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<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>
April 26, 1801	Ambrose Dudley Mann born at Hanover Court House, Virginia.
August 15, 1804	Alexander Hamilton Schultz born to Luke Schultz and Elenor Knickebaker (Records of Reformed Church, Rhinebeck, New York); baptized in 1805 at Reformed Church with Anna Schultz as sponsor.
1808	“M. Lowber, currier, Frankfort corner Jacob, house 2 Skinner” (<i>Longworth’s American Almanac New York Register and City Directory</i> (New York: Joseph Denoues, 1808) at 211) (A currier is one who prepares tanned hides for use)
1820	Census taken in Rhinebeck, Dutchess County, New York. Luke Schultz resides with 3 males aged under 10 years; 3 males 10 to 16 years, 1 male over 45 years; 1 female under 10 years; 1 female 10 to 16 years; 1 female 16 to 26 years; and 1 female 26 to 45 years. One person is shown employed in agriculture. (Census report for 1820) Mrs. Lowber, widow of Michael, resides at 64 Frankfort (<i>Longworth’s American Almanac New York Register and City Directory</i> (New York: Joseph Denoues, 1820) alphabetized but unpaginated) Census taken in 4th Ward, New York City, New York. Mrs. Lowber resides with 3 free white male under 10 years, 1 free white male 10 to under 16 years, 1 free while male 16 to under 18 years; 1 years, 1 free white male 18 to under 26 years; 1 free white female under 10 years, 1 free white female 10 to 16 years, 1 free white female 16 to under 26

years, 1 free white female 26 to under 45 years, and 1 free white female 45 or over.

July 10, 1825

James Walker born in Glasgow, County of Lanark.

September 12, 1825

Alexander Hamilton Schultz and Margaret Evans are married (*Utica Sentinel* and *Gazette* newspapers, Oneida County, New York Sept. 20, 1825) Rev. Mr. Paddock presided. (*Utica Sentinel* Sept. 20, 1825)

1827

William C. Lowber is listed at the same address as Mrs. Lowber from 1827 to 1828 (Longworth's 1827 at 311). Starting in 1831, William C. Lowber is listed at a different address.

1830

Census report for Rhinebeck, Dutchess, New York. Eleanor Schultz with 1 male under 10 years old; 1 male 10 to 15 years old, 1 female 15 to 20 years old, 1 female 20 to 30 years old, and one female 50 to 60 years old (Eleanor). Also listed is Benjamin Schultz with 1 male 20 to 30 years old, and 1 female 15 to 20 years old.

Census report of 2nd Ward, New York City, New York. Mrs. Lowber with 1 male 15 to 20 years old, 8 males 20 to 30 years old, 2 males thirty to forty years old, 1 female 15 to 20 years old, 1 female 40 to 50 years old, and 2 free colored persons 10 to 25 years old.

1831

Elizabeth Lowber, widow of Michael, resides in New York city (Longworth's 1831 at 190)¹

¹ *The Merchants of Old New York* (1863) has the following:

Michael Lowber was a tanner in Philadelphia, and had several brothers in the business. He failed, and came to New York during the last war [1812?], and started boot crimping in Higgins' blacksmith shop, in Frankfort Street, near Cliff. He afterwards lived at No. 64, and carried on the currier business at No. 66 Frankfort Street. He died, leaving several sons. His widow, fifteen years afterwards, dect a boarding house at No. 255 Pearl. William C. Lowber, one of his sons, kept an ink factory at No. 37 Ferry Street, corner of Cliff. Another son was ship news reporter to the *Courier and Enquirer* for many years. One of his sons is the famed Lowber who dealt in real estate, sold some to the Corporation, sured the city, got judgment, and sold the City Hall and contents at auction, when A. C. Flagg was comptroller. Old Michael lived in New York. It was proposed to him at one time that he should go to Philadelphia. 'No,' said he, 'I had rather die in New York than live in any other place.' His widow died some time ago. A very lovely

- 1833 Kate Lowber, daughter of Capt. William Tell Schultz, and later wife of H. Montgomery Neill, is born (calculation per death notice of 1859)
- 1835 Daniel C. Lowber lived in New York City (Longworth's American Almanac, New-York Register, and City Directory) Publisher Thomas Longworth, NY, NY 1835, p. 441.
- Alexander H. Schultz lived in New York City and worked as an accountant (Longworth's American Almanac, New-York Register, and City Directory) Publisher Thomas Longworth, NY, NY 1835, p. 602.
- January 4, 1836 "Subscribers to the New York American, Railroad Journal, Mechanics' Magazine, and New York Farmer & American Gardeners' Magazine, in the State of New Jersey, will please take notice that Mr. D. C. Lowber is now on a collecting tour for the above publications, in that State." (*New York American*, Jan. 4, 1836)
- 1836 William T. Schultz lived in New York City and was a steamboat captain at 152 Reade. (*Longworth's American Almanac and New York Register* for 1836, (New York: Thomas Longworth, 588)
- October 1837 Mary Lowber Schultz born in New York
- May 8, 1839 "Report of Passengers arrived in Mobile by Steam Boat Kingston – Lowber, Master from New Orleans, 8 May 1839
- * * *
- I certify the above to be a correct list of Passengers per Boat Kingston. D.C. Lowber"
- May 21, 1839 "Report of Passengers on Board Steamboat Kingston – Lowber, Master from New Orleans arrived 21 May 1839

daughter married Charles Dall, a carpenter, at 39 Chapel Street. Another son of old Michael, if I am not mistaken, was commander of the steamer, 'Ericsson.'

* * *

I certify the above to be a correct list of
passengers pr St. Boat Kingston.

D.C. Lowber”

May 31, 1839

“NORFOLK, May 31-Arrived

* * *

Schr Robert Center, Shepherd, from Franklin,
Lou.20 days, bound to New York, with loss of head
of foremast, and maintopmast, mainmast sprung,
and sails, &c. much damaged.” (New-York
American, June 4, 1839)

1840

Census at 5th Ward of New York City, New York.
Alex H Schultz showing a household of one male
and one female less than 5 years old, 2 females
between 5 and 10 years old, 1 female between 10
and 15 years old, 2 females between 20 and 30
years old, 1 male between 20 and 30 years old, 1
female between 30 and 40 years old, 1 male
between 30 and 40 years old, and 1 female between
40 and 50 years old.

1840

Census at Mobile, Alabama. Shows two individuals
aged over 15 but under 30 residing under the name
Daniel C. Lober. The next name on the list is Thos.
Neill which shows 1 person over 10 but under 15,
two over 15 but under 30, 2 over 30 but under 40,
and 1 over 40 but under 50. The census report also
shows a John Neill.²

² There is an undated document obtained from an Ancestry.com subscriber that reads as follows:

“Notice to Planter”

The undersigned will run three new barges from Macon to mouth of the Noxubee River as soon as water permits. Arrangements have been made with the best steamboats that will ply the Bigbee River this season to take cotton out of barge without delay and convey to Mobile. Bill of Lading from plantation or landing signed by Clerk of the barge. Barges are all covered. Experience boatmen. D. C. Lowber Co., 59 Commerce St., Mobile, Ala.

The author of the Ancestry.com note stated that this address belonged to one Marcum Shorts.

The person who supplied the note is identified as a Celia J. Simmons.

1840

“From the New York Evening Post.

Captin Schultz, of the Independence, whose indefatigable diligence and exemplary urbanity have given him a favorable character with our citizens and the traveling public, has lately received a flattering testimonial of the estimation in which he is held by the citizens of Perth Amboy, in the shape of a handsome silver snuff-box, with this inscription upon its lid: ‘The citizens of Perth Amboy to Captain A. H. Schultz, 1840.’” (Army and Navy Chronicle and Scientific Repository, Vol. 10 1840)

January 1841

“Meanwhile North’s fortunes in Mobile improved. He changed jobs, first to a bank at \$1,500 a year, and wrote optimistically about ‘better pecuniary circumstances . . . to give you a more comfortable support. . . . I am happy temporally and spiritually.’ But in January, 1841, the bank closed down five positions and fired young North. Charles headed up the Tombigbee River to Columbus, Mississippi, where he bought a store at ‘North’s Corner’) with a small stock of goods and set up partnership with a Mr. D. C. Lowber in Mobile, each to have exclusive local handling of wholesale and retail groceries. He also purchased cotton and hides and corn from Mobile. With the business came ‘a negro man to work around the store, etc. He is a fine fellow, and to add dignity to the concern—he is married.’³

January 1, 1841

“January 1, 1841, in anticipation of a much earlier opening of the railroad than actually occurred, the Company [Erie Railroad Company] began running a steamboat from the foot of Cortdant street to the depot at Piermont. ‘The new enterprise,’ said the newspaper announcement, ‘commences with the steamer “Utica,” under the command of Captain Alexander H. Schultz, late of the steamer “Independence,” on the Philadelphia line, than whom there is not a more capable gentlemanly commander on our waters. It is intended, in connection with the company, to open a

³ “North” is Charles Carter North, the father of Frank Mason North. *Frank Mason North, His Social and Ecumenical Mission* by Creighton Lacy – Abingdon Press 1967)

line of travel to Albany this winter. When the arrangements are all completed, passengers will leave New York in steamboats and take the railroad at Piermont to Goshen, and thence to Albany by stages, by which route the difficult and dangerous travel through the highlands may be avoided.”
(*Between the Ocean and the Lakes* by Edward Harold Mott 1901)

September 23, 1841

“At last, early in September, the Company was able to make the announcement that the Eastern Division of the New York and Erie Railroad would be opened for “freight and passengers” on Thursday, the 23rd of September [1841].” This long-expected event was made the occasion of a demonstration commensurate with its importance. Invitations had been issued to national, State and municipal officials, judges of the Courts and members of the Bar, the clergy, financiers, the Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade of New York City, the press, and many distinguished private citizens.

The steamboat “Utica,” commanded by Captain Alexander H. Schultz, left New York at 8 A.M. on the day of the opening. Among the passengers on board were Governor Seward and his civil and military staff; United States Senator Phelps, of Vermont; Congressman T. Butler King, of Georgia; Hugh Maxwell, Collector of the Port of New York; the Mayor and Common Council of the city, and members of the Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade; prominent judges and lawyers; several eminent clergymen, Bishop Onderdonk of their number; and numerous person conspicuous in business, society, politics, and journalism. Messrs. Chatfield, McKay, and Graham, of the legislative committee appointed to investigate the affairs of the Company, were guests on the occasion. The boat arrived at Piermont at 10:30 A.M., where the party was joined by Washington Irving, who had come over from his Sunnyside home.” (*Between the Ocean and the Lakes*, Edward Harold Mott, John S. Collins: New York 1901)

“Opening of the New York and Erie Rail Road.

“Tough oak and triple brass,” says Horace, “must have encased the breast of that man who first committed a frail bark to the mighty sea,” and so, said we mentally, as we whirled at a steam gallop through the rocks and mountains of Rockland county, must his breast have been fortified who first dreamed of constructing a rail road through such a region. But the dream has been realized.

Yesterday at 8 o’clock in the morning, the steamboat Utica, with the veteran, not old – Schultz as commodore, received on board as goodly a company as ever left our wharves, bound on the first excursion over the New York and Erie rail road to Goshen.

The governor of the state, with his staff, civil and military, the mayor, and several members of common council, were of the company; the judges of our courts the members of congress from this city, the reverend clergy of various denominations, the bar the banks, the insurance companies, the chamber of commerce, the board of trade, the press and the people, all had large representatives on board; among the strangers were Mr. Senator Phelps, of Vermont, and Mr. T. Butler King, of the house of representatives from Georgia.

From New Jersey, also, there was a numerous and welcome delegation, and as a bright October sun burst forth upon the boat – as, to the inspiring airs of a fine band, she put out upon the broad Hudson – the omen seemed propitious that the noble work, the completion of the first portion of which we were about to witness, would so commend itself to the favor of the state, and of this city especially, as to render its full and prompt accomplishment certain.

About 10½ o’clock we reached Piermont, the enormous jetty of which place, running out one mile into the Hudson, so as to reach deep water, attracted general notice.

Transferred speedily from the boat to the cars in waiting at the end of the pier, and augmenting our numbers with a goodly addition from Westchester, among whom was Washington Irving, we started in two trains for Goshen.

* * *

By the bright moonlight we reached our good steamboat Utica, much gratified by the day's excursion, and without a single accident of any kind to mar the general gratification.

On board the Utica a collation was prepared, at which some of the best speeches of the occasion were made. Among them was one by Bishop Onderdonk, who, acknowledging a toast to the clergy, took the opportunity of bearing his testimony to what he conceived was the moral effect of such enterprises as that we were met to celebrate, by disseminating knowledge, eradicating prejudices, and bringing distant points into close and friendly relations. The bishop dwelt with force and effect upon these views, and was listened to with manifest gratification.

Gov. Seward, in answer to a toast, explained at length his views as to all such undertakings, which were for the people, and for them especially, and therefore should be carried on to ensure the cheapest possible rate of travel and transportation. To this end, he maintained that corporations should not, and could not properly be charged with their execution; that it was the duty of the state, and that the state should be alone the great internal improver. As to the New York and Erie rail road, he said, no private company could make it, that the state must do it, and that it should form only one of the great lines of rail roads with which New York must be covered.

* * *

This is, as will be perceived, a meager and very general outline of the reasoning of the governor, who spoke for more than half an hour with great

animation, and with apparently strong personal conviction of the expediency of such a system as he advocated.

At about half past ten o'clock, the Utica came to the wharf, and the party dispersed, gratified, we are sure, with their beautiful excursion, and resolved, we will not doubt, each in his own sphere, to aid with all zeal and good will, the completion of the New York and Erie rail road. [N.Y. American" (Niles National Register, vol. 61 p. 88, Oct. 9, 1841)

September 23, 1841

William Henry Seward wrote Alexander Hamilton Schultz:

"Albany September 23 1841.

My dear Sir:

I pray you to accept my grateful acknowledgements for _____ kindly shown to me by yourself and the associates with you in our recent voyage from New York. The whole excursion was rendered exceedingly agreeable and will be always remembered as an occasion on which I came under renewed obligation to you.

I tender to you also the respectful acknowledgements of the gentlemen who accompanied me. They are deeply impressed by your urbanity and kindness.

With best wishes for you health and property, I remain, very truly your _____

William H. Seward".

December 11, 1841

William B. Jenkins wrote Alexander Hamilton Schultz:

"Jersey City 11th Dec 1841

Dear Captn

Looking over my Jersey papers this morning I found the Petition to our Legislature for the abolishment of imprisonment for debt in the State of New Jersey, and believing that you are interested in the cause, I thought I would send it to you, and at the same time ask a favour, which is for you to write to your friend Gov Seward or Mr Weed to furnish you with one or more copies (if it is printed) of the Law for the Abolishment of Imprisonment for Debt in the State of New York. I would like to put one copy in the hands of our Mayor and one in the hands of John Cassidy who is a prominent _____ in the Counsel. Seward has always been a champion in this cause and I have no doubt but he will readily comply with your request. I hope you will write the article you spoke of today in time for next Tuesdays paper, Country Editors like short articles, and if you cannot write all you would like to without making a long article, let it be divided in two three or four numbers –

With much respect I remain

Yours Truly

William B. Jenkins.

To Capt A. H. Schultz”

December 14, 1841

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote William Henry Seward:

“New York Dec 14th 1841

His Excellency
W H Seward

Sir

You will gather from the Enclosed Letters _____ an Effort is making to abolish Imprisonment for debt in the State of New Jersey. Many of the leading men of both parties, are exerting themselves

to expunge from their State Books this relic of barbarism – The writer of the letters (formerly a New Yorker) is a man of wealth and influence, but is like yourself a champion for the “Poor oppressed honest man” – In a conversation with him a few days since, he spoke in the warmest terms of the course you took several years ago when this Hydra was driven from the State of New York, and expressed a desire to learn if you have since the law has been in operation, seen any injurious effect resulting from it – Will you be kind enough to favor him with a few remarks on the subject, and if its not asking too much, also oblige him with a copy of the Law.

Truly Your Excellencys
Most obt Servant

A H Schultz”

William Henry Seward wrote Alexander Hamilton Schultz the following:

“Albany December 16th 1841

My dear Sir,

Your letter of the eleventh instant inclosing a letter addressed to you by William B. Jenkins Esq of Jersey city has been received. The act of this state entitled “An act to abolish imprisonment for debt and to punish fraudulent debtors” was passed May 26th 1831 and will be found a page 396 of the Laws of that year. The volume will be found in any good law library in New York. The law occupies ten printed pages and would be examined with more ease in this volume than in manuscript. I have thought it better, therefore, to give Mr. Jenkins the reference instead of a transcript. Should there be a difficulty in procuring it, I can furnish him with a volume, which it will be necessary to return to me.

That law did not apply to non resident debtors. I had the pleasure of recommending its amendment so as to extent its benefits to all honest

and unfortunate debtors, and it was so amended in 1840.

I inform you, my dear Sir, as the result of much observation that I consider every amelioration of laws oppressing of honest debtors, not less conducive to the preservation of good faith and sound credit than it is humane. Imprisonment for debt is a form of slavery, which has not the plea of cast or hereditary servitude. I am too much of an abolitionist to tolerate such or any other form of human bondage.

Very truly yours,

William H Seward

Captain A. H. Schultz New York”

October 14, 1842

“The citizens of New York determined to celebrate with imposing ceremonies the introduction of the Croton water, the reservoirs and pipes for its distribution throughout the city being now complete. Seward accepted the invitation to be present, and became the guest of Mr. Ruggles, at his house on Union Square. On the morning of the 14th [of October], the day appointed for the celebration, the new fountain in the square began throwing up a copious jet of water, and was surrounded by an admiring crowd to witness the novel spectacle. That in the City Hall Park was similarly attended. It was a gala-day in Broadway. The procession marching down occupied two hours and a half in passing. The military portion of it was reviewed by the Governor at Union Square; then followed the fire companies, in apparent interminable succession, having engines decorated with flags and ribbons; then came platforms with workmen carrying on their various trades, hammering, sawing, pipe-laying, etc. The printers, carrying Franklin’s press, were presided over by Colonel Stone, as one of the oldest members of the craft, seated in Franklin’s arm-chair, while the journeymen were striking off an

ode written for the occasion by George P. Morris. The devises were varied and ingenious. There was a boat with children, representing the water-sprites of Croton Lake. There was a car with a miller and his men in dusty white coats surrounding the hopper, with a boy on horseback carrying the grist to mill. There were iron-workers constructing steam-engines; butchers in great numbers on horseback, with sleeves and aprons; temperance societies innumerable, one with a banner on which was painted an upset decanter, with the inscription, 'Right side up!'

One large car had an old fashioned well-sweep and bucket, with which a farmer was drawing up cold water and distributing it to the crowd. On another was a model of Hudson River steamer, followed by Captains Brainard, of the South America; McLean, of the Swallow; Roe, of the De Witt Clinton; Schultz, of the Utica; and Vail, of the Albany." (Autobiography of William H. Seward, by Frederick W. Seward, 1877).

October 1842

"For a while it looked as if his plans were to be thwarted once more. In April 1842, the partner in Mobile failed, but North succeeded in buying him out without serious loss."⁴

August 10, 1845

"FOR BRIDGEPORT and Housatanic Railroad. The steamboat MUTUAL SAFETY, Capt. D. C. Lowber, will leave New-York from the foot of Market street, daily, Sundays excepted, at 6 o'clock A.M. in connection with the Cars for West Stockbridge. Returning, leave Bridgeport at quarter past one o'clock, P.M., on the arrival of the cars from West Stockbridge, arriving in New-York at half-past 5, P.M. This is the only boat running in connection with the Cars. R. B. MASON, Superintendent." (*New York Tribune*, Aug. 10, 1845)

December 13, 1847

"*Arrivals at the Principal Hotels, Dec 13.*

⁴ *Frank Mason North, His Social and Ecumenical Mission* by Creighton Lacy – Abingdon Press 1967

* * *

Planters' Hotel . . . H. M. Neill" (New Orleans Picayune – December 1847)

May 1849

"We 'hope we don't intrude' with the remark, that it is truly a great pleasure to all who know Mr. Alexander H. Schultz, of this city, as we have known him, now some seventeen or eighteen years, to find his name among those of the alderman elect of this great metropolis. To a warm, generous heart, replete, let us add, with true poetical feeling, (as more than one tender effusion of his pen might show,) Mr. Schultz adds a thorough knowledge of business, great energy of character, and a courtesy of manner, which will add to the influence and contribute to the amenities of our metropolitan councils. Success to him!" (The Knickerbocker, or New-York Monthly Magazine, Vol. XXXIII, May 1849)

1849

"Lowber D. C., produce broker, 92 Gravier, d. Magazine, b. Estelle and Edward" (1849 Cohen's New Orleans Directory) [d = dwelling; b = between]

1850

Alexander H. Schultz lived in New York City and was a steamboat broker (Doggett's New York City Directory, for 1850, John Doggett, Jr. & Co., NY, NY 1850), p. 373

"Lowber, D. C. produce grocer, 92 Gravier, d. Magazine, b. Estelle and Edwards" (1850 Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory)

February 22, 1850

Census taken in the 3rd Ward, 2nd Municipality, in the County of Orleans. D. C. Lowber, aged 41, a produce broker, born in New York; Mrs. Lowber, aged 35, born in New York; Catherine M. Lowber, 17, born in New York; Mary L. Schoults; aged 16 born in New York; _____ B. Lowber, aged 23, born in Ireland, Maria Connoery, aged 14, born in Ireland, Thos. Taylor, aged 45, merchant, born in New York

May 17, 1850

“Walnut Grove, May 17, 1850
Friend Moses –

We received your Washington letter yesterday noon. At the commencement of the P. M. School John read it aloud. Never was scilence [sic] more strictly observed, once in a while we had to laugh, for we couldn't help it.

The letter would make a good lesson, (you know what I mean) as good as the “Mummy” in the First Class Book.

After John got through reading, I studied the dictionary for a while, Classical one, I can't help thinking 't was the best letter that I ever heard read. I hope we shall have another, and another from you. If you don't write (I suppose you don't have much time too) we shall expect to have you tell us about all what you have seen & heard since you left the old town of Lee.

The mail is going soon so I must write fast or not at all –

The School comes on first rate

John is an excellent teacher, tells us everything we want to know. You need not fear to stay on our account. The scholars say if you will write a good long letters often, you may stay as long as you please. Which you will whether they say so or not I suppose. Don't have feel the least anxiety about us. J— gives us General Spelling lessons. Lessons in Plurals, Sums \ almost [sic] every kind. We have lost Susan Polly & Wm Ruth but have three in their stead.

The mail is going soon and I must close this brief note.

From your affectionate pupil

Hamilton.

P.S. if this gets to you before you leave Washington, Please ask some the Congress men to

remember our Reading Room. (if you think twould be proper) – You of course know who best –“(May 17, 1850, letter from Hamilton E. Towle to Moses Cartland obtained from Harvard University)

September 11, 1850

Census taken in the County of New York, State of New York. Alexander H. Schultz, 46 year old male, Harbor Master, place of birth, New York; Margaret Schultz 43 year old female, place of birth, New York; Ellen Schultz 16 year old female; place of birth New York; Mary Schultz, 15 year old female, place of birth New York; Harriet Schultz, 12 year old female, place of birth New York; Alexander H. Schultz, 10 year old male, place of birth New York; Margaret Schultz, 8 year old female, place of birth New York; ____ Bell, 20 year old female, servant, born in Ireland; Mary Robinson, 86 year old female, servant, born in Ireland, Jane O’Donnel, 22 year old female, servant, born in Ireland; Margaret Vanhorten, 20 year old female, born in Germany.

February 26, 1851

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes William Henry Seward the following:

“New York Feb 26th 1851

Hon W H Seward –

Permit me to introduce you to my friend (and successor) Alderman Chapman of the 5th Ward – the Alderman is one of your many friends in the 5th Ward – any attention you may be able to show him in these hurrying times will be esteemed as a personal favor to

Your Obt Servant

A H Schultz”

October 1, 1851

“Insurance
The Brooklyn Fire Insurance Company
Chartered in 1824.—Offices, No. 43 Fulton-st.,
Brooklyn, No 6 Merchants’ Exchange, Wall-st.,
New York, Have their Capital (as also a handsome
surplus) invested in the most undoubted securities,

and continue to insure Buildings, Merchandise, Furniture, and other personal property, Vessels in port and their Cargoes, upon as favorable terms as any other similar institution.

Directors

Williams Ellsworth

William Miles

Alex H Schultz

Phineas T. Barnum

Elijah F. Purdy

John D. Pye

Danl. D. Howard

Sam. P. Townsend

Hen. Quackenboss

Caleb S. Woodhull

Justice S. Redfield

Chas. T. Cromwell

_____ Oatman

J.W. Amerman

Anastatius Nicholas

Robert C. Bell

Fordyce Hitchcock

Richard L. Allen

John N. Genin

John C. Smith

William Ellsworth, President

Alfred G. Stevens, Secretary”

(New York Daily Times, Oct. 1, 1851)

October 17, 1851

“Whig City Nominations.

IIIrd Senatorial District. Alexander H. Schultz of the Third Ward has been nominated for the Senate.”

(New York Daily Times, Oct. 17, 1851)

October 28, 1851

Reported that Alexander H. Schultz was nominated by the Fifth Ward Regular Democratic Whig party for Senator. (New York Daily Times, Oct. 28, 1851)

November 4, 1851

“The Election To-day.—The annual election for State, County and Charter officers takes place to-day. The polls will open at sunrise and close at sunset . . .

* * *

The following are the candidates nominated by the Whig and Democratic parties:

* * *

Senators.

* * *

Dist III ...Alex H. Schultz. (New York Daily Times, Nov. 4, 1851)	Dist. III William McMurray,” (New York Daily Times, Nov. 4, 1851)
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November 20, 1851

“From the New-York Tribune.
PEACE WHERE THERE IS NO PEACE.—During the last summer, a number of leading and patriotic whigs, including influential members of the legislature, undertook to heal the divisions among their brethren in this state, which had been engendered by differences of opinion respecting our relations and duties with regard to slavery. They were apparently successful, and the result was received by the great body of the party with decided satisfaction. A state convention was called by the committees of both sections of the party jointly, and a ticket selected by that convention which was received, as it deserved to be, with very general satisfaction. Although the convention was at least seven-eighths composed of those improperly termed ‘Seward men,’ yet two of the eight candidates nominated had been active and prominent on the other side in our feud of last year, while no one of the eight had made himself conspicuous or offensive by his devotion to what is termed ‘Sewardism.’ No declaration of principles was made which could give offence to the most ultra ‘Silver Gray,’ and the general sentiment of the majority—‘Let us unite to sustain the canal enlargement and the whig ascendancy in the state, and let our differences respecting slavery stand aside’—was fairly respected throughout by the representatives of that section. We believe the greater number of the other section were of like mind, but they have not been permitted to enjoy it in quiet. From the adjournment of the state

convention to this moment, a little knot of intriguers in most of the cities of our state have been intent on dissension and mischief. While candidates of their section have been heartily supported by the whig masses, those of the majority have been systematically stabbed and defeated wherever it was possible. We point to the vote for senators Beekman (bitter dose that he was) and Newcomb on the one hand and for Messrs. Schultz and Fiske on the other, as illustrations of the conduct of the two sections. Had one-tenth of the 'Seward men,' so called, in the 5th district, voted against Mr. Beekman, he would have been defeated—yet he is elected, while Mr. Fiske, in a decided whig district, is defeated—for what? Has he resisted and attempted to defeat the action of his party? What have Edwards W. Fiske or Alexander H. Schultz ever done that whigs should league with their adversaries to elect avowed and bitter locofocos?

In Albany, the whig local candidates are stricken down by a like influence; in the seventh judicial district, every silver gray vote has been thrown against Mr. Blatchford for judge, mainly because he is the law partner of senator Seward; in Rochester our whole county ticket was marked for destruction by a silver gray meeting held the Friday night before election, and its proceedings telegraphed all over the state to sow dissension and mischief everywhere. In Ontario county, one whig assemblyman is beaten and the whole county ticket put in jeopardy by a concerted movement of the little knots of former great men who congregate in its two principal villages. So it has been nearly everywhere that two silver grays could come together in the course of a day's ride.

Our union and safety committee have been as active as they knew how to be in fomenting this mischief. The state conventions of the two great parties met in Syracuse about the same time, and each resolved to contest the late election on issues unconnected with slavery. They said nothing touching that sore spot which any reasonable slaveholder could object to; and lo! their very silence is made a ground of cavil and opposition!

Whether they will or no, the cotton interest of our city insists that the people of this state shall resolve and vote with reference to slavery at each election. And thousands, who had congratulated themselves on the prospect of a lull in 'slavery agitation' will find it revived by the action of the union and safety committee.

Well, gentlemen! so be it, if you will have it so. A few can excite a commotion which ten times their number cannot control. If the people *must* pass upon the merits or demerits of slavery and of slave hunting on free soil at each election, they will do so; but how long you will be satisfied with their verdicts, time must tell. That you will relish better the first than the tenth decision which you thus force them to pronounce, we have an abiding conviction.

For our own part, living within the very shadow of the temple wherein the god cotton is worshipped, we defy the priests who officiate at the altar to do their worst. We tell them that from the depths of our souls we hate and abhor human slavery, and every institution, law or usage whereby the poor and feeble are racked and lashed to make them minister to the pomp and luxury of the wealthy and powerful. We tell them that we feel that the soil we tread is desecrated, the air we breathe polluted, by the inhuman slave-hunts which an ill-considered compact, made when our fathers were themselves virtually slaveholders, compels us not to oppose by any other than a moral resistance. We tell them that we *will not* be instrumental in forcing back into bondage those who have escaped therefrom; but while we would dissuade all from violent resistance to any legal mandate, we will ourselves cheerfully go to prison or bear any penalty which our refusal may invoke, rather than aid to consign an innocent fellow-being to perpetual bondage. We tell them that a very large proportion of our fellow-citizens share our convictions and emulate our determination; and that the time is not distant when no man (and much less a woman) can be hunted like a beast of prey through free states, when known to be guilty of no crime but that of

loving liberty. Gentlemen of the union and safety committee! if you mean to silence all utterance adverse to slavery and slave-holding in the free states, your task is hardly yet begun!" Janesville Gazette (Janesville, Wisconsin) Nov. 20, 1851.

November 28, 1851

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes William Henry Seward the following:

"Nov 28th

Gov Seward

Be please to write three lines to Christopher Morgan, urging him to look with favor on my proposition for a canal contract

Ever yours,

A H Schultz

Please enclose it to me 2 Hubert St
New York"

December 19, 1851

"New York City.
The Whig Primary Elections.—On Wednesday afternoon, between the hours of 3 and 5 o'clock the Whigs of the different Wards held their elections for the selection of Delegates to the Whig General Committees, and also the Ward Committees. The following is the result, as far as could be ascertained

* * *

Fifth Ward.

General Committee.
Geo J. Cornell,
Warren Chapman,
Alex. H. Schultz,
James Kennedy,
John B. Frink." (New York Daily Times, Dec. 19, 1851)

January 10, 1852

"Irving Savings Institution – This Institution organized under an Act of the Legislature of the

State of New-York, will go into operation on Tuesday, the 23d day of December 1851, at No. 279 Greenwich-street, between Chambers and Warren-streets, and continue open daily. Hours for receiving deposits from 1 to 7 o'clock.

Six per cent interest will be allowed on all sums not exceeding \$500. Interest will also be allowed on all sum deposited on or before the 10th day of January.

This Institution secures to minors, and to females, married or unmarried, the full and exclusive right to all moneys invested therein, in their names.

Trustees

Alex H. Schultz
George H. Bell (Ball?)” (New York Daily Times, Jan. 10, 1852)

“Insurance

The Brooklyn Fire Insurance Company
Chartered in 1824.—Offices, No. 43 Fulton-st., Brooklyn, No 6 Merchants’ Exchange, Wall-st., New York, Have their Capital (as also a handsome surplus) invested in the most undoubted securities, and continue to insure Buildings, Merchandise, Furniture, and other personal property, Vessels in port and their Cargoes, upon as favorable terms as any other similar institution.

Directors

Williams Ellsworth
William Miles
Alex H Schultz
Phineas T. Barnum
Elijah F. Purdy
John D. Pye
Danl. D. Howard
Sam. P. Townsend
Hen. Quackenboss
Caleb S. Woodhull
Justice S. Redfield
Chas. T. Cromwell
_____ Oatman

J.W. Amerman
Anastatius Nicholas
Robert C. Bell
Fordyce Hitchcock
Richard L. Allen
John N. Genin
John C. Smith
William Ellsworth, President
Alfred G. Stevens, Secretary”
(New York Daily Times, January 10, 1852)

April 1, 1852

“Irving Savings Institution – This Institution organized under an Act of the Legislature of the State of New-York, will go into operation on Tuesday, the 23d day of December 1851, at No. 279 Greenwich-street, between Chambers and Warren-streets, and continue open daily. Hours for receiving deposits from 1 to 7 o’clock.

Six per cent interest will be allowed on all sums not exceeding \$500. Interest will also be allowed on all sum deposited on or before the 10th day of January.

This Institution secures to minors, and to females, married or unmarried, the full and exclusive right to all moneys invested therein, in their names.

Trustees

Alex H. Schultz
George H. Bell (Ball?)” (New York Daily Times, April 1, 1852)

September 7, 1852

“Be it Known, that by this Indenture made in the Town of Lewisburg, Parish of St. Tammany & State of Louisiana, on the Seventh day of September in the year of our Lord One Thousand eight hundred & fifty two, between Miss Celima St. Pé fwc. of lawful age & Mr. Gustav de Marigny of lawful age a Batchelor, both residing & dwelling in the said Town of Lewisburg of the first part & Daniel C. Lowber of the same place of the second part. Witnesseth, that the said parties of the first part for and in the consideration herein after set forth &

expressed, have bargained & sold, and by these presents do. jointly & in solido. grant sell convey, assign & deliver to Daniel C. Lowber of the second part his heirs & assigns forever free from all liens mortgages evictions & other incumbrances with full warranty against any troubles whatsoever & with the full subrogation to their rights & claims against all precedent owners all & singular. A Lot of ground situate in the Town of Lewisburg in the Parish of St. Tammany, State of Louisiana, on the border of Lake Pontchartrain designated by the No. Twenty-Two on a plan of Lewisburg drawn by Bourguol U.S. Surveyor bearing date 14 March 1834 deposited for reference in the office of Wm Christy-late a notary public in the city of New Orleans. The said lot of ground measuring one half arpent front on the Lake Pontchartrain on Lake Avenue, Seven arpents One Hundred & fifteen feet & nine inches in depth on the line dividing it from lot No. Twenty One & seven arpents one hundred & twenty feet & five inches in depth on the line dividing it from lot No. 23. The said Lot having also a front of one half arpent on Copal Avenue. Together with all the buildings fences & improvements now on the said lot of ground & all the ways rights and privileges thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining. The parties of the first part venders as above have acquired the property herein conveyed in the following manner viz. Miss Celima St. Pé, one undivided half of said Lot of Ground by purchase from Gustave Marigny as her act passed before J. J. Monteo, Recorder & Notary ex offices in & for the Parish of St. Tammany, on the twenty third May, Eighteen hundred & fifty. Which one undivided half per Vendor Gustav Marigny acquired of Miss. Adele de Marigny by act before P. P. Labarre not.pub. in New Orleans dated 3d September 1849. Mr. Gustav de Marigny, the one undivided half of the said lot herein conveyed by decree of the Honorable the Second District Court of New Orleans dated 19th April 1843 in the matter of the succession of Prosper Marigny his factur. By the annexed certificate of the Recorder of Mortgages in & for the Parish of St. Tammany bearing even date herewith, it appears that the lot of

ground herein conveyed is free of mortgages in the name of the vendors.

Any by the annexed receipt of the Sheriff of this Parish it appears that all state & Parish taxes on the aforesaid lot of Ground have been paid. This sale is made & accepted for and in consideration of the price of Six Hundred Dollars, which the party of the second part the said Daniel C. Lowber, hath paid to the parties of the first part Vendors, who acknowledge the receipt thereof as follows. One hundred & Fifty Dollars in Cash, & for the balance the said Purchaser has furnished Three several promissory notes drawn & subscribed by him to his own order & by him endorsed, dated this day, each for the sum of One hundred & Fifty Dollars payable respectively at the Bank of Louisiana in New Orleans at Three, Six & Nine months from date, said notes stipulating to bear mortgage on the lot of ground hereinbefore described & conveyed. Now the party of the second part the said Daniel C. Lowber, in order to secure the full and final payment of the said notes at their respective maturity, does hereby agree and consent that the above described three notes should bear mortgage & Vendors privilege on the Lot of ground before described and presently conveyed. The said D. C. Lowber hereby consenting, that the said mortgage and vendors privilege be rendered at his expense on the Records of the Recorder of mortgages in the Parish of St. Tammany. The said D. C. Lowber hereby binding himself his heirs and assigns not to sell or alienate the same to the prejudice of the mortgage thus consented by him. In Witness whereof the Parties to this Indenture have set their hands and Seals in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, in Lewisburg, Parish of St. Tammany State of Louisiana on the day, month and year first above written. D. C. Lowber, Celima St. Pé, Gustav Marigny. Signed, sealed & delivered, in the presence of A. Bauborin C.A. Meoriu., Amano Marigny. Truly recorded on this 20th day of September A.D. 1852.

John J. Monteo
Recorder”

October 22, 1852

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote William Henry Seward the following:

“New York Oct 22 1852

My dear Sir

Our friend Bowen is certain, as are his friends, of his election, but an election in this city has become a very expensive matter and he is far from wealthy. It has occurred to me that you could stimulate some of our wealthy and liberal friends here to have a little “tea party” and contribute freely to assist him. He, you know, is too modest and sensitive to ask for himself as he would for others, and is suffering for the want of means. Every Ward has assessed him \$100 each, the Ratification cost him some \$250, and the “strikers” are assailing him in every shape – they must be fed a little all the time, his printing is quite an item, and altogether he needs some twenty five hundred dollars – of course neither he, or any one else knows anything of my writing to you, nor must they – please think of my suggestion and act according to your own views – but remember all the time that Bowen is a Jewell of the first water.

Ever yours

A H Schultz

Hon W H Seward

☞ If I could have a list of those you may write to, I would see that they were invited or, what may answer equally well, let them enclose a check direct to Bowen”

November 16, 1852

“By the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade

Certificate of Competency

As

Master

To James Walker

Whereas it has been reported to us that you have been found duly qualified to fulfil the duties of Master in the Merchant Service we do hereby in pursuance of the Mercantile Marine Act 1850 grant you this Certificate of Competency.

Given under the Seal of the Board of Trade
This Sixteenth day of November 1852.

(reverse)

No. of Certificate 7228
Address of Bearer 191 Mill St L'pool
Date and Place of Birth 1825 Glasgow Lanark
No. of Register Ticket 448.761
Signature James Walker
This Certificate is given upon an Ordinary
Examination passed at Liverpool on the Twelfth
date of November 1852

Any person who fraudulently forges or alters a Certificate or fraudulently make use of any Certificate to which he is not justly entitled is liable either to be prosecuted for a Misdemeanor or to be summarily punished before a Magistrate by a penalty of £50 or by imprisonment with hard labour for three months and any person who refuses to deliver up a Certificate which has been cancelled or suspended is liable to the same summary punishment.

Issued at the PORT of Liverpool on the 17th day of Nov. 1852.”

December 14, 1852

“State of Louisiana, City of New Orleans. Be it Known that this day before me Amédec Antime Baudouin a Notary Public in and for the City and Parish of New Orleans State of Louisiana duly commissioned & sworn and in the presence of the witnessed hereinafter named & undersigned personally came and appeared Daniel C. Lowber, doing business in this city but domiciled in Lewisburg in the Parish of St. Tammany in this

State. Who declared and acknowledged that he is justly and truly indebted unto Messrs. Sturges, Adams & Graham a commercial firm of this city, composed of William Sturges, James L. Adams & Nelson N. Graham in the full sum of Ten Thousand dollars (\$10,000) which the said firm have loaned and advanced upon the said appearer, Daniel C. Lowber in order to aid & assist him in this general business. Which said sum of Ten thousand dollars together with interest at the rate of Eight per cent per annum from this day the said D. C. Lowber binds himself to refund and pay unto the said firm of Sturges Adams & Graham within a delay of ten days after legal demand made either by a Notary Public or by two competent witnesses. Now in order to secure in capital and interest the full and final payment of the said sum of Ten thousand dollars within the delay hereinbefore stated & expressed, the said D. C. Lowber does by these presents specially mortgage & hypothecate unto the said firm of Sturges, Adams & Graham herein represented by Nelson N. Graham, here present, accepting in the name & behalf of his firm the mortgage herein granted by the said Daniel C. Lowber, the following described slaves for life to wit. 1. Cressy, a black woman aged about thirty eight years, acquired by said mortgager from Charles Black by bill of sale under private signature, dated New Orleans, November first Eighteen Hundred & fifty one. 2. Ben a black man aged Twenty six years, acquired by said D. C. Lowber of Bell & Stebbens by bill of sale under private signature dated New Orleans February third 1852. 3. Harriet a black woman an age thirty years & her two children, 4. Henry a black boy aged twelve years and 5. Simon a black boy of Eight years. These three slaves were acquired by said D. C. Lowber of Benj F. Marshall by bill of sale under private Signature dated New Orleans June Twenty first 1852. & signed by Jno. J. Donald & Co. agents of the vender. 6. Charles a negro man aged thirty years acquired by said mortgager from Bell & Hagerty, by bill of sale under private signature dated New Orleans Twenty Eighth July 1852. 7. Eliza a griff girl of eight years acquired by said mortgagor from J. L. Dougherty by bill of sale

under private Signature dated New Orleans July first 1851. 8. Albert a black man aged about Twenty one years. 9. William a black man aged about Twenty five years. These two slaves were acquired by said Daniel C. Lowber from L. Liewensen by act passed before the undersigned notary on the Fourth day of October 1852. 10. Nat a black man aged about thirty eight years acquired by said mortgager from James N. Frerel – by bill of sale under private signature dated Twentieth February, 1852. 11. Abram a griff man aged about forty years and 12. Betsy a Negro woman aged forty years. These two slaves were acquired by said D. C. Lowber from Mrs. Catherine Baker, by bill of sale under private signature dated New Orleans December first 1852 & signed by Wm. J. Whiting and Charles Whiting as securities. The said Twelve slaves above described So to remain mortgaged & hypothecated until the final liquidation and payment of the present mortgage. The said mortgager hereby binding himself and his heirs not to sell, alienate nor encumber Said slaves to the prejudice of these presents. By reference to the annexed certificate of the Recorder of the Parish of St. Tammany bearing even date herewith it appears that there is no mortgage standing in the name of said Daniel C. Lowber & recorded against said slaves above named. And now personally came & intervened in these presents, Mrs. Mary C. Evans of lawful age wife of the said Daniel C. Lowber, who after having taken cognizance of the foregoing act of mortgage, which I notary carefully read & explained to her, declared unto me Notary, that it is her wish and intention to release in favor of the said mortgagees the twelve slaves herein described from the matrimonial dotal paraphernal & other rights and from any claims mortgages or privileges to which she is or may be entitled, whether by virtue of her marriage with her said husband or otherwise.

Whereupon I the said Notary did inform the said Mrs. Lowber apart and out of the presence and hearing of her said husband, and before receiving her signature, that she had by law a legal mortgage on the property of her said husband. First, for the restitution of her dowry and for the reinvestment of

the dotal property Sold by her husband and which she brought in marriage. Secondly, for the restitution and reinvestment of the dotal property by her acquired since marriage, whether by succession or donation from the day the succession was opened or the donation perfected. Thirdly, for nuptial present. Fourthly, for the debts by her contracted with her said husband and Fifthly for the amount of her paraphernal property alienated by her and received by her said husband or otherwise disposed of for the individual interest of her said husband. And the said Mrs. Lowber did thereupon declare unto me Notary, that she is fully aware of & acquainted with the nature and extent of the matrimonial dotal paraphernal and other rights and privileges thus secured to her by law on the property of her said husband and that availing herself of the rights secured to her by the second section of an act passed by the Legislature of this state authorizing wives to make valid renunciations &c, approved on the twenty seventh day of March Eighteen hundred and thirty five, she nevertheless, did persist in her intention of renouncing not only all the rights claims and privileges, herein before enumerated & described, but all others of any kind or nature whatsoever to which she is or may be entitled by any laws now or heretofore in force in the State of Louisiana. And the said husband again being now present aiding and authorizing his said wife in the execution of these presents. She the said wife did again declare that she did and does hereby make a formal renunciation & relinquishment of all her said matrimonial dotal paraphernal and other rights, claims and privileges in favor of the said mortgagees binding herself and her heirs at all times to sustain and acknowledge the validity of this Renunciation. Thus done and Passed in my office at the City of New Orleans aforesaid in the presence of Anthony Joseph Goriot and Louis Valsin Weltz witnesses of lawful age and residing in this city, who hereunto sign their names together with the said parties and me the said Notary on this fourteenth day of December in the year of our Lord, One thousand eight hundred and fifty two. Signed, Sturges, Adams & Graham, Mary C. Lowber, D. C. Lowber, A. J. Goriot, Louis V. Weltz, A. Baudouin

Not. Pub. A true copy. New Orleans. Jany 21st AD 1853. A. Baudouin Not Pub. Truly recorded this 21st January A.D. 1853 John J. Moneto, Recorder.”

March 17, 1853

“State of Louisiana, Parish of Orleans, Be it Known, That this day, before me Theodore Osborn Stark, a Notary Public in and for said State and Parish, duly commissioned and qualified, Personally came and appeared Richard Beck & Henry J. Budington, of this city herein acting as Testamentary Executors of the late Charles A. Jacobs of this city deceased and as attorneys in fact by virtue of a power attorney, dated 24th November 1852, and deposited in the Second District Court of this City, in the papers of the estate of said Jacobs, of Mrs. Sally Jacobs wife of George G. Wright, Catherine H. Jacobs, widow of the late Henry Clark, Sophia Jacobs wife of George Y. Bast, George R. Jacobs Henry Jacobs, Margarita Budington, and Elizabeth Pochelu heirs & legatees of the said Charles A. Jacobs deceased, and in pursuance of an order rendered by the said District Court 22nd December 1852, copies of which said order and power of attorney, are annexed to an act of Deposit passed in this office on the 8th February instant, who declared that for the consideration hereinafter mentioned and in confirmation of an adjudication made at public auction, by Messrs. J. A. Beard & May on the 2nd day of February 1853 after a compliance with the requirements of Law; and whose process verbal is annexed to said act of deposit. They do by these presents grant, bargain, sell and deliver unto Daniel Cole Lowber and Raymond Pochelu both of this city, here present accepting and purchasing for themselves their heirs and assigns and acknowledging delivery and possession thereof. A certain portion of Ground together with the Buildings and improvements thereon, rights privileges, customs, ways, servitudes appurtenances &c thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining Situate lying and being in the Town of Lewisburg Parish of St. Tammany in this State, measuring one half arpert front on Lake Street or Avenue by eight hundred feet in depth between parallel lines, being part of a larger lot of Ground, designated by the number Thirty, on a

particular plan drawn by L. Surgi dated 27th April 1841. and deposited in the office of Philip Lacoste Notary in this city together with right use and privilege of a certain passage or alley way of Fifteen feet wide commencing at and from the rear line of the portion of ground above conveyed & extending the entire dept on the South East side of the remaining portion of said Lot Number Thirty through to Copal Street; which said passage way has been established as a perpetual servitude. The said portion of ground herein conveyed was acquired by the said Jacobs from Charles Black on the 12th June 1849. as per act before W. G. Lewis, Notary in this city. By reference to the annexed certificate of the Recorder of mortgages for the said Parish of St. Tammany it will be seen that there are no mortgages whatsoever recorded against the within sold Property in the name of the said Jacobs. To have and to hold the said Property &c unto the said Lowber & Pochelu purchasers their heirs and assigns forever. And the said Beck & Budington Executors &c vendors the said property &c. herein conveyed to the said purchasers their heirs and assigns shall and will warrant and forever defend against all legal claims and demands whatsoever. An the said vendors do hereby moreover transfer unto the said purchasers all and singular the rights and actions of warranty to which they are or may be entitled against any and all of the former proprietors of the property herein conveyed, hereby subrogating the said purchasers in and to the said rights and action to be by them enjoyed and exercised in the same manner as they might have been by the said vendors. This sale is made and accepted, for and in consideration of the price and sum of Fifteen Hundred and fifty dollars (\$1500-) in part payment and liquidation of which, the said purchasers have paid the sum of Five hundred and Sixteen 60/100 Dollars in Cash, at the execution of these presents and further remainder have furnished them Fourteen several promissory notes, drawn by the said Pochelu to the order and endorsed by said Lowber dated on the said 2nd day of February instant and made payable respectively Seven in one year and seven in two years after date, two for the sum of \$115 each payable at one & two years. Two for the sum of

Ninety Six Dollars Ninety Six $\frac{82}{100}$ dollars each payable respectively in one and two years after date. Two for the sum of Eight seven $18\frac{3}{4}$ / $\frac{100}$ Dollars each payable in one year, and Two for a like sum of Eight Seven $18\frac{3}{4}$ / $\frac{100}$ Dollars each payable in Two years after date and Six for the sum of Forty three $\frac{22}{100}$ Dollars each payable three in one year & three in two years after date. All of which said notes are made payable at the Canal Bank in this city and bear interest on their face at the rate of Six % per annum from date to maturity and thereafter if not then paid at the rate of eight per cent % per annum: and which said notes after having been paraphed by me Notary to identify them with the act were delivered to the said vendors, who in there said capacities hereby acknowledged the receipt thereof as well as of the said ready money. And in order to secure the punctual payment of the said notes at maturity as well as the interest which may accrue thereon, the said purchaser hereby specially mortgage and hypothecate the within sold property to the said vendors promising and binding themselves not to alienate or encumber the same to the prejudice of this mortgage. And the said Purchasers moreover further bind themselves to keep the Buildings and improvements on said property on said property fully Insured until the full and final payment of each and every one of said Notes & to transfer the Policy or Policies of Insurance to said vendors, they the said Purchasers moreover, hereby acknowledging delivery and possession of all articles of furniture which were in the house at the time of sale and which were included with the buildings and improvements such as they have been. Thus done and passed in my office at the City of New Orleans in presence of George N. Christy and Edward Allen, witnesses of lawful age, and domiciliation in said city, who sign these presents together with the parties, and me said Notary, this Seventeenth day of March in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and fifty three. Origianl signed H. J. Budington, Richd Beck, R. Pochelu, D.C. Lowber, Geo N Christy, E. Allen, Theodore Stark, Not. Pub. I certify the foregoing to be a true copy of the original act on file and of record in my office. New Orleans this 18th day of

March 1853. Theodore Stark Not. Pub. Truly recorded this 10th June 1853 John J. Monteo, Recorder.”

March 23, 1853

“Dudley Mann has been nominated Assistant Secretary of State. He was Mr. Marcy’s choice, and Young America heartily approves it. The berth was first offered to George Sumner, who declined it.”
(New York Times, March 23, 1853)

May 10, 1853

“State of Louisiana, City and Parish of New Orleans. Be it known That on this Tenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand and eight hundred and fifty three and of the Independence of the United States of America the Seventy Seventh before me Jacob Soria a Notary Public in and for the City and Parish of New Orleans State of Louisiana duly commissioned and sworn, personally came and appeared Daniel Cole Lowber and Raymond Pochelu, both of this city (the said Pochelu being unmarried. Who declared That for the consideration of Two Thousand Dollars to them paid in the manner hereinafter set forth and expressed they do by these presents grant bargain sell and deliver with full guarantee against any debts, liens, mortgages, suits evictions and incumbrances whatever, Unto Mistress Lavinia Strang of lawful age, and wife of Thomas I. Carver of this City-and by her said husband herein duly authorized and assisted, here present accepting and purchasing for herself her heirs and assigns and acknowledging delivery and possession thereof. A certain portion of Ground together with all the Buildings and improvements thereon rights ways privileges and advantages thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining. Situate lying and being in the Town of Lewisburg, Parish of St. Tammany in this state, and measuring one half arpent front on Lake Street or Avenue by Eight hundred feet in depth between parallel lines being part of a larger Lot of ground designated by the number Thirty on a particular plan drawn b L. Surgi dated 27th of April 1841 and deposited in the office of P Lacaske notary in this City, together with the right use and privilege of a certain passage or alley way of fifteen feet wide commencing at and from the rear line of

the portion of Ground above conveyed and extending the entire depth on the South East side of the remaining portion of said Lot No. Thirty through to copal Streets, which said passage has been established as a perpetual servitude. Which property was acquired by the present venders from the heirs of the late Charles A. Jacob of the City deceased by an act passed before T. O. Stark, Notary in this City on the 17th March 1853 and here the said venders declare that the only mortgage existing on said property is the one they granted in their act of purchase aforesaid in favor of the heirs of the said Charles A. Jacob to secure the sum of One Thousand and thirty three dollars and thirty two cents amount of fourteen several promissory notes with interest on the same, and which mortgage the present purchaser assumes as will hereinafter appear. And the said purchaser being satisfied that there is no other mortgage on the said property she dispenses with the production of certificate required by article "3328" of the Civil Code of this state and exonerates me the undersigned notary from all liability in the premises. To have and to hold the said property –&o unto the said purchaser her Heirs and Assigns forever And the said Venders hereby further promise that they and their heirs and assigns shall and will warrant and defend the Property- herein conveyed against all legal claims and demands whatever. The said venders moreover transfer unto the said purchaser all the rights and actions of warranty to which they may be entitled against all the former proprietors of the property herein conveyed, subrogating said Purchaser to the said rights and actions to be by her enjoyed and exercised in the same manner as they might have been by the present venders themselves. This Sale is made and accepted for and in consideration of the price and sum of Two Thousand Dollars. Six hundred and Sixty Six Dollars of which has been paid in ready money, and in part payment of the balance the said purchaser has with the authorization of her husband furnishes her two several promissory notes for the sum of One hundred and fifty Dollars thirty four cents each drawn to the order of and endorsed by Thomas I. Carver, dated the Second of May instant and

payable Two years after date with interest thereon from date to maturity at the rate of six per cent per annum and said notes if not paid at maturity are to bear Interest thereafter at the rate of eight per cent per annum which notes after having been paraphed by me notary in order to identify them herewith were delivered to the said venders who hereby acknowledge the receipt thereof as well as of the said ready money. And in liquidation of the balance of said price, say One thousand thirty three Dollars, thirty two cents, Said purchaser hereby assumes and binds herself to take up at maturity the following Fourteen Promissory notes drawn by the said Pochelu to the order of and endorsed by said Lowber dated 2nd February 1853, to wit Two for the sum of One Hundred and fifteen $45/100$ Dollars each payable in one and two years. Two for the sum of Ninety six $87 \frac{1}{2}/100$ dollars payable at one and two years. Two for the sum of Eight Seven $13 \frac{1}{4}/100$ payable two years after date. Six for the sum of Forty three $22/00$ Dollars each payable respectively Three in one and Three in Two years after date a the Canal Bank in this city. Said notes bear interest from date till maturity at the rate of six per cent per annum and if not paid at maturity to bear interest thereafter at the rate of eight per cent per annum and secured by mortgage on the property herein conveyed and which mortgage is now assumed by the present purchaser. And in order to secure the full and punctual payment of the said two notes firstly above described together with the interest that may accrue thereon the said purchaser hereby mortgages the Property herein conveyed promising and binding herself not to alienate or encumber the same to the prejudice of this mortgage. And made these presents personally came and intervned Madam Mary C. Evans of lawful age and wife of the said Daniel C. Lowber; who did declare unto me notary that it is her wish and intention to release in favor of the said Purchaser the property herein conveyed from any rights, claims, mortgages or privileges to which she is may be entitled whether by virtue of her marriage with her said husband or otherwise.

Whereupon, I the said Notary, did inform the said wife apart and out of the presence and hearing of her said husband that she had by law a legal mortgage on the property of her said husband. First, For the restitution of her dowry and for the reinvestment of the dotal property sold by her husband and which she brought in marriage. Secondly, For the restitution of her dowry and for the reinvestment of the dotal property sold by her husband and which she brought in marriage reckoning from the celebration of the marriage. Secondly, for the restitution and reinvestment of the dotal property by her acquired since marriage, whether by succession or donation, from the day the succession was opened or the donation perfected. Thirdly For nuptial presents. Fourthly, for debts by her contracted with her said husband. And Fifthly, for the amount of her paraphernal property alienated by her and received by her said husband or otherwise disposed of for the individual interest of her husband. And the said wife did thereupon declare unto me notary, that she was fully aware of and acquainted with the nature and extent of the rights and privileges thus secured to her by law on the property of her said husband, and that she nevertheless did persist in intention of renouncing not only all the rights claims and privileges hereinbefore enumerated and described, but all others of any nature or kind whatever, to which she is or may be entitled by any laws now or heretofore in force in the State of Louisiana.

And the said Daniel C. Lowber, being now present and authorizing the said Mrs. Lowber in the execution of these presents she the said wife did again declare that she did and does hereby make a formal renunciation and relinquishment of all her said rights, claims and privileges in favor of the said purchaser binding herself and her heirs at all times to acknowledge and sustain the validity of this renunciation. Thus Done and Passed at New Orleans aforesaid in the presence of Daniel I. Ricardo & Nicholas Johnson, Witnesses both of this city, who hereunto sign their names with the parties and me the said notary on the day month and year above written. Signed, Mary C. Lowber, D. C.

Lowber, R. Pochelu, L. Carver, Thos. I. Carver,
Jacob Soria Not. Pub. I hereby certify the foregoing
to be a true copy of the original act on file and of
record in my office. New Orleans 12th May 1853
Jacob Soria Not Pub. Truly recorded this twelfth
day of June A.D Eighteen Hundred and fifty three.

John J. Monteo, Recorder.”

September 28, 1853

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote William
Henry Seward the following:

“New York Sept 28 1853

My dear Sir

I have yours of the 26th and thank you for it
– Some one has evidently used my name to you
without authority, for I am far too sagacious, and
have your political welfare too much at heart to
furnish any one to mix you up with the proceedings
of a State Convention – I have no knowledge of any
person by the name of “Genet” and never heard of it
except historically

Faithfully yours

A H Schultz”

1854

“Belknap & Lowber, brokers, 106 Magazine”
(1854 Cohen’s New Orleans Directory)

“Rost, P.A., Victory, c. Mandeville”
(1854 Cohen’s New Orleans Directory)

“Lowber D. C., firm Belknap & Lowber, 106
Magazine”
(1854 Cohen’s New Orleans Directory)

“Belknap & Lowber, brokers, 106 Magazine
James T. Belknap, D. C. Lowber”
(1854, New Orleans Firm or Business Directory)

July 25, 1854

Kate M. Schultz of New Orleans, Louisiana,
married H. Montgomery Neill of Mobile, Alabama,
at Sullivan Street Church (Methodist Episcopal),

New York City, New York (*Records of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, New York, New York, 1785-1893, vol. 10, Sullivan Street Marriage, 179).

September 7, 1854

“Dudley Mann’s Visit to Europe . . .

Washington, Wednesday, Sept. 6.

The *Star* denies that Dudley Mann’s visit to Europe is of a diplomatic nature.” (New York Daily Times, Sep. 7, 1854)

November 1, 1854

“There is a rumor at Madrid that the conference of American diplomatists (of which Mr. Dudley Mann takes out the decision in the present steamer) concluded that the only way to precipitate events and hasten the transfer of Cuba, is to carry off the Queen by violence.! The United States Government is said to be showering money about among the Spanish Republicans and Carlists, at which the *Press* exclaims, ‘How little knowledge have the Spaniards of Americans and American character!’” (New York Times, Nov. 1, 1854)

1855

Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the County of Mobile, Alabama shows Henry Neill with 2 white males over 21, 2 white females over 21 and 3 slaves.

1855

Mobile, Alabama, Directory and Commercial Supplement, for 1855-1856. Shows “Neill, Brother & co. com merchants, 31 st michael, up stairs.” It also shows “Neill H M, firm Neill, Bro & co. res dauphin way.”

January 16, 1855

“Dr Sir: I would gladly write you at some length on ground bones & phosphate of Lime. But I am too busy now – it is my busiest time. I am prouding [prouding] in my young stock, of seedling fruit trees, & using a good deal of Guano, and want very much indeed to try your super-phosphate of Lime, & ground bones side by side with it. I have most confidence in the bones, ground as small as wheat, with a proportion of Guano. I think your

super-phosphate more costly in proportion than either of the others.

Do, pray, send me a couple of tons of the ground bones, immediately if possible. In fact, if I do not get it soon, I could not test it this season. I want 5 tons in all, if I get the rest within a month or so. Messrs. Waters & Co. will pay you for it.

I think, when I see you, I can make arrangements for a lengthy advert. In my Southern Rural Almanac for another year.

(P.S.) If possible, ship me some bones p return of the Southern Belle, leaving your city on Sat. the 22nd.” (Letter from Thomas Affleck, a wealthy farmer in Washington, Mississippi, to D. C. Lowber of New Orleans)

January 31, 1855

“Washington, Tuesday, Jan. 30.

* * *

Dudley Mann is spoken of as Minister to Paris.” (New York Daily Times, Jan. 31, 1855)

February 5, 1855

“General News by Telegraph.

Washington, Saturday, Feb. 3.

It has transpired that A. Dudley Mann has resigned his position as Assistant Secretary of State, to take effect any time before the 1st of March. It is understood his resignation grows out of the Soule affair, the Ostend Conference, and the changed policy of the Administration as regards Cuba. The President does not wish to accept Mr. Mann’s resignation, but, so far, the latter is firm in his determination.” (New York Daily Times, Feb. 5, 1855)

February 7, 1855

“From Washington.
Washington, Tuesday, Feb. 6,

* * *

The statements that A. Dudley Mann is to resign the Assistant Secretaryship of State, or that he will receive the appointment as Minister to France, or Secretary of Legation at Paris, are utterly untrue.” (New York Daily Times, Feb. 7, 1855)

“Latest Intelligence by Telegraph to the New-York Daily Times.

* * *

Mr. Dudley Mann has not tendered his resignation.” (New York Daily Times, Feb. 7, 1855)

February 16, 1855

“The State Department.

Our special Washington dispatch refers to the intended resignation of Mr. Dudley Mann. This gentleman is the Chief Assistant in the State Department. The precise reasons for his retirement do not appear. They are said, however, to have reference to a disagreement with the Secretary of State, growing out of his recent visit to Europe. The responsible head of the Department is now understood to have his own way in the management of our Foreign Relations. He is prudent and conservative; not altogether pleased with Mr. Soule’s proceedings in Spain and *out* of Spain, and the prompter, no doubt, of the change of Ministers to the Court of Madrid. Mr. Marcy is anti-Fillibuster. He was, probably, opposed also to the designs of the famous Ostend Conference, and to outside intermeddling and far-away acquisitions generally. Above all, he is, emphatically, Premier at Washington, and with a President so infirm of purpose as Mr. Pierce, his position is one of eminent safety, is not usefulness to the country. An eventful story may possibly be developed by the resignation of Mr. Mann, but we doubt whether it would just now enlist the sympathies of the people as against the prudent statesmanship of Mr. Marcy, which appears, of late, to have given over all designs upon Cuba, the Sandwich Islands, the Gallipagos and Central America. In this he has the concurrence of the President and the best part if not

the entire of his Cabinet.” (New York Daily Times, Feb. 16, 1855)

March 21, 1855

“Mr. Soule and the French and Spanish Governments.

Translated from the Courier des Etate Unis, March 19.

Mr. Gaillardet writes from Paris:--The Spanish Cortes have repelled two fresh attempts which have been made to secure the liberty of religious worship in the capitals of the province, and the seaports; and these attempts have had for their adversaries the leaders of the party who style themselves Progressionists. The telegraph assures us beside that the Cabinet has admitted that the two principal demands of the American Government in the affair of the *Black Warrior* were founded in justice; and that punishment would be inflicted upon the agents at the port of Havana who have violated the laws. It was the presence of Mr. Soule which prevented this acknowledgement from being made earlier. But he is scarcely gone before the eyes of Castilian equity are opened and enlightened . . . You know already, doubtless, that on its side the French Government has shown that with the same Mr. Soule has disappeared every cloud between France and America, in assisting at the *fête* given on the birthday of Washington. But to the gracious smiles which have been exchanged may succeed new grimaces, if it should prove true that Mr. Mason is to be replaced by Mr. Dudley Mann, who followed Mr. Soule in his retreat.” (New York Daily Times, March 21, 1855)

May 2, 1855

“The Cuban Question and Slavery.

From the Charleston Mercury.

The Cuban question is, I repeat, the question of Abolition presented in a new phase, with new parties to it. The declaration of Lord Clarendon is borne out by events which are daily transpiring. That England, France and Spain have formed an alliance to Africanize Cuba – not, perhaps, by a single bound, but by a process equally sure – is

proved by the stead progress of events. They will accomplish their object, if they can, without incurring the risk of war with the United States, and hence the mystery which hangs about all their diplomacy upon the subject. These nations of Europe pursue a policy in reference to Cuba, but in a different mode, identical with that which they are now pursuing in reference to Sebastopol. By the abolition of slavery in Cuba, they strike a deadly blow at slavery in the United States. They are encouraged to persevere in this policy, from the fact, that perhaps *two-thirds of the people of the United States* are, in fact, in virtual alliance with them, to accomplish the end. They know, as well as we do, that the House of Representatives of the United States is already with them. They know, as well as we do, that without the aid of the branch of the Federal Legislature, we cannot make war upon them about the Africanization of Cuba; and that even now, *the House of Representatives will negative any attempt to do so*. They know, as well as we do, that the President of the United States cannot, if he would, make war upon them, unless Congress shall vote supplies, and that *such supplies will not be voted*. The President of the United States is deplorably ignorant, or else he knows all these things also; and knowing them, he permits the flag of the United States to be insulted and disgraced in the Cuban waters, because he is aware he will not be sustained by an Abolition House of Representatives should he attempt to chastise Spanish insolence; and Spanish insolence is perhaps emboldened to continue its insults to our flag, because all these things are also known at the Court of Madrid. What then, is the real state of the Abolition question in the United States and Europe? It seems to be this: England, France and Spain have entered into treaty stipulations to destroy the institution of Slavery in the United States, and Cuba, like Sebastopol, is the first fortress whose fall is decreed. And the fact is clear, that the Northern States of this Union, who by their representatives in Congress can prevent all resistance by Governmental action, are in sympathy and *quasi* league with these European powers to accomplish the same end. And it is with *traitors* such as these,

who league with these European despots to steep Southern soil and Southern hearthstone in blood, that the Southern people still cling to. This is the Union to which they pay their devotions. Truly, the Cuban question is the question of Abolition presented in a new phase.” (New York Daily Times, May 2, 1855)

May 3, 1855

“The Assistant Secretary of State.

Hon. A. Dudley Mann still remains at his post as Assistant Secretary of State, notwithstanding he tendered his resignation to the President some months ago. We regret to learn, however, that he has not withdrawn his letter of resignation, and intends retiring from the Department at an early day.

It is not surprising that he finds his position irksome and disagreeable. He is pre-eminently a statesman – not a partisan-politician – and we do not believe he can contentedly see important principles or international issues bandied about by a shuttle-cock Administration, for mere partisan purposes. He is, too, a man of action, not of words, and can hardly escape emotions of mingled pity and contempt for the indecision and vacillation of the Administration with which he is associated. It is only surprising that he has remained at Washington so long. Knowing more of the details of foreign politics than the President and Cabinet combined, and consequently better able to judge of their relations to the United States, he is nevertheless completely hidden away in the Department, while others get the credit of his experience and suggestions. To those who are familiar with his diplomatic career in Europe, his sentiments, and style, both of writing and of thought, it is not difficult to trace his influence in some of the most important papers which have emanated from the State Department since his connection therewith; but of these the world knows nothing. An exceedingly modest gentleman, and a genuine, practical philanthropist, Mr. Mann would doubtless be quite willing to sacrifice personal convenience and comfort, and court absolute obscurity, if, by so

doing, he could accomplish any material good for his own country, or advance the interests of mankind; but he is doubtless satisfied, by this time, that, with the conflicting elements of which the Cabinet is composed, there is little hope of *effecting* anything; -- for whatever the promise of to-day, a change of the wind to-morrow is sure to bring disappointment. His retirement, then, is not surprising, but still it is to be deeply regretted.

We understand it is his purpose to go to Europe in an unofficial capacity. He will carry with him the highest respect and the best wishes of all who have enjoyed the pleasure of his acquaintance.” (New York Daily Times, May 3, 1855)

May 16, 1855

“Latest Intelligence by Telegraph to the New-York Daily Times.

From Washington – A. Dudley Mann.

Special Dispatch to the New-York Daily Times.

Washington, Wednesday, May 16.

Mr. Mann, late Assistant Secretary of State, is still here. It is rumored that he was suspected by some of the Cabinet of having suggested the article published in the Daily Times a few days ago, and complimentary to himself, and that jealousies arising out of these suspicions led to his separation from the Department.” (New York Daily Times, May 16, 1855)

May 17, 1855

“A. Dudley Mann.

It seems, from a Washington dispatch which we publish this morning, that our complimentary notice of Mr. Mann has excited the jealousy of some of the members of the Administration, and that he is suspected of having suggested it. It is hardly necessary that we should put at rest so silly a suspicion as this. Nevertheless, in justice to Mr. Mann, and for the comfort of all the other parties concerned, we put the denial on record in the broadest and most emphatic terms. Busy-bodies who have indulged in jealousies of our success in procuring reliable and exclusive intelligence from

Washington, have on former occasions endeavored to create the impression that we were favored in that respect by the aid of this gentleman. We embrace this opportunity to say that for all these charges or inuendoes there has never been the slightest foundation. We have received no aid from Mr. Mann, direct or indirect. On the contrary, our Washington editor has at times complained of what he deemed the somewhat prudish indisposition of the Assistant Secretary to afford information connected with the State Department, where there seemed to be no occasion or motive for concealment. Our notice of Mr. Mann's services was suggested by nobody, and dictated solely by the disposition to do justice to a gentleman whom we believed most deserving of such notice, but whose request to his friends has ever been, so far as our experience goes, to keep his name out of the papers.

The rumor that our public allusion to his services led to his separation from the Department cannot be true, because he resigned as long ago as January last, and it was well known that he would insist on leaving some time this Spring." (New York Daily Times, May 17, 1855)

June 5, 1855

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote Francis Adeline (Mrs. William Henry) Seward the following:

"Fishkill Landing June 34d 1855

Mrs Seward surely will not so much neglect her old friend "Capt Schultz" – as to forget forwarding him the likeness of the Governor – It is normal with the Ladies in our vicinity to get their houses in order during the month of May – and my wife will not consider her's in that condition until she has that ornament framed and hung in her parlour – Mrs Seward will appreciate my position – when I confess to sundry acts of forgetfulness = but this is not among them, for the Governor & Mrs Anna both promised me a compliance two weeks ago – be pleased to forgive the liberty of reminding Mrs S. of the Letter Mrs Anna sent her

Very truly & respectfully

A H Schultz”

May 8, 1855

Dudley Mann removed as Assistant Secretary of State (American National Biography Oxford 1999)

August 10, 1855

“This mortgage [of May 10, 1853] is cancelled pursuant to Notarial Act passed before P. Chs. C_____ NotPub in New Orleans from L. S. Carver to M. Aline Samony bearing date 10th Aug. 1855. recorded in Book of Conveyance D. page 350. this 23rd Aug. 1855.

John I. Monteo
Recorder”

August 1855

A. Dudley Mann⁵, with an unidentified friend, visits the site where the Great Eastern is being constructed.

December 15, 1855

“The French journals, as we anticipated, are alarmed at the tone of the American Press in response to the warlike articles which appeared in London four weeks ago against the United States. M. Lamaroux of the Sicele, favors us with a long article, based upon a letter which he has received from a distinguished American friend – (Mr. Dudley Mann is a distinguished friend of M. Lamaroux –in which he maintains the doctrine that France and England never desired to act, never can, nor never will act in concert against the United States. It is no part of the objects of their alliance, and the United States need have no fear of such an event. We accept M. Lamaroux’s assurances, as far as it goes. The Sicele, in another article, stigmatizes

⁵ “Mann, Ambrose Dudley, born at Hanover Court House, Virginia, April 26, 1801; after preparatory studies he became a cadet at the United States Military Academy, but deciding upon the legal profession for his life work, resigned from that institution; in 1842 he received the appointment of United States consul to Bremen, Germany, from President Tyler, three year later negotiated commercial treaties with Hanover, Oldenburg and Mecklenburg, and in 1847 with all the other German provinces except Prussia; in 1849 he was appointed United States commissioner to Hungary, from 1850 to 1854 served as United States minister to Switzerland by appointment of President Fillmore, and he negotiated a reciprocal treaty with that republic; from 1854 to 1856 he served in the capacity of assistant secretary of state of Virginia, and was sent to Europe by the Confederate government on a special mission to England and France for the accomplishment of which he was soon after jointed by James M. Mason and John Slidell; he made his home in France after the fall of the Confederacy, and he devoted the remaining years of his life to the

it as monstrous and unnatural, that the United States could go to war with England and France as an ally of Russia.” (New York Times, Dec. 15, 1855)

January 14, 1856

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote William Henry Seward the following:

“Fishkill Landing
January 14, 1856

My dear Sir

The enclosed ___ and appropriate quotations may have escaped your notice. They will serve to pass an idle moment (if you even have one) and perhaps amuse some genial friend.

