaties. It was agreed that the President, at the request of Japan, would act as mediator between the latter and European powers with whom she might have questions of dispute.

Unfortunately, under the new commercial policy, prices

[17] Perry: U. S. Japan Expedition, vol. i, p. 61.
[18] Sen. Exec. Doc. 25, 36-1.

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in Japan rose from 100 per cent to 300 per cent. Soon after the beginning of the American war, cotton rose to over 30 cents per pound. The *samaurai*, or military class, who suffered most, encouraged the idea that hatred of foreigners was loyalty to Japan. In 1862 the mikado ordered the "barbarians" to be expelled, and summoned the shogun to Kioto to give an account of his stewardship. The shogun, who saw his power declining, and the daimios deserting him to flock to Kioto, was induced through pressure to proclaim to foreign nations that the ports of Japan were to be closed against foreign intercourse. The foreigners now learned that the shogun was not the real emperor, but they were firm in the purpose to let slip no advantage already gained.

In Japan, as in China, Secretary Seward, who desired to substitute fair diplomacy for force, insisted upon the policy of cooperation of the powers, based on community of interests. He was opposed to intervention in internal affairs, but when the daimio of Nagato, opposing the shogun's treaties, closed the strait of Shimonoseki and fired on an American merchant steamer, the naval forces of the United States, Great Britain, France and the Netherlands, with the approval of the shogun's government, and in order to enforce treaty rights, opened the strait by force, and compelled the surrender of the hostile daimio.[19] He favored a policy of neutrality with reference to internal struggles, but desired the establishment and maintenance of a strong central government by which treaties might be enforced, and native autonomy preserved.

The bombardment by the powers, together with the report of a Japanese embassy which returned from Europe in 1864, had a profound effect on the Japanese mind, and the emperor, with whom the powers began to direct nego-

[19] Out of a total indemnity fund of $3,000,000 to the combined powers, the United States received $785,000 which was afterwards returned (1883).

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tiations from Hiago below Kioto in 1865, yielded to ratification of treaties in spite of popular prejudice. The daimios who had at first opposed the shogun's policy, now acquiesced in the new policy of the mikado, who was soon restored to his ancient power, and encouraged the adoption of Western civilization.

In 1866, England, France, Holland and the United States agreed to a convention practically depriving Japan of the right to regulate its tariff beyond five per cent on imports and exports.[20] Though in 1872 Japan failed in her negotiations for a revision of treaties, the United States, since the growth of the imperial authority in Japan,[21] has been willing to release the latter from the treaty limitations upon its judicial and fiscal independence.[22]

China.—In 1784 the Stars and Stripes, floating from the *Empress of China*, an American trading vessel, first appeared in the Orient at Canton, the only Chinese port at which foreigners were permitted to trade. In 1786, President Washington, in the interests of a rapidly growing trade, appointed Samuel Shaw as consul at that port. It was over a half-century later that China first consented to make treaties regulating and extending commercial intercourse, and providing for the protection of the lives and property of American citizens on Chinese territory. From 1786 to 1844 the American consuls at Canton were merely merchants. During that time, however, our trade with China suffered only one temporary interruption—in 1821, when Terranora, a sailor on board of the American ship *Emily*, was judicially murdered by the Chinese magistrate, Pwanyu,

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[20] Treaties and Conventions, 1889, p. 612.

[21] See an article by Matsuyama Makato in vol. cxxvii of N. Am. Review, pp. 406-26. On the civil discord which resulted in Japanese reforms, see Sen. Exec. Doc. 65, 40-2, vol. ii, May 23, 1868.

[22] See the Commercial Convention of 1878, and the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of November 22, 1894, which went into effect July 17, 1899.

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and the American merchants at Whampoa protested without effect.[23]

For many years the powers of Western Europe had been able to secure a restricted trade.[24] As early as 1537 the Portuguese temporarily established a trade at Macao. They were soon followed by the Spanish, who had established a colony at Manila in 1543. In 1622 the Dutch attacked the Portuguese settlements at Macao and occupied the Pescadore (Pang-hu) Islands, and in 1625 they were induced to move to Formosa by Chinese promises of freedom of trade, but were driven to Java, a generation later, by the fleet of Koshinga, the pirate. In 1637 Captain Weddel, with an English squadron, anchored off Macao and compelled the opening of trade with the English. Soon after 1689 Russian caravans were premitted to go to Peking to trade. All attempts to secure commercial treaties or regular diplomatic intercourse, however, had ended in failure. Most ambassadors refused to make the nine prostrations required by the emperor as a preliminary to negotiation. In 1699 the English East India Company obtained permission to establish a factory and a consulate at Canton, where they desired to trade in tea, but trade was often interrupted by heavy duties and extortions. The Dutch finally secured the same privilege. No other port was open to commerce.

For half a century after 1720 all business of Europeans was transacted through a single company of Chinese hong merchants, which was responsible to the Chinese Government for the customs and duties, and responsible to no one for its enormous profits. Though the co-hong was dissolved in 1771, the hong merchants, by making presents to

[23] 14 De Bow, Apr., 1853, p. 359. Terranora accidentally killed a Chinese woman by dropping a pot on her head. He was finally given up to the Chinese authorities, who strangled him outside of the walls. [G. F. Train: An American Merchant in Europe, Asia and Australia. N. Y. 1847.]

[24] Early relations of the Western Powers with China are fully treated in R. Montgomery Martin's "China, Political, Commercial and Social." [Official Report, London, 1847, 2 vols.]

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the Canton magistrates, still contrived to maintain their monopoly and continued their exorbitant and extortionate prices, and in some cases refused to pay their debts. Suspecting that their complaints were never allowed to reach Peking, the British, in 1792, sent to the imperial city an ambassador (Lord Macartney), who secured the dismissal of the Canton viceroy who had encouraged the frauds. In 1816, they again complained of the manner of the Canton trade and asked for new ports more convenient to the principal tea district, but Lord Amherst, who was sent at the head of an embassy, was not received by the Chinese sovereign.

After the expiration (1833) of the charter of the East India Company, which had traded as a supplicant to whom the Chinese granted favors, the Western world began its demand for the admission to China of individual merchants who desired to trade. In July, 1834, Lord Napier, with instructions from Lord Palmerston, arrived at Canton and demanded trade as a right. The Chinese refused to enter into any kind of negotiations to trade with "barbarians." After a period of irritation growing out of opium smuggling, they precipitated war by issuing a decree suspending all trade with England, who, in turn, resolved to bombard the exclusive Asiatics and oblige them to open the country to foreigners who desired to walk civilly through it. Unable to cope with British gunpowder, they soon began to receive fresh light from new lamps. In the peace negotiations of 1842, at the close of the so-called "Opium War," they agreed to pay the expenses of the war, cede Hong Kong to Great Britain and open five ports, including that of Fuchau, which the British had especially desired. The commercial privileges which England secured by the cannon's mouth were soon granted to other nations who sought them.

The United States was not slow to take advantage of the Chinese reformed methods of intercourse. In September, 1839, when the Chinese suspected that Americans were

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cooperating with the British, P. W. Snow, the American consul at Canton, had declined to conform to the troublesome Chinese literary conventionalities which the authorities asked him to insert in his reply to the edicts of the imperial commissioner.[25] In December, 1842, President Tyler sent to the Senate and the House a message,[26] prepared by Webster,[27] referring to the importance of the Sandwich Islands and the China trade,[28] and urging an appropriation for sending an official representative to China. A bill for a mission was called up by the Senate at midnight on the last day of the session of 1842-43. It met with much opposition. Benton, on the ground that we already had trade and could never have closer relations than that with a people so distant and peculiar, said there was no necessity for a treaty. The appropriation was voted, however, and Edward Everett was selected (March 3) as the first envoy.[29] When the latter declined, Caleb Cushing was appointed. His instructions,[30] signed by Webster, were designed to dispel the Chinese delusion that other nations were dependents, and their representatives tribute bearers. He was directed to announce to the Chinese that the United States "pays tribute to none and expects tribute from none," but desires friendship and the protection of rights.

Arriving at Macao in the *Brandywine* in February, 1844, he soon opened correspondence with the authorities near Canton, who kept him in diplomatic contention until the middle of May. Failing to induce the Oriental mind to allow him to go to Peking, he was finally persuaded to abandon that part of his plan. Pen and ink prevailed over thoughts of cannon and ammunition. On the arrival of

[25] H. Exec. Doc. 119, 26-1, Feb. 21, 1840, 85 pp.
[26] Richardson's Messages, p. 211.
[27] Curtis's Webster, p. 176.
[28] In 1841 the imports of the United States from China were valued at $9,000,000, and her direct exports to China were $715,000 for domestic goods and $485,000 foreign goods.
[29] 5 Stat. at Large, p. 624.
[30] Sen. Exec. Doc. 138, 28-2, Feb. 21, 1845, 9 pp.

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an imperial commissioner, Cushing decided that it was best "to dispose of all the commercial questions by treaty before venturing on Peking," where the Chinese ceremonial required ambassadors to undergo a series of prostrations and bumping of the head on the ground before the footstool of the Chinese "Son of Heaven."[31] On July 3, at Wang Hiya, near Macao, he concluded with Keying[32] a treaty of peace, amity and commerce, opening the five ports to American commerce, establishing port regulations, allowing American citizens the privileges of residence, cemeteries and hospitals, conceding the right of foreigners to be tried before their consuls; granting to the United States the privilege of direct correspondence with the Imperial Government (to be transmitted by designated port officers), and promising all the privileges and advantages which China might grant to other nations.[33]

The United States, by her peaceful but firm policy, with no desire for Chinese territory, secured greater prestige and concession than the British.

In 1845 Cushing returned to the United States via the west coast of Mexico and Vera Cruz. At that time, he, like many others, probably did not foresee the swiftly-coming events which a few years later contributed to the necessity of revising the treaty and enforcing its provisions more rigidly. There were then no railways to the Pacific. California was not yet an Anglo-Saxon community. Uninspired prophecy declared that the Pacific coast would never be a part of the territory under the control of the United States Government. In less than three years thereafter, we had expanded to the Pacific, a line of American steamers were nearly ready to run from Panama to California and Oregon, and we were preparing to shorten the distance to

[31] Benton: Thirty Years' View, vol. ii. H. Doc. 69, 28-2, vol. ii, Jan. 22, 1845, 14 pp.

[32] Keying appeared to be a man of relatively liberal views. He was unfortunate in his subsequent career.

[33] H. Doc. 69, 28-2, vol. ii, Jan. 22, 1845, 14 pp.

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the Far East, and increase intercourse, by a transcontinental railway, and a regular, swift line of steamers between California and China [84] via the Sandwich Islands.

After Commodore Biddle had exchanged the ratified Cushing treaty, Alexander H. Everett was sent as our representative at Canton; but he soon died and was succeeded by John W. Davis, who managed to obtain an interview with the Imperial Commissioner at Canton, in 1848, and organized our peculiar judicial system in China.[85]

In his message of December, 1851, President Fillmore announced that the office of Commissioner to China remained unfilled—that several persons, to whom the place had been offered, had declined because of the inadequacy

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[84] H. Rp. 596, 30-1, vol. iii, May 4, 1848. 37 pp.

American interests in the Pacific and the Far East had "attained great magnitudes." In January, 1846, there were 736 American ships (233,149 tons), and 19,560 officers and seamen engaged in the whale fisheries. Their annual product was about $10,000,000, and they spent about $3,000,000 in foreign ports, annually, for refreshments and repairs. Besides the whaling industry, we also had 200 vessels (75,000 tons) and 5000 seamen engaged in the Pacific carrying trade—exclusive of the commerce with China. These considerations, induced the House committee on naval affairs to urge the necessity of a naval depot on the California coast, as a part of the proposed plans for facilitating intercourse between the Mississippi river and China. The committee said: "Our commerce with China possesses the elements of indefinite expansion." Under the new Chinese policy, which had released trade from the vexatious monopolistic control of extortionate, capricious mandarins, Chinese imports from foreign countries had increased from $10,205,370 in 1842 to $17,843,249 in 1844, and her exports from $13,339,750, in 1842 to $25,513,370 in 1844, exclusive of the opium trade.

By 1852, the American trade with China amounted to $18,000,000 annually; but since the beginning of our trade with China, our imports had exceeded our exports more than $180,000,000, which had been paid in silver. John P. Kennedy, Secretary of the Navy, suggested that China might be induced to receive American tobacco as a substitute for poisonous opium. [Sen. Exec. Doc. 49, 32-2, Feb. 16, 1853.]

[85] See Sen. Exec. Doc. 72, 31-1, Sept. 9, 1850. (Davis' report as to consular courts.)

Mr. Davis was not able to find an American lawyer in all China, Hong Kong, Macao, or the Philippine Islands.

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of the salary of $6,000 to meet the expense of living. A year later he appointed Humphrey Marshall, who accepted, and arrived in China at the beginning of 1853, with a letter to the emperor, and instructions to seek more satisfactory regulation of intercourse. [See Appendix.]

The vast changes in conditions since the United States had stood alone in the solitude of her first territorial limits, brought new duties and greater opportunities. Then the possession of Florida and Louisiana by European powers was a source of anxiety to the fathers of the republic. Now, we had annexed the neighbors whom we had formerly feared. Then the trans-Mississippi and the trans-Rocky territories were open to the conquest of foreigners. Now, the Pacific alone intervened between us and Asia, and Europe looked with amazement and admiration upon the giant strides of the youthful but vigorous republic. While we had been advancing by expansion, the wonders of science had brought us into closer proximity with all of the powers of the world. In our weak beginning, when we were embarrassed by the wars of Europe, Washington gave a warning against foreign entanglements, which became stereotyped into a political proverb, but now people began to ask: "Can the country continue to regard itself apart from Europe and the world?" "Would not the new conditions require the United States to be a part of any great political transaction which affects the history of the world?" We were interested especially in the relations and policies of the great colonizing nations of Europe. Feeling that relations with the East would constitute the most important factor in the achievements of the future, some went so far as to advocate an Anglo-American alliance[86] to preserve the

[86] W. H. Trescot, whose name figured later in the foreign relations of the United States, in 1849, stating that the Russian colonial system must be an exclusive one, and believing that the recent British economic policy indicated that Great Britain was "willing to share with the United States the divided allegiance of the world" considered that an alliance should be a part of our foreign

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integrity of China and an open door, and to arrest the increasing power and growing antagonism of England and Russia in the direction of Asia, which was now our near neighbor. The United States, therefore, felt as much concern in the affairs of the East as any nation in Europe.

The year which Marshall spent in China was one of great political confusion. Revolution sought to remedy the chronic diseases of the empire. Part of the political organism undertook to throw off superincumbent weight which had been sustained for years.[37]. Taiping[38] affairs culminated,

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policy. He considered it the only means to frustrate Russian designs, and, at the same time, preserve the independence of China. Spain was too feeble to interfere, and Austria and Prussia were only "accidents and convenient outworks of other nations." France, who (excepting England) was the only European power possessing a basis for independent action was still the natural ally of Russia, as she was at Tilsit. "Equally as natural," said Trescot, "and equally as necessary, is the alliance between England and the United States. . . . The future history of the world must be achieved in the East. . . . The United States and Great Britain by concerted action on the ocean can control the history of the world. . . . Indeed, how can it be otherwise. We are the two great commercial nations of modern history, . . . with the same language and ancestry. . . . And while the interest, both of England and the United States, lies in the monopoly of their Asiatic trade, each Government is peculiarly adapted for its respective part in the accomplishment of so important an end. . . . Thus allied in an honest unity of interest, the United States becomes England's strength, against the world, in support of her Indian colonies, and, shut out from territorial aggrandizement themselves, the United States, are thus by alliance with England—sharers of a common basis for further operations."

[37] See an article in 15 De Bow, Dec. 1853, pp. 541-71: China and the Indies—Our "Manifest Destiny" in the East.

[38] The religious movement which developed into the Taiping rebellion was organized in the interior of China by Hung Sew-tsuen, a schoolmaster, who had been influenced by Christian books and had renounced Buddhism. His followers resisted exactions, were persecuted, and finally arming themselves for self-defence, destroyed temples, and in October, 1850, won an important victory over the imperial soldiery. Moving northward, they conquered as they went. In March, 1853, they captured Nanking, which became Hung's capital in 1860. In 1853, they also took Shanghai. Their success thrilled the world, but political corruption and fanaticism

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and the fate of the imperial dynasty was hanging in the balance. The imperial officials were too busy to attend to foreign affairs. Marshall could obtain no conference with a properly authorized plenipotentiary. On his arrival in January, he sent a note to Yeh, announcing his appointment and requesting an interview. He was far from pleased at Yeh's note of excuses.[39] In his despatch to the Department of State [40] he gave vent to his indignation at being embarrassed in his usefulness, and announced his determination not to submit to such discourtesy. He then went to see Eliang (Governor of Kiang-nan and Kiang-si provinces), who received him in person on July 4, and sent to the Emperor the President's letter, and Marshall's request to be received at Peking to conduct American diplomatic relations there. He (Marshall) received acknowledgment of the letters, but his request was not granted. His hopes were chilled by new evasions and new reference to everything and everybody of Canton, the theatre of perplexity, and the usual channel for conducting diplomatic business. At Canton, however, all of his applications were refused.[41]

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clouded their ideas of reform. They failed in their attack upon Peking, were expelled, by European powers, from Shanghai and Ningpo, and finally, in July, 1864, were driven from Nanking with merciless slaughter. The overthrow of the rebellion was aided by the leadership of Gen. Ward, an American, and Col. Gordon an Englishman.

[39] Yeh and the Governor returned the following gem of literary piquancy and Chinese diplomacy: ". . . We are delighted to understand that the honorable Commissioner has received the superintendence of trade at the five ports. We have heretofore heard that the honorable Commissioner is mild and even-tempered, just and upright. . . . As to setting a time for an interview, we, the Minister, and Governor are also exceedingly desirous of a mutual interview, when face to face we may converse, in order to manifest the good correspondence of our respective countries; but I, the Minister, am at present at Saou-Chow Pass, and I, the Governor, having the superintendence of everything, have not the slightest leisure, and can only await the return of the Minister. . . . ." [H. Exec. Doc. 123, 33-1, p. 13.]

[40] Despatch No. 3, Feb. 7, 1853. H. Exec. Doc. 123, 33-1, p. 13.

[41] Despatches 21, 27, and 28, July 6, Aug. 26, and Aug. 30, 1853. H. Exec. Doc. 123, 33-1, pp. 189, 240, and 248.

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He also had much difficulty and conflict with the American naval commanders, whom he asked to conduct him to northern ports, but to whom he refused to divulge his purposes in going. He complained that his exposure to the discourtesy of Commodore Aulick would leave an unfortunate impression on the minds of Chinese officials and result in the procrastination of impending questions and the loss of important advantages in political arrangements. With Perry, who relieved Aulick in the East, and stopped at Shanghai en route for Japan, he was no better pleased. Impatient in his desire to present his credentials, and to insist upon an official residence at Peking, and urging that it was a favorable time to press China for more satisfactory relations, he asked Perry [42] to leave a naval force at Shanghai to make his demands and negotiations more effective.[43] His proposition was disregarded. With no vessels at his command, and no prospects of diplomatic intercourse by the close of the year, he was not sorry to close his mission and return to the United States. The unreserved publication of his despatches (even of his most confidential letters) in July, 1854, gave the world an opportunity to see the extent and character of his vexations. His intention to leave China he

[42] Sen. Exec. Doc. 34, 33-2, pp. 23-26.

[43] In a note to Perry on May 13, Marshall said: "If the Emperor of China confronted by a formidable rebellion . . . would prefer to hazard war with the United States to an admission of their envoy to this court, yet will not execute his treaty obligations by appointing a proper public officer to adjust questions which arise in the foreign relations of his government, the United States might well desire to modify their policy with Japan until their future relations with China were more clearly ascertained."

In the latter part of the year, Perry who had returned to Hong Kong from Japan, was requested by Marshall to cooperate with him in an attempt to visit Peking to learn the exact condition of the revolution, to insist upon commercial rights, and to assure the "Christian Emperor" of his readiness to acknowledge the new government; but the Commodore, stating that neither of the Chinese parties was in a condition to negotiate, refused to take any step that might be interpreted as participation in the civil war.

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announced to Yeh, who replied [January, 1854]: "I avail myself of the occasion to present my compliments, and trust that, of late, your blessings have been increasingly tranquil."