Very truly yours

A H Schultz

Hon W H Seward”

April 16, 1856

“Declaration Respecting Maritime Law. Paris, 16 April 1856.

The Plenipotentiaries who signed the Treaty of Paris of the thirtieth of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, assembled in Conference,

Considering:

That maritime law, in time of war, has long been the subject of deplorable disputes;

That the uncertainty of the law and of the duties in such a matter, gives rise to differences of opinion between neutrals and belligerents which may occasion serious difficulties, and even conflicts;

That it is consequently advantageous to establish a uniform doctrine on so important a point;

That the Plenipotentiaries assembled in Congress at Paris cannot better respond to the intentions by which their Governments are animated, than by

seeking to introduce into international relations fixed principles in this respect;

The above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries, being duly authorized, resolved to concert among themselves as to the means of attaining this object; and, having come to an agreement, have adopted the following solemn Declaration:

1. Privateering is, and remains, abolished;
2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war;
3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag;
4. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective, that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

The Governments of the undersigned Plenipotentiaries engage to bring the present Declaration to the knowledge of the States which have not taken part in the Congress of Paris, and to invite them to accede to it.

Convinced that the maxims which they now proclaim cannot but be received with gratitude by the whole world, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries doubt not that the efforts of their Governments to obtain the general adoption thereof, will be crowned with full success.

The present Declaration is not and shall not be binding, except between those Powers who have acceded, or shall accede, to it.

Done at Paris, the sixteenth of April, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.”

April 24, 1856

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote William Henry Seward:

“New York April 24th 1856

Dear Sir

Ten or twelve years ago, perhaps longer = by an act of Congress Robert L Stevens was authorized to construct a 'Steam Battery' to protect the harbor of New York, and an appropriate of 250,000 Dolls made at the same time to commence with – very little was done however for several years – since then 450,000 dolls – making a million in all – has been paid to Mr Stevens, and the Battery is perhaps half completed.

An application is now before Congress for another sum of \$250,000 and as neither Congress, the Navy Department, or the Naval Bureau ever had any knowledge of the plans of Mr Stevens during his lifetime, his recent decease seems an appropriate time for Government to acquire that information so long withheld and who (if any person) is in possession of sufficient knowledge of the plans and calculations of Mr Stevens to complete the work at what cost, the length of time required, and such other information as will enable Congress to act understandingly in making, or withholding future appropriations.

Mr Edwin A Stevens probably has a better knowledge of his deceased brothers plans, calculations, and genius, than any other person, and as a gentleman of the highest respectability, the nicest sense of honor, and ample responsibility any statement he may make should be received as correct in every particular.

Senator John R Thompson of N.J. is the personal & political friend of the Messrs Stevens.

Very Respectfully

A H Schultz

Hon W H Seward”

April 27, 1856

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote William Henry Seward:

“Fishkill Landing
April 27th 1856

My Dear Sir

If Mr Weed has forgotten to hand you a memorandum relative to “Stevens Steam Battery” at Hoboken please ask him for it. I had forgotten to say that Mr Secretary Bancroft sternly refused during his term of office to advance any money to Mr Stevens – a correct history of the whole affair cannot I think be obtained, still by enquiries at the Navy or Treasury departments information enough to be a resolution upon my be gathered.

Very Truly Yours,

A H Schultz

Hon W. H. Seward”

May 2, 1856

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote William Henry Seward:

“Fishkill Landing
May 2d

For reasons political that Col Bowen understands perhaps it were as well not to act immediately in regard to the Stevens Battery – the Col will be in Washington on Monday.

Very Sincerely
Yours

A H Schultz”

May 5, 1856

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote William Henry Seward the following:

“Fishkill Landing

May 5th 1856

My Dear Sir

Please accept my thanks for the 3 volumes you were kind enough to send me last week, also for the five packages of franked materials which I shall make more excellent use of = I direct some five and _____ daily to just that class of acquaintances who need them, and who will be gratified to receive them from you – I can use still more to advantage.

Very truly yours

A H Schultz

Hon W. H. Seward”

May 7, 1856

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote William Henry Seward:

“Fishkill Landing
May 7th 1856

My Dear Sir

Please send me a few more packages of franked speeches. My acquaintances is quite extensive, and I know pretty well who ought to receive them to enable them to talk understandingly – who will profit by reading – and who will be gratified by the compliment and consideration – after addressing them I wrap them in a handkerchief and quietly drop them in the NY P. Office – and several of my near neighbors have told me of your remembrance of them & &.

Truly yours,

A H Schultz”

May 22, 1856

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote William Henry Seward:

“Fishkill Landing
May 22d 1856

My Dear Sir

I had just completed the distribution of the last of my stock when my daughter laid on my desk two packages rec'd by this Evenings Mail for which I thank you, as I wanted them and half a dozen more for Westchester Co.

My nephew B. Lloyd James and his brother of the house of “Thomas Richardson & Co” Phila have requested me repeatedly to express their thanks for your kindness and attention to the former while on a hasty business recently to Washington.

They are fine young men and devoted to the cause of freedom.

Truly yours,

A H Schultz

Hon W H Seward”

July 4, 1856

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes to
William Henry Seward

“Fishkill Landing
July 4th 1856

My Dear Sir

Let them say what they please about New York, being “all right.” it is not so, and will not be _____ unless the designer and builder of the _____ “Republicans” jumps on board and pilots her safely in Port - Many thousand Whigs are as yet unprepared to vote for (what they consider) a Democratic President - the chagrin and disappointment of so many of your friends causes an apathy and indifference than nothing can dispel but a speech from you at Poughkeepsie or some other central part of the State. You can rally the

masses that have stood by you with such singular fidelity - no other person can - I merely state facts for I confess to the same indifference.

Very truly yours,

A H Schultz

Hon. W. H. Seward.”

August 21, 1856

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes to
William Henry Seward

“Fishkill Landing
Aug 21 1856

My Dear Sir

If you have not already left for your _____ and voyage to Halifax would it not be well to reconsider the matter – something I know you may seldom do in affairs political – The transition from the warm climate of Washington, where you have resided the last nine months, to the cold North Easterly Storms of Nova Scotia will be too severe for your constitution.

A cruise however in one of our fine pilot boats to the edge of the Gulf Stream and as far north as Nantucket would be in my opinion of great service to you as now I learn with deep regret from those who have seen you lately that you are far from well – Such incessant labors and constant vigilance in _____ of right and liberty with such a huge majority always to contend against as you have – is enough, in such an enervating atmosphere to break down stronger constitutions than you possess.

If you have any idea of adopting my idea of a pilot boat cruise please let me know and I will make all arrangements for you & your friends

Truly yours

A H Schultz

Hon W H Seward.”

October 17, 1856

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes to
William Henry Seward

“Fishkill Landing
Oct 17th 56

My Dear Sir

I regret to hear that you are to speak at Cooperstown – I have strong reasons for wishing you would not – there is no rail road line on the route, and you are too feeble to expose yourself to a stage journey at this time of year –

Of course you will speak at Auburn – but I hope no where else the next three weeks.

Very sincerely yours,

A H Schultz

Hon W H Seward
Auburn”

October 1856

“With the co-operation of the slaveholding States, if it can be secured, I propose to establish, in conjunction with certain associates to hereafter designated, a Weekly Iron Steamship Ferry Line between the Chesapeake Bay and Milford Haven.

* * *

In the vicinity of this metropolis, opposite Greenwich, an iron steamship is in the course of construction, which will eventuate in effecting as complete an amelioration on the ocean as the locomotive has effected on land. She is, on account of her tremendous proportions, the marvel of navigators and mariners; and predictions are more abundant, in all circles, that she is to result in an entire failure, than they were with respect to the *Great Western*. But the projector, Mr. Brunel, the same favored child of science who projected the *Great Western*, is quite as confident that he will

attain his noble aims in the present instance, as he was that the performance of his former endeared bantling would confound and overwhelm even philosophers and savants. As it is in contemplation to construct four vessels similar to the mammoth one referred to, for the Atlantic Steam Ferry Line, it may not be out of place here to give a short description of her.

The *Great Eastern* (for, although she is not formally named, it is understood that the ‘big ship’ is to be so called) will have employed in her construction, when completed – including engines, anchors, and cables, no less than twelve thousand tons of iron. Her deck over all is six hundred and ninety-two feet long; its breadth eighty-five feet, and across the paddle-boxes one hundred and fourteen. Her depth is fifty-eight feet. Her measurement is twenty-seven thousand five hundred tons. She will carry eight hundred first-class passengers, two thousand second-class, and twelve hundred third-class, besides her officers and crew, amounting to four hundred. She will also carry seventeen thousand five hundred tons cargo, and so freighted, it is believed that she may be propelled across the Atlantic at the rate of from seventeen to twenty miles an hour. Thus, even the minimum rate of speed would take her from the Chesapeake bay to Milford Haven in less than eight days; and the maximum rate in less than six and a half.

The *Great Eastern* is so built that, by a singular combination of ribs and webs, she is nearly as strong as though she were a solid block of forged iron. She is double-planked throughout – the inner skin three quarters of an inch thick, and the outer one an inch. The planks, of iron, employ no less than three millions of rivets, of an inch diameter, to confine them to their places. She is divided into ten large perfectly water-tight compartments of sixty feet in length, either of which would float her in case of serious accident to the others.

* * *

By means of such an undertaking as that of the Atlantic Steam Ferry Line, no stretch of the imagination is required to foretell that the Chesapeake Bay would be the mart of the largest travel and transportation of industrial products ever known. From thence they would radiate in every direction, to the benefit of all who came within the sphere of their movement. The gold of California and Australia, the silver of Mexico, the mails from every civilized part of the globe, would also concentrate there for distribution and expedition to their respective destinations. Neither ice nor snow would ever suspend communications for a day, on the direct line.

* * *

While at least three-fourths of the value of the products shipped from the Union to foreign markets are of slaveholding States' origin, scarcely a fiftieth part of this amount, if I am not misled by statements before me, is carried in bottoms owned by citizens of those States. The non-slaveholding States of the North, chiefly the more rabid national demoralizers of them, not only monopolize to a great extent the coastwise carrying of the slaveholding States, but they are protected against the participation of foreign ships in that carrying. It is not enough for the North that foreign vessels may not carry between New Orleans and Baltimore, but Massachusetts, Maine, &c., are so exacting as to require, that no foreign vessel shall be allowed to be *purchased* and *naturalized* so as to carry from a Southern port to a foreign one. Under such laws were it desirable to buy the *Great Eastern* for the proposed Atlantic Steam Ferry Line, a special Act of Congress would have to be passed before she could receive an American register. This species of *protection* has profited immensely the ship-building and navigation interest of New York and New England. Heretofore it has been tacitly submitted to by the slaveholding States, but, as is now evident, in *too broad a spirit* of national generosity, since for the 'bread' given a 'stone' is returned. By this spirit, proud of our growing navigation, I have been actuated until recently myself. But if Northern

navigation and Northern shipbuilding are to affiliate with Northern free-soilism and Northern abolitionism in their unwarrantable crusade against the Constitution and the slaveholding States, they become so anti-national, that I can feel no deeper interest in the one or other than I entertain for the navigation and ship-building of any foreign Power or State.

* * *

In a military point of view, four such steamships as the Great Eastern would be of inestimable advantage to the United States, if they should ever be needed for active service. The last speck of war, as concerns our own country, is about to disappear from the political horizon. As far as the eye can penetrate the future from this metropolis, there is everything to encourage the hope that we have nothing whatever to apprehend from an external enemy.

* * *

A large steam navy would be to the Union a canker-worm, that would gnaw out, day by day, its very existence. To obviate this, and to render, at the same time, our position secure, we must construct vessels, both for the Atlantic and Pacific, which, while they will carry the OLIVE BRANCH of Commerce in the one hand, will carry in the other the SHEATHED SWORD. There is not a war steamer that floats that could resist such a vessel as the Great Eastern. She would proceed onward with her cargo 'in the even tenor of her way,' and so rapid would be her movement, and invincible her strength, as to enable her to run the most formidable of them down as easily as a Mississippi steamboat would a canoe that attempted to interrupt its progress. (Mann No. 1)

November 10, 1856

"Enterprise for a Weekly Steamship Ferry Run Between Chesapeake Bay and Milford Haven.

Hon. A. Dudley Mann, the late accomplished and talented Assistant Secretary of State, has addressed a letter 'to the citizens of the

Slaveholding States,' in which he announces his purpose, in connection with others, 'a weekly run steamship ferry line between the Chesapeake Bay and Milford Haven.' He described his enterprise and shown its practicality and its great importance in an ably-written pamphlet of thirty pages. The following extracts will enable our readers to form an idea of the great enterprise:

London, Tuesday, Aug. 12, 1856.

To the Citizens of the Slaveholding States.

With your cooperation, if it can be secured, I propose to establish, in connection with certain associates to be hereafter designated, a Weekly Iron Steamship Ferry Line between Chesapeake Bay and Milford Haven. The distance by the southern route from the one to the other of those w_____ is about _____ miles—shorter by least 100 miles than that at present traversed by the American steamers from New-York to Liverpool. The route is entirely free from the dangers incident to coastwise navigation and icebergs.

The town of Milford is situated one hundred and twenty miles southward and westward of Liverpool, one hundred miles westward of Bristol, and two hundred and seventy miles westward of London. It is connected with each by railway, with the exception of a space of three miles, which will be completed next Spring. To London the line—broad gauge throughout—will be run over by express trains inside of seven hours. To Waterford the distance is seventy miles by water, at which point there is a connection by railway with Cork, Kilkenny, Limerick, Dublin and Belfast. To Havre the distance is about two hundred and twenty-five miles.

It is estimated that all the navies of Europe "ride in safety and swing at their anchors" in Milford Haven. This Haven enjoys in an eminent degree the _____ and requisites for rendering the town of Milford the _____ port of Europe. It has length and breadth of com_____, deep water and good bottom, facility of ingress and egress, and secure shelter. But, notwithstanding the this

unsurpassed combination of advantages, it has been comparatively valueless heretofore to the commercial world on account of being shut out from internal communication with the metropolis and manufacturing districts of the British realm.

Like Milford Haven, the worth of the Chesapeake Bay has never been properly appreciated, except for national purposes. Commercially, no peculiar benefits have been derived from its excellent qualities as a haven, and its easy approach from the ocean. But, happily, for several years railways proceeding from the confines of the South, Southwest, West, and Northwest, connecting one with another, and encircling and embracing all the cities and principal towns, have been steadily and resolutely forcing their passage over and through the impediments which obstructed their progress, and are now in so advanced a state as to give a reasonable assurance that in a year or two they will converge, completed, upon its Virginia shore. By such communication, assisted by canals and rivers, will be conveyed for transportation to foreign countries, as soon as the proposed Atlantic Steam Ferry Line is established, a part of the cotton of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Florida, and Texas; the tobacco, wheat, and corn of Virginia, Tennessee, Maryland, and Delaware; the pork, bacon, lard, and tobacco of Kentucky and Missouri; the rice of South Carolina; and the resin and turpentine of North Carolina. Nor is it improbable that Pennsylvania, to say nothing of other non-slaveholding States, will avail herself of it for conducting a lucrative traffic at home and abroad. The waters of her great coastal artery meet and commingle with those of the South in the Chesapeake Bay, and her varied interests, strengthened by her _____ devotion to the Constitution, unite her in bonds of indissolvability with her Southern sisters.

The question has probably been millions of times asked, or turned over in relenting minds, Why—with respect to one and the other—was Providence so prodigal of ___ favors to the

Chesapeake Bay and Milford Haven? The answer seems at last to be satisfactorily furnished. As if by some _____, the locomotive is about to visit each, taking with it the valuable products of the populous and rich interior _____ quick and cheap plan of ocean conveyance for those products to their consumers; for it must be distinctly observed that in no other water _____ of the magnitude of the Great Eastern, and of her immense capacity for carrying, _____ . It is almost needless to remark that, with all that steam has so beneficially accomplished on the ocean, it has done but little in transporting any of the _____ .

What point on the Chesapeake Bay has been selected for the Atlantic steam ferry _____ yet be determined. It will, however, assuredly be that which, in all respects, is most suitable; and there, without necessarily building up a populous city. _____ In like manner, Milford Haven will become the storehouse of American products, which products will be conveyed at low rates and expeditiously, to every part of Europe. As if in anticipation of this, an Anglo-French company is in the course _____ of constructing a large number of steamers to engage in the European _____ trade.

The distance, as has been stated, between Milford Haven and Chesapeake Bay, is 3___ miles. The _____ would be as frequently under seven days as over seven by the ferry line. From the Chesapeake to the Pacific, the travel, as soon as the connecting railways shall have been completed, will be easily performed in five days; and from thence to Melbourne in sixteen days. Thus there would be a diminution of six days upon the contemplated ____ of the Great Eastern. Travelers engaged in commercial pursuits would, consequently, chose the American route for its expedition, as would the mere pleasure-seeker, for the interesting and diversified scenes which it

would present to his view. And still greater than to Australia would be the diminution in time from Europe, by the American _____, to Southern China, Japan, &c. The _____ of Suez and the Red Sea would be measurably abandoned, and San Francisco would become the great central rendezvous for Europeans and others voyaging to and from the East _____ would be brought within _____ days of London and within twelve of the Chesapeake Bay, which time would be again shortened five days if ever the _____ railroad should be made.

By means of such an undertaking as that of the Atlantic Steam Ferry Line, no stretch of the imagination is required for foretell that the Chesapeake Bay would be the heart of the largest _____ and transportation of industrial product known. From _____ they would radiate in every direction, to the benefit of all who came within the sphere of their movement. The gold of California and Australia, the silver of Mexico, and mails from every civilized part of the globe, would also concentrate there for distribution and expedition to their respective destinations. Neither ice nor snow would ever suspend communication for a day, on the direct line.

Four such vessels as the Great Eastern, departing weekly from the Chesapeake Bay, would convey to Milford Haven in a year, 1,250,000 bales of cotton, or more than their equivalent in weight in a less bulky article. An opinion cannot be formed at this time, without any degree of accuracy, as to what length of distance ponderous articles would bear transportation on railroad to the Chesapeake Bay, with the certainty of conveyance across the Atlantic in seven or eight days, at unprecedented low rates. It was estimated that, on account of the suspension of navigation by unusual low water in the rivers of the slaveholding States during the latter part of 1854 and the early part of 1855, the producers of cotton and other staples of exportation experienced a clear loss of at least \$20,000,000. Cotton might possibly travel to the Chesapeake Bay, to avail of the advantages there offered for its speedy transit to Europe, from as remote a region as

the interior of Texas. So with other articles. Should this transpire, there are, doubtless, those who have advanced to the meridian of life who will not have passed away from earth without seeing a daily instead of the proposed weekly, Ocean Ferry Line in successful operation.

The idea of connecting the Chesapeake Bay with speedy steam communication with a port facing it in Europe, has been cherished by me for the last thirteen years. But I had fears that such an enterprise would not be remunerating, inasmuch as the fuel consumed by steamships which make quick passages weighed them down to such a depth as to prevent them from carrying cargo to a greater than a mere nominal extent. This is the case with all that has been running to the present time. When I heard that the father of Atlantic steam navigation had arranged his plan of the 'big ship,' I fancied that I beheld the proximate realization of my hopes for the glorious future of the slave-holding States—in one of which I drew my first breath, and in which, I trust, I may be permitted to draw my last—and I was seized with an unrelaxing solicitude to examine her gigantic proportions. The petty employments of petty office became as tedious to me 'as a twice-told tale;' and after a number of vexatious efforts to be relieved of them I finally succeeded in getting the President to accept of my resignation on the 8th of May, 1855. Quitting Washington soon afterwards, and tarrying nearly a month in Richmond, Norfolk, Old Point, Comfort, and other places on the James river and Chesapeake bay, and a few weeks in New-York, I embarked for Liverpool late in July, and in August found myself with a friend, at Millwall, in the presence of the most interesting object, as far as completed, ever conceived by science—an object that was essential to inaugurate a revolution in the material and political well-being of the slave-holding States.

In the preceding address it has merely been my object to explain the nature of the proposed enterprise, and its paramount importance to the Slaveholding States. In another communication I shall enter into minute details relative to the manner

of carrying it into successful operation. I will now state, however, that every Southern citizen who chooses may become a co-partner in it; that the shares will be issued for \$100 each; that no person shall be permitted to subscribe for two or more until all shall have had ample time to subscribe for one; and that each Slaveholding State and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to one manager in the concern.

Your friend and countryman,

A. Dudley Mann”
(New York Times, Nov. 10, 1856)

November 28, 1856

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes to
William Henry Seward

“Fishkill Landing
Nov 28th 1856

My Dear Sir

In former years I was a regular New York correspondent of the “Rhinebeck Gazette” a neutral weekly paper – and for the purpose of making the long winter evenings more _____ I have commenced a new series.

I enclose _____ the one of last week – although badly printed and badly punctuated I wish you would read it, the earlier part was intended to introduce the last paragraphs of course.

Truly yours,

A H Schultz

Hon W H Seward”

December 13, 1856

“Southern Commercial Convention – Fourth Day.

Another Meeting to be held in August next –
Dudley Mann’s Steamship Scheme Indorsed –
Debate on Reopening The Slave Trade, etc.

Savannah, Thursday, Dec. 11.

The Southern Commercial Convention reassembled this morning. Mr. De Bow of Louisiana, from the Committee on Business, offered a series of resolutions appointing a meeting of the Convention at Knoxville, Tenn., on the second Monday in August next; indorsing Mr. Dudley Mann's scheme for the establishment of a line of Iron Steam-ferry Boats, of 30,000 tons, to run between Chesapeake Bay and Milford Haven; favoring the introduction of Southern text-books into Southern schools and colleges and the appointment of a committee of distinguished Southern Professors to prepare such works, recommending Southern Legislatures to order the use of said books in Southern schools; recommending the encouragement of books, periodicals and journals in place of Northern publications, and recommending the encouragement of the mining and manufacturing interests of the South. All these resolutions were adopted.

* * *

Much desultory debate pro and con, took place in regard to the opening of the Slave-Trade, and the exclusion of everything of Northern manufacture from the South.

Fifth day.

Savannah, Friday, Dec. 19.

* * *

Resolutions for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the expediency of reopening the slave trade were debated.

Mr. Albert Pike made an eloquent speech for the opposition on the ground of humanity. He hoped the whole world would ultimately be free.

Mr. Baker, of Alabama, replied, and contrasted the condition of society in the North and

the South and drew the conclusion in favor of the latter, and hoped Slavery would always exist.

The resolutions were rejected, by a vote of 24 to 61, the delegates from Alabama, South Carolina, and Texas voting in the affirmative.

* * *

Various resolutions were reported: . . . sympathizing with the Democratic movements in Central America, and the introduction of Slavery there. All adopted.” (New York Times, December 13, 1856)

1857

“Lowber D. C., broker, 98 Magazine”

* * *

“Rost Judge P. A., 63 Victory” (1857, New Orleans Directory)

January 12, 1857

“Dr Sir: Please send the value of the enclosed \$30 in equal proportions of Ground Bones and super-phosphated Guano; to,

Messrs. Swasey & Co.
Care L. L. Hyatt & Co.
Yazoo City, Miss.

Send me an invoice and B. of L. also B. of L. to Hyatt & Co.

I was fortunate enough to procure an immense quantity of cotton seed from a neighbor at a low price, which will be as much manure as I can apply this season – else I should have needed largely of you. Swasey will report to me results of its use.

Tell me of the Engines you have for sale. I shall need one for my Texas place this spring.” (Letter from Thomas Affleck, a wealthy farmer in Washington, Mississippi, to D. C. Lowber of New Orleans)

January 14, 1857

Hamilton Towle, his wife and baby, arrived in Liverpool aboard the Collins line "Baltic."

February 4, 1857

Hamilton Towle and family arrive in Pola, Italy.

February 21, 1857

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes to William Henry Seward

"NY Feb 21

My Dear Sir

This will be handed you by Mr Geo W Coffee StBt Inspector of California who visits Washington in regard to the Bill now before Congress – Mr Coffee will explain his business fully and you may rely upon his practical knowledge of the St Engine. I knew him many years as an Engine builder in this City and know that none are his superior in all that concerns steam boats.

Very

Respectfully Yours,

A H Schultz

Hon W H Seward"

May 2, 1857

"The Great Ship
From the London Times, April 10.

Among the passions which belong to human nature, we may recognize what may be called a passion for size. Those primitive works of fiction which feed the childish imagination appeal very boldly to this passion. They go straight to the point, and create without ceremony men, houses, and lions ten times bigger than actual men, real houses and live lions. But this is not the only quarter in which this appeal is made. Science, with all its gravity, copies fiction here, and appeals to the same passion exactly as the childish fairy tale did. What single ingredient in astronomy, for example, tells more in creating a taste for that science than the enormous distances in which it abounds? The figures which represent the distances of heavenly bodies from us, or the speed with which light, or the speed with which electricity travels have

the same fascination for the scientific than the numbers in the banker's book have for the covetous imagination. The one set of figures constitutes the conventional symbol for space, and the other for wealth.

Whoever wants to feed this natural passion for size in the primitive way, and to see a true giant in its own line must visit the bank of the Thames at Millwall. But before he goes we recommend him, unless he is well versed in the Book of Genesis, to turn to the 6th chapter and refresh his memory as to the dimensions of Noah's Ark and the "fashion" of its making: "The length of the Ark shall be 300 cubits, the breadth of it 50 cubits, and the height of it 30 cubits." So reckoning the cubits at a foot and a half, we have a ship 450 feet long, 75 feet broad and 45 feet high. While the visitor is collecting *data* as to ships, sacred and profane, he may turn out "Mariborough" in the *Navy List*, and there he will see the largest line of battleship in the British Navy us exactly of 4,000 tons burden. And now let him get on board a Greenwich steamer and be steamed through the picturesque Pool to Millwall. Just opposite Deptford he will be aware of something pre-Adamic wallowing in the mud of the Isle of Dogs, a stranded saurian ship, to which even Noah's Ark must yield precedence. And to which all the Marlboroughs, and Wellingtons, and Merrimacs, and Niagaras in the world are mere cockboats. An iron hull of the burden of 23,000 tons, nearly 700 feet long, and 60 feet high will meet his eye- the hull of Mr. Scott Russell's Great Eastern steamship. We must give a few more figures, for every figure is a monster, and worth looking at separately. One is a figure of 30,000- the number of iron plates which compose the enormous erection, each weighing the third of a ton, and each fastened by 100 rivets. The ship will accommodate 4,000 passengers, 800 of whom are first class. On an emergency she could carry 10,000 troops. She will contain 10 boilers, and 100 furnaces. The cylinder of every engine will be six feet in diameter, and will weigh five times as much as the great bell of St. Paul's. The screw propeller will be 24 feet in diameter, and diameter of the paddle wheels will be 56 feet, or considerably larger than the circus at Astley's. The principal suite of saloons will be 400 feet in length and a promenade round the deck will afford a walk of

more than a quarter of a mile. This monster ship will combine steam power in both shapes, screw and paddle, with sailing power. She will carry 11,000 tons of coal, and will be lighted by gas made on board, and the electric light will flicker like St. Elmo's fire at night from her masthead. She will spread 6,500 yards of canvas and her speed is computed at 15 knots or 18 miles an hour, a rate which will perform the voyage to India by the Cape, and to Australia, in little more than a month. Who would not wish to be the captain of this gallant ship?

With these principal figures, then, gone through, let us imagine the Great Eastern afloat, and on her road to Bombay or Melbourne, and with her ordinary complement of passengers on board. The first idea which strikes me is the multitude of faces on board. It will, in fact, be a whole town afloat, and much more than a town of 4,000 population, because it will be a floating town of 4,000 grown-up persons, at least with comparatively few exceptions, each of them being what is called an "individual"- by which we mean a human being of size to command notice, and having to appearance, at least, a mind and will of his own, together with a formed air, tone and manner particular to himself. In this sense even young ladies are individuals. All this crowd of individualities will be collected within the dimension of 700 feet by 60. What a new shape of human society! Take the 800 first-class passengers by themselves, and what room does even this number afford for the formation of all kinds of different circles and sets, which will know nothing of each other, one man only just knowing another by sight and hardly that! How many immeasurable social chasms will be collected within a few hundred feet. How many Mr. Smiths will be those who will not speak to Mr. Jones during the whole voyage because he is not in the same set? How many Mr. Joneses will pay back Mr. Smith in the same coin? Between how many "nice" young ladies and "proper" young gentlemen will there not be a great gulf fixed, because in the eyes of anxious mothers the said young gentlemen are not desirable persons, but mere penniless bipeds! What flirtations will there not be behind boats, what rivalries and, if many Americans voyage by the Great Eastern, what duellings may we not expect on

that ample deck! In short, what an epitome or camera-obscura of the world will the Great Eastern present! It will be worth an aspiring novelist's while to take his berth to Australia or India and back again, simply for the great convenience of having so much human nature brought before him within so small a compass. It will be the mountain brought to Mahomet, the world condensing itself before his eyes, for the sake of being observed and examined. The rapid succession of faces will bewilder him at first, but individuality will come out in time, though he must be sharp about his work, otherwise the Great Eastern will have stopped her screw and paddles before he has got any results. If his material is enlarged, his times is much curtailed on the new system. Farewell to long voyages, with their appropriate quarrels and matches- their lovemaking, jilting, reconciliation and irrevocable unions- voyage life has entered another phase. For what is a month? It is gone before we begin to think about its going. How will the old voyages look back to the romantic days when a roomful of persons were their own company for four months, gradually forming enmities or friendships, when attachments rose up among "young people" unconsciously and by the mere passive influence of the scene? We are growing a busier nation every year and cannot afford more time for more than one chapter of this sea romance.

But we must not let the appeal to imagination supersede the real practical result of the grand experiment of the Great Eastern. The poet, as he surveyed this vast sublunary scene of restless industry and adventure, was struck by nothing so much as the triumph of man over the sea. He expresses himself as more than struck,- as *shocked*.

'Nequicquarn Deus abscedit
 Prudues Oceano dissciacibili
 Terras, si tamen impise
 Non tangenda rates tranailinant vadn.'

He argued that the sea was a providential appointment, and that it was impious in man to struggle against it,--he had no right to unite what God had separated, and connect land with land when the Divine power had inserted water between. We have long seen the weakness of this argument, and arrived

at a much better doctrine of final causes than this. But, if any one wants to see a good finishing blow given to the Horatian argument,--at least on the *Solvitur ambulando* principle,--he may see it given by the Great Eastern. That mighty fabric indeed does not talk, but it acts,--its act being a month's voyage to India or to Australia. That act, while it is a speechless, is at the same time the most powerful answer, that the religious scruples of the awe-struck poet could receive. A reflecting mind will see in such a voyage a much more natural, proper, wise and obedient fulfillment of the designs of Providence than any timid self-confinement and servile deference to a barrier of nature would have been. It will appear that the sea was made to alternate with the dry land, not that continents might be disconnected, but that man should have the opportunity of exerting his skill and invention in connecting them. The result of this great experiment in shipbuilding, if it answers, of which there is little or no doubt, will be a consolidation of the British Empire such as we have not yet seen. Half of the space which separates the various sections of it from the mother country and from each other will be annihilated. Our colonies will be brought comparatively close to us, and, what is almost of as much importance as the actual vicinity gained, they will be more than twice as near to us in imagination. The difference between a month's voyage and two or three months is all the difference to the imagination. We think of a place as within reach, and within a home distance, if it is only 'a month off.' The whole Empire is thus brought into a home compass, and obtains the addition of strength which so much greater union gives. We shall find ourselves paying visits to and receiving visits from India and Australia. Our friends will come over for the summer with return tickets, and the British Empire will become, in virtual compass, a province." (New York Times, May 2, 1857 – Also, Littell's Living Age. Second Series, Vol. XVII April, May, June 1857)

“depth was limited by the wish to enter the Hooghly River at Calcutta.” (*Isambard Kingdom Brunel – Fame and Fate* – Science Museum, London)

May 16, 1857

“I have made several efforts lately to get off for a day; but Phil has such a run away habit that he

always defeats my end. He is off again to-day, and he has not been at his post a full day in the past two weeks. He never remains here more than a few hours. His father & Gen'l Campbell have gone to see the *Great Eastern* – Brunel's Ship, and the bait was too tempting not to be nibbled by Phil.”
(Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1857)

May 17, 1857

“A beautiful day. I walked up to the Legation in the morning and saw Mr. Dallas & son. We had a brief conversation about the Great Eastern, which he had visited the day before; and he expressed his belief that she would prove a failure.”
(Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1857)

June 10, 1857

“Virginia.
Bristol Convention—Direct Trade with Europe—
Commissioner to be Sent to England—Great
Interest and Excitement.
Correspondence of the New York Daily Times.
Virginia, Friday, June 5, 1857.

The Railroad and Commercial Convention of Virginia met at Bristol, according to appointment. The same became organized by the election of Hon. Francis Mallory, of Norfolk, as President, and Messrs. A.K. Moore, editor of the *Bristol News*, C. W. Button, of the *Lynchburg Virginian*, and R. G. Broughton, of the *Norfolk Herald*, as Secretaries.

Delegations were in attendance representing the following Internal Improvement Companies: Norfolk and Petersburg, Petersburg and Lynchburg, or South Side, Virginia and Tennessee, Virginia and Kentucky, East Tennessee and Virginia, Cincinnati, Cumberland Gap and Charleston, Northeast and Southwest Alabama, Orange and Alexandria, Virginia Central, Alexandria, London and Hampshire, Manassas Gap and the Richmond and Danville Railroad Companies.

Nearly every railroad interest in Virginia was represented in this Convention, besides some other connecting lines outside the limits of the State, together with a delegation from the city of

Petersburg and the town of Bristol. Great excitement prevails at this time all over the State in regard to direct trade. More interest is felt on this subject now than was ever before exhibited by the people of Virginia. It is the fixed and certain determination of Virginians to accomplish this important end, if possible. The first practical step ever taken was the holding of this Convention and the business it transacted. They not only adopted resolutions, but appointed a commission to England. The expenses attending this mission will be borne by each of the railroad companies, in proportion to the length of their respective lines.

After the meeting became organized, a Committee of eleven were appointed to prepare resolutions for the Convention, which took a recess in order to allow time to the Committee to make their report. The following are the resolutions of the Bristol Convention, held on the 3d:

Resolved, That Virginia possesses the associated and industrial wealth, capital and resources that enable her to fulfill without oppressive exactions or unreasonable burdens on any, all the obligations that rest upon her, and accomplish and perfect all her great systems of public policy. That it is alike the dictate of wisdom, honor, security and patriotism, that the important and leading lines of inter-communication now in progress and unfinished within her borders, should be steadily and liberally supported with all the means for their perfect and entire completion.

Resolved, That no work of internal improvement designed for the transportation of heavy tonnage and produce from the Interior to the seaboard is or can be regarded as complete or finished, until the means are afforded for direct trade from the Chesapeake and its waters to Europe.

Resolved, That the natural and artificial lines of trade which are now in use and operation among us, engaged in the transportation of an amount of domestic commodities and productions, and of foreign articles of commerce and trade, are already

sufficient to maintain a line of first class steamships; and that the associated public and individual wealth and power of Virginia can readily supply the means necessary for such a line.

Resolved, That fairness and justice demand that the Federal Government shall extend like facilities and advantages in the transportation of the mail by the proposed lines as it has heretofore extended to other lines of ocean steamers.

Resolved, That the works of internal improvements now in progress will derive great benefit and facilities in their construction and rapid completion from the establishment of the proposed line of steamships, which will add incalculably to the productions and trade already requiring direct lines of communication with foreign markets.

Resolved, That in view of the objects above indicated, a Commissioner to visit Europe for the purpose of disseminating correct information in that country as to the financial and industrial condition and resources of Virginia, and also to place prominently before the commercial men abroad the advantages which must follow a direct trade with us on the completion of that extended system of improvements, now so nearly accomplished, and which when consummated will connect our seaports with the great producing and consuming country stretching from the Chesapeake to and beyond the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, by the shortest and cheapest lines of intercommunication between the East and the West.

Resolved, That our Commissioner be directed more especially to confer with parties abroad in reference to the speedy establishment of a suitable line or lines of steamers between the waters of Virginia and Europe, and that he be also requested to place himself in correspondence with the managers and proprietors of the great Eastern Steamship Company, and report to the President of this Convention whether or not the vessels of that Company are likely to promote the objects of this Convention.

Resolved, That the Commissioner be authorized to say, on our behalf, that we are not merely sensible of the importance of this trade, but we are unalterably determined to establish and maintain it upon a permanent basis, and he can assure those disposed to connect themselves with us that such an enterprise will receive that support from the people of Virginia and the other States here represented which its importance commercially and politically so imperatively demands.

Resolved, That the expenses attending this commission should be borne by the Railroad Companies of the State who feel interested in the subject, in proportion to the lengths of their several lines; and that those who feel authorized to do so now pledge themselves to that effect on behalf of their several Companies, and that others differently situated be requested to take immediate action to that end.

Resolved, That we invite the cooperation of such portions of our country and such other lines of improvement, together with the commercial communities in our State who may have an interest with us, in establishing a line or lines of ocean steamers.

These resolutions were sustained in animated and able speeches by Mr. F. B. Deane, of Lynchburg, and Hon. Wm. B. Preston, of Montgomery, Virginia, and unanimously adopted.

On motion, Hon. William Ballard Preston was nominated and elected as Commissioner to Europe, in accordance with the foregoing resolutions.

The Convention determined that a copy of its proceedings should be sent to the President of every Railroad Company in the State, including those of other States whose improvements may connect with ours. It furthermore resolved, that the several Railroad and Canal Companies of this State be requested to appoint delegates to meet in the City

of Richmond on the Tuesday after the first Monday in December next to further the objects of this Convention, and to consider any subjects of common interest to those Companies.

On motion, John R. McDaniel, President of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad Company, was appointed the Financial Agent, to assess the different Railroad Companies with the amount of their apportionment towards defraying the expenses of the Commissioner to Europe.

A resolution was adopted that when the President of this Convention convenes its again, it shall meet in Norfolk.

* * *

CATO.” (New York Daily Times, June 10, 1857)

June 27, 1857

“Destination of the ‘Great Eastern.’

As the time appointed for launching the mammoth steamship *Great Eastern* approaches, it becomes a matter of interest to know at what American port she will terminate her first voyage across the Atlantic. There are but few of our seaports that have a depth and expanse of water sufficient to accommodate ‘this Triton of the Minnows.’ Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore are out of the question and this fact has encouraged some of our smaller ports to compete for the honor of welcoming the monster ship, on her first visit to America. The rural districts, bordering on the seashore, from away Down East to the Capes of Old Virginia, are greatly excited in the matter; and are discovering their own wonderful excellences and advantages, with an ease that astonishes themselves and greatly amuses their neighbors. The ecstatic Governor of Virginia is firmly persuaded that Norfolk is the only suitable harbor for the ship on the American Coast; while the cool Yankees of Portland, in the State of Maine, ‘rayther guess’ she’ll have to tie up there ‘anyhow’—since there is no harbor as deep as Portland harbor. As the season advances, we shall probably have an analysis of

Holmes' Hole, and other provincial bays that boast of deep channels or good anchorages, and whose people are impressed with the idea that all which a monster ship, like the *Great Eastern*, requires in her port of destination is ample room and verge enough to float safely when she gets in, and to turn around easily when she wants to get out.

In regard to this competition, which has long been vexing our neighbors East and South, New-York has, up to the present time, preserved a 'masterly inactivity,' which is characteristic of her commercial greatness. The citizens of New-York have felt that, if the owners of the *Great Eastern* are influenced by those motives of gain which influence other men embarking in great commercial enterprises, they will send their ship to that port (capable of receiving her) where she can make the most money. The ship must seek a port that can furnish business for her—business sufficient to pay her expenses, and leave a reasonable profit for her owners. Looking at the matter in this light, it must be allowed that New-York, as the commercial metropolis of America, is the only proper destination of the *Great Eastern*.

Those who have invited the *Great Eastern* to other ports, have been careful to state, that the ship cannot enter this port because the water on Sandy Hook bar, which is twenty-three feet deep at low tide and twenty-seven feet at high tide, is too shallow for her draught. The statement is true if the ship will draw, as is said, thirty feet with her coals and cargo aboard, and twenty-six feet without them.

But, unfortunately for the effect of these statements, the ship channel by Sandy Hook is not the only entrance from the sea to our harbor. There is another entrance by way of Long Island Sound, which has entirely escaped the notice of our anxious friends in Norfolk and Portland. By this entrance the shallowest water in any part of the channel is twenty-eight feet at low tide, and the Spring-tides rising eight feet, give a sufficient depth, even on these shallows, to accommodate the *Great Eastern*, with all her coals and cargo aboard. A ship entering

the Sound, between Montauk Point and Block Island, has an average depth, in the channel of over one hundred feet, all the way up to the Narrows, at Fort Schuyler, is which twenty miles from the Battery. The chart of the Soundings made by the Coast Survey gives a depth of eighty-six feet in mid-channel off Fort Schuyler. From this point, approaching the City, the mid-channel soundings on the chart vary from 39 feet up to 179 feet, until we come to the point of Astoria, where, in one spot, 32 feet is given at low tide. The natural landing-place of the *Great Eastern*, entering our port by this channel, will be at Morris' Wharf, near the foot of One Hundred and Sixth-street. The shallowest water at this wharf is thirty-two feet at low tide. Were the channel through Hell Gate improved, by removing certain rocks, and regulating the currents in accordance with the plan proposed by the Coast Survey, and by our late Board of Harbor Commissioners, the *Great Eastern* could easily pass up into the East River, through the channel on the westerly side of Blackwell's Island, where the soundings range from fifty feet to eight-one feet at low tide.

The extreme length of the *Great Eastern* is 680 feet. The wharf at Point Morris is 600 feet long, and will therefore furnish ample room for loading and discharging the ship. From the wharf a railroad-track runs up to the Harlem Road, furnishing direct railroad communication with the lower part of the City for one shilling; and, by the connections of the Harlem Road with all the large cities of New-England, Canada and the West, at a less expense than they can be reached from Portland. Why, then, should any one believe that the *Great Eastern* must go to Norfolk or to Portland to find moorings?

We have lately become accustomed to large ships. We have talked about the *Niagara*, the *Persia*, the *Vanderbilt*, and the *Adriatic* as large ships; but a comparison of their dimensions, which we annex, with the dimensions of the *Great Eastern*, shows the latter to be the real 'Triton of the minnows'—the great ship of all ships—fit only to

find her destination in the harbor of the great Metropolis:

	Length	Breadth	Depth.
Vanderbilt.....	335 feet.	49 feet.	33 feet.
Niagara	345feet.	55 feet.	31 feet.
Adriatic	354 feet.	50 feet.	33 feet.
Persia.....	390 feet.	45 feet.	32 feet.
Great Eastern.....	684 feet.	86 feet.	70 feet.

It is said that this monster ship will be able to stow 10,000 tons of coal and 5,000 tons of freights, and will at the same time accommodate 20,000 passengers, including 4,000 first-class passengers. Where, but in the port of New-York, can such a ship find business enough to pay her expenses?" (New York Daily Times, June 27, 1857) "America.

August 12, 1857

[A summary of the following, received by electric telegraph, appeared in our second edition of yesterday:--]

SOUTHAMPTON, Tuesday

The United States' mail steamship Vanderbilt, Captain Edward Higgins (late commander of the Hermann), arrived at Cowes this morning with advices from New York to the 1st inst. The Vanderbilt left her dock at 12:20 p.m., on the 1st, passed Sandy Hook at 2 20 p.m., arrived at the Needles at 1 15 this morning, waited two hours and a half for a pilot, and arrived at Cowes at 6 a.m. This is, we believe, the quickest voyage from New York on record.

* * *

The *New York Herald* of the 1st inst. publishes a full report of the first day's proceedings at a convention held at Old Point, Virginia, in aid of Mr. Dudley Mann's proposed Atlantic steam-ferry. The proposal is to run four steamers of 20,000 tons each between Milford Haven and Chesapeake Bay, the capital to be raised in shares of \$100 each, and no person to be allowed to hold more than one share. Delegates were present at the convention from Maryland, Washington, Tennessee, North

Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, and Texas. John Tyler, senator, was the president. Letters were read from all the members of the Cabinet, Lieutenant Maury, and others, strongly endorsing the plan. By telegraph from Washington, on the 31st, we learn that on the second day a series of eight resolutions were passed, delegating Mr. Dudley Mann to convey the sentiments of the convention to the Knoxville convention, and also to take charge of the correspondence concerning the proposed ocean ferry. The general tenour of the resolutions was warmly in favour of the project. The subscription committee reported that \$8,000 had been subscribed on the spot.” (London *Times*, Aug. 12, 1857)

August 15, 1857

“As Mr. Dallas is away all persons come to me. Hon. W. Ballard Preston, Sec. of Navy under Gen’l Taylor called to pay his respects, and I gave him all attention. He is a rather heavy minded man of more than ordinary brain, somewhat sage, and susceptible of the beauties of nature. I soon discovered that he had the wisdom to keep guard over his tongue. He is here as agent from the Southern Convention to induce the Great Eastern to visit Norfolk, and may be called Ambassador to Europe to carry out Dudley Mann’s insane project. Probably his dullness was owing to deafness and the turmoil of London on a first visit.” (Benjamin Moran, *Journal of My Life in the Diplomatic Service of the United States in London 1857*)

September 9, 1857

“Altho’ wet nearly all day I have had several visitors and among them Hon. W. Ballard Preston. This gentleman has been into Wales, but he does not seem to think much of the country beyond Oxford. I suspect he finds the Dudley Mann project for an Atlantic Steamship ferry somewhat uncertain of success.” (Benjamin Moran, *Journal of My Life in the Diplomatic Service of the United States in London 1857*)

September 20, 1857

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes to
William Henry Seward

“Fishkill Landing
Sept 20th 1857

My Dear Sir

I read with much pleasure your log of a cruise to Labrador and last evening when one of the family was reading the paragraph foreshadowing the future greatness of a new republic and a free one, on the North Bank of us I was looking at your bust which graces our library – and thinking that we may yet live to see some leading spirit equal to the wants of Labrador step out and prepare her for future greatness – The Canada's, however, have not been distinguished for great men - _____ heads

Business will not permit me to attend the Convention at Sycamore this will be the first omission in many years – I will feel more interest the next year too than I do this – I know _____ is safe. “Jim Kelly”, ___ and that of other friends so I ____ easy.

“Mary” thanks you for your remembrance of her, as she insists that you mean her where you say that my Daughter must write to you what volumes we need to complete our set, but as I had to write, I told her she could thank you afterwards.

I have the 1st and 3d Vol of the Japan Expedition – the 2d Vol of the report of the Exploration for a route for the Pacific R.R. by Capt Gunnison” also 1 Vol “_____ of Explorations” of the Amazon by Lieut Herndon” (Poor Herndon I knew him well.)

I mailed in haste last week 3 or 4 boxes of matches (water proof, for you and was sorry afterwards that I did so, as it occurred to me there might be danger to the mails – I will be more careful in future.

I need not tell you how happy my family would be if you would _____ on your way to or from the City or to on from Goshen, as I suppose your will pass a few days there this fall – I have been home and at work the entire Season not a day

of rest or recreation - but it will not be always so with me I trust and I will promise to take one day to myself if you stop here, so what ____ Mary visit the top of Fishkill Mountain but an _____ at work.

Very Truly Yours,

A H Schultz

Hon W H Seward
Auburn”

November 3, 1857

“Phil.⁶ went to witness the launch of the Great Eastern this morning & is not yet back.” (Benjamin Moran, Journal of My Life in the Diplomatic Service of the United States in London 1857)

December 5, 1857

“First Attempt to Launch the Great Eastern.”

We present our readers with a magnificent view of the arrangements made under the superintendence of Mr. Brunel for the launching of the Great Eastern. The vessel itself is so enormously large that it creates a felling of wonder and awe in all who behold her, and it is interesting to observe how gigantic become the appliances which are necessary to bring her into the water, her destined element. Mr. Brunel conceived the idea of a different manner of launching this ship, and it is a matter of regret that the first trail was not perfectly successful. The manner proposed is interesting, and the elaborate character of our illustration brings the scene before the spectator with almost the vividness of actual observation. The plans for launching included two inclined ways from beneath the gigantic hull, to a distance of three hundred feet down the bank of the river, at an inclination of one foot in twelve. These ways are about one hundred and twenty feet wide, the distance between them is also one hundred and twenty feet, and the substructure which carries the rails, and upon which the cradles are to slide, are of immense strength and solidity. Under each way are driven seven rows of piles, the four outside rows

⁶ Philip Nicklin Dallas, son of George M. Dallas, and first secretary of the United States legation in London.

having piles at the distance of every three feet, while the three inner rows have them driven only every six feet. The piles are forced down to the gravel bed of the river, commencing under the ship's bottom, and extending to low water mark on the bank. On each side of every row of piles are timbers twelve inches by twelve inches bolted together, securing the heads of the piles between them, and extending the entire length of each way. The whole is covered with concrete to a thickness of two feet, and above are longitudinal timbers of great strength running the entire length of the way; on the top of these, placed transversely, are timbers of the same strength, but only three feet apart, and the whole is securely bolted together, forming one solid structure. Upon this are laid the metals on which the ship is to be lowered. They are heavy bridge-rails, similar to those used on the Great Western Railway, and are screwed down to the timber roadway. The bottom of the cradles are shod with bars of iron seven inches wide by one inch thick, at a distance of one foot apart, and run the entire width of the frames. These cradles are constructed of barks of timber wedged beneath the bottom of the vessel, and resting upon the bars of iron above described. From these are placed beams and shores strutting against the side of the ship, the whole firmly bolted together and ballasted with iron, to prevent it from rising with her when she floats. In the centre of each of these frames, on the land side, are two plates of one-inch iron, securely fixed to them, and carrying between them enormous sheaves, through which runs the chain to be used in checking her when she is once fairly started.

Chain-Drums and Checking-Gear Used at the Attempted Launch.

These most interesting and important parts of the matériel connected with the launching of the Leviathan are situated in front of the centres of the cradles, on the shore side of the ship. The drum part of these machines, round which the main chains are coiled, are eighteen feet long by eight feet in diameter, and are connected with the cradles by powerful chains, two and seven-eighths inches of link,

and weighing five cwt. to the fathom, passing round double-sheaved iron blocks in the frame-work of the cradles, and with breaks, bearing, &c., weigh no less than sixty tons each. They are, without doubt, the largest and most powerful of the kind ever constructed. The flanges of the barrel which carry the chain serve for the brakes; they are about a foot wide and thirteen feet in diameter. Round these are bands or straps of wrought iron, twelve inches wide by one inch thick, which can be tightened up by means of the levers, fifteen feet long, and worked by about twenty men. The chain, after being carefully wound upon the barrel, is passed through the sheaves, the two lower ones being attached to the cradle; the end is then secured to the timber framing which carries the whole apparatus, and is constructed in the strongest possible way. Nothing has been left undone to render this part of the tackle as effective as it can be made. The frames which carry all this are constructed of timber, driven to a depth of many feet into the ground, and strutting against the timber framing of the way, the whole being held together by bolts and ties. In these framings are also placed the hydraulic presses which start the vessel; and at a small crab at the back of the drum, in the foreground of the sketch, and used for winding in the slack of the main chain, the sad accident occurring which so influenced the successful termination of the launch, when their efficiency in controlling the descent of the ship were so successfully proved.

A thorough examination was made, after the failure, of the cradles on which the monster vessel sits, with a view of settling a doubt that been expressed as to their injured condition; but not the least failure, defect or injury to either of the cradles or their ways was discovered. The ship sits as seven and fair as she did the morning of the launch. We hope soon to be able to record the interesting fact—interesting to the entire world of commerce—that the Great Eastern, like a thing of life, floats upon the ocean wave.” (Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper, Dec. 5, 1857)

January 12, 1858

“Had more visitors to-day than for a week. Among them W. Ballard Preston & Purser Cole, just from China, where he has been in the ‘Levant.’ He is a fine looking fellow not more than 30. Preston tells me he has been tolerably successful with his scheme of ocean steamers.” (Benjamin Moran, Journal of My Life in the Diplomatic Service of the United States in London 1858)

January 14, 1858

“Phil. & his mother went to see the Leviathan launched yesterday, but it didn’t go.” (Benjamin Moran, Journal of My Life in the Diplomatic Service of the United States in London 1858)

January 20, 1858

“W. Ballard Preston is hereto say ‘good bye.’ He is going away to-morrow in order to sail for the U.S. on Saturday.” (Benjamin Moran, Journal of My Life in the Diplomatic Service of the United States in London 1858)

February 21, 1858

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes to
William Henry Seward

“Fishkill Landing
Feb 21st 1858
11 pm

My Dear Sir

You will remember “Eddy” my darling pet son of Lloyd James of Burlington, N.J. My adopted son you know – his wife died six years ago when we took “Eddy” as our own, that we loved him dearly, deeply I need not tell you, and now he is dying with congestion of the brain, has been in great agony and wholly unconscious for the last 30 hours and must die in a few hours more.

His poor Father has not reached here yet as no train runs on this road on Sunday – how my heart bleeds for him – My house is indeed a house of mourning -

Truly Yours,

A H Schultz

Hon W H Seward Friday – He died at 2 O’ck
today –”

March 5, 1858

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes to
William Henry Seward

“March 5

My Dear Sir

Will you be kind enough to send me some
200 franked copies of your late speech – It is
needless for me to tell you how proud I am of your
course for the last 2 months.

Among all my acquaintances and in all my
intercourse with the Community (and it is quite
large) I know of no defection, but on the Contrary
the accession of strength is remarkable.

I know well the public pulse, for I have felt
it when its vibrations were scarcely perceptible - it
is strong and healthy now – Never mind the Albany
_____ so far as I am concerned.

Truly Yours,

A H Schultz”

March 15, 1858

“To incorporate the Atlantic Steam Ferry Company-
- (Passed the 15th day of March 1858.)

1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of
Virginia, That Ambrose Dudley Mann, his
associates, successors and assigns, are hereby created
and constituted a body corporate, by title of the
ATLANTIC STEAM FERRY COMPANY.

2. And be it further enacted, That the said
corporation is authorized and empowered to
establish a line or lines of steamships or ships
propelled by other motive power, of such tonnage
as it may deem most to its interest, to run between
a port or ports in Virginia to a port or ports in
Europe, or elsewhere.

3. And it further enacted, That the said corporation is authorized and empowered to purchase, hold, receive, or dispose of real estate, in quantities not exceeding thirty acres in any locality connected with its terminal points; to build docks and wharves; to erect warehouses adjacent thereto for the receipt and discharge of the cargoes of its vessels; and to transport passengers, merchandise, and all other articles which are carried on land or water.

4. And be it further enacted, That the said corporation shall establish its principal office in the city of Richmond, Virginia, where books shall also be open for the subscription of stock within ten days after the passage of this act. And it may establish such branch offices and agencies elsewhere as it shall deem necessary for the advancement of its interests, where books shall also be opened for the subscription of stock with as little delay as possible.

5. And be it further enacted, That the capital stock of said corporation shall be fifty millions of dollars, but it may commence operations as soon as the sum of one million of dollars shall have been subscribed in the manner herein after provided.

6. And be it further enacted, That the shares of the said capital stock shall be one hundred dollars, and that no person shall be permitted to subscribe for more than one thereof, until after the expiration of six months from the day of opening the subscription books at the principal office.

7. And be it further enacted, That as soon as the sum of one million of dollars shall have been subscribed, in the manner aforesaid, the stockholders shall proceed, under the direction of the corporation, to elect thirty-six directors, who shall be resident citizens of the slaveholding States and the District of Columbia, and who shall elect one of their number President of the Company.

8. And be it further enacted, That the directors shall be apportioned to the said States and District in the ratio of the shares subscribed by the inhabitants of each, and the States and District shall, respectively, elect the director or directors to which they may be entitled.

9. And be it further enacted, That the directors shall continue in office for a term of five years, dating from the day which they enter upon the discharge of their duties.

10. And be it further enacted, That such vacancies as may occur in the directory shall be filled by the president of that body, the person or persons being selected by him being authorized to serve until a quorum of members, which shall consist of not less than seven, shall be convened.

11. And be it further enacted, That no stockholder in the said company shall ever be held liable or made responsible for its debt in a larger or further sum than the amount of any unpaid balance due to the company on stock subscribed for in his or her name.

12. And be it further enacted, That the said corporation may demand and receive of each shareholder, at the time of his becoming such, the sum of two dollars on each share subscribed for, for defraying the expenses which have already accrued, and those which may accrue previous to the election of the directory, and that it shall account to that body for the sums which it may thus disburse.

13. And be it further enacted, That the stockholders of the said company shall not be called upon for larger or more frequent installments than twenty per cent every ninety days, the two per cent paid in advance to be deducted from the first installment.

14. And be it further enacted, That the said corporation is hereby authorized to carry the mails of the United States in its steamships or ships propelled by other motive power, or the mails of any foreign country, under such contracts or other arrangements as it may find it in its interest to enter into with authorized parties.

15. And be it further enacted, That said corporation may, by, or under its title, make and use a corporate seal sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, borrow and lend money upon such securities as have been, or may be issued by States, cities, towns, counties, or companies; and to have, and to enjoy all proper remedies at law and in

equity to secure and protect it in the free use and exercise of the rights and privileges herein granted.”

May 24, 1858

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes to
William Henry Seward

“Fishkill Landing
May 24th

My Dear Sir

Michigan was warm and loyal at Phila in 56 – and from the Enclosed it seems she will continue so – only a little more determined.

She was the hardest state to dragoon there -

Faithfully Yours,

A H Schultz”

Gov Seward

[attachment]

Gov. Seward in Michigan.—The *Detroit Tribune*, copying our article, of the 20th inst., on Gov. Seward, says:

The following article from the *New York Courier and Enquirer* undoubtedly expresses the views of a large majority of the people of Michigan and the North-west, if not the Union. Michigan would have gladly cast her vote for Mr. Seward in 1856, as we think she might have done in 1852. What may happen to change the popular feeling between this and 1860 it is impossible to predict, but if the vote of Michigan could be taken next week, the Republican party would roll up a majority of 20,000 for Wm. H. Seward.

July 29, 1858

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes to
William Henry Seward

“July 29th 1858

My Dear Sir

Francis Hall ____ of “The Commercial Advr” will arrive in Auburn on Tuesday next, in the train connecting with the __ bound leaving New York Monday Evening – He purposes passing a single day with Mr. John McFarlan at Owasco lake about two miles from your residence – He is exceedingly modest & diffident, but not insensible to the little courtesies of life, which you so delight to extend to men as worthy as Mr. Hall is to receive them -

Faithfully Yours,

A H Schultz”

Hon W H Seward”

October 23, 1858

“The Leviathan Steamship.

This giant of the seas, which has caused so much speculation, expense, and anxiety, has been in a stand-still condition for some time. It was expected at one period that she would be all ready for sea this autumn, and that the first voyage would be taken to some American port, probably Portland, Me., but at present it is not possible to predict when she will be ready, or what will be her future destination. The cost for her construction having far exceeded the original estimates, and all the funds having been used up, the stockholders did not feel inclined to increase their contributions, hence the delay in completing this great steamer. It is now proposed to form a new company, with a capital sufficient to purchase out the old one, and to finish her at an early date. It is stated that, when completed, she will be able to make eight voyages per annum between London and Portland, and pay a handsome profit.

Rumors have also been circulated that the Emperor of France wishes to purchase the Great Eastern for his navy, and some fears are entertained in England that he may accomplish his object. It has been urged upon the British government to step in and make the purchase for the royal navy. Louis Napoleon is a long-headed genius, and if he can secure the Great Eastern, he might laugh at the power of the whole British navy, because this monster

steamer could run down the whole of the largest steamers in any other fleet, one after another, without firing a single shot. We hope that some energetic measures will soon be carried out to complete this noble steamer. The results of such a grand experiment will be looked for with anxiety and interest.”
(Scientific American, Oct. 23, 1858)

October 28, 1858

“Latest by Telegraph.

* * *

The new Company for completing the *Great Eastern* has been delayed in its organization by the non-attendance of the Directors of the old Company to complete the necessary forms.” (New York Times, Oct. 22, 1858

December 2, 1858

“Europe.

Arrival of the Europa’s Mails.

* * *

The forms which had to be gone through by the Eastern Steam Company having been completed, the ‘Great Ship Company’ is now organized. It is understood that the ship, with her engines complete, costing the old Company £640,000, is to cost the new Company £160,000; and £140,000 is the estimate for finishing and equipping her for sea, leaving a margin of £30,000 for working capital. More than three-fourths of the shares of the Eastern Steam Company will be converted into shares of the new Company, wholly or in part paid up, £2 10s. of the new stock being exchanged for £20 of the old. The shares not converted will receive their proportion of the divisible assets, but, as the old Company is cumbered with heavy debt, this will probably not exceed £2 per share. It is four months since the plan of the new Company was matured by Mr. Campbell and Mr. Magnus, and, as its further progress is now dependent on its own directors, it is to be hoped, says the *Times*, they will not allow delays such as those which occurred when the matter was not wholly in their own control still to impede the

completion of the work.” (New York Times, Dec. 2, 1858)

1859

“Neill, Bros & Co, com merchants, 27 st Michael, up stairs
Neill, H Montgomery, of above firm, res ss dauphin way w Lafayette” (*Directory for the City of Mobile*. 1859. by Farrow & Dennett)

February 8, 1859

‘The Latest by the Asia
London, Saturday Morning, Jan 22.

* * *

*From the Times City Article.
Tuesday Evening.*

* * *

The contract for the purchase of the Great Eastern by the great ship Company was concluded yesterday. Three hundred thousand pounds have been subscribed, and this, it is believed, will be amply sufficient not only the purchase and completion of the ship, but also to provide working capital.” (*New York Times*, Feb. 8, 1859)

February 18, 1859

“London, Saturday.—The contract for the purchase of the Great Eastern was concluded yesterday. Three hundred thousand dollars had been subscribed, and was thought enough to purchase and complete the ship and provide a working capital.” *Central City Daily Courier*, Syracuse, NY (Feb. 18, 1859)

March 11, 1859

“Halifax, Thursday, March 10.

* * *

A general meeting of the great Ship Company had been held in London. It was confidently predicted that the *Great Eastern* will be ready by August, and will certainly make her trial trip to Portland.” (*New York Times*, March 11, 1859)

March 11, 1859

“The Great Easter is to be ready to sail for Portland in August.” Central City Daily Courier, Syracuse, NY (March 11, 1859)

March 14, 1859

“The London *Times* reports as follows of the mammoth steamship *Great Eastern*, the prospect of running her under joint-stock auspices:

‘The first meeting of the Great Ship Company was held this morning, Mr. Campbell, M.P., in the chair. The Company are now the registered owners of the *Great Eastern*, having purchased her from the Eastern Steam Navigation Company, at a cost of £165,332. Of this sum, £161,482 has been paid in shares and money. The proprietors of the old undertaking have shown extraordinary unanimity in coming into the new set___e and in many cases have largely increased their holdings. The total of shareholders is 2,261 and the list includes persons of all classes, from leading merchants and bankers, members of Parliament, and scientific men, to domestic servants. The completion of the ship is expected in August, and, although the necessary contracts have not yet been entered into, tenders have been received from houses of the highest respectability. It was observed that in the event of the ship being successful, India and England will be independent of Egypt for intercommunication. At Portland, in America, about £25,000 have been expended for a wharf in anticipation of her arrival, and it is still proposed that her first trip shall be to that place, unless, considering the present position of affairs, she should be required for military purposes.’” (*New York Times*, March 14, 1859)

April 16, 1859

“Water Toy Irons – See D. C. Lowber & Co.’s advertisement in this morning’s paper.” (*Daily Picayune* [New Orleans], April 16, 1859).

April 23, 1859

“Hudson River Rail Road Train
315/00 pm April 23, 1859

A large and select number of citizens from the counties of Westchester, Putnam, Orange, and Dutchess, assembled in the saloon of the baggage car this afternoon, his honor Robt P Getty Esq.

Mayor of Yonkers, was called to the chair, and Alex H Schultz of Dutchess was appointed Sec. On motion of Col J Amos Bowen of Westchester it was Resolved “That the thanks of this meeting be transmitted to their friend John Bigelow Esq. for his interesting letter dated Rome 23d of March and published in the Evening Post on the 22d inst on the subject of the silence and solitude of the Carthusian monks of Italy.” Resolved “That Mr. Bigelow be earnestly requested to write more frequently hereafter, and that he be affectionately entreated to be more industrious and not indulge his besetting sin – Laziness.” This resolution was originally advocated by Col Bowen who while admitting the enormity of the offense, confesses that he spoke from experience and that his own character had suffered enough from his natural indolence and continuous Laziness he would therefore admonish our absent friend to avoid the shoals upon which his vessel has been wrecked. That he was, and long had been afflicted with the disease to such a degree that he could scarcely get in bed, and it was very painful to get out &c, &c, &c.

Brigadier Gen G. F. Sherman of Putnam County, Geo D. Morgan of _____, and Joel Nott Esq. of Albany corroborated all that Col. Bowen had said and after adopting all the resolutions as the meeting broke up with three cheers for John Bigelow of the Evening Post & three groans for Col. Bowens’ laziness and the Metropolitan Police generally.

“And each took off his several way”

“Resolved to meet some other day.”

By the way the baggage car is becoming again an interesting institution and you are often spoken of there, we miss you much, no one has those sparkling conundrums nowadays – no “cow, and baby” companions will never mind, you will soon return and make the _____ ring again with hilarity -- and I wish you were here now, for I am becoming ill natured and politically out of sorts - did we not have so much at stake in 1860 I would fold my arms and step out of the political _____.

Indeed I should have done so three months ago, and not waited to be shot down by the order of the Commander in Chief His Excellency E.D. Morgan than when I think none has labored with more zeal on with more success than I did to elevate to his present position, there may be wisdom in the course Gov Morgan has adopted, but for the life of me I cannot discover it. That I am hurt and shorn of much of my political fervor you will readily perceive, it had been supposed by all that “Capt Schultz could have anything in the gift of the Gov” and that I had only to indicate what office I wanted to have my name sent immediately to the Senate, about a month ago George Morgan told me that John Butler could not be reappointed Port Warden for the reason that Greely, Hawkins, Peele and Robinson had made a point that he should not be and Jared Peele should have his place all of which was carried out. But George continued the conversation by telling me that the Gov could positively appoint me Harbor Master, “So he told him (George) last week,” and there as the _____ man said, I began to suspect” and went for the first time to Albany, this was the last week in March, in a conversation with the Gov he began by telling me that Mr Weed & himself have been making arrangements by which I should have an opportunity to make a fine business the coming summer in connection with the convention &c but nothing being said about Harbor Master, I came to New York and there learned from George that it seemed after all that the Gov felt embarrassed about superseding any of the six offices whose terms expired this winter, and he preferred letting them all hang over until next year. I then went to Albany and asked the Gov “what he preferred doing for me?” “Why I thought you knew” was his answer. Oh no said I. “Well, Mr. Weed will tell you, he said. So I found him and after hemming a long time it came out that William K Strong would not consent that his harbor master March should be displaced, and that the Hon. Mr. Skinner M.C. from Hoboken, would not consent to the displacement of Patton, M. H. Grinnell⁷ would not to Hall and the Benedicts to their son & brother, &c &c, and that all would be

⁷ Believed to be Moses H. Grinnel.

made right with me soon! and particularly next year.

The next day I called after his Excellency and let him do all the talking. I had no favors to ask of him and I had not asked any I said very mildly but very decided. He then read me a long letter from Col Webb which after I had disclaimed seeing him/ the Col/ for the last six weeks, & had at no time ever mentioned the subject of an office from the Gov. he said that George must have told Webb that I was not to have an office of any kind – Webb was very angry & said in substance that the Gov would not dare refuse me a position – that as a politician I ranked in his estimation second only to Thurlow Weed &c, &c.

The Gov then told me he had a letter on the same subject from you in which you were kind enough to say that you supposed he would appoint me whether I needed it or not.

That my _____ might safely be increased, and all the strength given to me that could be, as _____ a safe and reliable man, and many other kind things of the same import.

“Well,” said I and waited until the Gov was pleased to tell me “his heart was right” he knew my strength and fidelity. &c, &c. and everything should be made satisfactory to me &c., &c.

In a few minutes I left the presence, not angry, but hurt, displaced by King for my friendship in caucus to Morgan it was but natural to suppose that I would be reinstated by Morgan but I learned that opinion & Strong were esteemed of more correspondence waiving every other consideration that I was – and so I am allowed to be thrown aside to gratify men whom I can put in my overcoat pocket and hide away at any time I pleased.

Now please understand me that to you only have I told this tale and not a quarter of it yet to you and I will not, for I am too proud – neither will I be angry at Morgan, there never was any friendly

feeling between King and me – but there has been between Morgan and myself, and of course I cannot quarrel with those I have esteemed and loved. That my usefulness to our party has been impaired I knew – and at present I am unwilling to take hold of the wheel as I would gladly do -- were I not so cruelly shorn of my strength—please excuse me for troubling you with such a long rigmarole of what may not interest you.

While the vetoes have been entirely correct, and in accordance with the principles of Silas Wright and other eminent statesmen, there is a feeling of regret & dissatisfaction that the Gov has not advised with the _____ of these bills before they are passed, so that they could either have been withdrawn or amended them. Altogether the administration is not in as good repute as it ought to be, but there is ample time to correct the errors of the _____ and eventually make it of great service next year.

First of all there must be no more truckling to Know Nothingism. At all events I shall set my face resolutely against future amalgamation with that faction.

Please remember me kindly to Mrs. Bigelow.

Very truly yours,

A. H. Schultz”

(Letter to John Bigelow received from Union College)

June 12, 1859

“LOWBER, Kate, dau of Capt William Tell SCHULTZ of this place, d. 6.12 at 26 y (7.12.1859) in Mobile, Ala, w of H. Montgomery NEILL.”
(Deaths, Marriages and Much Miscellaneous from Rhinebeck, New York Newspapers 1846-1899, Vol. 1 Deaths). The date of July 12, 1859 is the date of publication.

June 22, 1859

“It is said that the Hon. Dudley Mann is to edit the *Washington States*.” (Central City Courier, Syracuse, NY June 22, 1859). The *Washington States and Union* is a Democratic newspaper published in Washington, D.C.

June 24, 1859

“Yesterday afternoon I went to Greenwich by the river, passing down through the ship-crowded Pool of the Thames, by the gray Tower of London and near to the gigantic iron ship Leviathan. This vessel is colossal, & yet the harmony of her proportions so deludes that you think her nothing very great unless a ship is near with which to contrast her.”
(Benjamin Moran, *Journal of My Life in the Diplomatic Service of the United States in London 1859*)

July 4, 1859

“Present Condition of the Great Eastern Steamship.