In October, 1853, Robert McLane was appointed Commissioner to China.[44] His instructions[45] of November 9, from Marcy, vested him with large and discretionary powers, by which he could be prepared to meet contingencies which might arise from the results of the existing revolution. He was directed, in case of a crisis, to attempt to secure unrestricted commercial intercourse—free trade, if possible—but with no desire for exclusive privileges.[46] He was assured that Perry would receive instructions to cooperate and give such assistance as the exigencies of the public interest might require, and at least to comply with any request for a steamer. In view of the possible success of the revolutionists, he was authorized to use his discretion in recognizing the government *de facto* and treat with it—or, in case China should be divided under several governments "promising stability," to negotiate treaties with each government.

Taking the overland route to the Pacific, McLane reached Hong Kong on March 13, 1854. Like his predecessor, he was unsuccessful in his attempts to open diplomatic intercourse. He found Yeh still too busy to talk.[47] Looking at

[44] Robert J. Walker had accepted the Chinese mission, but finally declined.

[45] Sen. Exec. Doc. 39, 36-1, vol. xi, Apr. 23, 1860. 4 pp.

[46] He was also given power to make a similar treaty with Corea, Cochin China, or any other independent Asiatic power with whom we had no treaty—and, in case Perry might fail, to renew efforts in Japan.

[47] On Apr. 6, Yeh in reply to McLane, wrote: "Yêê . . . . am delighted to learn that the Commissioner has arrived in the south of China. . . . I, the Minister, am exceedingly comforted in my mind. As to appointing a time for presentation, I, the Minister, am also desirous of an interview . . . . ; but just at this moment, I the Minister, am superintending the affairs of the army in the several provinces, and day and night have no rest. Suffer me, then, to wait for a little leisure, when I may make selection of a propitious day, that we may have a pleasant meeting." [Sen. Exec. 22, 35-2, p. 19.]

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the archives of the legation, he reported that they presented a very humiliating view of our past relations with China, whose officials rendered intercourse most unsatisfactory. Considering the experience of both England and France, he was convinced that diplomatic intercourse could be obtained with the Chinese Government only at the cannon's mouth, but he resisted Sir John Bowring's suggestion for uniting forces for combined action.[48] Mr. Parker, secretary of the legation, suggested that the Chinese officials should be warned that such discourteous treatment would be borne no longer, and that a remonstrance should be presented to the emperor in person—either to Hêên Fung or to Taiping.[49]

Informing Yeh that he would seek some other medium of communication, McLane soon went northward to Shanghai,[50] which had been held by the revolutionists since the autumn of 1853, but was still annoyed by the imperial forces. He found that American merchants were not yet satisfied with the decision of Marshall, that suspension of custom house control by the Imperial Government did not annul the treaty obligation to pay duties.[51] He sustained

[48] Despatch No. 3, to Marcy, Apr. 20, 1854. Sen. Exec. Doc. 22, 35-2, p. 21.

[49] In 1854, encouraged by the success of his Japan expedition, Perry advocated the extension of the American policy (of stopping exclusiveness) to Cambodia, Borneo, and especially to Formosa, which he considered might be useful in aiding China to establish a more liberal form of government. For the latter purpose he intimated that further intervention by Great Britain after the Opium War would have been justifiable. Opposed to any toleration of unsocial and insolent exclusiveness, he urged that diplomatic representatives should reside at Peking and other oriental capitals. Looking to the future, he said: "We must protect commerce, and prepare for events which must transpire, in the East. In the developments of the future, the destinies of our nation must assume conspicuous attitudes." [Perry: U. S. Japan Expedition, vol. ii, pp. 173-81.]

[50] Senate Exec. Doc. 22, 35-2 (vol. viii), p. 29 et seq. Despatch Nos. 4, 5 and 6, May 4, and 21, and June 14, 1854.

[51] Marshall, considering that it was the duty of the United States to protect the Chinese revenue, and that if duties were not paid

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the decision of Marshall, however, and awarded to the Chinese the revenues due from Americans.[52]

In June, 1854, McLane visited Woohoo, about 70 miles above Nanking, and investigated the origin, purpose, and extent of the Taiping rebellion. The insurgent leaders appeared not to have the liberality and friendliness which had been attributed to them by the deluded missionary sympathizers. In exclusiveness and extraordinary pretensions the chiefs exceeded the tone of the imperial authorities.[53] They informed Captain Buchanan that he might be permitted to make yearly visits to bring tribute and bathe in the "gracious streams of the celestial dynasty."

In October, McLane, in company with Sir John Bowring, sailed northward, and after some "amphibious adventures" at the mouth of the Pei-ho, met an imperial [nonplenipotentiary] commissioner in a wretched tent near Taku, and participated in a fruitless conference which lasted almost an entire day.[54] On August 20, he had arrived at the conclusion that if the efforts then being made should

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at Shanghai, they would be levied on the goods in the interior, had established a provisional arrangement for the payment or guarantee of the duties. The British residents did not favor the system, and offered no opposition to a "rebel" mob which sacked the custom house on September 7, 1853.

[52] Sen. Exec. Doc. 22, 35-2, p. 112 et seq. [Despatch 7, July 7, 1854.] On Nov. 8, before the award was paid over, Marcy agreeing with Lord Clarendon, gave instructions to rescind the arrangement as to duty obligations. Parker, the *chargé d'affaires* was much embarrassed by this order, and the insubordination of Mr. Murphy, the American consul. The question of paying the duties was finally settled by Attorney-General Cushing, who decided that the award of McLane, as an arbitrator, was obligatory. The Chinese difficulty in managing the revenues soon resulted in the establishment of a Foreign Inspectorate of Customs, to supervise the duties, and see that they were collected.

[53] See the "Mandatory" enclosed in Despatch No. 6 of June 14, 1854. Sen. Exec. Doc. 22, 35-2, p. 62. Also see p. 50 et seq., and p. 70 et seq.

[54] For Chinese memoranda of the conference, see enclosures in Reed to Cass, No. 33, Oct. 21, 1858, Sen. Exec. Doc. 30, 36-1, pp. 438-88 (vol. x).

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prove unavailing, it would be necessary to abandon all further expectation of extending commercial intercourse by treaty, unless Great Britain and the United States should concur in a policy of exerting a more active and decided influence on the destiny of China."[55] In November he urged Marcy to adopt a "more positive policy," stating that if the Chinese emperor remained obstinate a united Anglo-Franco-American fleet should blockade the Pei-ho, Yanste, Min, and Canton rivers, until all the commercial privileges demanded by the foreigners should be conceded."[56]

Secretary Marcy remained cool, conservative, and careful.

McLane having returned to the United States (in December, 1854) in poor health, in the summer of 1855 Mr. Parker was appointed commissioner. His term of service was coincident with a period of troubles which severely tested his amiable, religious temper. He went to China via London, where he exchanged generalities with Lord Clarendon on Anglo-Saxon interests, Anglo-American alliance, and "concurrent action and cooperation in China."

Like his predecessors, he failed to bring Yeh to a personal interview. Unable to appreciate the latter's method of conducting the Chinese foreign office, he sailed northward. On September 3, while at Shanghai, he wrote Marcy: "The contemplated plan of concurrent action on the part of Great Britain, France and the United States never appeared to me more wise or desirable than at this moment."[57] Having no American squadron available to accompany him to the Pei-ho, he returned (November, 1856) to the south of China where he found American commercial interests paralyzed by the confusion resulting from the *Arrow* affair and the British bombardment of Canton.[58]

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[55] Despatch No. 10, Sen. Exec. Doc. 22, 35-2, p. 169.
[56] Despatch 20, Nov. 19, 1854, Sen. Exec. Doc. 22, 35-2, p. 285.
[57] Sen. Exec. Doc. 22, 35-2, p. 921.
[58] Another effort to secure changes in treaties, which was about to be made in conjunction with the Ministers of France and England, was suspended by the Canton hostilities.

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The United States was almost drawn into the conflict at Canton. A few Americans joined the British hostile forces and displayed the American flag. After the beginning of the conflict, the Chinese, having suggested the withdrawal of the American forces, became provoked because an American boat was sent "to sound the river in the vicinity of the forts" and they opened fire on a boat carrying the American flag, and belonging to one of the American ships-of-war. Commodore Armstrong, in reply, authorized a movement against the Barrier forts, then demanded an apology for the insult to the flag, and finally emphasized the demand by destroying the forts.[80] The British believed that the United States had become involved and would henceforth actively cooperate.[80]

Parker claimed to be cautious, but on December 12[81] he confidentially suggested to Marcy that the combined forces should present themselves at the Pei-ho, and in case China still refused to welcome envoys at Peking, as a final step resort to reprisal by hoisting the French flag in Corea, the British in Chusan, and the American in Formosa, and the retention of the territories until China should accept the terms offered, and give satisfaction for the past and a right

[80] Commanders Foote and Armstrong, notified by Consul O. H. Perry that there was danger of trouble, had moved up the river toward Canton for the purpose of protecting American citizens. The Chinese, excited by the collision with the British, fired upon the American vessels without cause. The action of the Americans in destroying the Barrier forts, was not regarded by the Chinese as an act of war, and was considered within the limits of a neutral policy. [H. M. Wood: Fankwei, N. Y., 1859.]

[80] Nearly a year later, Mr. Reed wrote Secretary Cass that the archives of the legation showed that Parker "to a certain point, encouraged Sir John Bowring [and others] in the most extravagant expectations of cooperation on our part, to the extent even of acquisition of territory." Referring to the mischievous effects of Parker's course he said that when the delusion was broken, and it became understood that the extreme policy of cooperation was disavowed, or discouraged, all suggestions of friendly concert on points of common interest, which the well-known policy of the government had authorized, were suddenly repelled. [Despatch 3, Reed to Cass, Nov. 10, 1857, Sen. Exec. Doc. 30, 36-1, vol. x, p. 17.]

[81] Despatch 34, Sen. Exec. Doc. 22, 35-2.

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understanding for the future.[62] He said that the occupation of territory, as a last resort, for injuries inflicted, would be far more humane and effective than the destruction of life and property by bombarding forts and cities. On February 12, 1857, he again suggested the policy of taking Formosa.[63] He had just received a letter from Gideon Nye, Jr., who, considering the character of the mongrel race on the island, urged that Commodore Armstrong should take possession of the territory and hold it in the interests of humanity and commerce.[64]

Notwithstanding the attempt to involve the United States in hostilities, the American Government remained strictly neutral. Secretary Marcy regretted that there had not been more caution by the Americans at Canton, and refused to entangle the United States in a protracted struggle. "The British Government," said he, "evidently has objects beyond those contemplated by the United States, and we ought not to be drawn along with it, however anxious it may be for our cooperation."[65] Considering that there was no obligation resting on China to negotiate at Peking, or near there, for the revision of the treaty of 1844, which she had agreed to revise, but without designating a place, the Pierce administration did not believe that relations with China warranted the "last resort" suggested by Parker. It decided to increase the naval force in Chinese waters, "but not for aggressive purposes."[66]

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[62] Sen. Exec. Doc. 22 (part 2, p. 1083), 35-2.

In 1856 some urged that the United States, keeping up with England and France, should widen the area of her national institutions, maintain an imposing naval force in Chinese seas, and follow American commerce everywhere with a show of power. [H. M. Wood: Fankwei, or the San Jacinto in the Seas of India, China and Japan, N. Y., 1859.]

[63] Sen. Exec. Doc. 22, part 2, p. 1183.

[64] Ibid., Exhibit G, p. 1204.

[65] Instr. China, Marcy to Parker, No. 9, Feb. 2, 1857. In Sen. Exec. Doc. 30, 36-1, vol. x, p. 4.

[66] Instr. China, Marcy to Parker, No. 10, Feb. 27, 1857 [Ibid., p. 6]. In the following April Secretary Cass said: "We have of course no political views connected with that empire." [To Lord Napier, Apr. 10, 1857. In Sen. Exec. Doc. 47, 35-1.]

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Secretary Cass, under the Buchanan administration, adhered to the same policy of neutrality. In March he received through Lord Napier a paper (dated January 9) from Lord Clarendon inviting the United States to join the alliance and participate in hostile movements against China in order to obtain the following objects:

1. Recognition of the right to send a minister to Peking.
2. Commercial extension beyond the five ports.
3. Reduction of tariff duties levied on domestic produce in transit from the interior.
4. Religious freedom of all foreigners in China.
5. An arrangement for the suppression of piracy.[67]
6. Provision for the extension of whatever benefits might be obtained to all other civilized powers of the earth.[68]

Though the President recognized all these objects as just and expedient, and was sensible of the liberal policy of the allied powers in disclaiming any intention to secure exclusive commercial advantages for themselves, he could not agree to cooperate in hostile demonstrations. Though he had power to employ naval forces for defence and for protection of American citizens, he stated that a military expedition into Chinese territory could not be undertaken except by Congress. Besides, although he was determined to ask China for a revision of the treaty of 1844 (which contained a clause providing for revision at the expiration of 12 years) he could not agree that our relations would warrant a resort to war. Secretary Cass, in his reply to Napier, said: "True wisdom dictates moderation and discretion in attempts to open China to the trade of the world."[69]

In May, Mr. William B. Reed was appointed[70] Envoy Ex-

[67] In 1855 a detachment from an American man-of-war destroyed the junks and burnt the depots of some pirates in Chinese waters. [Rp. Secy. of Navy, Dec. 1855.]

[68] MS. "Notes" from Brit. Legation to the Department, March 14, 1857.

[69] Notes from the Department to the Brit. Leg., Apr. 10, 1857.

[70] In July 1857, Parker, having no instructions, declined the invitation of the Earl of Elgin to unite with him in a visit to the

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traordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to China [to watch for an opportunity to revise treaties], with instructions [71] based upon a policy of peaceful cooperation in efforts to secure the objects sought by the allies.[72] "But on your side," said Cass, "efforts must be confined to firm representations, appealing to the justice and policy of the Chinese authorities, and [in case of failure] leaving to your own Government to determine upon the course to be adopted. . . . The United States is not at war with China, and only desires lawful commerce [73] and the protection of its citizens." The instructions explicitly stated that the United States had no motives of territorial aggrandizement or acquisition of political power in China.[74] Recognizing the potent influence of commerce alone as a means of introducing progressive civilization and national improvement, Cass said: "With the domestic institutions of China we have no political concern." Having no reason to believe that either of the contestants in the Chinese civil war would be more ready than the other to extend commercial intercourse, he directed Reed to use discretion in all that related to the internal conflict. To provide for possible contin-

north of China. In August, learning that Mr. Reed had been appointed to succeed him, he returned to the United States.

[71] Instr. China, Cass to Reed, No. 2, May 30, 1857. In Senate Exec. Doc. 47, 35-1, vol. xii, Apr. 20, 1858. (9 pp.)

[72] Reed was instructed that, in case Russia secured the reception of an accredited minister, there was no reason why he should not have the same friendly relations with the latter as with the British and French representatives.

[73] American citizens had not enjoyed "all the proper accommodations in obtaining homes and places of business," as provided by treaty. Local authority had interfered to prevent Chinese inhabitants from granting such rights, and had neglected to examine American complaints as to Chinese frauds or debts. They had not sufficiently enforced the guarantee of security for persons and property. The Chinese regulations reducing the true standard of the American coin had also injured trade.

[74] It was suggested that Mr. Reed, while watching for a favorable time to secure revision of treaties, might even have an opportunity to serve as a medium of communication between belligerents, and prevent war.

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gencies the Chinese squadron was increased and the movement of forces placed as far as possible under Mr. Reed's control.

Mr. Reed, on reaching China, found the trade of all nations suspended by the blockade of the Canton river, and the imperial authorities still busy with the Taiping insurrection. He soon discovered that it was not a favorable time to negotiate for the revision of treaties.[75] On November 17 he wrote to the tranquil Yeh, announcing his arrival and requesting an interview. Before receiving a reply, he wrote again, on November 28, stating that the United States, although not a party to the existing hostilities, was determined to secure redress for wrongs which American citizens had suffered at the hands of Chinese authorities—and that friendly feeling could not possibly continue if China should withhold the courtesies of intercourse.[76] On November 24, Yeh replied that, although he had much desire for an interview, there was no place where to hold it, since the British had burned the houses near Canton. As to the treaty, he said it had "proved satisfactory" and needed no alterations. In December, he again wrote that the American merchants and citizens having been treated with courtesy and kindness in China, could have no wrongs to redress.[77] He expressed confidence that Reed, being clear-headed, would not act as Parker, whom he suggested had been recalled for his conduct. On December 12, Reed, regretting that no opportunity was given for an interview, the result of which might be beneficial to both nations, replied: "The time is not far distant when your excellency may be sorry you have not seen me. . . . The treaty of 1844 must be revised. . . . The time has come when the United States, the greatest nation of the Western world,

[75] Message of President Buchanan Dec. 8, 1857.

[76] In Despatch No. 36, Reed to Cass, Dec. 15, 1857. Sen. Exec. Doc. 30, 36-1, vol. x, pp. 49-53.

[77] Yeh to Reed, Dec. 8, 1857. Enclosure in Reed's No. 39 to Cass, Dec. 28.

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must be treated on terms of equality with China, the oldest civilized nation of the East, and I have come in a conciliatory spirit to claim that right." In response, Yeh wrote (December 18): "From this it is plainly to be perceived that your excellency well understands the position of things, and the heartfelt regrets which you express have greatly tranquillized my feelings. . . . The despatches of . . . . Parker sometimes had remarks . . . not agreeable and courteous, but I never attached much importance to them in my mind. . . . Our two countries are like two good friends . . . in every respect on the best of terms."[78] Here the correspondence ended with the arrow of controversy still in the quiver. Such skillfully turned phrases and such masterly inactivity were difficult to meet by any form of literary retaliation known to the Western mind.

The crisis at Canton was rapidly approaching. By the close of the year all of the forts were taken. Early in January, 1858, Reed wrote that the city was completely in the hands of the allies.[79] Yeh had been captured and imprisoned on a war-vessel. At his house were found many documents relating to foreign affairs (including the original Cushing treaty), which indicated that the Foreign Office of China had practically been at Canton for many years.[80] On February 13, Yeh was sent to Calcutta for safe keeping. Having disposed of the tranquil commissioner, the powers prepared to urge their demands upon the Peking Government. Reed had come to the conclusion that vigorous action was necessary to secure redress. While suggesting

[78] Enclosure in Despatch 39, Reed to Cass, Dec. 28, 1857.

[79] "The Western powers," said Reed, "must give up the dream of dealing with China as a nation to which the ordinary rules apply." [Despatches, No. 3, Jan. 4, 1858. Sen. Exec. Doc. 30, 36-1, vol. x, p. 86.]

[80] Despatches, No. 5, Reed to Cass (Macao, Jan. 26, 1858). After learning more of these documents, which reflected the foreign policy of the Imperial Government, Reed wrote: "Decisive action is necessary with the officials who rule this people." [Despatches, No. 8, Feb. 4, 1858.]

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that the Chinese indebtedness of $800,000 to the United States might be realized by treaty, or by detention from duties, he was confident that the only sure method of obtaining redress was peremptory demand enforced by the blockade of ports as a means of reprisal.[81] By invitation, he cooperated with the allied powers and Russia in addressing communications to Peking. In his appeal to China he stated that the United States, having most friendly relations with Russia, France and Great Britain, and desiring the integrity of China to remain inviolate by the terms of redress and peace, was ready to extend friendly offices.[82] In this appeal he was proud to unite, because he considered it "entirely consistent with the peaceful attitude we have tried to occupy in the East."[83] He also considered that under his instructions he could proceed with the allied fleets to the north, and try the effect of the appearance of force near the seat of the Imperial Government. Desiring to provide for a contingency in which China should refuse to negotiate or resort to evasions, he asked to be invested with power to resort to measures of coercion for securing redress.[84]

The Department of State approved Reed's course in joining the powers in writing the notes to the Chinese emperor, but stated that the United States could not join in a continuation of coercive measures by resort to arms—at least, not yet.[85]

The notes to Peking having failed to produce the desired result, the powers decided to use more effective measures by an advance toward the imperial capital. Reed suggested that the United States should accompany the allied fleet with all of her available force, to show the Oriental

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[81] Despatches, No. 7, Feb. 1, 1858. Sen. Exec. Doc. 30, 36-1, p. 104.

[82] For Reed's letter to the Chinese Government, see Sen. Exec. Doc. 30, 36-1, vol. x, pp. 171-75.

[83] Despatches, No. 9, Reed to Cass, Feb. 13, 1858. Ibid., p. 125.

[84] The President had already asked Congress for such power.

[85] Instructions, China, No. 11, Cass to Reed, Apr. 28, 1858.

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mind that she was not compelled to abstain from hostilities through any want of means.[86] In May, while preliminary operations were pending, he held conferences with Chinese commissioners, pursuing a course concerning which Lord Elgin guardedly expressed his dissent and disapproval.[87] He sailed with the allied fleet in their advance toward Peking, and was an observer of the hostilities which he had tried to prevent.[88] After the fleet had captured the Taku forts, enabling it to steam up the Pei-ho toward Peking and compel China to yield concessions, he secured all the advantages which had been forced by ball and bayonet. After several interviews with the Chinese commissioners at Tientsin, on June 18, he wrote: "I have to-day signed a treaty." In the negotiations, the two great points of difficulty were in regard to the permanent residence of a minister at Peking, and the navigation of the rivers.

The treaty, which Mr. Reed negotiated, renewed the extra-territoriality clause for consular judicial jurisdiction in suits against United States citizens in China, granted the right of direct correspondence with the privy council, permitted the minister of the United States to visit and sojourn at Peking for the transaction of business once each year, secured more liberal commercial regulations and gave access to new ports and to the interior of the country.[89] On No-

[86] Despatch No. 11, Reed to Cass, Shanghai, Apr. 3, 1858. A few days later, Reed seeing little chance of being able to accomplish anything, expressed a wish to return. On June 25 Cass replying that the President assented to his urgent wish, urged him to stay until there was no reasonable hope of prompt accommodation. [Instr. China, No. 12, Cass to Reed.]

[87] Despatch No. 17, Reed to Cass, May 15, 1858. Sen. Exec. Doc. 30, 36-1, vol. x, p. 297.

[88] The Russian and American squadrons were given orders to abstain from hostilities—except in cases of extremity.

[89] On the treaty and its effects, see Reed's despatch to Cass, No. 23, June 30, 1858. Sen. Exec. Doc. 30, 36-1, pp. 351-63, and 363-70; also despatch No. 29, July 29, 1858. Ibid., 371 et seq.

For further remarks on the treaty, and philosophic generalizations regarding the nature of the Chinese government and its foreign relations, the real authority in the political system, the Chi-

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vember 8, he negotiated a convention[90] for settling the claims of American citizens, by which China afterwards paid the United States $735,238.97.[91]

The English and French treaties of 1858 each contained a clause providing for an exchange at Peking, and the envoys, Sir Frederick Bruce and M. de Bourbillon, refused to listen to Chinese officials who were sent to Shanghai to dissuade them from going to Peking.[92] Arriving at the mouth of the Pei-ho in June, 1859, they found the river obstructed by improved forts at Taku and, by chains which the Chinese refused to remove. The allied fleet of nineteen vessels was under the command of the English admiral, Hope. Upon learning of the obstructions in the river, Admiral Hope made an imperative demand that they be removed at once. This the Chinese refused, and Bruce, hoping that the matter was susceptible of an amicable adjustment, attempted to enter into negotiations for the removal of the booms so that he might be permitted to pursue his journey to Peking.

Almost coincident with the arrival of the British and French, two American vessels, under Commander Josiah Tatnall, escorting the American Minister, John E. Ward, reached the waters of the Pei-ho. Ward had received the assent of the Chinese commissioners at Shanghai to go to the imperial capital, and had resolved to proceed until stopped by a force which could not be overcome by that under Tatnall by which he was escorted. Persuaded by

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nese negotiations, and the influence of the conduct of foreigners, see Reed's despatch No. 31 to Cass, Sept. 4, 1858. Ibid., p. 429 et seq.

For illustrations of Chinese polity, and characteristics, see D. Wells Williams's despatch No. 2 to Cass, Jan. 28, 1859. Ibid., p. 545.

[90] Despatches, Nos. 35 and 37, Reed to Cass, Nov. 9, and Nov. 10, 1858. Ibid., pp. 493-528.

[91] After the settlement of the claims by a United States commission, a surplus remained. In 1885 a balance of $453,400.90 was returned to the Chinese minister at Washington.

[92] See 14 Ward to Cass June 13, 1859. Sen. Exec. Doc. 30, 36-1, pp. 569-85.

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Tatnall, on June 25 he boarded an American chartered steamer, which passed the vessels of the allies, but grounded on a mud flat when within half a mile of the forts. On the next day, after the American vessel had been floated out of the line of fire, the allies began the attack on the yellow-flag-crowned Taku forts and attempted to clear the river, but the Chinese, with more artillery than had been suspected, opened a heavy fire which did serious damage. Throughout the fight the American force was nominally neutral. But Tatnall, when a young British officer informed him that Admiral Hope was seriously wounded, and intimated that American assistance would relieve the situation, turning to Ward, said: "I must either help Hope or return to the *Powhatan*. I can't stand here and see them shot to pieces. . . . Blood is thicker than water." He proceeded to extend his sympathy, and despite the protests of fellow-officers, assisted in landing men from the allied fleet to storm the forts. When the landing party was cut to pieces he sent boats to aid them to return to their vessels.[93]

After the fight made it evident he could not reach Peking with the French and English, Ward, in accordance with treaty provisions, opened negotiations for means of conveyance overland.[94] In a yellow cart, he started toward the imperial city, and on August 16, without force, secured the ratification of the treaty.[95]

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[93] Sen. Exec. Doc. 30, pp. 585-91. 15 Ward to Cass, July 4, 1859.

[94] Ibid., pp. 591-94. 16 Ward to Cass, July 10, 1859.

[95] Ibid., p. 594 et seq. 17 Ward to Cass, Aug. 20, 1859. Ward landed at Pei-t'ang, north of the mouth of the Pei-ho, and was taken to Peking by carts and by boats, over which floated a yellow penant with the words: "Tribute bearer from the United States." The imperial commissioners informed him that it was necessary to have an audience with the emperor before the treaty could be exchanged, but agreed to require of him only one-third of the usual number of kneelings (three) and touchings of the head on the ground (nine) required of envoys. Ward replied that he knelt only to God, and refused to bow except as he would to the President of the United States. The commissioners then arranged a plan for avoiding the formalities, but the emperor insisted that he

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The Chinese continued to oppose the treaties after they had been ratified, and endeavored to prevent their execution.[96] In 1860 British and French forces, having destroyed the defences of the Pei-ho river, took possession of the imperial city and induced the opening of the new ports of Nin-Chwang, Tung-Chan, Tai-wan (in Formosa), Chan-Chau, Kiang-Chau and (later) Tientsin. Russia, taking occasion to settle long-standing questions, obtained from China the region north of the Amoor and a tract along the coast of Manchuria below 43°.

Burlingame, whom Seward sent as United States minister to China in June, 1861, with instructions to lend no aid or countenance to the Taiping rebellion, but to consult with English and French ministers, desired the treaty powers to agree on the neutrality of China, to secure order in the treaty ports,[97] give their moral support to the Chinese party which was in favor of order, to encourage the adoption of progressive reforms and make an effort to substitute diplomatic action for force. His ideas met with the approval of the representatives of Great Britain, France and Russia. Some foreigners, however, advocated alienation of Chinese

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must touch either the knee or the fingers to the ground, and no audience was arranged. The ratified treaties were unceremoniously exchanged at Pei-t'ang where Ward embarked for Shanghai.

A. A. Hayes, in an article in the Atlantic Monthly for May, 1887, says that it has been our policy to "crawl behind the British guns, and come forward at the end of war with our bills for lost dressing-gowns, pipes, slippers and peace of mind."

[96] While an Anglo-French war against China was impending in Feb., 1860, President Buchanan agreed that the United States should pursue the same policy as that outlined by Russia.

[97] In several cases American naval forces had aided in preserving order. In August, 1859, during a disturbance which arose among the Chinese population at Shanghai on account of alleged kidnapping of "coolies" for a French merchant vessel, Captain Nicholson, at the request of the United States consul, landed part of his crew of the *Mississippi*, but order was restored and no collision occurred. [Rp. Secy. of Navy, Dec., 1859.] In June, 1860, during a fight between the Canton Chinchew men, Commander Berrien, at request of Consul Gouverneur, sent an armed boat to protect American residents.

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territory at the principal treaty ports and exclusive jurisdiction by England; and others, though well-meaning, excited the opposition of the Chinese by pressing the question of constructing railways and telegraphs.

In 1868, Burlingame, as minister plenipotentiary of China, negotiated a treaty with the United States favoring the territorial integrity of the empire, exempting persons from persecution for religious faith, acknowledging the right of voluntary emigration,[98] and confirming the previous consular jurisdiction. Though Secretary Fish thought the United States should have additional concessions, and that there should be a moderation of the restrictions which fettered commerce, he had no desire to embarrass the Chinese Government.[99]

In her subsequent relations with China the United States has continued to be non-aggressive, modest and friendly. She has continued to adhere to a policy of cooperation with the other powers upon the principle of native independence, an open door, and equality of opportunity for all the powers concerned. Notwithstanding her Chinese exclusion laws,

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[98] The United States had aided China to suppress the Coolie trade, but had found it very difficult to prevent the emigration of Chinese under false pretences, so long as they were prohibited from leaving the country freely. [See Sen. Exec. Doc. 22, 35-2, p. 657.]

[99] In 1870 President Grant concurred with the opinion of Germany that the combined action of the powers should end piracy in Chinese waters. In 1871, when there were unsettled questions growing out of Chinese opposition to Christianity, some urged measures that would teach China a lesson which she would long remember. In 1867-69 there had been local outrages against foreigners. A crisis was reached by the massacre at Tientsin. France asked redress. China prevaricated and delayed, then promised to pay an indemnity, and finally refused to pay, demanded the abolition of schools for the education of females, and insisted that males should not be taught doctrines opposed to those of Confucius. She also desired to consider missionaries as Chinese subjects, and to prevent the access of women to the empire in that capacity. *The Nation* (Aug. 17, 1871) urged that the United States, though not engaged in religious propagandism, should not hesitate to use force, or to unite with other powers, if necessary, to induce China to recede from her position.

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she has always stood well at Peking. Her efforts in behalf of an open door are regarded as distinctly in the interest of the integrity of the Chinese Empire. Her influence in the Orient has been greatly increased by the occupation and acquisition of the Philippines. In case the other powers, by their rivalry and spheres of influence in China, should attempt a policy of partition, she probably would not allow treaty rights and general interests to be sacrificed to such schemes of aggrandizement. She might even call in the Monroe doctrine in defence of her course.

Secretary Hay, on entering upon the duties of Secretary of State, saw that the inevitable retention of the Philippines would enable the United States to secure her policy in China and the East. After signing the treaty of Paris, he took steps to obtain from foreign powers, having "spheres of influence" in China, a recognition of our treaty rights to an open door. Some of the powers intimated that instead of a written assurance they would allow the United States a "sphere of influence," but Hay refused to participate in the partition policy. While avoiding an alliance with England or a treaty with any of the powers respecting a policy in China, he has insisted that the foreign powers, by treaties with each other and with China, should give a written guarantee of an open door.

In the recent Chinese crisis, while cooperating with the allies in the advance against Peking, to protect the foreign legations, the United States has had no territorial designs. She desires an open door to the trade of all China, and not a restricted sphere of influence over any part of it. She consistently strives for the larger field of commercial opportunity unlimited by territorial boundaries. If, through her prestige as a territorially disinterested power, she can prevent partition, restore peace to the Empire, and be assured of the protection of American rights and lives, she will have the reward or compensation which comes from the performance of duty by a necessary activity which has left our traditions unendangered.

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Corea.[100]—Corea, with a policy of exclusion and inclusion, remained for ages in a state of seclusion. About the beginning of 1868, Frederick Jenkins, an American, who had served as interpreter at the United States consulate at Shanghai, sailed to Corea on the *General Sherman* with an expedition which he had organized to rob the tombs of the deceased Corean sovereigns as a means of securing a ransom. The conduct of some of the crew on landing excited the Coreans to kill eight of them and destroy their vessel. The Corean Government, desiring to explain the circumstances connected with the affair, and contemplating the expediency of securing a treaty of friendship and commerce, in April, 1868, sent commissioners to Mr. Seward, the United States consul-general at Shanghai, for consultation.

After considerable correspondence, and with the assurance from the Peking Government that Corea's tributary relation to China did not prevent her from making treaties, F. F. Low, United States Minister to China, accompanied by Mr. Seward and Rear-Admiral Rodgers, with a squadron of five vessels, went to Corea in April, 1871, by instructions from Washington, and made an attempt to negotiate a convention securing rescue and protection to our shipwrecked mariners and property.[101] They arrived in the Salu river April 25, and on May 29, in a friendly manner, informed the officials of their purpose to continue up the river to make surveys. The officials made no objection to the surveys, but said the king was averse to making treaties. On June 1 several surveying vessels were fired upon from forts, which they soon silenced. The Coreans stubbornly refusing to offer an apology, on June 10 an expedition of nearly 1000 men, sent to avenge the insult, destroyed forts and batteries and killed 253 Coreans, who were then glad to fall back.

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[100] W. E. Griffis: Corea: the hermit nation. 1882.

[101] President's Message of Dec. 1871, and accompanying documents.

[102] Pamphlet at Navy Department, on "Expedition to Corea, 1871."

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Before leaving, Low made another attempt to open negotiations with the Government, but the letter to the king was returned unopened, and he was informed that no one dare convey his letter to Seoul. Rodgers, after further efforts appeared useless, went to Chefoo to await orders from the United States. Though the expedition had only contemplated peaceful negotiations, some hoped the powers would take united action against this warlike people; but the Washington Government, seeing no hope of accomplishing anything without a display of force, decided to postpone further negotiations.

After the bloodless revolution of 1874, which deposed a tyrannical usurping ruler, the Coreans became more interested in foreign nations and better acquainted with their policies; and, after a war with Japan, which opened several ports to Japanese commerce, notwithstanding ancient laws, they began to visit other countries. Secretary Frelinghuysen, seeing favorable conditions for renewing negotiations, and considering that the independence of Corea was regarded as established, resolved again to make an effort to obtain a treaty with the land of the Morning Calm, and intrusted the delicate mission to Admiral Shufeldt, who, on May 22, 1882, concluded a treaty securing the opening of certain ports to our commerce, aid and protection to our vessels and seamen, and safety to our citizens while in Corea. Lucius H. Foote, who, in May, 1883, became the first United States minister to Corea, made a favorable impression as to the friendly purposes of the American government, and relations since have been cordial and harmonious.

For 2000 years Corea has had a government based on the spoils system. In the almost thirty centuries during which she has patiently played a negative part, trying to steer between the Scylla of China and the Charybdis of Japan, she has been buried beneath a mass of worn-out, alien (Chinese) ideals—legal, religious and social—which have almost crushed her spontaneity. She cannot be ex-

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humed, disinterred, and reclaimed without a process of education. In the riot of December, 1884, some of the liberals inaugurated a hurricane of reform which lasted for forty-eight hours, but they failed in the attempt to condense centuries of evolution into a few hours.[108] The need of reforms in the administration and finances of Corea furnished an occasion for the events which caused the recent Chino-Japanese war, since which a reaction has largely transferred to Russia the influence previously exerted by Japan in Corea; but Japan expects to be a dominant force in guiding the destiny of both Corea and China.

[108] Foreign Relations, 1885. Percival Lowell: "The coup d'état in Corea." Atlantic Monthly, vol. lviii, 1886.

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CHAPTER VIII.

AMERICANIZATION OF HAWAII.

The interests which the United States suddenly acquired in California, the development of Oregon, and the prospects of closer communication with Asia, increased the importance of the earlier American policy to prevent foreign colonization or control of the Hawaiian Islands, where American elements had predominated from the earliest days of foreign interests there, and led the American Government to contemplate the annexation of the islands as a possible contingency necessary to American interests.

American influence in the islands was considerable by 1820. In March of that year, missionaries from Boston arrived in the *Thaddeus* to begin their religious and humanitarian work, and in the following September President Monroe appointed John C. Jones as United States agent, for commerce and seamen at Hawaii, to make reports to the Department of State. The missionaries were hospitably received and found conditions favorable for their labors. Kamehameha I., the "Napoleon of the Pacific," who, by 1795, had practically asserted his control over all the septinsular kingdom, had died in 1819, leaving a consolidated kingdom to his son Liholiho, who succeeded him as Kamehameha II. The will of the chief was still almost absolute. There had not yet developed a code of laws, or government regulations, courts of justice, or the acknowledged right of persons to own property. Neither was there yet a written or systematized language. But the people were preparing to be transformed by the institutions of civilization. Under the influence of foreigners, they became infidels to the old religion. After disobeying old

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religious rites they found that their health was as good as before. Under Liholiho, "tabu" and idolatry were abolished by law.[1]

The missionaries, who soon exerted considerable influence with the native government, were opposed by foreigners, who finally led the king into dissipation and debts which caused him to increase taxes. Richard Charlton, the British consul-general at Hawaii, was accused of placing himself at the head of the lawless and depraved class of foreigners, and trying to induce the chiefs to make no laws without the approval of the British Government.[2] He showed an open antagonism to the American missionaries and American influence on the islands, tried to organize the discordant elements into an anti-missionary party, and, later, he favored the introduction of a rival religion by French Catholic priests, who were appointed by the Pope in 1826. The Hawaiian Government remained friendly to the Protestant missionaries, and in April, 1831, issued a decree banishing the Jesuits; it was inclined to persecute those who had embraced the Roman faith, though the severity of the persecution was lessened by a visit of the *Potomac* in 1832.[3]

Toward the close of 1832 political troubles increased. The

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[1] J. J. Jarvis: History of the Sandwich Islands.

[2] In 1823 Liholiho, suspecting Russia of having designs, decided to ask England and the United States for protection and visited London, where he died, and from whence his remains were conveyed to Honolulu in the *Blonde* under the command of Lord Byron. [G. A. Byron: Voyage of the *Blonde* to the Sandwich Islands, 1824-5. London, 1826.] George IV. promised protection against foreign aggression. British influence had long before shown itself. In February, 1793, Vancouver, returned to the islands and endeavored to secure an end to the internal dissensions that were reducing the population. A year later, a meeting of the great chiefs decided to cede Hawaii to England as a protectorate, and Mr. Puget went ashore, hoisted the British colors and took possession.

[3] About the same time a writer in the London Metropolitan Magazine proposed that the British Government should take possession of the islands as a matter of expediency. [J. N. Reynolds: Voyage of the *Potomac*, p. 416.]

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young King Kamehameha III., partly through the influence of Charlton, had thrown off the restraints of his elders and abandoned himself to dissipation and debauchery. He associated with the licentious, and delegated his royal power to Kaomi, an unprincipled Tahitian. Shameless dances were revived, family ties were sundered, and drunkenness ruled. Kinau, the eldest sister of Kamehameha I., stood for decency, but she could not obtain the ear of the king.[4]

In July, 1839, Captain Laplace, of the French frigate *Artemise*, forced Kamehameha III. to allow the return of the priests, the entire freedom of Catholic worship, and the introduction of intoxicating liquors into the islands. Many priests now came, and trouble soon arose between them and the Protestants. French and English grievances continued.

In 1842 a French vessel arrived with new demands, to which the king replied that he had sent an embassy to France to negotiate a treaty. The English consul, Charlton, also presented a list of grievances,[5] causing the king (July, 1842) to ask for his removal and to send a communication to the United States, England and France to negotiate new treaties and obtain a guarantee of independence and neutrality.

Notwithstanding the reports of progress in the islands and the increase of American interests there, the United States sought no exclusive control or advantage, but desired that American rights should be respected and guarded. Webster, in his reply to the Hawaiian commissioners, stated that the government of Hawaii should not be an object of interference by foreign powers,[6] but advised them to begin diplomatic operations in England.

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[4] Laura Fish Judd: Honolulu, etc., 1828-61. N. Y., 1880.

[5] Charlton had a title to some Hawaiian lands, and claimed the right to transfer it, but the courts of Hawaii decided against him and attached his land. Though the Government made no attempt to eject him from the lands, he claimed that his rights had been infringed, and complained to the British Government.