The *London News* describes the condition of the Great Eastern at the recent public exhibition of that vessel at Deptford, as follows:--

When, at last, safely landed on the lofty deck, one soon sees that busy hands have recently been at work in producing order out of chaos, and carrying out the innumerable details which were necessary to make the Great Eastern a perfect ship. The deck, which on our previous visit presented but a rude succession of huge iron girders, over which people stumbled at every step, is now completely planked from end to end, and a glance along its immense expanse gives the first and best idea of the enormous size of the ship. The different skylights are all also in their places, and give a look of finish where all was before incompleteness and confusion. Three masts have been set up, and two funnels, which also go far to ‘furnish’ the deck, and the completed bulwarks all round take away the sense of dizziness and insecurity with which people used formerly to approach the side of the ship. One can now look over the side, judge of the vast height of the vessel out of the water, make comparisons between her and anything else that floats upon the Thames, and then enjoy the prospect of the country, both Kent and Essex, now clad in the brightest

green of midsummer. The lower decks have been planked, and great progress has been made in partitioning them off into thin permanent compartments. The grand saloon is in a very forward state, and would be a noble apartment—more like a drawing room in a princely mansion on shore than the cabin of a ship—were it not for the two immense funnels which run up the centre, and inconveniently interrupt the longitudinal sweep of the apartment. On each side elegant cabins are being fitted up, and the same may be said of the other saloons, of which there are, we believe, six in the ship. One of the cabins has been finished in order that the visiter may judge of what the rest are intended to be, and a very pleasant notion it gives of what a voyage across the Atlantic will be in such a noble ship as the Great Eastern. This completed apartment is what is called a family cabin, containing bedroom, sitting room and dressing room, all of the lofty and well ventilated, and possessing a much great number of conveniences than could be found in a similar suite on shore. The other cabins are also in an exceedingly forward state, and as an immense number of men are kept incessantly at work, there is every prospect of the ship being ready for her trail trip on the appointed 5th of August. There is free circulation now all through the ship, there being elegant staircases with carved oak, balustrades leading to the various saloons and cabins, and iron ladders for the scientific of inveterately curious, who cannot believe they have ‘done’ the ship until they have explored the gloomy mysteries of the vast engine room. Here those you have read Vathek will be forcibly reminded of the Hall of Eblis, and those who have not will wonder at the ponderous beams and shaft and cylinders, will be struck with the bright polish of the steel work, and think of the time when all this vast mass of mechanism shall be in motion, plowing up the ocean with a giant’s strength and carrying the Great Eastern along, as if she were a feather, at the rate of twenty miles an hour. Let us hope that she may go prosperously to completion, and thus justify the scientific but daring scheme upon which she has been constructed. If she should realize the hopes of her projectors and the

designs of her architects, she will fill a brighter page in England's history, than any of her most famous victories by land or water, for she will inaugurate a revolution in ocean transit, which will bring the farthest ends of the earth together and make traveling on the ocean as pleasant and little fatiguing as it now is on the best ordered of our great railroads. We are happy to learn that amongst the recent visitors was Mr. Brunel, whose restoration to health will be pleasant news to the public.” (New York Herald, July 4, 1859)

CA 1859

“Although Berthon needed the approval of the Admiralty to ensure wide acceptance of his collapsible boat invention, he had received an order for huge Berthon boats – fifty feet long and sixteen feet wide, collapsible into three feet – for Brunel's ‘GREAT EASTERN’ building at Scott Russell's yard. Laid down in 1854 and launched in 1858 she had a designed tonnage of 19,000 when the largest ships afloat were under 5,000 tons. Construction difficulties ruined Scott Russell, however, and Berthon's order was cancelled after the completion of only one fifty footer. This craft, which could carry three hundred men, lay afloat in Southampton Docks for ten years.

A booklet printed by George Sutton of High Street, Fareham in 1854 describes Berthon's Patent Collapsing Life Boat and ‘subjoined, a Report of Officers of the Royal Dockyard, Portsmouth by order of the Admiralty and printed by order of the Honorable House of Commons.’ The report on the Fareham Life Boat was satisfactory in every respect and was signed by the Assistant Master Shipwright and by the Foreman Superintending the Boat houses.” (The Berthold Boat Co. History)

July 20, 1859

“Cop Waste Cop Waste,
 for Engineers' Use
Constant'y on hand and for sale by
 D. C. Lowber,
 7[3 or 8] Camp Street.”
(Daily True Delta, July 20, 1859)

August 31, 1859

“The Monster Ship Great Eastern.

London, August 12, 1859.

The great event of the week has been the inauguration to the commercial service of the Great Eastern steamship by a grand party, dinner and ball, given on board by the directors and builders of the 'great ship.' As I was one of the 'elect' on the happy occasion, I shall try and give you some idea of my impressions, though language framed by me will utterly fail to give you or your readers a clear conception of this marvelous work.

The Great Eastern has been described, pictured, written about, visited and marveled at, as a great 'show,' a something to see, as people in a country village look at a learned pig or a two-headed calf. Now, the building of this ship is a commercial transaction, and it is impossible to calculate the influence and bearing it may have on the future commerce of the world. If she prove a financial, as she unquestionably has a mechanical success, then we may expect several more just like her, or nearly as large. Some papers, among them the London Times, predicted a speed, or the ability to run, of over twenty miles an hour. That I doubt. As she sits on the water now, her paddle floats are fairly dipped in the water, and there is no loading on board, either cargo or coals. Put twelve or fifteen thousand tons of dead weight in her, and she will sink some nine to twelve feet deeper in the water, and then her paddle will be altogether too deep for good service—at least that is my impression. A trial trip, however, or a single voyage, will decide this and many other matters.

When a stranger first walks into St. Peter's Church, he feels a momentary disappointment because it is not as large as he anticipated.—Much of this is occasioned, no doubt, by the admirable proportion of everything—the statues, particularly, these being generally thirty or forty feet in height and just about as large in proportion to the size of the vast nave as ordinary statues or living persons are to ordinary churches. The spectator forgets to compare the living people on the floor with the vast expanse of some four hundred feet over head, and

the immense space and area on every side. But on the Great Eastern ship it is very different, and one's ideas of magnitude are more than realized. The rooms and cabins between decks look like town halls; the passage like streets, and the whole like a large town or city. There is no single saloon or cabin as large in proportion to the size of the vessel as you see on an ordinary ocean steamer. It would be bad policy, and a waste of space and money to make them so. The principal saloon is finished and furnished in a style of great elegance, the decorations being both rich and chaste; the colors, principally white and gold, enlivened with red, pink and salmon. The height is fifteen feet, giving one the idea of a lofty room in a palace or public hall. I believe it is not over eight feet in length by forty in width, and in reply to a question I put Mr. Scott Russell, the builder, he said it would accommodate about one hundred and fifty persons at dinner; but bear in mind that there are several other cabins and saloons nearly as large. When we come to consider that a vessel must be built with great strength, and that choice, convenience or accident often renders the occupation of some particular room or part of a ship inconvenient or impossible, we shall at once see the policy of dividing and sub-dividing the room and resources of a vessel like this into numerous compartments. Put as large a proportion of this ship into one long saloon, as you see in other vessels, and it would not be so agreeable; it would be more noisy, not easily kept at a good temperature, and in a case of accident to this one apartment, passengers would be without adequate protection or comfort.

The Great Eastern is about fifteen feet between decks, a loftiness of ceiling that many would consider useless. It, however, serves this purpose: The distance is, in many places, divided into two 'stories' by an intermediate floor, giving two tiers of staterooms between the two decks. But to comprehend the immense size of the ship, one must go on the main deck, and here is one vast area that can be compared to nothing but itself. There is no poop, no 'house on deck,' and nothing to break the grand promenade, save the six or seven masts, the smoke stacks, the stair-cases to the cabins, and

the sky lights. Mr. Russell says—standing on one of the paddle-boxes—‘Here I command the entire ship.’ From that stand point every foot of deck is seen except the very shadow of the masts and chimneys; and the wave of the hand can be seen by steersman or any officer on watch, on any part of the deck. Go on to the bridge between the paddle-boxes, and look towards the bow, and you see a space and extent equal to that of the entire length of a very large steamer—nearly 250 feet—and then turn your eye towards the stern and you have double the distance in that direction, the entire length of the deck being little short of 700 feet, the width being, if I remember rightly, over 80 feet. Your country readers will appreciate the expanse of deck as about an acre of surface—or 160 square rods—stretched out into a long oval, half a quarter of a mile, or 40 rods in length. A steamer was passing down the Thames bound on a foreign voyage, and some one sung out: ‘Mr. Russell, that steamer would just about make a long boat for your ship.’ And sure enough it looked as if the could be hung in the davits over the side, and not be out of proportion to the size of the monster craft.

It is only in connection with vast masses of human beings that the enormous magnitude of this ship can be seen. There were on the day of the festival—day before yesterday—some 2,500 persons on board. When nearly a thousand had gathered together for a dance on the after part of the deck it was not one-third covered, and there was plenty of room to move around and through the immense assembly.—Over head was an awning literally covering about half an acre of space, and you may picture to yourself the large band of the Royal Artillery in their glittering uniforms, the gay and expansive dresses of the ladies, with several hundred moving figures in the enlivening dance, and tell me, if you can, if there ever was another such scene since man first became an architect, and emerged from caves, woody tents and mud huts. I have crossed the ocean many times in the largest steamers now running. I have visited all of Paxton’s glass houses, stood on the highest minarets of Milan cathedral, crawled up to the tiny ball that overtops

the proud come of St. Peter's at Rome, scaled the lofty spire of Strasburg, and, I believe, seen the grandest monuments of man's architectural skill built in modern times; but no work on human hands that I have looked at comes up to this. I can conceive that money and skill and labor could build up these iron walls; but when I go down to the engine rooms and see the ponderous machinery that obeys the lightest touch, and make the whole mass like a living creature—

Walking the water like a thing of life, my mind fails to comprehend the achievement. It looks either like a miracle or like the creation of an omnipotent power.

The ship is to be finished and ready for her trial trip on the 23d of this month. The next question is, where is she to make her first commercial venture? American is to have the honor of her first voyage. One person offered ten thousand pounds for the first trip; and while there were various debates and calculations as to the chances of success or failure, the 'man of Galway,' John Orrell Lever, Esq., M.P., sent a written offer through his brokers, Bake, Adam & Co., of twenty thousand pounds (\$100,000) for the ship to take the first voyage, and sail from Galway to America, in October next. He is to have an answer next Monday, and if he gets the marine giant, he will, no doubt, carry home from one to two thousand Yankees now sojourning in Europe. Whether the great ship goes to Portland or New York remains to be decided. If Mr. Lever gets her to run from Galway, and has a couple of months to advertise her, he will probably take out eight or ten thousand steerage passengers from Ireland, and at least one-half of all the cabin passengers that leave Europe for America during the month she sails. The trial trip is to be into the German Ocean, round through the Channel, past the Scilly Isles, and a cruise of four or five days in the broad Atlantic—some say to Cherbourg, and other that Gibraltar is her destination.—The calculation is that the Great Eastern can go from London to Calcutta and back in seventeen days, without stopping on the route to coal, and carrying out fuel for the voyage home. If there is a demand for her services, and she can

make such speed in proportion to her consumption of fuel as will make her an economical vessel, there is some anticipation that the traffic both to India and Australia will demand a fleet of such monsters, and that smaller vessels will, to a great extent, be swept from the trade between England and those regions. The great power and value of the Great Eastern will be on long voyages, where she can carry coal for both the out and home trips. As for her first voyage, I am glad she is to go to America, and if it is carried out under the direction of the enterprising Manchester man, who has already set on foot one successful line of mail steamers to America, it will unquestionably be a success. All I have heard speak of it say they think Mr. Lever's offer a most liberal one, and it will certainly bring some profit to the shareholders, and I hope they will look on it in a commercial light, and close with him. He knows the American trade, and can get many more passengers than a company that has not yet commenced operations.

The Great Eastern is the eighth wonder of the world, and as a marvelous achievement deserves to rank before the pyramids of Egypt or the hanging gardens of Babylon; and by means of its Mr. John Scott Russell, the builder, will hand down his name to the latest posterity, along with the Ptolemies and Nebuchadnezzars, but yet a greater man than either of them, for they were kings by chance, and he made himself a name by a work that will take its place by the side of the proudest monuments of human achievement." (Banner of Liberty, Aug. 31, 1859)

September 15, 1859

"The Richmond *Enquirer* understands that Mr. A. Dudley Mann writes that there is a probability that the *Great Eastern* will make a trip to Norfolk, Va. The *Enquirer* thinks the event would 'stir tide-water Virginia to its very depths.'" New York *Times* Sept. 15, 1859

September 17, 1859

“The Building and Launching of the Great Eastern.

Although it was only two or three years ago that the building of the Great Eastern was commenced, yet the idea of a colossal ship had presented itself to Mr. Brunel at least ten years ago, when the great length of time consumed in the passage to Australia led him to conceive the idea of constructing a steam vessel of sufficient magnitude to carry coals for the voyage out and home, and thus avoid the delay, danger and expense of coaling at intermediate stations.

On the publication of the idea to the world, the projector was greeted with the utmost contempt, and viewed as a visionary theorist, who was carried away by ideas which he would be utterly unable to put into any practical shape.

Mr. Brunel, however, was firm in his adherence to the views and opinions which he had promulgated, and fortunately for him and his magnificent scheme, a naval architect was found in the person of Mr. Scott Russell, who had the rare faculty of being able to see a few inches beyond his nose, and between the two the stupendous idea gradually began to assume the form of a colossal reality. It seems but yesterday when the first bar of the keel was laid, when the ring of the hammer was heard riveting the first plate, and now the gigantic ship floats complete on the bosom of the Thames – the cynosure of all the scientific eyes in the world, the rich reward of her enterprising projectors, and the pride and admiration of the whole British nation.

Many difficulties and obstacles impeded the progress of the monster ship. There were scientific difficulties, commercial difficulties, monetary mishaps, and some mechanical blunders. But the great principle, like all great and true principles, has outlived them all; and now, as a matter of course, gets the warmest adhesion from those who in the first instance were most strenuous in doubting its success.

The Strength of the Great Eastern.

Before we proceed to describe the machinery and general arrangements of the Great Eastern, it may not be amiss to inquire as to the strength obtained by the method adopted in the construction of this vessel. A ship is subject to all the strains to which a beam or hollow girder is subject, and therefore to find out the strength of a ship, it is only necessary to apply to it the rules that are applicable to beams. This, at least, is sufficiently near. In a ship with fine lines there is more buoyancy amidships than forward and aft; in fact, the middle part has to sustain the two ends, rendering it therefore in the position of a beam supported in the middle and loaded at the ends. In such a case as this, it is quite clear that the top and bottom have to sustain the greatest strain, and consequently require to be the strongest; or in other words, it is necessary to put the most metal in the top and bottom, and not in the sides; and this is accompanied with the least amount of metal by adopting the tubular form. The whole strain which is brought upon a ship is represented by the combined weight of the vessel, engines, and cargo, which, being distributed along the whole length, causes a strain to be brought upon the middle of the ship of half the total weight applied at the ends—that is, one-quarter at each end, so that if we know the length of a ship and the weight, it is a simple question to find out the proper strength. The President was not doubt lost from not being strong enough in this direction; it is, in fact, impossible to build wooden ships of any great length; but there is no such difficulty with iron ships.

A writer in the Quarterly observes that it was prophesied Mr. Brunel's first ship, the Great Western, would be doubled up as she rested on the crests of the Atlantic waves, and we all know how the prophecy was fulfilled. When it was made, indeed, we were very much in the dark as to the size of ocean waves, and it was not until the introduction of long steamers that they could be measured with any accuracy. Dr. Scoresby, whilst crossing the Atlantic in one of the Cunard boats, some years since, closely observed the waves, and, by means of

the known length of the ship, was enabled to form a pretty accurate idea of their dimensions. The old vague account of their being 'mountains high' was well known before that time to be an exaggeration; but we do not think even philosophers were prepared for the statement made by this observer at a meeting, some years since, of the British Association, that they averaged no more than twenty feet in altitude, and rarely exceeded twenty-eight feet. The popular impression, principally produced by marine painters, that waves formed valleys thousands of yards across, down the side of which ships slid as though they were about to be engulfed, seems to have been equally erroneous, as the maximum length of ocean waves, according to Dr. Scoresby, is six hundred feet; whilst in a moderate gale they are only three hundred, and in a fresh sea about one hundred and twenty feet in length.

A moment's consideration of these facts leads to the conclusion that long ships must have a great advantage over short ones with respect to the rapidity with which they made their journey, as it is quite evident that, whilst the latter have to perform their voyages by making a series of short curves—much to the impediment of their progress and to the discomfort of their inmates—the former, by ruling the waves with their commanding proportions, make shorter and smoother passages. As steamers grow larger and larger the curse of sea-sickness must therefore gradually diminish. The Great Eastern, from her length and the bearing which she will have upon the water, being a paddle as well as a screw ship, will, in all probability, neither pitch nor roll, and will, therefore, be most comfortable to the voyager. Her immense stride, if we may use the term, will enable her to take three of the three hundred feet waves of an Atlantic gale as easily as a racer would take a moderate sized brook. She will still have to encounter the six hundred feet waves of storms, and there may be those mistrusting her length and the great weight she will carry amid ships, in the shape of engines and coal, who may be inclined to repeat with respect to her the prophecy which was made with respect to the Great Western.

Mr. Brunel, however, by the method of launching which he adopted, seems to us to have set these misgivings at rest before the Great Eastern touched the water. Although the total weight of the ship, together with her engines, cannot be less than twelve thousand tons, she has rested entirely on two points throughout the whole protracted launching. No more powerful test could have been brought to bear on the strength of her fabric.

The Paddle-Wheels.

The paddle-wheels are fifty-six feet in diameter, and their weight is one hundred and eighty-five tons. Provision has been made, when the ship is deeply laden, for reefing – that is, drawing in the floats – ten feet, although, as every float would have to be treated separately, it is not likely it will be made much use of. The floats are thirteen feet by three feet, and thirty in number to each wheel. The wheels are connected to the engines by friction-straps, so that they can be disconnected at any time, if it should be necessary to use the screw by itself.

The whole of the wrought iron work, connected with the paddles, and indeed all the heavy pieces of forge iron in the ship's machinery generally (forming the heaviest and most important wrought iron work which has ever been manufactured), have been executed by the Lancefield Forge Company in the most successful manner. The forgings relating to the paddles were of the following weights and dimensions: Two paddle-cranks, each seven feet between centres, and weight, when forged, eleven and a half tons; when finished, ready for putting on to the shafts, seven tons four hundred. The paddle-shafts, each thirty-eight feet long, and weighting thirty tons. We have next the large intermediate crank shaft; its depth of throw is five feet one inch; thickness, two feet nine inches; greatest diameter, two feet, seven inches; length over all, twenty-one and a half feet; weight, thirty-one tons. The two friction-straps, for disconnecting-paddles, are each ten feet inside diameter, and fifteen inches thick; and the weight of each is nine tons twelve hundred weight.

The Paddle-Engines.

The engines for the paddle-wheels, which were designed and built by Mr. Scott Russell, are oscillating engines, of the following dimensions:

Nominal horse power	1,000
Number of cylinders	4
Diameter of each cylinder	74 in.
Length of stroke	14 ft.
Strokes per minute	14

The weight of one of the cylinders, including piston and piston-rod, is thirty-eight tons. Each pair of cylinders, with its crank, condenser and air pump, forms in itself a complete and separate engine, and each of the four cylinders is constructed so as to permit instant disconnection, if required, from the other three; so that the whole form a combination of four engines complete in themselves, whether worked together or separately. The two cranks are connected by a friction clutch, so that the two pairs of engines can be connected or disconnected at a moment's warning, and by a single movement of the hand. The engines are provided with expansion-valves, throttle valves and governors, all constructed on the most improved principles, and arranged for working the in most efficient manner. The combined paddle-engines will work up to an indicator-power of three thousand horses of thirty-three thousand pounds when working eleven strokes per minute, with steam in the boiler at fifteen pounds upon the inch, and the expansion-value cutting off at one-third of the stroke. But all the parts of the engines are so constructed and proportioned that they will work safely and smoothly at eight strokes per minute, with the steam at twenty-five pounds, and full on without expansion (beyond what is unavoidably effected by the slides), or at sixteen strokes per minute, with the steam in the boiler at twenty-five pounds, and the expansion-valve cutting off at one-fourth of the stroke. Under these last-named circumstances the paddle engines alone will give a power of about five thousand horses.

The Paddle Engine Boilers.

There are four boilers for the paddle engine, seventeen feet nine inches long, seventeen feet six inches wide, and thirteen feet nine inches high, each weighting about fifty tons, and containing forty tons of water. They are tubular boilers, manufactured of wrought plate iron, with brass tubes of three inches diameter. There are ten furnaces in each boiler, five on each side, and two boilers in each boiler room. Each boiler room is supplied with air by four ventilators or shafts, seven feet long by five feet wide, which go up to the upper deck, where they are granted over, and up two of them there are gangways, one to each stoke-hone. These paddle boilers are in two distinct sets, and each set are equal to supply, with steady, moderate firing, steam for an indicator of one thousand eight hundred horse power, though with full firing each set of two gives steam to the amount of two thousand five hundred horse power, or five thousand horse power in all.

The Screw-Propeller.

The screw-propeller, which is twenty-four feet in diameter and forty-four feet pitch, is by far the largest ever made. Its four fangs, which were cast separately, and afterward fitted into a large cast-iron boss, have been compared to the blade-bones of some huge animal of the pre-Adamite world. The weight of the screw is thirty-six tons. The propeller-shaft, destined to move the screw itself, is one hundred and sixty feet in length, and weights sixty tons. The after-length of this shaft, forty-seven feet long and weighting thirty-five tons, was made at the Lancefield Forge. This portion of the shaft, the heaviest piece of wrong iron in the ship, was manufactured this enormous length in order that the junction of it with the remaining portions should not interfere with the floor of the after-cabins. The other lengths of the propeller-shaft, consisting of different pieces, each twenty-five feet long and sixteen tons weight, were made in London for Messrs. James Watt & Co., the builders of the screw engines.

The Screw-Engines.

The screw engines, designed and built by Messrs. Watt & Co., of the Soho Works, are horizontal direct acting engines of –

Nominal horse power	1,000
Number of cylinder	4
Diameter of each cylinder	84 in.
Length of stroke	4 ft.
Number of revolutions per minutes	50

They are the largest ever made for marine purposes; and, as if the case with the paddle cylinders, each of the four is in itself a complete and separate engine, capable of working quite independently of the other three. The combined screw-engines work up to an indicator power of four thousand five hundred horses of thirty-three thousand pounds when working at forty-five strokes a minute, with steam in the boiler at fifteen pounds, and the expansion-value cutting off at one-third of the stroke. They are, however, made to work smoothly either at forty strokes per minute, with steam at twenty-five pounds, without expansion, or at fifty-five strokes a minute with the expansion cutting off at one-fourth of the stroke. Under these circumstances, they will be working at the tremendous power of six thousand five hundred horses.

The Screw-Engine Boilers.

The boilers for these engines are similar to those for the paddle-engines, but a trifle larger and heavier. They are ten in number, and the whole are so arranged that all or any of them can be used with either set of engines. The weight of the screw-engines and boilers is one thousand five hundred tons. To communicate between the different stoke-holes and engine rooms, there are two perfectly water-tight tubes, six feet high and four feet wide, running through the ship, the openings into which can be closed by water-tight doors. Through one of them the various steam pipes go, and the other is used as a passage for the engineers and stokers. There are ten donkey engines to pump water into

the boilers, and two auxiliary high-pressure engines of seventy horse power, working with forty pounds, but these, as with the other auxiliary engines, are made to work at sixty pounds. Both these, besides having to do all kinds of odd jobs about the ship, such as work the capstans, attend to the drainage and water supply of the ship, &c., are connected with the screw shaft abaft the ordinary disconnecting apparatus, so as to enable them to drive the screw if necessary, when disconnected from its main engine. It will thus be seen that the paddle and screw engines, when working together at their highest power, will exert an effective force of not less than eleven thousand five hundred horse power.

The Coal Bunkers.

The coal bunkers are on either side, above and between the boilers, and are capable of containing about twelve thousand tons of coal. The distance to Port Philip is nearly twelve thousand miles, which, at the rate of eighteen miles per hour, would take thirty days to accomplish. The estimated consumption of coal per day of twenty-four hours is about one hundred and eighty tons. Therefore some five thousand tons would be consumed in the outward voyage.

The Masts, Rigging, &c.

A writer observes that "We all know, even on a calm day, what a wind meets the face looking out of a railway train going at the pace, and, consequently, it can be understood that sails, except on extraordinary occasions, would act rather as an impediment than as an assistance to the ship's progress. It is not probable, therefore, that they will be much resorted to except for the purpose of steadying or of helping to steer her." In case, however, of a strong wind arising, going more than twenty-five miles an hour in the direction of her course, she will be provided with six masts, five of them iron, the aftermast wood. The first, fifth and sixth are two feet nine inches in diameter; the second, third and fourth are three feet six inches. The second and third carry square sails, and all

carry fore and aft sails. The standing rigging is seven and a half inch wire rope, except for the sixth mast, which is hemp rope. There is not to be a particle of iron about his mast, for it is intended to carry a compass on it. The quantity of canvas that can be set is about six thousand five hundred square yards.

The great Easter is to carry to bowsprit, and no sprit-sail. The writer quoted above suggests that “the reason for this departure from the ordinary rig is to avoid her ploughing too deeply in the sea. Her bow is also without a figurehead; and this peculiarity, together with her simple rig, gives her the appearance of child’s toy boat. If beauty is nothing more than fitness, this form of bow is undoubtedly the most beautiful.”

Compasses.

In most iron vessels great precautions are taken to avoid the incorrectness to which the needle placed on deck is liable, on account of the proximity of attractive masses of metal. The commonest expedient is to have placed, high up in the mizenmast, beyond the influence of the iron sides of the ship, what is called a standard compass. For this a special stage or framework will be erected against the aftermast of the Great Eastern, some fifty feet in height, and the helmsman will read off the points from above as they appear through a transparent card, illuminated like a clock front, or the shadow of the trembling needle will be projected down a long pipe upon a car below. This latter course would dispense with the necessity for the helmsman to be constantly looking up and moreover obviate the difficulty which would arise in foggy weather.

The ship is fitted with Brown’s patent capstans, and they are so arranged that they can be worked either by hand or steam. There are three forward and two aft. The bower chains are two inches and seven-eighths in diameter; each link weights seventy-two pounds, and each cable will be one hundred and twenty fathoms long. The four large bower anchors are seven tons weight each, Trotman’s patent. In

addition to these there will be two smaller anchors at the bows, each weighing five and a half tons, and two at the stern, each weighing six tons. The bower anchors of the largest man-of-war weight five tons. There are six hawse-holes forward and four aft.

Anchors, &c.

Th anchors, with their accessories, would alone form the cargo of a good sized ship. These, together with their stocks, weigh upwards of fifty tons. If we add to this ninety-eight tons for her eight hundred fathoms of chain cable, and one hundred tons for her capstans and warps, we shall have a total weight of something like two hundred and fifty tons of material dedicated to the sole purpose of making fast the ship.

The rudder-post and frame, which were forged in one piece by the Lancefield Company, are of the following weights and dimensions: The post is eighteen inches diameter at journal, and the weight is twelve and a half tons; the upper part of the post is five tons additional, and the rudder-band and cover are four and a half tons; the total length of the rudder is sixty-two feet, and the total weight is twenty-two tons.

Boats.

The Great Eastern will carry twenty large boats, some of which will resemble little yachts, and all will be fitted with masts and sails complete. In addition to these, she will also carry two small screw steamers, which will hang astern, abaft the paddle-boxes, and each of which is one hundred feet long, sixteen feet beam, one hundred and twenty tons burthen, and forty horse power. These will be raised and lowered by the auxiliary engines. Both the little screws will be kept in all respects perfectly equipped for sea, and be sued for embarking and landing the passengers with their luggage, &c.

The Crew.

Fewer hands will be required to navigate the Great Eastern than her size would seem to demand. The total number of her crew will be about four hundred; of which one-third, it is presumed, will belong to the engineering department; another third will be comprised of cooks, steward and others connected with the victualling department, including servants, &c.; and the remaining third will consist of sailors. After the captain, there will be a chief officer and chief engineer, twelve other sailing officers, sixteen subordinate engineers, a sailing master, a purser, and two or three surgeons.

Means of Communications on Board the Ship.

It is obvious that some special means must be adopted to direct such a vast mass of moving iron as the Great Eastern, as she flied along on her course, threatening by her speed destruction to herself and whatever may cross her path in the great highway of nations. The usual contrivances will not apply. No speaking trumpets, for instance, could make the captain on the bridge heard either by the helmsman or the look-out at the bow, more than three hundred feet away. Even the engineer, sixty feet beneath him, would be beyond the reach of his voice. As in the railway, we have to deal with distances which necessitate the use of a telegraph; and the Great Eastern, in this respect, will be treated just like a railway. On ordinary occasions a semaphore will, in the day-time, give the word to the helmsman, whilst at night and in foggy weather, he will be signaled how to steer by a system of colored lights. The electric telegraph will also be employed, under special circumstances, to communicate the captain's orders to the helmsman, and also to the engineer below.

Accommodation for Passengers, Cargo, &c/

The Great Eastern is destined to carry eight hundred first class, two thousand second-class and one thousand two hundred third-class passengers, independently of the ship's compliment, making a total of four thousand guests. For the accommodation of these, whole streets and squares

of apartments have been constructed. The first thing that arrests the attention on descending into the saloons, is the handsome and roomy entrances and the spacious stairs, so unlike the cramped-up companion and stair-way so often found on board a ship. The first-class saloons and sleeping cabins are in the fore part of the centre of the vessel, the second-class abaft them, and third-class still further aft, which arrangement is the reverse of that generally adopted. The largest saloon is nearly one hundred feet long, thirty-six feet wide, and thirteen feet high. Above it are two other saloons, one above sixty feet long, and a smaller one, about twenty-four feet long; both are twenty-five feet wide and twelve feet high; the smaller of the two is for a ladies' cabin. The sleeping cabins are about fourteen feet long by seven or eight feet wide, by seven feet four inches high, quite large rooms; each room is ventilated by two brass scuttles of fourteen inches in diameter. There will be, besides these, six other saloons with their different sleeping cabins, all of the same height as those we have described, and nearly as large. The total length thus occupied by the cabins is three hundred and ten feet.

The separate compartments into which the hotels for the accommodation of passengers are divided, are as distinct from each other as so many different houses; each will have its splendid saloons, its bedrooms or cabins, its kitchen and its bar; and the passengers will no more be able to walk from the one to the other than the inhabitants of one house could communicate through the parti-walls with their next door neighbors. The only process by which visiting can be carried on will be by means of the upper deck or main thoroughfare of the ship. The saloons, together with the sleeping apartment, extending over three hundred and fifty feet, are located in the middle instead of extreme aft, according to the usual arrangement. The advantage of this disposition of the hotel department must be evident to all those who have been to see, and know the advantage of a snug berth as near as possible to the centre of the ship, where its transverse and longitudinal axes meet, and where of course there is no motion at all. The passengers

are placed immediately above the boilers and engines; but the latter are completely shut off from the living freight by a strongly arched roof of iron, above, which and below the lowest iron deck, the coals will be stowed, and will prevent all sound and vibration from penetrating to the inhabitants in the upper stories.

There are two large holds to be devoted exclusively to cargo, one at each end of the cabins. They are both sixty feet long, and are the whole depth and breadth of the ship; each is capable of holding one thousand tons of cargo. The total quantity of space appropriated to cargo will be regulated entirely by circumstances. It would be quite easy to stow six thousand tons in the hold and various other unappropriated places. The crew and officers are berthed forward. The captain has a splendid suite of rooms within easy distance of the paddle-boxes.

The Great Eastern has twenty ports on the lower deck, each five feet square, to receive railway wagons. She has also sixty ports on each side, two feet six inches square, for ventilation, and an abundance of dead lights. The lower ports are sixteen feet above the water when the ship is loaded. The bulwarks are nine feet six inches high forward, and slop down to above five feet high amidships and aft. The massive wrought-iron deck is covered with teak planking, placed about six inches distance from the iron. The weight of the whole ship when voyaging, with every contemplated article and person on board, will be not less than twenty-five thousand tons.

Preparation for Launching.

After mature consideration, and taking into account the great size of the ship, and the narrowness of the river, Mr. Brunel resolved to depart from the usual rules and launch his great ship sideways, a plan which has frequently been adopted in this country, and with entire success.

The 'ways' for launching the ship were designed entirely by Mr. Brunel, under whose personal

superintendence they were executed by Messrs. Treadwell, of Gloucester. After many careful experiments, Mr. Brunel determined to launch the ship on iron rails instead of baulks of wood, and tramways running from under the fore and aft portions of the vessel down into the river at low water spring tide mark were constructed. Each of these 'ways' was three hundred feet long by one hundred and twenty wide, and the distances between the two was also about one hundred and twenty feet. To guard against the shifting nature of the river mud, both the 'ways' were constructed with unusual solidity and strength. The foundation of each was formed upon seven rows of piles, the four outside rows being driven at three feet intervals, and the three inner rows at six feet. These piles were all forced to the gravel of the river bed, so that they graduated from a length of thirty-two feet under the ship's bottom to ten feet at the low watermark.

To both sides of the heads of the rows of piles strong timbers, twelve inches by twelve,, were securely bolted, and the whole area of the 'way' was then covered with concrete to a thickness of two feet. Above the concrete, longitudinal timbers of great strength were secured at intervals of three feet six inches from centre to centre, and ran the entire length of the 'way.' Over these again were placed transverse timbers of the same solidity, but only three feet apart; these were bolted together and again bolted down to the walings, to keep them fixed under the pressure they would have to bear, and to prevent them from floating at high tide. On these transverse timbers, but running straight from the vessel to the water's edge, were screwed railway metals at intervals of eighteen inches apart. These were the ordinary solid bridge rails used by Mr. Brunel on the permanent way of the Great Western Railway, and were of course of the strongest kind. The ways, thus resting on a bed of piles and concrete, formed, as it were, a massive road of crossed and recrossed timbers, stretching from under the Great Eastern to low water-mark at an inclination of one in twelve.

The Cradles.

The cradles, which were to be slowly lowered with the vessel upon them down the railway metals on the 'ways,' were constructed of the same width as the 'ways' over which they had to run. They were made of large baulks of timber, wedged and driven in so as to fit perfectly the bottom of the ship fore and aft. The timbers were principally laid athwartships with longitudinal beams and shores fastened to the outer sides. All were firmly bound together with iron bolts, and loaded with iron ballast to prevent them from floating when the tide took the vessel off. The bottom of the cradle consisted of iron plates several inches wide and an inch thick, placed at intervals of one foot apart, and with their edges carefully rounded off, so as to offer no resistance to the railway metals of the 'ways' down which they had to pass.

The First Attempt.

The day selected for the launching of the vessel was the 3rd of November, 1857.

Accordingly at early morning, although the weather was damp and threatening, large numbers of people began to assemble on the opposite shore, boats were rowed up and down the river in great numbers, and at one o'clock, the hour fixed for the launch, it was computed that not less than one hundred thousand persons were present.

At a quarter past one, the vessel was named by Miss Hope, a near relative of the Chairman, the Leviathan (since changed to Great Eastern), the hydraulic rams were set in motion, and the whole power exerted to force the immense structure into her native element, but for some few minutes no result is visible, save the waving of the signal flags. Suddenly a loud united shout is heard throughout the place, and the head of the vessel slides quietly and easily some little distance down the ways. Scarcely has this motion ceased with the sensation that it has occasioned, when the vast fabric quivers from stem to stern, and its after part follows the lead

of the head with a grinding crash, and a sullen roar, and in two seconds before the dazzled eyes of thousands of spectators, it has slipped suddenly six feet down its ways. Never before nor since has it made such a movement in such a space of time.

An hour elapsed, during which much preparation and reorganization took place, and then the operation is again carried on. After a short time one of the drawing chains snaps under extreme tension, the hydraulic pressure pump gets out of order, and as many of the workmen are found to be getting timid and unreliable, Mr. Brunel, very reluctantly, gives the order to cease operations.

The Second Attempt.

On the 19th of November, Mr. Brunel having made all his preparations to overcome his obstinate foe, set for work once more with renewed vigor, but only to be defeated again. The immediate cause which led to his ill success was that the abutments of the piles, against which the bases of the hydraulic rams rested, yielded under the pressure which was exerted between them and the ship's cradle, and gave way to a great extent, and at last in some places broke entirely. The mooring chain, belonging either to the Government or the city corporation, holding the sheave through which, by a four-fold purchase on load, the stem of the vessel was hauled to the river, also gave way, and this mishap, taken, in connection with the other, led to all further attempts being postponed for some days. Still, the fact of the Leviathan having moved, established the principle that Mr. Brunel was, as he always is, right in theory, and the launch was evidently but a work of time. On this occasion the secret was very carefully kept, and there were not more than twenty to thirty gentlemen present, all of them being connected with engineering. At one o'clock everything was ready, and the hydraulic rams were set to work. A few minutes more, and the sharp, loud report of beams of timber yielding and straining under tremendous pressure become more frequent. It was imagined that the vessel herself was yielding, but after a few moments it became evident

to all near the rams that the piling against which they rested was giving way. Nevertheless, the strain was kept on, increasing with every stroke of the lever, and the huge beams, cross beams and supports groaned and straining and bent, moving visibly about like a huge piece of wicker-work. All this while the foremost cradle never showed a sign of yielding, or moved even a hair's breadth. Eventually the supports of the rams gave way to such an extent that it became necessary to relieve them by hauling in the tackle which pulled the vessel towards the river, but even this gave so little relief that at last one of the centre piles broke, and some other 'sprung' so badly that it became imperatively necessary to abandon the attempt.

The Third Attempt.

Our readers must be by this time imbued with such an admiration for Mr. Brunel as to believe that ordinary difficulties like these would not daunt him. In fact, scarce ten minutes after the last accident gangs of navvies were at work again reinforcing the piles, and making assurance sure. By the 28th of November the indefatigable engineer had all in readiness for a third attempt, which proved to be perfectly successful. The Great Eastern was gradually lowered down the launching ways some twenty-five feet, in a slow and beautifully regular manner. The whole distance was accompanied without difficulty or delay; and Mr. Brunel displayed his power of regulating her like—what shall we say?—an Italian ruffian with his bird organ. Indeed, as the *Times* justly says, 'Every inch which the colossus advanced gave fresh cause for admiring the forethought and perfect accuracy with which all the mechanical details connected with her launching have been arranged, in spite of the novelty of the undertaking, and the utter absence of all ordinary rules for guidance.'

The Fourth Attempt.

On Monday, the 30th of November, Mr. Brunel returned to the yard at Millwall, fully prepared to reap the fruits of his victory. But the Great Eastern

proved to be extremely stubborn. As it was now far advanced from the place at which the hydraulic rams were fixed, each time the pistons were drive out to their full pressure considerable delay was occasioned in again fitting in beams of sufficient length to reach the cradles and push her on again. In most cases the beams were not long enough till joined in one or more places, which occasioned loss of time, as in order to prevent their giving way laterally under the tremendous pressure, iron plates had to be bolted down to the ways over the joinings, and in addition they sometimes also to be loaded with iron ballast. All these expedients were absolutely necessary and essential to the safe progress of the ship, though they told much upon her rate of advance. However, during the morning, the rate of advance was as regular and noiseless as on previous occasions, the only change being that the metal, if anything, showed still less signs of friction, while there was an evident tendency of the vessel to move at a much slighter rate of pressure. On the return of the men from dinner to recommence their work, the hour's pause seemed to have exercised an adverse influence on the further progress of the ship. For a long time it was very difficult to move her, though the screw-jacks and hydraulic machines were pressed to their utmost, and the men at the double windlasses broke the great mooring chain which dragged her bows to the stream. Suddenly, in the midst of all their efforts, the monster slipped on the ways—five inches forward and nine inches aft. She slid this distance in the space of a single second, and with an awful rumbling kind of noise, which at once seemed distant and alarmingly near. The pressure, however, was again gradually applied to the cradles on every part with redoubled vigor, but all in vain. The jerk and sudden stoppage evidently fixed the ship with unusual firmness, and no efforts could dislodge her, though the pressure from the rams was applied with such force that a beam seventeen inches square crumpled up like a reed and bounded into the air from a strain of about eight hundred tons. This was soon replaced by another and stronger beam, which was bound, to the ways and loaded at the point with ballast. This held out with the others for a long time,

and the struggle between the pressure applied and the passive resistance of the great masses of timber at last became one of almost terrible interest. The beam strained, cracked and vibrated, the escape valves of the rams were loaded with weights and held violently down, the men could scarcely move the handles, but still the vessel did not yield. In the midst of these great united attempts a loud dull explosion, followed by a rattling sound, occurred, and in a minute after it was known that one of the ten-inch hydraulic rams had burst its cylinder from top to bottom. On examination it was found that the iron was staunch; it had only yielded to a pressure of twelve thousand pounds to the square inch. Fortunately, no ill effects attended its bursting. This accident, which put an end to all further efforts for the day, was much to be regretted, as just before it took place it had been decided to continue work all through the night, so as to bring the Great Eastern within good reach of the next day's high water. But Mr. Brunel only grew greater through disappointment, and before long five more ten-inch rams were applied to the stubborn sides of the Great Eastern. On Thursday, the 3d of December, the process of launching was recommenced, and the ship behaved herself well, for slipping suddenly away from the rams she glided down six feet seven inches, with a beautifully regular motion and with very little noise. This great step was made so quietly that it took the whole yard completely by surprise, every one looking on in mute amazement while the tremendous structure slid softly away at the rate of six inches in a second. On the 4th of December the ship completed quitted every part of the old foundations on which she was built, and the entire of her vast bulk rested on the new launching-ways alone. On this day the Great Eastern moved again, directly the pressure was applied, and thirty-one feet were made by drops of six to twelve inches each time. The afternoon's tide placed about four feet of water under her keel, which had the effect of lightening the ways of about fifteen hundred tons of her dead weight; but apparently this made not the least difference in her rate of progress.

The Fifth Attempt.

For nearly a week the Great Eastern remained in statu quo, and never did a recruit feel more disgusted at the command “As you were” than did Mr. Brunel when he regarded the impracticable monster, which seemed to deride his utmost efforts. Every variety of mechanism and tackle were prepared, and it seemed to all appearances as if the Great Eastern must obey. But persuasion and force were tried in turn with equal futility, and the great engineer’s fifth attempt was brought to a close in a manner more signally deplorable than all others. The causes which led to this fifth signal failure may be told in the few words, that it was almost impossible to make the vessel move at all, and that in the efforts to do so, hydraulic rams, windlasses and chains, though of the most ponderous and massive construction, were all broken in regular success, till scarcely anything of the apparatus was left to continue work. What made the matter worse was, that nearly every portion of the powerful gear was broken without producing the slightest effect in the way of moving the monstrous vessel. Afterwards, with immense difficulty, and at the cost of some parts of the machinery, a trifling movement of three inches was brought about; when the vessel appeared to wedge herself in such a manner that though the most tremendous efforts were subsequently made, she remained as firm as a mountain. Some idea of the extent to which the pressure was applied may be gathered from the fact that no less than three hydraulic rams, one powerful crab, or windlass, and the doubled chains which dragged her towards the river both at the stem and stern, were all burst and broken. The manner in which each of these gave way showed that the strain they were subject to was something almost unheard of in the history of mechanics—in fact, the accident which occurred to the windlass, when a side of its massive iron drum round which the chain was coiled was crushed in like a nut, was not only, we believe, never known to occur before, but until this occasion such a breakage was considered almost impossible.

The fact appears to have been that the Great Eastern had reached the reduced gradient, and this undoubtedly exercised a retarding influence. At the same time, the iron cradles and the railway metals of the 'ways' were considerably rusted, and the resistance of iron against iron has been calculated at forty-five per cent. Still, the ship was moved thirty-five inches by a sudden start, and then the great exertions were made in vain to move her. The hydraulic runs were taxed to the very utmost, and at the sides of one of them ten inches in diameter the water was forced through the pores of the solid iron like a thin dew, until the whole cylinder ripped from top to bottom with a noise like a dull underground explosion. At the same time the drum of the windlass was also crushed. The strain on this was about one hundred tons, and the most singular part of the circumstance was, how the chain with which it was dragging the stem of the vessel towards the river moorings withstood the tension. At length, after some delay and immense exertions, a movement of three inches distance was gained, but more than this it was impossible to effect. The men continued to work till the chains dragging the stem and stern of the vessel to the river, and which were secured to anchors among the piles on the opposite bank of the Thames, were both broken away. Two more hydraulic rams were also broken, and the launch had to be given up once more. The doubting ones were triumphant, and Mr. Brunel, in the language of the turf, 'nowhere.' About this time, too, anonymous correspondents plucked up their spirits, and prepared to show the 'way to do it;' and great was the murmuring against the impracticable man, who dared to introduce a system of launching which our cousins across the Atlantic had rendered a household word. But in spite of all the jokes which had been fluttering round London society since the first attempt at the launch (the only good one, by-the-way, being a quotation from Robinson Crusoe relating to the big canoe which could not be launched) the daily papers did do honor to a man who was great even in defeat; and the Daily News came out with the following recognition of the theory on which the Great Eastern was built: 'But "Time and the hour sees out the longest day," and

time and the hour will, it is to be hoped, ultimately launch the Great Eastern; and the delay will only serve the more absolutely to prove the soundness of the principle upon which she is built, and the masterly completeness of its execution. For what ship but herself would have stood the strain to which she has submitted for the last month without the deflection of a hair's breadth? It was enough to had 'hogged' the strongest ship in her Majesty's navy, and yet the Leviathan, with her seventeen thousand tons of dead weight, has stood through it all erect on her two pigmy perches, with her keel as straight as a line.'

All this while, Mr. Brunel, like the Spartan boy, was allowing the wolf of ridicule to prey on his vitals. We can scarcely imagine a more noble and impressive spectacle than that of the great engineer, so confident in the resources of his genius, and yet seeing the belief in his abilities gradually passing away. The puniest whipster in engineering was enlightening a crowd of admiring auditors, by hints, that Brunel was 'an amiable theorist—a man past the time;' very clever, but impracticable; and other such common-places, by which weakness strives to bring itself on a level with successful genius. And during all this period Mr. Brunel was doubtlessly going through the most abstruse calculations; pondering on the power to be brought to bear against the Great Eastern, and yet have the glorious consolation the while of knowing that his arrangements were infallible; and, before long, he was destined to take a noble revenge on all his detractors and half-pronounced admirers.

Success at Last.

On the 2d of January, 1858, no less than twenty-one hydraulic rams had been placed in position, ready for the resumption of the launching process, then intended to take place on the following Monday. Of these eleven were placed against the aft, and ten against the fore cradle of the ship.

Among these gigantic machines was a monster ram, one of the two specially made for hoisting the

Britannia Bridge, and perhaps the largest ever cast in this or any other country. It is indeed a most ponderous machine, the cylinder weighing fifteen tons seven hundred and sixty pounds; the frame, nine tons; the piston, three tons one-one hundred and thirty-two pounds; thirty-eight tons in all. The diameter of the piston is twenty inches, and the thickness of the iron of the cylinder is ten inches. In raising the Britannia Bridge, an hydraulic ram of exactly the same size and strength as this was ripped from top to bottom; in fact, the one about to be used at Millwall was cast to supply the place of that broken at Menai.

With such powerful means at his disposal, Mr. Brunel resumed his launching operations; but, as if success were begrudged him, almost in the moment of fruition, an accident occurred, by which the barge containing all his windlasses and gear for hauling the vessel into the water was sunk. Nevertheless, on the 6th of January, Mr. Brunel brough all his accumulated strength to bear on the side of the Great Eastern, and she was compelled to yield, in spite of the forst, which seemed to have set into her assistance. She ground slowly down the launching-ways at the rate of an inch every five minutes. When the efforts were resumed, after an hour's interval, it was found at once that from unexplained cause or another she had abandoned slow mode of grinding down, and taken again to short slips from two and a half inches to five inches in length, the average being about three inches. It was evident, then, that a slight continuous strain would suffice to keep her in motion for a distance of probably one or two feet. The hauling tackle towards the river was not used—at least the steam power was not applied to it, though a few men at each end worked it with a fourfold purchase, and at the stem at least again exerted sufficient strain to crush in the iron drum of the windlass.

On the 7th, the operations were resumed under very favorable auspices in consequence of the comparative mildness of the weather. The rams were all put simultaneously in movement, and it was found that the monster was at length thoroughly

under control. The inevitable will of the master had forced the great ship to obey at last; and the progress, though still slow, was all the more certain. Considerable aid was derived from the river haulage, which, through the indefatigable exertions of Captain Harrison and his assistants, had been again placed in a state of efficiency after the accident which had occurred in the early part of the week.

The launch was finally consummated on Sunday, the 31st of January, 1858, when wind and tide being in her favor, she was pushed off the ways and floated in deep water.

Her progress into the stream was so gradual that few were aware of it until the tugs began steaming ahead, and showed that at last she was fairly under way. Then the cheers which arose from the yard and from the decks, from the boats in the river and the crews of the ships at anchor up and down the stream, spread the great news far and wide; and thus, under the most favorable circumstances, the Great Eastern commenced her first voyage on the Thames.

Two powerful tugboats were placed at her bows and two were fastened astern. At first the efforts of those ahead seemed to have little effect, and when at length some way was made on her, it was abruptly checked by one of the paddlewheels fouling the cradles. It took some time to clear her of this obstacle, but at last it was accomplished; her head was let swing partly round with the tide, and the steamers began moving her slowly, but very slowly, forward, clear of the cradles. These, as our readers are aware, were composed of immense balks of timber, on which the vessel's bottom rested, and which her weight alone kept down. The police, therefore, had to take unusual precautions to keep all boats clear of her while the wrecks of the cradles plunged up in tremendous masses as each was released by the onward movements of the Great Eastern.

A short delay took place in consequence of the Great Eastern getting foul of a barge, but the obstruction was soon removed, and the stately mass was again moved down the river to the Government moorings, where she was secured stem and stern.

Nearly every one who had been actively engaged about the vessel stood on her deck during the launch, anxious for the honor of accompanying her in her first trip, although it was only across the river. Mr. Hope, the chairman of the company, together with his brother directors and a party of friends, was at the bow. At the moment when the sinking of the barge announced that the ship was clear of every obstruction, and fairly afloat, the Chairman advanced to Mr. Brunel, and shaking him warmly by the hand, congratulated him on the final success of his stupendous undertaking.

Similar felicitations were extended to Captain Harrison, who was now fairly installed in his command, and the wish was universally expressed that the career of the great ship, at last so auspiciously inaugurated, might be long and prosperous.

The capital of the Eastern Steam Navigation Company was originally £1,200,000, but this has been much increased, both before and since the ship passed into the hands of the present company. It was stated at a recent meeting, that a large portion of the additional sum was contributed by persons in a more humble walk of life than are usually shareholders in great undertakings.

The small of the shares caused this gratifying fact, enabling many small tradesmen to invest their little savings in this national enterprise, as they themselves have stated, more for the purpose of seeing the great ship afloat, than with any ultimate hope of pecuniary advantage. (Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, Sept. 17, 1859).

September 24, 1859

“The Deck of the Great Eastern.

No words alone could give an idea of the sense of vastness which strikes upon the beholder on looking upon the deck of the Great Eastern. Some drawing is needed to show, by comparison with other objects, the immense expanse which greets the eye, and for this reason we have, in this week's issue, engraved a sketch, taken from the port paddle-box, and looking aft on the upper deck.

It was originally intended to have a large poop deck, but this plan has not been carried out, and the deck is perfectly flush from stem to stern, a length of six hundred and ninety-six feet, and breadth across the paddle-boxes one hundred and eighteen feet. All this immense length is double, and is also composed of a system of cells formed by plates and angle-irons. By this multiplication of rectilinear compartments, the ship is made almost as strong as if she were formed of solid iron, whilst, by the same system of construction, also is rendered as light, comparatively speaking, as a bamboo cane. There is a separate principle of life in every distinct portion, and she could not well be destroyed if even broken in two or three pieces, since the fragments, like those of a divided worm, would be able to sustain an independent existence. The upper deck is covered with wood, and there is room enough for a regiment to parade. A fleet of boats is suspended on davits, fourteen of which are abaft the paddle-boxes, and the others in front, making altogether twenty, all of which are furnished with masts and sails complete.

Late European papers mention that Howes and Cushing, the American circus managers, have made application for passage for their troupe, and that they intend to give performances on the upper deck during the voyage, using a matting of India rubber for the interior of the circle, to prevent slipping, while the gymnastic apparatus is to be attached to the rigging.

The immense size of the vessel has enabled the *Dublin University Magazine* to get off the following story at the expense of the boasting propensities of the conventional Yankee:

‘An Englishman lately steamed up the Thames with a Yankee traveler, who was in one of his boasting moods. When they arrived of Woolwich he pointed to a line-of-battle ship anchored there, and said, “What do you call that?” That is the Dreadnought,” “Ah,” he said, “we raise cabbages in the States a big as that thing!” Proceeding further up the river, they came opposite to the Great Eastern, which was just ready to be launched, when he put a similar question as to her. “What do you call that?” “That,” said my friend, “is a great iron kettle we are building to boil the Yankee cabbages in.” “Stranger,” he replied, with a loud laugh, “I guess you weren’t born in the woods to be scared by an owl, was you? Well, that ere ship is as big as all out doors, that’s a fact.” (*Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, Sept. 24, 1859)

September 25, 1859

“A Week Later from Europe.

* * *

Trial Trip of the Great Eastern.

Perfect Success of the Experiment.

She is Pronounced the Fastest Vessel in the World.

* * *

The Great Eastern

Her Departure on her Trial Trip—Satisfactory Nature of her Performances.

The great event of the week has been the departure of the *Great Eastern* for sea. The *Nova Scotian* brought out news that the vessel had proceeded down the Thames as far as Purfleet on the 7th, and anchored there for the tide of the following morning. Her departure from her moorings, accompanied by four powerful tugs, two at the bows, and two at the stern, gave rise to a scene of the great enthusiasm on the Thames, which was continued at all the prominent points. Captain

Harrison and the most experienced Thames pilot directed the ship's motions. Mr. Scott Russell was on the bridge, directing the action of the engines, both of which screw and paddle, were under steam. Capt. Comstock, of the Collins steamer *Baltic*, stood aft to transmit directions to the men at the wheel, the new steering apparatus not being completely fitted. The very first turn in the river demonstrated that the ship was as completely under command as a river steamer, and that the only difficulties to contend with were the sharp curves in the stream. She steers as easily as a wager boat, and her engines were found capable of starting her or arresting her motion literally almost by a single motion of the hand. The only difficulty experienced was at Blackwall Point, where the river forms an acute angle, and in the centre of the channel at this point, a bark and a schooner had unfortunately anchored. There was an anxious and perilous delay of fifteen minutes, but the danger was passed, and there was no other serious cause for uneasiness. There was not a single regular seaman on board during the river trip, the crew not having joined.

There were perfect ovations at Greenwich, Blackwall, Woolwich, and other points, where immense crowds had assembled. At Purfleet the ship swung round to her single anchor in beautiful style, and the anchor, 'Trotman's patent,' never yielded an inch from the spot where it was dropped.

On the 18th the *Great Eastern* got up steam and weighed anchor, and at 8:40 A.M. started from Purfleet to the Nore. As on the preceding day, she was accompanied by tugs, and the enthusiasm along the river, particularly at Gravesend, was very great. On arriving at Chapman's Head, at the top of Sea-Reach, the tugs were cast off and the great vessel was left to herself. Increased speed was then got on her simply to give her good steerage way and move her engine a readily, but with no view to test her power. *In ten minutes*, however, says the correspondent of the *Times*, *she set at rest all doubts forever, as to her being the fastest vessel, beyond comparison in the world.* Employing less than two-thirds of her power, in her worse trim,

being six inches down by the head, and too high out of water to permit her paddles or screw blades to work properly, and with a strong tide against her, she ran a distance of fifteen statute miles in two minutes under an hour. The engines worked with astonishing ease, and there was scarcely a vibration perceptible. Before anchoring, the vessel was put about and went completely round in less than three-quarters of a mile. At 12½ o'clock the vessel anchored at the Nore. She was to leave the Nore at 7 o'clock on the morning of the 9th, and steam away easily for Portland, Dorsetshire, which harbor she was expected to reach early on the morning of the 10th. Much regret was felt that serious illness prevented Mr. Brunel from being on board to share the triumph.

Latest.

The *Great Eastern* left the Nore at 9¼ o'clock on Friday morning, and, with a strong westerly wind and thick rain, was off Dover at 3 P.M." (New York Times, Sept. 22, 1859)

September 24, 1859

“Family Saloon in the Great Eastern.

The Great Eastern being an English ship, everything connected with her fittings, &c., are also, to a great extent, English in their peculiar characteristics. Thus, as the Englishman prefers living in solitary grandeur in his private rooms at his hotel to fraternizing with his fellow-visitors, as in this country, so the usual saloon, common to all passengers of the same class, will not suffice for travellers by the Great Eastern, but separate cabins must be erected, where any one who has money to pay for them may seclude himself from Dick, Tom and Harry, and make himself miserable and ennuyé in his own way.

We have selected as a subject for an illustration one of the family cabins in the great ship, which are furnished in a manner worthy of her magnificence in other respects, and fitted up in such a manner as to preserve, as much as possible, home comforts.

The cabin is eighteen feet long by seven feet six inches wide, and seven feet six inches high, and is designed to be used both as a sleeping and sitting apartment, the berths, by a simple arrangement of hinges, &c., being made to fold up against the side of the cabin, leaving a space of six inches between the two, so as to admit of stowing away the bed clothes; this done, curtains are drawn across and so kept until night. The cabin is floored with oilcloth and Turkey rugs above. Of course it has been necessary to remove that side of the cabin from which the view is taken; by so doing, however, an important feature has been necessarily omitted, for at this end of the cabin is a corresponding settee to that opposite, and beneath this a bath, which can be easily supplied with fresh or hot salt water by the said of the donkey-engines, or some of the multitudinous shaftings which are to work everything all over the ship.

These private cabins are approached from the main saloon by light, elegant bridges, leading over the space left for ventilation at the side of the principal cabin.

Notwithstanding the general elegance of the ship, the short duration of her passage, and the numberless comforts only attainable on such a leviathan, the sum charged for passage is not greater than by ordinary ships, being advertised at from ninety to one hundred and twenty-five dollars, without wines; state cabins, such as we have described, extra.

It is said that the mirrors, gilding, carpeting and silk curtains for the main saloon alone cost three thousand pounds. The kitchens, pantries and sculleries are all on the same extensive scale, and fitted with all the large culinary requisites of first call hotels. The ice-house holds upwards of one hundred tons of ice, and the lofty wine vaults—for such, in fact, they are—already contain wine enough form a good freight for an Oporto trader. (*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, Sept. 24, 1859)

October 8, 1859

The First Voyage of the Great Eastern.

The Interest in the Great Eastern seems daily to increase; like the rolling snowball it grows larger with every foot of distance which she travels.

On the occasion of her voyage from the Thames to Portland, every spot which afforded a view of her was crowded with anxious spectators, proving how universal is the wish for her success.

The 8th of September was named as the eventful day, and accordingly in the gray of the morning the preparations for sailing were commenced.

Several powerful tugs were in attendance, the four principal ones being named, curiously enough, the Victoria, Napoleon, Alliance and True Briton. Moving the Great Eastern, however, was not an affair of casting out a tow rope and going ahead. There was of course the usual routine amount of shouting, and inexplicable orders and counter orders, and fussing about the tugs before all was in readiness.

At 7:30 A.M., Captain Harrison and the pilot took their places on the starboard paddle-box. Mr. Scott Russell remained on the bridge to direct the action of the engines, both of which—screw and paddle—were under steam. Capt in Comstock stood aft to transmit directions to the men at the wheel, as Mr. Langley's new steering apparatus was not completed fitted. Mr. Perouse, the chief officer, took charge of the fore part of the ship; and to all other officers were allotted stations, either to transmit directions or signals to the tugs.

Then was the order given to go ahead slowly, and for the first time the Great Eastern started into motion, and with the slow majestic beat of her huge paddles moved grandly down the river. The general public had evidently put but little faith in the announcement that she would leave the river yesterday, so that until the preparations were made for actually leaving there was little stir upon the

river. Gradually, however, as the steamtugs began to move about, and get their tow ropes in, it seemed suddenly to break upon the amphibious population at both sides of the stream that they were at last about to lose a vessel whose presence has made Deptford and the Isle of Dogs famous throughout the world.

The screw engines started first, working beautifully, without noise heat or even apparent vibration; and when the paddle machinery came into play, a few revolutions sufficed to get her head round to the point required.

As the Great Eastern was slowly backing in order to get round the sharp turn at Greenwich, there ensued an extraordinary scene. Thousands upon thousands of people were seen rushing to the river side from all points. Boats of every kind and size were launched crowded to the water's edge, and the stream and its banks seemed suddenly instinct with life. There were not so much cheers as continuous shouting—a genuine outburst of enthusiasm and delight. Even the wan and sickly inmates of the Seaman's Hospital ship turned out upon the deck or crowded the port with their worn faces, to give one shout or wave a cap to the vessel which swept so grandly by. The very first turn at Greenwich showing Captain Harrison and all the officers of the vessel that the great ship was as thoroughly under command as a river steamboat, and that the only difficulty to be overcome, or rather to contend against, was her length in turning the sharp curves of the river at Greenwich, Blackwall and Woolwich.

The vessel's draught was twenty-one feet ten inches aft and twenty-two feet three inches forward—about the very worst trim in which she could have left her moorings, being down by the head five inches instead of some five feet down by the stern. Twenty-three or twenty-four feet may appear no great depth of water, but when it is recollected that this was the minimum required at the turnings, and over a length of eight hundred feet, which is more than the breadth of the Thames

at Westminster, it will be seen at once that these angles were at first regarded with a certain amount of anxiety and distrust. A few moves of the vessel, however, showed that she was perfectly in hand. She steered as easily as a wager-boat, and her engines were found capable of starting her into motion or arresting her progress literally almost by a single movement of the hand.

At Greenwich, on both sides of the river, an immense multitude had collected, but it was at Blackwall that the first really great ovation was made. The news of her departure had spread far and fast, and from the deck of the great ship the shores could be seen at Blackwall Point literally darkened by people. Every house was crowded, and the roofs covered with spectators; the mast-house was occupied, the pier swarmed, the tops and yards of the vessels in the docks seemed alive. As the great ship approached, the enthusiasm seemed to pass the bounds which ordinarily mark such displays with Englishmen. The dense mass cheered, shouted, waved hats, shawls, handkerchiefs, with an abandon of gratification that was heart-stirring. It was really almost a national reception, and all seemed to have, as Englishmen, a share in the finest, swiftest, strongest and handsomest ship which the world has yet seen.

Blackwall Point was, indeed, the turning point in the fortunes of the Great Eastern. The river at this place forms an acute angle, round which the tide sweeps with strong but most unequal force. The admirable manner in which Captain Harrison and the pilot, Mr. Atkinson, managed the ship, the power and regularity with which the engines worked, would, if left unobstructed, have soon got the vessel round this place. But, of course, right in the centre of the river, a bark (the Kingfisher) was moored, while a little beyond her lay a schooner in such a manner as effectually to block the "fairway" down the stream. The tugs were signaled to get the Great Eastern's head round, and tried to do so, but the strain was too much; at the most critical moment two of the hawsers parted, and for a few minutes the noble vessel was, beyond a doubt, in a perilous

position, as the sweep of the tide was strong and in an instant drove her towards shore. Nothing but the great power of her own engines saved her here, though it was a delicate matter to us to manage her properly. It was necessary instantly to counteract the influence of the tide and get her head off shore; but, at the same time, to do so in such a manner as would not give way enough to take her on shore on the opposite side of the river. Fortunately this was effected, fresh hawsers were passed to the tugs, the bark, the cause of all the peril, slipped her anchor, and, after an anxious delay of some ten or fifteen minutes, the Great Eastern worked slowly round and turned the point of danger. This was a great relief to all on board, and to none more so than Messrs. Campbell and Jackson, the managing directors, both of whom had been incessantly occupied the previous day and night in looking to all the arrangements for the first departure. The moment the point was safely passed carrier pigeons were sent up from the vessel and the shore to spread the welcome news.

At Woolwich there was of course a tremendous concourse of spectators. Every spot which could, and doubtless many which could not command a view of the ship, were thronged. The dockyard, the arsenal, every place was covered. The Fisgard had her men in the shrouds, who welcomed the safe arrival of the vessel with a regular 'three times three,' which was echoed back from both sides of the river by an almost countless multitude. It is very probable that another such ship may pass down the Thames, but it seems not possible that the same amount of interest can be manifested in any other vessel again, no matter what her size.

As the vessel approached Gravesend multitudes of people could be distinguished along the shore. Gradually, as she came nearer and nearer, the air rung with their cheers, and the river was covered with boats of every shape and size, crowded with people, all shouting or waving hats and handkerchiefs.

There was something almost affecting in the spontaneous enthusiasm and delight with which all seemed to hail the release of the noble ship from her long thralldom in the river. No matter whether it was a Hamburg or Rotterdam steamer with half foreigners on board, or a fishing smack with a couple of men in the bows, none seemed too high or too low to do her honor, and her voyage down the river was one continued scene of vociferous welcome. Off Gravesend, and in front of the thronging piers and terraces, were several large troopships with detachments on board for India. The crews were in the shrouds of these; the soldiers, grouped in picturesque masses, stood on deck. From all the great ship got a welcome which was worth a long journey to see, and which triumphant as may be her reception in the States, is never likely to be surpassed, nor often equaled. With the parting cheers still floating across the water, Gravesend was left behind and the two tugs ahead began to go at greater speed as the Lower Hope was passed. Soon the water began its tint from dirty black to muddy green, the cool air came fresher across the reaches, and those on board rejoiced at last as the long-wished for approach of sea water.

Throughout the whole course down the river the paddle engines had never been moved at a great speed than from four to six revolutions per minute; and the screw at from twelve to eighteen. In fact, neither engine was moved till it became actually necessary to assist the tugs. Yesterday, however, when our valuable little aids, which had realised the fable of the mouse and the lion, and freed the Great Eastern from all her river toils, were cast adrift at Chapman's Head, more speed was put upon the vessel, and in ten minutes she sat at rest for every all doubt as to her being the fastest vessel beyond comparison in the world. It has already been stated that the proper sea-going trim of the Great Eastern is a little over four feet down by the stern. Instead of this, she is at present six inches down by the head, while her whole draught of water is too light to allow the proper immersion to her paddle floats, and no less than four feet of her screw blades are out of water.

Off Dover.

The brisk breeze was rapidly rising into a gale, and the 'mackerel sky,' which makes the ocean sailor look grave, was spreading over the horizon. Large ships were lying-to under close-reefed topsails, smaller vessels appeared and disappeared as if about to be engulfed, and steamers were lashing, struggling and belching forth the black smoke which indicated increasing fires and pressure, but still making no headway through the waves, which had by this time lost their brilliant blue, and had assume the sullen gray tinge which is the sure forerunner of bad weather. But on board the Great Eastern no one could tell by her motion that she was not sill on her cradle at Millwall. You might have played cricket on the spacious deck, and not one of the passengers showed throughout the day the slightest symptom of sea-sickness. When off Dover, the wind had risen to a strong gale, and a little packet steamer, with the tricolor at the main and fore, was observed to steam gallantly out of harbor and make for the great ship as if it were a port of destination. So much did she labor, that as we looked over our own lofty bulwarks, which were as steady as the battlements of a bridge, persons who were unaccustomed to the terrors of the deep watched her with pain and anxiety, in the firm conviction that she must soon be engulfed. She pitched heavily into the sea every moment, and huge waves could be seen sweeping and breaking over the whole length of her decks. She was crowded with passengers, and these latter, who in ordinary circumstances would have been stowed snugly away in their berths, were crowded upon her bridge and paddle-boxes, giving on the big ship, and cheering with the greatest enthusiasm. Salutes were exchanged and ensigns were 'dipped,' and in a few moments the little vessel put her helm down and ran rapidly back to port.

During the roughest weather that occurred during the passage the rise and fall was not more than a foot throughout her entire length.

We extract the following account of the fatal explosion which took place from a letter written by a passenger:

‘Dinner was over. It was six o’clock, and we were off Hastings, at about seven miles distance from the shore. The majority of the passengers having finished their repast, had gone on deck. The ladies had retired, and, as every one conjectured, according to their usual custom to their boudoir. The dining-saloon was deserted, save by a small knot of joyous guests, all known to each other, who had gathered round the most popular of the directors, Mr. Ingram. That gentleman, his hand on the shoulder of his young son, was listening, not apparently unpleased, to the eloquence of a friend, who was descanting on his merits while proposing his health. The glasses were charged; the orator’s peroration had culminated; the revelers were upstanding; when—as if the finger of a man’s hand had come out against the cabin wall, and written, as in sand, that the Medes and Persians were at the gate—the verberation of a tremendous explosion was heard. The reverberation followed. Then came a tremendous crash, not hollow, as of thunder, but solid, as of objects that offered resistance. Then a sweeping, rolling, swooping, rumbling sound, as of cannon balls scudding along the deck above. The rumbling noise was followed by the smash of the dining-saloon skylights, and the irruption of a mass of fragments of wood and iron, followed by a thick cloud of powdered glass, and then by coal dust. There was but one impulse, one question—to go on deck; to ask, ‘What can it be?’ On gaining the deck all that could be seen were billows of steam and smoke rolling towards us. Those who were on deck at the time of the explosion occurred, state that the forward part of the deck appeared to spring like a mine, blowing the funnel up into the air. Then there was a confused heavy roar, amid which rose the awful crash of timber and iron mingled together; and all was hidden in a rush of steam. Blinded and almost stunned by the overwhelming concussion, those on deck stood almost motionless in the white vapor till they were reminded of the necessity of seeking shelter by the shower of wreck—glass, gilt

work, saloon ornaments and pieces of wood, which began to fall like rain in all directions. They prolonged clatter of these as they fell prevented one aft the bridge from moving, and though all knew that a fearful accident had occurred, none were aware of its extent or what was likely next to happen. After a short interval, during which the white steam still obscured all after the funnel, Captain Comstock, who was on the bridge, tried to see what had occurred, but he could only ascertain by peering over the edge of the paddle-box that the vessel's sides were uninjured, and the engines still going. Gradually then, as the steam cleared off, the foremost funnel could be seen lying like a log across the deck, which was covered with bits of glass, gilding, fragments of curtains and silk hangings, window-frames, scraps of wood blown into splinters, and a mass of fragments, which had evidently come from the cabin fittings of the lower deck, beneath the grand saloon. In the middle was a great heap of rubbish where the funnel had just stood, from which the condensed steam was rushing up in a white, and therefore not hot, vapor, but enough to hide completely all that had happened below.'

[We gave the details of this unfortunate accident in the second edition of our last number.]

As we steamed grandly on, steamers from Waymouth and Teignmouth, thronged with people in holiday costume, were to be seen making for the great ship. Soon they began to pass under our stern. The crowds on board cheered lustily—nine times nine following three times three. The bands on board the steamers are plying the 'National Anthem' and 'Rule Britannia.' This is the ovation we expected, and which our ship, her eminent constructors, her admirable captain—who shall deny it?—deserve. But no responsive cheer comes on board the Great Eastern. Not one joyous vice is raised. Passengers and crew are gathered in moody groups about the enormous decks, conversing in low and cheerless tones. Some lean over the bulwarks or stand in the lower rigging, gazing, with sad eyes, at the glittering, shouting crowd below.

The music floating upwards grates harshly on ears which within the last sixteen hours have heard very different and very melancholy sounds—the cries of human agony. The gay fluttering banners and pendants have a ghastly garishness in their sheen to us now. We have flags enough on board too. It would be better, perhaps, to hoist a black one half-mast high, to tell the unconscious holiday-makers that we have need of condolence rather than congratulation; that our joy is turned into sorrow; that once more the vanity of vanities in all human aspirations has been displayed; that Death has come down among us, and taken unto himself the ‘strong man at the furnace side, and those that weld iron from the coals of the brazier;’ and that the Almighty, for his own wise and inscrutable purpose, has smitten this magnificent vessel with appalling disaster.

The Steering Apparatus

On one of the sides of the indispensable ‘bridge’ of steam navigation, affording a quadrangular promenade of considerable extent, stands Mr. Langley’s ingenious steering apparatus. By this admirable contrivance the great objection respecting the distance of the captain from the man at the wheel is completely obviated. A compass, the duplicate of the one in the binnacle, stands before the officer, who is placed under the immediate eye of the captain. It is covered with a brass circular slide, in which is perforated an aperture sufficiently large to permit of one of the points on the card being seen through. The captain, or steering officer, holds a handle by means of which he exposes the point at which he wishes the ship’s head to be kept, and by means of connecting rods a coincident point is disclosed on the compass which is watched by the steersman, who thus knows in a moment the way in which he is to steer the ship. This plan works in a most satisfactory manner, and by its means the ship can be as easily steered as one of a thousand tons. Close to it, and on the same platform, the captain has another mechanical agent, called the indicator, which fulfils silently, but most efficiently, the function energetically performed by the vociferous

little callboys in the river steamers. By means of this little instrument, which communicates with the engine room, the engineer is told to 'ease her,' 'stop her,' 'turn her ahead,' or 'astern,' as the case may require; so that here again we find distance annihilated by mechanical science, and the great steam giant of the ocean as easily controlled as the fussy, noisy little steam tugs of the North and East Rivers. (*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, Oct. 8, 1859.)

The Accident on Board The Great Eastern.

On the morning of the 9th September, as the mammoth ship was steaming at the easy rate of twelve knots an hour, and off the coast of Hastings, a terrible explosion took place in the casing of the forward boiler, which destroyed the entire dining saloon and the cabins under it, but was far more afflicting was the loss of life which ensued. Four were killed on the spot, and eight had already died from their injuries. This will delay the departure of the vessel for about three weeks. It is satisfactory to know that the explosion, which was severe enough to have blown any other vessel to atoms, did not affect either her motion or her structure in the least. She proceeded as usual, and reached Portland next morning. Great blame is thrown upon Mr. Scott Russell for his adopting a plan which had been abandoned in the Collins and Cunard lines, on account of its danger and uselessness. The funnel was carried into the air, and the stays of the boiler were so much weakened that it must be reset. The damage will cost fifty thousand dollars to repair. (*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, Oct. 8, 1859.)