[6] Wilkes, who visited the islands on his exploring expedition, said: "Fortunately for the Sandwich Islands they have no port

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Desiring to defeat the objects of the embassy, Charlton secretly went to England, leaving a hostile deputy, Simpson, whom the king refused to recognize until he was forced to do so by Lord George Paulet, of the British navy, who arrived February 10, 1843, threatened the authorities, took possession of the islands under the British flag,[7] seized all lands claimed by Charlton, abrogated laws against vice, and raised an army of natives. The king, after executing the forced cession, wrote President Tyler, protesting and asking the United States to interpose.

The United States, when informed of this affair by the communication from the Hawaiian king, declared that no power ought to take possession of the islands either as a conquest or for colonization.[8] She took steps, through Everett, to notify England that the United States would regret if England or France should adopt any other than a pacific, just and conservative course toward Hawaii. The attitude of the United States doubtless influenced England and France to recognize Hawaiian independence and (November 28, 1845) to enter into a joint declaration agreeing never to take possession even under a protectorate. England promised to remove Charlton, and a few years later France restored $20,000 that had been extorted by the French captain in 1839.

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that is defensible against a strong naval force, and therefore their importance will be comparatively small in a political point of view. No foreign power, in fact, could well hold them without great expense and difficulty. . . . They will no doubt be left in the enjoyment of their neutrality. . . . It is the interest of the United States that they should maintain the neutrality that they seek to establish." [C. Wilkes: Voyage Around the World, 1838-43. N. Y., 1851.]

[7] In July, however, the British admiral, Thomas, arriving, disapproved the acts of his ambitious subordinate, refused to accept the cession of the islands, and proceeded to restore the king. Although France had recently seized the Marquesas, the British Government disavowed the seizure and cession of Hawaii.

[8] On June 13, 1843, Legare wrote Everett that the United States might feel justified in interfering by force to prevent Hawaii falling, by conquest, into the hands of one of the great powers of Europe.

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In March, 1843, the United States Government, feeling the need of a competent medium of communication and of closer and more friendly relations, appointed George Brown, of Massachusetts, as a diplomatic official. The latter was well received, but soon had occasion to insist that Americans accused of crime should have the right of trial by a jury composed entirely of foreigners, and to protest that the British treaty of February, 1844, discriminated against the United States. He was recalled at the request of the Hawaiian king. Mr. A. Ten Eyck, who succeeded him in 1846, with instructions to make a treaty, continued to insist upon the right of trial by a jury of foreigners until, in 1848, feeling that relations were on the point of rupture, and that President Polk had neglected him, he resigned, and was succeeded by Charles Eames. Before the latter reached Hawaii, Mr. J. J. Jarvis and Secretary Clayton, at Washington, had concluded a treaty of friendship, commerce, navigation and extradition (December 20, 1849), which was ratified by the United States Senate the following February, exchanged in August and proclaimed in November.[*]

Foreign consular and diplomatic representatives continued to threaten interference with internal affairs of Hawaii. England revived old claims. The French consul reopened old disputes and presented new ones, causing the king to ask his recall. In August, 1849, a French frigate arrived to support the demands of the consul. Against the urgent protests of English and American consuls, a French force, under pretext that provisions of the French-Hawaiian treaty had been broken, seized buildings, destroyed property, blockaded the harbor and took the king's yacht. The admiral had notified the United States consul, Turrell, that the French desired only reparation, and had no designs

[*] Andrew H. Allen: Relations between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands 1820-93. [Sen. Exec. Doc. 77, 52-2, Feb. 17, 1893.]

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for occupation or protectorate, and he had neither lowered the Hawaiian flag nor raised that of France. The king, through Turrell, again invoked the good offices of the United States to maintain his sovereignty, and sent J. J. Jarvis as special commissioner to procure the friendly mediation of President Fillmore. Secretary Clayton, uncertain whether France would adopt the same policy with Hawaii as with Tahiti, wrote Rives at Paris that, although the Hawaiian Islands were not coveted by the United States, their relations were such that the United States could never with indifference allow them to pass under the dominion or exclusive control of any other power. Later, the French Government disavowed the action of its admiral, but on learning that a commission had gone to the United States and England to make new treaties, sent out a counter commission to renew the old demands. A French vessel arrived December 13, 1850, and remained three months to harass and interfere.

In March, 1851, Severance wrote Webster that the popular representative body recently elected by the native votes, and also the executive and judiciary, were composed largely of natives of the United States; that the king and his government, fearing France, were privately considering the subject of annexation to the United States, and that a United States ship-of-war should be present to prevent the fear of disturbances which had operated to injure American commerce, immigration and land-purchases. He said that the Americans who had opposed the government and the missionaries, on account of laws against licentiousness and drunkenness, were decreasing in number, and would join the missionaries in rallying under the United States flag should it once be raised. Judging from foreign relations and the precarious state of the king's health, he was uncertain whether the native government could last long. Seeing the value of Hawaii, with her public lands and no public

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debt, and with proposed steam communication with San Francisco, which could be connected with Washington by telegraph, he hoped that Webster would not object to a political connection on account of distance.

On March 10, 1851, the king and privy council of Hawaii issued a proclamation placing Hawaii under the protection of the United States, and on June 21 the provisional cession was adopted by both Houses of the Hawaiian Parliament. Webster, however, on July 14, directed Severance to return the deed to the Hawaiian Government. He still advocated the past policy of favoring the independence of the islands, at least until pressed by some necessity in which events should occur to give the subject a new aspect and an increased importance. Referring to Americans who were settling in Hawaii, he informed Severance that they thereby ceased to be citizens of the United States, saying: "You will, therefore, not encourage in them, nor indeed in any others, any idea or expectation that the islands will become annexed to the United States. All this will be judged of hereafter as circumstances and events may require by the government at Washington." The United States, however, faithful to its original assurances, scrupulously regarded the independence of the islands and was unwilling to consent that European powers should occupy them or enforce unjust demands inconsistent with their independence. The Navy Department received instructions to keep the Pacific armament in a position requisite for the preservation of the honor and dignity of the United States and the safety of the government of Hawaii.

France, checked in her plans, expressed surprise at the American attitude, and disclaimed any intention of improper interference, or of assuming sovereignty in the islands.

The increasing American influence in Hawaii[10] excited

[10] Feeling that the United States had become an arbiter in the affairs of the Pacific, a writer in De Bow's Magazine, in November, 1852, asked whether Hawaii, who requested our protection, was not as necessary to the United States as Cuba.

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the jealousy of both France and England. In September, 1853, Secretary Marcy, while disclaiming any intention of the United States to exercise exclusive control, indicated that she would not allow other powers to exact special political or commercial privileges, or to establish a protectorate over the islands.[11] In the following December, while hoping to acquire Lower California, he informed the American minister to France that the existing condition of the islands made it appear inevitable that they must come under the control of the United States. Sailor riots, filibustering expeditions from California and internal strife and the demands and threats of the British and French had caused a rising annexation sentiment at Honolulu.

Being informed that the British and French would forcibly resist a transfer of the islands to the United States,[12] Marcy (December 16) instructed Mr. Mason, at Paris, to sound the French Government upon its policy or views. Feeling that the Hawaiian Islands could not long remain under the existing rulers, or under the control of the inhabitants, and that their geographical position and their connection with Pacific industries in which American interests were paramount[13] would inevitably result in their control by the United States Government, he urged that it would be fair for England and France to acquiesce in any transfer made to the United States by fair means.

While the United States had long expressed her policy of maintaining the independence of the Hawaiian Islands, she had never entered into any international agreement which would prevent her from negotiating a treaty of annexation with the Hawaiian Government. She was free to encourage any movement originating in Hawaii.[14] In

[11] Instr. Hawaii, Sept. 22. Marcy to Gregg.

[12] He also had an intimation that Russia had an eye on the islands, but had little fear of interference from that quarter.

[13] 650 vessels were at this time engaged in whaling, and mostly in the Pacific.

[14] Washburn of Me., on Jan. 4, 1854, made a speech in Congress, in which he favored expansion to include Hawaii. 29 Con. Globe, 33-1, Appendix, pp. 55-59.

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February, 1854, Marcy received a letter from Minister Gregg stating that the king, fearing his inability to maintain the independence of the islands, had made advances indicating that he might offer to transfer the sovereignty to the United States. On April 4 he authorized Gregg, whenever the emergency should arise, to negotiate for a complete transfer of the islands to the United States as a *territorial possession*, and suggested that $100,000 might be given to the chiefs as compensation for losses which they would sustain.

Negotiations were opened with the Hawaiian authorities, who soon showed an "inveterate prejudice against a territorial form of government," and, after approving a form of treaty, secured delay by urging the necessity of consulting the king, who was ill.[15] Gregg, fearing a crisis, desired prompt negotiations and immediate transfer, believing that after the cession, provisional or permanent, was once made the flood of emigration from California would soon follow the raising of the American flag, Americanize the islands, and check future British and French pretensions.

In September the king seemed satisfied with the proposed form of treaty, but the British[16] and French consuls at Honolulu protested, and the admirals of a combined British and French squadron warned the king that a cession to the United States would lead to difficulty. The king proceeded with the negotiations, but insisted until he obtained clauses securing additional compensation, and providing that the islands should be admitted as a State of the Union.[17] On

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[15] Gregg to Marcy, Aug. 7, 1854.

[16] Gregg said that publications in the *New York Tribune* of July 20, unfortunately aided the British in their attempts to prejudice the Hawaiians against the American policy of Marcy and Gregg. (September 15, 1854.)

[17] Marcy felt that the Senate would never approve the clause providing for statehood in the Union; but, on January 31, 1855, he instructed Gregg that the United States Government was willing to receive the transfer of the sovereignty of the islands with all provisions as to the rights of the inhabitants, and would desire their prosperity.

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September 18, General Miller, the British consul-general, strongly deprecating annexation, urged the king not to execute the treaty.[18] The latter remained friendly to the United States, but died (December 15) while negotiations for the final execution of the treaty were still pending.

Kamehameha IV., who became king on January 11, 1855, became opposed to the completion of the treaty, and was probably influenced by the English relationship of Emma Rooke, who, in 1856, became Queen Emma. In 1855 he participated in the negotiations of a treaty of reciprocity which the United States afterwards failed to ratify. Until his death (November, 1863) he remained strongly predisposed to favor the British in preference to the Americans. The latter began to suspect that British diplomacy was preparing Hawaii for a British regency at the death of the king, with the intention of making it a cotton-growing colony.

Notwithstanding the decline of the whale fisheries after 1854, and the growing influence of the British with the Hawaiian royal family, American influence in the islands was kept alive through the channels of industry. In 1857 more than one-half the imports at Honolulu were from the United States. In 1863, four-fifths of the commerce connected with the islands was American. Interest was increased by the rise of the sugar industry[19] which, at the close of the American civil war, became the basis for the agitation of a treaty of reciprocity with the United States.

On October 9, 1863, Minister McBride, commenting upon the extensive American commercial and sugar interests in the islands, wrote Seward that their control by the United States Government would be "far more valuable than the ownership of both Cuba and the Bahama Islands." His successor, Edward M. McCook, on September 3, 1866, informed Secretary Seward that, although many of the American residents were dissatisfied with the king and cabinet,

[18] Gregg to Marcy, Oct. 2, 1854.

[19] Settlers had cultivated sugar cane at a very early day, and, by 1853, they were planting nearly 3000 acres.

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the influence of the American Government, so far as he could see, was "all that it had ever been," and that the spirit of the people was "heartily republican and thoroughly American." Suggesting that the king would probably die at an early date without a successor, and that the arbitration of the destiny the country would devolve upon the United States, he added "And when this dynasty ends... I am sure that if the American Government indicates the slightest desire to test in their islands the last Napoleonic conception in the way of territorial extension, you will find the people here with great unanimity demanding by votes, freely expressed, annexation to the United States."

On May 21, 1867, McCook, by written invitation of the Hawaiian Government, negotiated a treaty of reciprocity which was more liberal than that of 1855. The king, probably by the advice of Varigny, who was his minister of foreign affairs, objected to the presence of the United States ship *Lackawanna* in Hawaiian waters, and delayed the ratification of the treaty. After the departure of the vessel, he convened the legislature and approved the treaty on July 30. Three days later he sent Captain Waterman as an envoy to Japan to attempt negotiations for a commercial treaty—a project which McCook urged would defeat the objects of the treaty with the United States by diverting into another channel the trade we wished to secure,[20] and decreasing our commercial and political influence on the islands.

McCook regarded the treaty of reciprocity as a means of making American influence dominant on the islands and in line with a policy of future annexation. President Johnson, stating that there was a growing conviction that our constitutional system is strong enough to comprehend possessions beyond the continent,[21] considered the treaty a guar-

[20] He desired to secure all of the trade of China and Japan as well as that of Hawaii. McCook to Van Valkenburg, Aug. 3, 1867.

[21] The establishment of a regular steamer service between San Francisco and China in 1867 shortened the communication between the United States and Hawaii. Previous communication had been by whale ships via Cape Horn.

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antee of foreign forbearance in Hawaii until the people of the islands should voluntarily apply for admission into the Union. There were some who opposed reciprocity on the ground that it would "hinder and defeat early annexation," but this probably does not explain the motive of the Senate, which rejected the treaty after delaying action until June 1, 1870.

On July 13, 1867, Secretary Seward authorized McCook (at the latter's own suggestion) to sound the Hawaiian authorities on the subject of annexation; to ascertain the probable conditions and confidentially to receive overtures. In the following September he wrote him that lawful and peaceful annexation of the islands, with the consent of the people there, was desired, and that in case of any conflict between the policy of reciprocity and that of annexation the latter was "in every case to be preferred." In the summer of 1868 he was informed that the annexation sentiment in Hawaii was so strong that immediate occupation, under some pretext of defending American rights, would hardly raise a single remonstrance; but he saw that the public mind was so much fastened on domestic questions (reconstruction) that it would hardly entertain "the higher but more remote questions of national extension and aggrandizement," and prudently avoided giving encouragement to the Hawaiian-American annexationists.

On September 14, 1869, in the course of a confidential conversation with the King of Hawaii, McCook stated that the United States, needing a naval depot between the Pacific coast and China, probably would be willing to pay a liberal price for the cession of any or all of the islands; but the king said it was not the policy of the government to cede either of the four larger islands, and that the United States would have no use for the smaller ones which had no harbors.

On February 25, 1871, Mr. Henry A. Pierce, United States minister at Honolulu, wrote to Fish suggesting that it was a favorable time to secure the political destiny of

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Hawaiian Islands by annexation to the United States. In support of this policy, he said the majority of aborigines, creoles, and the democratic New England settlers, were anxious for annexation; that the fifteenth amendment to the United States Constitution had increased the popularity of the project; that the strategical position of the islands for a naval or coaling station, and for the protection of United States commerce in the Pacific was an important consideration; and that His Hawaiian Majesty, whose fatness made his breathing difficult, was likely to die from suffocation without leaving a successor to the throne. President Grant, who was urging the annexation of San Domingo, confidently referred this despatch to the Senate and invited an expression of its views, but he did not obtain the encouragement necessary to enable him to express the policy of the Government upon the subject.

In February, 1873, as a means of removing Hawaiian lukewarmness and fear of repulse, Pierce urged an expression of the American policy. Though he thought annexation probably would never be presented or adopted as a measure of the Hawaiian Government, he said that the planters, merchants and foreigners, whenever great interests required it, would induce the people to establish a republic, and then ask for admission to the American Union. On March 25, Secretary Fish, contemplating that the importance of Hawaii and the decadent tendency of the Hawaiian Government might force the United States to consider its future, instructed the United States minister to secure full and accurate information upon the population, industries, resources and debt of Hawaii, and learn the views of the Hawaiian authorities concerning the policy, manner, terms, and conditions of annexation. Regarding the American policy, he said: "While there are . . . many and influential persons in this country who question the policy of any insular acquisitions, perhaps even of any extension of territorial limits, there are also those of influence and of wise foresight who see a future that must extend the jurisdiction

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and the limits of this nation, and that will require a resting spot in mid-ocean, between the Pacific coast and the vast domains of Asia which are now opening to commerce and Christian civilization." Concerning the reported strong friendly sentiments in Hawaii, he said: "You will, without committing the Government to any line of policy, not discourage the feeling in favor of annexation."

Major-General Schofield, of the United States Army, had already been instructed in June, 1872, to examine the defensive capabilities and commercial facilities of Hawaiian ports. In a report to the Secretary of War (May 8, 1873), he stated that while the government and people of these islands were probably not then prepared to consider the question of annexation, even if the United States desired to propose it, they favored the cession of Pearl river harbor as a means of securing a reciprocity treaty.

Kalakaua, whom the legislative assembly chose as king at the death of Lunalilo[22] in February, 1874, showed a disposition to favor the American influence in the islands. During the riots that followed his election, he requested that an armed forced be landed from American vessels to preserve order. In 1875 he visited the United States, and his government negotiated a treaty of reciprocity which granted certain exclusive privileges to the United States, and was, for several years, the source of protests by Great Britain.

The relation of the islands to the United States and the North Pacific caused the American Government to seek an American solution for Hawaiian problems. In 1881, Secretary Blaine, in his instructions to Minister Comly, said that the gradual and seemingly inevitable decadence of the native race might induce the United States to change her policy of commercial assimilation to one of colonization and material annexation; and he desired Hawaii to coop-

[22] Lunalilo had succeeded Kamehameha V. whose line ended in 1872.

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erate in replenishing her vital forces by the passage of favorable homestead laws that would encourage the enterprising Americans to emigrate to the islands. Secretary Frelinghuysen, though he did not consider it any part of the American policy to interpose to prevent the annexation of the outlying archipelagoes and islands of Polynesia[28] by foreign powers to whose colonial system they were geographically allied, said (1883) the United States "could not view with complacency any movement tending to the extinction of the national life of the intimately connected commonwealths of the Northern Pacific."

Secretary Bayard's policy was to prolong the reciprocity treaty and quietly wait until American planters and industries flowing to the islands should prepare for a "perfectly feasible policy of acquisition." By a convention concluded in 1884 and ratified in 1887, reciprocity was renewed for seven years, and the United States was given exclusive right to enter Pearl harbor, in Oahu, and to establish a coaling station there. Though the grant of the harbor did not impair the political sovereignty of Hawaii, it induced the British to propose that a tripartite arrangement between the United States, Great Britain and Germany should guarantee the neutrality of the islands. Bayard, seeing no necessity for joining in such an arrangement, replied that one of the articles of the reciprocity treaty inhibited a cession of any part of Hawaiian territory without consent of the American Government.

The possibility of a crisis under which it would be the policy of the United States to take possession by military occupation had been contemplated for years. In February, 1874, Minister Pierce recommended that a United States vessel should be stationed at Hawaii at all times. In May,

[28] In October, 1883, there was some agitation in Australia in favor of protection and eventual occupation of the New Hebrides, the Solomon, and other adjacent groups. The Hawaiian Government issued a protest, and attempted to secure the cooperation of the United States Government.

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1889, his successor, G. W. Merrill, suggested that in view of the large American interests, the absence of cable communication, and the approach of a political campaign, the United States should keep a vessel in Hawaiian waters. In accordance with this suggestion, the *Adams* was soon ordered to Honolulu. The wisdom of such a policy was proven by subsequent events. On July 30, a band of natives, desiring a larger share of official patronage, and believing that foreign residents and cabinet officials were endeavoring to influence political affairs so as to destroy Hawaiian autonomy,[24] made an unsuccessful attempt at revolution. By permission of the native government, about seventy marines were landed to protect property and influence the restoration of order. Many American residents hoped that revolutionary attempts and frequent turmoils would hasten annexation.

The danger of further disturbance was increased by the election of February, 1890, which indicated a reaction from the reform constitution established by the bloodless revolution of 1787. The opposition, aided by the king, who hoped to recover part of his former autocratic power, gained votes by appealing to race prejudices and succeeded in electing many who were not friendly to the United States. Minister Stevens, expecting factional disturbance, recommended that the United States should order a war vessel to remain at Honolulu, and soon urged the establishment of a coal depot.

The dissatisfaction growing out of the change of rulers in 1891 increased annexation sentiment in Hawaii. King Kalakaua, who died in January, was succeeded by his sister, Liliuokalani, widow of an American resident, who caused much discontent by her attitude toward the legislature, and her subjection to Marshal Wilson, a half-caste Tahitian.