October 26, 1859

"This is a stormy day, the wind being very high. We already have rumors of wrecks & much apprehension is felt for the vessels on the coast."
(Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1859)

October 27, 1859

"European News.

* * *

The Great Eastern.

* * *

The latest rumors are to the effect that the *Great Eastern* would sail for America about the 24th of October.

* * *

The Great Eastern.

Her Success and her Failure.

From Our Special Correspondent.

London, Friday, Oct. 14, 1859.

The late excursion of the *Great Eastern* sufficiently fulfilled the conditions of a trial trip to establish at least two conclusions: The first is, that she will approximately answer the intentions of her builders, by making the passage to Australia and back with about the speed of ordinary ships, at a slight positive economy in the amount of horse-power required, (by reason of her better model,) but without a probable saving in fuel for a given horse-power, her engines being of the old kind; and, lastly, with a decided economy over ships which have to lengthen their passage and stop for coals. Any good steamer can carry coals to Australia and back, and a cargo, but the *Great Eastern* can carry a large and paying cargo in addition to her coals. She has so far proved herself equal to the best ordinary ships; therefore, the only question is, Has not her size been too much exaggerated? Can she be filled, even to Australia? Many vessels of over 3,000 tons have gone begging for work within the past few years, simply because they were too large for their cargoes. To run them would have been to follow the example of some of our railway managers, who use a twenty-six ton locomotive and a tender to draw two dozen people, instead of reducing expenses by at least half, by light tank engines. Extremely long voyages are her only hope, if anything like a speed

of fifteen knots is contemplated. Or, she may prove so extremely comfortable as to make a twelve or fourteen day passenger ship—with all grades of accommodation, and an unprecedented assurance of safety—between Europe and America. At such a speed she could afford to carry passengers, during the season, at rates which, from their very cheapness, would half fill her rooms, while less safe and comfortable vessels could not afford to run slowly, but must depend upon their speed alone.

That the *Great Eastern's* success can only be founded on size, and not on unprecedented economy in any other behalf, was pretty certainly indicated by the events and results of the trial trip, a few of which I will briefly recapitulate. Her hull and machinery, which are simply the magnified hull and machinery of an ordinary screw and an ordinary paddle steamer combined, have been constructed with praiseworthy accuracy, and they betray their parentage by exhibiting all the ancestral traits. There is no new blood in the *Leviathan*. The *Great Eastern* has proved no new law of fluid resistance. On her recent trial she presented an area of immersed midship section of 1,880 square feet, whereas when fully laden this area will be increased to at least 2,200 square feet. The highest speed accomplished at any time was $14\frac{1}{4}$ knots, or about 17 miles per hour, 2,500 yards of canvas being spread under a somewhat favoring breeze. As nearly as was calculated from a measurement of coal by the bushel instead of the cwt., and from a few hasty diagrams at constantly varying speeds, the screw-engines were exerting about 4,700 horse-power, at their average maximum speed of 41 turns, and were then represented by those in charge of them to be burning at the rate of 150 tons per twenty-four hours, or a fraction less than 3 pounds per hour per horse-power. I not only observed, but was officially informed, that the diagrams giving this horse-power as well as all the others, must be taken with a large allowance, not because they were in themselves wrong, but because at many speeds no diagrams were taken; therefore the average number of revolutions of the screw, during the whole voyage, being about 34, its average horse-power is not

known. The screw engineer's statement of the consumption of coal by the screw, during the whole trip, was 125 tons per day. Other parties state, and I also saw, that the measurement of coal was not performed to a nicety; the baskets of coal largely exceeded their nominal weight. I believe, therefore, in default of mathematical truth, and am sustained by the impression by impartial persons, that the consumption of coal for an average speed of say $13\frac{1}{2}$ knots was much more than at the rate of 125, or even 150 tons for the screw, and 90, as was afterwards shown, for the paddle-boilers, but that it was some 300 tons a day. We have no reliable diagrams at an average speed, but can only infer from the usual calculations that the total average horse-power could not have much exceeded 6,500, and that the consumption of coal was, at least 4 pounds per horse-power for the screw, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ pounds for the paddles. The paddle-engine's fuel was not measured till the last day of the trip. Then, during an average speed of less than 9 revolutions, the coal was reported at 90 tons per day, and diagrams taken at 10 revolutions gave a horse-power of 2,900. This would give about 3 pounds per hour per horse-power. When these engines were working at $11\frac{1}{2}$ turns, however—their highest speed—the horse-power was not ascertained, and can only be inferred. The highest amount of power exerted whilst the vessel was going at her most rapid rate was probably—for it can only be given conjecturally—about 7,900 horse-power for both screw and paddle, the result, unassisted by sails, having been probably no more than 14 knots an hour, and the consumption of coals at the rate of above 300 tons per day. And here the *Great Eastern* is on a common footing with ordinary ships.

There is no reason to expect that a speed of 18 knots can be made without an increase of power in proportion to the cube of the velocity. The experience with nearly all other steam vessels confirms this supposition. At the latter speed, therefore, the *Great Eastern* would require at least 16,000 horse-power, which is, we may say at once, more than her boilers are capable of supplying. In exerting this power, all the engines would be

required to maintain, in addition to the ordinary vacuum, 20 pounds per square inch upon the pistons throughout the whole length of their stroke, the screw-engines making 53 and the paddle-engines making 14 turns per minute. To attempt to force the boilers, especially with anything but the best coal, would greatly increase the rate of consumption, and it is altogether likely that upwards of 650 tons of coal would be burned daily in driving the great ship at the utmost power of her engines—rather more than from 180 to 240 tons, which the newspapers here have variously stated as her allowance at 18 knots.

The second conclusion which the trial trip establishes is, that the *Great Eastern* was not commenced in accordance with sound commercial or scientific principles, that she is no vital improvement upon, but simply an exaggeration of old fashions, and that her failure to cheapen transport by reason of any other feature except her size, should have been foreseen and avoided. Her simple attribute of extent has, of course called out some excellent details and workmanship, and in itself will at some day be exactly what is wanted. We all hope it is not in advance of the age; but the preservation of old and expensive processes and details, on a scale which will only quadruple the cost of failure, should it occur, detracts from the merit and splendor of the enterprise. There is not an honest and practical marine engineer in Christendom who has had to do, in his experience, with the development of any of the leading improvements of the day in marine machinery—not one who will deny that had one-half of the cost of the *Great Eastern* been judiciously spent in perfecting some of the improvements, the other half would have built a vessel whose fame and success would have stamped the very age with its name. Had such an attempt been attended with misfortunes, everybody would have sympathized with its originators, helped them on, and hoped for better luck; and success would have come, if there is any reliance to be placed on the great truths of nature and science. Surface condensation, allowing the use of small light boilers, high steam and

economical engines, better materials and better combustion—these are the elements of revolution in ocean navigation—not the building of Great Easterns—the simple multiplication of things that are known to be bad and costly, without an attempt at improvement. Therefore I believe the public sympathy with the ‘liberal spirit,’ which has urged forward this ‘splendid enterprise,’ though it may probably be hearty, will not be painfully extreme, at the dampened prospects of the great ship company.

Really great and peculiarly interesting as the *Great Eastern* really is—a fact which we shall be likely to bear in mind—never let us for moment forget that such enterprises stand in the way of real improvement, by absorbing the money, and betraying the confidence so deeply needed for better purposes.

Tubal Cain.” (New York Times, Oct. 27, 1859)

October 28, 1859

“Movements of the Great Eastern.

The following letter has been addressed to the Mayor of Portland by Mr. Fred Cumberland, agent of the Great Ship Company:

Portland, Oct. 26, 1859.

My Dear Sir: Being aware of the anxiety being generally felt in relation to the movements of the *Great Eastern* steamship, I beg to inform you that I have this day received official advices from London, dated 11th inst., to the effect that the trial trip from Portland to Holyhead was entirely satisfactory; that the date for sailing to America (the 20th) remained unaltered; but that it was still possible that she might not sail on that exact day.

From this communication I gather that her departure was but a question of a day or two; but I am promised definite information by the *Persia*'s mail, and on the receipt of it I shall have the pleasure of acquainting you with its details.

I am, Sir, yours, respectfully,

Fred Cumberland, General Manager,
His Honor, the Mayor of Portland.” (New York
Times, Oct. 28, 1859)

“The fierce autumnal gale of Tuesday night proved most destructive of life and property. A fine screw ship, the Royal Charter, from Australia, was lost near Point Lynas & 469 out of 500 souls perished, and that almost in sight of their homes. Men, women & children were engulfed without mercy; and the people on shore plundered the dead to such an extent that the military had to be sent down from Liverpool to keep the rogues in order.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1859)

November 2, 1859

“THE GREAT EASTERN.

PROBABILITIES OF HER GOING TO
AMERICA—REASONS FOR POSTPONING
HER TRIP.

From the London Times.

Holyhead, Monday, Oct. 17.

The exact time for the departure of the vessel for America still seem as undecided as ever. It has been stated over and over again that Monday, the 24th inst., or the 27th at latest, was positively to be the day for starting; but we should be deceiving our readers if we did not dissuade them from entertaining any expectation of this kind. The day when the *Great Eastern* will really leave these shores rests with the Board of Trade, and *is only with the Company so in far as they exert themselves to comply with the very proper requirements which the Board of Trade demand for the safety of any passengers the Great Eastern may carry.* That the number of these same passengers will be limited in the extreme on the occasion of the first voyage seems beyond a doubt. Rightly or wrongly, the public evidently entertain a strong wish to see this great experiment fairly tested by the only test by which the merits of the vessel can be judged,—a real trip across the Atlantic and back. Of course

before the *Great Eastern* leaves, the Board of Trade are determined to see that every precaution is adopted to secure the safety of the ship and those on board; but even with this qualified guarantee passengers will prefer to wait and judge for themselves what the ship can do on a regular voyage. The coasting trial trips which have as yet been made can no more be fairly taken as a criterion of what the Great Ship will do in an Atlantic gale than if we were to judge from a run at the measured mile what a vessel could affect off the Cape of Good Hope. That the *Great Eastern* will never pitch heavily seems to be believed on all sides; that she will roll, and, and to a certain extent deeply, appears equally undoubted, though the motion will be slow and steady.

Some time back we informed our readers of the principal requirements of the Board of Trade. Very few of these still remain to be done. Done they must and will be before the ship leaves; but we mention the fact that they still have to be effected as a reason for our belief that the Great Ship cannot and *is not likely to start before the middle of next month, if she leaves this Winter.*

The patches which were so unwisely put on the forward boilers before the ship left Portland are now being removed, and replaced with entirely new plates. The India-rubber packing between the lower flange of the iron masts is to be done away with, and its place supplied with hornbeam. This also is to be done at Holyhead, and will of course take time to perfect. No bilge and feed-pumps have been fitted to the main machinery, which is still dependent on its feed-water being supplied by the donkey-engines. This, as we have before pointed out, is a most objectionable arrangement, as, in case of donkeys breaking down (and, in spite of every care, on both trial trips they have always done so,) the engines must come to a dead stand. As this is a matter which can only affect the speed of the ship, and not in any degree interfere with its safety, the company, of course, have a right to their own way; but, if they have any regard to the commercial success of the *Great Eastern*, they would be wise to

adopt every precaution against the possibility of a slow voyage. It is urged, and with truth, that to fit these feed-pumps now would require a delay of at least two or three months, and that the vessel could not then start for America before next Spring. Those best acquainted with the internal arrangements of the ship think that such a delay would be of great advantage to the future success of the vessel, as affording time for a thorough administrative organization of all its departments. This, at present is much needed, and until the vessel is solely and entirely given over to the charge of Captain Harrison and the officers under him, it can scarcely be looked for. One of the chief requirements of the Board is that fire pumps shall be fitted to the auxiliary engines of the screw, and to do this will require such an amount of time and labor that it is most probable that two powerful hand pumps will eventually be supplied instead. It is rumored, indeed, that at some remote period two such hand pumps were put on board, but of their whereabouts at present none can tell. These, with the fitting of extra boats, communication in case of accident with all the stoke-holes, better ventilation of the ship in some places apportioned to the crew, &c., are the main conditions insisted on by the Board of Trade before the vessel can receive her passenger certificate; and to do these as they ought to be done will require a delay which makes it absurd to expect that the *Great Eastern* can possibly leave England during this month. There is one precaution, however, though not required by the Board, is so imperatively necessary that unless it is adopted now even sailors would venture now to start for America in the *Great Eastern*. We mean, of course, precaution against cold. Only those who know what a North American Winter is, or who have been off the banks of Newfoundland towards the end of November, can appreciate the extreme severity of the cold which prevails there. Yet throughout the *Great Eastern* there is not yet a single stove or hot-air pipe fitted to prevent either crew or passengers from almost freezing in such weather. It is true that these will all be put up before the vessel leaves, but this is only an additional element of delay, and one which makes it still more certain that the ship

cannot leave at the time stated. Now as to the passage across, and the rate of speed which must be fairly expected. The results of the last trial trip have been carefully weighed, so that a fair approximation of her future success in point of steaming can now perhaps be better given than during the hurry and confusion of the late trial trips.

If the *Great Eastern* go to sea next Spring, her run is likely to be of great success, for by that time both ship and engines will be in full working order, which they most certainly are not now. If, on the contrary, her trial trip across the Atlantic is hurried forward, it is more than probable that *the whole journey will prove a failure in speed*. The engineers will fear, and most reasonably fear, to drive the engines over-much, for a break-down within ten miles of land, and a break-down in the middle of the Atlantic in a Winter's gale, are widely different things; and the vessel laboring only for a single day in a heavy sea will soon find out the weakest point in her engines. The paddle-engines are fitted with what is termed a 'marine-governor,' which, when a heavy wave forces round the paddles at great speed, instantly shuts off the steam till the machinery slackens down to the rate at which the governor is regulated; yet even with the aid of this governor (which by the way is not yet connected with the machinery) every one can understand how engines strain when, after flying around at 14, or perhaps 15, revolutions a minute, they are suddenly brought up to five or six. This is the kind of labor which test ships' engines to the very utmost. This is the test which the *Great Eastern* has not yet had, and which when it comes will try both the piston and air pump rods of the paddle-engine to the very utmost. The trial trip showed that with an average amount of fair weather, for a vessel of such magnitude, her engines worked well and easily, but as the sea-going qualities of the *Great Eastern* cannot fairly be judged by a coasting voyage, so also machinery of such size and power require a proportionate amount of rough work to test it fully and satisfactorily. This test, as we have said, it has not yet undergone, and can only meet with in an

ocean voyage—and for an ocean voyage the *Great Eastern* is not yet ready.

Apparently, there has been some miscalculation as to the size of her boilers to generate the steam-power required, for, though the boilers have done their duty admirably, it is believed at full steaming the screw and paddle engines can find full employment for more steam than the boilers are equal to supply. This may be, in a great measure, due to the fact that for her size the *Great Eastern* is ‘under-powered,’ as it is called. Few steamships are built at a lower proportion than that of one-horse power to four tons. In the *Great Eastern* the horse-power is only one to nearly nine tons, and the speed which is gained with this disproportion is due entirely to the length of the ship and her unequaled form.

As regards the trip to America, in a commercial point of view—that is, to realize money by exhibiting the ship at Portland or New-York—it is certain that for this year the time is past. To arrive in the United States in the middle of Winter, when even with the Americans the season of travel is over, would be to make a failure of the whole affair. It has been suggested that on leaving Holyhead she should rather go round to Southampton and there be thoroughly fitted for sea in the best style of ocean-going steamers, taking in her supplies of rope, spare spars, and extra boats (none of which are yet on board), and, in fact, completing her with every requisite, and reducing to system her extensive internal administration. Such a course would be merely doing justice to a ship which is supposed to be built as a model and example of what ocean navigation ought to be, and which, unfortunately, may afford an illustration the very reverse of all this if she goes to the West this Winter. Advantage might also be taken of such a pause to fit the machinery with whatever is really wanted, and perhaps also to beach the vessel at Milford-haven or Southampton, and clean the bottom, which is very foul with weeds.

In the meantime she remains a show ship at Holyhead, visited daily by thousands and thousands. Almost every hour brings in heavily laden passenger trains. The uncomfortable looking fishing village of Holyhead is full to repletion, and woe betide the unlucky *voyageur* who comes down by the night train in the expectation of getting a bed. Paltry little dens and roadside alehouses command a price for dingy accommodation which would make our best London houses stare. The daily number of visitors is greater now than ever it was at Portland, and all the chief seaports of the United Kingdom where the *Great Eastern* could stay, and very many also where she could not, are clamorous in their solicitations and invitations to get her round. On Wednesday the directors of the Northwestern Railway entertain the directors of the Great Ship Company at a grand banquet at Holyhead, at which a number of celebrities are to be present.

On the same day at 1 o'clock an immense blast is to be fired at Holyhead. The charge of powder will be nearly 6,000 pounds, stowed in three chambers, and a face of cliff 100 feet high by 120 wide is expected to be dislodged in a mass of no less than 30,000 tons. This stone is to be used in the construction of the breakwater." (New York Times, Nov. 2, 1859)

December 23, 1859

"From Europe.

* * *

Miscellaneous English News.

The directors of the Great Ship Company, in view of their embarrassment relative to the *Great Eastern*, called a meeting of the shareholders for the 15th December, but they subsequently issued a notice of their intention to postpone the explanation they intended to make for a month. Great dissatisfaction existed among the shareholders at this proceeding, and it was expected that, notwithstanding the action of the directors, a full meeting would be held on the day first named. It is

said the directors had resolved to borrow money on the security of the ship.

Lord Palmerston and the Earl of Elgin have accepted invitations to a grand banquet about to be given by the Southampton Chamber of Commerce, to celebrate the selection of Southampton for the *Great Eastern* steamship.

* * *

The Latest by the Asia.

London, Saturday, Dec. 10.

The Directors of the Great Ship Company notify that the special meeting called for January 11, is for the purpose of laying before the shareholders the whole financial position of the Company; of taking into consideration the raising of further capital by preference shares or otherwise; the procuring money on mortgage or otherwise, and any proposals that may be made for chartering or purchasing the ship.

The *Times* says the liabilities to be met immediately are said to reach £45,000, against which they have only £1,100 in the hands of their bankers. There is, however, £7,242 due on arrears of calls, so that £36,658 is the exact sum to be provided. The amount of shares issued is £303,258, and £26,742 remains to be issued.

The *Daily News* says the Company have made arrangements to borrow £40,000 on six months on mortgage of the *Great Eastern*, in order to meet pressing claims." (New York Times, Dec. 23, 1859)

December 29, 1858

"Miscellaneous English News.

A meeting of shareholders (privately convened) of the Great Ship Company was held on the 13th, in anticipation of the general meeting called by the Directors. The latter, however, having been put off to the 11th of January, it was resolved

unanimously to adjourn to the 6th of that month. There was a long discussion, in the course of which considerable dissatisfaction was expressed with the past management, and resolutions to that effect were at one period proposed, but, in consequence of the adjournment, they were not submitted. It is understood that the next meeting will be held only pro forma, and no other business will then be transacted, but it will still be in the power of the shareholders to raise a discussion by moving amendments. This course, however, is generally considered to be prejudicial, and is not likely to be adopted.

It has been decided, with the concurrence of Lord Palmerston and the other distinguished personages who had accepted invitations to postpone until after the Christmas holidays the banquet proposed to be given by the Southampton Chamber of Commerce to the Directors of the Great Ship Company.” (New York Times, Dec. 29, 1859)

January to February 1860

The Great Eastern was built by John Scott Russell for the Eastern Steam Navigation Co, formed in 1851. By the time the ship was launched on 31 January 1858 the company had run short of money, and at the end of the year a new company, the Great Ship Co, was formed, and work on the vessel continued. In January 1860 disagreements on the board over the continued employment of Russell led to the reorganization referred to by Gooch (p 76). Gooch became a director and also engineer to the company in succession to Brunel who had died just after the launching.

After the voyage to America in 1860 she twice suffered severe damage and the cost of repairs soon put the Great Ship Co into difficulties and, as described by the diarist (pp 92-3) she was sold by auction in 1864 to a new group of whom Gooch became chairman, with William Barber, the original chairman, and Thomas Brassey (qqv) as the other directors.

A notebook kept by Gooch in connection with his work on the ship appeared in Sotheby's

saleroom on 23 June 1869 and is described in the catalogue of the sale (item 163). It is now in the National Maritime Museum.” Footnote 28 (p 104) to Memoirs and Diary of Sir Daniel Gooch.

January 3, 1860

“The Great Eastern.

The new year seems to open for this undertaking amid divided counsels and gloomy prospects for the future. This feeling, which the board of directors deprecate, and at which they express unfeigned surprise, has doubtless most cogent reasons for its existence in the minds of the shareholders, and may be said to be in a great measure owing to the enormous sums which have been lavished upon the fitting of a ship for sea which still remains for all practical purposes almost as unfit to cross the Atlantic as on the day she left the Thames. This feeling, coupled with an uncertainty as to the amount which may yet be required from the shareholders, the still great doubt that such sums, if raised, will be judiciously and economically expended, together with the wide-spread knowledge of the bitter dissensions which notoriously divide the board of management on almost every question relating to the vessel, is, we should think, more than sufficient to account for the fact that, as Mr. Campbell says, the shares ‘are now at a depreciation of half their value.’ To check, if possible, these gloomy tendencies, and to show the small grounds which exist for their present alarm, Mr. Campbell, the chairman, has just issued to all the shareholders copies of his correspondence with the government on the subject of ocean steam navigation and postal subsidies, both subjects being viewed in immediate relation to the future of the Great Ship. With the very unanswerable arguments which Mr. Campbell brings forward in behalf of vessels of increased size, speed, and capacity for carrying fuel, our readers now generally familiar. In reply to these letters Mr. Gladstone, on the 5th of December last, with regard to the reasons why the Government cannot at present entertain any proposal for the employment of the Great Easter, writes as follows:-

‘Among these reasons are the intention to propose the renewal of the select committee on subsidies, the general duty of the Government to avoid anticipating the judgment or fettering the hands of Parliament in a matter which it has taken under special consideration, the heavy demands from other sources upon the Treasury, and, lastly, the as yet incomplete condition, according to documents in the public journals, of the Great Ship herself.

‘The question, what are the claims of the old ocean route compared with that by the Mediterranean, and again with the Isthmus of Panama, deserve a more open and careful inquiry than can well be undertaken by a Minister or Department in the course of its ordinary duties. I hope they will receive this full examination at the hands of the committee.

‘You ask for an assurance that no new fixed subsidy shall be given for Indian or for Australian service until the result of the Great Eastern voyage shall have determined certain questions.

‘My answer is, that it is the desire and, so far as it depends upon them, the intention of the Government to avoid all engagements which might embarrass and prejudge the future, until they themselves, and until Parliament shall be in a condition to take a comprehensive view of the whole subject as to routes, as to cost and the mode of meeting it, as to the proper object of subsidy from the Government and as to its effect upon the competing enterprises of private parties, and upon the mastery of difficulties and improvement of steam navigation.’

With the copies of this correspondence Mr. Campbell publishes a statement of his opinion with regard to the present position and prospects of the Great Ship. After begging the attention of the shareholders to a retrospect of his connexion with the undertaking, and noticing that the grant of the double service to the Peninsular and Oriental Company precluded the possibility of establishing

any competing line by the Red Sea route, the document goes on to say that at this time Mr. Brunel conceived the daring project of adopting a new form of competition by the construction of a vessel able to carry fuel for the longest voyage. Mr. Campbell says it is due to himself and others to say that they at first hesitated at the prudence of so great an innovation, and urged the building of a vessel of 10,000 or 12,000 tons, but they were overruled. The contractor, becoming involved in difficulty, the ruinous expenses of the launch, and other matters, caused the winding up of the first company and the establishment of the present. With reference to the question of who sanctioned the employment of Mr. Scott Russell to contract for the completion of the ship for sea under the new company's accession, Mr. Campbell says in fact that he had very little to do with it—such at least being the way in which we interpret the following statement:--

‘With none of the parties tendering had I, at any time, any personal interest whatever, and the circumstance before alluded to tended to induce me to prefer a new contractor being employed; but in this, as in all other matters connected with the ship, I waived all personal considerations and feelings; and finding that Mr. S. Beale, M.P., Mr. Robert M’Calmont, and several of the old and influential shareholders, presenting collectively, with their connexions, more than half the capital, and, who insisted at our deliberations before the arrangements were concluded, concurred in considering that, as Mr. Scott Russell possessed all the plans and models, and was the only engineer who would undertake to complete the paddlewheel engines, on which a large amount of money had been already expended, while his tender differed from all others in embracing entire completion as a first-class ship, and being willing to give good security for the proper completion of all the work, he was the most suitable party, we agreed to accept his tender.’

‘The engineering neglect’ which, by causing the explosion, prevented the Great Eastern from crossing the Atlantic this winter, Mr. Campbell says reasonably enough, cannot in any way be

chargeable on the directors, though they can by no means urge such a defense to the report of the surveyors as to the non-completion of the contractor's work, and the consequent impossibility of sending the vessel to sea at all till great and important repairs and alterations had been carried out. The document alludes to misrepresentations and exaggerations—"the wants on concord even in your own comp,' (meaning, we presume, the camp of the directors)—and says that, judgment from the offers that have already been made to commence the employment of the ship in a regular trade, it may be assumed that the idea of her being in most respects a great success is not confined to the shareholders, and he (Mr. Campbell) still looks forward to her forming, at no distant date, a link in a grand chain of communication which will diminish by one-half the time now occupied in distant ocean voyages, and be a source at once of advantage to the public and of profit to those more immediately connected with her. In conclusion, Mr. Campbell refers to the fact that he has been a great loser by his connexion with the company; that he is still one of the eight largest shareholders; and that during all the time he has been working for the ship, day after day for years, he has never received a sixpence save the trifling fees which during the last few months have been paid to him and other members of the board for directors' attendances. From first to last, Mr. Campbell says, he has contributed to save the shareholders many thousand pounds of money, while the difficulties that have surrounded the undertaking cannot be considered as having been within the control of himself or his colleagues." (Times of London, Jan. 3, 1860)

"Those who think that the cause of the Negro has been served by the raid of John Brown and the speeches of his canonizers will do well to read the report of the meeting held in New York on the 19th of December, under the banner of 'Justice to the South.' This meeting, be it observed, was 'large and influential.' For a fortnight a manifesto had been circulating in the city, and had received an immense number of signatures. The purport of this document was to express attachment to the Union

and condemnation of Abolitionist excesses. The meeting necessarily followed on this demonstration. It was crowded and enthusiastic, cheering to the utmost the strongest passages in the speakers' orations. It had the concurrence of the first men in the Union, letters expressing sympathy with its objects having been received from no less than three ex-Presidents—Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Fillmore, and Mr. Pierce. We may take the assembly to have represented pretty closely the prevailing opinion of New York, the largest, richest, and most influential city in the Union; the city which, being equally removed from New England and from the cotton States, may be considered to afford a fair sample of average American opinion.

What, then was the tone of the meeting held in this Free State city? What were the sentiments which received the loudest applause? What was the 'justice' which the speakers demanded for the South? One would suppose, after the demonstrations at Boston, that the apologists of the slaveowner would be dumb; that, shocked by Governor Wise's wickedness, they would not dare to wag their tongues against the memory of the martyrs whose blood has watered the tree of liberty. But, unhappily for the effect of the Abolitions campaign at Harper's Ferry and Boston, the speeches of the New-Yorkers are 'Pro-Slavery' to an extent which must startle the most indifferent. So far from showing indignation at the doings of the Virginians, or even excusing the existence of slavery in the old apologetic fashion, the orators at this meeting, with which Ex-Presidents sympathize, roundly defend the institution on natural, moral, and scriptural grounds, and leave it to be inferred that slavery does not exist in New York only because Negro labour is not wanted. After a preamble which recited the various federal Acts giving the Slave States a right to the support of the Government at Washington, Mr. Brooks moved the first resolution, defending the existence of involuntary servitude by its practice in the Roman Empire at the Christian era, uncondemned by the founder of Christianity or His apostles, and by the fact that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are all represented to have been owners

of slave property. The Bible nowhere condemns Slavery; 'the Bible, then, is not in conflict with the Constitution.' Mr. O'Connor followed, and compared a gentleman who hissed him to the serpent which beguiled Eve. He considered that the equality of the Negro was as impossible as the morality of Mormon 'As a white nation we made our Constitution, and we made our laws, vesting political rights in that race, the white American people.' 'The Negro we left, so long as the community in which he lived should be pleased to order, in the condition of a bondman. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, to that condition the Negro is assigned by nature. ("Bravo!" applause, and "That's so!") He has strength, and is potent to labour; but the nature which created the will denied him both the intellect to govern and the willingness to work. (Applause.) Both were denied him—both were denied him! And that nature which deprived him of will to labour gave him a master to coerce that will, and to make him a useful servant in the clime in which he was capable of living, both for himself and for the master who governed him. I maintain that it is not injustice to leave the Negro in the position which nature placed him, to give him a master to govern him; . . . nor is it depriving him of any of his rights to compel him to labour in return, and afford to that master a just compensation for the labour and talent employed in governing him and rendering him useful to himself and to the society in which he lives. . . . We are not to talk about slavery being an evil; . . . we are to look at it by the voice of inspiration which is to be found in the sacred volume, and which nowhere condemns the bondage of those who are naturally fit for bondage.'

There can be no doubt that these are the prevailing views even in the Free States of America, and as little that the violent doings of the Abolitionists have had a great share in producing them. It is but a few years since the language of every American in regard to slavery was apologetic. 'It could not be helped; it would die out. Virginia and Delaware and Maryland, and perhaps Kentucky, would be Free States before 'long;' and so on. But of late no such language has been heard,

and the cause of the change, though principally the great increase in the value of slave property, is in a great measure also the hatred inspired by the Abolitionists over the whole South. The fertile cotton-growing States might be expected to support an institution which makes their wealth, but even the high price paid for fine young Negroes would hardly have presented Virginia from making some steps towards freedom, had it not been for the continual irritation kept up by the Boston demagogues. In this State and one or two of the older slave districts the Negro's work is chiefly domestic, and, what is of more importance, a large body of white men, among whom are numbers of industrious German immigrants, are showing how much can be done by free labour. All the conditions requisite for the trial of the experiment of emancipation were coming into existence, and Virginia and Maryland might by this time have severed themselves from the sisterhood of Slave States, had it not been for the feud between North and South fomented by the Abolitionists. These people have thrown the old civilized Slave States black under the dominion of the coarse planters of the extreme South; they have made the division between the two sections so complete that, as a member of Congress observed, even the disruption of the Union would hardly make such social difference, and all without the smallest gain to the Negro, but, on the contrary, to his irreparable loss. Formerly the Negroes in the Northern Slave States were not debarred from instruction. If a master or a good-natured mistress chose, the slaves in a family might be taught to read and write, and often they were very fair proficient. But it is not only that the stringency of the slavowner's rules has been increased; the change of opinions in the Free States is a melancholy sign. The remarks of Mr. O'Connor which we have quoted are but a fair sample of what Americans have learnt to think and say. The change is to be almost entirely attributed to hatred of the Abolitionists, for, however determined not to meddle with slavery as long as it produces cotton and rice, the Northerners would have indulged the little hypocrisy of deploring it, and making sentimental speeches about the sad burden with

which their forefathers, the British, had saddled them. It is only political animosity which has led to the adoption of slavery as a creed by the mass of Americans, and yet there can be no doubt that the adoption has readily been made. Nor is it a mere barren belief; the 'Dred Scott' case shows that it has found its way to the judicial bench, and it has been carried out in the judgment which made so great a sensation in Europe, and also in the great political measure which allows any new territory to adopt slavery if it chooses. We cannot congratulate the Abolitionists on the success of their exertions, which have plunged the race they favour into deeper darkness, and have made the subjection of man to man the belief of a Christian people." (Times of London, Jan. 3, 1860)

January 10, 1860

"Great Ship Company (Limited)

The half-yearly meeting of this company was held yesterday at the London Tavern, Mr. Campbell in the chair.

The Secretary read the notice convening the meeting, and six notices of motions by proprietors for committees of inquiry and changes in the direction. Mr. Taylor's notice proposed that a committee, consisting of the Rev. Mr. Nicholson, Mr. Alderman Rose, and Mr. Abel, to be appointed to examine all books, documents, and officers; to investigate the affairs of the company, and to report thereon to an adjourned meeting. Mr. Hawes's notice was for the appointment of a committee of five to investigate the affairs of the company, and to report thereon to an adjourned meeting on the 25th inst. During the reading of Mr. Webber's notice loud cries for a larger room stopped further proceedings. The largest room in the house having been prepared for the accommodation of the meeting, the proceedings were resumed by the Secretary reading the report, which stated that the whole course of events in connexion with the progress of the Great Eastern, from the time of leaving her mooring at Deptford until her arrival in Southampton Water, was so well known, from the able reports of the public press, that the directors

consider any recapitulation perfectly unnecessary. The accounts showed the financial position of the company as it actually stood, and the questions at issue with the contractor being now under arbitration, the directors refrained from allusion to the matters in dispute with Mr. J. S. Russell. Although the untoward accident and delays had not diminished the reliance of the directors on the ultimate success and national importance of the Great Eastern, they could not conceal from themselves that diversity of opinion and much dissatisfaction existed among the shareholders from causes over which the directors had no control; and they had, therefore, unanimously come to the resolution that it was due to the shareholders and themselves to place their resignation in the hands of the proprietors (cheers), and they only retained office until their successors were appointed. The directors had resolved that a special meeting of the shareholders should be convened for Wednesday, the 25th inst., for the purpose of electing directors and auditors, and for other business. Owing to the unforeseen circumstance before referred to, the directors had been obliged to exercise the borrowing powers of the company to the extent of 40,000*l.* on mortgage of the ship, the loan of which sum had been obtained from friendly sources for six months at the rate of 7½ per cent. per annum (cries of “Oh, oh.”), subject to a rebate at the rate of 2½ per cent. should the company elect to pay off the loan before the expiration of that period. (Hear.) 303,758 shares had been allotted, so that if the balance of the shares, 26,242 (to complete capital to 330,000*l.*), could be placed, it would not be necessary to raise any large amount to clear off the existing mortgage and enable the ship to be sent on her first mercantile voyage—bearing in mind the fact, that there were stores on board the vessel of every description, amply sufficient for an American trip. It would be for the shareholders to decide whether the present mortgage should be continued, or, if otherwise, how the requisite amount should be raised to pay it off, and to provide what further funds might be wanted. The financial statement showed that 353,957*l.* had been received, including 298,733*l.* from the shareholders, 10,144*l.* for

admission of visitors to the ship, and 40,000*l.* on loan; and 347,4 3*l.* expended, including 166,161*l.* on purchase account, 142,290*l.* on completion account, 11,842*l.* for general stores, 15,311*l.* for wages and ship's expenses, and 11,067*l.* general charges, leaving a balance of 6,474*l.* The estimated liabilities and assets showed a balance against the company of 36,641*l.*

The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the report, said the great object of the directors had been to secure the completion of the ship, and to get her ready for the American season. They had been disappointed in the American trip, but at the same time they had full confidence in the ultimate success of the undertaking.

Mr. Talbot seconded the motion for the adoption of the report.

Mr. W. Hawes proposed the resolution of which he had given notice as an amendment to the motion of the chairman. He proceeded at some length, amid considerable uproar, to explain his views with regard to the undertaking and the business of the committee. They would have to consider the past and provide for the future. The first business would be to determine as to chartering the Great Eastern (A voice—"Work her), and to consider and report upon any offer that might be made for the ship. (Mr. Magnus—"We have had no offer.") He would conclude by moving an amendment to the effect that a committee of five shareholders be appointed, three to be a quorum, to inquire into the past management and future prospects of the company. He disclaimed any connexion with the directors, and stated that his only object was the appointment of an independent committee, which should represent both old and new shareholders, and, in fact, all interested in the prosperity of the company. He had the deepest interest in the success of the ship because of his great respect for the late Mr. Brunel, who had devoted a vast deal of time and labour to perfect her. He believed that no one had any doubt as to the strength of the ship and the complete manner in

which she had been constructed, and he believed she would be a commercial success. He then moved his amendment for the appointment of the committee to investigate the affairs of the company, and to report, in the first instance, as to the sale or charter of the ship, and that the meeting be adjourned to the 25th inst., to receive the first report of the committee. He would submit the names which the amendment was passed.

Mr. J. Field seconded the amendment.

Considerable uproar ensued, in the course of which other amendments were endeavoured to be proposed, but the chairman declined to entertain any other amendment until that was disposed of.

Mr. Taylor thought the best course would have been to place practical men on the board in the room of those who were not practical, but not to resign in a body as announced in the report. He had heard that the members of the committee intended to be proposed by Mr. Hawes had already been appointed or selected by the directors. (Cries of "Name the committee!") Considerable uproar again ensued, and, when the noise abated,

Mr. Hawes said the names he had selected to represent every interest were—Mr. Alderman Rose, Mr. Alderman Hodgson, of Birmingham; Mr. Baker, a director of the old company; Mr. Hope, chairman of the old company; and Mr. W. Hawes.

Mr. Taylor believed that Mr. Alderman Hodgson and Mr. Baker had been in open communication with the directors, and had been nominated by them for a committee.

Mr. Hodgson and Mr. Baker explained that their communications with the directors had arisen in consequence of inquiries at the office respecting the company's affairs; that they did not know the directors, and their object in going to the offices was to obtain information as to the position of the company, and if possible to bring about an efficient and successful management of the undertaking. The

directors had proposed that four shareholders who had taken so much interest in the company should investigate their affairs and report thereof, to the present meeting; but that was objected to on the ground that the committee should be appointed by the shareholders at the general meeting, so that in fact, they had not been selected by the directors, because they were strangers and hostile to their management.

These explanations did not appear to be satisfactory to the meeting.

The Rev. Mr. Nicholson, Mr. Abel, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Rogers addressed the meeting, amid considerable uproar, and many personal observations were freely indulged in, apparently to the great satisfaction and amusement of the meeting.

Mr. Markham believed the ship would be a splendid success, and he thought it was bad for the shareholders to turn the meeting into a beer-garden, from which no good could arise, but, on the contrary, they might jeopardize their property.

Mr. Magnus, a director, said the proper course would be to accept the report of the directors, and then to pass the amendment as a substantive motion. He hoped that the mover would consent to withdraw the amendment, allow the report to be received, and then propose his resolution for the appointment of a committee. He believed that the report was the first act of the board in which they had been unanimous, and he hoped the shareholders would receive it.

Mr. Jackson, M.P., a director, said they were anxious to place the trust reposed in them in the hands of the shareholders. He hoped they would not miss the opportunity of accepting their resignation, as the board might be a long time before it was unanimous again. The directors would only hold office until their successors were appointed, and for that they proposed to adjourn the meeting to the 25th inst.

Mr. Hawes said he would not consent to withdraw his amendment.

The amendment was then put to a show of hands and negatived, upon which

Mr. Hawes demanded a poll.

A long discussion then took place as to the propriety of proceeding with the other business.

The Chairman, under the advice of counsel, decided on at once taking the poll, which, he said, would be open till 5 o'clock that evening, and from 10 to 4 o'clock this day, and that the meeting would be adjourned to Tuesday next to receive the result of the poll.

Mr. Magnus said the poll could be taken in five minutes, because the majority of votes were at his side of the table.

The poll was then proceeded with under the advice of Mr. Lloyd, and the meeting adjourned." (Times of London, Jan. 12, 1860)

January 16, `1860

"Fishkill Landing
January 16th, 1860

My Dear Sir

I have just returned from my second visit to New Orleans, and am glad to get home again. Of all unreasonable people on the face of the Earth, those of the South excel. They seem to vie with each other in malignity to the North and who can talk the most treason. My daughter, Mary, whom I took & left there with her aunt, for the benefit of her health, is a most confirmed and determined abolitionist, and where at the tea table Gov. Seward's fair name & character was assailed she rose & left the table and while stamping her little foot vehemently & with tears rolling down her cheeks, she declared she would rather return home, die, and be buried in the

land Gov Seward represented than recover and live in such a contemptible place as New Orleans. It was Col. Seymour, Editor of the New Orleans Bulletin, with whom she was talking.

These Southerners always commence & thrust the subject upon Northerners who prefer not talking about slavery at all – It became a little too hot for me and I hurried away – as I am not always too discrete.

I learned while passing a day or two at Chicago that there was a “Cameron & Lincoln Club” established there numbering thirteen hundred members, principally original know nothings of course. I saw “John Wentworth” and although I have not much confidence in him he said “it was well enough to let the young men gratify their whims awhile & that they would all be enticed right, at the right time.” Still I don’t like these personal clubs, they should be Republican clubs, however Seward is beyond the reach of Politicians, since Thurlow Weed & all his forces could not prevent his nomination in June. I hope you will have returned by that time & be at the helm of the Evening Post.

I have not seen Seward, but have a letter from him in which he sends the commission you charged him with to me.

I annex a paragraph from Gov Morgan’s message and if a bill is passed in accordance with his recommendation “the Captain of the Port” will hold an important office. I have not as yet seen the Gov and do not know whom he may have in view for the position, perhaps it may be intended for me, as he could have forgotten that I was a popular captain out of the port for twenty years, while in the Common Council, Chairman of the Committees of Wharfs, Piers & Ships = and of Ferries = over ten years harbour master of the Port and in all these official positions efficient and blameless, but he may have some other person in his mind as he is rather prone to shoot high. We have been on the best of terms, and hope to remain so during his first administration at all events.

Mrs. Schultz and the rest of my family are vey well, and hope you will bring back safe all you took away and two more young Frenchmen.

Please remember me to Mrs. B.

Very truly yours

AH Schultz “

(Letter to John Bigelow received from Union College)

January 17, 1860

“New York January 17th 1860

My Dear Sir

Since I wrote you yesterday, I have made up my mind that you, John Bigelow, of Orange County New York, must & shall be a delegate to the National Convention to be held at Chicago, on the 13th of June, next and will secure a good comfortable room at the “Briggs House” at that place for you it is the “Metropolitan” of the great crush and I passed several days in it the last six months on my way to & from New Orleans at two different trips there & back. Of course it will be too late now for you to decline as the delegates will be made before your declination can be received here and the only object here in informing you of the honor is so that you may perhaps arrange your affairs in time to be here – Indeed you must (if that is an allowable word) as I fear the Know Nothings will smuggle themselves in again, and we must be fortified at every point with just such determined Republicans as John Bigelow of Orange Co.

Very truly yours,

AH Schultz”

(Letter to John Bigelow received from Union College)

January 19, 1860

“Few persons can have failed to remark the extraordinary change which has recently affected

American opinion on the subject of Slavery. Ten years ago the Abolitionists appeared to be getting things all their own way. The Slaveholding States were not, indeed, prepared to surrender their institutions, but they seemed to doubt the strength of their position, and left the North, as far as argument and agitation went, in possession of the field. Accordingly, what with meetings, resolutions, elections, popular novels, and public manifestations, Abolition principles were apparently the ascendant, and many people probably imagined that the triumph of the Freesoilers was a question of time alone. Never were conclusions more completely disproved by events. The Slaveholders have been left successful at all points, and, as a natural consequence, are now not only more powerful, but more unreasonable and aggressive, than before. The cause of this singular result we shall presently consider, but as a matter of fact it is complete. The Northern States of the Union are reduced, if not to silence, at any rate to inaction; while the South, no longer content with holding its own, is rapidly advancing in the extravagance of its demands. Already the division of American territory by an imaginary line of compromise between slave and free soil has been abandoned. There are no longer any latitudes necessarily free, but every citizen stands entitled carry his 'property'—slaves included—into any fresh territory of the Union, and there to retain it until a State Legislature shall have decided otherwise. Already the right of property in slaves has been asserted in language denying the Negro even the common character of humanity; and it cannot have been overlooked or forgotten that the American President, in dealing with the subject of Slavery in his last annual Message, allowed all the ordinary claims of the shareholders to pass without challenge, and confined himself to a protest against the revival of the African Slave Trade. That is the pass to which things have now come. The Southern States claim not only to be left alone and undisturbed in their possessions, but to carry the theory and practice of Slavery to any height they please, and their extravagance is naturally proportioned to the apprehensions they have

escaped. The last example is perhaps the most astounding of any.

The State of Maryland lies on the northern border of the slave soil, being conterminous with Pennsylvania. It is not very extensive or very populous. The white people are about 500,000 in number, and the slaves about 100,000, or less. In addition, however, to these two sections of population there is a third, composed of free Negroes, which is by no means inconsiderable. The free people of colour, who numbered only 8,000 in 1790, have gradually increased until at the last census there were 74,000, and are now computed to be 90,000. We hardly know how to introduce the proposition what has been actually made with respect to this large class of citizens, but is literally the truth that the Legislature of Maryland has been moved to reduce all these free people to slavery by an organic law, and to divide them rateably among the white inhabitants of the State! The memorial to this effect makes no pretension of scruple or disguise. There is, indeed, a passing allusion to the recent crisis, but in the main the petition is founded on the general interests, 'social and industrial,' of the State, the manifest destinies of the Negro race, and the inalienable rights of the white citizen. In fact, the proposal to seize upon these free Negroes resembles the proposals for enclosing common lands in England,—the country would be improved, eyesores would be taken out of the way, and the allotments would be very convenient to proprietors.

Setting aside for the moment the prodigious characters of this proposition, we can recognize some traces of probable truth in the recitals on which it is based. The free Negro, say the memorialists, will never do a fair day's work. He will take an odd job, or he will steal, or he will pick up a livelihood in a vagabond way, but he will never go to work like a man. The consequence is that he is pretty often in trouble. He 'drifts about' with his comrades from place to place, falls under Vagrant Acts, is apprehended, taken before the magistrate, and sent to the Penitentiary—all the said proceedings being at the cost of the State. This

description tallies so exactly with all that is related of the free and independent Negro in our West Indian Colonies that we cannot question its general fidelity, though the petitioners, to be sure, rather upset their own case when they assert in the same document that the competition of the free Negro with the white citizen in the pursuits of industry is unjustly detrimental to the latter. The ‘poor whites,’ they hold have a ‘legitimate and exclusive right to all the benefits of the Government’—a right which is violated by the outrageous claim of the Negro for a participation in its advantages. They do not forget the maxims of political economy, or, indeed, of common reason; but such rules, they remark, though ‘sound as between all citizens,’ are ‘extremely unjust as between our citizens and free Negroes.’ A Negro, therefore, though free, is not a citizen, as indeed was ruled the other day, when an American lady of colour was refused a *visa* for her passport; and the good people of Maryland wish to simply the organization of their community by selling into slavery 90,000 of the population who are freemen but not citizens, and Negroes but not slaves. Even the economical argument is not quite peculiar to the Maryland memorialists, for its exact counterpart was set up the other day by our own Anti-Slavery Society on behalf, not of the free whites, but of the free blacks, in the West Indies. It was actually maintained by these advocates of the emancipated Negro that he had a ‘legitimate and exclusive right’ to the labour-market of the colony, free of competition, and that it was ‘gross injustice,’ as the memorial phrases it, to introduce other workmen to compete with him for wages in his own natural preserve.

We may certainly regard this proposition as the climax of Southern extravagance, and its outrageousness, indeed, approximates so closely to absurdity that it is more likely to create mirth than indignation. It represents, however, only a natural species of excess. The Southerners have been alarmed and provoked by an ill-conducted and unsuccessful agitation, and consequently, like despots after an abortive conspiracy, they are at once more powerful and more tyrannical than ever.

The Abolitionists of the North have utterly failed, and from obvious causes. They proceeded on principles of undoubted right, but they acted with injudicious violence of pretension and speech, and, above all, they were not prepared, when it came to the point, to carry out their opinions to a logical conclusion, or to support them at all hazards against a natural resistance. The North had every advantage but one. It had numbers, strength, wealth, and a good cause, but it had not the invincible resolution to win. This belonged to the South, and by virtue of it the South has carried the day in the face of all the odds. The critical test was the dissolution of the Union. The South was prepared to accept this extremity rather than yield; the North, not unwisely, drew back from so destructive an issue. This left the victory with the Slaveholders, and now, encouraged at once by the triumph they have gained, and exasperated by the dangers they have incurred, they prefer demands which they would have never dreamt of advancing a few years ago. One of these is embodied in the Maryland memorial. That it will be acted upon, even at this crisis of extravagance and frenzy, we do not suppose; but its very publication will remain a monument of the social convulsions of the Union in 1859.” (Times of London, Jan. 19, 1860)

January 20, 1860

“News from Europe.

* * *

Mr. Campbell, Chairman of the Great Ship Company, has issued a document explanatory of the present position of the *Great Eastern*. He paints the state of affairs as far less hopeless than before represented, and says that much of the present trouble from dissension in the Board of Directors. The document is accompanied by printed correspondence with the Government, in which the same aid is demanded for the *Great Eastern* has been accorded to other vessels under the subsidy system. Mr. Gladstone replied to this intimation by stating that nothing can be done until the Committee on Contracts make their report.” (New York Times, Jan. 20, 1860)

January 24, 1860

“If we had been told that the Great Eastern had gone down in the recent gales off the Irish coast the loss would have been greater—the surprise and regret scarcely less than that which the death of Captain Harrison will occasion. So completely had this unfortunate gentleman been identified in public opinion with the vessel he so lately commanded that with his disappearance from the scene the great experiment seems to have proved a failure, and that of the Great Ship and of all the anxieties about her there is an end. Of course this is not so. This is the mere sentiment of the matter. The solution of the great problem upon which we have been so long engaged does not hang upon the life of any one man. He is gone, and another will take his place. Had he perished in the midst of his recent struggles with the elements we should have been the better reconciled to his loss, and it would have seemed natural that some one who had acted as his second in the conflict should have taken the command in chief. As the affair has actually gone the triumph remained with Captain Harrison alone, and it is natural that we should associate his name alone with the result, and presume that no other man could have achieved the like success. From first to last Captain Harrison had directed the operations of the Great Eastern. He was to be seen at Milwall scrambling about her framework when she was a mere chaos of iron plates; he went through all the agonies of her launch when the question was how the Great Eastern was to be transferred from dry land to the element where she was to find her more permanent home; he took her down the river, and to take her down the river was a task that many persons had pronounced to be practicable. Through the sandbanks at the mouth of the Thames and off the southern coast of England he conveyed her in safety to the Isle of Portland, and trial was complete. Whatever may come of it in after times, the first trial trip of the Great Eastern demonstrated that an enormous fabric such as this could float in safety upon the watery element; it is for those who come after us to profit by the experiment which has been made at so enormous a cost. As far as mechanics and the science of navigation are concerned the

question has been set at rest for ever. Whether it be advisable and profitable to adhere to the old system of smaller ships, or whether the preferable course would be to go to sea in these huge Leviathans, is one thing; whether it can be done is another. It is now clearly ascertained that as far as speed and safety are concerned, the great ships will answer the purpose of their projectors. With imperfect machinery, under all the disadvantages of a first experiment, with an untrained crew, and with the elemental powers doing their worst against him, poor Captain Harrison proved that the thing was to be done, and that great ships are as seaworthy as small ones, and equally under human control.

We have nothing to add, as far as definite information is concerned, to the particulars of this sad accident, with which our readers are fully acquainted. Captain Harrison, the man who had been placed in command of the most magnificent fabric which the wit and hand of man had ever devised to float upon the surface of the waters,--of the Great Ship which was worthy of the waves of the Atlantic against which she was destined to struggle, has been drowned in a puddle. He went down in a few feet of water, within a few yards of the shore, where hundreds of persons were standing eager to render his assistance. It is scarcely possible to read the details of the story with common patience. A rough day in a river, a lightly built gig, a puff of wind, and a hitch in a rope's run,--such seem to be the chief elements of this lamentable tale. As the matter was discussed in London on the afternoon of Saturday and Sunday, there seemed to be a doubt whether Captain Harrison's death was really attributable to drowning or to a fit of apoplexy. It is not, however, of much consequence whether death was caused by absolute suffocation by water, or by a sudden fit, the result of the immersion at so inclement a season and of the general shock. All that we are concerned with is to ascertain that the by-standers and spectators rendered all the assistance in their power, and that medical skill was instantly forthcoming to fan once more into activity the spark of life, had it not been hopelessly and for ever extinguished. Upon both

these points we have ample satisfaction. It seems to have been quite impossible that more could have been done to carry help to the drowning man, for the officer of the watch on board the Indus, close to which vessel the accident occurred, seems to have foreseen it before it happened, and measures for a rescue were taken while the ill-fated boat was still holding on her course. Again, no sooner had the body of the unfortunate gentleman been recovered than every appliance which medical skill could suggest was at hand to call him back to life. If sailors could have helped poor Captain Harrison they were there to pluck him from the angry sea. If medical skill had been of any avail, his insensible form, as soon as it was conveyed ashore, was surrounded by men able and eager to preserve so valuable a life to his family, to his friends, and to the world.

We have, then, nothing to add to the particulars given with reference to this sad accident in our impression of yesterday. The gig of the Great Eastern was upset in a puff of wind a few yards from the entrance of the Southampton Docks, and poor Captain Harrison, who had conducted so many vessels in safety so many times across the Atlantic, went down with her. All that we can do for him now is to offer over his untimely grave the expressions of our regret, with which we are very confident the whole country will sympathize. It is a great thing for a man to have attained that point—that in this busy country his death is felt as a national loss. Why should not honour be paid to such a man? Even before his name was connected with the experiment of the Great Ship he was the very type of the bold and skilful seaman who gives to England her sovereign position among the nations of the world. No doubt a kind of romantic feeling has attached itself to his name in consequence of his connexion with the vessel around which expectations of the nation had so thickly clustered; but, independently of this, the premature destruction of so valuable a life would have been a loss to the country. There can be no doubt that the Great Eastern has been got ready for sea under untoward auspices. First, Brunel, the great engineer who

planned the fabric, had been called away before his course was fairly run; then, when she was once afloat, the unfortunate accident which occurred off the Dorsetshire coast cast a gloom upon her first cruise; then came the gale off Holyhead—a rough welcome to the huge stranger and of evil omen for the future to all who read the future by the past. And now Captain Harrison, the man who struggled so successfully against so much that was adverse in the early days of the Great Eastern, has been swept away in the fulness of his strength and in the prime of his useful life. We are far indeed from saying that fortuitous circumstances such as these should be allowed to have any influence over the future action of those more immediately interested in the result of the fortunes of the Great Eastern. The truest way to show honour to the memory of Captain Harrison is to meet this last calamity with the courage and fortitude with which he himself encountered all previous difficulties, and to esteem this last heavy blow but as an additional incentive to exertion.” (Times of London, Jan. 24, 1860)

January 26, 1860

“From Albany.

Proceedings of the Legislature.

Albany, Wednesday, Jan. 25.

In Executive session to-day, the following appointments were sent in to the Senate by the Governor: Harbor Masters, Franklin Whiting, of Brooklyn; Hart L. Murray, of Brooklyn; John S. Anable, of Hudson; Robert Murray, S. Benedict, A.D. Barber, Joseph Tinkham, James E. Coulter, and R. Van Valkenburg, of New-York; Wm. Maskell, of Kingston; Alexander Schultz, of Fishkill. . . .” (New York Times, Jan. 26, 1860)

January 30, 1860

“Miscellaneous.

* * *

It is reported that the Directors of the Great Ship Company contemplate announcing their resignations at the approaching meeting on the 11th, offering themselves, however, for reelection. Meanwhile a proprietor has given notice of a

motion for a Committee of Investigation by four independent shareholders.

Mr. J. Orvell Lever, M.P., has been engaged in inspecting the *Great Eastern*, it is presumed in consequence of his offer to, and correspondence with, the Directors of the Great Ship Company.” (New York Times, Jan. 30, 1860)

“The late Captain Harrison.—At a MEETING of the friends of the late Captain Harrison, held this day, at the offices of the Great Ship Company, 11, King William-street, E.C.;

R. J. R. Campbell, Esq., in the chair;

The following resolutions were carried unanimously:--

Moved by R. J. R. Campbell, Esq., seconded by W. Jackson, Esq., M.P.;

That this Meeting has heard with profound regret of the untimely and lamented death of Captain Harrison, the later Commander of the *Great Eastern*, and desire to convey the feelings of deep and unaffected sympathy with the bereaved widow on the occasion of the irreparable loss which she and family have sustained.

Proposed by Viscount Raynham, seconded by Thos. Bold, Esq.;

That this Meeting has heard with deep concern that the family of the late Captain Harrison have been left by his untimely end totally unprovided for (through no improvidence on his part); and, considering that the eminent services which Captain Harrison, by his extensive experience and practical knowledge, rendered to the development of ocean steam navigation, this Meeting considers it desirable that these claims should be recognized by the formation of such a fund as will record, in the best and most enduring manner for his widow and family, the high estimation in which those services were held.

Proposed by H. T. Hope, Esq., seconded by J.
Brunel, Esq.;

That the gentlemen present be requested to act as a Committee for the purpose of obtaining contributions to the fund mentioned in the previous resolution, with power to add to their number.

Moved by J. H. Dillon, Esq., seconded by W.
Jackson, Esq., M.P.;

That, in addition to being members of the Committee already mentioned, the following gentlemen, H. T. Hope, Esq.; T. D. Anderson, Esq. (Mayor of Liverpool) and Thos. Bold, Esq. (Managing Director) be requested to act as Trustees on behalf of the Harrison Memorial Fund.

Moved by the Chairman, seconded by Rev. Wm.
Nicholson;

That J. H. Dillon, Esq., and John Trotman, Esq., be requested to act as Hon. Secretaries.

Contributions will be received by Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co., 69, Lombard-street, E.C.; Messrs. Drummond and Co., Charing-cross; and by the Royal Bank of Liverpool.

J.H. Dillon,) Hon.
John Trotman) Secs.

No. 11, King William Street, Jan. 30, 1860.” (Times of London, Jan. 31. 1860

February 6, 1860

“The Great Eastern.
Meeting of the Shareholders—A Stormy Session—
Result of the Debate—Sir E. Delcher on the Big
Ship.

Correspondence of the New York Times.

London, Saturday, Jan. 14, 1860.

A most stormy and discreditable meeting of the shareholders of the *Great Eastern* took place on

the 11th inst. at the London Tavern, famous for its noisy demonstrations. It was what you call in America an indignation meeting. The Chairman made his report and offered the resignation the directors. Then came an amendment that a committee should be appointed to examine into and report upon the alleged misdeeds of the managing directors. This was finally referred to a ballot. The result of this will, I am told will be against the directors, and for their immediate resignation. The chief adverse factions are those of Magnus—a Jew merchant—and Campbell, the Chairman. Then there are sections of enraged shareholders. Among these a florid clergyman, with red hair, was most conspicuous. Ever and anon he popped up in the middle of the crowded meeting, like the hammer of a piano when the key is touched, and vociferated in the most amusing style. All kinds of accusations and terms of opprobrium were freely bandied about, but the *odium theologicum*, as usual, was the most bitter and violent. The fact is that Messrs. Campbell and Jackson, M.P., (a quondam trader on the Gold Coast of by no means brilliant antecedents,) had everything their own way, until the bursting of the heater or funnel casement on the occasion of the trial trip. Then Magnus, who had always protested against all their acts, but who had been completely extinguished by them, came into active opposition of the strength of the accident.

Mr. Jackson, who had called Mr. Magnus a liar at a previous meeting, having split with Campbell, owing to a quarrel, it is said, about an anticipated knighthood which was not conferred upon either, now sides with Magnus, and magnanimously wishes to resign to make way for Magnus and Bold, the latter being a nominee of his own. Then one Guedella, of the Stock Exchange, another Jew, calls a meeting of his own, and abuses everything that has been done. Him the valiant Magnus threatens and dares to single combat, and the matter was a day or two since brought before the Lord Mayor by means of a summons obtained by the timorous Guedella, who was big enough to annihilate Magnus had he so dared. Magnus, be it remarked, heard the appellation of ‘liar’ affixed to

him by Jackson, with the meekness of a lamb. I suppose that as Jews seldom marry out of their own people, so they will not challenge Christians to fight, for fear the challenge should be accepted. There is no doubt but that there has been great mismanagement of the big ship, and I do not see how it could be otherwise, considering that none of the Directors know anything of steam-navigation, steam-trade or shipping details, and that for their own selfish personal objects they would not hear of chartering the ship. First of all, Messrs. Campbell and Jackson back Mr. Lever's offer to take the Great Eastern in hand on terms most advantageous to the shareholders, and now Mr. Magnus and Mr. Bold will not listen to another offer of Mr. Lever. Of course not, they want to keep the vessel and her patronage in their own hands. She was meant for a prey to successive managers, as a huge dead whale affords a feast for bears, and sea-poultry of all descriptions. At last *finis coronabit opus*, and a Jew water-bailiff will in all probability take possession of her. Then the French and Russian Governments will in all probability contend which shall have that which is at once a credit and a disgrace to England. They have already both bid for her, and the British Government does not step in and interfere, as it would, were it anything but what it is—viz.: a corrupt and apathetic faction, caring only for place and intrigue, and deeply skilled only in all the arts that usher to destruction. From this consummation so devotedly to be deplored, I believe that such a man as Lever can alone rescue the *Leviathan*. He can put a hook in the monster's nose and lead it out on the deep. And this, simply because he is a single individual with knowledge of detail and mastery of resources with a plan sketched out. The following is his proposal to charter the vessel:

1. Mr. Lever will undertake to charter her for twelve months.

2. The charter money will be at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum on the entire capital of the Company, say £330,000, one half the amount to be paid six months in advance, and the remainder in bills at six months.

3. Mr. Lever to find £60,000, or any less sum which may be required, upon the security of the ship, for the purpose of paying off her existing debts, and finishing the vessel for sea. The appropriate of the £60,000, as regards the work done to the ship, to be left to two of the Directors of the Great Ship Company, Mr. Lever and his Surveyor.

4. The vessel to be placed by Mr. Lever in a regular time.

5. In consideration of the above, Mr. Lever, at the expiration of twelve months, to have the option of purchase for the sum of £330,000, less such portion of the £60,000 as may be employed for the purpose of paying off the debts of the Company; every shareholder in the present Company to have the privilege of taking shares in any new Company to be formed by Mr. Lever, to the extent of his present interest in the Great Ship Company.

This, if accepted, would relieve the Company at once with regard to funds, and I presume the ship would be at once placed in a regular trade by Mr. Lever. He seems confident of success, and I suppose he knows what he is about. Certainly, the character of such a ship is a daring speculation, and might ruin any man. If the ship were given to me, I should consider myself a ruined man. It would be as fatal a present as that of a white elephant in Siam. I should tell you that since the accident, which, after all, proved the wonderful strength of the ship, that in the effort to denounce the management Mr. Magnus and his friends have succeeded in depreciating the value of the property so as really to inflict more injury upon the shareholders than anything of which they can impeach the directors. The report which they caused to be published of the survey which they instituted, has brought the shares to that condition which moved the fiery and irate clergyman to such a pitch of wrath. The best thing to be done is to place the six or eight heaviest shareholders on the direction, and let them do the best they can to extricate the

ship and the shareholders from the present disgraceful mess, either by sale or charter of the property. This affair is not likely to increase the popularity of limited liability companies. What with salaries and commissions, banquets and jobbing, patronage and facilities for bulling and bearing the stock; what with scrambling and abuse, recrimination and jealousy, the interests of the shareholders go to the wall, and the general result is a row and the winding-up act, pettifogging and exposure, bankruptcy and the *Gazette*. There is still an opportunity of saving the Great Ship Company and their floating investment from all or any of these contingencies, if the hostile factions will allow it to be adopted.

In the midst of this, Mr. Scott Russell, whose contract work is so grievously impeached, has published a statement not only defending himself, but triumphantly taking credit for the success of the experiment. 'Here,' he says in effect, 'you have a ship of this huge magnitude, which has stood such an explosion as would have shattered any other vessel to pieces, and riding out the most terrific gale at anchor in safety. She puts to sea in heavy weather, and is found to act marvelously well. She rolls but little, and that steadily; she answers her helm admirably, and steers like a boat. You may fill half her compartment without water-logging her, and she can enter any harbor in the world where there is sufficient depth of water. Her consumption of coal is comparatively small, and her speed is as great as Mr. Brunel expected. What possibly can you desire more?' This is cleverly put, and what is more, it appears to be true. Mr. Scott Russell's statement is printed, moreover, on gilt-edged paper, and is altogether quite refreshing and reassuring.

In conclusion, he says: 'It is true, you owe me money for work done; but we are not, therefore, enemies. I want no more for my work than those honest and able arbitrators, to whom you and I have both referred the matter, shall say is due to me.' The last clause is most to the purpose. In this he says: 'If you can agree upon men of ability, experience, and

success in the management of steam property, to take the entire practical control of the executive part of your business, you will not be disappointed with result.' In this I agree with Scott Russell.

Sir E. Belcher, the veteran Artic explorer, returns, in the current number of the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, to his discussion with Mr. Hawes respecting the 'big ship.' Sir Edward does not speak without experience, even with regard to the question of construction, the exploring ships *Erebus* and *Terror*, the first ships-of-war on the sectional system, having been fitted under his supervision. Applying this experience to the enormous bulk and various novelties of the *Great Eastern*, he maintains that her machinery should have been the subject of separate contracts, and the builders have been limited to the construction of the hull, the responsibility and expense of delivery into the water, according to custom in such cases. He states that offers were made of three convenient sites for building her in dock, whereby the outrageous cost of getting her into the water would have been obviated. If, under similar circumstances, the hull of the vessel had been delivered at 'a certain rational sum' per ton alongside one of Her Majesty's yards, and a Captain Superintendent had been empowered to supervise and to take care that her engines were delivered and fitted by the several contractors in due working condition, and, finally, had adequately fitted the vessel for sea, she would, under her original owners, long ere this have demonstrated practically her soundness and capabilities. Sir Edward does not consider the trip to Holyhead a fair trial of the vessel. He bases this view on the fact that frigates built at Milford, and sent round to Plymouth under jury-masts generally beat coppered ships of war complete for service. He maintains that only when the *Great Eastern* sinks to her load line, has taken up the usual stock of mollusca on her bottom, has close-reefed her paddle-floats, and is ready to do battle with the Atlantic, will she be in a condition to compete with other vessels between port and port. But he tears for her engines. If pressed for velocity beyond 13 knots, the expenditure of fuel, fouling of flues, incrustation of

boilers, and heating of bearings, will tend to throw her upon her sails. Then her want of keel will be felt. Whatever port she happens to reach under such circumstances will become her final resting place. No aid by other steamers will avail her, even to tow her to an anchorage, unless in a calm. What, the veteran navigator asks, would become of so huge a vessel in seas such as overwhelmed the old Eddystone lighthouse, and washed over that of Whitehaven, the surf on the coast of Africa, or the 'rollers' at Mazatlan or at Tristan d'Acunba? The paddle-wheels and steering apparatus would inevitably be damaged and her internal machinery probably be rendered useless. How, again, could any set of seamen, however tall and muscular, handle her cables and gear during Winter months on the coast of America? He concludes by observing that, before such mammoth vessels are constructed, men capable of handling their cables and sails should be found; and expresses a hope that, should the *Great Eastern* proceed to sea, her voyage may be confined to temperate climates, until adequate trial demonstrates her capabilities.

London, Tuesday, Jan. 17, 1860.

As I told you, the shareholders in the Great Ship Company have passed a vote contrary to their Directors. There is to be an inquiry, and when I tell you that on the Committee appointed there is a furious parson who has five or six thousand shares, and has consequently his depreciated property to avenge, you may judge that there will certainly be 'wigs upon the green,' as the old saying hath it. Mr. McCloskey is also on the Committee. The last meeting was scantier than the penultimate one, and somewhat tamed down. There was less bad language and personal threats. As Prince Albert said, during the Russian war, that representative institutions were on their trial in this country, so I affirm that limited liability companies are on their trial during this *Great Eastern* exposure of incapacity and jobbing. Not that I have doubts of the principle, as the Prince Consort had when he spoke of the desirability of liberal governments; but really shareholders must in the future exercise some

discretion in the appointment of their managing directors, before it is too late. The big ship is, however, so far an anomaly in her huge magnitude, and the number of its commercial owners. Mr. Lever's proffered charter is still treated with contempt. How can the Directors, fighting for place, think of such a common-place topic as the employment of their ship? I certainly should like to see the vessel in plucky and yet business-like hands." (New YorkTimes, Feb. 6, 1860)

February to June 1860

"The shareholders of the Great Eastern steam ship, being out of humour with their directors, at their meeting in February determined to turn them all out and elect a new board. I was requested to form one of the new board & was elected.⁸ After our election we determined to complete the ship fit for sea and send her a voyage to America as early as we could. I went down to Southampton and took the direction of all the engineering departments of the ship. Very many alterations were required both in the general fittings and machinery, the Board of Trade requirements being very large. We raised £100,000 by debentures and worked hard to get her read to sail in June. The former captain of the ship who had been looking after her building (Capt Harrison) was drowned early in the year in Southampton dock, and we had to appoint a new man. We selected a Capt Hall. All was sufficiently complete for us to take our departure in June. I had settled to go with her and take my wife & Harry.

We joined the ship at Southampton on the Thursday, 14th June, intending to sail on the Saturday, but when all the people had been cleared

⁸ "The committee of investigation, through its chairman Samuel Baker, reported after a time that since they had difficulty in obtaining the necessary information they did not feel warranted in passing a judgement, one way or the other, on the previous management. They found it necessary to express the opinion that Magnus' actions were influenced by a conscientious desire to forward the interests of the Company. They recommended a new Board comprising the Marquis of Stafford, Captain C.E. Mangles, Mr. H.T. Hope, Mr S Baker, the Hon Capt Carnegie RN, Mr J. R. Croskey and Mr. Daniel Gooch. Certainly this included some 'practical' men but, unlike Cunard, MacIvor and Burns of the Cunard Line, none had managed a line of steamships. But they were given support to the extent of being authorized to increase the nominal capital of the Company by £100,000 to £430,000 and to send the ship on a voyage to America. A survey of the work required to meet Board of Trade requirements and supply certain deficiencies of accommodation and machinery revealed that the whole could be met by a sum of about £20,000; much less than the public had been led to expect." G. S. Emmerson, The Greatest Iron Ship

out of the ship Hall told us the crew were not in a state to sail from drink. I was very vexed at this as it shewed a want of that which is necessary to success—discipline in the ship and more energy in the captain. We however sailed on the Sunday morning with about 20 passengers, so that we had plenty of room. Two of the other directors went with me, Mr Barber and Capt Carnegie. All went on most comfortably on our voyage, the weather was very fine and the ship as steady as an island, so much so that the game of skittles was played every day. One of the passengers, oddly enough, took some skittles on board with him and assumed the name of Skittles; a sister he had with him also went by the name of Miss Skittles. We had one sharp gale on the passage, lasting a great part of one night, making the ship roll a little. Our general run per day was about 330 knots. Our captain, thinking we would like to see the flying fish and other curiosities found in the Gulf Stream, took us a good way south out of our course, and altho' we all enjoyed the voyage very much and regretted the thought of getting to land, yet the credit of the ship needed that we ought to have made the run in 9 days, which she would have done if the right course had been steared, instead of the 10 days 19 hours we took." *Memoirs and Diary of Sir Daniel Gooch.*

February 3, 1860

"From Europe.

* * *

Great Britain.

A stormy meeting of the Great Ship Company had been held in London. A report was presented, showing the position of the Company, and announcing the resignation of the Board. A motion to receive the report was followed by an amendment, that before doing so a Committee of Investigation be appointed. After a warm discussion, it was resolved to decide the question by ballot. The result of the ballot was expected to be made known on the day the America sailed. The meeting stood adjourned till the 17th." (*New York Times*, Feb. 3, 1860)

“Great Ship Company.

The adjourned meeting of this company was held yesterday at the London Tavern, Mr. Campbell in the chair.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, said Mr. Baker, the chairman of the Committee of Investigation, would read the report of the committee.