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[24] The general celebration of the Fourth of July, at Honolulu, as described by Minister Merrill in a despatch of July, indicates that there was a strong American sentiment there.

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On February 8, 1892, Stevens considered that annexation was the only remedy to relieve the feverish political situation and prevent the danger of England obtaining a hold a month later. Expecting a revolution against the queen's government, he intimated that the continued presence of a United States ship-of-war was necessary, and in view of possible contingencies, asked for instructions as to duties of himself and naval commanders. During the summer, naval commanders reported that conditions in Hawaii, notwithstanding the influence of the British element, seemed "to point toward an eventual request for annexation."

On November 20, in a confidential report of the financial, agricultural, social and political conditions, and the commercial and naval importance of the islands, Stevens referred to the strong inclination of Europeans to gain possession of islands in the Pacific, and stated that Hawaii was at the parting of the ways and must either become Asiatic or American—either like Singapore or Southern California. He declared that in order to subserve American commercial and political interests it was absolutely necessary either to adopt a vigorous policy of annexation or to secure cable connections with at least an implied American protectorate over the islands.

On January 15, 1893, Queen Liliuokalani attempted to promulgate a new constitution, giving herself more power, depriving foreigners of right of franchise, abrogating the House of Nobles and giving the queen power to appoint a new House. Foreigners and others strenuously opposed, and a peaceful revolution resulted in the deposition of the queen. By request of the unopposed *de facto* government, marines from the *Boston* were landed to preserve order,[35] and Minister Stevens, on February 1, assumed protection of the island. Secretary J. W. Foster commended his action so far as it accorded protection to life and property, but disavowed it so far as it might appear to overstep

[35] Lucian Young: The *Boston* at Hawaii, Washington, 1898.

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that limit by setting the authority and power of the United States above that of the government of the Hawaiian Islands in the capacity of a protector, or impair in any way the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Government.[36]

The provisional government, which was recognized by Minister Stevens and all foreign governments except England, had already sent commissioners to Washington and negotiated a treaty of annexation, which President Harrison, on February 15, sent to the United States Senate for confirmation. While the treaty was yet pending in the Senate, President Cleveland was inaugurated, and ex-Queen Liliuokalani, having complained that the recent "revolt" had been aided by United States troops, he soon recalled the treaty from the Senate and ordered an investigation of the revolution.[37] On April 14, 1893, awaiting action by Congress, President Cleveland withdrew the protectorate established by Stevens on February 9.

Refusing to reinstate the queen, the leaders in Hawaii on July 4, 1894, dissolved the provisional government and proclaimed a republic. A movement for annexation was vigorously pushed, and on June 16, 1897, a treaty of annexation was sent to the Senate by President McKinley. The Senate did not act, but after the opening of the war with Spain, a joint resolution in favor of annexation was passed by Congress and was signed by President McKinley on July 7, 1898, soon after the occupation of Manila, where the American flag now floated over the fortifications of the Philippines.

NOTES ON HAWAIIAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.—American influence is seen in Hawaiian constitutional development.

[36] For political correspondence, 1889-93, see H. Exec. Doc. 48, 53-2, Dec. 18, 1893. [Reprint of Sen. Exec. Docs. 76 and 77, 52-2, Feb., 1893.]

[37] Commissioner Blount's report is in H. Exec. Doc. 47, 53-2, Dec. 18, 1893. Also, see Sen. Rp. 227, 53-2, Feb. 26, 1894 [773 pp. and maps], and Foreign Relations, 1894, Appendix ii.

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In 1839, American missionaries and ex-missionaries persuaded Kamehameha III. to sign a Bill of Rights, and in October, 1840, they induced him to grant a constitution, giving up his absolute power, providing for four departments of administration, and creating a single legislative body composed of hereditary nobles and seven representatives formally elected by the people. This constitution, Mosaic in character, showing derivation from the Pentateuch, the British Government and the American Declaration of Independence, lasted for twelve years. By 1851 the majority of the representatives, executive officials and judges were natives of the United States.[28]

In 1852, the Government agreed upon a revised and much more liberal constitution, which existed until August, 1864. It still contained some of the levitical elements, and opened with " God hath created all men free and equal." It divided the legislative assembly into two houses, both of which were enlarged; provided for manhood suffrage and elections by ballot; denied political rights to any who should import slaves; and established a Kuhina-nui to regulate the government machine and counsel and restrict the king. The Kuhina-nui was usually a woman. She and the king each had a negative upon the other's acts. She had charge of the Great Seal, the royal standard and the national flag, and performed the duties of the king at the latter's death.[29]

In November, 1863, Kamehameha IV., who had reigned since 1854, died, and was succeeded by his brother, Prince Lot, who ruled until 1872, as Kamehameha V. The new king, showing a tendency toward the former royal absolutism, was opposed to part of the constitution of 1852, and refused to take the oath which it prescribed.[30] Seeking the

[28] In 1850, the king recommended a new constitution and appointed a committee of three to frame a model. Dr. Judd was the leading member.

[29] Eclectic M., Apr. 1865.

[30] His cabinet consisted of a Scotchman, an Englishman, a Frenchman and an American.

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quickest way to amend the constitution so as to abolish universal suffrage and place voting upon an income and property basis, he called a convention, which was opened in July, 1864. This convention, of which the king was president, consisted of twenty-seven delegates and sixteen nobles headed by the Kuhina-nui. Mr. Judd, who was made secretary, appointed Anglo-Saxons to fill the positions of chaplain, reporter, etc. Many American missionaries, fearing that the king desired to assume extra powers, had raised the cry of alarm. When the convention met, the American party led by Dr. Judd (the ex-minister) and his son (the secretary) and three or four others, stood for manhood suffrage, and opposed the policy of the king, whose views, delivered in both English and Hawaiian, were seconded by most of the nobles.

There were some remarkable speeches. Honorable D. Kalana and others, pointing to the United States for illustration, urged that universal suffrage led to corruption at the polls, and insisted that it was not the purpose of the king to take away the poor people's rights. M. Varigny, on the part of the king, intimated that to give suffrage to the poor was like placing a razor in the hands of a baby or giving a candle into the hands of a man to carry into a powder magazine. The opposition, denying that poverty was any argument against suffrage, urged that the ballot was an incentive to work, and claimed that purity of elections existed in the United States.

After a week of debates, a decision was reached that all three estates should sit in debate in the same chamber and vote unitedly on rules or by-laws, but that constitutional subjects must first be offered and carried by the representatives (lower house), then receive the separate vote of the nobles and the sanction of the king. The opposition of the representatives caused business to move slowly, and the king, becoming impatient on account of the long discussions on " Article 62," and the failure to agree, after five weeks of fretful inculcation, declared it useless to prolong the session,

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and claimed the right to abrogate the constitution of 1852. "I will give you a constitution," said he, and dissolved the convention.

On August 20 the promised constitution appeared. It omitted the "free and equal" clause; reversed the bicameral arrangement and returned to the single legislative chamber; abolished the Kuhina-nui; gave the king a larger place in the state; made the cabinet more responsible; excluded the ballot; required that representatives should own real estate worth $500, or have an annual income of $250, and that electors, besides possessing certain intellectual requirements, should own property worth $150, or receive $25 yearly rent and leasehold and $75 income. This constitution existed until 1887, when the legislative powers of the crown became entirely vested in the representatives of the people. The attempt of Liliuokalani in June, 1893, to increase her power and deprive foreigners of the right of suffrage by a new constitution resulted in the revolution that made Hawaii a republic, and prepared the way for annexation to the United States. The present territorial government was established by act of Congress in 1900.[1]

[1] See appendix.

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CHAPTER IX.

RELATIONS IN SAMOA.

The attitude of the United States toward the Samoan Islands furnishes an instructive chapter in the evolution of national policy. Compared to its policy in Hawaii, the American Government until recently has shown little interest in securing a control over the islands in the South Pacific, but local conditions, together with the increase of American interests in the Pacific and the Far East, led us first to a policy of protection for Samoa,[1] and then to division and acquisition.

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[1] The Samoan Islands, located 4200 miles southwest from San Francisco, and 420 miles northeast of the Fijis, discovered in 1772 by a Hollander, are the largest and most populous Pacific group, with the exception of the Hawaiian Islands. Of the 13 islands in the group, only Savaii (700 square miles), Upolo (550 square miles), and Tutuila (55 square miles) are inhabited. The others are little more than barren volcanic rocks. The population is about 30,000, and the area about equal to that of Rhode Island. There are about 300 Europeans and Americans on the islands. The climate is tropical, and frequent thunder showers throughout the year supply the necessary irrigation for the rank vegetation. The products are bread-fruit, taro, yams, bananas, sugar, coffee, sea-island cotton, cocoanuts, etc. The lagoons and reefs abound in fish, which the natives catch with spears and nets. Both the import and export trade is in the hands of Germans. All accounts are kept in terms of United States currency. The natives are hospitable, open, amiable, brave and hardy and possess great mental ability, but are averse to labor. They speak a language similar to that of the Hawaiians. The principal amusements are quoits, card playing (casino), cricket and the *siva*, a kind of acting charade in which the life of the islands is represented in a very realistic manner by "living pictures." The actual *siva* is performed by girls, smeared with cocoa-nut oil, who frequently, under the excitement of their motions and contortions, divest themselves of all clothing. The marriage ceremony is very simple, and often there is no ceremony except the mere expression of a willingness to live together.

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It was seen that the position of the islands, on the great trade routes between Panama and California, on the one hand, and Australia and the Orient, on the other, together with their strategic advantages, both political and commercial, were more important than the value of their trade. The harbor of Pango Pango (on the Tutuila), which is owned by the United States, is the best place in the South Pacific for repair and supplies and for a coaling and cable station. The harbor of Apia, under German control, though a safe port under ordinary conditions, has proven unsatisfactory in a severe storm.

Though an American consul had resided at Apia many years before [2] to protect American interests, our closer relations began in 1872, when Commander R. W. Meade, a United States navy officer, of the *Narragansett*,[3] on his own responsibility, entered into an agreement pledging the protection of the United States, stating that we were about to establish commercial relations with the islands by means of a line of steamers then plying between California, Hawaii, New Zealand and Australia, and desired a convenient coaling port.

Both parties to a dormant civil war, which had been pending in Samoa since 1870, interfering with the exports of the island and causing the natives to spend most of the time in sharpening their war knives and axes, expressed a wish to acknowledge the absolute authority of the United

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Polygamy has almost ceased. In case of divorce the young children go to the mother. Cooking is done by the men, and each person at the meal uses a bread-fruit leaf for a table, a mat for a chair, and the nearest post for a table napkin. The early social, political, and religious life of the Samoans is an interesting study. See George Turner's "Samoa a hundred years ago and long before," [Macmillan, 1884], and J. B. Stair's "Old Samoa," [London, 1897]. A good review of Turner's volume appears in the Nation [N. Y.] of August 21, 1884.

[2] See Senate Rp. Com. 148, 36-1.

[3] Geo. B. Rieman: Narrative of a cruise of the U. S. Str. *Narragansett*, Oakland, Cal., 1874, 43 pp. Nineteenth Century, Feb., 1886.

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States, and on March 2 the Chief of Pango Pango "freely and voluntarily" signed a treaty with Commander Meade, granting the United States the exclusive privilege of establishing a naval and coal depot in the bay in return for the promise of friendly alliance and protection by the United States.[4] In May, Grant, stating that he would not hesitate to recommend its approval, but for the protection to which it seemed to pledge the United States, sent the treaty to the Senate,[5] which failed to ratify it.

In 1873 the Department of State determined to obtain further information regarding the condition of Samoa. Colonel A. B. Steinberger, sent for this purpose, reached the islands in 1874. Under him the chiefs assembled a council, formed a constitution and laws for a united government, and again asked Grant to take the country under the protection of the United States. Steinberger, after making a voluminous report[6] on the fertility and resources and important position of the islands, was impatient to return, and the Government again sent him with the condition that he pay his own expenses. He received instructions, dated December 11, in which Secretary Fish doubted whether the importance of a commanding position in the Pacific was a sufficient consideration to satisfy the people that the annexation of the islands was essential to our safety and prosperity, and did not consider it expedient "to originate a measure adverse to the usual tradition of the Government."

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[4] The treaty also provided for the protection of the persons and property of foreigners and foreign consuls, the regulation of port charges and pilotage, the prohibition of trade in intoxicating liquors and work on Sunday, the apprehension of deserters, and of foreigners from encouraging native females to prostitute themselves.

[5] On March 16, 1872, President Grant, in response to a House resolution, sent a reply of the Secretary of State of same date, stating that there were no papers in the Department of State to show that the inhabitants of the Navigators' Islands, in the Pacific had made any application to have the protection of the United States extended over said islands.

[6] Sen. Exec. Doc. 45, 43-1, Apr. 22, 1874.

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Returning to Samoa in 1875, he, Steinberger, dethroned Tupua, made Malietoa sole king, changed the constitution, made himself prime minister of a new government which he established in the financial interest of a German (Hamburg) mercantile firm, and gave the impression that the islands were under the protection of the United States, but the American Government refused to support him. Embarrassed by the renewal of the turbulent spirit among the chiefs, he fell into trouble as a ruler, and being unable to produce any credentials from Washington, was deported with the concurrence of the American consul. A new government, organized under a council of chiefs, continued till May, 1879, when, by the decision of the consular representatives of the United States, Great Britain and Germany, Malietoa was recognized and anointed as king. Steinberger's action had been upon his own responsibility, and without the authority of the United States Government. The purpose of his mission and the character of the power conferred upon him were the subject of inquiry by the House. The President responded on May 1, communicating copies of the correspondence, showing that the United States was not implicated.[7] An instruction to Steinberger, written after the report that he had promised the Samoans the protection of the United States, regretted his action, stating that the United States Government had not held out any hope of such protection, and that the State Department, without a treaty or sanction of Congress, had no right to authorize such a promise.

In both 1877 and 1878 consular representatives of the United States at Apia, "disregarding our traditional policy," raised the United States flag as sign of a protectorate, but the United States Government did not sustain their acts.

In 1877, one of the Samoan parties,[8] seeking repose from

[7] H. Exec. Doc. 161, 44-1, May 1, 1876. H. Exec. Doc. 44, 44-2, March 2, 1877. The correspondence may be seen in Sen. Exec. Doc. 97, 53-3, vol. vi, Feb. 26, 1895.

[8] At the same time, another party sent its chiefs to Fiji to solicit British protection.

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war, and doubtful of their ability to maintain peace and independence, sent Mamea as ambassador to Washington to seek American protection; but Secretary Evarts, though he wished to see a "stable, independent government" that would command the respect of nations and foreigners and end the schemes of disorder, was not willing to accept a protectorate over islands so far distant. In 1878, however, the United States finally concluded a treaty, receiving Pango Pango as a coaling station and agreeing to mediate for the adjustment of difficulties in which Samoa might become involved with a European power.[9] Soon thereafter, Germany also made a treaty by which she secured a naval station in the harbor of Saluafata, and Great Britain negotiated a treaty granting her a naval and coaling station.

In 1879 the foreign powers induced the natives to make a peace agreement by which one party supplied the king and the other the vice-king, both of whom were to preside over a government of lords and commons supposed to be elective. But the elective system existed only in name. Samoans did not trouble themselves about their franchise, and soon the chiefs ignored the whole system and themselves decided who should be representatives. They appeared incapable of carrying on a stable government. Their government had no funds and no system of taxation. They had a parliament without a general parliament house. Discussion was carried on from house to house, each political division having a house. There was oratory, much squabbling, scheming and procrastination, but no voting. If the opposition felt strong enough it would leave and go home to prepare to fight.[10]

The Samoan government was a bone of contention between the foreign consuls. In 1880[11] a scheme of tripartite

[9] On the reception of the treaty and the political situation at Samoa, see Sen. Exec. Doc. 2, 46-1. Mar. 21, 1879.

[10] W. B. Churchward: My Consulate in Samoa [1881-85], London, 1887.

[11] About the same time the United States saw the need of extending the jurisdiction of her Apia consuls to outlying islands, and

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local government by the consular representatives of the United States, Great Britain and Germany was proposed, but the United States did not consider the plan desirable. The Samoans themselves were becoming tired of a shuttlecock existence. In 1884, Malietoa and the vice-king begged Queen Victoria to either make Samoa a British colony or allow it to be governed by New Zealand.

German residents, acquiring land and monopolizing trade, had continued to encourage opposition to the king, and in 1884 the German consul precipitated a crisis by securing from the Samoan council an agreement providing for a German-Samoan council of government. The king, refusing to execute the agreement, Steubel, the German consul, in 1885, raised his flag over Apia and took possession in the name of his Government as security for Samoan good behavior toward German interests. The American consul, Greenbaum, to counteract German influence, proceeded to hoist the American flag and proclaim a protectorate. The United States Government disavowed the action of Greenbaum, but spoke in a determined tone regarding the protection of American rights in the Pacific.[12]

In the early part of 1886, the State Department was informed that Germany, having agreed with England upon lines of Pacific division,[13] claimed sovereignty over Samoa, and the hitherto unclaimed Gilbert and Marshall islands in which, as in other outlying, unattached groups, the representatives of many nationalities had sporadically settled.

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was ready to aid native and independent government of the Ralick groups of Marshall archipelago in establishing temperance restrictions.

[12] Bayard to Pendleton, Jan. 17, 1888.

[13] In 1885, both Spain and Germany claimed the Caroline Islands, where large American interests were already established. Germany seemed to suspect the intention of the United States to assert a claim to the islands, but Secretary Bayard announced our purpose to respect whatever sovereign jurisdiction might be established or already exist there, without indicating an opinion on the Spanish-German controversy.

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The United States had no treaty relations with either the Gilbert or Marshall groups, and offered no objection to their annexation by Germany, but insisted that interests created in favor of peaceful American settlers there should not be disturbed by any assertion of exclusive claims of territorial jurisdiction. In some cases American citizens had undisturbed possession of the Pacific islands, and the United States could have asserted a claim of possession, but she did not desire any exclusive jurisdiction for herself and was not ready to allow any jurisdiction by others if it should expel American citizens from rights which they had from the natives.[14]

Determining to get authentic information regarding the situation in Samoa, Bayard sent (1886) George H. Bates, his law partner, to investigate and to prepare an exhaustive report.[15] Desiring to extend good offices for the establishment of order in Samoa, he suggested a conference of representatives of the three powers which, in June, 1887, met at Washington to negotiate a treaty securing autonomy and neutrality of the islands. He urged that the "autonomy and independence of Samoa should be scrupulously preserved," a principle upon which President Cleveland had insisted in a special message to Congress in the preceding January. He proposed that each treaty power should alternately keep a man-of-war in Samoan waters four months

[14] The interest of the United States in regard to the destiny of the Pacific islands was increased by the rapid absorption of various groups by the European powers. Great Britain, who had appropriated Australia a century earlier, accepted the Fijis in 1874. France, who had taken the Marquesas, in 1842, and the New Caledonian and Loyalty islands, in 1853, extended her control to the Society group, in 1880; Spain, who had occupied the Philippines and Ladrones since the sixteenth century, took possession of the Carolines, in 1885; Germany assumed control of the Marshall, Solomon and Admiralty groups; Holland and Germany partitioned New Guinea. In 1888, Great Britain took Gilbert, Ellice, Union and Enderbury groups, and several single islands, including Fanning, Washington, Starbuck and Caroline.

[15] Strictly Confidential Report of G. H. Bates to the Secretary of State, Dec. 10, 1886. Washington, 1887, 135 pp.

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of each year to aid in maintaining the government to be established and to preserve peace and order. He also proposed that administration of laws be, by an executive council, composed of the king, vice-king and three foreigners, one of whom should be designated by each of the foreign powers, but all of whom should be [16] paid by the Samoan Government. The plan which Germany desired, and the British seemed to favor, committing the practical control of affairs to a German adviser of the king, he feared would give Germany too much influence in the Samoan Government. Failing to agree upon any plan, the conference adjourned in July.