Mr. Baker then read the report, which was to the effect that the committee had to lament that they had lost in Captain Harrison a material witness, and had examined a great number of persons; but, from their want of power to obtain evidence under the sanction of legal process, and to compel the attendances of witnesses, the information they had obtained had been so conflicting or ex parte that they did not feel warranted in passing a judgment which might either exonerate or implicate individuals connected with the management of their affairs. At the same time they had arrived at the conclusion that the interest of the company required that they should be intrusted to an entirely new Board, consisting of the Marquis of Stafford, Captain C. R. Mangles, Mr. H.T. Hope, Mr. Samuel Baker, the Hon. Captain Carnegie, R. N., Mr. J. Rodney Croskey, and Mr. Daniel Gooch. The committee were of the opinion that Mr. Magnus, in his opposition to the contracts entered into with Mr. J. Scott Russell, and in his application for an inquiry, was influenced by a conscientious desire to forward the interests of the company. The committee recommended that the directors be authorized to borrow 50,000*l.*, in addition to the moneys already owing by the company; that the nominal capital of the company be increased from 330,000*l.* to 430,000*l.*; and that full powers be vested in the Board to raise, by mortgage, debentures, preference shares, or otherwise, such additional capital, if necessary. The Great Eastern lies in Southampton-water, requiring an estimated outland of not more than 30,000*l.* to send her on a voyage to America, equipped in accordance with the just requirements of the Board of Trade. Her

cost to the proprietors would then be about 380,000*l*, fitted for sea, which was less than 17*l*. per ton. The Great Eastern was acknowledged to be the finest specimen of naval architecture that had yet floated. Her qualities as a seaboard had been proved; her speed, although not fully tested, had exceeded that of the largest class of steamships against a head-wind. Under an united and energetic management she must become profitable. The committee strongly recommended to the new Board a careful economy, both at the company's offices and on board the ship. Every facility had been afforded by the directors and by their secretary during the investigation. He concluded by moving that the report be received.

The Rev. Mr. Nicholson having seconded the motion,

A discussion of considerable length followed, after which the motion for the adoption of the report was carried.

A resolution expressive of sympathy with the widow and mother of the late Captain Harrison having been passed,

The Chairmen proposed that the noblemen and gentlemen recommended in the report of the committee requested to act as directors.

The resolution having been seconded was, after considerable discussion, carried unanimously.

A resolution empowering the directors to raise the necessary sum required and a vote of thanks having been passed to the chairman of the Committee of Investigation, and a similar vote to the Chairman, the meeting separated." (Times of London, Feb. 8, 1860)

February 20, 1860

William Cullen Bryant wrote the following letter to John Bigelow:

"New York, Feb. 20, 1860.

Dear Mr. Bigelow:

* * *

As to the candidate for the Presidency, I do not recollect that I gave an opinion as to who would not get the nomination. I find that Bates is more and more talked of for the Republican Candidate. He is said, for example, to be the man who can carry Illinois against Douglas by bringing out a large number of old whigs living in the middle of the state—originally from the slave states. The probability—rather let me say the chance that Douglas will be nominated by his party seems to increase. The great reason for believing that he will be nominated is that he is their strongest candidate, and to that idea their minds are opening. There is not the slightest prospect of the nomination of Wise. Nine tenths of the democratic party regard the idea as absolutely ludicrous. Mr. Seward is not without his chances of a nomination, though some of your friends here affirm that he has none. He is himself, I hear, very confident of getting it. While the John Brown excitement continued, his prospects improved, for he was the best abused man of his party. Now that he is let alone his stock declines again and people talk of other men. For my part I do not see that he is more of a representative man than a score of others of our party. The great difficulty which I have in regard to him is this, that by the election of a Republican President the slavery question is settled, and that with Seward for President, it will be the greatest good-luck, a special and undeserved favor of Providence, if every honest democrat of the Republican party be not driven into the opposition within a twelvemonth after he enters the White House. There are bitter execrations of Weed and his friends passing from mouth to mouth among the old radical democrats of the Republican party here. I suppose Weed never behaved worse than now—and his conduct alarms the best men here—they think it an omen of what we may expect from Seward's administration. We have a shamefully corrupt legislature.

Captain Schultz is very anxious that you should return and electioneer for Seward's nomination. I must say frankly that I would prefer that the question should be left to the convention.

My wife and daughter desire to be cordially remembered by you both.

Yrs truly" (*Retrospections Of An Active Life* by John Bigelow 1910)

March 7, 1860

"Great Ship Company.

A special general meeting of this company was held yesterday at the London Tavern for the purpose of raising additional capital, and to amend the articles of association; Mr. Hope in the chair.

The alterations in the articles of association having been read by the secretary, a long discussion ensued, in which Mr. Jackson, M.P., Mr. L.S. Magnus, and other shareholders took part; several alterations were made, providing for the mode of conducting business at special and general meetings, and other matters of detail.

The Board was also authorized to elect two directors to complete the number of seven.

Mr. Jackson, M.P., wished to know if it was the intention of the directors to turn the shares of the company into consolidated stock.

The Chairman said that the Board would take that subject into consideration before the next general meeting.

Mr. Baker, a director, moved a resolution giving power to the Board to raise 100,000*l.* by the issue of 20,000 shares of 5*l.* each, bearing a preference dividend of 17½ per cent. per annum. The taking up of the proposed shares would show the public that confidence was still felt in their undertaking. Mr. Robinson, of the Board of Trade, had carefully examined the ship, and his opinion

was very favorable. The 100,000*l.* recommended by the Committee of Investigation would be sufficient to complete the ship. It was advisable that the first voyage should be to America, and he thought they were not too sanguine in expecting that the receipts from her exhibition there would be large.

Mr. Jackson, M.P., agreed with the course proposed in sending the ship to America.

Another long discussion then followed on questions relating to the issue of the new shares; after which the resolution empowering the directors to raise the 100,000*l.* additional capital was passed.

A vote of thanks was passed to the directors, and the proceedings terminated.” (*Times of London*, March 7, 1860)

March 28, 1860

“The Great Eastern.—Southampton, March 26.
--A number of men commenced work yesterday on board the Great Eastern, and to-day another batch of experienced shipwrights have arrived from London. The task of fitting her out for sea, which will not proceed as rapidly as possible, has been intrusted to Mr. Charles Langley, of Deptford, and his brother, Mr. George Langley, of this port. The firm of Summers and Day, of Northern Iron Works, will execute such work as may be required in the machinery department.” (*Times of London*, March 28, 1860)

April 7, 1860

“The Great Eastern.

The third generation of shareholders, if we may so term those who have taken the preference shares in this undertaking, are about to use their best endeavours to at last render the Great Eastern really fit for sea. During ‘the winter of their discontent’ the most extravagant stories were in circulation as to the total unfitness of the vessel for ocean navigation of any kind. According to these, the whole ship, from keel to truck, had something wrong with it; decks, hull, engines, and cabins either require repair, or were in such a miserable state of dilapidation as to be beyond it. When to

those fears were added the well-known deficiencies of some of the fitting under the late contracts, and the notorious disunion of the late board of directors, it will need little else to explain the hopeless of despondency with which the Great Eastern was regarded. A failure was predicted which would involve as total a loss to all concerned as that which have over taken the shareholders in the unfortunate Atlantic Telegraph. For these extreme opinions, however, we are glad to say no real foundation exists. The new board of directors have begun an energetic rule, the first great object of which is to render the vessel as complete in her internal fittings as care or money can make her. The Board of Trade has sent down its officers, and the requirements which they demand before the vessel can receive her passenger certificate are now known, and turn out to be far less than could have been at first anticipated. All these, of course, will be implicitly complied with though, as they involve work both in the fitting, shipwright's, and engineer's departments, they will only be taken in hand in turn, as each of these respective contracts progress. The report of the surveyor appointed to inspect what is wanting in shipwright's work has also been adopted, and a contract based on its suggestion has already been taken up by Mr. Langley, and the work begun forthwith. Messrs. Penn and Field have made several most minute surveys of all the engines—screw, paddle, and auxiliary,—and their suggestions as to alterations and improvements will form the basis of another contract, which will be issued in a few days to some engineering firm, to which the final and proper completion of all the machinery will then be intrusted. Both these contracts will require about two months for their entire completion, and the whole sum for these, we are informed, is far short of what was originally anticipated, and is not expected to exceed 20,000*l*. The shipwright's contract includes, among many other minor items, the building of new store-rooms, iron stanchions to support the cargo deck, refixing the boat davits, a screw tunnel, additional support to the sides of coal bunkers, and taking out the indiarubber packing between the flanges of the iron masts. The latter is one of the positive requirements

of the Board of Trade, as the indiarubber was found, during the short trips which the Great Eastern has already made, to allow an amount of 'play' to the mast that would certainly be dangerous in a heavy sea. The indiarubber will, therefore, be withdrawn, and the space between the flanges filled up with wedges of hornbeam, so as to render the mast as rigid as if of one entire piece. These portions of the iron fittings are, no doubt beautifully made, but it is almost to be regretted, considering the comparatively slight depth into the vessel into which the two masts are stepped, that all of these were not made of wood throughout. Another of the Board of Trade demands is the fitting of at least two addition boats of the largest kind. These, though not falling within the province of Mr. Langley's contract, are already begun. They will be the largest boats ever carried by any vessel, as they are intended, we believe, to be no less than 50 feet long by 13 wide, and nearly seven deep—the dimensions of a 60 or 70 ton cutter. With the engines and machinery generally a good many alterations and adjustments will be made, though, thanks to the care which has been exercised during the past winter by the company's chief engineer, Mr. M'Lennan, an immense amount of improvement in the way of working details has, it is anticipated, been already effected. Among the most important of the improvements is that of fitting the main engines, both screw and paddle, with feed pumps. By this change those most objectionable pieces of machinery, the donkey engines, are at once dispensed with as regarding supplying the boilers. They will, however, still be kept in the ship as a kind of stand-by, to be used for washing decks, pumping out the bilge, and for fire hose, though henceforth with the main engines they will have no more to do. As regards the paddle-engines, it is anticipated that by means of an improved adjustment of the slide valves a gain of at least a knot an hour may be obtained upon the next trial of speed. Our readers will better understand the nature of their faults when we say that there is ample steam for the engines at full work, but the cylinders inhale, so to speak, more than they can easily expel afterwards. It thus remains in the way of the down

stroke of the piston, and a loss of power is produced by the engines having to overcome the resistance offered by their own steam. But, as we have said, by a better adjustment of the slide valves this most important defect may be at once removed, and the change will result in a nominal gain of 500 horsepower. The piston and air-pump rods, which during all the little coasting trips the Great Eastern has already taken were such a constant source of uneasiness and anxiety, are to be strengthened. The stability of the piston-rods will be increased by lengthening two feet the stuffing-boxes into which they work, and the air-pump rods will be kept from vibrating by spanning them with a sliding socket. The two large discs on the main shaft which were working very loose can be keyed up to the requisite tightness without much trouble, and, with these and other minor improvements, no doubt is entertained but that, on the next voyage, very different results both as to speed and the easy working of the paddle engines will be obtained. The most important change necessary in the screw engines is slightly raising the screw shaft, in order to allow the aftermost bearing to be removed. From this bearing all the patent white metal on which the shaft revolves has worn out. For this an ordinary gun-metal bearing, faced with *lignum vitæ*, will be substituted; and the shaft, it is found, can be raised sufficiently from the inside to admit of this alteration without much trouble or expense. Tunnels fitted with water-tight doors are to be cut through all the coal bunkers, which are also to be better ventilated, and fitted with thermometer tubes to test the temperature of the fuel at all times. This latter is an important improvement, and removes one cause for anxiety among those who feared the imminent danger which might arise from an absence of proper means to ascertain at all times that the heat in the bunkers was never excessive. The aftermost auxiliary engines will both be fitted with fire hose, and two powerful hand pumps, for the prevention of all risk from fire, will also be fixed on deck. The united power of all the pumps on board will then be capable of pumping in or out of the vessel between 40 and 50 tons of water per minute. There is no means at present of increasing the diameter of the

funnels, to aid the draught through the furnaces, but from the generally improved ventilation below, by the new tunnels, and the introduction of a steam blast pipe into all the chimneys, the deficiency in this point will, it is hoped, be almost entirely removed. All the saloons and cabins which were not finished when the vessel left the Thames are now to be completed, and the internal arrangements, which last year showed such a want of organization, will be made after the best plans adopted in our great lines of ocean-going steamers. No change can be made in the wooden deck of the vessel, which is much to be regretted, as the planking which was laid down last year is very bad. The best has, however, been made of it, and before the lamentable accident which deprived the company of Captain Harrison's services that able officer had managed to give the deck a better look, and get it, in fact, as clean as such board can ever be. The same remark applies, indeed, to nearly all the other portions of the vessel, which, at the time of Captain Harrison's death, was in far cleaner and far better order than any one who only saw the ship when she left the Thames would have believed possible in so short a time. The vessel has now been so long idle in the water that the bottom is exceedingly foul, and during the present spring the stock of weeds already on her is certain to be increased to an extent that, unless removed, must, on the next trip, tell most seriously upon her speed. All the improvements which are to be made in the engines will quite fail to counteract this important drawback and, unless the bottom is thoroughly cleansed before starting, her speed is certain to be less on the next trial than it was last year. Such a falling off, for the sake of a small outlay, should not be allowed on any account, especially as within a few yards of her present moorings are many admirable places where she might be grounded with safety, and the bottom cleaned and tarred in the course of a couple of tides.

According to present arrangements, she is expected to be ready by the beginning of June to accompany the squadron which takes the Prince of Wales to Canada. She will, however, it is said, most probably call at Queenstown for a day before beginning her

run to Portland. As yet no one has been appointed to succeed the late Captain Harrison.” (Times of London, April 7, 1860)

April 23, 1860

“The Great Eastern.—Southampton, April 21.— Captain John Vine Hall, who was yesterday appointed by the directors to the command of the Great Eastern, in the place of late lamented Captain Harrison, will enter upon the responsible duties of his office on Wednesday next. The work of fitting out the big ship, and fully equipping her for sea, is progressing rapidly. During the late long and inclement winter very few persons have visited the ship, but as the sea opens the number of visitors is now daily on the increase.”(Times of London, April 23, 1860)

May 11, 1860

“The Great Eastern.—Southampton, Thursday.— The great ship was thrown open to-day for the benefit of the South Hants Infirmary, the whole receipts of the day being generously devoted to that excellent institution by the directors of the company. Visitors were conveyed to and fro from the docks by the South-Western and Ruby steamers, which vessels had been kindly lent for the purpose by the South-Western Company and the Isle of Wight Steamboat Company, to which they respectively belong. They ran at regular intervals from 10 in the morning till 8 in the evening, and several hundreds of persons availed themselves of the opportunity to visit the big ship before her approaching departure for America. The charge was 2s. 6d. per head, including transit to and fro, and a large number of children in public schools were taken at 6d. each. The Peninsular and Oriental Company liberally gave the services of the bands of three of their vessels in port, one of which was placed on board each of the tenders, and the third played on the dock quay during the day. The two steamers and also the Great Eastern, were gaily dressed out in flags. The number of visitors would have been considerably larger had the weather been fine.” (Times of London, May 11, 1860)

May 26, 1860

“Fishkill Landing May 26th 1860

Dear Govr

I have not the heart to write you, but I cannot withhold the enclosed note from my daughter at New Orleans (there on a visit to Mobile). I dread to receive the next one from her. Also a hasty note from my nephew E. G. James of Burlington, N.J. He had set his heart on your nomination and election, and with his houses "Richardson Spence & Co" of Liverpool Eng. Thos Richardson & Co of New York and the same in Philadelphia (of which he has charge & had intended to place to the credit of the Republican party a large sum for election expenses, they will take but little interest now, not but that they are as good Republicans as ever, but that their political teacher has been so shamefully wronged – Edwards brother Benjamin whom you will remember as the father of my lost "Eddy" writes from St Paul Minnesota to my daughter Harriet that he cannot trust himself to write to me – but like the Indian Princess when she wanted to coin a new curse to express her detestation of the East India Gov she tried to picture a fiend of the worse kind and then "to damn him most supremely she would call him Warren Hastings" So he says in all his future life, his fiend will be Horace Greeley.

May I see you on your way to Washington?

Faithfully yours

A H Schultz

Gov Seward"

[encl.]

"Dear Uncle

I suppose you return from Chicago a disappointed man – I certainly am – The fools who misrepresented Penna will now have a chance to distinguish themselves on Lincoln – All the _____ and energy here were for Seward, and all thinking

substantial men everywhere – They can now
_____ the most of Lincoln – which in my opinion
will be little -

Aff yours/
EGJ
Phila May 19/60”

“Biographer Benjamin Thomas wrote that Mr. Lincoln "often turned to [humor] as a means of escaping from a difficult position or avoiding an embarrassing commitment. John Hay tells of a gathering at [Secretary of State William H.] Seward's where a Captain Schultz showed very bad taste in alluding to Seward's defeat in the Chicago convention. 'The President,' said Hay, 'told a good yarn.'" (Various websites)

June 6, 1860

“The Great Eastern.—The officers and non-commissioned officers of the Portsmouth division of Royal Marines, with their families, were yesterday afforded an opportunity of visiting the Great Eastern steamship, in Southampton Water, the Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth, Vice-Admiral W. H. Bruce, having kindly placed at their disposal the sprightly steamer, Masleg—Commander Allen, for that purpose. The party, which was a very large one, and included the band of the division, was received with much courtesy on board the Great Eastern, and conducted over every part of that magnificent vessel.” (Time of London, June 6, 1860)

June 11, 1860

“Trial Trip of the Great Eastern.

The fourth—and we believe we may no venture to say the last—trial trip of this vessel, previous to her departure for New York, took place during Saturday and yesterday. The trial was only of short duration, merely extending to a run of 12 hours out to sea and 12 hours back, and was undertaken more to ascertain the working completeness of the various changes that have been made in the machinery, than with any view of testing the vessel's speed. The speed, however, was tested, and showed, as every one anticipated, from

the very foul state of the vessel's bottom, a most consideration diminution in the rate attained during the trips of last year. As regards the machinery, however, everything went pretty well and easily, and in this important respect the trial was regard by all the engineers and professional and scientific men on board as satisfactory. Some trifling adjustments, which will scarcely occupy a day to make, and which could only be known by actually working the ship, will be made in the course of to-day and Tuesday, when the passenger certificate of the Board of Trade will be granted, and the vessel at last declared ready for sea. During the period that has elapsed since the works in connexion with this vessel were last noticed in *The Times* great progress has been made. Both in her external appearance and her internal accommodation and fittings, the Great Eastern now presents a very different aspect compared with the time when she first steamed up to her moorings in Southampton-water, in November last. The huge, black, coffin-like hull has now its somber massiveness relieved by a broad streak of white, which, making an easy curve from stem to stern, gives lightness to her appearance, and shows off her beautiful lines to perfection. The row of black chimneys, which also disfigured her, have been painted cream colour, and these changes, with others as to the colour of her yards, make her look light and yacht-like and more after the style of our swift sea-going packets than at first it seemed possible to produce in a vessel of such colossal proportions. In more substantial improvements the change is even greater and more marked. The unsightly deck, which formerly leaked at every seam, and which, both in regard to fitting and material, was worse than is seen even in small coasters, has been made tolerably good. It is not in the power of shipwright every to make this a really good deck, but it has certainly been infinitely improved. It is now at least perfectly water-tight, well caulked, reduced to a fair level, and when scraped and varnished will pass muster well enough. The wheel-house, which so spoilt the look of the stern of the vessel, has been removed, and the steering gear entirely reconstructed on a new principle. Four wheels are now fitted, so that 32

men can be employed, in the case of necessity, in very stormy weather. Eight men, however, have as yet been found ample to steer with the greatest ease. A tiller has also been fitted on the lower deck; four very fine additional lifeboats have been added to those already carried, and all the boats forward of the paddle-boxes have, in compliance with the wish of the Board of Trade officers, been hung inboard, so as to be out of danger in case of heavy seas striking the bows. The india-rubber packing has been removed from between the lowest flanges of the iron masts, and replaced with wedges of hornbeam, and iron gratings have been fixed over the skylights of the saloons. With regard to the engines, the boilers have been made self-feeding by the use of Giffard's injector, though the paddle boilers can also be fed from the donkey engines, and, in addition the new feed-pumps attached to the screw engines furnish enough water to supply all the boilers in the ship. The piston rods of the paddle engines have been strengthened by lengthening the stuffing boxes, and the dangerous vibration in the air-pump rods relieved by easing the stiffness of the buckets. It was also intended to strengthen them still further with a sliding truss, but this has not been done, and thus, either at starting or stopping the paddle engines, both rods still vibrate at times with a rapidity that is dangerous. Galleries of communication have been cut through the iron bulkheads and fitted with water-tight doors; the coal bunkers have been better ventilated, and fitted with tubes for testing the temperature of the fuel at all times. Additional fire-pumps have been placed on deck, and the wooden casings of the funnels enlarged to give a better draught of air, keep the saloons cool, and the wood free from any danger of ignition. A screw tunnel along the screw shaft has also been made of iron, riveted like one piece to the iron bulkheads and deck beams of the ship, and this, with longitudinal bands of wrought iron, and extra girders of immense strength and thickness under the cargo deck, has made the whole hull of the vessel as strong as it can ever be made with iron.

As regards the fittings of the saloons below, still greater improvements have been made. The

dreary expanse of whitewashed iron-work, which, instead of making a feature of the construction, made it a disfigurement, has disappeared, and the dining saloons have been painted to resemble bird's-eye maple, and the arched crossribs of the ceiling marked with lines of blue and gold. In fact, all the improvements which were suggested by the Board of Trade, or which the experience of the trial trips made last year showed to be wanting, have been carefully effected, and whatever shortcomings now remain are only mere defects of construction, and one which are never likely to be removed. These defects, however, it must be understood, relate only to the size and want of light of some of the lower deck cabins, and to the whole ship for its size being under-powered in her steam machinery. In all that concerns the comfort or safety of passengers everything that could be done has been done, and the Great Eastern ought to be now as good and well-found a passenger ship as ever quitted the United Kingdom. To those acquainted with her condition last year it will be a matter of surprise that so much has been accomplished in such short a time, and this successful result is mainly due to the untiring exertions of Mr. Bold, and since his appointment to Captain Vine Hall. To the reparation and exertions of the latter gentlemen is it owing that the Great Eastern is now better officered and manned than almost any other passenger steamship afloat.

It was expected that the Great Ship would have slipped her moorings and stood out to sea early on Saturday morning, but a variety of trivial circumstances which always occur on such occasions delayed her departure till nearly 1 in the day. Before that time a small party of noblemen and gentlemen had come on board, among whom were all the directors of the company, the Earl of Shelburne, Lord Colville, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, Lord Dunsany, Hon. James Howard, Hon. Ralph Dutton, M.P., Mr. Saunders, of the Great Western Railway, Mr. Appold, Captain Heath, R.N., Mr. Henry Brunel, Professor Froude, Mr. J. Dillon, Captain Mangels, Chairman of the South-Western Railway, Mr. G. Train, Colonel Baker,

Rev. Mr. Nicholson, &c. Captain Roberson, R.N., chief surveyors of the Board of Trade, with Mr. Murray and Mr. Ruby, were present on behalf of the Board of Trade, to watch the result of the trial previous to the vessel receiving her passenger certificate. Steam was got up in all the boilers early in the day, but it was 2 o'clock before all was ready for departure, when the moorings were slipped, and the paddles and screw turned so gently ahead that the vessel was actually under way and stealing through the water almost before any one on board was aware of the start. The day was wet and squally, and a drizzly mist, half rain, half wind, made anything like sea cruising about as unpleasant as could well be conceived. This fact, coupled with the secrecy which had been maintained about all relating to the trial, checked anything like a demonstration in the way of boats assembling to witness the departure. Only one of the Ryde packets kept alongside for a mile or so, and now and then the crew of a yacht or cutter gave a cheer, but, beyond such recognitions, few and far between, the Great Eastern left her moorings almost unheeded. Rounding Calshott Castle the vessel was kept so close in shore, and turned with such marvelous ease and rapidity, as to excite to the utmost the astonishment and admiration of Mr. Murphy, the New York pilot, who was on board, and who, on seeing how much she was 'in hand,' at once expressed his belief that the Great Eastern could go anywhere where there was water. From Calshott she would her way slowly past Cowes and Ryde, through Spithead, and round the south cost of the Isle of Wight, passing close in by the green hills and picturesque valleys of Ventnor, over which the rich undulations of the Undercliff could be clearly seen. The condition or trim of the ship was not considerable favourable to her speed, inasmuch as she was five feet lower by the stern than the bows, and her best trim for sailing is on a level keel. Her draught of water was 21 feet 2 inches forward, and 26 feet in inch aft,--a greater depth by nearly two feet than she has ever yet been to sea with. The immersion of the wheels was 20 inches more than hitherto, and the screw as so well down that all but

about inches of the topmost fan was completely under water.

Leaving the Isle of Wight on the starboard quarter, and keeping out about 30 miles from land, the Great Eastern steamed slowly down the coast for the Start Light. The orders were given to keep both screw and paddles going easily a-head at little more than half speed till all had got into regular working order. Then the paddles started, when clear of the land, at about seven revolutions and the screw at 24—a rate of speed which was only gradually increased during the night, when the former engines rose to a little over eight and the screw to 27. At this rate all went very easily and well, the vessel going at 9 or 9½ knots. The injector pipes for feeding the boilers, however, were soon found to be scarcely large enough for the duty, and the paddle boilers accordingly had to be fed from the donkey engines. It was also quickly ascertained that the new wooden casings for the forward funnels, and which were intended to assist in getting rid of the hot air, did not work at all, for all the hot air was most effectually kept insides the casing itself, which heated to such a degree as to require constant watching in case of accident. The forward pair of boilers also the paddles were more or less troublesome throughout the night, and, indeed, during the whole trip. They were constantly ‘priming,’ as it is termed, which means boiling so fiercely as occasionally to send the water as well as steam along the steam pipe in the cylinders,—an intrusion which, though not dangerous, is very annoying to engineers, and one which the piston itself resents by thumping on the bottom on the cylinder with astounding bangs. This priming, as the pressure of steam was not over 17lb., and the firing was moderate, was at first difficult to account for, till it was ascertained that the water in this pair of boilers had been in them for the last two or three months, and the boilers themselves were very rusty from disuse—two causes quite sufficient to account for priming to any extent. Beyond such slight incidents as these, nothing of any note occurred. The night fell as the Bill of Portland was passed, and the lights of the Magdalena could be seen glimmering occasionally

over the waves as she steamed down Channel for the West Indies. Soon after 11 o'clock the heat of the woodwork round the forward funnels seemed to increase greatly, till the smell of its scorching became quite apparent. The upper part of the casing which impeded the ventilation was therefore at once broken away, and, free egress being thus given to the hot air round the funnel, no further uneasiness was felt. At the suggestion of Captain Roberson, of the Board of Trade, this woodwork will be entirely removed, and replaced by an iron lattice-work, which will, of course, give free egress to the hot air, and run no danger of ignition, no matter what the heat. At 1 o'clock a.m. on Sunday the Great Easter was abreast of the Start Light, when the helm was put hard over, and the huge vessel, even at slow speed, turned completely round in a small circle in little over seven minutes. During this turn, as throughout the trial, there was a total absence of the uneasy wagging motion of the stem and stern which was so often felt last year. Its disappearance now was attributed entirely to the additional girders and diagonal bracings which have been latterly put in, and which with the screw tunnel render the whole ship as rigid as a bolt. On Sunday, at 6 a.m., Mr. M'Lennan, the chief engineer, who had never for an instant quitted the engine-room from the time she started, gave orders to get up steam for full speed. No one anticipated any very great results from this, as even by looking over the side the effect of the foul bottom in dragging the water could be distinctly seen expending as far as a foot from the vessel's side. By steady firing the amount of steam was gradually increased, and the revolutions of the paddles rose from 8 to 10½, and the screw from 27 to 39, but beyond this rate it seemed impossible yesterday to get them. On the last run round from Holyhead to Southampton the screw worked easily at 43 revolutions and the paddles at 12, and for a short time at 12½, at which time the vessel ran a clear 16 knots an hour. Yesterday, however, partly owing, we suppose, to the increased depth of the ship (two feet), and partly to the weedy condition of the bottom, nothing approaching this result could be obtained. Neither screw or paddle ever went at a greater rate than the revolutions we have mentioned,

and the greatest speed never exceeded $12\frac{3}{4}$ knots an hour. An average of $12\frac{1}{2}$ knots, however, was maintained with great ease and steadiness, the only annoyance arising from the priming of the forward pair of boilers. There seemed, also, some difficulty in getting a full amount of steam, of which it was said the engines required at least two ponds more pressure than could be given to them, even with quick firing. The patent log and the ship's log, and the run according to the chart, all gave the same result—namely, a distance of 50 miles from 6 a.m. till 10 in the forenoon, or an average of exactly $12\frac{1}{2}$ knots an hour, the last two hours being made against a two-knot tide. Soon after 10 o'clock the ship was again abreast of Ventnor, and under the charge of the same pilot, Mr. Bowyer, who has always taken her up the Southampton Water. She was as easily steered through Spithead and round Calshott Castle back to her moorings as if he had been a yacht. After passing Cowes the weather came on thick, with squalls and heavy rain, yet it made no difference in her management in such a narrow channel, and before 1 o'clock she was again securely fastened to those moorings which have held her so securely through all the terrific gales of the past winter. The result of the trial trip showed that the vessel was with trifling alterations really in good sea-going trim, and the directors at once met and determined that the ship should start for New York on Saturday morning next. This decision was come to on the understanding that Mr. Lungley, the contractor, could complete whatever details of work remain to do by Wednesday, as Captain Hall, we believe, most wisely asks three clear days before starting to look after his crew and get them all accustomed to their proper stations in the huge ship. No over-anxiety to save a day should be allowed to weigh in the balance against any request, not only so prudent, but so necessary as this, and no delay would be better borne both on this and the other side of the Atlantic than one required to organize and accustom the crew to their places. The crew, however, it must in justice be mentioned, is said to be an unusually fine one. It is confidently anticipated that the voyage to New York will be made in less than 10 days, which, from

Southampton, would be a very good run. It is intended to take the Great Eastern over the bar, and moor her in the river in the very middle of New York.” (Times of London, June 11, 1860)

June 15, 1860

“The Great Eastern.—In consequence of the late tempestuous weather having much retarded the completion of the upper-deck fittings and rigging of this vessel, her departure for New York has been postponed. The start now is not likely to take place before the 20th inst., though it will certainly not be delayed beyond the 23d, as longer detention would again lose the high tides over the bar at New York. The delay is, perhaps, on the whole not so unfortunate as it appears, inasmuch as we believe that advantage will be taken of it prior to starting to give a brief, though most thorough, trial of the engines by a run down Channel and back to Southampton.”(Times of London, June 15, 1860)

June 16, 1860

Great Eastern leaves Southampton, England, for New York under command of Captain John Vine Hall.

June 18, 1860

“Departure of the Great Eastern.

(From our special correspondent.)

Southampton Waters, June 16.

The Great Eastern, in the course of another hour or so, will have commenced her first real voyage, which it is sincerely to be trusted will be of such a character for speed and comfort to all on board as will redeem the vessel from that unfortunate reputation for ill luck and mishaps which up to the present has so dogged her chequered career. That this same reputation sticks close to her even now may be judged from the fact that the passengers who have committed their fortunes to her are few in the extreme, and only amount in all to some 10 percent. of the numbers that were expected. Of these only two are ladies. Even now, in all the hurry and bustle of departure, when the last packages are coming off and the last messages being sent on shore, no one can look at

the condition of the ship without being forcibly impressed with the idea that she still leaves a couple of days too soon for the thorough organization and finish that was promised. In all essentials, however, the ship is perfect, and two or three days at sea in calm weather will soon do all the rest, so that, on the whole, her appearance at New York may do her no discredit. Opinions vary very much, however, as to the time when her appearance off Jersey Island will be made, as none allow her less than nine days for the run, under the most favourable circumstances, while the majority lean rather strongly to the belief that it will occupy from 12 to 16. The reasons given for anticipating the latter very low rate of speed are that the cause of the forward boilers priming so much during the last trial trip has been found to be the feed pipes having become very foul, and, not allowing the passage of sufficient water to keep them well supplied. Since then they have been cleaned as well as was possible under the circumstances. If this has been effectual, well and good; if not, a low pressure of steam will be maintained throughout the run, and, as a matter of course, the speed will be reduced in proportion. It is to be hoped, on the other hand, that as the engines get into good working trim these difficulties, if they really exist, will disappear, and as each day's steaming will lighten the vessel's draught four inches, there is every probability that with calm weather a good average run of nine or ten days may be made. It will, however, certainly be a very different run from what she could easily have made had her bottom been relieved of the weeds and slime which encumber it. One thing which is likely to tell much against a first voyage is that, with the present state of the weather, fogs are likely to prevail across that Atlantic, and this, with the immense quantity of ice which is reported in the track, would, of course, render full steaming almost out of the question. These anticipations, however, are all the merest conjectures, the only thing certain being that the vessel is really about to start; and when this is accomplished, in the face of the predictions that she would not leave this year, who knows but after all she may equally disappoint the ill-boders by making as good a passage as the

Adriatic? In proper trim, however, the performances of the Adriatic would be a low standard of comparison with what the Great Eastern can really do if she only gets fair play. Underpowered as she is, she still has the speed in her, as sailors say, and will yet make some of the shortest passages to whatever the port of her destination may be hereafter.

It is not improbable even now that the vessel will not leave England to-night, as between 40 and 50 of her crew are still ashore, having been paid in advance and given a few hours' leave yesterday. Some may be behind time, but there is not the least doubt of their joining to-night, as nearly all are said to be Naval Reserve men, who, being mostly men of good character and first-class able seamen, are much sought after by the large steam companies, as crew to be depended on. In case of this delay occurring, the Great Eastern will probably remain off Spithead for the night, though not coming to anchor.

Off the Needles, 10:30 A.M., Sunday, June
17

The Great Eastern slipped her moorings in the Southampton waters at 8 a.m., and although the weather was both thick and stormy she proceeded to thread the narrow and tortuous channel down the Solent and through the Needles, under the pilotage of Mr. Bowyer. The weather was far too thick and stormy to render it safe for her to have got away last night; perhaps it is as well she did not, as on passing Hurst Castle a large troopship could be plainly distinguished fast among the rocks near the Needles, no doubt having been forced there by one of last night's squalls. The wind, for our present course, is fair, and everything seems to promise a good passage, though perhaps not a very quick one.

(By electric and international telegraph)

Plymouth, Sunday Evening.

The steamship Great Eastern, Captain Vine Hall, hove in sight from the Cambra on the Hoe at 10 minutes after 7 o'clock this evening, and was apparently in a line with the Eddystone lighthouse at 2 minutes after 8. Wind southerly, very light. Four or more funnels smoking. Paddle and screw going; no canvas set. After heaving in sight she seemed to hug the land so as to be better observed, and then steered a more southerly course, which took her three miles at least outside the Eddystone. While off the port her engines were slowed for a short time. When last observed the Great Eastern was steering a course which would take her clear of the channel, but if bound to call off Falmouth she would arrive there about midnight." (Times of London, June 18, 1860)

June 19, 1860

A census taker in the ___ District of the City of New Orleans, County of Orleans, Louisiana, identifies the following persons: D. C. Lowber, 49, male, machinery trade, place of birth, Virginia, with no value of real estate and value of personal estate at 2,500; Mary Lowber, 48, female, place of birth, New York; and Franny Lowber, 13, female, place of birth, Louisiana. (Also identified as Orleans Parish, New Orleans 2nd Ward-1860 Federal Population Schedule Page 474)

June 22, 1860

"The Great Eastern.

To the Editor of the Times.

Sir,--We beg to inform you that Captain Hutchinson, of the American brigantine Flying Eagle, reports that the steamship Great Eastern, passed him at 3:30 a.m. on the 18th inst., Scilly Islands bearing north, distant about 14 miles. Captain Hutchison also states she was going ahead majestically, and very fast. The Flying Eagle had light, variable winds, with calm on the 17th and 18th, so that the Great Eastern must have had a fine time away.

We are, Sir, yours respectfully,
Seymour, Peacock, and Co.,

London, June 21. Agents of the Great Eastern."
(Times of London, June 22, 1860)

June 26, 1860

“The Great Eastern.

Queenstown, Tuesday.

‘The Marco Polo has arrived here. She landed mails and eight passengers. On the 20th inst., in lat. 47° 48′ North, long. 22° 50′ West, she passed the Great Eastern, steaming very fast.’” (Times of London, June 26, 1860)

June 27, 1860

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes to William Henry Seward

“June 24th 1860

My Dear Gov-

After the festivities of the wedding and a reasonable tarry at home (where you must be almost a stranger) – I hope you will drift down the Hudson River, and for want of a more agreeable stopping place if only for a few days, may I ask you in the name of my family to look in upon “Highland Grove” at Fishkill Landing – the ladies will do their utmost to make your stay comfortable at least. With my congratulations to the bride and groom. I am as ever

Truly yours,

A H Schultz.”

June 27, 1860

Telegraph message at 1:00 a.m. from Sandy Hook, New Jersey, to the New York *Times* and the *Tribune*:

“A large steamship has stopped outside the bar and from present appearances I am most sure it is the Great Eastern as she shows a great many lights.”

“We arrived off Sandy Hook very early on the morning of the 28 June and came to anchor to wait the tide. By 10 o'clock craft of all kinds began to arrive from New York to look at us and our

agents came off to us. The scene became very exciting and the day was a lovely one. When we began to run up to New York we were accompanied by hundreds of yachts, steamers &c, and it was certainly a grand and exciting scene. As we passed up through that beautiful entrance to the Hudson, the banks were lined with thousands of people, and the forts and American men of war saluted as we passed, so that it was one continued firing of guns and shouting of thousands of people all the way up to New York, and when we came close to that town the scene was wonderful. The wharfs, house tops, church towers and every spot where a human being could stand and get a sight of the ship was crowded. We reached the wharf where we were to lay about 5 or 6 o'clock, and I was very glad when it was time for bed; I will, however, never forget the beauty of the scene." Memoirs and Diary of Sir Daniel Gooch.

June 28, 1860

Great Eastern steams in New York harbor; receives a 14 gun salute from Fort Hamilton which the *Great Eastern* returned from her Dahlgren guns. In the upper bay, she passed the U.S. Steam Frigate *Niagara*, the largest warship in the world. The *Niagara* was a wooden vessel, a bit more than half the size of the *Great Eastern*. The *Niagara* dipped her ensign, but did not fire a salute. The *Great Eastern* was berthed for the first time at a lumber pier which extended from West 11th Street to West 12th Street. Voyage took 11 days, 13 hours, 15 minutes.

June 29, 1860

"The *Great Eastern*.
First Voyage of the Vessel to the United States.
Complete Account of the Trip.
Performances of Her Engines.

Full Engineering and General Details.

From Our Special Correspondent.

On Board the *Great Eastern*.

From Southampton to New-York.

June 17 to June 28, 1860.

The *Great Eastern* sailed from Southampton on the morning of Sunday, June 17, and arrived off

Sandy Hook at 7:30 A.M., on the morning of the 28th. She brings 38 passengers and 8 guests.

The voyage has been particularly fine and full of interest. It has demonstrated the *Great Eastern's* superiority as a sea-going vessel, the excellence and reliability of her machinery, and her unrivaled safety and remarkable comfort as a passenger steamer.

As a trial of speed the trip has been made under great disadvantages. Without deducting detentions, the actual time has been 11 days 2 hours. The highest speed attained was 14½ knots, or about 16¾ statute miles per hour. For four days the paddle-boiler pressure was limited to 20 pounds. The screw-boilers were so limited during the whole trip that none of the engines were worked with that increase of power by high steam and high expansion, for which they were designed and adapted.

The firing was bad during the first half of the trip. Besides this, the ship's bottom has been so foul as to materially affect her speed. On the other hand, it must be said that the vessel was light and the sea generally smooth.

The distance sailed has been 142 miles further than the shortest course from Southampton to New-York, and there have been various detentions which will be hereafter noticed, such as running south to avoid ice, adjusting compasses, &c.

No one doubts the ability of the vessel, with a proportionate load of passengers and under favorable circumstances, to make the passage in less than nine days.

It is a very remarkable fact that none of the engines, screw or paddle, have been once stopped for adjustment during the whole trip.

This voyage of the *Great Eastern* has, to a certain extent, demonstrated the mechanical

feasibility of the schemes of her designers, and the economy of large ships on long routes with heavy traffic. The excessive speed expected by the public, however, was shown by the Times to be impossible, without an increase of boiler power, long before the trial trip. Yet the all-important distinction between the size of the hull of the ship and the proportion of her power, should precede any rash conclusion as to her speed and economy. While the lines of the ship are perfection, and her engines excellent of their kind, the vessel may be premature for the purpose of Trans-Atlantic navigation. That she is not entirely adapted to long routes is yet to be proved by commercial experimentation. The mechanical experiment has been successfully accomplished.

One fact, however, is now beyond question—the excellence of that part of the great work for which Mr. Scott Russell is responsible—the hull and this paddle engines. The Times long ago defended this leading spirit of the whole enterprise against the unjust attacks of enemies who, either in ignorance or malice, prophesied all manner of failure in his work. If the result of this voyage is satisfactory to shareholders, if an examination of the splendid vessel proves gratifying to visitors, to Mr. Russell is due the first and principal credit.

Two sets of distances run by the ship will be observed on two or three days of the voyage. It seems that the longitude and distance posted on these days in the grand saloon, and signed by the Captain, were incorrect; another log was afterwards given out to inquirers. No further comment than a statement of the fact is necessary.

There is also much uncertainty as to the exact time lost in running south to clear ice, in sounding, &c. Fortunately none of these facts are very important, since the trip has been abnormally lengthened to a much greater extent by the other causes mentioned. All due caution is certainly praiseworthy. Such is the general issue of the voyage.

The narrative of the trip, and the engineering results, appended at some length, will exhibit the basis and fill up the details of the first-named conclusions.

Narrative of the Trip.

The Day Before Starting.

Saturday, June 16, 1860.

It was confidently believed that the vessel would sail at high tide this afternoon. Circumstances, however, decidedly unavoidable—a forecandle full of at least hilarious firemen, the approaching darkness, the narrow Solent choked with shipping, and the rugged spurs of the Needles, capped with mist and storm before us—most properly detained her. So night is again creeping over the great hulk, and clouds hung about her; silent and gloomy as on the brow of some sea-beaten headland. But within her iron sides, in brilliant and gilded apartments, expanded and multiplied by mirrors into endless suites of saloons, music and wine are making the night merry.

The day has not been without incident. Our party left Southampton at 9 o'clock. The great ship, five miles below and looking like any other steamer a mile away, gradually loomed up before us, filling the horizon, as the Lilliputian tug hovered under her lee. The appearance of the ship has been somewhat improved since I last saw her. A white ribband, 27 inches wide, has been painted entirely around her, some ten feet before the top of the bulwarks. The paddle boxes above the bulwarks, the five chimneys and the six masts are changed to cream color. All this lightens the vessel, but she needs no illusions to heighten the beauty of her lines. The stern, round, and so far American, but not hemispherical, and so far not American, is the only feature of the general outline not entirely graceful. But the roughly painted imitation of an old-fashioned gallery around it, is decidedly suggestive of deformity, and is quite as appropriate on a modern ship as would be the square bow of Anno Domini 1660.

I proceeded at once to row around the vessel, to measure her immersion and that of her propellers, and to observe as far as possible, the state of the ship's bottom. The draft forward was 21 ft., 6 in., and aft 26 feet. The immersed section etc. will be mentioned farther on. The figures marking the immersion on the stern, have been painted over; those on the bow remain. But I may remark that my measurements are entirely accurate, having been made, not from any marks on the ship, but from working drawings on board, in the possession of Mr. Norman Scott Russell. As far as I could reach down with an oar, say 7 feet (and I could see down 6 feet at the bow) a sort of moss, from half an inch to an inch long, adhered quite firmly to the bottom, in most places; a rough slime covered other parts. The entire bottom was pretty well cleaned three weeks ago, by dragging brushes fixed to planks, fore and aft, by means of two steam-tugs on either side, in the usual manner. Weeds four feet long came off at that time. Divers have not discovered anything but the slime and moss mentioned, since this operation, and more of it is near the water line than below. That this will affect the ship's speed a few knots per day, will not be doubted, but exactly how much, cannot of course be estimated.

The morning was fine and propitious. Yachts and tugs, not indeed in schools, as when we left Deptford a year ago, for who believes in *Great Eastern* advertisements, were maneuvering in Southampton water; the *Pera* steamer, with the East Indian mails; the *Oressa*, on a trial trip, and the Royal Mail Company's *Parana*, now chartered by the Irish American line, and bound for New York *via* Galway—large steamers all—were looked down upon from the lofty decks of the leviathan.

The most striking feature of the vessel, to the casual observer who has been a reader of London newspapers, was her *identity*. Where the \$300,000, the cost of 'material alteration' have gone, can only be discovered after a more critical examination than I have yet made. A facetious friend observes, 'paint a newspaper reporter's berth another color, and next morning it appears in a

column article, how ‘this splendid vessel having been entirely refitted, and completely redecorated, at an almost fabulous expense, and with an eye to combined safety and elegance which reflects the highest credit upon her able and gentlemanly proprietors, is now prepared, etc., etc.’ The ship is full of rubbish, but mostly of a moveable and stowable character. Much of the light wood-work about the decks is unfinished. The engineering exploit of the morning is getting the auxiliary screw-engines to work—their first appearance on the practical stage.

But most of the engineering has been of a mixed moral and immoral character—the final settlement with and enrollment of firemen and sailors and the suggestively hilarious spirits of many of them, prompting various idiosyncrasies of demeanor, among with the following row was peculiarly unique. The boatswain, a stalwart tar, was discharged yesterday for maltreating firemen, and returned to-day to show them that he still lived. Being forbidden to tread again the broad arena of his more than imperial tyranny, and descending the ladder to the hulk alongside, bowed but not crushed, a Herculean fireman grappled him by the throat. In an instant both were over the railing in the mid air, while during the short descent, the sailor shook off his assailant, and pitched him into the ultimate scuppers of the scow. The action now became general; grim figures struck out with Benician lunges, while peacemakers tugged at promiscuous coat collars, and the screaming wives of the sons of Vulcan threw themselves into the middle danger. By a desperate jump, the man of storms reached the guard of a tug alongside the hulk; the man of fire came tumbling after, dealing blows; both sprang into crude collision over the intervening sea, and for a moment disappeared from the vulgar gaze. Now the boatswain swims for a neighboring yawl, and the fireman, shark-like, strikes out in his wake. But their ferocity is tempered by Southampton water, and both are glad to get fished out alive.

Mr. Scott Russell, and other guests, left us at noon; at 4 o’clock the last of the passengers came

down from Southampton, and soon after the 'venturesome' handful composing our company alone remained. At about 3 o'clock a severe thunder-storm came up, and poured out its wind on the careening yachts, which skulked back to their moorings, and its drenching rain on the passengers of those most miserable scows, which, in these waters, are facetiously called 'passenger steamers' or 'packets.' But it was a grand scene from our lofty paddle-boxes; the same wind sweeping the ruins of Netley Abbey, whistling through the rigging of the *Great Eastern*, and then roaring among the branches of the New Forest, far away on the lee.

The fires were started at 11:30 o'clock, and the boilers kept under steam, with banked fires, all night.

First Day of the Trip.

From 9:57 A.M., Greenwich time, Sunday, June 17, to 12 noon, Ship's time, Monday, June 18.

Very early in the morning, the long lines of sailors and firemen on deck, finally answering to their names, the tug alongside to slip our cables for us, the smoking chimneys, and the safety-valve pipes, with their white feather of steam, gave signal of final starting. But the leaden sky, and a half gale from the N.N.E., were not so promising. The lower ends of the cables forming the moorings, were finally secured to the tug under our bow, the pins knocked out, and at three minutes before 8 o'clock the ship was adrift. The tide was running up, but the contrary winds kept the ship's stern down so that she stood square across the channel. But a fore-stay sail soon brought her head round, and 12 minutes after 8 the engines were started, and the monster struck out for the New World. The lead was kept going from both sponsons—every officer was at his post—the pilot, with anxious eye, was measuring again the well-known distance and penetrating the mist for fresh landmarks—but the great hulk needed only a look, and followed the wave of his hand through the windings of the Channel. At 8:45, we were abreast Cowes, at 9:45 we returned a salute

from Hurst Castle, and at three minutes before 10, we passed the Needles. The pilot, whose little boat was on the davits alongside, accompanied by Mr. Brereton, the Company's Engineer, and another gentleman, soon left us, causing a delay of eleven minutes, and at 10:57 the ship was fairly on her course. The great voyage was really begun. In Freshwater Bay, just east of the Needles, was a troop-ship ashore, where she had been driven by the night's gale—a decidedly cheerless sight.

The final embarkation—the real trial trip—the first ocean voyage—the test journey of a ship which has been the parent of more talk, speculation, wonder, and world-wide interest, than any craft that has floated since Noah's Ark—the very birth-day of the *Great Eastern's* practical career, could hardly have been accomplished with less ceremony and popular demonstration. One poor little faithful tug, which had come alongside to take the last messages and letters, with half a dozen shivering gentlemen on her paddle-boxes, followed us down to the Isle of Wight, reminding us, the few 'fool-hardy' who were venturing on an 'unfortunate and ill-fated ship'—clinging to the howling rigging under that Wintry sky—of the picture of 'the last mourner,' familiar to our youth—the drunkard's dog following his body—all alone—to the Potter's Field. One English cheer from the pilot's boat, as we cast it adrift, was the only sound of comfort. Under such auspices did the *Great Eastern* start for New-York.

But the grace with which the leviathan got her huge body under way—the apparently remarkable ease with which she obeyed her rudder like any other leviathan of the deep, and the noiseless regularity—almost instinct—with which her giant fins struck out for deep water, was the promising feature of our embarkation. The paddle engines, which always worked well enough to all appearances, have been perfectly balanced by counterweights in the wheels, and now run with such remarkable smoothness that while we were stopping for the pilot, all four great cylinders and their attachments actually moved gently back and forth by the action of the little two-foot waves on

her floats. The screw engines have been considerably readjusted and work very smoothly, much more so than one would have supposed possible when listening to their thundering on the trial trip. The firing all day was not particularly good—the volumes of smoke pouring from the chimneys and the low steam pressure were evidence of it.

Portland Bill was passed at 12-40 P.M., Start Point at 5:38, and Eddystone lighthouse at 7:45. The afternoon was rainy with a wholesale N.N.W., and then a light W.S.W. breeze. The evening was remarkably fine. The ship had run out of the leaden clouds which still hung over the eastern horizon, into that peculiar clearness and freshness of atmosphere which sometimes succeeds a season of storm, the bold, dark headlands on our beam, stretching far westward into a soft, blue ribband of distant coast, splendidly contrasting with the smooth, deep water, and the golden brightness of the western sky. The whole circuit of vision was alive with sails. Twenty-three craft, two of them steamers, were visible from the paddle-boxes. Shortly afterward, 19 sail, the nearest of them rosy with the light of a glorious sunset, were in sight on our starboard bow. The night was quite calm, and passed away without incident.

The morning of the 18th was truly magnificent. The air was clear and warm, and the wind very light N.N.W., and afterwards S.E., the sea being perfectly placid for an hour or more—a rolling swell without wind or wave—dimples of every shape and size, gloriously blue, but without a ripple. Passing a ship near enough for a salute, our neighbor showed her numbers, whereby we might ascertain her name. A return of the compliment was hardly necessary on our part, for what benighted Down Easter would fail to recognize the *Great Eastern*. How magnificently we must have appeared from her deck, with our tremendous bulk and five belching chimneys, can be only imagined.

The Day's Run

Latitude, end of first day	49° 27' N
Longitude, as posted, 75° 4' W.; as Corrected	84° 5' W
Difference of Greenwich and ship's time, minutes	31.6
Distance run, knots, as posted, 300; as Corrected	285
Average knots per actual hour	11.36
Total distance from Needles, knots	300
Highest speed by log, knots	11.75
Average revolutions of paddle per minute, (24 hours)	8.64
Average revolutions of screw per minute, (24 hours)	29 18

Second Day of the Trip.

*From 12, noon, Monday, June 18, to 12, noon,
Tuesday, June 19, ship's time.*

All the sails on the foremast, to wit: Foresail, foretopsail, foretopgallantsail, or upper topsail, as it is called in the absence of a topgallantmast, and forespenser, the three former square sails, and the latter a fore-and-aft or schooner sail, also three other spensers, were now set to the southeasterly breeze—not so much to aid particularly in her locomotion as to initiate the men in handling her heavy canvas. The wind steadily increasing, however, they pulled well. The ship began to roll slightly—not enough to be noticed without special observation. An ordinary would, of course, have rolled quite decidedly. At 3 P.M. it became cloudy, and at 5:30 it began to rain. Both wind and rain increased, and by 9 o'clock the meteorological aspect of things was disagreeable. The wind had shifted more to the northward, so that the square sails on the foremast would not fill well; and at 10, the foresail and comparatively light foretopgallantsail were taken in. But the great foretopsail, away up so high from the water—that extra thick and tremendous expanse of canvas, flapping in the fierce gale—was not so tractable, and the whole night was spent by an army of sailors, quite unused to such dimensions, and a little nervous, withal, in furling it. The running rigging

does not work as smoothly as it doubtless will in time. The sailors say that the American fashion of rigging works much more easily, and will enable fewer men to do the work, as more of it is done from the deck. It may also be remarked that the men do not so far work particularly fast or in concert. About 12 knots an hour were made by log all night. It is probable that the aid by sail is not as great as the wind will allow, but no one questions the propriety of not spreading too much when the wind is likely to haul to the westward, and while the sails are yet not easily managed.

Although the sea had not risen to a great height, nor the wind to that degree of ferocity for which the North Atlantic is famous, yet the scene on deck about 1 o'clock was truly terrific. The wind was hard upon the precincts of a gale, and the ship was rolling as nearly as could be estimated in the darkness, some 18 degrees to leeward—a very moderate and easy, but still decided roll, the blackness of the darkness, the howling and shrieking of the wind through the forest of spars and ropes, the blinding rain, the shouting of a hundred sailors away upon the foretopsail yard and the neighboring spars, tugging at the stubborn canvas, the thundering of the loosened sails, the dingy figures of men clambering up and down the shrouds—the very fact that the great spar—as high as a church steeple—hanging far over the yawning waves, was crowded with human beings—all this on such a ship and on such an occasion, caused not a little nervousness on the part of the timid, and considerable enthusiasm on the part of your correspondent. But the unpoetical sailors laconically denominated this interesting occasion as simply a 'nasty night,' while the most noble vessel did but relish a little northeasterly breeze, as she left the regularly run knots behind her.

Another little incident in the middle of the night was pronounced by those whom it awakened out of dreams of shipwreck as peculiarly stirring. Some hundreds of empty ale-bottles broke loose from their moorings, and came down on the paved floor of the passage between the fore and aft

saloons with a crash which reverberated through the iron caverns ‘as if the whole engine had been ripped right out of her,’ as one of the witnesses of the wreck graphically described it.

On the morning of the 19th the wind was what clipper skippers would call a double-reefed-topsail breeze, if not stronger. The ship rolled 7 degrees to leeward, and made 5½ complete rolls, up and down, in a minute. It was still cloudy, but the rain had ceased at 4 A.M. At 8 A.M. the two forward and the mizzen spencers and the fore stay-sail were set, and shortly after, the spanker, or the fore and aft sail on the jiggermast, or last mast. At 11 A.M. the clouds had broken, and soon after the day was splendidly bright and sunshiny, but the wind was still strong. The paddle-wheels rolled a little out of water this morning and during the night. The reckoning, showing 340 miles sailing since ship’s noon yesterday, at first elated everybody at the prospect of a remarkably quick passage. But when, upon calculating the revolutions, slip of propellers, etc., we found she had gone *2 per cent. faster than the engines*, the state-room of our particular engineering party was the scene of profound unhappiness. This subject will be treated further in the engineering report, showing, we believe, a lamentable idiosyncrasy on the part of the navigators.

The Day’s Run

Latitude, end of second day	48° 41’ N
Longitude, end of second day	16° 12’ W
Difference of ship’s time since noon yesterday	28° 08
Difference of ship’s time, first reckoning	33° 02
Distance run; as corrected	296
Average knots per actual hour, corrected run	12.08
Average knots per actual hour by first reckoning	13.849
Total distance from Needles	640
Highest speed by log	13
Average revolutions of paddle	9.26

Remark.—The average actual speed was greater than any speed recorded by logs. The logs were pronounced out of order, and unreliable with wind and sea after us, and were changed. See notes under Engine Reports.

Third Day of the Trip.

*From Noon, Tuesday, June 19, to Noon,
Wednesday, June 20.*

The weather is very fine. A considerable swell for other ships, rolled this one to a degree hardly noticeable to persons not looking for it. The pitching has not been perceived since we started, except by specially watching for it, and pitching is the motion of all others which causes sea-sickness. The real height of the swells can only be seen from the sponsons, such is the height of the deck. During our half gale, or gale, as it may be called out of sailor's hearing, no person experienced these disagreeable sensations at all, except one young man of 17, who had never been at sea before. His indisposition, however, did not keep him away from the table. There is no disagreement among us all about the fact that in a small ship, every passenger would have experienced the extremest sea-sickness on the night of the 18th if at all on the trip. But we have not seen very heavy weather yet. It is only proved that on average Summer passages, the great ship overcomes the chief and universal objection to ocean traveling. A little sail was set, but the wind gradually subsided, and it was taken in at 6 o'clock. The afternoon and evening were very fine and almost cloudless. At 8 P.M. a light N.N.W. breeze sprang up, the remnants of the northeasterly gale having died away. Our small company—forty-two passengers—is quite lost on this huge vessel. It is a very easy matter to take a lonely and contemplative walk, these fine Summer evenings, about our acre of door-yard, for such is the area of our playground. The sponson beams or guards seem to be the favorite places of resort; they will well nigh hold all of us. Standing fifteen feet outside of the

vessel, and watching her giant bulk gliding through the sea, which she scarcely seems to ripple, is a sight so decidedly indescribable that I would advise your readers not to be content till they witness it. The shape of the vessel and its results are indeed wonderful. She is, as is well known, concave from the bow aft, on the water line, hollowing in some three feet, not with a parabolic curve, but on Mr. Scott Russell's celebrated wave line, which is better. The result, as may be seen from the sponson beams, is, that *at her highest speed the vessel does not raise a perceptible wave*. And at the stern, the surface of the water is entirely smooth as far as affected by the movement of the vessel. The paddles, of course, raise following waves of their own, which by the way have been discovered by the author of the wave line to be of constant lengths, whatever their height, at given speeds and the lengths of which have been tabulated by the same engineer, so that the speed of the ship may be calculated from them, and is so calculated daily by one of our party. The philosophy of the hollow line is now pretty widely known; it is giving the water the slightest side impulse at first, and then following it up by an increasing angle, the presence of which, added to the momentum already imparted to the water, becomes constant and uniform, so that an equal force is exerted on the water by the whole of the fore or entering part of the ship, and not by the extreme bow alone, as is the case with blunt vessels. The same principle applies to the hollow stern; the water falls back against it with a uniform velocity, which prevents the water *level* from being disturbed, and the ship from running up hill.

The day has been without incident, so much so that the report of a shark on the starboard bow (not visible to the unaided vision) was the source of some excitement at dinner, and a great many fish stories for dessert.

The screw is to-day beginning to show the top of its blades above water, which causes a slight vibratory motion in the ship, not perceptible when it is entirely immersed. At evening several sails were in sight at a distance. An emigrant ship, decks

crowded with people, to see the great sight, passed quite near us. All night the wind was light, with some showers of rain, and very little sail was set. The early morning of the 20th was squally, with clouds and sunshine. Before noon the day was very bright and magnificent—wind and sea light—no sail set.

The Day's Run

Latitude, end of third day	47° 40' N
Longitude, end of third day	22° 54' W
Difference of ship's time since noon yesterday	28.8 min.
Distance run	276
Average knots per actual hour	11.29
Total distance from Needles	916
Highest speed by log	12.5
Average revolutions of paddle	9.478
Average revolutions of screw	31.23

Remark.—The slip of the paddle to-day would have been 19 per cent., supposing the distance run as reported to be correct, which is impossible.

Fourth Day of the Trip.

From Noon, Wednesday, June 20, to Noon, Thursday, June 21.—Extremely fine and sunshiny all day, with Northwesterly light studding-sail breeze till evening. Both screw and paddle are going faster, partly on account of decreased immersion; the former is making 35 and the latter 10½ turns. The trim of the ship—several feet by the stern—is not deemed right for her best working, so the guns, weighing two tons each, ropes, sails, chain-cable and other heavy movables are now being shifted from stern to stem. It is proposed to move 170 tons in all, but this will not probably bring her down forward more than an inch or two. The desired effect could of course be produced by filling some of the fore lower compartments with water, but this, increasing her total immersion, would hardly aid her speed. The firing is decidedly

bad occasionally, though fair in some of the furnaces at times. The flame in the furnaces is more red and less white than it should be, and the smoke after firing occasionally rivals that of the Lake Erie boats, which, it is said, can be sliced off with a knife. The bad combustion of course considerably increases the consumption of fuel, but what is worse, it doubtless increases the liability of fire in the wooden funnel casings. When combustible gases are consumed where they ought to be—close to the bed of the fire—all the heating surfaces of the boiler are before them to take up their heat. But when they are allowed to burn in the chimney—having not sufficient air admitted to them in the right place—their heat is not only wasted, but most dangerously applied. It is highly probable that some combustion is allowed to take place in the chimneys—there is certainly room enough for it. It is certain that combustion takes place occasionally at the chimney tops, but this is likely to be carbonic oxyd, since there would not be heat enough 80 feet from the furnace to set carbureted hydrogen on fire. The coal, Welsh and English bituminous, mixed, is not, I believe of the first quality. It does not burn brightly or freely. The funnel cases are doubtless too near the funnels or chimneys, if not better protection against the radiation of the latter, than iron and zinc air casings are to be applied. Linings of plaster of Paris, together with much ventilation through the casings, would with better firing make all safe enough. At present, considerable fear by fire is felt by all—not that it could do too much damage, for the means of throwing water are sufficient to flood the ship, and are kept under constant supervision and control. The grand saloon, through which both the paddle funnels pass, is made very hot by them now; in warmer climates, they would be insufferable without better ventilation. And the paint is beginning to crack from their finely decorated glass casings. On the whole, and with this single exception, the ship is peculiarly safe as to fire. At the time of the explosion during her first trip, all the coals in the furnace were blown about the stoke holes, and loads of splinters thrown in among them. There is no wood-work adjacent to or in reach of the boilers or furnaces. And should

originate from other causes, there is so much iron work—much of it double, leaving a stratum of air between—that a conflagration would be repeatedly checked without the aid of the pumps.

The easy steering of the ship cannot be too much admired. Six men only stand at the wheel in fair weather, and they do nothing but stand most of the time.

The great subject of conversation among the passengers is the speed of the ship. I can hardly compute the amount of wine wagered on every side of every question concerning it. The passengers are beginning to get into thick weather about the inconsistency of the reckoning for the last few days, and since bets are therefore a matter of the merest guesswork, their latitude and longitude is amusing. The runs for the last three days being posted as respectively 300, 340 and 276 knots, bets were offered and taken that to-day's run will not exceed 360, 340, 330, and even 310. Two to one is offered and taken that she will not arrive at Sandy Hook on Tuesday, P.M.; 4 to 1 that she will not arrive on Tuesday noon; and there is plenty of champagne pending as to her arriving Wednesday morning and Wednesday afternoon. Comparatively, I am happy to state, the *Adriatic* is talked of as the ship of the day. The *Persia* and *Vanderbilt* are merely referred to in respectful remembrance. The *Adriatic* left Cowes on Wednesday, and is on our track. Whole vineyards are expected to change hands, both if she does and does not make a better passage than the *Great Eastern*. The whole question of the *Great Eastern's* speed, however, will be considered in another part of my letter.

Several vessels have been visible on the horizon. One large ship, with all sail set, came within hailing distance—a fine sight *per se*, but we are so very much finer, we fancy, that we do not condescend to enjoy it. One small vessel appeared for a few moments on our port bow, and then vanished out of sight. The facetious young man before mentioned, observed that in her skipper's log might be found inscribed: 'Latitude what-you-may-

call-it N., Longitude so-and-so W.—passed a large volcanic island bearing N.E. in a state of violent eruption; five craters. Strong easterly current of sudden origin drifted us rapidly out of sight.’ That some of the down-Easters have seen the sea serpent *now*, there can be no question. At 6 P.M. the sky became overcast, and looked ‘blowy,’ and before dark a breeze sprang up from the S.W. which brought showers, and filled our sails all night.

I wish I could give an exact picture of our grand saloon and our adjacent ladies’ saloon at evening. It closely resembles a suite of brilliant apartments in a great metropolitan hotel, with gentlemen and I regret to say, too few ladies, lounging on its elegant sofas, gazing at its beautiful decorations, and listening to excellent amateur and professional music. Two professors of the art are discoursing most excellent melody with piano and bugle, while our captain, an elegant performer on the flute, is loudly cheered when he takes his turn at a considerably smaller variety of wind instrument than the foretopsail engrossed his not less earnest attention a few evenings ago. Several of our company are good vocalists, and on the whole, the musical department of our entertainment is decidedly in keeping. Let us fancy the three other suites of saloons in this floating hotel, decorated, lighted, peopled and enlivened by music and dancing, before we fill up the scene in our imaginations.

The morning of the 21st was a little thick, with a wholesale W.S.W. breeze, which soon changed to a light N.W., bringing clear weather, except some fog on the horizon, and requiring the furling of all sail before noon. There are two men on the bow, and one on each paddle-box, on the watch, besides the officers. A whale was seen blowing on our port bow. Observing the ship for a few moments, he retired in disgust.

We took the extreme side oscillations of the ship this morning, by an improvised pendulum, and found them to be 8 degrees 9 minutes each way, each complete port and starboard roll occupying a

fifth to a sixth of a minute. The fore and aft oscillations or pitches were 1 degree 3 minutes each way. This is the next thing to standing on an even keel. Had the vessel been exactly in the trough of the sea, she would doubtless have rolled more, but the swell being diagonal—on our port bow—her length partially covered several swells at a time. A 300 foot vessel would certainly pitch to a very sea-sick degree in our present long swell—not to speak of rolling—a longer swell, I think, than we had on the night of our half gale. Some persons are much surprised that the ship rolls slightly—that it rolls at all—when no swell is visible—when the roll of a short vessel would not be much noticed. The fact is that the great ship rolls over a long flat indulation which a short ship would *rise upon bodily*—she ferrets out a long swell which a short ship cannot appreciate.

The Day's Run

Latitude	46° 16' N
Longitude	30° 03' W
Difference of ship's time since yesterday noon	28.6 min.
Distance run	304
Average knots per actual hour	12.42
Total distance from Needles	1,220
Highest speed by log	15
Average revolutions of paddle	10.095
Average revolutions of screw	34.46

Fifth Day of the Trip.

From Noon June 21, to Noon June 22.

The afternoon was cloudy and rather thick on the horizon, and the wind changed to the N.N.W. and N., whence it blew after a strong wholesale fashion, enabling us to get out quite a spread of canvas. Everything about the sailing department of the vessel works stiff and slowly, while in the case of such changeable wind, sails should be got out and in at short notice to derive much benefit from them. I have already mentioned that some fifty men

were seven hours furling the foretopsail in not a very severe gale. It requires from 20 to 30 minutes to get a sail fairly spread. The men do not work very sharp, probably, yet there are not enough of them to do the thing clipper fashion, so long as old style of rigging and physical force are to take the place of recent improvements in blocks and reefing and furling arrangements, and steam power. We have 120 sailors, all told, 140 being the complement before. And when there is plenty of donkey engines all over the ship, I confess I am not sailor enough to see why their power should not be used to some extent, largely facilitating work and saving cost. There is another bad point, I think, about the rig of the vessel. No main sail is bent on, and there are no yards on the after main or on the mizzen masts. Top gallant-sails or upper top-sails are the highest on the fore and mainmasts. Now there is plenty of room for a top-sail on the foretrysail-mast, for a royal on the mainmast, for four square sails on the after mainmast, and two or three on the mizzenmast, besides one on the jiggermast. This altogether would make a spread of above 6,500 square yards—almost if not quite a clipper rig, and certainly more canvas than the fastest auxiliary screws carry. It is well known that the *Himalaya* and the *Great Britain*, for instance, have run at least 16 knots under canvas, dragging their screws. Here, then, would be an unrivaled opportunity to save coal, or, in some cases, to work wind and steam together at a tremendous speed—by rigging the six masts to their full capacity. But it may be remarked, and, perhaps, correctly, that no such amount of sail is wanted; that with 7,000 to 9,000 indicated horsepower, and both paddle and screw, it is best to depend on steam almost entirely, for the purpose of dispensing with a large crew and preventing the heeling over of the ship and pulling the windward wheel out of water, etc., etc. Why, then, drag these enormous spars about, against every head-wind? Why carry all this weight and top-hamper? If fore and aft' sails only are required, six spars like our jiggermast are abundant.

The manner of setting sail is quite amusing. A dozen men on a common steamer, with their 'he-

o' and 'o-hoy,' 'ye-oh-oy,' and various ululations indicative of a strong pull, are very tame beside the rude opera which I verily believe blows all the wind out of our men, as they appear to tug at the hemp. First some forty sailors lay hold of the rope and walk off with it, stamping in time with the tune (blast) of 'Wait for the Wagon,' or other popular airs, on a cracked cornet-a-piston, till it pulls pretty hard, when a more exhaustive style of music becomes necessary, and the fellow of the brass instrument fades away like a Chinese cracker before a 32-pounder. When all is ready, some 6½ footer with a cast steel pharinx begins, in a voice whose vibration neutralizes the jar of the screw, and the forty sailors, with lungs that would blow a blast furnace, join in a pull at the last vowel of the chorus, and at the rope, as follows:

6½ footer—'My Tommy dear, he's gone to sea,
Sailors—Ho—ei—yeO.' (blast and pull on the O.)

6½ footer—'Oh! I love him and he loves me,
Sailors—Ho—ei—yeO.'

6½ footer—'Oh! Shake her up my jolly boys,
Sailors—Ho—ei—yeO.'

6½ footer—'Oh! Shake her up and put her through,
Sailors—Ho—ei—yeO.'

This lyric has, I believe, 144 verses, and it is one of a thousand, of which the following is equally dismal and popular:

Leader—'Adieu, my Johnny Boker,
We'll haul and roll him over.'
Sailors—'Adieu, my Johnny Boker, O,' etc., etc.

It will be observed that the actual force exerted on the rope, the whole being measured in horse-power, is much less economical than that of the paddles. The slip of the latter should be some 9 or 10 per cent.; that of the former is about 99.

We passed and saluted an American clipper ship this afternoon, some two miles off, with every stitch of canvass straining under the stiff northerly breeze, and lying over to the leeward in magnificent

style. I think this is the first vessel we have complimented with recognition.

Dinner occurred for the first time in the first after saloon—the state department being rather warm. Forty-four persons sat at the table. The dinner service is quite elegant—white plates with a cable around the edge, and the *Great Eastern* under canvass, benignly observed by Britannia and the lion from the shore—all in blue, and dessert plates with the same device in gilt.

There is a decidedly heavy swell this afternoon from the southwest—the remains of a considerable blow which we missed—the heaviest waves being perhaps 10 to 15 feet high and 200 feet apart. The *Great Eastern* being very light, and high out of water, felt it considerably, as follows: The complete rolls, port and starboard, averaged at the rate of $5\frac{3}{4}$ per minute. The extreme oscillation to leeward was $13^{\circ} 10'$, and $8^{\circ} 4'$ to windward. The complete pitches, up and down, were at the rate of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per minute, the extremes being $3^{\circ} 35'$ each way. This would be considered quite light in small ships, and is not heavy enough to move about or overturn any sort of table service. The view from the extreme bow is very fine. The ship's length and the height of the waves together leave her round fore foot out of water 10 or 12 feet back of the stem, and then bury it to the hawseholes in the extreme stem, which, filling with water, became a fountain on the alternate rise. The stem of the ship throws off no perceptible wave, but merely turns up two beautiful sheets of spray. Their resemblance to white wings and delicate feathers, and their concentric elliptical lines of drops, is very remarkable. The screw is showing its blades some six inches out of water, as the ship pitches, but the screw engine does not race, on that account, enough to require the governor or throttling. The windward paddle wheel does not roll out of the water as much as I expected. The same angle of inclination lifts it twice as much as in the case of a common steamer, but the waves seem to follow it up and give it as good a chance as they give any wheels to take hold. Surely, the sea is very accommodating, provided its visitors conform to its

laws. The smallest dingy, the man-of-war and the *Great Eastern* may ride securely, if they will only roll and swing over its billows; but the moment anything attempts to stand up like a rock there is eternal warfare, and the headlands themselves crumble and recede year by year before the resistless power of the ocean. Nothing better proves the excellence of this vessel's model and proportion than the fact that she is not like a rock, but conforms in very particular to the laws of the waves. The compromise between absolute steadiness and sea-sickness must always be a question of size and *nothing else*.

Towards evening, the wind had veered round from northwesterly to northeasterly, and all our fore-and aft sails, and the foresail and foretopsail were spread. But the breeze shifted so much westerly again, that they were soon taken in—in rather better season, this time. Some sail was out all night, but it did little good, as the revolutions—the metres of its effect were not increased. We overhauled and passed a clipper bark before dark. The whole day was cloudy.

The morning of the 22nd was rainy and cloudy, with a wholesail breeze, decreasing, however, dead ahead. The swell had decreased somewhat, and little motion could be perceived in the ship, without special attention.

The Day's Run

Latitude	44° 50' N
Longitude	36° 22' W
Difference of ship's time since yesterday noon	24.75
min.	
Distance run, as posted 276, as corrected	280
Average knots per actual hour	11.15
Total distance from Needles	1,495
Highest speed by log†	15
Average revolutions of paddle	9.656
Average revolutions of screw	33.73

†The log is simply peculiar.

Note.—The speed made by the paddles was 17 knots more to-day than it was the day before yesterday, when the reported distance run was also 276 miles. This gives about a 6 per cent. greater slip for to-day, which is very singular, since the average revolutions of paddles were 9.478 on that day, and but 9.656 on this.

Sixth Day of the Trip.

From Noon June 22, to Noon June 23.—The afternoon was very fine and sunshiny, with a wholesail northwesterly breeze, which invited a small spread of fore and aft canvas. About 3 o'clock we overhauled and passed within a mile an American-built bark, sailing under English colors, and pitching in a very lively manner under her complement of sails. She became an object of a salute from the big ship, and the general attention of her passengers. Shortly after another ship was overhauled, and another passed, further off.

The connection in the steam pipe, between the screw and paddle boilers was shut off to-day, and the paddle engines are getting more steam, but are not making so many proportionate revolutions, for the screw follows them up. Indeed, the turns of the paddle are a very good register of the turns of the screw, and vice versa. When one is known the other may be pretty accurately estimated from it, which shows the absurdity of insisting, as some of our engineers do insist, that if both screw and paddle are not under equal pressure, the one drags and the other does the work. Nothing can be more clear than this; if the screw is exerting 500 effective horsepower, and the paddle 3,000, then the total is 3,500; just as if one man pulls ten pounds on a rope and another 50, the total power is not 40, nor 50, nor anything but 60. Visiting the screw stokeholes or fire-rooms, to-day, I found them extremely hot and uncomfortable. Those of the paddles are always cooler, partly because they are further forward, and get the benefit of draft from the wind as it first

sweeps the deck. All these places might be well ventilated in the usual manner. The air-pump rod bearings of the paddle-engines heated some to-day, because the oil-holes got stopped up, but no trouble was caused. This is the very first approach to a mishap, and was purely accidental. Nothing can exceed the smoothness with which these four great pistons have made their 150,000 strokes apiece, without stopping. And the screw engines, not as a design, but as a mechanical construction, are deserving of considerable commendation. The sturdy fellows have hammered away at their half million strokes with an agility which seems almost ridiculous in view of their Hurculean proportions. Almost a serious accident occurred last night. The mizzen backhaul, or chain of the gaff which pulls out the fore and aft sail, broke at a defective link, and fell bodily nearly into the skylight over the screw engine room, smashing the glass and sash. Had it dropped in among the machinery, something would have got 'chawed up,' as our Yankee graphically puts it.

A band of six musicians, all of whom have not appeared before, played during dinner. 'Hail Columbia,' 'The Star Spangled Banner,' and 'Yankee Doodle' were the only pieces of a national character.

An exciting race for the championship of both hemispheres occurred before dinner—a quarter of a mile or so around the deck. The lion was victorious. One sovereign was pocketed by the winner of the belt, and large sums are said to have changed hands.

At 10:00 P.M., the weather was getting thick and dark and looked northeasterly. But the sea was peculiarly phosphorescent; even the crests of the breaking waves, all about the ship and far out at sea emitted a bright light. The view over the stern of the vessel was wonderfully beautiful. The screw, partly out of the water, and making a great commotion on the surface, was throwing off fountains of white stars and silvering all the adjacent foam, while its blades, slicing up from deep water, were like sheets

of white fire, clearly defined from the black gulf below, and glittering like mirrors in the sun.

The night was quite calm, and early in the morning of the 23rd, a northeasterly breeze sprang up, bringing rain, but not blowing hard enough to fill our canvas.

The Day's Run

Latitude	42° 50' N
Longitude	42° 40' W
Difference of ship's time since yesterday noon	24.45 min.
Distance run D.R., as posted 301, as corrected	302
Average knots per actual hour	12.33
Total distance from Needles	1,797
Highest speed by log	14.25
Average revolutions of paddle	10.265
Average revolutions of screw	35

Seventh Day of the Trip.

From noon June 23, to noon June 24.—The rain of the early morning was soon over, but it has been cloudy and damp all day. The combustion in the furnaces is very much improved. We are from this time to carry 25 pounds of steam on the paddle boilers, 20 having been the maximum weight on the valves before. The boilers were all designed for 25 pounds. Twenty is yet the maximum in the screw. This gives us 11½ revolutions of the paddles, while the screw following them up, jumps from 35 to 37, with the former steam 19 to 20. So much for their being in each others' way. The square sails on the foremast were for a time to the light breeze coming directly astern, but we outran it, and they were again furled.

Dinner is getting to be a momentous and luxurious affair, as our appetites grow sharp in the salt breezes, and as the service becomes systematized. Be it known that when people take lodgings in a sea-side hotel like this, they do not

live on salt junk. On the contrary, rare game is caught and slain on our prairie deck, by wild hunters from the scullery, and we riot on fresh mutton and fowl, to the national anthem of England and 'Yankee Doodle.' The awful young man before alluded to suggests, that we should have fresh fish also, in an aquarium, to wit: the boiler, already cooked, and served with sauce from the impertinent stoker boys. The force of this remark cannot be computed in horse-power, and will not be alluded to in the engineering report.

Another race for the championship of the world occurred this afternoon between a porpoise and the *Great Eastern*, over one minute of longitude. The latter contestant overhauled a school of the former, which, being let out early, was very frisky. After a little by-play and some sparring, one of the P's advanced boldly to the bow of the *G.E.*, sprang about 15 feet out of the water, stopping his propeller very cleverly in the meantime, thus preventing his engines from racing, and took the lead in graceful style. Both men were in fine condition; *G.E.* was a little the heavier of the two. *G.E.* attempted the former evolution, but was unsuccessful. Two to one was offered and taken on P., whose full-powered propeller was in fine working order. *G.E.* came in strong with side fins, and for five minutes it was neck and neck between them. It was suspected that P. had the better footing, and it should be remarked to their shame that nobody from the stand went out to examine the ground. P. wasted his strength in terrific leaps; *G.E.* kept to his work and gained steadily, giving P. a brush on the port quarter with his fore foot, and, in spite of a foul bottom, drove him fairly off the course. The school here broke into the ring, and great confusion followed. P. on leaving the ground appeared very fresh, and ran a quarter of a mile, leaping (not over a fence) some yards, and was taken off the ground by his backers. Similar belts will be awarded to each.

The afternoon was extremely agreeable on deck, the wind being aft and moving with the vessel. The balmy temperature of the Gulf Stream,

its gloriously blue water and birds and fishes, and the great vessel booming along for an eighth of a mile behind us, drew everybody to the extreme bows of the ship. At 8 P.M. it was quite calm, but we perceived a fresh breeze for the first time to-day, from the motion of the vessel. About 9 a stiff breeze sprang up from the Northwest. By way of incident, the forward spencer got loose half way up the mast, and filled like a balloon, defying the attempts of forty men to furl it for half an hour. Late at night, a prowl about our home acre of deck—for it cannot be called a promenade, since we have as yet no gas in the streets—revealed the vastness of the ship in a new light. Moonbeams bursting through the ragged headlands of clouds as it tumbled into wreck and vanished away before the fitful northwest breeze, lighted the opposite sky, while the black towering spars of the great ship, clearly defined, stretched above and on either side into what seemed whole furlongs of distance.

I shall take the liberty of introducing the reader state-room No., 18, second entrance, grand saloon, port side, an apartment about 9 by 14 feet, with two large ports or windows on the sea side, and four berths opposite—the temporary residence of Messrs. Russell and Skinnee and your correspondent. A table in the middle is piled with papers covered with figures, the berths with books and charts, and the continuous lounge opposite, with a heterogeneous mass of trowsers, dispatch boxes, hair brushes, indicator cards, overalls, big-ship diagrams, toilet paraphernalia and unmentionables, all of which, it is unnecessary to state, are not confined to the spar-deck. Just in front of the door hangs a pendulum for measuring oscillations, which everybody runs against, and in the midst of the confusion, the occupants, in various stages of cleanliness of hands and faces, cypher, discuss and agree, the general result of which is the infliction upon the public of this and other already unwieldy documents. Only one other soul is admitted to the mystic seclusion of this sacred apartment—Mr. Zebah Colburn—who is immediately pounced upon to figure out difference of time and horse power, which are accomplished

with an agility that does credit to the mathematical shade of his logarithmic uncle.

I wish that all you romantic readers could make a midnight tour of the paddle-engine rooms with me. Cut-off and vacuum is all very well, but the remorseless persistence of those great iron arms, sweeping the ponderous cranks round and round, and round over and over again—blow high, blow low—billows and calm—sunshine and darkness—never tiring, never halting—by the hundred thousand strokes without a resting spell—is nothing less than sublime. Four huge cylinders of a hundred tons, swinging back and forth on their trunions like giants nodding in their rocking-chairs, the long bright piston-rods shooting away up towards starlight and then down again into the depths, 300 feet a minute, the ‘valve motion,’ with its complicated movements crawling all over the engine—now here under the impending blow of the cranks as they come sweeping down—now there, between two approaching and irresistible masses, but always out of the way—escaping always by an inch from the jaws of destruction, eleven times in a minute—all this and more, above, around and beneath, glittering in the light of numerous lamps, and severely quiet, except the deep murmur of suppressed strength, but exerting the terrific yet concentrated power of 3,000 horses, is as fitting a scene for the poet as for the engineer. One would almost suppose that this never ending monotony of motion would become painful to the observer; from the very fact of its quietness. On the contrary, it presents a strange fascination, and one finds himself watching the regular vibrations by the hour.

The breeze was strong northwesterly all night, but on the morning of the 24th had so far veered to the north that we got out a considerable spread of canvas which filled well. The morning was fine and sunshiny. A timber-laden brig passed within 150 feet of us, giving her astonished crew a noble sight for once in their lives.

The Day’s Run

Latitude	41° 01' N
Longitude	48° 52' W
Difference of ship's time since yesterday noon	24.8 min.
Distance run*	299 miles.
Average knots per actual hour	12.24
Total distance from Needles	2,096
Highest speed by log(not correct-uncertain)	
Average revolutions of paddle	11.133
Average revolutions of screw	35.501

Note.—We are now in the Gulf Stream, which sets us back considerably. The real speed of the vessel may be more accurately calculated, from the revolutions and the distance in the log, the former being 10,265 (paddle) and the latter 14¼ knots yesterday. We are also over 300 miles south of Cape Race, which will materially lengthen our passage. It is stated that the Captain, very properly determined to avoid ice, and noticing a considerable difference in the temperature of the water, for some cause, ran the ship 20 or 30 miles due south in the night, and then kept her on course again. The course of the ship on the chart, from ship's noon to ship's noon, has been a very regular great circle till to-day, when it terminated further south. No one can question the propriety of the extremest caution on this first trip. One thing is certain, the ship ran much over 300 miles somewhere, and probably not less than 330.

Eighth Day of the Trip.

From noon of June 24 to noon of June 25.--
The fine northerly breeze died away during the afternoon and evening, and the large spread of sail was gradually furled, as it ceased to aid the ship's locomotion. The night was nearly calm.

It may be asked, 'What do you do all day—you few, no longer adventurous, but thrice fortunate—on the big ship?' That's not so easily answered. Ask a guest of a Fifth-avenue Hotel what

his fellow guests do all day—however few they may be. Well, as for the No. 18, G.S. Port side people, their ‘walk’ is one perpetual tramp over the ship, and through the engine-rooms and stoke-holes; and their ‘conversation’ a never-ending discussion, and note-making and elaborating as to the things done therein. Before breakfast, 8½ o’clock, the early-risers get up an appetite by walking nearly down town and back. After that interesting event, all hands go about their various pursuits, as in other hotels and ships, save that the great element of space separates us all—out of sight and hearing—for the whole forenoon. Young America destroy innumerable cigars, and discusses the speed of all things, from horses to ships and locomotives, in the smoking room; old travelers read, observe and ask questions in the most unmoved and thorough-going manner; novices tramp up and down, always excited and in a hurry; the old military and naval people talk over battles and victories, and the hearty English element plays skittles in a vacant lot somewhere, which has been partially reclaimed and roofed in. There is always somebody counting the revolutions, always somebody looking over the extreme bow; here is an old fellow asleep in the sun—there is a knot of people discussing momentous events in the saloon—here are admiring adventurers on the sponsons, sometimes away outside of the centre of the paddle wheel, looking in through the iron lattice at the tremendous expanse of red arms as they appear to roll over the water. Many read and write in their spacious staterooms. Others never cease exploring the vast storehouses away down below. Some are on the continual lookout for vessels, with their glasses slung over their shoulders. Gymnastic feats, foot races, and, in short, *all sorts* of pursuits, from uproarious hilarity to solemn and undisturbed contemplations, are the order of the day. The passage, as a passage, is tame and monotonous, but the universal acquaintance and good-fellowship of the occasion, and the never-ceasing entertainment afforded by the vastness, detail and real comfort of the ship itself, render the trip one of the most agreeable ever undertaken to the whole company.

The events of the day have been: first, champagne at dinner, from the company; second, a hot box on the screw engine—the forward box of the engine shaft—caused by the stopping of an oil-hole. ‘Tall oaks, &c.’ The screw system of water works for such cases made and provided was turned on, the revolutions reduced to 24 minimum, (still propelling,) while the paddle sympathetically fell off to 10½. In an hour all was going smoothly again.

Nothing can exceed the splendor of this 25th morning of June, in the soft blue water of the gulf stream, and under a blue and almost tropical sky. The sea is even remarkably placid. Hardly a breath of wind disturbs its surface, while the long swells—the monuments of past breezes—which so rarely cease to rise, are smothered almost into motionless sleep as they bask in the warm sunshine.

From the top of the mainmast. Here we lie, away up, up in the clear air—on a deck as large as our stateroom, looking out upon the round expanse of blue, under the brightest of tropical skies. How boundless, how placid, how gloriously blue—was ever such a day seen on the ocean before?—this deceitful ocean—these sleeping billows, which anon shall rise up and howl and rage in the terrible majesty of their wrath, sweeping the decks of proud ships, tearing them plank from plank, and hurling them struggling to the bottom. Sleep on old ocean—your foaming jaws in open in vain for us, for there comes booming along beneath us, as we lie on the top of the its iron mast, a giant and triple-powered vessel, which defies your wrath—not by strength alone, for the adamantine cliffs cannot stand before your breakers, but by shape, and size and proportion, which conform to laws that you are not old enough, not deep enough, nor big enough to break. So sleep on, my fine old ocean—acknowledge the supremacy of mind, and be still. Spirit of Columbus, of Cabot, of Raleigh, of the noble line of Atlantic adventurers, look down on this picture from the upper air; remember the long, dreary days when, firm of purpose but sad at heart, seeking unknown and unhospitable shores, and

leaving almost friendless a land—in danger, privation and sickness—in storm and calm—without charts and almost without reckoning—encountering adverse currents and winds, you crept over these very waters in slow and unstable craft, scantily manned by mutinous sailors, to discover and civilize the Western World. At this distant day, in the full tide of that new civilization—and centuries further on, when this giant ship shall have been the progenitor of whole fleets of leviathans—never will men forget that your wisdom and courage was the foundation of commercial enterprises, which have already covered the sea with ponderous hulls and iron wheels.

But to descend again to the deck and practical things, we have

The Day's Run

Latitude	40° 58' N
Longitude	56° 10' W
Difference of ship's time since yesterday noon	29.2 min.
Distance run	325 miles.
Average knots per actual hour	13.27
Total distance from Needles	2,421
Highest speed by log(not correct-Uncertain.)	
Average revolutions of paddle	11.529
Average revolutions of screw	35.266

Note.—The speed of the Gulf Stream, easterly, at this point, is put down in the charts as over 1 knot per hour. The travel of the ship, therefore, must have been at least 350 knots—or nearly 14.3 knots per hour.

Ninth Day of the Trip.

From Noon, June 25 to Noon, June 26. The arrival of the ship in time to go over the bar at high water on Thursday morning, which will be, according to Mr. Murphy, our pilot, at the witching hour, 4 A.M., is now considered a fixed fact, and is

commented upon variously by our ship's company. While we are in no hurry to terminate this peculiarly interesting voyage, we are not a little anxious to make good time. Our distance from Sandy Hook at noon to-day (the 25th,) is 809 miles; supposing it to be sailed without further deviation, we shall have traveled at least 130 miles further than the straightest course via Cape Race, plus any considerable and doubtless very proper deviations not affecting our longitude, and therefore not mentioned in our log. We all agree that with the good firing and steaming throughout, which we have had for the last few days, and a clean bottom withal, the *Great Eastern* is 'good for' nine days.

A large number of ships, with every stitch of studding-sail set, have been passed to-day, some of them quite near. On this smooth sea everything has appeared in a new and pleasing light. The white sails of these vessels, gently rolling over the imperceptible swell on the great blue expanse, was indeed a charming picture. Later in the afternoon a slight breeze sprang up from the South, moving partially with the ship, and leaving our decks becalmed and extremely summer-like under the blazing sun.

The only stirring event of the day, except the paddle-engines rolling off their 12 revolutions, was the mutiny, capture and ironing of a sailor,—the old story, wouldn't work, attempted to stab some of his fellows and threatened the officers.

The extreme bow of the vessel, on a grating raised above the upper deck—stop there, and look out with your mind's eye at what we saw, ye who visit the big ship—is the favorite place of resort. It will comfortably hold the whole of our company, that snug little deck overlooking the sea from its slightly elevation, and the great leviathan tearing along in the rear. I can never stop talking about the splendor of the ocean on this prince of days. Oh! that some Loraine, or Turner, or Church, with pencil dipped in the living colors of this sunset, were here, to catch the fleeting glories of this western sky. One who has been accustomed to

observe the narrow limits of the horizon in time of storm and waves, can hardly appreciate the boundless girth of this round and level disk of visible ocean, in a season of perfect stillness—stretching into measureless distance on every side, till its dark blue border stands out sharp and clear against the soft yellow zone of Summer sky, spreading away under and beyond the sunset, with its tongues of fire and wreaths of smoke, infinitely westward to the very pillars of the great dome.

A southerly breeze, strong enough to fill our sails, sprang up in the evening, bringing light showers, and our usual spread of canvas was made. The foretopsail having got the ‘hang’ of being furled, submits to that cramping operation very gracefully of late.

While the *artistes* of the ladies’ saloon were in the midst of their most dulcet strains this evening, down burst through the open sky-lights, with the mingled jargon of hammered brass kettles and filed saws—not the whole upper works of the ship—but ‘Wait for the Wagon,’ torn limb from limb out of the end of the before-mentioned *cornet-a-piston*; and no sooner had his foul massacre ceased, than ‘Adieu my Johny Boker’ was howled over the shattered remains. The face of our portly Jullien strongly reminded one of the ‘Enraged Musician’ of Hogarth.

A light breeze filled our sails all night. During the morning of the 26th it died away, leaving the sea calm but with a short swell, and the day very warm and sunny. All sail was taken in. There was a thick fog about the ship quite early, and some lingered about the horizon and in low, yellow banks under our bow, till quite late.

Our Passengers.

It is certainly fitting that our passenger list, bearing not a few names of distinction before embarkation, and none without distinction now we are safely across, should appear in this document. The humblest of us has earned the right to a

distinguished line of small capitals by relying on the immutable laws of physical science, instead of cringing under the forebodings of ignorant superstition. Forty-three passengers were all that could be found in the year 1860 to 'venture' on the first voyage of the most splendid ship on the ocean. Now, of course, everybody who a fortnight ago said, 'Poor foolhardy fellow—tempting Providence, &c.,' will be the first and loudest to exclaim 'Oh! of course, I knew she was the safest ship in the world, but you know she might have broken down—perfectly safe you know—but such a bore to be detained;—fact is, should have gone myself if I could have arranged it—always said she was sure to go safe you know,' &c., &c. Here are those who had faith, and have received their reward in the positive pleasure and *éclat* of the *Great Eastern's* first Atlantic voyage:

Gen. W. Watkins,
Lieut.-Col. Harrison,
Maj. F. Balfour,
Capt. Drummond,
Capt. Carnegie, R.N.,
Capt. MacKinnon, R.N.,
Capt. Wm. Morris, R.N.,
Capt. H. Coryton, R.N.,
Mr. and Mrs. D. Gooch,
Mr. J. S. Oakford,
Mr. G. S. Roebuck,
Mr. George Wilkes,
Mr. N. A. Woods,
Mr. F. R. McKenzie,
Mr. & Mrs. J. Stainthorpe,
Miss M. A. Herbert,
Mr. W. Barber,
Mr. C. F. Field,
Mr. R. Morson,
Mr. Geo. Hawkins,
Mr. F. Simpson,
Mr. F. E. Hubbard,
Rev. T. C. Southey,
Mr. W. S. Taylor,
Mr. G. D. Brooks,
Mr. Thomas Hornby,
Mr. H. Merrifield,

Mr. Henry Mann,
 Mr. H. M. Wells,
 Mr. W. Cave,
 Mr. M. Juravleff,
 Prof. P. Beresford,
 Mr. D. Kennedy,
 Mr. G. E. M. Taylor,
 Mr. Zebah Colburn,
 Mr. N. Scott Russell,
 Mr. Jno. E. Skinner,
 Mr. A. L. Holley,
 Mr. M. Murphy,
 Mr. Thomas Bold.

Of these, Mr. Bold is Managing Director, and Mr. Gooch (Local Superintendent Great Western Railway) and Capt. Carnegie are Directors of the Great Ship Company. Mr. Woods, (*London Times*), Mr. Geo. Wilkes, as the representative of the American Press, Mr. McKenzie (various London newspapers,) Mr. Murphy, (the New-York pilot,) the directors, and one of the ladies are alone on the free list, reducing the paying list to 35, which is less than the *Great Britain* had on her first passage. Of our company, 30 are British subjects, 11 are Americans, and two are Russians. Our naval and military list—real titles and not Virginia ‘Colonels’—is quite full. Several of our passengers are great travelers and authors of note.

The number of men in the sailing department is 172; Steward’s department 51, and the Engineer’s department 194. There are 23 officers and 23 Engineers, of whom the chief is Mr. McLellan. Including our Captain, John Vine Hall, our whole number is 416.

The Day’s Run

Latitude	40° 58’ N
Longitude	63° 31’ W
Difference of ship’s time since yesterday noon	29.4 min.
Distance run	333 miles.
Average knots per actual hour	13.76
Total distance from Needles	2,754 miles.

Highest speed by log	14.5
Average revolutions of paddle	11.845
Average revolutions of screw	35.59

Note.—We are in the Gulf-stream to-day, and have run to the N. edge of its usual boundary. The actual run of the ship was, of course, some 350 knots.

Tenth Day of the Trip.

From noon, June 26, to noon, June 27.—The afternoon was almost entirely calm, with bright sunshine and a dim horizon. By 4 o'clock a dense fog had settled about the ship, confining itself, however, to a stratum perhaps 75 feet thick, for blue sky could be occasionally seen in the zenith, while the water was invisible half a ship's length ahead. The intense yellow dazzle, fantastic forms, little rainbows and queer meteorological effects of the sun pouring through this fog, is the only illustration I have ever seen of the truthfulness of those of Turner's pictures which people call particularly soapsuds-y. Looking over the extreme bow at one time, every observer had a golden halo around the shadow of his head on the water. The prow, the screw, and both paddle-wheels were fountains of rainbows, which seemed to turn their faces and follow the observer from place to place, like the eyes of the badly-painted portraits that frighten the timorous children from back country 'best rooms.' The music of three or four shrieking and discordant fog whistles did not harmonize with these beautiful effects of spray and light, but they served to remind us of the imminent danger of any small craft that might be lying in the way of the leviathan, as she stole noiselessly through the mist at sixteen statute miles an hour, with a bow like a carving knife and the terrible momentum of 23,000 tons. From 9 P.M., the speed of the ship was very properly reduced one-half, until the fog cleared away, at 4 o'clock on the morning of the 27th. At midnight, the ship was stopped for soundings, and also at 4 o'clock—the detention being, according to Capt. Hall, 40 minutes; the engines, however, were not

touched—no screwing up or driving keys—so that the entire run will have been made practically without stopping. Bottom was reached at the last sounding.

Indicator diagrams were taken to-day from both screw and paddle-engines, which being calculated, give 3,970 horse-power for the screw, and 3,670 for the paddles. As most of your readers will not, of course, fully appreciate the ‘indicator diagram,’ let me briefly describe what it is, how it is obtained, and its immense importance. It is a piece of paper, about the size of a sheet of ladies’ note paper, with a faint pencil line upon it, describing the outline of what more nearly resembles a *shoe* than any other well-known object. Yet this faint little picture, drawn by the hand of the *working steam* itself—the private diary of the engine, in its own handwriting—is to the engineer the voluminous textbook of the whole science. Libraries may be written on what the power and economy of an engine may be, *if* the initial cylinder pressure is so-and-so—*if* it is not decreased by wire-drawing and condensation—*if* it is cut off short at a fixed point—*if* it expands on the theoretical line—*if* it is condensed in a good and maintained vacuum—*if* it is treated after the designed fashion at every stage of its admission, work and release; but this little faint picture of a gaiter boot, done in two seconds by the engine itself, may upset the reasoning of years, simply because it is truth itself, first-handed, and without the chance of contamination. The indicator is the most unsophisticated of engineers. The diagram simply shows the actual pressure *in the cylinder*, and of the *working steam*, at each stage of its operation. The height of the straight vertical line—the back or counter of the shoe, is its initial pressure, the point where the shoe drops from the ankle down over the instep is the point of cut-off, the instep is the line of expansion, the squareness of the toe is the rapidity of release, the depth of the sole is the excellence of the vacuum, and the roundness of the heel, the excellence (depending upon the kind and rapidity of the engine,) of the steam admission. A wheel of some 18 inches diameter, with another attached of very small

diameter, is secured to the head of the oscillating cylinder (while it is in motion,) and connected by a cord to the top of the piston rod. From the small wheel another cord is connected by guide pulleys to the indicator, which is fastened to the cylinder near its centre or trunion. One part of the indicator is a brass cylinder of say 2 inches diameter, around which is fastened the aforesaid piece of paper. The up and down motion of the piston-rod is therefore communicated by these wheels and cords, reduced in *extent*, but exactly the same in proportion and quality, to the piece of paper, which rolls back and forth with the strokes of the engine, in front of a pencil on the other part of the indicator. A second brass cylinder, standing by the one which holds the paper, is really a steam cylinder, and communicates by a cock with either end of the great engine cylinder, as may be desired. Within it is a spring, so proportioned as to yield certain known parts of an inch at certain pressures. To this piston is secured the pencil which moves over the face of the paper; slow steam being admitted to the little cylinder from the engine cylinder at the same time that steam from the boiler is admitted as to the engine cylinder, the pencil darts up to a point which shows the actual pressure of the working steam, and gradually falls again, as the working steam becomes less from expansion or any other cause. Meanwhile the paper is moving with the motion of the *engine* piston, and the result of the two motions is the *instep* line of the shoe, before mentioned. When it is remembered that all the parts to which this delicate machinery is attached are swinging back and forth 24 times a minute, during the process of attachment, and that the temperature of the room is 110 degrees, it may be imagined that the work is much more easy for the engine than for the observers. Indeed, the engine rather likes a warm room—the temperature of the paddle auxiliary engine-room is often 144 degrees. A computation of the area of this diagram, together with the speed and area of piston, gives the actual horse power by a very simple process—one-horse power being what will lift 33,000 pounds a foot in a minute, or the estimated average normal work of a horse during a day of eight hours. A horse may of

course exert 20 'horse power' instantaneously or for a few moments.

The second and third after-cargo spaces are fitting up for the convenient entrance and reception of visitors to the ship—let there be many, for they will be paid for coming; two patent counters, to register the number of visitors; new staircases, &c., are now in the hands of the ship's carpenters. The entrances will be at large ports, conveniently near the water, in the sides of the ship—two pairs of stairs down from the main deck. For two days the sailors have been employed in scraping the decks, painting the auxiliary engines, and 'slicking up' for the sharp eyes of Jonathon.

Early on the morning of the 27th, we think we *smell* land, in the fine Northwesterly breeze. We have seen the next thing to it, in the clipper hull of pilot-boat No. 1, which came out to meet us, and fired a salute. The light, clean appearance of the Yankee craft was the special admiration of our English brethren, and a very glad picture for all.

The Day's Run

Latitude	40° 13' N
Longitude	68° 56' W
Difference of ship's time since yesterday noon	21.66'
Distance run	254 miles.
Average knots per actual hour	10.43
Total distance from Needles	2,999 miles.
Highest speed of log	14
Average revolutions of paddle	10.64
Average revolutions of screw	32.274

Note.—The ship was run at half speed from 9 P.M. till 4 A.M., on account of fog, and stopped twice, 40 minutes in all, according to Captain's report, for soundings.

Eleventh Day of the Trip.

From noon, June 27, to noon, June 28.—
The light wind of the morning died away, and left us another remarkably smooth afternoon. A little southerly breeze at evening was hardly sufficient to keep us cool. At 10 P.M. we stopped again for soundings. The weather was somewhat thick at midnight.

The health of the Captain was drunk with enthusiasm at dinner to-day, in response to a toast by Gen. Watkins. Capt. Hall replied gracefully and very much to the point, alluding to some irregularities incident to a first voyage, and expressing a strong belief in the ultimate high speed and success of the vessel.

At 8 o'clock in the evening of the 27th, a meeting of passengers was called and unanimously attended, for the purpose of presenting to the Captain a memorial relative to the success of the voyage, and the excellence and superiority of the ship and her machinery. Mr. J. S. Oakford was called to the chair. The following letter to the Captain was received with great applause, adopted, and signed by the passengers.

Great Eastern, Wednesday, June 27, 1860.

To Capt. John Vine Hall.

Dear Sir: We, the undersigned passengers, who have the honor of being the first to cross the Atlantic in your magnificent vessel, cannot now, at the conclusion of our pleasant voyage, separate without expressing our opinion of the great merits of this triumph of engineering skill and naval architecture.

Our voyage, though fine, has yet (as is generally the case in Atlantic passages) been sufficiently checkered with rough weather to demonstrate that, in point of seaworthiness, the *Great Eastern* has no equal in the world. We are aware that the incredulity and prejudice which oppose all great undertakings when first attempted, have been manifested to an almost unusual extent

against this noble vessel. On no point has this feeling been more strongly shown than in doubts as to her manageability at sea. Her conduct during the brief storm of the 18th and 19th inst., should set all such fears, if any still exist, (after this voyage,) at rest forever.

Her movements, even when the gale was strongest, were slow and easy, and at all times so much less than the best sea-going steamers as to be quite removed from any standard of comparison. Those who know by experience what an Atlantic passage really is will appreciate the high praise bestowed, when we express our belief that the *Great Eastern* is, in accommodation, safety and freedom from disturbing motion, as much superior to ordinary vessels as she surpasses them in magnitude and power.

The supposed necessity of working her engines at a lower rate of speed for some days has prevented her effecting that rapid passage which we are convinced she can easily accomplish. Yet, from what we have seen, we express our firm belief that the *Great Eastern*, in proper trim, is capable of making greater speed than has yet been attained at sea. Such a result will be due, not more to her unequalled form, than to the efficiency and power of her engines. That the latter will always be found equal to their duty is evidenced by the fact that during the whole of our run from Southampton to New-York they have worked with the utmost ease and steadiness, never requiring even one moment's stoppage for the alteration or adjustment of anything.

We fully appreciate the anxious vigilance which has been experienced by yourself and your officers in all relating to the safety of the ship and the general comfort of the passengers.

In taking leave of you we most heartily wish every success to yourself and the noble vessel which you have the distinguished honor to command, and remain,

Dear sir, yours faithfully.'

[The names of the passengers having been before mentioned in my letter, need not be repeated here.]

Capt. Hall's Reply.

Steamship Great Eastern, off Sandy Hook,
Thursday, June 28, 1860.

*J. S. Oakford, Esq., Chairman meeting of
passengers, etc:*

Dear Sir: I am highly gratified with the comprehensive and expressive address which you have just presented to me from the passengers.

I value it the more as it so simply, yet justly, points out the peculiar excellencies of the *Great Eastern*, being at the same time free from undue panegyric, and stating only facts—and opinions based upon these facts.

The expression of satisfaction at the endeavors of my officers and self to promote the comfort and safety of the ship, is, and will continue to be, highly appreciated by us. In return, we beg to thank you, on behalf of the passengers, for the unvarying courtesies we have received from them, and only regret that our acquaintance should be so short.

With the best wishes for the happiness and prosperity of every one among the present passengers—the select few—who were the first to have practical faith in the Great Ship.

I remain, dear Sir, with much esteem,

Yours, faithfully, John Vine Hall.

At 6:30 the Navesink Highlands were discerned through the hazy horizon. The *Great Eastern* had sighted the New World. At 7:20 she passed the Light-ship, and the voyage was substantially ended. The actual time of the passage, without deducting detentions, was 11 days 2

hours—the apparent time being 10 days 21 hours. The news-boat people came aboard shortly after, bringing Monday’s Times. The day is warm, calm and magnificent, as the great ship lies off the Bar—the splendid picture before hundreds of admiring eyes. The grand ship’s lottery, arranged some days since, was decided by the time of passing the Light-ship. One of the officers, I am happy to state, drew the prize, \$120.

The Day’s Run

Distance run, miles	234
Length of ship’s day	19:33
Average knots per actual hour	12.1
Total distance from Needles	3,242
Average revolutions of paddle	11
Average revolutions of screw	34.313

Before closing the narrative of the trip, I am happy to be able to express my thanks, especially to Mr. McLellan, Chief Engineer; Mr. N. Scott Russell and Mr. Zebah Colburn, for important information and assistance in preparing an abstract of the engineering results.

It should be remarked that Mr. McLellan was on board the *Great Western* and the *Great Britain* on their Atlantic voyages. He has now risen to be *Chief of the Great Eastern.*” (New York Times, June 29, 1860)

July 2, 1860

“Great Britain.
Sailing of the Great Eastern—The English Press and Garibaldi—The Volunteer Movement—Proclamations from the Queen, &c.

From our own correspondent.
London, Saturday, June 16, 1860.

The mammoth vessel actually starts today. The last trial trip (the fourth) was on the whole very satisfactory; although nothing like the same speed was made out of her. This may be attributed to several reasons, but you will so soon be enabled to judge of all these matters for yourself and your able

correspondent 'Tobal Cain' will so soon be on board of her, that any attempt at particulars would be superfluous on my part. I have no doubt but that the *Great Eastern*, with whose past history the American nation is so familiar, will meet a hearty welcome at your commercial Capital and Emporium. Everyone will rush to see the Great Unpunctual, the Leviathan Procrastinator, the Monster who has consumed generations of shareholders and directors, who swallowed Campbell whole and disgorged him undiminished—the kraken of whom a ballad might be written in the style of the famous "House that Jack built"—recording the gigantic difficulties attending the execution of so vast a project. Well, all that is over and past. Business and profit are the order of the day now. With the receding shores of England the *Great Eastern* will leave behind her cradle of mud, and her childhood and youth of trouble. She will leave Jackson and Magnus and Gordalla and Taylor behind—she will leave behind Campbell. Every American who enters her splendid saloon, now rendered still more beautiful than ever by the art of the decorator, will think of the expression, of which so thrilling an account was written by the members of the Press on board. Every one looking at the stately dimensions of the gallant ship, riding securely in your waters, will remember the storm which so nearly dashed her on the rocks in the unfinished harbor of Holyhead, of which the word picture by young Woods of 'the *Times*' surpassed Vernet, or any painter of storms at sea who ever lived. It was this Woods who wrote the account of the fight in 'the London Times.' He also went to the Crimea for the '*Morning Herald*,' and you must remember his famous account of the battle of Inkermann, and the field after the fight. He was also on board the *Agamemnon* during the laying of the cable. I consider Woods to be *facilé princeps*, the most able reporter of great events in the way of descriptive genius whom we have on this side of the Atlantic.

To return to the great ship. For the next three months she will be yours. I, myself, think that she ought to have been 'raised' in America. It is a

conception more in accordance with the ideas of Jonathan than of John. John usually does not make these great strides and leaps in design. It is a huge and colossal experiment.” (New York Times, July 2, 1860)

July 3, 1860

Great Eastern is open to the public in New York City at \$1.00 per person.

“I now had to undertake a new kind of life, that was, to become a show man, as we expected to earn a very large sum of money by exhibiting the ship. We therefore had to advertise and organize our plans, and I cannot say, now it is all over, we were very clever at our work, nor were we well assisted by those appointed for that purpose in New York. Before leaving England we were told it would not do to charge less than a dollar for admission as the Yankies [k]new no less coin than the dollar. We soon found out this was a mistake, as the papers abused us for making so high a charge, and we after a few days had to reduce it to half a dollar. Certainly a great many people visited the ship; the highest number in one day was about 18,000, and I think we took about £20,000 altogether for exhibiting the ship.

We took up our quarters at the New York Hotel, a very comfortable house, and I must say my experience of the hotels in America places them considerably above any thing we do in England for the same or a greater cost. We were only charged 10s/- per day for food and room; the wines were bad—not fit to drink. At first we were kind of lions in New York; photographers wanted our photographs (in which I did not indulge them) and the first night we went to the theatre we, as modest people, went into the body of the house, but had not long taken our seats when a person came to invite us to go into a private box. This we did, and were greeted with God Save the Queen. All this kind of humbug lasted a very short time; we soon began to get out of favour as showmen, and before we actually left New York for good it was our first amusement every morning to read the abusive articles in the newspapers.

I was much disappointed with New York as a town; it is so mixed with good and bad houses that no good general effect was obtained excepting on the 5th Avenue. We had a great deal of annoyance from the want of ability in our Capt & officers to manage the internal matters of the ship. They seemed to care much more about shewing themselves off in their uniforms, about town, than attending to their duties. Hall certainly was a mighty vain man. The weather was dreadfully hot all the time we were in America.” *Memoirs and Diary of Sir Daniel Gooch*

July 7, 1860

“The Great Eastern.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

New York, July 7

The Great Eastern still lies alongside the wharf in Hudson River, opened to visitors, thought it must be confessed that the Americans don't show any very overwhelming amount of anxiety to go on board. During the last two days the weather has changed from almost tropical heat to cold winds and heavy rain, and, of course, on these days very few indeed paid the great ship a visit. Even, however, taking the two first days of exhibition as the standard by which to judge of the daily number of visitors throughout the month, the prospect of any large surplus of dollars accruing to the company does not seem very hopeful. Even the most sanguine calculations not give more than 3,000*l.* sterling a month, and the great probability is that it will be very little over 2,000*l.* The New York papers, without a single exception, have written strongly against the charge for admission being as much as a dollar; and whether their objections have thrown cold water on the affair, or whether, as seems more likely, the price is really too high, it is certain that the enthusiasm with which the ship was at first hailed is fast dying out. A little longer and it will have sunk to zero, and be past all possibility of ever again reviving in America. It is to be hoped that before this reaction has time to spread the

directors will lower their rate of admission to a half-dollar, and if such a change is to be made it cannot be done too soon. Already the New Yorkers are almost as much accustomed to the vessel as the Londoners were, and here, as elsewhere, when the attraction of novelty is gone all other attractions soon follow. The celebration of the 4th of July acted as a check upon the feeling at first shown about the vessel. The 4th of July, however, has gone past, with its usual parades of the volunteer corps of this city, and its usually hideous uproar of guns, drums, pistols, squibs, and crackers. The whole city may be said to have been under fire for some 30 hours, during which the din hardly ceased or slackened for an instant. The parade of the volunteers, however, was a very fine sight, and some of the corps, more particularly the 7th, were equal in the steadiness of their evolutions to our very best Line Regiments. Now that these noisy saturnalia are over, people seem to have almost forgotten the ship in the anxiety with which they discuss the important questions whether the Prince will visit their city, and whether he will come as Prince of Wales, or only as Baron Renfrew. There is not the least doubt that if he should visit America, and above all New York, he will get such a reception as has never yet been accorded here to any foreign visitor whatever. There seems, however, no doubt of the fact that up to the present no invitation has been given to the Prince by the President, and in the face of such neglect—if, indeed, it does not amount to an open slight—the Americans themselves admit that it would be quite inconsistent with the Prince's dignity to visit the States at all. If this is so, it is much to be regretted, as it may give rise to a sore feeling on both sides of the Atlantic. The American people, who express a very warm feeling towards his Royal Highness, will certainly feel annoyed at his halting and turning back on the very border of their States, while the English will feel still more hurt that no invitation was given to enter them by the chief citizen, from whom alone it could have been accepted. Much less is known of his intended tour here than in England, except that, *en route*, he will visit St. John's Newfoundland, and Halifax. However, I start for Quebec the first thing to-

morrow, where I shall obtain all the details, though, I fear, scarcely in time for the next mail.” (Times of London, July 20, 1860)

July 9, 1860

“I went on the 9th July to Washington, spending a day at Philadelphia on the way. This latter place is a fine town, but Washington is certainly the most miserable place I ever was in to be called a town of importance. An old friend whom we knew in London was living in Washington, a Col Mann. He had been connected with the Government and shewed us great attention. We went with him to White House to be introduced to President Buchanan, who received us with great civility. The election for President was then going on, and Mann told us that if Lincoln was elected the South would secede; no doubt it had then been so settled, as Mann was afterwards one of the emissaries to England from the South and was fully in the confidence of the party. I returned to New York on the 19th having spent 10 days in my visit south.”
Memoirs and Diary of Sir Daniel Gooch

“America.

Arrival of the Great Eastern.

(Latest by Telegraph to Halifax.)
New York, June 28, Evening.

The Great Eastern arrived here to-day. She reached the dock without the least trouble. An immense crowd assembled, and much enthusiasm was manifested. The great distance which the Great Eastern ran in one day was 333 miles. The shortest was 254 miles. The greatest speed attained during the voyage was 14½ knots per hour.” (Times of London, July 9, 1860)

July 14, 1860

“The Great Eastern invited to Annapolis Roads. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company yesterday telephoned Mr. Henry A. Jarrett, the manager of the receptions on board of the steamer Great Eastern, to know whether it was not practicable and desirable for the great steamship to

pay her respects to the waters of the Chesapeake Bay for the double purpose of exhibition and coaling, of which 8,000 tons is required for a voyage of the Atlantic. The semi-bituminous coal of the Cumberland regions, so peculiarly adapted to steamers, and used by the steamers of the Cunard and Collins lines, could be conveyed from Locust Point in lighters to Annapolis Roads, at a cost of about 25 cents a ton, thus effecting a savings of above \$8,000 on the freight of the coal from Baltimore to New-York. Another inducement offered would be her location, which would afford the citizens of the South and Southwest an opportunity to visit and inspect her 300, 400 and 500 miles nearer their homes than New-York. In case the offer should be accepted by the Great Eastern Company, it is well know that there is ample water in the Chesapeake and at Annapolis Roads; while the facilities that would be afforded by the railroads leading into Baltimore, and other transportation agencies, would afford a sight of the marine wonder to the curious of the States of Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Ohio, and further south and southwest. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company have not as yet learned the determination of the directors of the Great Eastern Company, but hope in a few days to be able to announce that the *Great Eastern* is coming South to give exhibitions.—*Baltimore Sun*, July 11.” (New York Times, July 14, 1860)

July 17, 1860

“The Great Eastern.
(From our Special Correspondent.)
New York, July 3.

The Great Eastern has been thrown open to visitors for the first time to-day, at a dollar a-head. During the interval that has elapsed since her arrival Captain Hall and his officers have been indefatigable in their exertions to get her internal arrangements as complete as possible, and the result is that the whole ship now wears such an appearance as it never had before. The saloons are in perfect order, and their furniture so arranged as to show to the best advantage while giving ample

room. The engines are all as bright and clean as toys; the decks are white; the bulwarks have been re-varnished, all the paint work repainted, awnings spread over the quarter-deck, and everything, in fact, put in the very best possible trim and good order. The vessel certainly never was so well worth seeing as she is now. From all I saw on board up to 2 o'clock to-day, the number of visitors appeared limited in the extreme, and at no time exceeded 200 persons.

The ship has been moored on the western side of New York, in the Hudson River, close along a wharf at a part of the town called Greenwich, differing, however, from our own Greenwich, inasmuch as it is neither clean nor pretty. It is in a transition state, as, indeed, most of the suburbs of New York, and the next generation which visits the West in some future line of steamers as big as the Great Eastern will find it covered to the water's edge with rows of stately warehouses, or not less imposing streets, and shaded in by those groves of flowering trees which given such an indescribable charm to the chief thoroughfares of this city. At present, however, one sees only the rough hewn preparations for this coming grandeur, and good intentions, though said to answer admirably for pavement in 'another place,' have not precisely this effect in New York. Thus the road to where the Great Eastern lies is somewhat of the roughest, winding through all the *débris* of rising streets and stores where people who have not the dollar to pay for going on board congregate to gratify their curiosity by a good look at the hull and outside. The glimpses afforded of this, however, are few and far between, as the dust here is really very nearly as bad as at Aldershott. The New Yorkers—undeniable judges in these matters—say that two mistakes have been committed in regard to the exhibition of the ship; the first being mooring her alongside a wharf where all can closely examine her from the outside, and the next in fixing the price of admission at a dollar. The truth of the latter objection remains to be seen first, though the fact is that a dollar has not been determined on as the price throughout, and there is no doubt but that the

directors will act wisely in this matter, and have eventually dollar, half-dollar, and quarter-dollar days, so as to bring a visit to the ship within the reach of all classes. Certainly they have done well in not at first opening at too low a figure. It is easy to reduce the charge; it would be impossible to raise it. The second objection which is taken against her being moored alongside a wharf is more correct. Where she now lies the dust is so great that all the ports of the ship have to be kept closed, which makes the heat between decks almost unbearable. Friday, the 29th was a dreadfully hot day, even for this city, though, strange to say, during one or two minutes the wind suddenly blew with almost the violence of a heavy gale. One of these sharp gusts caught the Great Eastern's broadside and forced her so much through a shelving bank of mud which extends under the water for about 20 feet from the wharf as to touch her port wheel against one of the timber fenders hanging along the shore. Some of the New York papers state that the wheel was crushed to such an extent that several thousand dollars would not repair the damage. The real fact is that the edge of one of the wooden floats was slightly splintered to the dept of a few inches—so slightly that it is not necessary to repair it in any way, while, if repaired, the cost would be less than 30s. The fact of her touching the wharf at all, whoever, showed the necessity of her being more securely moored, and the anchors have been taken on shore and into the stream on both sides, so that she is now pretty well fixed.

Unfortunately, two fatal accidents occurred on board that evening. A man was sent into the wheel to see that none of the iron-work was injured, when, missing his step, he fell through, and, striking head against one of the iron bars, was killed almost instantaneously. The second occurred a few hours after to one of the sailors, who, while very drunk, and as it is supposed trying to get on shore, fell into the water and sunk immediately. A row which originated among the sailors on Sunday night, in the course of which one received a dreadful blow on the head with an iron 'spanner,' is also likely to add

another to the list of deaths, as the recovery of the injured man is now more than doubtful.

The American visitors seem deeply impressed, not only by the magnitude of the vessel, but by the extreme fineness and beauty of her lines, for which they had scarcely given her credit. At the same time, there seems to be a little *arrière pensée* of jealousy that she is not American. This feeling is not only natural, but even creditable in a highspirited nation, who in all relating to maritime excellence have so closely contested our empire of the sea. To do them bare justice, however, they are foremost in admitting that the Great Eastern is far ahead of all others, and are even louder in their praise of her as she is now than very many patriotic Englishmen. Of course, there are some exceptions to this rule, and an amusing instance is told one. The Japanese Princes did not visit the Great Eastern as was at first expected or intended. On their way down to the Niagara, however, they passed close to the big ship, when, I am informed, their attention was adroitly occupied by a patriotic American, who, pulling out a picture of the Adriatic, showed it to them as the portrait of a vessel which, though not *quite* so large, was a quicker and better seaboat than the Great Eastern. Occupied with an examination of this, the big ship was safely passed without close inspection. It was a master stroke of policy, and may possibly restore the balance of superiority in favour of our cousins in the minds of the Japanese. Generally, the Japanese appear to have left rather a favourable impression here, though how far this feeling may have been stimulated by the balls and parties which the corporation gave in their honour, and to which, of course, everybody was asked, it is hard to say. That all, however, are not equally impressed in their favour may be judged from the following summary of their mental and physical qualification which has appeared in the *Leader*:--

‘A meaner set of barbarians our eyes had never the misfortune to rest upon. Stunted, ill-shaped, narrow-headed, yellow-skinned, high-smelling, ferret-eyed, flat-footed, greedy, and cunning—it makes our blood tingle through every vein when we reflect that

the virtue of American womanhood has been slandered and called in question on account of such half-human abominations. Not a man in the Embassy knew the meaning of personal cleanliness. The 'Princes' (God save the mark!) had but two suits of silk clothes each, which they wore without change of underclothing from the day they left Nyphon until to-day.'

This chivalrous defence of American womanhood has reference to an interesting piece of scandal just now in circulation regarding 'Tommy.' The whole story, however, seems to be a mere vulgar report, and containing no more truth than is generally to be found in such lively, but fictitious anecdotes." (Times of London, July 17, 1860)

July 19, 1860

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes to William Henry Seward

"New York July 19th 1860

Dear Governor

I enclose you a note from my nephew –

You will be surprised at his audacity I fear, he was always however a good boy and does not mean anything wrong.

Please let me know about the time you may be coming done the river

Very truly yours,

A H Schultz."

July 19, 1860

"On the 19 July we went for a trip to Niagara and the St Lawrence. We first went to Trenton Falls. The sail by steamer up the Hudson to Albany is very beautiful; it is done at a good speed by the large steamers they use. From Albany we went by rail to Utica, from whence we went next day to see the Trenton Falls. They are on a branch

of the Mohawk; the falls are not large but are exceedingly beautiful. The narrow gorge in which they are situated is lined with trees and there is a comfortable hotel close at hand. The day was lovely and I enjoyed it very much. We returned to Utica in time to get the train to Niagara, travelling all night, and here we tried the American bed carriages. At the moderate speed at which they travel it is possible to lay flat very comfortably; the jar at high speeds prevents this. The berths were along each side of the carriage, the passage being between them. There are two tiers of berths and each one wide enough for two people; a curtain drawn across the front shuts you in very comfortably. As there were very few people travelling we were fortunate in getting the two berths to ourselves; my wife and I had one and Harry the other. But railway travelling in America is wretched; their republican notions of having only one class makes your company very mixed, and the carriages being all large open saloons with a door at each end and passage down the middle, prevents your having the slightest privacy even if you were a good large party of your own. The roads are dusty and the use of wood for fuel sends a quantity of charcoal into your carriage, mixed with the dust, so that when you have traveled all day you are as black as a sweep. People are also constantly passing through the carriages selling papers, books &c, and when the front end door is opened the rush of dust and dirt that comes in is very disagreeable.

Their plan of dealing with the luggage is a good one. An Express Co, as it is called, undertakes to take charge of it and deliver it to your hotel for a moderate cost. The fares are not low for the kind of accommodation you get, and your Yankee companions are the most free and easy people in the world. I was reading a book and a man behind me leaned over the back of my seat and read the pages with me, and complained I went on too fast as he was not ready to turn over at the same time I was; so I handed him the book and gave up my reading.

I was much disappointed with the general scenery of the country I travelled through, both in

going to Washington & Niagara. There was no fine timber and most of the country was ugly in the extreme. We arrived at Niagara about 5 o'clock on a lovely summer morning, and I need not say how grand the falls are, altho' the first impression is not equal to that left by a longer stay there. They grow upon you from day to day, each day seeming more grand. We were fortunate in having a full moon and the view of the falls by moonlight was wonderfully beautiful. I could have spent weeks here in time would have permitted me to do so. I stayed at a good hotel, the Clifton House, on the Canada side. The bridge across the river is a fine work, carrying both a railway and a common road; it is a suspension bridge. During our stay here we saw Blondin cross the river on a single rope and perform many wonderful feats on it. I cannot say the sensation was a pleasant one, and I was quite content with one day's exhibition." Memoirs and Diary of Sir Daniel Gooch

July 20, 1860 (Friday)

Giant fireball appears over United States.

"Fireball; as large as a cocoa-nut; different one from the last. Seen over a length of 1000 miles by 500 in width; and in 13 States about 9.45 P.M. At first a single ball, afterwards divided with a report in about 3' into two, following by a train of sparks at fire; bluish; very brilliant; moved extremely slowly, and apparently almost across the entire heavens; seemed very near when almost overhead; absolute velocity in space calculated to have been 26 miles a second; apparent velocity 12 or 13 only. At its nearest approach to the earth about 41 miles distant; was supposed not to fall to the earth but to have passed off with a convex curve. One of the most remarkable and best observed meteors on record. Train 9° long; distance of first ball from second after dividing, calculate to have been two miles. Appeared to move horizontally." (A Catalogue of Meteorites and Fireballs, from A.D. 2 to A.D. 1860" by R.P. Greg, Esq., F.G.S. from the Report of the Thirtieth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.)

July 21, 1860 (Saturday)

“Virginia and the Great Eastern.

We understand a deputation of Virginians have been for the last week or ten days earnestly urging upon the Directors of the Great Ship Company the propriety of running the *Great Eastern* as a regular packet between Norfolk, Va., and Liverpool. They have represented that she would have as much freight as she could carry both ways, and a full supply of passengers every trip, and that in the Fall and Winter there would be more cotton sent to her for embarkation than she could possibly accommodate.

As it is still a matter of doubt amongst all commercial men, whether there are any two ports in the world between which the *Great Eastern* can ply with profit, the Directors were naturally greatly astonished to learn that Norfolk, Va., was suffering so horribly for want of ships, and that while it has more business with Liverpool than will suffice for a 25,000 ton steamer, it should so far never have started a line of 500 ton brigs. That such an awful demand of freight should so long have been unanswered by shipowners during the late years of depression, appeared to the Directors one of the most extraordinary phenomena that had ever appeared in the commercial world. So, being Englishmen, and consequently feeling no sentimental interest in the commercial prosperity of the sunny South, they replied, with disgusting practicality, that if the Virginians would guarantee the ship's expenses, and interest on the stock—about \$5,000 day, we believe, when she is simply lying at the wharf—they would at once place Norfolk in contact with Liverpool. The mean, calculating, Yankee spirit of this proposal at first took the romantic and high-souled Virginians aback; but on consideration, remembering that there are some thousands of ‘Colonels’ in Virginia who are always ready to guarantee the payment of any sum from \$1 to \$10,000,000, they asked for a week's delay to procure the surety. The week expires this morning, and if the Colonels are ready with the bonds, and the bonds are approved by the Directors, the *Great Eastern* goes on the Norfolk station, and the grass begins to spring up in

Broadway, as well as the drought and the omnibus wheel will let it.” (New York Times, July 21, 1860)

July 23, 1860

“THE GREAT METEOR OF FRIDAY NIGHT.

The meteor of Friday night which astonished all our citizens who happened to be unhoused at the time was seen, it would appear, far over the country, and was, in its way, a most astonishing phenomenon. We have had the Japanese and the Zouaves. The Great Eastern still abides with us, and the Prince of Wales is coming. The foreign and domestic excitements, however, were, are, and are to be, of this earth, earthly, or of the sea, nautically. A celestial, or at least supraterranean visitant was needed, and the meteor came. The rule of parallax, evidently not understood by our ordinary street sight-seers, proves, according to the reports from various distances, North, South, and West, (we have heard nothing yet from the ships, East, at sea,) that the globe of fire with glowing trail of light must have been from thirty to forty miles above the surface of our planet. That it could not have been much more elevated, the explosion which accompanied its disappearance would assure us, the atmosphere being rather less than fifty miles high, and the transmission of sound being of course limited to that region. It was seen at Philadelphia at about 9½ o’clock, say the papers of that city—rose suddenly from the horizon, about the size of the full moon, traversed an easterly line, dropping fire in its course, like a rocket, till it passed away in the southeast, like a red ball, about twice the size of the planet Mars. It was seen, under similar circumstances, at Danville, Penn., at New-Haven, along the whole line of the Hudson River, at Buffalo, Utica, Albany and Troy, also at Newport, Rhode Island, and undoubtedly at other places from which we have no report—at each place, appearing to be at no great distance above the spires of the churches. Just so the moon, at her full, appears to shine directly over every street in every city, and over every ship at sea, in those proportions of the earth which she illuminates.

We append a few of the communications we have received respecting this extraordinary visitor. The provincial papers in this and adjoining States come to us filled with accounts of the marvel. It is amusing to read of some of the events to come which some of these predict therefrom. The old superstition of 'portents dire,' it would seem is not yet quite *effete*.

To the Editor of the New-York Times:

New-York, July 21, 1860.

As it is desirable that all possible information respecting the magnificent meteor of Friday evening should be collected, I venture to send you an account of my observation of it.

On Friday evening, a few minutes before 10 o'clock, I was standing with a friend in Thirty-fourth-street, near the southwest corner of Madison-avenue, looking towards the West, when we observed a luminous body rising rapidly from behind the houses on the southerly side of the street. From the peculiar color and hazy appearance of the light, I at first judged it to be a fire-balloon, made of green tissue paper, and quite near us. But my friend, whose eyes were sharper than my own, immediately discovered that the hazy appearance was occasioned by some light clouds which intervened between us and the luminous body.

The meteor soon emerged from these clouds, and came on rapidly eastward. When about a quarter of the way across the visible sky, it lost its greenish color, and broke up into four parts, which continued their journey all in the same line. The first two had the appearance of blazing torches whose flames are driven backward by the wind. The other two were not nearly so bright, but had a smoldering appearance, and gave off a continuous series of sparks. As the meteor moved eastward, its brightness diminished very perceptibly, although it was plainly visible till it passed behind the houses on the easterly side of Fourth-avenue.

Its light was very distinct, but softened rather than intense. The color was, as I have said, at first greenish, but changed to the ordinary color of flame. I noticed no noise as the meteor passed across the heavens. We supposed it at first to be a fire-balloon, but soon discovered our error, from the fact that it moved almost directly from west to east, (more accurately from W. by N. to E. by S.,) while the wind, at the earth's surface, at least, was blowing gently from the eastward. Still, it seemed so near, and its flaming appearance was so distinct, that we were disposed to regard it rather as some curious firework than as a meteor.

It crossed the sky to the northward of us, and I should estimate its greatest elevation above the northern horizon at about 40°.

From my point of view, at least 150° of its path were visible, and it passed over this space in about 15 seconds, moving with a very uniform velocity. The length of the line of fire as it swept across the sky was some 5° or 6°, and it left no very distinct trail, as the sparks which flew from it seemed to go out almost immediately.

Respectfully yours, AMATEUR..

Newport, R.I., Saturday, July 21, 1860.
Correspondence of the New-York Times.

A brilliant meteor passed over the city last evening about 10 o'clock. It seemed to rise from behind Beaver Tail light, on Conanicut, in west-sou-west, and passed rapidly in a north-easterly direction. I was standing on a porch, looking in a southerly direction, when the phenomenon made its appearance, and had an excellent view of it, much to my amazement and gratification, as it went by at an angle of about 75 degrees or 80 degrees south, and at an elevation of apparently half a mile. When it first appeared it seemed a perfect ball of fire giving forth a lurid light. It rose rapidly to a point about half way between the horizon and the zenith, and there indulged, still moving northeast, in a few meteoric gyrations, changing to the form of a chain

shot, or dumb bell, and twisting so as to resemble the little balls of fire which sometimes follow the explosion of a rocket. The body here divided, and two portions, blazing, and leaving a long train of sparks behind, and making no note of departure. The exhibition lasted probably a minute and a half or two minutes. The day had been excessively hot, and after nightfall there were extensive and frequent electric appearances all along the western horizon. The meteor showed that shade peculiar to the Bengola light, and clothed all objects in a ghastly hue. These facts may be useful to scientific men in their investigations in regards to the mysterious visitant.

TELEGRAPHIC REPORTS.

Albany, Saturday, July 21.

The fiery meteor was seen here on Friday night, about 9½ to 10 o'clock, with much distinctness. The spectacle was most brilliant. At first it appeared like a globe of fire about the size of a man's head. It then separated into two distinct globular bodies, leaving a trail of light behind and traveling at a rapid rate through the heavens. Its course was direct from west to east.

Danville, Saturday, July 21.

The meteor passed last night at 10 o'clock, giving as much light as a full moon. It appeared on the horizon west of northwest, and passed due east. It was about six seconds in passing. When directly in the northeast, it broke, forming two parts, one following the other. Some minutes after it disappeared. A sound resembling thunder was distinctly heard. No clouds in sight.

THE METEOR SEEN AT BOSTON AND OTHER PLACES.

The *Boston Transcript* says: 'A double meteor, of rare brilliancy, was seen in many places in this vicinity last night, about 10 o'clock—two distinct balls of fire, passing from the southwest

towards the northeast, keeping within the same distance of each other during the whole time they were visible. They passed across the heavens with less descent than is usual with such luminous bodies. The light was so great that we hear of persons who rose from bed, thinking there was a fire near by. Hundreds witnessed this novel spectacle in Boston, and we hear accounts of the meteors from Cambridge, Newton, Nahant, and other towns.’

The Providence *Journal* gives the following account of this meteor: ‘A most remarkable meteor was seen last evening, about two or three minutes before 10 o’clock. Its direction was from the west to the southeast. It appeared to be double, and to pass in a direction nearly parallel with the horizon, and elevated about 30 to 40 degrees above it. An observer was in Hope-street at the time, saw it explode when nearly south of him, and he describes it as emitting for a moment a brilliant, greenish light, strong enough to cast shadows in the street.’

The Albany *Journal*, of Saturday, says: This curious atmospherical phenomenon was observed in this city. It differed from ordinary meteors from being double as well as in its superior brilliancy, its slower motion, and its apparent nearness. Here, as in New-York, it seemed to pass just above the roofs of the houses, and to fall within the bounds of the city. Many imagined it to be some novel rocket or fire balloon used in the reception of Judge Douglas, which was just then about coming off. Some fancy they perceived an odor like that of burning tar, and one gentleman we heard severely commenting on the conduct of those who endangered the property of citizens by setting such combustibles afloat over their roofs. The fact that it was observed simultaneously at such distant points proves that it must have been at a great height and of vast magnitude, and flying with far greater velocity than it seemed to. The description given by those who saw it in New-York corresponds almost exactly with its appearance here. Of course, all the confident utterances as to how large it was, how high it was, and where it fell, were erroneous—their

only value being to indicate its appearance at different points. Until after comparing notes, one observer was *confident* that it was directly over Bethlehem; another, that it was directly over the Capitol; another, that it was directly over St. Joseph's Church; one, that it fell in the river; another, that it fell in the City-Hall square; another, that it fell in Greenbush. Until the New-York papers were received, almost everyone was confident that it was less than a hundred feet up in the air. What its actual height and size were can be approximated when we learn how far apart the most distant points are at which it was visible.

Nearly all of our exchange papers to date, from all parts of the country, contain accounts of the meteor, which was seen over a distance of nearly 1,000 miles." (New York Times, July 23, 1860)

July 24, 1860

"The Great Meteor of Friday.

From all parts of the country, as far as our exchange papers have had time to reach us, we receive accounts of the great meteor of Friday last, seen about the same time that it was visible in this City, and presenting the same appearances. It is amusing to note how persistently the spectators, hundreds of miles apart, agree that the marvelous visitor was only a short distance above them. The only diversity in their respective descriptions, is that in some places an explosion was heard, while in others it was inaudible. From present accounts, we should judge it to have been from forty to forty-five miles high. We append some remarks from the *Albany Journal* of last evening:

'The meteor of Friday night was seen everywhere throughout this State and throughout New-England, New-Jersey and Pennsylvania. It was certainly visible over a tract a thousand miles in length and five hundred in width, and perhaps over a still larger one. Its size and distance cannot be computed with any accuracy until we know the most distant points at which it was visible. How far west, north and south it could be seen we shall soon learn from the mails. All sorts of wild statements

are put forth, one authority stating that it was two hundred feet high, another thirty or forty miles, another several thousand miles. When the extreme points at which it was observed are known, its height and size can be computed. The exact height of the meteor may not, at first thought, seem important, yet in reality it involves the whole theory as to the nature of these phenomena. The commonly received scientific opinion is that they are solid bodies moving in space, which take fire on coming in contact with the earth's atmosphere, and are either consumed or else extinguished by passing out of it. But this theory requires that all meteors shall be within fifty miles of the earth, since the atmosphere extends no higher. If meteors are proved to be more than fifty miles high, some other theory must be devised to account for them. The present case, therefore, affords an excellent opportunity to test this question. All the descriptions concur as to the appearance of the meteor, which seems to have presented precisely the same aspect wherever seen. There is a discrepancy, however, as to its final disappearance, some avowing it to have been silent, others that it was accompanied by an explosion. This point is worthy of careful examination. The precise time of its observation at its different points, if compared, may throw some light on its distance and speed. Scientific men will do well to make the most of this meteor, as one of such magnitude, and affording such facilities for investigation, hardly occurs twice in a lifetime.

The meteor was seen, under very favorable circumstances, from the Catskill Mountain House plateau. It seemed to those at that point to be within a few feet of them, and appeared to strike in the valley. Those who saw it, in the neighborhood of Poughkeepsie, on the river, deemed it so near that they feared it would strike the smoke-pipes of the steamers. Wherever seen it was believed to be but a very short distance above the earth, and everyone supposed it might strike somewhere in their immediate neighborhood.” (New York Times, July 24, 1860)

July 25, 1860 (Wednesday)

“We left Niagara on the 25th and crossed the Lake Ontario to Toronto, where we stayed with Mr Cumberland who was very attentive to us. Toronto is an imposing town with some fine public buildings. From Toronto we went by a night train to take the steamer down the St Lawrence from Kingston. The sail down the St Lawrence is very beautiful, particularly the first part of it in passing the 1,000 Isles. These islands are small but covered with wood, & in the bright early morning were very, very beautiful. The whole distance to Montreal is very fine and passing down the rapids was a little less exciting. Those near Montreal are any thing but safe; an Indian pilot was taken on board to pass them. It was about a 24 hours journey from Toronto to Montreal. The large bridge (tubular) built by Robt Stephenson is a fine work 6,700 feet long and erected under great difficulties, as the ice coming down the river piles itself up to a great height. It was a costly affair and has not paid the railway companies. The town of Montreal is more than half French; the hotel not nearly so good as those in America.

From Montreal we returned to Albany by way of Lake Champlain and Lake George; these we passed in steamers. The scenery was truly beautiful, and interesting as being the great fighting ground between the English and the French. We saw a number of Indians both here and in Montreal, many of them not bad looking but of a dark colour. The hotel where we stayed on Lake George is beautifully situated and the scenery by the bright moon was very fine. I was very much pleased with our trip and got back to New York on the 28 July.”
Memoirs and Diary of Sir Daniel Gooch

July 28, 1860 (Saturday)

“On my return to N York we settled to carry out a pleasure trip with the big ship for two days; that is, we left New York on the Monday afternoon for Cape May, the mouth of the Delaware, spend the next day there and return the following night.”
Memoirs and Diary of Sir Daniel Gooch

July 30, 1860 (Monday)

“We started with about 1,500 excursionists and a most extraordinary trip we had. The first night there

was no end of fun, and as the moon was very bright and weather warm it did very well; but as the passengers had no beds to go to they laid about anywhere and in the morning work up very cross, particularly the reporters to the press who thought that they ought to have been supplied with comfortable cabins &c &c. An indignation meeting was held by them and they went ashore, not to return, the 2nd night. We did much better without them but the newspapers were full of abuse. Most of those who went the trip enjoyed it very much and passed resolutions accordingly, but on the whole the trip was not a success and did not pay us, and I was very glad when it was over. One thing I was glad to hear; on the first night a proposal was made having reference to Mr Brunel as the designer of the ship, and some hearty cheers given in his honour.”

Memoirs and Diary of Sir Daniel Gooch

“Order at Occoquan.

Order reigns at Occoquan. For some weeks Occoquan had been fearfully and wonderfully disturbed. Of course all our readers know where Occoquan is, but remembering Moliere’s *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, we shall pretend that they do not. It is a place, then, of great importance in the most enlightened part of Virginia, and will no doubt become a formidable rival of Philadelphia and Baltimore, as soon as the *Great Eastern* begins her regular trips between Norfolk and Milford Haven. The peace of this city was invaded early in June by sixty disaffected citizens, who insisted on hoisting a Republican banner bearing the names of Lincoln and Hamlin. The intelligent majority of the population remonstrated with these maniacs, but in vain. Inflamed, no doubt, with the spirit of John Brown, they persisted in asserting that they had a right to outrage the soil of the land of Patrick Henry, by expressing their own opinions, and so hoisted their intolerable flag. At every flap of that base bunting on the breeze, Occoquan shuttered. At last a few friends of human rights and public order announced their determination to abate the nuisance. A person of weak mind, the owner of the land on which the obnoxious flagstaff had been fixed, declared that although he did by no means

agree with the Republicans in opinion, he would nevertheless insist on granting them the use of his property. He even went so far as to invoke the assistance of the Governor of the State to protect him in this extravagant position. The Governor sent him a troop of horse for that purpose. The troop of horse reached Occoquan, formed around the flagstaff, and sitting still on their horses, watched with great gravity the interesting process of its demolition by the friends of public decency. After this they turned their horses' heads and rode home again. The weak-minded owner of the land was then well beaten by a leading friend of public decency, and Occoquan once more drew a free breath, relieved of the hideous rag which had come between its brave citizens and the breath of heaven.

We congratulate Occoquan and Virginia on this heroic vindication of Southern rights. A few more such acts of energy, and the Republican Party will be hopelessly demoralized. It was quite in this way that Lord North put down the rebellious temper of the New England Colonies.” (New York Times, July 30, 1860)

August 2, 1860

Great Eastern leaves New York for an excursion to Annapolis, Maryland, and Hampton Roads, Virginia, with 150 paying passengers. (Emmerson at 91)

“We had settled to take the ship to the Chesapeake for a week, and as soon as we returned to New York from Cape May we prepared to start, and sailed from New York on the 2nd August with about 100 passengers. We had none of the indignant press gentlemen, and had therefore a very pleasant voyage. We reached Old Point Comfort early the next morning and spent that day and night there; thousands of people crowded the little village to see the ship. I went over the large fort here and had also an opportunity of seeing a number of slaves who were brought by their masters to see the ship. The kindest and most friendly feeling seemed to exist amongst them, and I have never seen more happiness expressed in the face and manner of the

working classes than appeared in these slaves.”
Memoirs and Diary of Sir Daniel Gooch

“Affairs in Baltimore.

* * *

Our citizens are all agog in relation to the *Great Eastern*. It is unfortunate, however, that excursionists from your City to Cape May were treated so badly. The report of this has excited some prejudices with our people, which they would rather not entertain. Thousands, however, will embrace the opportunity of seeing the monster ship. Steamers will, on and after Monday, leave our city every two hours, with excursionists. Mr. Winans, proprietor and inventor of his Winans steamer, proposes making a visit to the *Great Eastern*, placing his porpoise-like (cigar) craft alongside of her. This must prove a novel sight, President Buchanan and his Cabinet, with other officers, are to be invited. I am afraid Mr. Jarrett has introduced too much of the Barnum (showman) or theatrical humbug and clap-trap about the exhibitions of this mighty marine wonder to honor Queen Victoria, or altogether please John Bull. Water at ten cents a glass, or a dollar a bowl, don't do in a country where the Hudson, the Niagara, the Mississippi, the Potomac, the James, the Ohio, the Missouri, and other great rivers flow freely for the benefit of all. A letter just at hand from a friend of mine residing on the Red River, in Louisiana, informs me that after six months' intense drought in that hot region, they can get water—rather brackish—at \$2 per barrel. This is hard enough even when it cannot be avoided, or where there is no 'Croton.'

There is a good deal of talk here just now in reference to ocean steam navigation, and the establishment of lines of steamers to run from Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston and other Southern ports to Liverpool and elsewhere in Europe. The impetus was given to this enterprise by suggestions thrown out that the *Great Eastern* might probably be ordered to run regularly, for the accommodation of Southern trade, between Norfolk, Va., and Liverpool, the former being made a port for the

shipment of cotton. The thing is impracticable and moonshiny.

We must do more than talk to compete with New-York. Prejudices and abstract theories are of no avail without substantial aid. I shall be rejoiced, however, to know of the enterprise being accomplished, but having heretofore observed so many failures in frothy projects of this character, that to have full faith, something more tangible must loom up to the enraptured vision.