The Germans in Samoa, by mortgages and land sales, were rapidly getting possession of territory which the natives had never intended to sell,[17] and appeared to be preparing to seize the islands. From the government of Malietoa, hampered by a House of Lords and a House of Commons that did as they pleased, and attempting to rule over a people who refused to obey its orders, they expected little protection for white settlers. By defeating Malietoa and setting up another king with a German adviser, they precipitated a civil contest in which the Samoans were divided into two hostile camps of armed warriors,[18] one supported by German arms, and the other by British colonels and citizens of the United States; they declared martial law at Apia and tried to enforce it on Americans, who at once registered a strong protest.[19]

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[16] . . . Blaine, on April 11, 1889, in instructions to our negotiators at the Berlin conference, said that the plan proposed by the United States, in the conference of 1887, was hardly less than a joint protectorate; it went beyond the principle upon which President Harrison desired to see our Samoan relations based, was not in harmony with our established policy, and did not promise efficient action.

[17] In 1886, they claimed 232,000 acres, and the British subjects 357,000 acres.

[18] See an article by Henry C. Ide in N. Am. Rev., Aug., 1897.

[19] Commander Leary of the U. S. warship *Adams* on Sept. 6, 1888, sent a protest to the captain of one of the German vessels. Marines were landed to protect the American consulate.

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The United States, though she had not consciously sought to participate in the contest, and though her trade with Samoa was small compared with that of Germany and England, threatened intervention in order to preserve her interests in the Pacific.[20] She promptly sent a naval squadron, which was subsequently destroyed in the hurricane of 1889.[21] Congress, after an examination of reports and much discussion, appropriated $500,000 for protective measures. On January 17, 1888, in a letter to Pendleton, replying to Bismarck's complaints as to the anti-German attitude of Sewall, the American consul at Apia, Secretary Bayard, reviewing the absorption of Pacific islands by European powers since 1840, and especially since 1884, was determined that only the American Government should preserve Samoan independence and maintain the rights to which the United States had become entitled in any of the few remaining islands which were still under independent and autonomous governments.[22]

In February, 1889, Bayard gladly accepted Bismarck's proposal for a resumption of the joint conference for a tripartite agreement. President Harrison appointed John A. Kasson, William Walter Phelps and George H. Bates as plenipotentiaries to go to Berlin. A convention,[23] concluded the following June, provided for maintaining the neutrality of the islands and stipulated that the three powers should refrain from exercising any separate control over the islands or the government. It contained clauses prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors, establishing a system of registering titles, and securing to American citizens equality with others in trade, etc.

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[20] H. Exec. Doc. vol. viii, No. 1, 51-1.

[21] R. L. Stevenson: In South Seas, 1888-89. N. Y., 1896.

[22] On American rights in Samoa, see H. Exec. Doc. 238, 50-1, Apr. 2, 1888, 311 pp. For the condition of Samoan affairs, see Sen. Exec. Docs. 31, 68 and 118, 50-2, Dec. 1888 and Jan. 1889. Also, a pamphlet of 77 pages, "Confidential correspondence respecting affairs in Samoa" [December, 1888-March, 1889], printed for the use of the American Commissioners to Berlin in 1889.

[23] S. Misc. Doc. 81, 51-1, Jan. 6, 1890.

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The principal features of the government as provided by the treaty were as follows:

(1) A single king, chosen by the chiefs, a salary of $1800, instead of the two rival kings, who had received $500 each;

(2) A supreme court with a chief justice nominated by the three foreign powers (or by the King of Sweden in case of disagreement), with a salary of $6000 guaranteed by the powers. (The clerk and marshal were to be paid by fees.) The chief justice was given jurisdiction of all Samoan questions arising under the treaty, between the treaty powers, and as to the election of king, and could recommend the passage of laws. He had exclusive jurisdiction in suits between natives and foreigners, or between foreigners of different nationalities, and of crimes and offences committed by natives against foreigners.

(3) A local government for the district of Apia (170 electors), consisting of a municipal council of six members and a president. The president, who was also chief executive of the district and adviser to the king, was appointed through the instrumentality of treaty powers, who guaranteed him $5000 per year out of the Samoan revenues assigned to the municipality. The municipal council appointed a municipal magistrate and subordinate officers, but its orders had no effect till approved by the three foreign consuls or (if they failed to agree) by the chief justice.

(4) A land commission of three persons, one named by each power, for examination of claims and titles, subject to final jurisdiction of the chief justice. (Each commissioner received $300 per month and expenses.)

(5) A fiscal system, providing for revenue duties on imports and exports, capitation taxes on Samoans and colored plantation laborers, license taxes, etc. All taxes collected at Apia were to belong to the municipality, and those collected elsewhere were to belong to the Samoan Government.[24]

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[24] In the condition of affairs in the islands this provision resulted in leaving the government without adequate means of sup-

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Though the Samoan Government accepted the treaty, and the chiefs elected Malietoa king, the rebellious symptoms of the opposition party gradually increased. The natives remaining inveterately opposed to a centralized or civilized government, refused to pay capitation taxes or to obey warrants of the supreme court, which opened its doors in June, 1891. Mataafa and his turbulent followers continued (1891) to gather strength and to live in open defiance of the king and government, keeping up an armed force, plundering foreigners and plantations, and harboring refugees from justice.[35] In July, 1893, war broke out and the treaty powers actively intervened with naval forces to keep Malietoa on the throne, and soon deported eleven chiefs to another island, where they were kept at the joint expense of the three powers. Meanwhile the chief justice and the president of the municipal council of Apia resigned. In November, 1893, H. C. Ide, an American member of the land commission, was appointed chief justice, but he found the laws silent and insurrection constantly threatening. Though the king succeeded in repelling his opponents in battle, he requested that foreign war-vessels preserve peace and security (1894).

Though both Bayard and Bates had contemplated the necessity of assistance from the powers to maintain the government established by the treaty,[36] and Gresham, as late as June, 1893, had informed Pauncefote that the United States Government would "join in an active demonstration against Mataafa," President Cleveland sent no

port and became a subject of concern and discussion among the three powers, who were compelled to continue their pecuniary support of the government.

[35] In January, 1893, many in the United States Senate thought we had made a mistake in refusing to accept annexation or extend a protectorate when the opportunity was offered.

[36] On February 20, 1893, Blaine, in a letter to Pauncefote, also stated that in the execution of the spirit of the treaty of Berlin the treaty powers should send war vessels to sustain the Samoan authorities and enforce the warrants of the supreme court by proper and judicious means.

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war vessels, and considering the islands commercially worthless and the inhabitants intractable, in his messages of 1893, 1894 and 1895, recommended withdrawal from the treaty.[27] Though the treaty of 1889 had been a deliberate act of national policy in our international relations, both Cleveland and Secretary Gresham urged that it was a mistake, expensive, annoying and involving us in entangling alliances.[28]

Gresham referred to the Samoan government as in substance and form a tripartite foreign government imposed upon the natives, and supported and administered jointly by the three treaty powers. On May 9, 1894, a report to President Cleveland said: "It is in our relations with Samoa that we have made the first departure from our traditional and well-established policy of avoiding entangling alliances with foreign powers in relation to objects remote from this hemisphere. Like all other human transactions, the wisdom of that departure must be tested by its fruits. . . . Every nation, and especially every strong nation, must sometimes be conscious of an impulse to rush into difficulties that do not concern it, except in a highly imaginary way. To restrain the indulgence of such a propensity is not only the part of wisdom, but a duty we owe to the world as an example of the strength, the moderation and the beneficence of popular government. . . . The whole trade of the islands is of small value, and of this only a small part is with the United States. We have never found it wise to interfere in the affairs of a foreign country in order to trade with it."[29]

[27] See an article by H. C. Ides in the N. Am. Rev. for Aug., 1897.

[28] The *Nation* said the result of the treaty arranged was continual unrest, disturbance and foreign interference and opposed the modern mania for foreign dependencies at great distances from our shores, stating that if Samoa belonged to any system it belonged to the Australian system, and that the New Zealanders, had more reason than the United States to complain of German meddling. [Nation, May 17, 1894.]

[29] For Gresham's review of American relations as to Samoa, see "Foreign Relations," 1894, Appendix i, pp. 504-13. Also, Senate Exec. Doc. 93, 53-2, vol. iv.

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The long-range government of refractory, indocile natives, with all its perplexities, under the international joint protectorate continued to be unsatisfactory and expensive, but no better plan acceptable to all could be suggested.[80] The death of King Malietoa Lampepa, in August, 1898, finally produced a crisis which resulted in a new arrangement. The election of a successor developed a contest as to the validity of the result, and rival claimants took the field. Chief Justice Chambers (from Alabama) with his great power, acting by the terms of the general act, rendered his judgment in favor of Malietoa Tanu, and Mataafa, encouraged by the German consul, and with more followers than the king had, took up arms. Marines from American and British warships intervened to restore order.[81]

Steps were taken to improve relations between the United States and Germany, and to avoid any occasion for further friction in Samoa,[82] a joint commission of representatives of the United States, Great Britain and Germany were sent to investigate affairs at Samoa, and to propose a remedy. It soon abolished the kingship and established a provisional government. The partition of the islands, as Blaine had planned in 1889, or annexation of the whole group by a single power, appeared to offer best promise of a satisfactory permanent settlement.

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[80] Foreign Relations, 1896, pp. 531-54; also, 1895, pp. 1126-59.

[81] *The Nation*, Jan. 26, 1899.

[82] William Blacklock, the United States vice-consul-general, who advocated annexation as the only permanent settlement, in a statement of his views for the commission in June, 1899, said:

"The mode of dealing with the natives from the beginning by the powers interested in Samoa has been calculated to make the Samoan a most important individual in his own estimation. Stacks of proclamations have been posted and endless orders from warships been issued, but none has ever been thoroughly enforced, and the consequence is that now the natives ignore proclamations and laugh at threats of men-of-war. They imagine themselves unconquerable, even by the three powers combined, and every time there is an outbreak they go a little further than the time before."

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The United States was determined not to abandon her interests to Germany and England. The latter, however, agreed to retire, in view of compensation by Germany in other directions, and in a treaty providing for a discontinuance by the joint protectorate both powers renounced (November, 1894), in favor of the United States, all their rights and claims to that portion of the group east of 171 west longitude, including Tutuila and other smaller islands. By the same convention the United States agreed to renounce all claims to the islands of the group lying west of 171, thus giving the Germans the preponderating force which they had exercised in that region before the treaty of Berlin was made. She received a guarantee, however, for the same privileges and conditions as those possessed by Germany in respect to commerce and commercial vessels in all the islands of Samoa. Malietoa, after an unsuccessful protest, expressed his views in a letter to the London Times, in which he took occasion to assert that the civilization introduced by the great powers in their annexations in the islands of the South Seas is inferior to the primitive state of those islands.[88]

The American flag now floats over the naval station at Pango Pango, and the island of Tutuila is under the control of the navy, but there has been no interference with the political self-government of the natives, who have appeared delighted to pass under the sovereignty and protection of the United States.

[88] London Times, January 12, 1900.

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CHAPTER X.

OCCUPATION OF THE PHILIPPINES.

The Philippines, which have recently and unexpectedly enlarged the sphere of the United States in the Far East, were visited by Americans at a very early date in our national history. After the close of the war of 1812, Secretary Monroe took steps to obtain information regarding conditions there and to secure a report on the prospects for trade. In March, 1817, Andrew Stuart, who had resided in Manila since 1812, received from President Madison a commission as United States consul at that place. For several years he was not officially recognized by the Spanish authorities, but he was allowed to remain and was not obstructed in the performance of the duties of a consul.[1] In September, 1818, he reported that the Spanish authorities had found several Americans among the crew of the *Argentina*, a Buenos Ayres privateer, which had been obstructing the provincial commerce for several months. Writing to Secretary Adams, in June, 1819, he stated that unless interrupted by the "proverbially suspicious government," he proposed to place the United States in possession of Royal nautical directions for the guidance of galleons and for the harbors to which they resorted, together with charts and drawings showing "tracks laid down in unpublished Spanish plans," which he suggested might "assume an aspect of great national and political importance and utility . . . should the amicable relations between the two governments ever be interrupted or ruptured."

About the same time, Lieutenant John White, of the

[1] Consular Letters, Manila, vol. i, 1817-40. [MS.]

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United States navy, after arriving at Cavite and Manila, and taking breakfast with Stuart, wrote: "The spirit of independence which has recently diffused its influence through Spanish colonies on the American continent has also darted its rays across the Pacific . . . and the time is perhaps not very remote when it shall burst forth and shed its joyous light upon the remotest and most inconsiderable islet of this archipelago." . . . "Perhaps no part of the world offers a more eligible site for an independent republic than these islands."[2]

In November, 1820, Consul Stuart, writing of recent native maraudings, murders and riots, and feeling that the Government was too slow in declaring martial law, suggesting that the recently published new constitution was too liberal to the natives and expecting a general revolution to result, said the Filipinos were treacherous, ungrateful and "insensible of any favor done them," and "ought to be governed rather strict(ly) to keep them obedient to the laws, make them industrious, to work in every mode against their natural and old inclinations."[3] At that time there was little demand for American goods, but by 1834, Consul H. W. Edwards, noticing the increase of imports of American manufacturing goods, said: "These islands will eventually be the outlet of our manufactures to a great extent."

The United States, though she annexed the Philippines as a result of long-evolving circumstances,[4] acquired them as the result of no long-contemplated plans. In 1898, at the beginning of the war of intervention in Cuba, she had "no design of aggrandizement and no ambition of conquest." Needing a naval station and a port where our war vessels could find protection and desiring to reduce the strength of the enemy, after the declaration of war, the American Government ordered Dewey to destroy the Spanish fleet at

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[2] John White: A Voyage to the China Sea. Boston, 1823.
[3] Consular Letters, Manila, vol. i, 1817-40.
[4] R. H. Bancroft: The New Pacific.

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Manila. By a brave dash into the harbor, we soon held the key to the Philippines and cut off communication with Madrid. To hasten peace we sent an army of occupation across the Pacific. At the close of the war, though we had taken up arms "without any original thought of complete or even partial acquisition," the presence and success of our arms in Manila brought our republican empire new opportunities which she could not wisely reject, and new duties and responsibilities which she could not courageously and honorably avoid. Having obtained occupation of a rich prize, whose value was well known by European powers that would have seized it at first opportunity without hesitation, and seeing the value of a permanent establishment at the gates of the East, the McKinley administration in the peace negotiations of 1898, accepting the logic of our history, resolved to relieve Spain of insular dependencies she had only held with a weak hand and which, under American control, would have the opportunity to enjoy greater freedom, and would give the American nation a greater place in the affairs of the world.

On October 28, 1898, the American Peace Commissioners at Paris were instructed as follows: "Territorial expansion should be our least concern; that we shall not shirk the moral obligations of our victory is of the greatest. It is indisputed that Spain's authority is permanently destroyed in every part of the Philippines. To leave any part in her feeble control now would increase our difficulties and be opposed to the interests of humanity. Nor can we permit Spain to transfer any of the islands to another power. Nor can we invite another power or powers to join the United States in sovereignty over them. We must either hold them or turn them back to Spain.

"Consequently, grave as are the responsibilities and unforeseen as are the difficulties which are before us, the President can see but one plain path of duty—the acceptance of the archipelago. Greater difficulties and more serious complications, administrative and international, would follow

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any other course. The President has given to the view of the commissioners the fullest consideration, and in reaching the conclusion above announced in the light of information communicated to the commission and to the President since your departure, he has been influenced by the single consideration of duty and humanity. The President is not unmindful of the distressed financial condition of Spain, and whatever consideration the United States may show must come from its sense of generosity and benevolence, rather than from any real or technical obligation."

On November 13, the following additional instructions were sent:

"From the standpoint of indemnity both the archipelagoes (Porto Rico and the Philippines) are insufficient to pay our war expenses, but aside from this, do we not owe an obligation to the people of the Philippines which will not permit us to return them to the sovereignty of Spain? Could we justify ourselves in such a course or could we permit their barter to some other power? Willing or not, we have the responsibility of duty which we cannot escape. The President cannot believe any division of the archipelago can bring us anything but embarrassment in the future. The trade and commercial side, as well as the indemnity for the cost of the war, are questions we might yield. They might be waived or compromised, but the questions of duty and humanity appeal to the President so strongly that he can find no appropriate answer but the one he has here marked out."

The treaty of peace[5] of December 10 provided that Spain, beside withdrawing from the West Indies, should cede to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands; that the United States should pay to Spain the sum of $20,000,000, and that the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants should be determined by Congress.

The treaty was ratified by the Senate on February 6, 1899,

[5] Sen. Doc. 62, part i, 55-3, Jan. 4, 1899, 677 pp.

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and by the Government of Spain on the 19th of March following. The ratifications were exchanged on the 11th of April and the treaty publicly proclaimed. On the 2d of March Congress voted the sum contemplated by the treaty, and the amount was paid over to the Spanish Government on the 1st of May. The United States, though acting on the principle that "there must be no joint occupation with the insurgents," who were in arms against the Spanish Government in the Philippines, had from the time of American occupation assured the people that the United States Government desired to advance their interests and welfare. On the 21st of December, after the treaty was signed, the commander of the forces of occupation was instructed "to announce and proclaim in the most public manner that we come not as invaders and conquerors, but as friends to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments and in their personal and religious rights.

With a desire to establish peace and order, and as much self-government as was "compatible with the welfare of the people," in January, 1899, President McKinley sent to Manila, Commissioners Schurman, Denby and Worcester, who, in association with Admiral Dewey and Major-General Otis, were instructed "to facilitate the most humane and effective extension of authority throughout the islands and to secure with the least possible delay the benefits of a wise and generous protection of life and property to the inhabitants." Before they reached Manila, Aguinaldo, claiming that a United States officer had promised that the islands should be independent, directed the Filipinos in an attack on the American lines and precipitated a condition full of embarrassment to the United States and grievous in its consequences to the islanders.*

Aside from an ignominious retreat, which would have exhibited a "nerveless pusillanimity," and abandoned the islands to strife and anarchy, making them an apple of dis-

* Sen. Doc. 208, 56-1, Mar. 5, 1900, 173 pp. +

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cord among rival powers, the only course remaining for the United States was to subdue the unprovoked and wasteful insurrection, preparatory to the establishment of order and the reconstruction of the government. The commissioners, in their report, said: "Our obligations to other nations and to the friendly Filipinos, and to ourselves and our flag, demanded that force should be met by force." For the restoration and maintenance of order in the Philippines, including the Sulu peninsula, the recent haunt of piracy, we were responsible to the world. To renounce the authority which we had accepted tacitly and by treaty, and give the islands an independence for which they were not prepared, would have been unjust to the loyal majority who sought American protection. To have declared the islands independent under an American protectorate, would have made us responsible for the acts of the insurgent leaders without the power to control them, and would have involved us in endless tasks of adjusting quarrels between factions in the islands and between the islands and foreign powers.[1]

Judge W. H. Taft, professedly an anti-expansionist, in a speech at Cincinnati on March 5, 1900, said:

"My conviction is that the calm investigation of the future historian into all the conditions existing at the time of taking each step toward the present situation in the Philippines will lead him to conclude that President McKinley and his Administration selected in each crisis the only alternative which a due regard to our national and international obligations would permit."

American control of the Philippines will mean the new dawn of freedom, progress and civilization to the islanders. During the declining insurrection the islands have necessarily been under military authority. President McKinley's policy has been "to inaugurate governments essentially popular in their form as fast as territory is held and controlled by our troops," beginning the work of reconstruction

[1] Sen. Doc. 138, 56-1, vol. i (Jan. 31, 1900), 264 pp.

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by first forming municipal and provincial governments and leaving the establishment of a central government at Manila for the last step. He has sent a commission as a substitute for military government, and as a preliminary step to the establishment of a territorial form of government when it may be possible to give the natives the right of suffrage.

* * *

The changing conditions in Asia, the mother of races, are observed with interest by the entire world. From the East to the Far East, fact is overcoming fancy, and new life takes the place of the fading, vanishing pictures of the past. Modern, relentless progressiveness is gaining a foothold in the land of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in the land of Moab, in the Garden of Eden, and in the homes of Confucius and Buddha. The walls of Jerusalem echo the pant and screech of the locomotive, which now connects the Holy City with Jaffa on the Mediterranean; and probably it will not be long before a trolley line will connect the site of Solomon's capital with a line of steamboats on the Dead sea, which has so long remained a forsaken solitude in the midst of a desert. At the other end of Asia, Japan, since opening her arms to the progressive West, is thriving with manufacturing and other developing industries, and has recently stood forth as the little giant of the Orient. In 1894, disputing with China the protectorate of Corea, she sent her well-drilled and well-equipped troops to sustain her claims, soon occupied all Corea, Port Arthur, part of Manchuria and Wei-hai-Wei, and by the treaty of Shimonosaki (in April, 1895), induced China to cede Formosa, the Pescadores, and the peninsula of Liao-tung, to open new ports, to permit the erection of Japanese manufacturing establishments in the empire, and to agree to pay a war indemnity of seven hundred and fifty millions. She surprised the world by the rapidity of her success, but she was

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soon persuaded, by the concerted " friendly " protest of Russia, France and Germany, to modify the treaty and relinquish Liao-tung and Wei-hai-Wei.

China, awakening from the lethargy of ages, observes that the face of the world has changed, and is preparing for regeneration from a long rule of ultra conservatism.[1] She will soon be threaded with railways, and brought into closer touch with Western civilization. She has granted to Great Britain the privilege of building railroads in the valley of the Yang-tse, and has made concessions to other nations for roads in other parts of the empire. In 1896, she granted to the Eastern Chinese Railroad Company the right to build a line through Chinese Manchuria (to connect as a branch of the Trans-Siberian Railway), to develop coal and other mines in the adjoining territory, and to engage in other industrial and commercial enterprises. In 1898, she granted to Russia the privilege of building a railway from Vladivostock to Port Arthur. More recently she agreed to permit the construction of a line from Mukden in Manchuria to Peking, and three lines from Peking to the provinces of Shansi, Ho-nan and Hupeh. Still other lines are in contemplation to connect southern China with Peking, with French Indo-China, and with Burma of British India.

The " Eastern Question " has spread from Constantinople and the eastern shores of the Mediterranean to Persia, Afghanistan, and the Far East. It has expanded or resolved itself into many problems, of which the Chinese has recently become the most prominent. Of the nominally independent countries of Asia, *i. e.*, Turkey, Arabia, Oman, Persia, Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Siam, China, Corea and Japan —only Japan is thoroughly independent in fact. European powers have zones of influence in all of the others. Turkey, in need of a better government, has been the object of the

[1] A. R. Calquhoun: China in Transformation. Curzon: Problems of the Far East. Lord Charles Beresford: The Break-up of China.

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deliberations of an international congress. Central Arabia is inhabited by tribes who owe allegiance to no single ruler. Oman is practically an English protectorate. Persia is dominated by Russia in the north and by England in the south. Afghanistan, under the uncertain rule of an Afghan chief, receives a subsidy from British India, and permits a Russian flotilla on her branches of the Oxus. Some say that occupation or protection by some stronger power is apparently the only relief for the chaotic conditions which exist from the Bosporus to the Hindu Kush. China, though not in the same political condition as Turkey and Persia, sometimes appears to be preparing herself for a coroner's inquest or vivisection. Her internal condition, together with her relation to opposing powers with conflicting interests, presents a serious case to the political doctors, who find it difficult to agree upon a remedy to effect a permanent cure.

The Anglo-Saxon and the Slav have met on the Plains of Pamir, the roof of the world, at the western gate of China. Only a strip of Afghan territory, twelve miles wide, lies between them, and it is under British influence. Afghanistan is only a temporary " buffer " between them, though it may be of little value to either except as a basis for military operations. With half-completed military roads, they keep their armies like bridled steeds, ready to prance toward each other in war-harness. The Anglo-Saxon nation, incessantly toiling, cultivating swamps and clearing jungles, driving back famine and pestilence, and opening the tropics to the world, has extended her dominion upward from the south of India, secured a supreme influence in Southern Asia from the Red Sea coast and the Persian Gulf on the west to Siam and toward Singapore on the east. She has peacefully expanded over Beluchistan, and extended her control northward from Calcutta to the Himalayas and eastward to Siam. Still further east she possesses Borneo and South Sea groups of islands. In China, she is already established at Hong Kong, has a shadowy sphere of predominating influence in

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the Yang-tse valley, and is planning to secure a concession for a railway from Burma to Yunnan.

The Slav, by a long record of toil and privation and self-directed effort, has colonized central Asia and continued eastward with half-accidental, half-unconscious progress across the continent. Vast Russia, virile, apparently invincible, and increasingly predominant, spanning Europe and Asia, embracing one-half the combined area of the two continents (and nearly two and one-half times as large as the United States), is steadily expanding to the south and east along a wavering frontier of 10,000 miles. She is strengthening her hand in the Bosporus, Syria and Palestine and in Persia, which offers a practicable trade outlet to the Indian ocean, and an advantage in case of conflict with England. If England and France would permit, she would absorb Turkey, whose capital she has threatened for 800 years. She has become predominant in the north of Persia, whose territory she has been acquiring for 100 years. She has consolidated her position in Turkestan, elbowed China out of Pamir on the west. The more England has hindered her in the south, the better has she established herself in the east, especially since the Crimean war. In her search for a "scientific boundary," she has always advocated "rectification of the frontier" as a remedy for grievances, and is now in possession of the greater part of the land which China has been losing since 1858. Indenting Chinese territory from Pamir to Manchuria, she has been making rapid strides to occupy the position once held by Genghiz Khan.[3]

Russia is now at the beginning of a new era in her history. Since 1893, she has been consolidating the work of the early venturesome explorers across the wilds of Siberia by the construction of a trans-Siberian railway with numerous stations and branches. By means of this road she is securing a more rapid colonization of Siberia—whose fertile,

[3] Alexia Krausse: Russia in Asia (1558-1899).

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productive lands no longer remain locked in silence and solitude—and is expecting to work a revolution in the commerce and travel of the world. She is bringing the Far East to the doors of Europe, and preparing to become an oceanic power. After a struggle of 200 years to reach the open sea, and a port free from ice at all seasons of the year, she now floats her flag over Port Arthur, southeast of Peking, and is attaining the freedom of the seas.

Russia now threatens to secure an advantage in the trade of China by a process of gradual absorption. She has rapidly become a manufacturing nation, and, like Great Britain and the United States and other powers, is seeking new markets. She claims a sphere of influence north and east of Peking, and has an eye toward the great central valley where British influence is still predominant. Knowing that it will be difficult for her, under equal terms, to compete with British, American, German and French trade, she may undertake to secure exclusive privileges for her traders and for the exercise of her influence, and perhaps obtain complete control of portions of China under an exclusive colonial system. In case she should become involved in a conflict with Great Britain, who has so long been her competitor and antagonist in the direction of Asia, she would probably have the assistance of France, who, driven from India by the British, and profiting by fortunate circumstances, has established a new French empire in the Indo-Chinese peninsula (including Cambodia, Anam, Cochin China and Tonkin), and has a sphere of commercial activity in the south of China. Russia and France, should they form an alliance for the partition of China, would probably be resisted by the common action of Great Britain and Japan, and also by Germany in case such action should seem to be subordinate to her European and general interests.

The United States, though beginning to play a great part in the Pacific, and having trade interests in the Orient which may increase rapidly, desires to remain free to act independently, or in cooperation, as circumstances may indicate

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to be the wisest policy. She feels, however, that her position among the nations,with a large Pacific coast and a constantly expanding direct trade with the Far East, gives her "an equitable claim to consideration and friendly treatment." She finds an open door along the shores of southern Asia, where Great Britain has control, and perhaps would participate in active cooperation to prevent any power from securing exclusive commercial advantages in China. She "has not been an indifferent spectator of the extraordinary events transpiring in China," by which portions of the maritime provinces are passing under the control of various European powers; but the necessity of her becoming an "actor in the scene" has been obviated by the prospect that the new occupants will not prejudice American commerce by exclusive treatment.[3]

The United States, through her prestige as a territorially disinterested power, and her ability to speak in the language of unselfish, powerful diplomacy, has an opportunity to become an arbiter in a peaceful and definite settlement of the problems of the Far East, securing fair dealing and equal opportunity, and preserving the honor and interests of all. Facing Asia as well as Europe, she is well situated for the protection of American interests and the support of the independence and integrity of China with an open door to commerce—a policy which the American Government has advocated for over thirty years.[4] With her western coast ports, the Hawaiian and Philippine islands, and steamers on the Pacific, if she prepare to urge an open-door, non-partition policy in China, she can secure her share of the developing trade of the Orient.

The importance of securing ports or establishments in the vicinity of the coasts of Asia, for the benefit of American commerce, was suggested in the early part of the century. It was urged in 1832 by President Jackson, who sent Ed-

[3] President McKinley's message, Dec. 5, 1898.
[4] Instr. Germany, Fish to Bancroft, Aug. 31, 1869.

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mund Roberts to negotiate treaties with Borneo, Siam, Cochin China and Japan. The increase of American interest in the Orient, by the conditions following American expansion to California, soon resulted in a determination to secure better facilities for intercourse with the Pacific and the Eastern countries. "The future history of the world must be achieved in the East," said W. H. Trescot, who urged (1849) the policy of an Anglo-American alliance as a means to prevent Russian designs in China and to "control the history of the world." Senator Seward, advocating surveys in the seas of the Far East, in 1852, said: "Who does not see, then, that every year hereafter, European commerce, European politics, European thought, and European activity, although actually gaining force, and European connections, although actually becoming more intimate, will, nevertheless, relatively sink in importance; while the Pacific ocean, its shores, its islands and the vast region beyond will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great Hereafter. . . . Who does not see that this movement must . . . develop the American opinion and influence, which shall remould constitutional laws and customs in the land which is first greeted by the rising sun . . . I cannot reject the hope that peace is now to have her sway. . . . Commerce is the great agent of this movement. Whatever nation shall put that commerce into full employment, and shall conduct it steadily with adequate expansion, shall become necessarily the greatest of existing States." Commodore Perry, on his route to secure ports in Japan, proposed the occupation of the Loo Choo Islands as a preliminary measure, and also contemplated the extension of American jurisdiction over the Bonin group. Later he suggested the occupation and colonization of Formosa. In 1856 and 1857, Mr. Parker, the American commissioner in China, suggested to Secretary Marcy the policy of taking Formosa from China as an indemnity [supra, p. 98]. Marcy had just been making an effort to acquire Hawaii, as an outlying territorial possession with no promise of

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statehood, but he was opposed to the seizure of Formosa. The peaceful negotiation of treaties with Japan and China, after 1857, reduced the immediate importance of securing ports on the smaller islands as proposed by Perry. The annexation of Hawaii, however, continued to be regarded as a measure concomitant with the increase of American influence in the Pacific. In reply to those who opposed its annexation because of its distant insular position, Senator Dolph, in 1893, said: "We must abandon the doctrine that our national boundaries and jurisdiction should be confined to the shores of the continent. We cannot afford, like a snail, to draw our heads within our shells." At the beginning of 1898, Senator Lodge said that since we had made the citadel secure, we must not now neglect the outposts.

By the retention of the Philippines, the United States has entered upon a new era. Refusing to choose a policy of isolation, she has become a world power, and a leading factor in international politics. She no longer stands aloof from the Pacific, "the historic sea of the future,"[5] as she did in her weak beginnings when the vast unexplored territories on our west belonged to foreign powers.

Her evolution to the "Great Pacific Power" appears to be but the logic of history. Richard Olney, ex-Secretary of State, recently referring to our future relations with the European powers struggling for commercial and political supremacy in the East, said the abandonment of our "international isolation" policy, which was only suited to the period of our infancy, was inevitable, and would result in

[5] "The nations have their toes toward the Pacific." They have left very few of its islands unappropriated. Since the race for island-grabbing in the South Seas, in 1884-86, there is no longer an opportunity to occupy fabled regions unexplored in the Polynesian world. The nations have been taking time by the forelock and preparing to secure positions which are likely to prove advantageous in connection with the swiftly changing conditions in the Orient.

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aiding our commercial interests and the widening of our mental and moral vision as a nation.

The constitutional question involved in the acquisition and government of the Philippines has recently been the subject of much discussion. It will soon be a subject of decision by the Supreme Court. The American Government is acting upon the belief that the islands can be governed by Congress as territorial possessions of the United States, and in beginning the inauguration of a responsible government has very liberal views.[6] It proposes a political system devised for the interest of all concerned and administered by the inhabitants as far as they show a capacity for self-government; but, if necessary to preserve order, the islands may be ruled by the American Government with a hand as strong as that of Jefferson, who applied his "despotic" non-representative system to Louisiana against the protests of the inhabitants, who requested him to send the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution to the shores of the Mississippi.

America faces responsibility and opportunity with the same spirit of confidence which animated the Fathers. With her face set toward the morning, she seeks duty with the courage of the optimist and the ameliorator. She does not let her aspirations sink before the predictions of the prophets

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[6] In his message of Dec., 1899, President McKinley said:

"The hour of victory will be the hour of clemency and reconstruction.

"No effort will be spared to build up the waste places desolated by the war and by long years of misgovernment. We shall not wait for the end of the strife to begin the beneficent work. We shall continue, as we have begun, to open the schools and the churches, to set the courts in operation, to foster industry and trade and agriculture, and in every way in our power to make these people, whom Providence has brought within our jurisdiction, feel that it is their liberty and not our power, their welfare and not our gain, we are seeking to enhance.

"Our flag has never waved over any community but in blessing. I feel the Filipinos will soon recognize the fact that it has not lost its gift of benediction in its world-wide journey to their shores."

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of disaster. She has not become discouraged by the gloomy views of "trembling ones shrieking at the self-conjured ghost of imperialism, as if empire could grow on freedom's soil." She sees no reason to condemn the present or to despair of the future. She observes that the republic has survived the predictions of disaster made by those who opposed the policy of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and their successors. She asserts that the Ship of State under sunny skies still has her anchors, and is abundantly able to meet new conditions in world movements.

The future belongs to the future. Its conditions will influence the shaping of policy for the solution of problems as they arise. But America has no element of exploitation or imperialism lurking in her purposes. With high and just motives, she reaches the hand of helpfulness across the seas which she wishes to transform into paths for ships. She will continue to embark, venture, explore and investigate, as she has in the past. She will carefully survey and feel her way, and construct charts for those who follow. With the strenuous spirit of the pioneer, she advances beyond the frontier. When she reaches streams unspanned, she will build bridges; and when she comes to bridges, she will cross them.

The descendants and beneficiaries of those who, three centuries ago, animated with the desire to found an imperial democracy, faced the cold, inhospitable coasts of a wild, uncivilized continent and began our traditional policy of expansion, may confidently face the problems of foreign policy and territorial government which now confront them.

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APPENDIX A.

INSTRUCTIONS TO HUMPHREY MARSHALL AS COMMISSIONER TO CHINA IN 1852–53.[1]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 11TH AUGUST, 1852.

No. 1. HUMPHREY MARSHALL, ESQ.,
ETC., ETC.

Sir:—The Department [has] already communicated to you your Commission as Commissioner of the United States of America to China.

Your compensation as fixed by law is at the rate of Six Thousand Dollars ($6000) per annum. . . .

To become properly conversant with the business of the Legation, you will have recourse to the correspondence between this Department and your predecessors in the Mission, recorded in its archives. Special instructions on important subjects between the two Governments will be sent to you from time to time as occasion may require.

During your residence in China, you may sometimes be applied to to interpose in behalf of American citizens for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction of claims which they may have upon the Chinese Government, or the redress of grievances which they may experience in the course of their dealings and transactions. In cases of this nature, where the intervention of this Government shall be proper according to the public law, you will afford such official aid as may appear to you appropriate to the occasion whether you have special instructions from this Department or not. . . .

I am Sir, respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
DAN^{L} WEBSTER.

[1 China Instr., pp. 76–79.] . . .

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[1] Before the appointment of Marshall, the position had been offered to three persons within one year. The nomination of A. R. Nelson was confirmed by the Senate in March, 1851. Joseph Blunt accepted the place on October 20, 1851. On February 24, 1852, the President offered the place to Alfred Conkling, of New York, who declined. Marshall's commission was sent to him by the Department of State on August 6, 1852. See p. 90, *supra*.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 20TH SEPT., 1852.

No. 2. HUMPHREY MARSHALL, ESQ.,
ETC., ETC.

Sir:—You are aware that some of our citizens now or formerly resident in China, have, for a long time past had claims against the Chinese Government. The cases are that of the Rev. Mr. Roberts for losses sustained by a mob at Canton, and that of Messrs. Louis Manigault and Edward Cunningham, for assault and robbery in the neighborhood of the same city. The Department is not in possession of such proof as would warrant it in expressing an opinion in regard to these claims. As you will be on the spot, however, where all the evidence that can be adduced in support of them will be accessible to you, you will be enabled to determine whether they are of such a character as would warrant the official interposition of this Government. It is possible that the Chinese Government might require proof of your authority to negotiate upon the subject. To provide for this contingency, it has been judged expedient to give you the accompanying full power. This will enable you to adjust not only the cause above mentioned, but any others which may occur during your mission.

I am Sir, respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
C. M. CONRAD,
Acting Secretary.

[1 China Instr., pp. 79–80.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 7TH JUNE, 1853.

No. 8. HUMPHREY MARSHALL, ESQ.,
ETC., ETC.

Sir:—Your despatches to No. 10, inclusive, have been duly received at this Department.

The Government of the United States has recently received additional information of the successful progress of the Revolutionary movements in China. It is also apprised of the intention of the Government of Great Britain to avail itself of the present condition of things in that country to obtain "increased facilities of intercourse" with it, not exclusively for its own subjects but for all nations and it has suggested to this Government to send such instructions to our Commissioner there as will "empower him to take such course in conjunction with Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary as will be calculated to turn to the best account the opportunity offered by the present crisis to open the Chinese Empire generally to the commercial enterprise of all of the civilized nations of the world."

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The end proposed commends itself to the approval of the President and he directs you to do what you can within your proper sphere of action, towards its accomplishment. Our treaty stipulations with China must be respected and our settled policy of non-interference in the contests which arise between the people and their rulers must be observed. Without a departure from these rules of conduct you may be able to do much in such a crisis as does or may exist in China to cause an abandonment of the unwise restrictions imposed by China upon foreign intercourse. Without knowing what course the British authorities may deem it expedient to take in furtherance of the object in view, the President does not enjoin upon you cooperation, but only cordial relations and free conference with them.

As it is impossible to anticipate here what will be the condition of things there, no specific instructions in regard to your official conduct can be given. Your own judgment must be your guide as to the best means to accomplish the desired object.

In the agitated state of the country the property of our citizens therein and their rights will probably be in unusual danger. You will be vigilant and active in affording them all the protection within your power. The naval force of the United States in that vicinity will be devoted to this important object.

The Department requests you to keep it fully advised of the progress of events in China, of the effects of the Revolutionary proceedings there upon our interests and of the prospects presented for a more free and extended commerce with that country.

I am Sir, respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
W. L. MARCY.

[1 China Instr., pp. 84–86.]

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APPENDIX B.

GOVERNMENT OF HAWAII AS A TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES.[1]

Congress in providing for the government of Hawaii as an American Territory has been very liberal. In the original bill as presented by the commissioners who visited the island, strong argument was presented in favor of a property qualification for voters. It was feared that natives, with suffrage unrestricted, would secure the control of the legislature, and might even be able to override the veto of the governor. It was said that if the natives should combine, it was reasonable to suppose that no white person could be elected to a legislative seat.

After the overthrow of the monarchy a property qualification had been imposed upon the electors of senators. A conservative class was thus provided, and held the other house in check. The system was recommended for continuation.

The Congressional committee to which the Hawaiian bill was referred did not retain the property-qualification feature. It acted upon the principle that "the right of free expression at the polls is in the nature of a safety valve," and that citizens of Hawaii should have the right to participate in their government, irrespective of tax-paying ability. Hawaii had already shown herself capable of maintaining a stable government. She had a system of laws based upon American laws. She was familiar with Anglo-Saxon institutions and language. She had voluntarily placed herself under the sovereignty of the United States. Americans, although in a small minority, practically dominated the governmental, financial and commercial affairs of the islands.[2]

Congress had never yet required a property qualification in any of the territories, (though in some cases there had been reason to suspect the danger of riotous and ignorant legislation), and it was not considered necessary to make a local exception in the case of Hawaii.