* * *

Xenophon.” (New York Times, Aug. 4, 1860)

August 3, 1860

Great Eastern arrives at Hampton Roads, Virginia. “The captain and officers decline an invitation to sample Virginia hospitality tendered by a deputation of gentlemen from Norfolk.” (Emmerson at 91)

August 4, 1860 (Saturday)

Approximately 4,000 people pay 50 cents to visit *Great Eastern*, including some slaves. (Emmerson at 92)

August 5, 1860 (Sunday)

Great Eastern anchors in the middle of Chesapeake Bay about six miles from Annapolis and receives a load of coal. (Emmerson at 92)

“We left Point Comfort on the morning of the 5th Augt for Annapolis Roads in the Chesapeake, and had a beautiful sail all day. I was much amused at the disgust of the Yankee owners of one of the fast steamers. He had invited a large party to accompany him in the [illegible] steamer to meet us 30 or 40 miles down the bay, & his programmer was he would steam round us and return ahead of us to Annapolis to be ready to receive us. When he met us he certainly turned round but did not succeed in keeping up with us, and when we cast anchor we could just see his smoke in the distance. Our ship certainly went along nobly at about 18 knots per hour, and the Yankees were mightly anoyed at the result of their trip. We had it dreadfully hot while we lay here, and thousands of people came from

Baltimore and other places to visit the ship. The President visited us on the 9th; he lunched on board and had a large party of his cabinet with him. I had a long chat with him on American trade, as it was proposed to us to sail the ship between England & the South, with cotton. The President thought well of the scheme.

While here I went to Baltimore; it is a large and well built town. I returned by railway from Baltimore to New York on the 10 August, to get matters completed there to enable us to sail for England on the 16th from New York.” *Memoirs and Diary of Sir Daniel Gooch*

“The Great Eastern, while on exhibition at New York, was visited by large numbers of spectators; her hull and machinery elicited universal admiration, but much disappointment was felt in respect to her equipment and general arrangements. An ‘excursion’ trip which was made to Cape May, when nearly two thousand passengers were carried, was so inefficiently managed, that for a second excursion to the South only about two hundred passengers could be secured. A suit, the damages being laid for \$56,000, has been brought against the vessel by American patentees, who claim that the combination of side-wheels and propeller, which constitutes her motive power, is an infringement of their rights. . . . The Prince of Wales, the heir-apparent of the English throne, arrived at St. Johns, Newfoundland, on the 23rd of July. In the British Provinces he has been received with great enthusiasm. After traveling through the Provinces, he will visit the United States as Baron Renfrew. While at Washington, in pursuance of an invitation from Mr. Buchanan, which was accepted by the Queen of England, he will be the guest of the President.” (*Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, September 1860)

August 11, 1860

Harper’s Weekly:

“It is time, we think, that the Great Eastern – or, at all events, her directors, officers, and crew-went back to their own country. They are charming

people; but we have seen them, and paid our money, and we need say no more about it. In England, perhaps, they are the right men in the right place; if we had a ship like the Great Eastern, we should try to put at least one or two people on board who had the manners of gentlemen and the civility of Christians. But let them pass. When Frenchmen, Germans . . . say-as they all do-that they hate Englishmen because Englishmen are rude, coarse, boorish, mean, and pig-headed, we Americans are apt, for cousinship's sake, to stand up for poor old John, and put in a word for him. But we don't think it likely that any of the Americans who have experienced the tender mercies of the Great Eastern will have much to say in John's behalf thereafter."

August 14, 1860

"America.
Queenstown, Monday, Aug. 13.

* * *

The Great Eastern had proceeded on an excursion to Cape May with over 2,000 passengers. According to the newspaper reports the trip was anything but a satisfactory one. A letter from on board says:--

'Nearly three-fourths of the passengers slept on deck, including many ladies, no accommodations being provided below, on account of the intoxication of the stewards. The provisions also gave out, iced water was not to be had by the majority, and even facilities for washing were entirely ignored. Twenty-five cents was paid for a glass of water to drink, and one dollar for a basin full. Immense indignation prevails, and a large number of the passengers return home to-night by way of Philadelphia. An indignation meeting was held on board this morning, denouncing the whole affair as a gigantic swindle. Most of the members of the press were up all night, with one or two exceptions, one of whom slept in a sheep pen with a New York detective. The directors on board were evidently unprepared for the emergency, and did all in their power to alleviate the necessities of the excursionists. All gave up their apartments freely, and they were occupied by strangers.

The *New York Herald* makes a rough calculation of the financial result of the vessel's trip to New York:--

'Let us see now how the profit and loss account of the voyage stands. The ship left Southampton on the 16th of June, and she will leave this country for England on the 16th of August, which, allowing 10 days for her return trip would make the period of the whole voyage just 70 days. Her expenses average about 1,200 dollars a day, or probably not quite so much, at which rate the expense of the voyage would be \$84,000, or we will say, in round numbers, \$80,000. She will have received before the voyage is completed about the following sums from various sources:-- From 150,000 visitors in New York, \$75,000; from her trip to Cape May, including tickets and profits from the restaurant, about \$15,000; from visitors at that point, say \$5,000 more; from her visit to Annapolis, \$15,000 in coal; from visitors at Annapolis, Baltimore, Norfolk, &c., \$15,000; her freight home to England will probably pay \$15,000, and her passengers and other sources about \$10,000, making her total receipts \$150,000. Thus she will have made a clear profit of \$70,000 her first Atlantic voyage.'" (Times of London, Aug. 14, 1860)

August 16, 1860

Great Eastern departs New York with 102 passengers (46 bound for Halifax)

"I think I never was so entirely glad of any thing as I was when I felt, on that day, that our ship's head was turned towards England and I was quit of America. Of all the experiences I ever had in my life of dishonesty in business matters, none ever equalled the ordinary practice I met with as the ordinary practice in the dealings of the Yankees. Their word was of no value and their signature little better, without you were prepared to fight it in a court of law. There was no kind of imposition they did not practice upon us, and our agents, altho' a house of high standing in New York, did little to protect us. The jealousy between the North and South made it a matter of offence to them that we

took the ship to the South. I left America with a feeling of rejoicing I never before experienced, and as I look back upon after several years have passed my ideas are in no degree changed.” *Memoirs and Diary of Sir Daniel Gooch*

“Editor’s Easy Chair.

* * *

I saw the *Great Eastern* sail away. The afternoon was exquisite—one of the cool, clear, perfect days that followed the storm in the middle of August; and it seemed to hang over the great ship like a cordial smile. But it was the only smile the poor Leviathan received. There was a Christian resignation in her departure. The big ship, like Falstaff, “a made a finer end and went away, an it had been any christem child: ‘a parted even just between” four and five, “ev’n a turning o’ the tide.” But as when a prince is born, and the bells are rung, and the cannon fired, and the city is illuminated, and with music and shouting the people swarm the streets—and when the same prince, grown to be a bad king and tyrant, dies, outcast and contemned, with never a tear to fall nor a bear to toll for him—even such was the coming and going of the *Great Eastern*.

I remember also the June afternoon when she arrived, and at the same hour. The city was excited as London used to be by the news of a famous victory. It was reported early in the morning that she was below, and public expectation, which had been feeding upon print and picture of her, was dispatching the populations to the Battery, to the wharves, to the excursion boats, and wherever she could be seen. At four o’clock you could see, off Staten Island, a pyramid of towering masts above all other masts. She looked a might admiral; and as she came up the bay, attended by the little boats—for all other craft are little beside her—you could easily remember the approach of Columbus to the shore and the canoes of curious savages that darted and swarmed around his ship. Her very size gave her a kind of superiority: the silence of her progress was full of majesty.

The shores teemed with people. The heights of Staten Island twinkled and fluttered with the gay toilets of the spectators that covered them. The Jersey shores were alive. The Battery looked white with human faces. The piers upon the river, the docks of vessels in the stream, and the windows and roofs of the buildings that commanded the water, were crowded with eager watchers. But the prettiest sight was the convoy of every kind that attended the surprising guest. Yachts, sloops, schooners, steamers, and two-boats, large and small, moved down toward her, came out from the shore, sailed round her, sailed beside her, crossed her bows, followed her, so that the bay was bewitched with excitement. Cannon roared, bells rang, flags waved, and the crowds huzzaed welcome.

Through all the great ship glided majestically on. In response to each fresh salute of steam-whistle the bell was touched upon the deck—it was like the quiet nod of smile of a prince in reply to the noisy complimenting of a Common Council. There was an air of dignity and of grandeur in the size and movement of the ship; and as the public was not disappointed in her size, but found that she really looked as large as she had been described and represented; and as every circumstance of her arrival was propitious, so that she slipped quietly into her dock, like a ferry-boat—it may fairly be claimed that the *Great Eastern* had already won the hearty regard of the New York public.

How she lost it—is it not all related in indignant reports, and letter, and caricatures? How she dared to charge a dollar for admission—how hapless sailors lost their lives—how she went to Cape May—and there black night rushes down upon the tale. After a visit of forty-nine days, in which she had unhappily, but too surely, worn out her welcome, she prepares to depart. But at the last moment petty suits almost detain her. She shakes them off, however, and with them the cables that bound her to our shore. She slips into the stream. She promptly points her head down the bay. It is a lovely afternoon—it is the same river full of craft—there are the wharves, the windows, the roofs—but where, oh! Where are the people? She fixes her departing gun. A few loiterers, whom chance or business has called to the water-side,

look up for a moment as she goes by. Where are the wolves, naughty boys? How dare you cry bald-head? Everything in the river and the city slouches in the everyday costume of habit. There are no gala garments, no fluttering flags, and merry bells, and booming guns, and cheering crowds. The *Great Eastern* is going away—who cares? She will never come back—so much the better! Alas! The poor old King of yesterday is dying, and there is no one to close his eyes. No; the courtiers are booted and spurred to dash away the moment the breath is out of his body, and salute the young Prince, the next Sensation, who shall rule the realm for a day.

When she came in I saw her come up the bay, I saw her come down as she departed. In the distance, blending with the spires of the city and the lesser masts, there was the towering cluster rising above all. I listened for guns. I looked for the attendant craft. There were neither, except a brief salute from the Cunarder in port. But the bay of New York will be watched for many a year before so grand and stately a sight will be seen again as the great ship making her way through the Narrows to the sea. When she entered the bay she seemed majestic and conciliatory; as she left it, she was majestic and disdainful. Yet this was only the impression of a moment and of the distance. As she neared the forts at the Narrows entirely alone, with no accompanying steam or sail vessel, with all the hard luck of her life behind her and following her even to the latest hour of her stay in America, with the fact that she had utterly lost all hold upon public interest made glaringly palpable by the absolute loneliness of her departure, she yet fired a proud salute as she swept out of the upper bay—a stern farewell that echoed coldly from unanswering shores—and with the stars and stripes floating at her peak, magnificent and majestic, the *Great Eastern* departed.

Gradually, as she passed far down the lower bay, she returned into the same hazy vastness that I remembered when I first saw her—in which, in the memories of all who saw her, she will forever remain.” (Harper’s *New Monthly Magazine*, Oct. 1860)

A census taker in the Town of Fishkill, Dutchess County, New York, identifies the following persons: Alex H. Schultz, 56, male, steam boat broker, place of birth, New York, with value of real estate at 15,000 and value of personal estate at 5,000; Margaret E. Schultz, 50, female, place of birth, Wales; Ellenor L. Schultz, 80, female, place of birth, New York; Mary Lowber Schultz, 24, female, place of birth, New York; Harriet A. Schultz, 21, female, place of birth, New York; Alex H. Schultz, Jr., 19, place of birth, New York; Margaret Isabell Schultz, 17, place of birth, New York; Ellen Moore, a domestic, 28, place of birth, Ireland; Elizabeth Tromfawells, a domestic, 19, place of birth, Ireland; Leondra Dennis, a black coachman, 28, male, place of birth, New York; Mary Bor ____, a domestic, 30, female, place of birth, Ireland; and Lewis Diebitek, a gardener, 50, male, place of birth, Belgium.

August 17, 1860

Great Eastern arrives at Halifax, stays 46 hours

“We had settled to call at Halifax, at the urgent request of the people there so that they might see the ship, and our run from New York was the quickest on record; a distance of 58 knots between two lighthouses was done in 3h 5m. We reached Halifax on the evening of the 18th Augt, and here we met with a little sharp practice, for altho’ we thus went out of our way to please them they charged us 350£ for light dues and altho’ we appealed to the Governor we failed to get it remitted. This was not much encouragement for us to stop in the place so we determined to start the next morning and let the people see the ship in England if they liked. We worked all night putting our paddle floats out as far as we could as the ship would be very light before we reached England. The harbour of Halifax is a very fine one with very deep water up to the edge of the quay. Our ship went within very few yards of the quay wall.”
Memoirs and Diary of Sir Daniel Gooch

August 19, 1860

Great Eastern leaves Halifax for Liverpool with 72 passengers.

“We got up our anchor at 9 in the morning of Sunday the 19th and started direct for Milford Haven. We had a very pleasant run home, reaching Cape Clear on Sunday morning the 26th at 4am, and we dropped our anchor at Milford at 4pm.”
Memoirs and Diary of Sir Daniel Gooch

August 20, 1860

“The Great Eastern.—The latest from New York states that a very large accession had been made to number of visitors of the ship previous to the time of her starting on the excursion to Cape May. The incidents of that trip appear to have added another to the many unfortunate examples of mismanagement which have marked the career of this great undertaking. The New York papers are filled with the complaints of indignant excursionists, and one of them has a long series of headings to its report of the trip, in which occur, among other startling items, ‘Sufferings of passengers,’ ‘The noble ship and her ignoble managers,’ ‘Great promises and small performances,’ and the accounts of the trip go on to tell of the most unseemly squabbles, of ladies dragged out of their berths by American gentlemen (?), of fights on board, struggles for water, scrambles for mattresses, hopeless attempts to obtain refreshments, intoxicated stewards, bewildered nigger waiters, fabulous prices of food and drink, disgusting series of rough practical jokes; and the account of one of the correspondents winds up by saying, ‘All that men could do to make a noble ship odious, and a grand experiment contemptible, the directors of the Great Eastern have most successfully done; while I cannot now bethink me of a single means of annoying man, woman, or child, on a voyage of pleasure, which the same ingenious gentlemen left untried between the 30th of July and 1st of August.’ It is to be hoped that these pictures have been somewhat overdrawn, though the general resemblance of all the sketches affords but too much reason to believe that they are in the main correct. It is stated that Captain Hall and Mr. Bold, the manager, both strongly protested against making the trip until more complete accommodation was provided for the 2,000 passengers who were expected. They were,

however, but the servants of the company, and as such powerless, for two members of the Board accompany the ship in the capacity of traveling directors. Captain Carnegie is an excellent authority on the management of a frigate, and Mr. Gooch possesses great knowledge and experience in the locomotive department of the Great Western Railway; but it would appear that both those gentlemen have thoroughly mistaken their vocation in attempting to do the work of a Barnum. On the return of these gentlemen we shall, doubt, have some satisfactory explanation on the subject. The Great Eastern was to leave New York on the 16th, and by next Sunday she will, no doubt, have arrived at Milford Haven. On the trip to Cape May the performance of the noble ship was in every respect satisfactory, the speed obtained being between 13 and 14 knots; the machinery was in excellent order, and gave the most satisfaction to those on board. It would have been gratifying if the other departments had been equally as well conducted as that of the engineer's. It was generally reported yesterday that the long-pending arbitration between Mr. Scott Russell and the company has been brought to a close, the award being against the company, notwithstanding that the directors had expended, it is alleged, some 30,000*l.* in order to complete the works left unfinished.—*Observer.*" (Times of London, Aug. 20, 1860)

August 25, 1860

"(Latest by Telegraph to St. John's.)

New York, Aug. 17.

The Great Eastern sailed yesterday for Halifax and England."

(Times of London, Aug. 25, 1860)

August 26, 1860

"It was a very grand sight as we steamed up Milford Haven. The Channel Fleet, consisting of 11 or 12 ships was lying up the harbour in line, and as we passed them each ship manned her yards and gave us hearty cheers; a happy welcome to our home. A special train was waiting to take us to London but no one wanted to leave the ship that day, and our departure was postponed until the following

morning, amid the cheers of the passengers. It is not often passengers wish to sleep another night on board ship after a voyage, but such is the comfort of the Gt Eastern that all felt regret that it was time to leave her.

The result of our voyage, altho' perfectly satisfactory as proving the speed and comfort of the ship, was not a profitable one. We carried very few passengers in either direction, and no goods, and the heavy expenses in America used up all the money we took for exhibiting her. Altho' this was our first voyage yet we were [not] stopped over much on account of any defect in the machinery. I was glad I had accompanied her, altho' I will not again undertake the duties of a show man, either of big ships or any thing else. We returned to Clewer on the 27th and was again comfortably settled in our home.

The Great Eastern was laid up at Milford for the winter and put on the gridiron there; a good deal was done to her—decks &c. My daily journal kept while away will give our proceedings more in detail than I have given them here." *Memoirs and Diary of Sir Daniel Gooch*

August 27, 1860

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes to
William Henry Seward

"N.Y. Aug 27th 1860

My dear Governor

Mr Abcarius & Suza called upon me this morning and after a full examination of all the routes, time exposures and circumstances they concluded it were better to adopt the program of Mr. Cook & myself so they will leave on Saturday next via the steamer Glasgow & on their disembark at Liverpool they prefer to take their money and go in the 2d or 3d of Sept, on the Mediterranean steamer as they will then have some funds when they get home to enable them to look around a while for their dispersed and perhaps lost ones – To all of this I consented and on the day they leave and

just before the _____, I will hand them 170 – I have already paid 100 for their passage to Liverpool – and \$30 in cash to pay Suza’s _____ bill & what it may cost them both now until Saturday – they are stopping now at the Stevens House in Broadway – but are to call every day at my store – they go with John Butler Jr. to Tarrytown this afternoon on a visit of a day or two - they will then go up to my house to visit my family – all the time however I will have a good care of them if only on your account – but I am hugely pleased with the active and intelligent Abcarius.

I have not, & am rather disposed not to introduce them to Dr Wood, without it is your desire – and will wait your answer.

The fates seem to be against me this summer – I have not seen you only for a moment since you went to Europe

Very truly yours,

A H Schultz.”

Gov Seward”

“The Great Eastern.
To the Editor of the Times.

Sir,--As you have this morning given currency to a letter from the Rev. William Nicholson, a shareholder in the Great Ship Company, I trust you will concede to me a similar privilege for the purpose of giving so much of the statement as relates the following matter the most unqualified contradiction.

Your rev. correspondent, with his usual correctness, states, in reference to the arbitration between the Great Ship Company and Mr. Scott Russell, that no award has been made, and, in confirmation of that assertion, that he had written to the secretary of the subject ‘whose answer, dated yesterday, assures him that no only had no award

been made, but that, unfortunately for the shareholders, there is no early prospect of one.’

Now, Sir, for a statement of facts.

First, an award has been made, and the fact communicated officially by Mr. Leverson, the solicitor of the Great Ship Company, to the board of directors several days ago.

Secondly, the secretary, who is my son, is now on board the Great Eastern on her return from America. How, therefore, he could give the answer stated by the rev. gentleman I leave your readers to determine.

My object in calling your attention to the subject, and through your medium that of the public, is to protect *The Times* and its numerous readers from imposition, and likewise to defend the character of my son during his absence from an imputation of untruth.

In concluding this letter I may adopt the prefix with which the rev. gentleman introduces his signature, and authenticate it, as he does, with ‘a name well known for many years to all connected with the Great Eastern.’

Your most obedient servant,
John Yates.

13, Gresham-street, Aug. 25:” (Times of London, Aug. 27, 1860)

August 28, 1860

“The Great Eastern Steamship.—Yesterday (Tuesday) the Great Eastern was thrown open to the inspection of the public. The directors have lost no time in thus making her profitable. A meeting of the directors on the spot—viz., Captain Carnegie, R.N., Mr. S. Baker, and Mr. Bold, was held on board the ship on Monday afternoon, at which Mr. F. Clarke attended on behalf of the South Wales Railway Company, and it was decided to open her at once to public inspection. Thousands of persons who visited the Channel fleet yesterday also took advantage of the opportunity to go on board the ‘big ship.’ On

Monday the operation of cleaning and repairing her for show occupied all the available hands. In the course of Monday several officers from the Royal squadron in the haven visited the Great Eastern, and were received by her commander, Captain Vine Hall. The vessel still lies at her anchorage below the dockyard on the Milford side of the Haven. Her coals will, we understand, have to be taken out of her before she is placed on the gridiron." (Times of London, Aug. 29, 1860)

August 30, 1860

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes to
William Henry Seward

"N.Y. 30 Aug

My dear Gov

The Tribune republished Woods article of 24th inst this evening. It made Abcarius & Suza feel depressed. Their cares & anxieties together with these uncalled for unnecessary and wholly unprovoked attacks upon them make them feel very sore as well it may. I will yet have a talk with the Very Revd _____ however.

I enclose you proof of a card I published in todays "Commercial" were they (the Editors) not so timid it would have been sharper. I shall attend to "Lynch on the Dead Sea" for them – also will furnish them with segars of which like myself & (others I know of) they are very fond-

Very truly yours,

A H Schultz."

"The Great Eastern.

To the Editor of the Times.

Sir,--In answer to the numerous inquiries already made with reference to the return of the Great Eastern to America, I am desired to state that

the ship will be placed on the Gridiron at Milford as early as the tides will permit, and that she will be shortly advertised to sail from that port to New York on Wednesday, October 17.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
J. H. Yates, Secretary
11, King William-street, E.C., August 29.” (Times of London, Aug. 30, 1860)

September 1860

“The Great Eastern, while on exhibition at New York, was visited by large numbers of spectators; her hull and machinery elicited universal admiration, but much disappointment was felt in respect to her equipment and general arrangements. An ‘excursion’ trip which was made to Cape May, when nearly two thousand passengers were carried, was so inefficiently managed, that for a second excursion to the South only about two hundred passengers could be secured. A suit, the damages being laid at \$50,000, has been brought against the vessel by American patentees, who claim that the combination of side-wheels and propeller, which constitutes her motive power, is an infringement of their rights.-----The Prince of Wales, the heir-apparent of the English throne, arrived at St. Johns, Newfoundland, on the 23d of July. In the British Provinces he has been received with great enthusiasm. After traveling through the Provinces, he will visit the United States as Baron Renfrew. While at Washington, in pursuance of an invitation from Mr. Buchanan, which was accepted by the Queen of England, he will be the guest of the President.” (Harper’s New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 21, Issue 124 Sept. 1860)

September 4, 1860

“The Great Eastern.
Mr. A. Dudley Mann in a Reverie.
The following card, addressed to the “citizens of the Slaveholding States,” appears in the Richmond Enquirer:

Washington, Thursday, Aug. 30, 1860.

In less than two months from this date, the *Great Eastern*, from assurances which I have just received, and upon which I can implicitly rely, will

reenter Hampton Roads, if it is your wish that she shall do so, and that wish be earnestly manifested.

In that case she will come prepared to convey to Milford Haven thirty thousand bales of cotton, or twelve thousand hogshead of tobacco, or seventy-five thousand barrels of flour, or three hundred thousand bushels of wheat or corn.

A mixed cargo, however, will be to her preferable, for many reasons, to a cargo of a single article. She will also be in a condition to accommodate five hundred first-class passengers, and to take charge of valuable parcels.

It is very desirable that her first homeward voyage of transportation, of our staple products of the soil, should yield the sum of \$75,000. This would enable her to bring back the products of Europe, required for consumption in this country, at so low a freight rate as to command as large a quantity as she could conveniently receive, of such as were destined for ports south of New-York.

To afford her ample time to receive her cargo and coal, she would remain in Hampton Roads about ten days. It is believed that she could make annually eight round voyages—allowing her this length of time at the end of every passage in each harbor—and it is but reasonable to conclude that her gross receipts for this period would amount to \$1,200,000. This would pay, rendering her as profitable to her owners as any ship afloat.

Her second visit to the Chesapeake, expressly in the interests of traffic, would practically inaugurate the wise policy which Washington, with intuitive foresight of the future, so resolutely endeavored to initiate after his retirement from the field on which he and his coadjutors victoriously erected a Republic. It would be hailed by every patriot heart in the slaveholding States as the era of Southern commercial independence.

The recent visit of the *Great Eastern* to the United States has been attended with the best of results to those who desire the enlarged development of the Chesapeake. The two Directors by whom she was accompanied—as eminent men in their respective avocations as England contains—are, perhaps, quite well enough satisfied that it is the only water on this side of the Atlantic adapted, in all respects, to her capacity. A foreigner, of close observation, who had seen her in the Thames, at London, in the Bay of New-York, and in Hampton Roads, remarked that ‘her dimensions seemed all out of proportion for the two former harbors, but scarcely large enough for the latter.’ And so sure as the fields of the South shall multiply and be faithfully tilled, and their proprietors animated by patriotic sentiments, so sure will the remark of the stranger be verified. A generation will not pass away until that which is now regarded as ‘a triton among the minnows,’ will find by her side vessels three hundred feet longer than herself, and of thirty thousand tons measurement in Virginia ports. She is to the ocean what the first railroad was to the land, and will effect as great a revolution in carrying the first iron link in the mighty Atlantic bridge which is to unite the Old World and the New World through Milford Haven and Hampton Roads, in natural and mutually profitable trade intercourse.

Let us, citizens of the Slaveholding States, as we cherish the institution which unites us in common interest—as we cherish the Constitution bequeathed us by our father, which unites us in common principle—determine at once—and go energetically to work—to benefit, to the fullest extent, by the instrument which is benignly presented for effecting our deliverance from the shackles of indirect trade, with which, alas! We have been so long and so grievously held in pecuniary bondage.

A. Dudley Mann.”

(New York Times, Sept. 4, 1860)

September 12, 1860

“Work for the Great Eastern

The Great Ship has returned from its holiday transatlantic trip, and will soon cease to be a wonder. As she is about to engage in the carrying trade between England and America, the question of freight becomes an important one for the consideration of the managers, and interesting to the large body of stockholders and the public generally. Upon the commercial success rests not only the hope of the shipowners of a dividend, but in a great measure the fame of her eminent designer. At present she has failed to attain the promised speed, though in this respect we see nothing discouraging in the experience of her first voyage. She has proved herself a comfortable and safe ship on the ocean.

The passengers report, that there was comparatively little sea sickness during the outward and homeward voyage.

Whatever may be the possible speed of the Great Eastern, this trip has shown that a high rate can be obtained only by a prodigious consumption of coal. In this respect the ship has disappointed the hopes of the stockholder, and falsified the prediction of the builders. As no inconsiderable part of the expenses of a steam ship is the cost of the coals consumed, the commercial success of this enterprise depends greatly on economy of consumption. This remark applies with still greater force to the Australian trade than to the Transatlantic.

The large amount of coal consumed is attributable in part to the national obstacles, and in part to the rejection of those coal saving inventions which several companies have adopted with such eminently satisfactory results.

It was the boast of Mr. Brunel that he had not endangered the success of the ship by the introduction of any novel inventions, and the result of this caution has been to greatly increase the expense of running the ship, and to lessen the likelihood of her ever paying the stockholders a dividend.

What shall be done with this monster of the deep is no doubt a serious question with the managers, and an interesting one to the public generally, who take a national pride in its success.

The ship is too large for the present condition of the world's commerce. That is trading between England and New York it will be possible to obtain freight and passengers sufficient to pay running expenses, can hardly be anticipated by the management. Besides the difficulty in obtaining sufficient freight either in her outward or homeward voyage, too much time will be required to place it on board, and freight arriving in such vast quantities would be likely to affect unfavorably the market to which it may be sent. Such a ship-load of cotton, which is and will be for a long time to come be the chief article of export in the United States, would sensibly affect the price of cotton in Liverpool. If placed in the Australian trade the same difficulty will be experienced to even a greater extent.

The ship being thus unsuited to her present requirements of ordinary commerce, and being no longer valuable as a show, it becomes the province of the manager to develop [sic] some new branch of trade in which she may be profitably employed.”
(London American, September 12, 1860)

September 17, 1860

“The Beaching of the Great Eastern.

“_____ of placing the Great Eastern on the gridiron, at Milford Haven, was effected on Sunday evening last with masterly skill under circumstances ___ of the most adverse nature. The tide, always rapid during the spring, was, owing to the strong breeze in its favour, accelerated to a speed of at least five miles her hour, and the same _____ made the tide rise higher than the usual high watermark of even spring tides. Towards noon on Sunday, the Great Eastern was observed to be getting up steam on her paddle engines, which as the wind rose were from time to time made to turn a-head slowly, in order to ease the strain on the single cable by which she was at that time riding. At

about 4 o'clock, p.m., a very large bark that had anchored in the exact course intended to be pursued by the Great Eastern, was towed out of the way. A powerful tug, specially chartered for the occasion, took hold of a hawser from the Great Eastern, which immediately began to heave in her own anchor, the tug just steaming sufficiently to keep the ship in her position until the time for making for the gridiron. As soon as the tide was sufficiently high to make the manœuvre a safe one, the Great Eastern was allowed to drop slowly down, stern foremost, with wind and tide, her speed being checked to about three knots per hour by her paddles being occasionally revered, while the tug held her head in the required position. While the vessel is moving towards the gridiron we may take a look at those from whom all the orders emanated. Those on the bridge consisted of Captain John Vine Hall, Mr. Brereton, engineer to the company and successor of the late Mr. Brunel, Captain Jackson, the ship's agent, and Mr. Iveny the Queen's harbour pilot. Among the very few others on board were Mr. Bold, the managing director, and Mr. Appold, who appeared to take as much interest in the ship as when he stood beside Mr. Brunel from first to last of the launching operations. By about half-past 5 o'clock the ship arrived in the vicinity of the gridiron, having taken about 25 minutes to accomplish the space of a mile and a-half, between it and her former moorings. At this time the authorities, fearing some fatal accident in the event of the ship's coming against the gangway erected from the shore, requested all to move off it, which was at once complied with by every one whose duty did not require him to stay. The ship in the meantime turned ahead until she came within about 12 or 15 fathoms of her intended position. It was now found that, owing to the great force of the current, it would be better to wait for slack water. The port bower-anchor was accordingly let go, and her stern allowed gradually to sheer in. It was then that the solidity of the dolphins was severely tested, for as the vessel gradually came closer, she rested for a time with the whole force of the tide pressing her against the eastern dolphin, which, so far from giving way, actually caused the huge vessel to

recoil two or three times to a distance of six or eight inches. While waiting for a tide to slacken a whole fleet of boats, lighters, and a ferry steamer, were engaged passing up hawsers, &c., to haul in the chains attached to the four anchors with which she was to be secured. At about half-past 6 o'clock the tide had become sufficiently slack to admit of the operations being concluded—orders were, therefore, given to 'turn ahead,' and in two minutes the Great Eastern was in her place to an inch! So correctly had the position for the gangway been conjectured (for in the plan of the ship, the entrance in the side to the lower deck was not laid down) that it stood immediately fronting that aperture. The western dolphin is now resting just ahead of the starboard sponson, and the eastern one under the starboard quarter. She is now supported for about 580 feet of her whole length, on two grids of 150 feet long, each, with an interval between of nearly 300 feet of levelled beach. As soon as she had attained the desired place, all hands turned to haul in the slack of the morning chains, and she is, therefore, now firmly kept in her upright position by four anchors—one right ahead, another astern, with one on the port bow, and another on the starboard quarter. The moment everything was made snug Mr. Brereton gave orders to pump all the available boilers full, or as it is technically called to 'scuttle' them, in order to throw an additional weight of some 80 tons of water, to keep her steady on the gridiron. Owing to the threatening aspect of the weather steam was kept up until Monday morning. In fact, everything that could be done by a prudent foresight was done, and the whole operation was conducted with a coolness, energy, and skill that could not be surpassed, and was the theme of the highest encomiums from all who saw it, many of whom were men of the highest professional skill themselves, and therefore the most competent judges that could be got. It was intended to try to finish the scraping and painting of the ship's bottom by Tuesday, and then haul her off, but we greatly fear that such intention cannot be well carried out; the time is too short and undertaking too vast. Two facts call for special notice—one being the perfect command held over the ship, rendering her as facile

in her movements as an ordinary rigged craft, and the other is, that such an operation could be performed at all with safety in such bad weather speaks volumes for the capabilities of Milford Haven as a fitting port. As she now lies with her whole vast size displayed from keel to truck, she forms a noble monument to the memory of I. K. Brunel, as he may be said to have given his own life to render his darling project a success.” (The Times of London, Sept. 17, 1860)

September 20, 1860

“Mr. Scott Russell and the Great Eastern.
--The friends of Mr. J. Scott Russell will be pleased to hear that the arbitration between that gentleman and the Great Ship Company has been brought to a conclusion, and that an award has been given in Mr. Russell’s favor. The arbitrators were Messrs. Fowler and McLean, with Mr. Hawkshaw, as referee. These three gentlemen are at the head of the Engineering profession in England, and in every way qualified for such an office. They were to decide any differences arising between Mr. Russell and the Company, as to the fulfillment of contract to fit out the *Great Eastern* to a specified extent, and they have, after nearly twelve months’ protracting sitting, at length declared that Mr. Russell has fulfilled that contract, and that £22,000 or \$110,000 is due to him.” (New York Times, Sept. 20, 1860)

September 22, 1860

“The Great Eastern.—In consequence of the ship’s bottom having been what in nautical parlance is termed ‘hogged’ when lying at Southampton it was by no means so foul as most people anticipated. About the water line at the bow, a quantity of green slimy matter was found; below that, and by no means very thickly studded, patches of a fringelike seaweed only were seen, varying from one to three inches in length, and adhering very loosely. This at once upsets the idea that so many entertain as to the cleansing of her bottom causing an increase of two or three knots her pour in her speed. In fact, a most mistaken notion is but to prevalent about the Great Eastern’s rate of sailing. She has already considerably exceeded what was expected of her by Mr. Brunel—viz., an average of 14 statute miles per hour, with which scale as a basis all her coal

accommodations were framed. During the week a large number of men have been engaged cleaning her bottom and painting it, after which a coating of M'Inne's patent metallic composition was laid on. This is a preparation presenting a smooth and slippery surface to the water, and by lessening the friction it increases the speed. Of this it would take about two tons and a half. It was expected that these operations would all be concluded by to-day (Saturday). The ship appears to have lost none of her attractions, and the receipts per week may be set down at 500*l.* clear. She will in all probability be removed from the gridiron on the 1st of October." (Times of London, Sept. 22, 1860)

September 29, 1860

"Hope for the South.

The Great Eastern to Carry the Mails from Norfolk, Va.

The following correspondence appears in the Norfolk (Va.) Argus:

Washington, Friday, Sept. 14, 1860.

Sir: There is a fair possibility that the steamship *Great Eastern* will reenter the Chesapeake Bay somewhere along between the 20th of October and the 10th of November next.

The constant interest which I have entertained for many years in the development of this unequalled body of land-locked ocean water, and the resources of its tributaries, as well as that in closer proximity with it than with New-York, influence me to make the inquiry whether, in the event of the reappearance of this noble vessel within the Virginia Capes, *you will be disposed to authorize the conveyance of the mails by her from Hampton Roads to Milford Haven, upon as favorable conditions to her owners as mails are conveyed from New-York to British ports in steamships covered by the flag of the United States, not receiving an annual compensation for their services.*

In case you give your assent, it will perhaps be proper to designate Norfolk as the port at which

the mails shall be made up for European distribution, inasmuch as that city is the outer deep water bay port, and the centre of a large railroad and other post communications.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
(signed) A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. Joseph Holt, Postmaster-General,
Washington.

Post-Office Department, Sept. 15, 1860.

Sir: In reply to your note of yesterday, I have to state that should the *Great Eastern* reenter the Chesapeake Bay, and sail as contemplated from Norfolk for Milford Haven, *this Department will forward by her such foreign mails as would be naturally and properly dispatched from that point.* To make such an arrangement permanent, Norfolk and Milford Haven would have to be made exchange offices. The difficulty, however, could be temporarily met by an appropriate provision. As the *Great Eastern* is an English ship, the conveyance of the mails by her could not be authorized on the same terms conceded to steamships "covered by the flag of the United States." The existing law fixes the sea postage as the measure of compensation for postal service when performed by foreign ships. This, therefore, is all that this Department could allow to the *Great Eastern*.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
(signed) J. Holt.
Hon. A. Dudley Mann, Washington." (New York Times, Sept. 29, 1860)

October 13, 1860

"The Great Eastern.—This ship is now left under the charge of Mr. Davies, the officer of the decks, who has made a wonderful revolution in the appearance of the ship, and that too with but about

half-a-dozen men, as she is now very nearly all repainted. Captain John Vine Hall, Mr. Bold, managing director, and Mr. M'Lennan, the chief engineer, have been paid off. It is contemplated, we believe, at the close of the present month, to shut up the ship altogether, and pay off all hands. This would be but bad economy, as, to say nothing of the damage to the machinery from having no one to attend to it, the dampness of the climate at Milford Haven will effectually rot all the splendid hangings of the saloon unless fires be from time to time burnt in them. The sum required for the new decks and alterations in the bearings of the screw shaft will cost about 10,000*l.* in themselves, beside the cost of the heating apparatus. The ship will remain in her present position for some months, as after Sunday next the spring tides will not again be sufficient high until Christmas to float her. She is now placed in a perfectly sheltered position from the only wind that could blow her off the gridiron even if she was afloat." (Times of London, Oct. 13, 1860)

October 16, 1860

"The Great Eastern.
To the Editor of the Times.

Sir,--I should be obliged by your allowing me to correct the erroneous impression which a paragraph respecting the Great Eastern in *The Times* of Saturday is likely to convey.

Among other inaccuracies it is therein indicated that the ship will be shut up at the close of the month, all hands paid off, and that in the damp climate of Milford Haven much damage may result to the machinery and the splendid hangings of the saloon from this bad economy. I need scarcely say that this ideal abandonment is prejudicial to the interests of the shareholders and the direction.

The directors, very properly anxious to reduce to a *minimum* the expenses of the ship while her future movements are undetermined, have directed me to carry their views into effect, but with due regard to the care of the property on board.

I beg also to say that the work of renovation of the ship is not so sudden or wonderful as your correspondent imagines. It has recently become more apparent because more complete, but is really the result of measures commenced soon after the arrival of the ship in this port by my directions.

Another point, perhaps of little consequence except truthfulness, is that Mr. Davies is said to be in charge of the ship, where I remain so in conjunction with my colleagues, Mr. Bold and Mr. M'Lennan, till the termination of my agreement in November, when we hand over our charge to those appointed to take care of her.

Meanwhile, I am making such arrangements as may insure safety to the ship and property consistent with strictest economy.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Milford Haven, Oct. 14. John Vine Hall.”
(Times of London, Oct. 16, 1860)

October 30, 1860

“The Great Eastern.—The arrangements for winter are, we believe as follows:--On and after the 5th of November the ship will be under the charge of Captain Jackson, the ship's agent, who will be assisted by Messrs. Curtis and Archdeacon, and about ten men, including an auxiliary engineer. The ship will remain open to visitors during the winter, and it is expected that an average of 25 to 30 per diem may be calculated on. Some 30,000 persons have visited the Great Eastern since her arrival at Milford Haven. During the month of September last the very low fares of the South Wales Railway drew upwards of 19,000 excursionists alone to Milford Have, exclusive of those who traveled by ordinary trains at excursion prices, and would doubtless have drawn double that number had the weather not been so bad.” (Times of London, Oct. 30, 1860)

November 6, 1860

Abraham Lincoln elected President

December 3, 1860

“The immediate peril arises . . . from the fact that the incessant and violent agitation of the slavery

question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century has at length produced its malign influence on the slaves and inspired them with vague notions of freedom. Hence a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar. This feeling of peace at home has given place to apprehensions of servile insurrections. Many a matron throughout the South retires at night in dread of what may befall herself and children before the morning. Should this apprehension of domestic danger, whether real or imaginary, extend and intensify itself until it shall pervade the masses of the Southern people, then disunion will become inevitable. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and has been implanted in the heart of man by his Creator for the wisest purpose; and no political union, however fraught with blessings and benefits in all other respects, can long continue if the necessary consequence be to render the homes and the firesides of nearly half the parties to it habitually and hopelessly insecure. Sooner or later the bonds of such a union must be severed.” (Fourth Annual Message of President James Buchanan to the United States Congress, Dec. 3, 1860)

December 11, 1860

“This morning Mr. Dallas and I stood before the map of the U.S. speculating on the possible disunion of the Republic, and after talking about it for awhile he said it was sad that anything should exist to prompt him to speculate on such a possibility, & it was painful that we were standing there discussing the subject.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1860)

December 14, 1860

“Aldermanic Revelations.

To say that the debate in the Board of Alderman last night, reference to the payment of \$6,000 for dredging out the slip allotted to the *Great Eastern*, was an exciting affair, would be doing it less than justice. It was spirited in the extreme, and its revelations had all that sincerity and unreserved which we are chiefly in the habit of expecting from gentlemen with whom ‘the salmon has disagreed.’ It was a genuine post-prandial debate, or rather colloquy, in regard to the practical science of ‘big things’—a term, we believe, of Aldermanic origin,

but fast merging into the common diction of the people.

Alderman Brady, with whom both the salmon and soup would seem to have disagreed, and disagreed badly, was the more particular orator of the evening; and his essay on the greatness of England, as contrasted with the greatness of the United States, will be found, on perusal, we rather think, one of the most extraordinary of modern specimens of forensic logic. It is unique, not to say sublime; it is bewildering, not to say consistent. He denounces the attempt to mulct the City of \$6,000 for the berthage of the 'big ship that ain't no good to nobody' as a 'tyrannical proceeding;' as a swindle on the citizens of New-York;' as one of the deepest robberies ever attempted to be perpetrated;' and as an outrage of the blackest dye.' English greatness, he avers, consists of building a 'great ship with six smoke-pipes to it;' while America, on the other hand, must rest her claim to excellence on her undoubted ability 'to put six smoke-pipes to a small ship'—which the latter Alderman pronounces 'a big thing.'

But it was not in the main body of Mr. Brady's spirited argument that the points of chief interest to the public were divulged. It was rather in his brilliant little episodes—his manifold and sudden breakings away from the level thread of his discourse, into remarks and illustrations full of Aldermanic wisdom, wit, eloquence and experience. Thus at one point he opens a bag, so to speak, and lets out what may be called 'the cat of the Brazilian corvette.' The Special Committee of the Board appointed to receive the officers of that vessel did not spend, it now appears, more than \$25 in extending 'this hospitalities of the City' to our Brazilian visitors; and yet the City either has already paid, or has yet to pay, the sum of \$6,000 on bills presented by the Committee of Reception!

In another equally confidential episode, Mr. Brady declares it 'an outrage upon the community' that the items of the Japanese bill were not presented six months ago, stating it also to be his

personal belief that the items of the Japanese bill are now hidden in some Alderman's pocket. [Mr. Brady's exact words were "in some gentleman's pocket;" but the context and the whole drift of the speech make it obvious that he referred to the pocket of an Alderman.] Waxing still more confidential under the warming power of his own rhetoric, this extremely remarkable outpouring of City secrets reached its climax in the following declaration: 'I do not believe that the Japanese bill amounted to \$105,000—a good ways from it.' This confession is made by one who certainly ought to know, the speaker himself having been one of the most active and persistent advocates for the payment of the bill without either inquiry or reduction.

Having eased his mind by this confessional exercise, Alderman Brady's burdened conscience next entered upon a penitential mood, and he was all but lachrymose in his promises of leading for the future a better life. He admitted that the newspapers which opposed his reelection 'may have done so honestly'—a supposition not very difficult to be made. But he pledged himself hereafter to 'go for honest measures and honest bills—the Japanese bills included.' It is a cheering sign of the times that even Alderman Brady awakened to the urgent need of reform. We shall next have the illustrious Boole entering the Board some fine evening, clothed in the white sheet of repentance, and holding expiatory lighted tapers in each hand. It is a period of change, and the very strangest things are those which wise men will most expect to happen." (New York Times, Dec. 14, 1860)

December 20, 1860

South Carolina is first state to withdraw from Union

1861

"Lowber D. C. machinery depot, 172 Camp, d. 210 Camp"

* * *

"Neill Brothers, (*H. H. & W. M. Neill*,) com. mers. 47 Carondelet "(Gardner's New Orleans Directory, for 1861 [d = dwelling])

January 2, 1861 (Wednesday)

“Headquarters of the Army Washington, January 2, 1861 Memorandum of arrangements. Telegram sent to Mr. A. H. Schultz, 64 Cedar street, P.O. box 3462, New York City, that his propositions are entertained, and that a staff officer will be in the city to-morrow to conclude arrangements. Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas is directed, first, to satisfy himself that Mr. Schultz’s agency is reliable, then to cause the steamer to be prepared for sea as soon as practicable, provided the terms be reasonable; then to cause two hundred well-instructed men with, say, three officers, to be embarked from Governor’s Island, with three months’ subsistence, including fresh beef and vegetables, and ample ammunition; also, one hundred extra stand of arms. Instructions to be sent by Colonel Thomas in writing to Major Anderson that should a fire likely to prove injurious be opened upon any vessel bringing re-enforcements or supplies, or upon her boats, from any battery in the harbor, the guns of Fort Sumter may be employed to silence such fire, and the same in case of like firing upon Fort Sumter itself.” Memorandum of arrangements from Lieut. Col Lorenzo Thomas, Assistant Adjutant-General, Washington, D.C.

January 4, 1861 (Friday)

“Lieut. Gen. Winfield Scott, Washington, D.C.: Dear General: I had an interview with Mr. Schultz at 8 o’clock last evening, and found him to be, as you supposed, the commission, and together we visited Mr. M. O. Roberts. The latter looks exclusively to the dollars, whilst Mr. S. is acting for the good of his country. Mr. R. Required \$1,500 per day for ten days, besides the cost of 300 tons of coal, which I declined; but, after a long conversation, I became satisfied that the movement could be made with his vessel, the Star of the West, without exciting suspicion. I finally chartered her at \$1,250 per day. She is running on the New Orleans route, and will clear for that port; but no notice will be put in the papers, and person seeing the ship moving from the dock will suppose she is on her regular trip. Major Eaton, commissary of

subsistence, fully enters into my views. He will see Mr. Roberts, hand him a list of the supplies with the places where they may be procured, and the purchases will be made on the ship's account. In this way no public machinery will be used.

To-night I pass over to Governor's Island to do what is necessary, i.e., have 300 stand of arms and ammunition on the wharf, and 200 men ready to march on board Mr. Schultz's steam-tugs about nightfall to-morrow, to go to the steamer, passing very slowly down the bay. I shall cut off all communication between the island and the cities until Tuesday morning, when I expect the steamer will be safely moored at Fort Sumter." Letter from L. Thomas, Assistant Adjutant-General to Lieut. Gen. Winfield Scott, Jan. 4, 1861.

January 5, 1861 (Saturday)

Great Eastern leaves Milford Haven for New York. Trip took 9 days, 13 hours, 20 minutes.

January 9, 1861 (Wednesday)

Mississippi secedes. The *Star of the West* is fired upon when it attempts to provision Fort Sumter, the first shots of the Civil War.

January 10, 1861 (Thursday)

Florida secedes.

January 11, 1861 (Friday)

Alabama secedes.

January 12, 1861 (Saturday)

"Georgia and South Carolina.
A Comparison of Commercial Enterprise and Facilities—The Ultimate Purchases of South Carolina—Why She Will Fail.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

South Carolina never did live comfortably the Union. The Union oppresses her exceedingly; and a not very modest sense of her own magnitude has several times caused her politicians to seek relief in spasmodic attempts to do their own governing. But their plans for carrying this into effect have not been remarkable for clearness or good logic. Indeed, some of them have been of so strange a character, that the conclusion has more than once forced itself upon us that her politicians

were resolved to abandon reason, and to take caprice. Instead of voting large sums for arms and munitions of war, which some cunning Yankee was sure to profit by, it has seemed to us a wiser policy that she should devote her surplus revenues to the development of her internal resources.

If, however, South Carolina will not live comfortably in the Union, and has made up her mind to part company with us, the next question for her to consider is the prospect of her living comfortably out of it. Her politicians seem in too much haste to fall in with popular opinion to contemplate this all-important question in all its bearings. It is their misfortune that they fancy danger from without, but look only for protection within the bounds of the State; and even there the means are badly chosen. If we could for a day get these gentlemen to reason on sound principles, to take a broader and more intelligent view of the whole question of our national politics, we might hope to see them make a better use of the strength in their own hands. They would then see that their true friends are in the North—that it will not do to separate from those friends, since to them South Carolina must look for that only protection from without, which can come to her in a tangible form. What Carolina now proposes, is to make enemies of her friends at the North, and engage in a battle where defeat will be certain.

A State needs something more than an excess of patriotism to protect it from the invasion of a powerful enemy, and South Carolina must not seek consolation in the delusion that she is an exception to the rule. The most ordinary observer cannot fail to see that under this plea of protection, so extraordinarily demanded of the Federal Government, there lies a humiliating confession that she is acting on her fears rather than her reason. Nay, more that she has a dangerous enemy within her own borders, and whose uprising she fears even more than she does the advance of an enemy from without. And this is true, as any one must know who has lived in South Carolina, and seen how much of her material energy it required to preserve

the proper submission of her domestic institution. If, then, she has enough to do at home, she may, one would think, safely leave the battle with her enemies outside to those who have fought it so manfully during the last campaign. But this would seem to be the very last thing her politicians think of.

Instead of gaining strength by succession, South Carolina would so weaken herself as to be completely at the mercy of her enemies, without and within. But she flatters herself with the vain hope that her sister States would follow her out of the Union, and set up a confederacy of their own. This we regard as the gravest mistake her politicians commit. An intimate acquaintance with the political and social spirit of the people in Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee, forces us to the opinion that they would be slow to follow the lead of South Carolina. They have shown us by their recent vote how strong is their conservatism, and their love of that Union the people of South Carolina are so impatient to destroy. Happily these States yet have public men who can lay some claim to statesmanship, and who can calmly weigh the dangerous consequences secession would entail. They know that secession could only be effected through revolution, and that such a revolution would prostrate their agricultural and commercial interests, and result in a social and political chaos destructive to the best interests of the whole South. These men know very well that South Carolina would be no more contented in a Southern Confederacy, unless she can rule it, than she was in the Union. Her natural temper is that of dictation, and in a Confederacy founded almost solely upon the protection of Slavery, and where questions of political policy would require to be treated in the most generous spirit, nothing could be more disastrous. With South Carolina the question of superiority would always be uppermost, and she would continue to assert her right to control with a pertinacity that would make her a very unsafe member of any family of States.

After all, we are led to the belief that it is a sense of inferiority that sends South Carolina

periodically into a state of grief. She cannot blind her eyes to the fact that she has stood still, as it were, while her sister States, under a more enlightened State policy, have made rapid advances on the road of progress. Compared with Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee, she holds a third position. But what she lacks in substance, she attempts to make up in pretense. As to the social and political relations existing between South Carolina and her sister States, they are by no means friendly. Her people affect contempt for North Carolina, and look with an air of superiority upon Georgians. They have no very good opinion of Alabamians, except for their trade, and regard Tennessee as a small colony, solely dependent on Charleston as a market for her products. It can, we think, be easily seen what difficulties such feelings would give rise to in a Southern Confederacy. But why, it may be asked, has Georgia gained so vastly over South Carolina in material wealth during the last fifteen years?

The Savannah River marks the boundaries of two political theories, as diverse as can well be conceived. Georgia, on the one side, develops her own resources, encourages Northern enterprise, stimulates manufactures, regards mechanic arts with respect, and, until very recently, welcomed and gave employment to emigrants. The agricultural, mechanical and commercial condition of Georgia, it is well known, is at least half a century in advance of South Carolina. For this she is indebted to her more enlightened political policy. Georgia legislation has encouraged progress. South Carolina legislation has impeded it. For the past thirty years she has obstinately opposed emigration, and she has set her face against developing in her own midst that very Northern enterprise she is forced to call to her aid whenever a secession fever seizes her. It is true that an excess of patriotism in a few of her citizens has found relief in one or two feeble attempts to establish shoe and cotton factories. But they have signally failed for want of moral as well as material support. Of what value then is the political stability of a State that invariably discourages the very arts necessary to the success of the schemes most dear to its ambition? Even now

South Carolina cries to be delivered from those very enemies to whom, in her abjectness, she turns, and is compelled to purchase the instruments to redress her imaginary wrongs.

It always looked to us very much as if South Carolina had most to apprehend from those speculative New-England gentlemen, who, having satisfied her with protestations of faith in her peculiar institution, are just now trying to turn a penny by selling her rifles and cockades. These gentlemen are earnest Secessionists, and clever talkers when a bargain is up. There is, indeed, no telling how many uses a clever Yankee can put his patriotism to. Nor is there anything new in his fanning the flame of secession, and getting South Carolina to arm her fears.

It may be asked, what has South Carolina been doing while Georgia has gained those advantages over her? Simply cultivating self-esteem and cotton. And on them she has so exhausted her energies that she is useless for anything else. And now, like the helpless child, she cries loudest for what she sees, but has not the strength to reach. She would be the same restless, disconsolate, and helpless child, striving without substance, for superiority in council in a Southern Confederacy, that she is in the Union. There is no sharper thorn in the side of South Carolina than the fact that she has only pretensions to found her claims to superiority upon.

There are many persons in the North who accept South Carolina as a true exponent of Southern sentiment. This is a very common error, and one capable of working much mischief. Between Georgians and South Carolinians there is as little harmony of feeling as between Frenchmen and Germans. Politically, socially and commercially, they are distinctive. The restless spirit and ultra views of South Carolina have been more severely rebuked by Georgians than any other people. The people of Georgia regard her as a very unpleasant neighbor, who is continually asking you for favors, and never has one to reciprocate. The

only sympathy we could ever discover was between their small aspiring politicians. It is the misfortune of South Carolina to possess a super-abundance of these worthies—a sort of cross between a wire-grassman and a country lawyer. These gentlemen are in high favor with the ‘crackers’ of their district, who pay them that homage they demand elsewhere. Between these worthies, no matter in what State, there is a dangerous harmony of sentiment, increased by their ambition for a seat in Congress. It is true, also, that he who can excite the passions of the ignorant most is surest of the election. Hence it is that we see these politicians appealing to the passions instead of reason. These men regard politics as a game, which they study but superficially, and having nothing to lose, play with a reckless disregard of consequences. This is as true of Georgia as South Carolina. But the influence of these men, except in rare instances, is confined chiefly to that political atmosphere which finds its radius among the ‘uneducated and unthinking rabble.’ There their power is supreme. Beyond it they have no weight whatever. The conservative portion of the people—the merchants, wealthy planters, and men engaged in manufactures, have no sympathy whatever with these noisy pests, whom they regard as common enemies. It is, indeed, surprising to see how distance lends importance to men who are regarded with indifference at their own homes. It would be well if the people of the North attached less importance to much these men say.

A good deal of late has been said of the respective merits of Charleston and Savannah, as commercial emporiums of this prospective Southern Confederacy. The Northern Press is evidently not well informed on this subject. It is well to bear in mind the fact that there has long existed an active commercial rivalry between the people of Charleston and the people of Savannah. And this rivalry has been conducted in anything but a friendly spirit. South Carolina, in reality, holds but a third position, when compared with her sister States; and draws from them at least two-thirds of the material upon which she builds her commercial

importance. In regard to harbor accommodations, she is not so well off as Savannah. Both channels of the Charleston harbor are obstructed by the worse and most dangerous bars along the whole Southern coast, and our underwriters can bear testimony to the amount of shipping destroyed in navigating them. Vessels drawing more than sixteen feet cannot cross the Charleston bar. This, of course, shuts out the larger sized British bottoms, and has been one of the great drawbacks to her commerce. In addition to this the authorities of Charleston have shown a love for levying taxes upon commerce, and keeping up a series of useless and annoying regulations, and these have had the effect of driving shipping into more congenial ports. The Savannah bar is much less intricate. Vessels of twenty-three feet draft can cross it without difficulty, and when inside the shelter is perfect. But the city is several miles up a narrow and crooked river, and vessels of eighteen feet draft must lighter cargo before they can cross the Rackets (an impediment in the channel near the city) and reach it. But even with these drawbacks she has an advantage over Charleston in point of port accommodations.

We regret that we have not the statistics of Cotton exports from the two ports before us. They would show, however, that not many years ago Charleston shipped seventy per cent. more cotton than Savannah. Since then a great change has taken place. The exports from Savannah have gradually increased from year to year until they are now nearly equal to those of Charleston. And this, as we shall hereafter show, has been effected through Northern enterprise.

But Charleston gained an immense advantage over Savannah in being first to perfect and carry out an excellent railroad system, the object of which was to secure the trade of Upper Georgia, East Tennessee, and portions of Alabama. In this she was successful. It was claimed for this railroad system that it was a proof of superior enterprise in the people of Charleston over the people of Savannah. But it must not be forgotten that the project originated and was carried out

chiefly by Northern men. Having extended this railroad system to the western boundary of South Carolina, she succeeded into getting the people of Georgia to build roads in the upper districts of their State, thus further enabling her to divert the trade into the avenues she had so wisely opened to her own port. In a word, she was cutting Savannah off from the advantages of a trade that was legitimately her own. A further inducement to the planters and merchants of Upper Georgia and the West to trade in Charleston was the more liberal accommodations afforded by her merchants. They were richer than the merchants of Savannah, kept larger stocks, gave longer credits and better terms. Charleston, too, had a much larger banking capital than Savannah, and her credit was better at the North.

Savannah, in time, waked up to a sense of her obligations to the State. Northern enterprise was encouraged, her banking facilities were increased, and an extensive system of railroads was projected and carried out under great difficulties. The object of these roads was to intercept and draw off the trade that had found its way into Charleston—in other words, to secure to Savannah the trade of Upper Georgia, Eastern Tennessee and Northern Alabama. After encountering almost insurmountable difficulties, the people of Savannah succeeded in their object. Thus, while Charleston finds her interior trade gradually decreasing, that to Savannah has rapidly advanced. This is a sore grievance to the people of the former city, who have sought in vain for some means of remedying the evil. It is but justice here to say that the Georgia roads are managed with consummate skill and economy, and while paying a larger dividend to their stockholders than most other roads in the United States, those of South Carolina have scarcely cleared expenses. So much for the advantages of Georgia over South Carolina. What South Carolina now wants is to seduce Georgia into her scheme of secession, that she may destroy her trade, and reduce her to her own level.

It is South Carolina's disappointments that oppress her most, and she seeks relief for these by

trying to drag her sister States into her difficulty. These States know full well the dangers that would arise from South Carolina's ambition to rule, and we have too much faith in their good sense to believe that they will seriously entertain her insane project. But suppose South Carolina goes out of the Union alone, and having set up a Government of her own, what then? Would she, by pursuing such a course, increase the protection she so arrogantly affects to demand of the Federal Government? It seems to us that the most short-sighted observer cannot fail to see that she would not. Standing alone, every weakness of her peculiar institution would be exposed, and the enemies of that institution would be sure to take advantage of them. This would of necessity demand a large increase in her means of defense; and her revenues would be swallowed up in the procuring of these means. At present she has aggressions to fear from every free Power she held relations with, and those aggressions she would have to meet single-handed. For instance, as an independent State, she would not be permitted to imprison British colored seamen and shift the responsibility on the shoulders of the Federal Government. For any such violation of national law she would be held directly accountable, and being in a weak condition, the result, it can easily be imagined, would be humiliating indeed. But to make any show of strength, it would be necessary for her to keep up an exhaustive military organization, the damaging influence of which, on her commerce, any rational man can readily comprehend. We already see what the present excited state of political affairs has done to destroy commercial credit, and deprecate the value of her slave property. But this is only a speck compared with what would result from actual secession.

There is another and still more important view which South Carolina should take of a question involving such vital interests. It is, that in withdrawing from the Union she forfeits the friendship of that large class of influential voters in the North who have stood valiantly by her in her day of trial. These men are face to face with her real enemies, and can fight the battle distance has

rendered her incapable of fighting for herself. Having forfeited the friendship of those who have stood by her at the North, the question naturally occurs as to what new friends she will make in the South? We speak from experience when we say she will make but few. Her sister States are not strangers to the reckless and dictatorial spirit it would be sure to entail on a Southern Confederacy. Hence it is that they distrust her motives, question the wisdom of her councils, and have invariably shown themselves unwilling to follow her lead.

There is sure never to be much happiness in a family where the most opposite opinions are upheld by mere assertion, and urged with obstinacy. And in a Southern Confederacy South Carolina, with a grievance always on her shoulders, would be the unhappiest member of a very unhappy family. Standing in a corner between such States as Georgia and North Carolina, with a social and political State policy entirely different, prone to affect contempt for both, and to make conflicting laws, South Carolina would soon find herself an object of petty annoyances, dangerous to her peace and stability as a State. Progressive Georgia would be a very unpleasant neighbor of the little unprogressive empire of South Carolina.

It is this quickness to arm her fears that deprives South Carolina of the power to assert and maintain her proper place in the Union. If, instead of getting up grievances and fighting phantoms, she would rely on reason for her best weapon, and act consistently in the use of her political strength, she would be much more likely to exert a proper influence in consolidating the strength of the South, which would be equal to an ascendancy in the Union. But this irrational arming of her fears only tends to afford her enemies the desired opportunity of carrying off the prize she herself neglected to secure. But the popular politician of South Carolina is the most short-sighted being one can well imagine. He now asks us to believe that the State, if resolved into an independent Government, would at once enter into friendly relations, which could not fail to benefit her commerce and agriculture, with

England and France. It is also hinted that these Powers would afford her protection. This does not say much for the logic of South Carolina's politicians. England has had no particular reasons for being thankful to South Carolina. However much a certain class of Englishmen may be inclined to maintain commercial relations with any State, the true spirit of England is in deadly hostility to Slavery. France is in the same position, and neither have forgotten the ill-treatment of their colored seamen at the hands of South Carolina, nor the want of courtesy with which their reasonable overtures for the settlement of the question were treated. South Carolina, it is true, has modified her law for the imprisonment of colored seamen, but the spirit under which that law was enforced still exists.

There is one delusion we wish the South could be induced to dispel from her mind at once. It is that she confers a favor on the North by selling her cotton, and that the North is thereby the only gainer. The merchant who has an article to sell does not generally hold that he is conferring a favor on the customer who purchases it, and only the veriest mercantile antiquity would insist on such a rule of observance. The one supplies what the other needs, and the obligations should be mutual. But custom has established the rule, and a correct one it is, that the seller shall consider himself under the obligation to the purchaser. Hence, those who are most attentive and civil to their customers are generally the most successful merchants. And the same rule should have force in regulating the exchanges between States as between individuals. It would indeed be asserting a very bad commercial principle to say we would not sell our customers goods unless they acknowledged that the act also carried a favor. The North simply pays the South for what she produces, and supplies her wants, imaginary and real. If the South is not benefited, the fault lies at her own door. But this absurd complaint comes, not from the merchants and business men of the South, but from her young and inexperienced politicians, who effect with clamor what they could not achieve by reason.

But who, let us inquire, are the men now creating all this excitement in the South? They are men, as the record will show, who have done nothing to develop the resources of their States, who are not qualified for the offices they have been elected to, who keep themselves before the public by advocating extraordinary measures, who have wasted their lives and their wealth in this insane scheme of dissolving a Union they are incapable of appreciating. Like the man who hanged himself because he had threatened to do so, and gave out that he would feel ashamed if he did not, these South Carolina gentlemen have so long threatened secession that they begin to think they must do something to save their honor, and they have done it. The gentleman who, in 1850, set up a shoe manufactory in Charleston, as the best means of getting the State out of the Union, but in a short time found himself ruined in pocket and reputation, is up again, the fiercest for secession. We refer to Mr. John E. Carew, former proprietor of the *Mercury*. Then there are the same valiant spirits that have so long figured in the paradise of secession: the Rhetts, the Keitts, the Hamiltons, the Gists, the Quattlebums, and the Commanders—men who have labored during their natural lives to keep South Carolina just where she is. She is fast getting to the end of her mad career; but we have too much faith in the good sense of Georgia to believe that she will follow South Carolina into the fire.

A Georgian in New York.”
(New York Times, Jan. 12, 1861)

January 16, 1861

“Two Days Later from Europe.

* * *

The formidable iron-cased frigate *Warrior*, the largest man-of-war ever built, and more than 1,500 tons larger than the largest vessel in the world, after the *Great Eastern*, was safely launched into the Tames on the 29th ult. Sir John Packington himself named the ship.” (New York Times, Jan. 16, 1861)

January 19, 1861 (Saturday)	Georgia secedes.
February 1, 1861 (Friday)	Texas secedes.
February 4, 1861 (Monday)	South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana sent delegates to Montgomery, Alabama, to set up a new independent government, a provisional Confederate government.
February 9, 1861 (Saturday)	Jefferson Davis is named president of the provisional Confederate government.

February 11, 1861

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes to William Henry Seward

“New York Feb 11th 1861

Dear Governor

I took the liberty some two weeks ago of writing you in regard to an application I wanted to make – if it met your approbation/ for a position under the incoming administration alluding at the time to the friendship & good feeling of Mr [William Cullen] Bryant & the Evening Post Established generally – not having heard from you, I am at a loss what to do with a very handsome letter they sent me last week directed to the President Elect. I intended to talk with Mr. Weed on the subject today, but he passed directly through the City for Washington.

Very truly yours,

A H Schultz.”

February 18, 1861 (Monday)

Jefferson Davis is inaugurated.

February 26, 1861

“Executive Department,
Montgomery, Ala., February 26, 1861.
Hon. Howell Cobb, President of the Congress.

Sir: I hereby transmit for the advice of the Congress the following nominations, in accordance

with a resolution passed February 13, 1861, to provide for a commission to proceed to Europe under instructions to be given: W. L. Yancey, of Alabama; P.A. Rost, of Louisiana; A. Dudley Mann, of Confederate States.

Jeff'n Davis. (A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

February 28, 1861

“CIRCULAR.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 28, 1861.

Sir: You are, of course, aware that the election of last November resulted in the choice of Mr. Abraham Lincoln; that he was the candidate of the republican or anti-slavery party; that the preceding discussion had been confined almost entirely to topics connected, directly or indirectly, with the subject of negro slavery; that every northern State cast its whole electoral vote (except three in New Jersey) for Mr. Lincoln, while in the whole south the popular sentiment against him was almost absolutely universal. Some of the southern States, immediately after the election, took measures for separating themselves from the Union, and others soon followed their example.

Conventions have been called in South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and those conventions, in all except the last-named State, have passed ordinances declaring their secession from the federal government. A congress, composed of representatives from the six first-named States, has been assembled for some time at Montgomery, Alabama. By this body a provisional constitution has been framed for what it styles the ‘Confederated States of America.’

It is not improbable that persons claiming to represent the States which have thus attempted to throw off their federal obligations will seek a recognition of their independence by the Emperor of Russia. In the event of such an effort being made, you are expected by the President to use such means

as may in your judgment be proper and necessary to prevent its success.

The reasons set forth in the President's message at the opening of the present session of Congress, in support of his opinion that the States have no constitutional power to secede from the Union, are still unanswered, and are believed to be unanswerable. The grounds upon which they have attempted to justify the revolutionary act of severing the bonds which connect them with their sister States are regarded as wholly insufficient. This government has not relinquished its constitutional jurisdiction within the territory of those States, and does not desire to do so.

It must be very evident that it is the right of this government to ask of all foreign powers that the latter shall take no steps which may tend to encourage the Revolutionary movement of the seceding States, or increase the danger of disaffection in those which still remain loyal. The President feels assured that the government of the Emperor will not do anything in these affairs inconsistent with the friendship which this government has always heretofore experienced from him and his ancestors. If the independence of the 'Confederated States' should be acknowledged by the great powers of Europe it would tend to disturb the friendly relations, diplomatic and commercial, now existing between those powers and the United States. All these are consequences which the court of the Emperor will not fail to see are adverse to the interests of Russia as well as to those of this country.

Your particular knowledge of our political institutions will enable you to explain satisfactorily the causes of our present domestic troubles, and the grounds of the hope still entertained that entire harmony will soon be restored.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
J. S. BLACK.

JOHN APPLETON, Esq., &c., &c., &c.

The same, *mutatis mutandis*, to W. PRESTON, Esq., Madrid; E. G. FAIR, Esq., Brussels; THEO. S. FAY, Esq., Berne; Jos. A. WRIGHT, Esq., Berlin; J. G. JONES, Esq., Vienna; J. WILLIAMS, Esq., Constantinople; GEO. M. DALLAS, Esq., London; CHAS. J. FAULKNER, Esq., Paris; HENRY C. MURPHY, Esq., Hague.”

March 1861

“The principal facts are these: In 1849, D. C. Lowber owned a house and lot and out-buildings in the town of Louisburg, on the lake shore, in the parish of St. Tammany. He employed the husband of the plaintiff as a laborer, and probably the plaintiff herself as a servant during the summer season, whilst he remained at the watering place, and gave them an outbuilding in which to reside. During his absence they were left in charge of the place. After 1853, Lowber seems not to have returned, but to have leased the premises to others. The plaintiff and her then husband remained on the place in the house assigned them by Lowber until the death of the husband. It does not appear that Lowber’s tenants, who occupied the place from 1853 to 1856 or 1857 interfered with plaintiff’s occupancy of the out house. In 1856 or 1857, Lowber sold the property to J.F.A. Boyle, and the plaintiff married again and went to live with her present husband, Pujol.” *Looram v. Burlingame*, 16 La. Ann. 199 (Sup. Ct. of La., 1861)

March 1, 1861

“General City News.

Sale of the Adriatic—The sale of the steamship *Adriatic* to the Galway Company was the theme of conversation yesterday in Wall-street, in which no little regret was expressed that the last steamer built by Steers, and the one of which most Americans had most reason to be proud, should have passed into the hands of a foreign company, and that too at a ruinous sacrifice, as compared to her original cost. The negotiations have been going on for two months, the Panama Company, who owned five-ninths of the stock of the North Atlantic Company, against four-ninths owned by the Pacific Mail Company, opposing the sale. The influence of

Mr. Aspinwall, agent of the Galway line, in connection with the Pacific Mail Company, finally carried the day. The purchase money had not been paid, up to yesterday, but the sale was considered as concluded. The North Atlantic Company expended some \$90,000 on her engines, making her cost about \$1,200,000. She has been sold for £87,500.” (New York Times, March 1, 1861)

March 2, 1861 (Saturday)

Morrill Tariff Act passed.

“The annual meeting of the *Great Eastern* was to be held on Feb. 28. The London Express says in regard to the vessel:

‘She has been within the last two weeks considerably altered and modified under the superintendence of the Directors, who are at present putting in an entirely new deck, and, in compliance with the requirements of the Board of Trade, bushing the screw with brass, or rather gun-metal bearings. No additional capital will be required to defray the expenses of these alterations, so that the vessel may again go to sea in March. The three actions which Mr. Scott Russell has brought against the Company have, by order of the Court of Common Pleas, been consolidated into one. Mr. Russell’s claim is in all £60,000. The Company have against that gentleman a cross action of £130,000. Both causes will come on for trial next term, when it is probable they may be referred to arbitration. Mr. Hope has resigned his seat at the Board, and as yet no one has been nominated to succeed him.’ (New York Times, March 2, 1861)

“Annual Meeting of the Great Ship Company

The ordinary general meeting of the proprietors and directors of the Great Ship Company was held on Thursday, at the London Tavern. Samuel Baker, Esq., occupied the chair.

The report, the substance of which has already appeared in our columns, having been taken as read, the Chairman, in moving its adoption by the meeting, said, -- He had great pleasure in meeting

the shareholders that day, because they considered the affairs of the company were highly satisfactory, and another matter of great congratulation was, that the *Great Eastern* had proved herself, notwithstanding what had been said in her depreciation, one of the stoutest ships in the world. (Hear, hear.) The trial trip to America had been accomplished with unprecedented success, so far as the proprietors were concerned, and at a loss only of £334 7s 9d. The ship had been greatly improved since they had last met, a new deck had been laid down, and everything done that could conduce to the comfort of the passengers and the safety of the cargo she might carry in the future. The chairman then alluded to the other points mentioned in the report, and concluded by saying that he considered that the ship would prove herself a successful source of profit by being engaged in the American trade.

Mr. Baumgartner thought the failure of the ship had hitherto been owing to the mismanagement of the directors. Much was lost in the ship not being properly advertised. He thought that having once placed confidence in the directors, and they not having managed affairs at all satisfactory, they should have further assistance as to what was to be done for the future. He moved as an amendment the appointment of a committee of six practical shipowners to confer and advise with the directors as to the future management of the ship.

Mr. Chanter seconded the amendment.

After some discussion, the amendment was rejected and the report adopted.” (The Hampshire Advertiser, March 2, 1861

March 4, 1861 (Monday)

Abraham Lincoln inaugurated as President of United States.