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[1] See p. 134 *supra*

[2] The Hawaiian Islands are now occupied by the following races and nationalities:

Hawaiians and mixed blood	39,000
Japanese	25,000
Chinese	21,000
Portuguese	15,000
Americans	4,000
British	2,250
Germans and other Europeans	2,000
Polynesians and miscellaneous	1,250
Total	109,500

About 700 Chinese have been naturalized into the Hawaiian republic, and many Chinese and Japanese are there under government permits and labor contracts, under which they are bound to work for a term of years and to return to their own countries at the end of their term of service.

The Chinese and Japanese possess no political power.

The Portuguese are largely immigrants or descendants from immigrants from the islands and colonies of Portugal in the Atlantic and are not closely allied in sentiment to their native country.

The public school system makes the study of the English language compulsory. There are 132 public and 60 private schools, and education is compulsory and free as to all public schools. American text-books are used in the schools. The language of business in English and the decisions of American courts prevail as precedents.

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GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII

(April 30, 1900)

1. LEGISLATURE

CONSISTS OF TWO HOUSES. (Section 12)

Provisions common to both houses: General elections, first Tuesday after first Monday in November, 1900, and biennially thereafter (14). Each house judge of election, returns, and qualifications of own members (15). Can not hold other office (16-17). Oath of office (19). Each determines its own rules. One-fifth can demand ayes and noes. Majority constitutes quorum for business, except on final passage; then majority of all members required (22). Less than quorum may adjourn and compel attendance (23). Each house punishes members (25). Members exempt from liability elsewhere for words (28). Arrest (29). Salary, $400 each session and 10 cents a mile each way; $200 extra session.

Senate

Composed of 15 members; 4 years; elected from 4 districts, alternating 7 and 8 biennially (30, 32). Vacancies filled by election (31). Must be male citizens of United States, 30 years old, resided in Hawaii 3 years, qualified to vote for senators (34).

Voting for senators: Each voter may cast one vote for each senator from district (61), and required number of candidates receiving highest number of votes shall be senators in district (61). Voters must have qualifications of voters for representatives, i. e., male citizen of the United States, residence 1 year in Hawaii, 3 months in district, 21 years old (60-62); must register, and be able to speak, read, and write English or Hawaiian (60).

House

Composed of 30 members, elected from 6 districts every second year (35). Term until next general election (36, 38). Vacancies filled at general or special elections (37); must be male citizens of United States, 25 years old, resided in Hawaii 3 years, and qualified to vote for representatives (40).

Voting for representatives: Each voter may cast a vote for as many representatives as are to be elected from district (59), and required number of candidates receiving highest number of votes are elected (59). Voters, male citizens of the United States, 21 years old, have resided in Hawaii 1 year, and in district 3 months; have registered, and able to speak, read, and write English or Hawaiian.

First session, third Wednesday, February, 1901, and biennially thereafter (41).
Special session may be convened (43).
Sessions 60 days long, except that governor may extend 30 days (43).
All proceedings in English language (44).
Bills must pass three readings on separate days (46), and final passage must be on majority vote of all members by ayes and noes.
Governor may veto appropriation bills in whole or in part (49).
Bills may be passed over veto by two-thirds vote (50).

Scope of power: "Shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States locally applicable."

Special limitations:

1. The legislature shall not grant any special or exclusive privilege, immunity or franchise without the approval of Congress.
2. It shall not grant private charters, but may pass general acts governing corporations.
3. It shall not grant divorces.
4. It shall not grant money for sectarian or private schools.
5. The Government, or any political or municipal corporation or subdivision of the Territory, shall not make any subscription to the capital stock of any corporation, nor lend its credit therefor.
6. The legislature shall not authorize any debt to be contracted except to pay interest upon existing indebtedness, to suppress insurrection, or to provide for the common defense—and except loans for the erection of penal, charitable and educational institutions, and for public works.

May create counties and town and city municipalities, and provide for the government thereof.

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2. The Executive.

- **Governor (Sec. 66).**
  - Appointed by President for 4 years and until successor is appointed and qualified. Shall be 35 years old and citizen of Hawaii. Salary, $5,000 (92); $500 incidentals, traveling, and $2,000 for private secretary.
  - **Powers and duties (66, 67).**
    - Shall be commander-in-chief of militia; may grant pardons or reprieves for offenses against Territory and against United States, pending decision by President. When necessary may call upon military or naval forces of the United States in Hawaii, or summon posse comitatus, or call out militia; may suspend writ of habeas corpus or place Territory under martial law; has veto power; power of removal when not otherwise provided (80).
    - **Appointive power (80).**
      1. Judges circuit courts.
      2. Attorney-general.
      3. Treasurer.
      4. Commissioner of public lands.
      5. Commissioner of agriculture.
      6. Superintendent of public works.
      7. Superintendent of public instruction.
      8. Auditor.
      9. Deputy auditor.
      10. Surveyor.
      11. High sheriff.
      12. Members board of health.
      13. Commissioners of public instruction.
      14. Boards of registration and inspectors of elections.
      15. All other public boards.
- **Secretary (66).**
  - Appointed by President for 4 years and until successor is appointed and qualified. Salary, $3,000 (92).
  - **Duties and powers.**
    - Shall record and preserve all the acts and proceedings of the legislature and the governor, promulgate proclamations, and transmit to the President of the United States copies of the laws, journals, and executive proceedings.
    - Shall act as governor in case of vacancy by death, removal, resignation, disability or absence of the governor.
- **Other executive officers Appointed by the Governor for 4 years (80).**
  - Attorney-general (71).
  - Treasurer (72).
  - Commissioner of public lands (73).
  - Commissioner of agriculture and forestry (74).
  - Superintendent of public works (75).
  - Superintendent of public instruction (76).
  - Auditor and deputy auditor (77).
  - Surveyor (78).
  - High sheriff (79).

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3. THE JUDICIARY.

Hawaiian Courts (81).

1. Supreme court: One chief justice (salary $5,500), and two associates (salaries $5,000), appointed by the President of the United States by and with advice and consent of the Senate (82), and hold 4 years (80).
2. Circuit courts: The judges are appointed by the governor, and hold for 4 years (80).
3. Such inferior courts as the legislature shall from time to time establish (81).

Federal District Court (86).

President of the United States, by and with advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint district judge (86). Shall have jurisdiction of cases commonly cognizable by both circuit and district courts (86).

Writs of error and appeals shall be had and allowed to the circuit court of appeals in the ninth judicial circuit of the United States.

District attorney, salary $3,000, and marshal, salary $2,500 (92), appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate (86).

The district judge shall appoint a clerk (salary $3,000) and a reporter (salary $1200).

Hawaiian laws relative to, are continued in force, except as modified by this Act; subject to modification by Congress or legislature (83).

No person can sit as judge or juror who is related by affinity or consanguinity to parties within third degree or who shall be interested pecuniarily, personally, or through relatives who are parties (84).

The total indebtedness that may be incurred in any one year by the Territory, or any such subdivision thereof, is limited to 1 per cent of the taxable property of the Territory or any such subdivision as shown by the last general assessment; and the total indebtedness of the Territory at any one time shall not exceed 7 per cent of assessed valuation; nor shall the total indebtedness of any such subdivision of the Territory at any one time exceed 3 per cent of any such assessed valuation. However, the Governwent is not prevented from refunding existing indebtedness at any time.

No loans are to be made upon the public domain, and no bonds or other instruments of indebtedness are to be issued unless redeemable in five years, payable in fifteen years, and approved by the President of the United States.

SPECIAL TOPICS.

1. Delegate to Congress.

There shall be a delegate to the United States House of Representatives (to be elected by voters qualified to vote for members of the house of representatives of Hawaii), who shall possess qualifications of members of the senate of Hawaii; time, place, and manner of holding elections fixed by law (85).

2. Internal-revenue district.

The Territory shall constitute an internal-revenue district (87).

3. Customs district.

The Territory shall constitute a customs district with ports of entry and delivery at Honolulu, Hilo Makukona, and Kahului (88).

4. Wharves.

Wharves and landings shall remain under control of Hawaii, and revenues derived therefrom shall belong to Hawaii, provided same are applied to their maintenance and repair (89).

5. Quarantine.

The quarantine regulations relating to the importation of diseases from other countries shall be under the control of the Government of the United States; but the health laws of the government of Hawaii relating to harbors and internal control shall remain in the jurisdiction of the government of Hawaii, subject to the quarantine laws and regulations of the United States (97).

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6. Naturalization.	Previous residence in Hawaii shall be deemed equivalent to residence in the United States. The American regulation requiring a previous declaration of intention to become a citizen of the United States, etc., shall "not apply to persons who have resided in the islands at least five years prior to the taking effect of this Act" (100).
7. Chinese certificates of residence.	Chinese in Hawaiian Islands given one year to obtain certificates of residence as provided by the Act of Congress approved May 5, 1892, and amended November 3, 1893; but "no Chinese laborer, whether he shall hold such certificate or not, shall be allowed to enter any State, Territory, or District of the United States from the Hawaiian Islands" (101).

The provision (Sec. 6) extending the Constitution and laws of the United States placed the Chinese-exclusion law and the alien contract-labor law immediately in force in the Territory of Hawaii.

The joint resolution of annexation provided that there should be no further immigration of Chinese into Hawaii except as allowed by the laws of the United States, and that no Chinese, by virtue of anything contained in the joint resolution of annexation, should come to the United States from Hawaii.

8. Hawaiian public lands.

The public-land system of the United States has not been extended to Hawaii. In some respects it is entirely inapplicable. It would be difficult to establish an arbitrary rectangular system upon a peculiar system long in practice.

The public-land system of Hawaii evolved from local conditions. The lands are already occupied, and, from the very nature of the soil and character of the inhabitants, are cut up into holdings of all sizes, the shape being generally that of an irregular triangle, with its base on the coast line and its apex toward the centre of the island.

There has already been established there a system of survey adapted to the natural formation and contour of the islands. For illustration, all the islands rise from the sea level, in some parts abruptly and in some parts gradually, to a central elevation, and for purposes of cultivation the land is naturally divided into lowland, fitted for the growth of taro and rice; next above this is sugar land, next coffee land, and then comes grazing and timber land.

Up to 1846 all the lands of the Hawaiian Islands belonged in legal contemplation to the king. The chiefs and the people, under a feudal system closely resembling the old English feudal system, held their respective parcels by rendering service or payment of rent. In 1846 King Kamehameha III. granted: (1) To his chiefs and people certain portions; (2) for government purposes certain portions, (3) and reserved the remainder.

By an act, June 7, 1848, the legislature accepted the king's grant and confirmed to the king, his heirs and successors, certain described lands which were thenceforth known as crown lands. Under an act organizing executive departments, a land commission was provided whose duty it was to receive and pass upon the claims of occupants and lands to their respective holdings in that portion of the land set apart for the chiefs and people. This commission heard the testimony of claimants, caused surveys to be made, and issued to the occupants entitled thereto certificates called "Land commission

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awards." These awards established the right of the grantee to the possession of the land and entitled him upon payment of one-fourth of the value of the bare land to receive a royal patent. These awards and patents issued pursuant thereto are the source of all title to all lands not public lands or crown lands.

By an act of July 9, 1850, one-twentieth of all public lands are set apart for the support of schools. These lands are patented to a board of education, which was empowered to sell and lease. Part of these lands is used for sites for school buildings, part is leased, and part has been sold.

In 1884 a homestead law on a small scale was provided but was little used, only 256 patents having been issued in sixteen years.

In 1894, the legislature passed "the land act of 1895." By this act the crown lands were treated as having vested in the republic and were placed under the control of a board of commissioners, composed of the secretary of the interior and two persons appointed by the governor. They are now embraced as public lands, and are under the control of a commissioner of public lands. They are subject to alienation and other uses as may be provided by law (99).

The islands are divided into six land districts, with a subagent of public lands and ranges for each.

The public domain is divided into agricultural, pastoral, pastoral-agricultural, forest and waste lands.

The commissioners are authorized to dispose of these lands in the following manner:

1. At public auction for cash in parcels not exceeding 1,000 acres.
2. At public auction, part credit, in parcels not exceeding 600 acres.
3. Without auction sale, in exchange for private lands or by way of compromise.
4. By lease at public auction for not more than twenty-one years.
5. Homestead leases.
6. Right-of-purchase leases.
7. Cash freeholds.

Under the act of Congress approved April 30, 1900, the commissioner of public lands takes the place of the board of commissioners. The laws relating to public lands, the settlement of boundaries, and the issuance of patents on land-commission awards continue in force until Congress shall provide otherwise. But "no lease of agricultural land shall be granted, sold, or renewed by the government of the Territory of Hawaii for a longer period than five years until Congress shall otherwise direct." All funds arising from this disposal of such lands shall be appropriated by the Hawaiian government and applied for the benefit of the inhabitants (73).

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SUBJECT INDEX

ACQUISITION OF PACIFIC ISLANDS; evolution of the American policy as to, 12, 70, 119, 126, 127-128, 130, 137, 141, 151; guano islands, 69.
Aleutian Islands, 59, 70.
Alliance, American policy as to, 52, 68; Anglo-American, proposed, 90, 95, 97, 98, 100.
American maritime enterprise, early, 13.
Anglo-American interests in the Far East, cooperation, 14, 98, 104, 107; proposed alliance. [See "Alliance."]
Astoria, 30.

Behring Sea, 33, 58.
Bonin Islands, 61, et seq.; Perry's policy for a colony on, 63; proposition to take possession of, 64; question of ownership, 65.
Borneo, 74, 157.

China, earliest American trade in, 10, 13, 84; Major Shaw, first American consul to, 14; early American voyages to, 21, 23; restricted trade policy of, 85; reformed methods of, after "Opium War," 86; American policy as to, 83, 99, 101, 104, 108, 109, 110, [see "Far East"]; American negotiations with, 87, 91, et seq., 94, 97, 102; treaties with, 88, 105, 109; Taiping rebellion in, 91 et seq., 96; indications of change in, 156; and the Russian policy, 159.
Chinese diplomacy, 87, 92, 94, 102.
Cochin China, 74.
Colonial establishments, distant —feared by the Senate, 52; suggested, 61; the Bonin Island colony, 60 et seq.; favored by Perry, 65, 67.
Colonies, marine, 54.
Corea, 111-113; need of reforms in, 112.
Corsairs, Peruvian, 10, 25.

Deserters, 39, 40, 42, 48, 64.
Discipline of crews, necessity for strict, 29, 37.
Discovery, of islands by Ingraham, 19; expeditions of, 24, 55, 58.

Eastern and Far Eastern questions, 155.
Expansion to California and Oregon, effect on the American policy in the Pacific, 76, 78, 89, 90.
Exploring Expedition, U. S., suggested, 24, 50; petitions for, 50; discussed in Congress, 51 et seq.; opposed by Senate, 52; authorized, 53; purposes of, 53-55; delay, causes of, 54; organized, 55; work of, 56, 58; results, 58.
Far East, earliest American negotiations for ports in, 11, 48; increase of American concern in the, 91; Anglo-American interests in, 14, 90; American opportunity and duty in, 12, 110, 159, 160, 162; and the Eastern questions, 155, 156; recent changes in, 155; Russian plans as to, 159.
Fiji Islands, 24, 43, 45, 53, 55, 57, 69.
Fisheries, as a school for American seamen, 13.

Digitized by Google

Foreign policy, 91. [See "China," "Japan," "Samoa," and "Hawaii."]
Formosa, 66, 67; proposed occupation of, 98, 99.

Galapagos Islands, 48, 60.
Great Britain, American cooperation with, 14, 98, 104, 107; proposed alliance with, 90, 95, 97, 98, 100; and Russian rivalry in Asia, 157.
Guano Islands, 69.

Hawaii [see "Sandwich Islands"], Americanization of, 114-134; early policy of the U. S. as to, 114, 117; development of annexation policy, 119-123, 125, 126, 128, 130-131; American treaties with, 40, 118, (123), (124), 127; constitutional history notes, 131-134; present territorial government, 168. [Appendix.]

Ingraham's voyage, 17; discovery of islands, 19; trade, 20.
Intervention, suggested as to Japan, 77; suggested as to China, 95.
Isolation policy, favored, 52, 138; opposed, 90, 162.
Isthmian transit routes, need of, 40.

Japan, foreign policy of, 72 et seq.; early American voyages to, 73 et seq.; American determination to secure intercourse with, 76; Perry's expedition to, 78 et seq.; negotiation of treaties with, 81, 82, 84.

Lobos Islands, 24, 69.
Loo Choo Islands, proposed occupation of, 65, 78; Perry at, 80.

Madison Island (Nukuhiva), discovered by Ingraham, 19; occupation by Capt. Porter, 26; American intervention in, 27; visited by the *Vincennes*, 41.
Manila, 10, 44, 58.
Marquesas Islands, 18.
Midway Islands, 70.
Monroe doctrine, and the Pacific coast, 35; and policy in the Pacific, 52; and the Far East, 90, 110; and Samoa, 138, 146.
Morrell's voyages and adventures, 43-45.
Muscat, 74.
Mutiny, 28, 38, 48.

Natives of islands, character of, 18, 19, 28, 44, 47, 53.
Naval and coaling stations, 66, 70, 77, 125, 137, 139, 150.
Navy, operations in the Pacific, 10, 11, 25, 39-42, 47, 55, 59, 76, 79, 98, 107, 111, 129, 130, 136, 143, 150; need of increase, 54, 59.
Northwest coast, early commercial enterprise between China and, 13; Jefferson's interest in, 14, 30; the *Columbia* at Nootka, 16; conflicting national claims on, 20, 31. [See "Pacific Coast."]

"Open door," 66, 91, 110, 160.
Orient, unlocking the, 72 et seq.; American duty in, 12, 110, 159, 160, 162.

Pacific, the; early European voyages to, 9; early American voyages to, 10; beginning of the American navy in, 10, 11; Wilkes' expedition to, 11, 55; increase of American interests in, 32; need of a larger navy in, 54, 59; policy as to acquiring islands in, 12, 70, 110, 126, 127-128, 130, 137, 141, 151; guano islands of, 69.
Pacific coast, the; increase of American interest on, 30; proposed plan for settlement of, 32; desire to acquire ports on, 35; and the Monroe doctrine, 35; acquisition of California, 36. [See "Northwest coast."]
Peel Island colony, 61 et seq.

Digitized by Google

Peruvian Corsairs, 10, 25.
Philippines, 10, 56, 149-155; and American opportunity in the Far East, 110, 155-164; early American interest in, 149; occupation, 151; cession by Spain, 152; American responsibility and policy in, 153-155, 163-164.
Pioneers in trade and discovery, 13 et seq.

Piracy, 23, 40, 109.
Russia, claims in the North Pacific, 31, 33; American treaties with, 34; settlements of early American trade with, 22, 33; and British rivalry in Asia, 157; expansion policy of, 158.

Samoa, 46, 55, 57; strategic position of, 136; proposed American protection or annexation of, 137, 140; internal troubles, 138, 140, 142, 145; treaty with, 139; international complications in, 142, 147; tripartite arrangement for, 140, 143; partition of, 148.
Sandwich Islands, early American vessels at, 16, 40, 41, 42, 43; early traffic with, 17; Ingraham at, 19, 21; native wars in, 19; a resort for traders and whalers, 22; and Astoria settlement, 31; Russian designs in, 32; a depot for supplies, 39; treaty with, 40; importance to American interests, 40; difficulties of missionaries in, 39, 115; sources of dispute in, 43. [See "Hawaii."]
Sealing in the South Pacific, 22, 23.
Shipwrecks, 24, 45, 47, 53, 58, 74, 75.
Siam, 73.
Society Islands, 41, 53, 55.
South America, west coast of; American influence on, 10, 25, 34; agitated by the appearance of the *Columbia*, 16.
Sulu Sea, 56, 58.
Sumatra, 47, 53.

Tahiti, 41, 56.
Trade, direct Chinese-Northwest; American control of, 21; influence, 22.

Voyages, (special); of the *Empress of China*, 13; of the *Columbia*, etc., 15; of the *Hope*, 17 et seq.; of the *Betsey*, 23; of the *Aspasia*, 23; of the *Essex*, 25; of the *Dolphin*, 39; of the *Vincennes*, 41; of the *Antarctic*, 43; of the *Margaret Oakley*, 44; of the *Potomac*, 47.

Wake Island, 24, 69.
Washington Island, Ingraham at, 20.
Whalers, early relations with the natives, 37 et seq.
Whaling interests, American, 10, 22, 50; protection by Capt. Porter, 10, 26.
World Power, United States as a, 12, 110, 159, 162.

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