March 5, 1861 (Tuesday)

“OUR WASHINGTON DISPATCHES.

Published: March 5, 1861

WASHINGTON, Monday, March 4.

The day to which all have looked with so much anxiety and interest has come and passed. ABRAHAM LINCOLN has been inaugurated, and 'all's well.'

At daylight the clouds were dark and heavy with rain, threatening to dampen the enthusiasm of the occasion with unwelcome showers. A few drops fell occasionally before 8 o'clock, but not enough to lay the dust, which, under the impulse of a strong northwest wind, swept down upon the avenue from the cross streets quite unpleasantly. The weather was cool and bracing, and, on the whole, favorable to the ceremonies of the day.

Mr. LINCOLN rose at 5 o'clock. After an early breakfast, the Inaugural was read aloud to him by his son ROBERT, and the completing touches were added, including the beautiful and impassioned closing paragraph. Mr. LINCOLN then retired from his family circle to his closet, where he prepared himself for the solemn and weighty responsibilities which he was about to assume.

Here he remained until it was time for an audience to Mr. SEWARD. Together these statesmen conversed concerning that paragraph of the Inaugural relating to the policy of forcing obnoxious non-resident officers upon disaffected citizens. When Mr. SEWARD departed, Mr. LINCOLN closed his door upon all visitors, until Mr. BUCHANAN called for him to escort him to the Capitol.

From early daylight the streets were thronged with people, some still carrying carpet-bags in hand, having found no quarters in which to stop.

The busy haste of preparation for the parade was soon heard on every side. The New-York delegation; over two hundred strong, formed in procession on Pennsylvania-avenue at 9 o'clock, and proceeded in a body to Mr. SEWARD's residence to pay their respects. J.H. HOBART WARD met them at the door, and JAMES

KELLEY introduced the party to Mr. SEWARD in a pertinent speech. Mr. SEWARD, from the doorstep, responded as follows:

FRIENDS, FELLOW-CITIZENS AND NEIGHBORS: I am very deeply affected by this unexpected demonstration of affection on the part of the people of the State of New-York. So many familiar faces, seen at this distance from my home, and under the circumstances which surround me, awaken memories and sympathies that I should find it difficult to describe. It is just twelve years since I came, a stranger and alone, to this Capitol, to represent the great State from which you have come in the councils of the Union. This day closes that service of twelve years -- a period which now in retrospect seems so short, and yet it has filled up the one-sixth part of the Constitutional duration of this great empire. At this hour I appear before you a voluntary citizen, but, God be thanked! a citizen now as always, of the State of New-York -- one of yourselves -- your equal -- no longer bearing the responsibilities of a representative. [Here one of the Deputy-Marshals stepped forward, and pinned a badge of the New-York delegation to Mr. SEWARD's coat, amid great cheering.] My public acts throughout that long, and to me trying period, are all upon record in the journals and debates of Congress. It is almost fearful to think that they are imperishable. Looking backward upon them, I will say and maintain here, and now, that I claim for them all the merit of good motives and honest intentions. Here in this presence, before you, a fair delegation of the constituency I have served, and in the presence of the God who is to be our Common Judge, I declare that there is not one word of that record which I desire should be obliterated. Although a representative of one State only, I have been all the while conscious that I was also a legislator for all the States -- for the whole Republic -- and I am not ashamed to appeal to every citizen of New-York and ask him to say what I have neglected. I am not afraid to appeal to every section -- to the East, to the West, to the North, and to the South, equally -- and to every State in every section, and to every man, to every woman, to every human

being, freeman or bondsman, to say whether, in any word or deed of mine, I have done him wrong. And in labors which demanded abilities I could not claim, and trials which exacted some equanimity of temper, I have here in this capital neither received nor given personal offence. I have not one enemy in this section to forgive. I knew of no one who will utter a personal complaint against me. I have done little good, indeed, -- far less than I have wished, -- but I have been sustained and supported-by the people of New-York with a generosity that is unparalleled. I know why this is so. The people of New-York are habitually constant, and faithful to conscience, to truth to liberty, to their country, and to their God. They have thought that I endeavored to be likewise faithful. I know their character well, and I know that in the new emergency which our country is now entering upon, they will be equally faithful I rely on their intelligence and their patriotism, as I do on the intelligence and patriotism of the whole people of the United States. They will preserve the inestimable legacy of civil and religious liberty which they have received from their heroic fathers. The administration which you have come here to inaugurate comes into power under circumstances of embarrassment and peril, never before known in the history of the Republic; but I believe I know the character and purposes of the Chief Magistrate: I believe that, while he will be firm, he will be also just to every State, and every section, and every citizen; that he will defend and protect the rights and interests, the peace and the prosperity, of all the States equally and alike, while he will practice the moderation that springs from virtue, and the affection that arises from patriotism in Confederated States. Under his guidance, and with the blessing of God, I believe and trust, and confidently expect, that an Administration that is inaugurated amid some distrust and painful apprehension, will close upon a reunited, restored, prosperous, free and happy Republic. The State of New-York, the greatest and most powerful of the States, will lead all other States in the way of conciliation; and as the path of wisdom is always the path of peace, so I am sure that now we shall find that the way of conciliation is the way of

wisdom." Mr. SEWARD was greatly affected during the delivery of his speech, which was frequently applauded, and followed by three hearty cheers. A gentleman standing near, who was evidently captured by the Senator, exclaimed: "I am a Virginian, and a Southern man all over, but I'll trust that man anywhere. I've watched his course for a long time, and I know he's honest." Mr. SEWARD shook hands with the delegation and then retired.

It was nearly noon when Mr. BUCHANAN started from the White House with the Inaugural procession, which halted before Willard's Hotel to receive the President elect. The order of march you will get from other sources, and I will only observe that the carriage containing Mr. BUCHANAN and Mr. LINCOLN, was a simple open brett, surrounded by the President's mounted guard, in close order, as a guard of honor.

The procession, as usual, was behind-hand a little, but its order was excellent. Nothing noteworthy occurred on the route. As it ascended the Capitol hill, towards the north gate, the company of United States Cavalry and the President's mounted guard took their positions each side of the carriage-way, and thus guarded the inclosed passage-way by which the President's party entered the north wing of the Capitol to go to the Senate Chamber.

The procession halted until the President and suite entered, and then filed through the troops aforesaid into the grounds.

On the east front, the military took their positions in the grounds in front of the platform, but the United States troops maintained their places outside until the line took up the President and party again after the ceremonies were over, to escort them back to the White House.

The arrangements at the Capitol were admirably designed, and executed so that everybody who was entitled to admission got in, and everybody who could not go in could see from without. The Senate Chamber was the great point of attraction, but only

the favored few were admitted upon the floor, while the galleries were reserved for and occupied by a select number of ladies. The scene which transpired there was most memorable, producing a great and solemn impression upon all present. Mr. BRIGHT spent all the morning in talking against time on some Gas Company's bill, greatly to the amusement of Senators, and the ill-concealed annoyance of spectators, who expected to hear some good speaking.

A few moments before 12 o'clock, Mr. BRECKINRIDGE came in with Mr. HAMLIN upon his arm, and, together, they sat by the side of the President's desk until noon, when, assuming the Chair, Mr. BRECKINRIDGE said:

SENATORS: In taking final leave of this position, I shall ask a few moments in which to tender to you my grateful acknowledgments for the resolution declaring your approval of the manner in which I have discharged my duties, and to express my deep sense of the uniform courtesy which, as the presiding officer, I have received from the members of this body. If I have committed errors your generous forbearance refused to rebuke them, and during the whole period of my service I have never appealed in vain to your justice or charity. The memory of these acts will ever be cherished among the most grateful recollections of my life, and for my successor I can express no better wish than that he may enjoy the [??] of mutual confidence which so happily have marked our intercourse. Now, gentlemen of the Senate and officers of the Senate, from whom I have received so many kind offices, accept my gratitude and cordial wishes for your prosperity and welfare.

The oath was then administered to Vice-President HAMLIN, who announced his readiness to take it in a full, firm tone. Mr. BRECKINRIDGE took him by the hand, and led him to the chair, after which, crossing over to Mr. SEWARD, he shook hands and extended greetings with him, and took his seat as the newly elected Senator. The Vice-President

rapped to order, and addressed the Senate as follows:

SANATORS: The experience of several years in this body has taught me something of the duties of the presiding officer, and with a stern, inflexible purpose to discharge these duties faithfully, relying upon the courtesy and cooperation of Senators, and invoking the aid of Divine Providence, I am now ready to take the oath required by the Constitution, and to enter upon the discharge of the official duties assigned me by the confidence of a generous people.

The Senate now waited in silence for the President elect. Gradually those entitled to the floor entered. The Diplomatic Corps, in full court dress, came quite early. The Supreme Court followed, headed by the venerable Chief Justice TANEY, who looked as if he had come down from several generations, and finally the House of Representatives filed in. For at least an hour Mr. HAMLIN was acting President of the United States, but at length, a little after 1 o'clock, the doors opened, and the expected dignitaries were announced.

Mr. BUCHANAN and Mr. LINCOLN entered, arm in arm, the former pale, sad, nervous; the latter's face slightly flushed, with compressed lips. For a few minutes, while the oath was administered to Senator PEARCE, they sat in front of the President's desk. Mr. BUCHANAN sighed audibly, and frequently, but whether from reflection upon the failure of his Administration, I can't say. Mr. LINCOLN was grave and impassive as an Indian martyr. When all was ready, the party formed, and proceeded to the platform erected in front of the eastern portico. The appearance of the President elect was greeted, as he entered from the door of the rotunda, with immense cheering by the many thousand citizens assembled in the grounds, filling the square and open space, and perching on every tree, fence or stone affording a convenient point from which to see or hear. In a few minutes the portico was also densely crowded with both sexes. On the front of the steps was erected a small

wooden canopy, under which were seated Mr. BUCHANAN, Chief-Justice TANEY, Senators CHASE and BAKER, and the President elect, white at the left of the small table on which was placed the Inaugural, stood Col. SELDEN, Marshal of the District, an exponent of the security which existed there for the man and the ceremonies of the hour. At the left of the canopy, sat the entire Diplomatic Corps, dressed in gorgeous attire, evidently deeply impressed with the solemnity of the occasion, and the importance of the simple ceremony about to be performed. Beyond them was the Marine band, which played several patriotic airs before and after the reading of the address. To the right of the diplomats sat in solemn dignity, in silk gowns and hats, the members of the Supreme Court. Then came Senators, members of the House, distinguished guests and fair ladies by the score, while the immediate right of the canopy was occupied by the son and Private Secretaries of Mr. LINCOLN. Perched up on one side, hanging on by the railing, surrounding the statue of COLUMBUS and an Indian girl, was Senator WIGFALL, witnessing the pageant.

Everything being in readiness, Senator BAKER came forward and said:

"FELLOW-CITIZENS: I introduce to you ABRAHAM LINCOLN, the President elect of the United States of America."

Whereupon, Mr. LINCOLN arose, walked deliberately and composedly to the table, and bent low in honor of the repeated and enthusiastic cheering of the countless host before him. Having put on his spectacles, he arranged his manuscript on the small table, keeping the paper thereon by the aid of his cane, and commenced in a clear, ringing voice, that was easily heard by those on the outer limits of the crowd, to read his first address to the people, as President of the United States.

The opening sentence, "Fellow-citizens of the United States," was the signal for prolonged applause, the good Union sentiment thereof striking

a tender chord in the popular breast. Again, when, after defining certain actions to be his duty, he said, "And I shall perform it," there was a spontaneous, and uproarious manifestation of approval, which continued for some moments. Every sentence which indicated firmness in the Presidential chair, and every statement of a conciliatory nature, was cheered to the echo; while his appeal to his "dissatisfied fellow-countrymen," desiring them to reflect calmly, and not hurry into false steps, was welcomed by one and all, most heartily and cordially. The closing sentence "upset the watering pot" of many of his hearers, and at this point alone did the melodious voice of the President elect falter.

Judge TANEY did not remove his eyes from Mr. LINCOLN during the entire delivery, while Mr. BUCHANAN, who was probably sleepy and tired, sat looking as straight as he could at the toe of his right boot. Mr. DOUGLAS, who stood by the right of the railing, was apparently satisfied, as he exclaimed, sotto voce, "Good," "That's so," "No coercion," and "Good again."

After the delivery of the address Judge TANEY stood up, and all removed their hats, while he administered the oath to Mr. LINCOLN. Speaking in a low tone the form of the oath, he signified to Mr. LINCOLN, that he should repeat the words, and in a firm but modest voice, the President took the oath as prescribed by the law, while the people, who waited until they saw the final bow, tossed their hats, wiped their eyes, cheered at the top of their voices, hurraed themselves hoarse, and had the crowd not been so very dense, they would have demonstrated in more lively ways, their joy, satisfaction and delight.

Judge TANEY was the first person who shook hands with Mr. LINCOLN, and was followed by Mr. BUCHANAN, CHASE, DOUGLAS, and a host of minor great men. A Southern gentleman, whose name I did not catch, seized him by the hand, and said, "God bless you, my dear Sir; you will save us." To which Mr. LINCOLN replied, "I am very glad that what I have said causes pleasure to

Southerners, because I then know they are pleased with what is right."

On the steps were Gov. KING, and many influential New-Yorkers; Govs. HOPPIN and SPRAGUE, of Rhode Island; BUCKINGHAM, of Connecticut, and the entire Cabinet of the outgoing Administration.

In reply to questions, Mr. BUCHANAN said, with a wretched and suspicious leer, "I cannot say what he means until I read his Inaugural; I cannot understand the secret meaning of the document, which has been simply read in my hearing."

Mr. DOUGLAS said, "He does not mean coercion; he says nothing about retaking the forts, or Federal property -- he's all right."

Subsequently, to another querist, DOUGLAS said: "Well, I hardly know what he means. Every point in the address is susceptible of a double construction; but I think he does not mean coercion." After delaying a little upon the platform, Mr. LINCOLN, and Mr. BUCHANAN, arm in arm, and followed by a few privileged persons, proceeded at a measured pace to the Senate Chamber, and thence to the President's Room, while the Band played "Hail Columbia" "Yankee Doodle" and the "Star Spangled Banner." In a short time the procession was reformed, and in state, the President and Ex-President were conducted to the White House.

After a few moments' rest, Mr. LINCOLN granted an audience to the Diplomatic Corps, who with great pomp and ceremony, were the first to pay their respects to, and congratulate the President at his new home. Then the doors were opened, and the people, like a flooding tide, rushed in upon him. The Marshals, forming a double line of guards, kept all rudeness at a distance, and everything went off with great success, and to the eminent satisfaction of all concerned.

The thirty-four little girls who personated the several States of the Union, and rode in a gaily

decorated car in the procession, halted at the door while they sang "Hail Columbia;" after which they were received by the President, who gave to each and all of them a hearty and good-natured salute.

After Mr. LINCOLN had been well shaken, the doors were closed, and the Marshals of the day were personally introduced to him. He thanked them for the admirable arrangements of the day, and congratulated them upon the successful termination of their duties.

They then retired, and the President repaired to his private apartment, somewhat overcome by the fatigue and excitement of the day, but thankful that all things had been so very pleasant, and that literally nothing had occurred to mar the perfect harmony of the occasion.

While conservative people are in raptures over the Inaugural, it cannot be denied that many Southerners look upon it as a precursor of war. They probably will take a calmer view to-morrow. Mr. WEED is delighted with it, and even Mr. WIGFALL publicly declares it a most able paper, certainly. Its conciliatory tone, and frank, outspoken declaration of loyalty to the whole country, captured the hearts of many heretofore opposed to Mr. LINCOLN, and its firm enunciation of purpose to fulfil his oath to maintain the Constitution and laws, challenge universal respect.

The arrangements for the preservation of the peace were admirable. A large special police, with conspicuous badges, were distributed all along the line of procession, and about the Capitol, but their mere presence was generally sufficient to insure order. In a few cases, where individual fights occurred, they interposed so promptly as to prevent a collision becoming general. So, too, they immediately dispersed every gathering of people who manifested the least improper excitement, or attempted to vociferate sentiments intended to be offensive or incendiary.

The several companies of United States Artillery, all under arms, were on the street near their quarters, with horses hitched up, and riders standing by their side, ready to vault into the saddle at an instant's notice. Files of mounted troops were stationed at different points of the City to convey to Head-quarters prompt intelligence of any disturbance.

The turn-out of the District militia was quite imposing. The Washington Light Infantry looked remarkably well. They are a fine-looking set of young men. The National Rifles, the corps whose secession sympathies are well understood here, failed to participate in the parade, but I understand they were on duty at the Armory, ready to turn out if needed to aid in the preserving of the peace.

Early in the forenoon, when the flag was unfurled upon the Capitol, one of the halliards gave way, and, splitting in two, the flag flung out like a pennant. For a long while it could not be taken down, though finally an adventurous man climbed to the top of the staff, and, tearing away the ill-omened standard, replaced it with an entire flag of the Union.

After the Inaugural procession dispersed, large numbers of strangers in town pulled out of their pockets, and mounted the peculiar cap-cover designating Wide-Awakes, thus demonstrating the fact that they are here in large force.” (New York Times, March 5, 1861)

March 8, 1861 (Friday)

“Great Britain.

* * *

The Great Eastern, according to the Daily News, is to leave England the first week in March, for Norfolk, Va., where she has been guaranteed a cargo, chiefly of cotton, for England, the freight of which will amount to \$75,000.” (New York Times, March 8, 1861)

March 9, 1861

“CIRCULAR.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 9, 1861.

Sir: My predecessor, in his despatch, number 10, addressed to you on the 28th of February last, instructed you to use all proper and necessary measures to prevent the success of efforts which may be made by persons claiming to represent those States of this Union in whose name a provisional government has been announced to procure a recognition of their independence by the government of Spain.

I am now instructed by the President of the United States to inform you that, having assumed the administration of the government in pursuance of an unquestioned election and on the directions of the Constitution, he renews the injunction which I have mentioned, and relies upon the exercise of the greatest possible diligence; and fidelity on your part to counteract and prevent the designs of those who would invoke foreign intervention to embarrass or overthrow the republic.

When you reflect on the novelty of such designs, their unpatriotic and revolutionary character, and the long train of evils which must follow directly or consequentially from even their partial or temporary success, the President feels assured that you will justly appreciate and cordially approve the caution which prompts this communication.

I transmit herewith a copy of the address pronounced by the President on taking the constitutional oath of office. It sets forth clearly the errors of the misguided partisans who are seeking to dismember the Union, the grounds on which the conduct of those partisans is disallowed, and also the general policy which the government will pursue with a view to the preservation of domestic peace and order, and the maintenance and preservation of the federal Union.

You will lose no time in submitting this address to the Spanish minister for foreign affairs,

and in assuring him that the President of the United States entertains a full confidence in the speedy restoration of the harmony and unity of the government by a firm, yet just and liberal bearing, cooperating with the deliberate and loyal action of the American people.

You will truthfully urge upon the Spanish government the consideration that the present disturbances have had their origin only in popular passions, excited under novel circumstances of very transient character, and that while not one person of well-balanced mind has attempted to show that dismemberment of the Union would be permanently conducive to the safety and welfare of even his own State or section, much less of all the States and sections of our country, the people themselves still retain and cherish a profound confidence in our happy Constitution, together with a veneration and affection for it such as no other form of government ever received at the hands of those for whom it was established.

We feel free to assume that it is the general conviction of men, not only here but in all other countries, that this federal Union affords a better system than any other that could be contrived to assure the safety, the peace, the prosperity, the welfare, and the happiness of all the States of which it is composed. The position of these States, and their mining, agricultural, manufacturing, commercial, political, and social relations and influences, seem to make it permanently the interest of all other nations that our present political system shall be unchanged and undisturbed. Any advantage that any foreign nation might derive from a connection that it might form with any dissatisfied or discontented portion, State, or section even if not altogether illusory, would be ephemeral, and would be overbalanced by the evils it would suffer from a disseverance of the whole Union, whose manifest policy it must be hereafter, as it has always been heretofore, to maintain peace, liberal commerce, and cordial amity with all other nations, and to favor the establishment of well-ordered government over the whole American continent.

Nor do we think we exaggerate our national importance when we claim that any political disaster that should befall us, and introduce discord or anarchy among the States that have so long constituted one great pacific, prosperous nation, under a form of government which has approved itself to the respect and confidence of mankind, might tend by its influence to disturb and unsettle the existing systems of government in other parts of the world, and arrest that progress of improvement and civilization which marks the era in which we live.

The United States have had too many assurances and manifestations of the friendship and good will of her Catholic Majesty to entertain any doubt that these considerations, and such others as your own large experience of the working of our federal system will suggest, will have their just influence with her, and will prevent her Majesty's government from yielding to solicitations to intervene in any unfriendly way in the domestic concerns of our country. The President regrets that the events going on here may be productive of some possible inconvenience to the people and subjects of Spain but he is determined that those inconveniences shall be made as light and as transient as possible, and, so far as it may rest with him, that all strangers who may suffer any injury from them shall be amply indemnified. The President expects that you will be prompt in transmitting to this department any information you may receive on the subject of the attempts which have suggested this communication.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

W. PRESTON, Esq., Madrid.

The same, *mutatis mutandis*, to E. G. FAIR, Esq., Brussels; THEO. S. FAY, Esq., Berne; Jos. A. WRIGHT, Esq., Berlin; J. G. JONES, Esq., Vienna; J. WILLIAMS, Esq., Constantinople; GEO. M. DALLAS, Esq., London; CHAS. J. FAULKNER,

Esq., Paris; JOHN APPLETON, Esq., St. Petersburg; .HENRY O. MURPHY, Esq., Hague.”

March 13, 1861 (Wednesday)

“The steamship Great Eastern is advertised to sail the first week in March for Norfolk, Va., where she has been guaranteed a cargo of cotton, the freight on which amounts to \$75,000.” (Middletown, N.Y. Banner of Liberty, March 13, 1861). It is announced that the Great Eastern “will go to the Southern States which had but newly seceded from the Union.” (*Emmerson* at 98)

The Great Eastern.

The Directors of the Great Ship Company had compiled a report that was to be presented to the shareholders at a public meeting to be held at the London Tavern at the 28th ult. They congratulate the shareholders that the trial trip to New-York was made at a loss of only £344 odd. As explained in their previous report it was their intention to have dispatched the ship on a second voyage to New-York on the 17th of October last, but after considering the requirements of the Board of Trade for one voyage only, and the very imperfect state of the decks laid down by Mr. J. Scott Russell under his contract, the directors, with the advice and concurrence of some of the largest proprietors, whom they invited to confer with them on the subject, abandoned that intention. They then reduced the staff and all other expenses as much as possible, and proceeded with the alterations and repairs. The bearing of the screw shaft was far the most serious task. By very skillful arrangements the necessity of removing the shaft from the ship was overcome, and the work has made such progress as to leave no reasonable doubt of its satisfactory completion, together with the feed pumps to the paddle-boilers recommended by the Board of Trade, in the ensuing month. The main deck has been sheathed with 1 3/4 inch boards over a layer of tarred patent felt, thus forming a double deck. The directors believe that by these means the deck (hitherto a constant source of injury and annoyance) will be water-tight, and the inconveniences thoroughly removed. The saloon and cargo decks have been caulked, and many other minor but

important works are in progress. The question of future employment for the ship has hitherto baffled the directors in their endeavors to obtain sufficient passengers and freight to remunerate the proprietors. They hope the voyage to America has, in a great degree, removed the impediment. The passengers unanimously expressed their appreciation of the ease and comfort they enjoyed, and the total absence of seasickness, even to the most sensitive. Her excellence as a sea boat has now been proved, and notwithstanding the inevitable disadvantages of an experimental voyage, the Directors can now place full reliance on her steady speed. They believe another successful voyage to America will establish the desired confidence, and that she might then be profitably employed in any trade where her great capacity and power can be developed. It is clear that by a computation of her speed now established, she would accomplish a voyage to India or Australia within forty days, upon a ration of consumption of coals far below that of other steamships. The directors have, therefore, resolved upon dispatching the ship to America early in April next, and they hope that the receipts from all sources will at least equal the expenditure, as experience has proved that the working expenses of this ship may be reduced to the ordinary charges of merchant steamers, which reduction your directors are determined to effect.” (New York Times, March 13, 1861)

March 16, 1861 (Saturday)

William L. Yancey and Pierre A. Rost sail to England, via Havana.

“Department of State, Montgomery, March 16, 1861.

William L. Yancey, Pierre A. Rost, A. Dudley Mann, Esquires.

Gentlemen: You have been appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of Congress, Special Commissioners to Europe. Herewith you will receive your commissions as such to Great Britain, France, Russia, and Belgium, together with the usual letters of credence and

introduction, accrediting and empowering you to represent the Confederate States near the Governments of those countries. In view of the importance of the mission with which you are charged, it is desirable that you should proceed to London with all dispatch consistent with your convenience, and enter upon the discharge of your duties. As shortly after your arrival at that city as you may deem judicious, you will seek an interview with Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary for Foreign Affairs and communicate to him the object which you are deputed to accomplish.

You will inform him that the several Commonwealths comprising the Confederate States of America have, by act of their people in convention assembled, severed their connection with the United States; have reassumed the powers which they delegated to the Federal Government for certain specified purposes, under the compact known as the Constitution of the United States; and have formed an independent Government, perfect in all its branches, and endowed with every attribute of sovereignty and power necessary to entitle them to assume a place among the nations of the world. Although it will not be necessary to enter into a detailed statement of the reason which impelled the people of the Confederate States to dissolve their union with the United States, it may be well to allude to some of the more prominent of the causes which produced that result, in order to show that the step was not taken hastily or passionately, but after long, patient, and mature deliberation, when the people became convinced that their honor, and social and material welfare, demanded separation as the best means by which those vital interests could be preserved. You can point with force to the efforts which have been persistently made by the manufacturing States of the North to compel the agricultural interests of the South, out of the proceeds of their industry, to pay bounties to Northern manufacturers in the shape of high protective duties on foreign imports. Since the year 1828, whenever they had the power, the manufacturing Northern States, disregarding the obligations of our compact, in violation of the

principles of justice and fair dealing, and in contempt of all remonstrance and entreaty, have carried this policy to great extremes, to the serious detriment of the industry and enterprise of the South. This policy, the injustice of which is strikingly illustrated by the high protective tariff just adopted by the Government at Washington, furnishes a strong additional vindication of the wisdom of the action of the Confederate States, especially in the estimation of those countries whose commercial interest, like those of Great Britain, are diametrically opposed to protective tariffs. When, however, in addition to this system, by which millions were annually extorted from our people to foster Northern monopolies, the attempt was made to overthrow the constitutional barriers by which our prosperity, our social system, and our right to control our own institutions were protected, separation from associates who recognized no law but self-interest and the power of numerical superiority became a necessity dictated by the instincts of self-preservation. You will not fail to explain that in withdrawing from the United States the Confederate States have not violated any obligations of allegiance. They have merely exercised the sovereignty, which they have possessed since their separation from Great Britain and jealously guarded, by revoking the authority which, for defined purposes and within defined limits, they had voluntarily delegated to the General Government, and by reassuming themselves the exercise of the authority so delegated. In consummating this act of separation, no public or private interest has suffered the least shock or detriment. No right has been impaired, no obligation has been forfeited. Everywhere in the Confederate States order and respect for individual and collective rights have been scrupulously observed.

The Confederate States, therefore, present themselves for admission into the family of independent nations, and ask for that acknowledgement and friendly recognition which are due to every people capable of self-government

and possessed of the power to maintain their independence.

The Confederate States have a well-organized Government instituted by the free will of their citizens, in the active exercise of all the functions of sovereignty, and are capable of defending themselves. The Constitution which their Congress has just unanimously adopted (a copy of which, duly authenticated by this Department, you will hand to Her Britannic Majesty's Secretary of Foreign Affairs) is the best proof which you can afford of the wisdom, moderation, and justice which have guided their counsels.

One of the Confederate States (Alabama) has, already, by an almost unanimous vote of her convention, ratified that instrument; and, doubtless, long before you reach your destination all the other States of the Confederacy will have accepted it with equal unanimity as their fundamental law. It is the confident expectation of the President and people of the Confederate States that the enlightened Government of Great Britain will speedily acknowledge our independence and welcome us among the nations of the world. The recent course which the British Government pursued in relation to the recognition of the right of the Italian people to change their form of government and choose their own rulers encourages this Government to hope that they will pursue a similar policy in regard to the Confederate States. Reasons no less grave and valid than those which actuated the people of Sicily and Naples to cast off a government not of their choice and detrimental to their interests have impelled the people of the Confederate States to dissolve the compact with the United States, which, diverted from the just and beneficent purposes of its founders, had become dangerous to their peace, prosperity, and interest. Representations may, however, be made to the British Government by the Government at Washington, that our existence as an independent country will be of but temporary duration, and that we can be induced by certain concessions to reenter the Union, from which we recently severed our connection. If an impression of

this kind has been or shall be made upon the British Ministry, you will leave no exertions unemployed for its definite removal. I need not assure you that neither the Government nor the citizens of the Confederate States of America regard such an occurrence as within the range of possibility.

Our experience of the past, our hopes of the future, unite us cordially in a resolute purpose not again to identify our political fortunes with the Northern States. If we were not secure in our rights and property under such an instrument as the Constitution of the United States, we see no reasonable prospect of securing them by additional guarantees. You will therefore steadily maintain, in your intercourse with foreign functionaries and otherwise, that in every contingency the Confederate States are resolute in their purpose to preserve and perpetuate their national independence. The Confederate States assume the position in the firm conviction that thus alone can they secure their future happiness and tranquility, and that they have the moral and physical strength to hold and cause their position to be respected. Against the only power which is at all likely to question our independence and disturb our peace, the United States, we possess abundant means for successful defense. In the first place, we are in a condition now to bring into the field 100,000 well-armed troops, and, should they be required, this number could be increased almost to the extent of our arms-bearing population. Secondly, should the United States, actuated by lust of dominion, numerical superiority, or the fancied possession of a right to compel our allegiance to them, determine to invade our soil or otherwise assail us, they would have to contend not only against the 5,000,000 of people of the Confederate States, but against the 8,000,000 also who inhabit the eight other States allied to us by community of institutions and interest, and by geographical position, and who, although they have not as yet resolved to sever their connection with the United States, would do so immediately, and join us in arms, the moment the first gun was fired against us by order of the Government of the United States. The resolutions of

the popular conventions of those States amply attest the accuracy of this calculation. Thirdly, you are aware that in most, if not all, of the Northern States large and influential portions of the population have manifested the most determined opposition to any attempt to force us to reunite ourselves to our late confederates. Fourthly, you will remember that the Government of the United States is at this time wholly destitute of the power and the means to commence an aggressive war.

The legislative branch of the Government has refused, by omitting to make the necessary provisions for that purpose, to arm the Executive with any authority to make war.

It is needless also to point out in what condition the United States would be placed were they to be entirely cut off from our custom for their manufactures, and our \$250,000,000 of produce for their commerce and exchange. This combination of powerful inducements to preserve peace on the part of the United States, together with the large material strength and resources which we possess, renders it apparent to every observer that we have no unusual reasons to fear war. As soon as you shall be received officially by Great Britain, you will propose to negotiate a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation, and you are accordingly furnished herewith with full powers for that purpose. The principal aim of the Confederate States in their policy with foreign Governments is peace and commerce.

It will be their constant care to employ every means consistent with honor to maintain the one and extend the other. In their traffic with foreign countries, they intend to act upon that wise maxim of political economy: 'Buy where you can buy cheapest, and sell where you can sell dearest.'

Import duties for mere revenue purposes, so moderate as to closely approximate free trade, will render their markets peculiarly accessible to the manufactories of Europe, while their liberal navigation system will present valuable attraction to

countries largely engaged in that enterprising pursuit. It must be borne in mind that nearly one-half of all the Atlantic coast and the whole of the Mexican Gulf lately within the boundaries of the United States are present within the boundaries of the Confederate States. The Confederate States produce nearly nineteen-twentieths of all the cotton grown in the States which recently constituted the United States. There is no extravagance in the assertion that the gross amount of the annual yield of the manufactories of Great Britain from the cotton of the Confederate States reaches \$600,000,000. The British Ministry will comprehend fully the condition to which the British realm would be reduced if the supply of our staple should suddenly fail or even be considerably diminished. A delicate allusion to the probability of such an occurrence might not be unkindly received by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, an occurrence, I will add, that is inevitable if this country shall be involved in protracted hostilities with the North. The President feels no hesitation in authorizing you to enter into such stipulations as in your judgment will be most advantageous to this country, subject, of course, to his approval and that of the coordinate branch of the treaty-making power. You are further to express to the British Minister the willingness of this Government to assume the obligations of the treaties concluded between the United States and Great Britain now in force.

The only exception is in reference to the clause of the treaty of Washington (known as the Ashburton treaty) which obliges the United States to maintain a naval force on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the African slave trade. It is not in our power to comply with this obligation. We have prohibited the African slave trade, and intend in good faith to prevent it in our country. But we are not prepared at this time to aid the rest of the world in promoting that object. When the object of your mission to London is accomplished, you will proceed to Paris and thence to Brussels, St. Petersburg, and such other places as the President may hereafter direct.

The arguments which you will use with Great Britain to induce her to establish relations with the Confederate States may be employed with France and the other countries to which you are accredited. With each of these countries you will propose to negotiate treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation similar to that which you will propose to Great Britain, subject to the same reservations as to ratification here. You will correspond, as frequently as occasion may require, with this Department, transmitting your dispatches by such conveyances as you may deem the most safe and expeditious.

I remain, gentlemen, very respectfully yours,

R. Toombs.

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

“Department of State, Montgomery, March 16, 1861.

William L. Yancey, Pierre A. Rost, A. Dudley Mann, Esquires.

Gentlemen: Herewith you will receive the following papers, documents, and books, which will be found necessary or useful to you in the discharge of the mission to which you have been appointed:

1. Letters of credence to the Governments of Great Britain, France, Russia, and Belgium.
2. Letters of introduction to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of those countries.
3. A special passport for yourselves and the persons of your suite.
4. A set of laws of the United States and pamphlet copies of recent laws.

5. A copy of Wheaton's International Law.

(These books are for the use of the Commission, and at the termination of your mission are to remain with the representative of the Confederate States at London or to be returned to this Department.)

6. A sample of dispatch paper.

Your allowance, as limited by law, is \$1,000 per month for each of the Commissioners. By a general rule, the salary commences from the time of the Commissioner's acceptance of his appointment, and ceases on his receiving notice or permission to return. The cost of newspapers, gazettes, pamphlets, etc., transmitted to the Department, of postage, stationery, and other necessary and customary expenses, is not considered as included under the denomination of personal expenses, and will form, as contingencies of the Commission, a separate charge in your accounts. But no contingent expenses are to be incurred without necessity, or in compliance with the established usages; and no charge of any other description will be admitted, unless warranted by express directions from this Department. Exact vouchers in all cases of expenditure will be requisite for the settlement of your accounts, and as some of these incidental charges are of a nature scarcely admitted of any other sort of voucher for every item, a separate account of them should be kept and certified by the Secretary of the Commission.

These particulars are thus minutely stated that you may be relieved from all doubt on the subject of your accounts, which, you will remember, are to be regularly transmitted by duplicates for adjustment at the Treasury at the close of every quarter ending with June, September, December, and March.

Among the most important of your duties is that of transmitting to this Government accurate information of the policy and views of the

government to which are you accredited and of the character and vicissitudes of its important relations with other European powers. To acquire this information, and particularly to discriminate between that which is authentic and that which is spurious, require steady and impartial observation, a free though cautious correspondence with the other agents of the Confederate States abroad, and friendly social relations with the members of the diplomatic body at the places where you reside. In your correspondence with this Department, beside the current general and particular politics of the country where you are to reside, you will be mindful, as far as you may find it convenient, to collect and transmit information of every kind relating to the government, finances, commerce, arts, sciences, and condition of the nation, which is not already known, and may be made useful to our country. Books of travel containing statistical or other information of political importance, historical works not before in circulation, authentic maps published by authority of the State or distinguished by extraordinary reputation, and publications of new and useful discoveries will always be acceptable acquisitions to this Department. The expense of procuring and transmitting them will form in your account a separate charge to the Department. But no such charge of any considerable amount is to be incurred in any one account without a previous express direction for it from this Department.

It is the practice of the European Governments, in the drawing up of their treaties with each other, to vary the order of naming the parties and of the signatures of the plenipotentiaries in the counterparts of the same treaty, so that each party is first named and its plenipotentiary signs first in the copy possessed and published by itself; and in treaties drawn up between parties using different languages, and executed in both, each party is first named and its plenipotentiary signs first in the copy executed in its own language. This practice having been accidentally omitted on one or two occasions to be observed by the United States, the omission was followed by indications of a

disposition in certain European Governments to question its application to them. It became, therefore, proper to insist upon it, as was accordingly done with effect. As it is understood to involve a principle, you will consider it a standing instruction to adhere to this alternation in the conclusion of any treaty, convention, or other document to be jointly signed by you with the plenipotentiary of the other power.

You are re-requested to provide yourself with a sufficient supply of dispatch paper, in size and quality corresponding with same sent herewith, to be exclusively used in your correspondence with this Department. It has been found highly convenient and useful to have the original dispatches from our Ministers abroad bound up in volumes. For this purpose, with a view to uniformity, the dispatches should be regularly numbered, and, with the copies made at the Commission of all papers transmitted with them, should be written on paper of the same dimensions, with the edges uncut, for stitching and cutting off the edges without injury to the text. Minute as these particulars appear, they are found to be essential to the good order and convenience of business in the Department.

I have the honor to be very respectfully,

R. Toombs

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

March 19, 1861 (Tuesday)

“Direct Trade of the South with Europe.

Mr. T. Butler King left this port for Europe, in a recent steamer, to be immediately followed by William L. Yancey, P. A. Rost, and A. Dudley Mann, Commissioners, for the purpose of presenting the new Confederacy to the favorable consideration of the old world, and of opening the era of “direct trade with Europe,” so long sighed for at the South. Mr. King was long a prominent Whig politician in Georgia, and afterward Collector of the

port of San Francisco. On leaving this office he turned a somerset into the Democratic ranks, and followed that party into secession. His most recent exploit was in connection with the Southern Pacific Railroad. It is enough to say that he left each one of the specialties named with a greatly weakened reputation. His associates have been less conspicuously before the public, but they are all known to be first-class dreamers seeking to effect by some charm or incantation what elsewhere comes of hard work. That everything valuable costs in proportion, is a lesson our Southern brethren can never learn. Mr. A. Dudley Mann has been laboring, we know not how many years, to realize that philosopher's stone, that perennial fountain of wealth and felicity—"direct trade." How eloquently has he painted the beauty of the Sunny South, its vast productiveness, and its spacious harbor of Norfolk, and how this should be the centre of the commercial system of the United States. But all this vast wealth the barbarous hordes of the North remorselessly devour, while the Lower Chesapeake is still the favorite haunt of the canvas-back as it was two hundred years ago, undisturbed by the busy life and hum of industry, that frightened long ago from Northern waters.

We can equal none of these gentlemen in their peculiar eloquence, the flow of which is never checked by the limitations of experience, which almost destroyed this faculty at the North. Every man can be eloquent when his fancies stand to him for sober realities. But we think we can state their case to the "nations of Europe" in one-half the space and time they can, and with their permission, we will proceed to execute this piece of gratuitous service.

Of Southern products, some \$150,000,000 worth annually go directly to Europe. The proceeds of this return directly to the North. The North are rich—the South poor. Hence the inference to the Southern mind is irresistible, that in some way or other they are humbugged out of a large portion of the annual profits of their industry. They cannot detect the manner, consequently they are

determined to put a stop to the imposition by bringing home to their own ports the proceeds of their crops, and administering upon them themselves. The speech of the Commissioners to the European nations, consequently, will be, “Open friendly relations with us, and we will purchase direct from you \$150,000,000 worth of merchandise, which we now buy at the North.”

This is a tempting offer. Suppose the proposition to be accepted. Let us see how far the Commissioners could carry out their part of the agreement.

The South produces one staple—Cotton. This, to them, is neither food, clothing, nor shelter. They raise some Indian corn, and make some bacon, but still import vast quantities of both from the Northwest, from which, the present year, they must almost entirely be supplied. Food, consequently, cannot be one of the articles of the “direct trade.” Suppose the Cotton States to take \$25,000,000 worth from other States, this debt must be paid in a manner most convenient to the creditors. The St. Louis and Cincinnati merchants will not take their money at Mobile or New Orleans, but at New York. The amount of such debts consequently must be deducted from the “direct trade.” In the same way the South purchases very largely of the manufactures of the West—furniture, iron in all its forms, domestic and farming utensils, &c., &c. These, from the contiguity of the points of production and consumption; from the cheapness of transportation, and from the raw materials used, and from the faculty of the manufacturer to adapt them to the particular service required, cannot be had so cheaply, or of so good a quality, from any other quarter. The same is true of other articles for domestic use imported from the Eastern States—machinery of all kinds, hats, caps, boots, ready-made clothing, nails, glass, carriages, wooden-ware, &c., &c. These facts are nowhere more distinctly admitted than by the sensible men of the South, as will be seen by the following extract from the Augusta Chronicle, one of the ablest and most candid papers in the planting States:

‘To the North we shall continue to look for our supplies of manufactured articles, because nowhere else can they be manufactured so cheaply. Commerce seeks the mart where it buy cheapest and sell dearest, and takes no heed of prejudice or passion when its interest is at stake. The expectation that Europe will supplant Northern manufactures in our markets is fallacious. Contiguity alone gives the North an immense advantage over Europe, and the North has other advantages besides. Even now, many descriptions of Northern goods are exported to European countries, and compete with their own manufactures, even in their own markets. We need not expect that direct trade and high duties will give the supremacy to Europe over Northern goods, for high duties will fall equally on both; there can be no discrimination if amicable relations continue.’

‘Direct trade,’ then, must be reduced in volume just to the degree that the South can be better supplied from the North than other sources. From the former they must continue to import nine-tenths of what they consume. We have carefully read all their arguments on this subject, and we are yet to see the first article named which is to be imported from Europe, to supplant a similar one regularly received from the North. We challenge the Confederate Commissioners to name an exception. Are they farming utensils? France and England would be a queer place to go for such articles, in the excellence of which these countries are acknowledged to be fifty years behind ourselves. If they were equally skillful, everything in this country differs so much from theirs, that they could never meet our case. Boots and shoes can be had in the Northern States at one-third their cost in London or Paris. So with carriages of all kinds. One may go through the whole catalogue of Southern wants with the same answer.

Here is demonstration, not dreams, which, under all political conditions, leave ‘direct trade’ just where it has been. The South do not import directly, because Europeans have nothing to offer that they want. A change of political relations is not

followed by a change of material ones. Capital and labor are getting to be as abundant at the North as in Europe. We have a vastly greater degree of inventive skill. We have proximity to the consumer. We understand the country in which we live. We can give credit from a knowledge of the parties, which a foreigner cannot. We have raw material at the cheapest rate. We have food in sufficient abundance to supply the world. We shall continue to possess all these natural advantages. The South, in their purchases, will be guided by cheapness and fitness. They must preserve intact all the relations that have continued to mutual advantage since the formation of the Government, and all efforts at 'direct trade,' will be just as barren of results, as have been the Commercial Conventions which have been annually held at the South these twenty-five years, to secure the same object, of which Messrs. Yancey and Company have been such shining lights.

But suppose the Northern States to be excluded from the Southern altogether? The foreigner would in vain essay to fill their place. The South would first commence the raising of their food, by withdrawing the necessary number of hands from the culture of cotton, reducing correspondingly the production. So with a great number of articles of consumption. The European could not meet the wants of the planter, who would take another portion of his force from the field, and put the plane and chisel in their hands, instead of the plough and hoe. Cut off from the North, one-half of the Southern field hands now engaged in the production of cotton would have to be devoted to other pursuits, reducing in an equal degree the product of the staple, and our importations from abroad, which that goes to pay.

Such is the millennium of "Direct Trade" which the Southern Commissioners are sent abroad to inaugurate. They will reduce the consumption of Cotton, and at the same time our consumption of foreign merchandise in this country, just to the degree they are successful in accomplishing their mission. Cut off the North from the South, and the

latter would, of necessity, have to become, in a great measure, self-supporting. To maintain the present production of Cotton, the past relations between the North and the South must be continued intact. The Northern States alone can keep every negro South in the Cotton-field, and double the production of the article in five years, and increase the foreign trade of the country in like ratio.

It is important for foreigners to understand that the South consume only a small amount of European goods – probably not one dollar to five consumed at the North for the same population. In the Cotton States the blacks who compose more than one-half of the population use no foreign merchandise whatever. The poor (non-slaveholding) whites who compose three-fourths of the white population use only a very small quantity. The consumption of the wealthier classes is also very small compared with that of similar classes. Foreign merchandise is consumed almost entirely at the North. Our ability to import European luxuries depends very largely upon the amount of cotton produced, which measures the ability of the South to purchase from us. If we send one less package of goods, or barrel of flour South, we purchase one less package of merchandize from France and England. If foreigners would increase our commerce with them, they must leave free the internal trade of the country, upon which our foreign commerce depends, and quietly inform Messrs. Yancey, King & Co. that they had better return and patch up our domestic troubles, instead of seeking to aggravate them through foreign interference.” (New York Times, Mar. 19, 1861)

March 20, 1861 (Wednesday)

“The government of the seceded States has appointed Hon. William L. Yancey of Alabama; Judge P.A. Rost, of Louisiana; Col. A. Dudley Mann and T. Butler King, of Georgia, special Commissioners to proceed to England and France to obtain the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States, and make such commercial arrangements as their joint interests may inspire.”
Banner of Liberty March 20, 1861.

March 23, 1861 (Saturday)

“It has been definitely settled that the Great Eastern steamer shall be taken off the gridiron at Nayland, on Tuesday the 26th of the present month, and removed to the “Man-of-War’s road,” just below Pembroke Royal Dockyard, and moored at the spot she occupied on her arrival from America. These occurrences create considerable excitement throughout the country generally. The “Man-of-War’s road,” above-mentioned is a capacious anchorage locality, a short distance below the dockyard, where men-of-war having their powder on board come to and are anchored, being the nearest approach under such circumstances they are allowed to make to that arsenal. Its capacity may be calculated upon, when ever the Great Eastern can ride there at single anchor at the lowest spring tides; the Blenheim line-of-battle ship and other vessels also riding there.” Warrington [Liverpool]Guardian, March 23, 1861.

March 25, 1861 (Monday)

“General News from Washington.
Washington, Sunday, March 24.

* * *

Most desperate measures have been making to defeat Alexander H. Schultz for Marshal for the Southern District. At one time, yesterday, his opponents thought they had him down, but to-night the indications are that he will win.

* * *

Dispatch to the Associate Press.
Washington, Saturday, March 23.

Col. Dudley Mann, now in Washington, is about starting for Europe on business connected with the consummation of his great Eastern steamer enterprise.” (New York Times, March 25, 1861)

March 26, 1861 (Tuesday)

Lord Lyons wrote Lord Russell the following letter:

“My dear Lord,

Mr. Seward came to me on the evening of the 20th instant, and asked me to let him speak to me very confidentially. He went on to express great apprehension lest any Power should recognize the Southern Confederacy. He seemed even to feel alarm lest Brazil or Peru should do so. In fact the immediate object of his visit appeared to be, to endeavor to ascertain through me, whether there could be any truth in private information which had reached him that Brazil had determined already to recognize the new Confederacy. Brazil, he said, might perhaps be led to do so by community of feeling on Slavery; and Peru might hope to avoid a compliance with the demands made by the late Administration. He then told me that he was studying the papers on the Peruvian Question, with an earnest desire to find that the late Administration were in the wrong. He said that at all events he should be disposed to new Diplomatic Relations with Peru and reopen the negotiation, possibly he might in the end be compelled to come to the same conclusion to which his Predecessor had come, but he sincerely hoped not. He wished to avoid giving Peru any motive for recognizing the Southern Confederacy, "besides", he added "the case of the Peruvian Government is just our own at Charleston."

The Peruvian Papers, to which Mr. Seward had referred, were those submitted to Congress, of which a copy was put into my hand by Judge Black on the 7th January, and transmitted to you in my dispatch of the 10th of that month, No. 9. Speaking generally, the principle asserted in them by the United States Government, was that a Foreign vessel having complied with the regulations of a de facto Government which it found in power at a Port, was not afterwards liable to be called to account by a de jure Government.

I told Mr. Seward that I could not offer an opinion as to the probability of the Peruvian Government's recognizing the Southern Confederacy; but that I could not help thinking that the applicability of the principle maintained by the late Administration to the present state of affairs at

Charleston, and other Southern Ports, was a reason for wishing to find it correct not erroneous. It seemed to me, I said, to afford the Government of the United States a good foundation for adopting the course most consonant to their interest; in fact to enable them to avoid interfering with Foreign Commerce and so getting into trouble with Foreign Powers, and at the same time to maintain, if they pleased, that the authority de jure in the Southern Ports still belonged to the United States.

I said that with regard to Brazil, I thought it very unlikely that that Power would recognize the Southern Confederacy, unless some of the European Governments set it the example. I added that I did not suppose any European Power likely to quit “an attitude of expectation” provided that in practice its commerce was not interfered with.

Mr. Seward observed that he considered it all important to ward off a crises during the next three months—that he had good hopes, that if this could be effected, a counter-revolution would take place in the South—that he hoped and believed that it would begin in the most distant State, Texas; where indeed he was symptoms of it already. It might be necessary towards producing this effect to make the Southern States feel uncomfortable in their present condition by interrupting their commerce—It was however most important that the new Confederacy should not in the mean time be recognized by any Foreign Power.

I said that certainly the feelings as well as the interests of Great Britain would render Her Majesty’s Government most desirous to avoid any step, which could prolong the quarrel between the North and South, or be an obstacle to a cordial and speedy reunion between them, if that were possible. Still, I said, if the United States determined to stop by force so important a commerce as that of Great Britain with the cotton growing States, I could not answer for what might happen.

Mr. Seward asked whether England would not be content to get cotton through the Northern Ports, to which it could be sent by land.

I answered that cotton, although by far the most important article of the trade, was not the only point to be considered. It was however a matter of the greatest consequence to England to procure cheap cotton. If a considerable rise were to take place in the price of cotton, and British Ships were to be at the same time excluded from the Southern Ports, an immense pressure would be put upon Her Majesty's Government to use all the means in their power to open those ports. If Her Majesty's Government felt it their duty to do so, they would naturally endeavor to effect their object in a manner as consistent as possible, first with their friendly feelings towards both section of this Country, and secondly with the recognized principles of International law. As regarded that latter point in particular, it certainly appeared that the most simple, if not the only way, would be to recognize the Southern Confederacy. I said a good deal about my hopes that Mr. Seward would never let things come to this, with which it is not necessary to trouble you.

I thought Mr. Seward, although he did not give up the point, listened with complacency to my arguments against interference with Foreign Commerce. He said more than once that he should like to take me to the President to discuss the subject with him. The conclusion I came to was that the questions of a forcible collection of the duties in the Southern Ports, and of a blockade of those Ports, were under discussion in the Cabinet, but that Mr. Seward was himself opposed to these measures, and had good hopes that his opinion of them would prevail.

It would appear however that a change took place in the interval between this conversation and yesterday. Mr. Seward, the principal Members of the Cabinet, the Russian Minister, M. de Stoeckl, and the French Minister, M. Mercier, with some other people dined with me. After dinner Mr.

Seward entered into an animated conversation with my French and Russian Colleagues and signed me to join them. When I came up I found him asking M Mercier to give him a copy of his instructions to the French Consuls in the Southern States. M. Mercier made some excuse for refusing, but said that what the instructions amounted to was that the Consuls were to do their best to protect French Commerce “sans sortir de la plus stricte neutralité”. Mr. Seward then asked me to give him a copy of my instructions to her Majesty’s Consuls. I of course declined to do so, but I told him that the import of them was, that the Consuls were to regard questions from a Commercial not from a political point of view, that they were to do all they could to favour the continuance of peaceful commerce, short of performing an Act of recognition, without the order of Her Majesty’s Government.

Mr. Seward then alluded to the Peruvian Papers, and speaking as he had done all along very loud, said to my French and Russian Colleagues and me, “I have formed my opinion of that matter, and I may as well tell it to you now as at any other time. I differ with my Predecessor as to *de facto* authorities. If one of your ships comes out of a Southern Port, without the Papers required by the laws of the United States, and is seized by one of our Cruisers and carried into New York and confiscated, we shall not make any compensation.” My Russian Colleague, M. de Stoeckl, argued the question with Mr. Seward very good-humouredly and very ably. Upon his saying that a Blockade to be respected must be effective, Mr. Seward replied that it was not a Blockade that would be established—that the U.S. Cruisers would be stationed off the Southern Coast to collect duties, and enforce penalties for the infraction of the United States Customs Laws. Mr. Seward then appealed to me. I said that it was really a matter so very serious that I was unwilling to discuss it; that his plan seemed to me to amount in fact to a paper blockade of the enormous extent of coast comprised in the seceding States; that the calling it an enforcement of the Revenue Laws appeared to me to increase the gravity of the measure, for it placed

Foreign Powers in the dilemma of recognizing the Southern Confederacy or of submitting to the interruption of their Commerce.

Mr. Seward then went off into a defiance of Foreign Nations, in a style of braggadocio, which was formerly not uncommon with him, but which I have not heard before from him since he has been in office. Finding that he was getting more and more violent and noisy, and saying things which it would be more convenient for me not to have heard, I took a natural opportunity of turning, as host, to speak to some of the ladies in the room.

M. de Stoeckl, and M. de Mercier inferred, as I do, that within the last two days, the opinions of the more violent Party in the Cabinet had prevailed, at all events for the moment—and that there is a danger that an interference with Foreign Trade may take place at any moment. I hope it may still be prevented by the fear of its producing a recognition of the Southern Confederacy. But I am afraid we must be prepared for it.

It may perhaps be well, with a view to the effect on this Government, that the Commissioners who are on their way to Europe from the Southern States, should not meet with too strong a rebuff in England or in France. Such a rebuff would be a great encouragement to violent measures here. In fact, notwithstanding my contradictions, the Senate and indeed, I fear, the President is not uninfluenced by the bold assertions made by some Members of the violent party, that they have positive assurances from Your Lordship and other Members of Her Majesty's Government that under no circumstances whatever will Great Britain recognize the independence of the South.

M. Mercier thinks it advisable that he and I should have a discretionary power to recognize the South. This seems to me to be going too fast. I should feel a good deal embarrassed by having such a power in my pocket, unless the contingency in which it was then used should be most clearly stated. What does appear to be of extreme

importance is that England and France should act in concert.

In great haste, I am faithfully yours,"

“
March 26. 1861

My dear Sir,

Since it is necessary to nominate for the vacancies in New York to day, and I wish to avoid the indelicacy of discussing questions which have almost a personal character and interest for myself I have concluded to ask you to take my counsel in this form --

For District Atty. Southern District
E. Delafield Smith.⁹

For Navy Agent
Simeon Draper

For Northern District of N York
For Marshall
Andrew B. Dickinson ¹⁰

If it be necessary to understand the views I entertain of the remainder in order to consider the subject as a whole -- then I add

For Southern District
For Marshall
Alexander H Schultz

Surveyor of the Port
Abram Wakeman¹¹

Naval Officer
Dutcher

⁹ Smith received the appointment.

¹⁰ Dickinson was initially appointed marshal, but Salmon Chase wanted his brother to receive the position, so Dickinson agreed to serve as minister to Nicaragua instead.

¹¹ Abram Wakeman, a New York politician and ally of the Seward-Weed faction, served a single term in Congress (1855-57) and was appointed postmaster of New York City in 1862. In 1864, Wakeman was appointed Surveyor of the Port of New York

Asst Treasurer
R M Blatchford¹²

Mint.
Daniel Ullman.

Gen Appraiser
McElrath.¹³

I give you these views in full confidence that after the appointments already made, they are equal and just -- and wise-- But I pray you to understand that however tenacious I am of them, I aim not to make 'points' of them or any other suggestions concerning patronage to affect my confidence in and devotion to yourself.

Very respectfully
Your friend
William H Seward”

(Letter to Abraham Lincoln from William H. Seward – Library of Congress documents)

“The war on Capt. SHULTZ, as candidate for Marshal, is not yet ended. His opponents are assailing him now with charges against his official integrity, and a Committee are now making investigations in New-York for the purpose of breaking him down. It is due to his friends that they should know these movements. Senators are receiving letters from prominent New-Yorkers, assailing SHULTZ ferociously.” (New York Times, March 26, 1861)

March 28, 1861

“T. Butler King is in London as a Commissioner from the Southern Confederacy, and Dudley Man is to join him.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

March 29, 1861 (Friday)

Lincoln decides to dispatch a supply fleet to Fort Sumter.

¹²Richard M. Blatchford did not receive this position, but he was appointed minister to the Vatican in 1862.

¹³Thomas McElrath received the appointment as general appraiser and served until 1864.

March 30, 1861 (Saturday)

H. Dudley Mann leaves for England from New York on board the *Arago*. (Mann No. 5) or *Europa* (London American, April 17, 1861) “**The Great Eastern is once more afloat.**” Warrington [Liverpool] Guardian, March 30, 1861.

April 1, 1861 (Monday)

Secretary of State Seward submits a memorandum entitled “Some thoughts for the President’s Consideration.” He suggests that the federal government must arouse “a vigorous continental spirit of independence on this continent against European intervention.” With Spain, France, and England all making designs on Mexico, the United States should demand an immediate “explanation” and if it were unsatisfactory must declare war. (*Oates* at 224)

April 2, 1861 (Thursday)

“No. 1. Department of State, Montgomery, April 2, 1861.

William L. Yancey, Pierre A. Rost, A. Dudley Mann, Esquires, Commissioners of the Confederate States, etc.

Gentlemen: At the date of your departure from this city (the 17th ultimo) the Constitution of the Confederate State, which had been unanimously adopted by the Congress on the 11th of March, had been ratified by the conventions of but two States of the Confederacy—namely, Alabama and Georgia. The conventions of the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas have since met and have by almost unanimous votes ratified that instrument.

By Article VII., Sec. I., of the Constitution, it is provided that ‘the ratifications of the conventions of five States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.’

The five States already enumerated having thus recorded their ratification, the Constitution is, therefore, now the fundamental law of the Confederate States. I take special pleasure in communicating to you this important fact for your information and guidance. The conventions of the States of South Carolina and Florida are now in

session, and no doubt is entertained that they will, with the same promptness and cordiality, give their sanction to the Constitution at an early day.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully yours,

R. Toombs.

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

April 3, 1861 (Wednesday)

“The three Confederate States envoys to the European courts are now en route. Mr. Dudley Mann sailed from New York on Saturday, on board the *Arago*, while Messrs. Yaney (sic) and Rost sailed from New Orleans on Monday for Havana, where they will embark on board the British West India mail steamer for Europe. The United States Ambassadors will be dispatched aboard with as little delay as possible.” *Banner of Liberty* (Mann No. 5)

“The *Charleston Courier* says that the subscriptions derived in that city toward the establishment of a steamship between Liverpool and Charleston have reached an amount authorizing the definite organization of the Company and the commencement of the work on contract.” *London American*, April 3, 1861.

April 4, 1861 (Thursday)

Lincoln directs Assistant Navy Secretary Gustavus Fox to command the Fort Sumter expedition. “The *Great Eastern* Coming Again. – The English papers received by the *Africa* announce that the Directors of the Great Ship Company have determined upon dispatching the *Great Eastern* to New-York on the first of May, ensuing. Capt. John Vine Hall, her commander on the first voyage, has been superceded by Capt. Carnegie, R.N., who is to be her future commander. Upon the death of Capt. Harrison, Capt. Hall was selected as the commander of the great ship, on account of the reputation he had won in the service of the East India Mail Company, as commander of their steamers. He had distinguished himself on several important occasions by the exercise of superior skill and judgment under trying circumstances. Upon the

successful conclusion of the first Atlantic trip of the monster ship, he was highly complimented, in connection with this associate officers, for his skillful management during the voyage. Joining in this testimonial as Capt. Carnegie, with four others, Captains of the Royal Navy, who were among the passengers.

What influences have led to the displacement of Capt. Hall we are not aware. It is well known that he had not the least responsibility for the stupid mismanagement of the ship's affairs during her stay in this City, though we think it not at all unlikely that he has been made the scape-goat for the sins of others. We doubt whether a better commander or a more courteous gentleman has been found to take his place." (New York Times, April 4, 1861)

"America.

Queenstown, Wednesday.

The Liverpool, New York, and Philadelphia Company's screw steamship Etna, Captain Kennedy, from New York on the 23d of March, has arrived here.

She brings 25 cabin and 92 steerage passengers, and the United States' mails.

The Etna landed the Irish portion of the mails.

The Arago had arrived out.

Colonel Mallone, one of the Southern Commissioners to Europe, arrived at Washington on the 22d ult. He stated that no doubt was entertained at Montgomery of the speedy recognition of the Southern Confederacy by foreign powers.

No definite reply had been given by the Administration to the Southern Commissioners. It was stated that the Administration was engaged in devising some peaceable solution of the existing

troubles, and that in the opinion of Messrs. Seward and Chase the most practicable one was a peaceable separation.

The Hon. William L. Yancey, of Alabama; Judge P.A. Rost, of Louisiana; and Colonel A. Dudley Mann, the Special Commissioners of the Southern Confederacy to England and France, were to sail from Savannah on the 27th ult. for Southampton.

In the Senate the Committee for Foreign Relations recommended that the dispute between Great Britain and the United States respecting the island of San Juan should be referred to arbitration of Switzerland.” (London *Times*, April 4, 1861)

April 5, 1861

“Latest Telegrams.

America.

Liverpool, Thursday.

The Liverpool, New York, and Philadelphia Company’s screw steamer, Etna, Captain Kennedy, which left New York on the 23rd ult., arrived in the Mersey this morning. A telegraphic summary of her advices has been already published.

* * *

A Washington telegram of the 22nd says:--

Dudley Mann, one of the Commissioners appointed by President Davis to visit Europe, arrived here today. Affairs at Montgomery, he states, are progressing satisfactorily. No apprehensions are entertained of any hostilities, they feeling perfectly sure and able, however, if attacked, to defend themselves. They have no doubt of a speedy recognition by foreign Powers. Arrangements have been made to take the entire loan. They are cheerful and confident of the future.

The object of Colonel Mann’s visit here is to confer with friends respecting affairs between the

two Governments. He will remain only a few days, and then depart for Europe.

Colonel Mann has assurances from the directors that the *Great Eastern* will arrive from 1st to 10th April at Hampton Roads. She will avail herself of the Southern Tariff by landing coastwise at Charleston, and unload into tugs off harbour. She will then proceed to Norfolk, and take in cargo for Liverpool.

It has leaked out, through semi-official channels, that the Administration is, and has been for some days, occupied in arranging or devising some plan whereby a solution of the difficulties impending over the country may be solved without resort to arms. It was for this purpose, it is said, that an armistice of ten days, or two weeks, was asked for and assented to by the Commissioners from the Confederate States.” (Morning Chronicle (London) April 5, 1861)

April 6, 1861 (Saturday)

Letter from Lord Russell to Lord Lyons:

“My dear Lord Lyons

I rely upon your wisdom, patience & prudence to steer us through the dangers of this crises—If it can possibly be helped Mr. Seward must not be allowed to get us into a quarrel—I shall see the Southerners when they come but not officially, & keep them at a proper distance.

Your truly”

April 9, 1861

“Five Days Later From Europe.

* * *

The *Great Eastern* has been safely floated off the “gridiron,” on which she has so long rested, and proceeded to her anchorage at Milford. Everything worked well. The agents are in treaty for the conveyance of a body of 1,200 German emigrants, who are about to proceed to New-York, en route for the Mormon territory.

The *Great Eastern* will be exhibited at Cork after her return from the United States.” (New York Times, April 9, 1861)

April 12, 1861 (Friday)

Confederate guns in Charleston, South Carolina, opened fire on Fort Sumter at 4:30 a.m.

April 13, 1861 (Saturday)

General Anderson hauls down the flag at Fort Sumter at 1:30 p.m.
“The Great Eastern” – A paragraph having appeared in some of the newspapers to the effect that the Great Eastern is to take out 1,200 Mormon emigrants, it is now stated that no such engagement has been made or is contemplated.” Warrington [Liverpool] Guardian, April 13, 1861.

April 15, 1861 (Monday)

Lincoln calls for 75,000 3-month volunteers.
“The Great Eastern is advertised to sail for New York the first of May, taking a cargo from Liverpool.” (Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, Bangor, Maine, April 15, 1861)

April 16, 1861 (Tuesday)

“16. April -- 1861.

My Dear Sir

(Confidential)

Mr. Bunch¹⁴ the British Consul has just called on me for the first time formally, and announced to me the following which he required to be entirely confidential, except that I might communicate it to you. He said he was authorized to inform me that Mr. Dallas, the Minister of the United States at the court of St. James had applied

¹⁴ Robert Bunch (- 1881), formerly vice-consul at New York and consul at Philadelphia, had been the British consul in Charleston since July 1853. In November 1861 Secretary of State Seward revoked his exequatur because of Bunch’s conversations with Confederate authorities. Continuing to act as consul and issuing reports to his government on the ineffectiveness of the federal blockade, Bunch was called by a fellow Englishman ‘the greatest secessionist in Charleston’ and was finally ordered away in February 1863. He later served in various diplomatic capacities throughout Latin America, ending his career as minister resident at Caracas [Footnotes for this letter are from *The Papers of Jefferson Davis*, Vol. 7 – Lynda Lasswell Crist and Mary Seaton Dix, co-editors]

to Lord John Russell¹⁵ Minister of Foreign Affairs, by instructions from Washington, to urge the British govt. not to recognize the Independence of the Southern States or of the Confederate States, or to do any thing that might look to an encouragement as to hope of such recognition, Lord Russell replied that it was impossible to foresee, under what circumstances, the application for recognition might be made, and that he declined to give any pledge about the matter, that he hoped there might still be a reconciliation brought about, & certainly the British government would do nothing to widen the breach; on the contrary all the feelings of the Govt. were in favour of reconciliation & _____. He then added that although Lord Russell did not make it in reply to Mr. Dallas, yet he Mr. Bunch was authorized to inform me that Lord John Russell had distinctly said, & it was communicated to Mr. Bunch not from Lord Lyons,¹⁶ but directly from the British Ministry, that if the U.S. Govt. attempted a blockade of the southern ports or if Congress at Washington declared the Southern ports were no longer ports of entry & _____ that it would immediately lead to the recognition of the Independence of the South by Great Britain, and that free intercourse with us should be maintained.

I communicate this immediately to you as a matter of importance, coming the way it does, and I have no doubt of the truth of it. I thought yesterday the fleet off our bar of eleven sail were intended to blockade this coast, but I sent down to ascertain the fact so as to have it properly certified if any Merchant vessel was overhauled by any war vessel un the U S-flag, and if that had been the fact, I would have communicated it officially, so that Foreign powers might authentically be informed of it. But such was not the fact at all as no vessel was stopped, and the British Consul informed me that a Capt: of a British vessel went on board one of the

¹⁵ Lord John Russell (1792-1878), first elected to Parliament in 1813, was leader of the House of Commons during the 1830s and served as colonial secretary, 1839-41, and prime minister, 1846-47 and 1865. As foreign secretary under Lord Palmerston, Russell worked to maintain a strict neutrality during the Civil War, offering in September 1862 to mediate between North and South

¹⁶ Richard Bickerton Pemell Lyons (1817-87), an Oxford graduate, entered the diplomatic service in 1839 and was named minister to Washington in 1858. The rigors of the war years led to failing health and his resignation in February 1865. He was ambassador to France, 1867-87

U.S. vessels & enquired if there was any blockade & the Capt: of the U.S. vessel informed him expressly that there was no interruption to trade or Commerce, & that they had no orders to blockade at all. This morning early all the vessel raised anchor & have disappeared.

You see the news from Washington Richmond & Baltimore—I have it from Va. & from high authority from my old friends in Maryland that they will both be out of the union certain. I really do think if Virginia moves as she certainly will, that the true course is to take Washington city immediately, because I believe it will spare blood at a more dangerous point in Fortress Munroe. The only way to take fort Munro is to take Washington, & this too would give us the Navy – But I would prefer Virginia & Maryland to do it, than to involve our Confederate Govt: in it yet unless we are called on by Va. & Md. In that case it would do our cause no harm. But I think our first great object will be to confirm us our government, & show to the world that we are not all aggressive—or desirous of any thing except to defend ourselves & to prove to the world that any Independent state has a right to choose or change its own government whenever the people in Convention shall so decide.

But I am sure the Northern Govet. will fall to pieces because it has with itself the seeds of rottenness & decay—and if we can consolidate the slave holding race in one government it would give us the certainty of permanent peace & prosperity & secure the development of our peculiar form of civilization. I have the honor to be with great respect your truly

F W Pickens” (Letter from F W Pickens to Jefferson Davis)

“The New-York appointments have been elaborately discussed again to-day at the White House, and finally left with the President for decision. ... A desperate fight is made against SHULTZ, for Marshall, but Mr. SEWARD is understood to stand firm for him, and also for

WAKEMAN for Surveyor.” (New York Times, April 16, 1861)

April 17, 1861 (Wednesday)

Virginia secedes. Jefferson Davis issues a proclamation offering letters of marque to privateers who will capture or destroy Union shipping. “One of them, Mr. Mann, embarked at New York, on the 30th ult., and arrived at Liverpool on the 14th inst.; the others had taken passage at New Orleans with the intent to come via Havana.” & “Hon. Dudley Mann, one of the Commissioners to Europe from the Southern Confederacy was a passenger on the Europa, which arrived at Liverpool on 14th inst.” & “Steamship Arago, Capt Lines, from NY on 30th inst., arrived Southampton on the 14th inst.” (London American, April 17, 1861)

April 18, 1861 (Thursday)

Governor John Letcher of Virginia calls out militia of Norfolk and vicinity, and sends Major-General William B. Taliaferro to take command of the same to secure the Gosport Navy yard. The U.S. arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Maryland, is burned by Union troops and abandoned to prevent it from falling into Confederate hands; “Benjamin Moran, secretary in the American Embassy in London, says in his diary that Dudley Mann, Confederate agent, called on the Embassy on April 18.” (Bulloch, notes p.1)

“*Prophetic.*—A prophesy is made by Mr. Dudley A. Mann, regarding the steamship Great Eastern, that a generation will not pass away until that which is now regarding as ‘a Triton among the minnows’ will find by her side vessels three hundred feet longer than herself, and of thirty thousand tons measurement.” (Appleton [Wis] Motor, April 18, 1861)

“Dudley Mann, one of the Southern Envoys, was here this morning. He is an old and very strong friend of Mr. Dallas, and came up under the pretext of paying him a friendly visit. His manner was that of a coward, as he both sneaked in & out. He had a half-hour’s conversation in private with Mr. Dallas, but its purport I did not learn. I suspect it was treasonable: and there was great indelicacy in Mr.

Dallas' receiving him at all. This man arrived in town on Tuesday and in half an hour was in close chat with Gen'l Campbell, a man holding a position under Mr. Lincoln: & to-day has been here concocting villainy with our Minister.

Dudley Mann is nearly 60 years of age. He is not more than 5 feet 5, is thick, short and rather heavy. His voice is soft & enunciation slow, with a decided Southern accent. He has a rather good head, but there is not much in him, being like most Southern men, a mere talker." (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

April 19, 1861 (Friday)

President Lincoln issues Proclamation of Blockade, imposing blockade of ports in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. Union General Winfield Scott orders Capt. H. G. Wright of the engineers to proceed to the Gosport Navy yard to aid the commodore in command in preparing a plan of defense. All ships scuttled and the dry dock blown up by gunpowder. The 6th Massachusetts Regiment is attacked as it passes through Baltimore to defend Washington.

"Proclamation of Blockade Against Southern Ports

Whereas an insurrection against the Government of the United States has broken out in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and the laws of the United States for the collection of the revenue cannot be effectually executed therein conformably to that provision of the Constitution which requires duties to be uniform throughout the United States:

And whereas a combination of persons engaged in such insurrection, have threatened to grant pretended letters of marque to authorize the bearers thereof to commit assaults on the lives, vessels, and property of good citizens of the country lawfully engaged in commerce on the high seas, and in waters of the United States: And whereas an Execution Proclamation has been already issued, required the persons engaged in these disorderly proceedings to desist therefrom, calling out a militia

force for the purpose of repressing the same, and convening Congress in extraordinary session, to deliberate and determine thereon:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, with a view to the same purposes before mentioned, and to the protection of the public peace, and the lives and property of quiet and orderly citizens pursuing their lawful occupations, until Congress shall have assembled and deliberated on the said unlawful proceedings, or until the same shall ceased, have further deemed it advisable to set on foot a blockade of the ports within the States aforesaid, in pursuance of the laws of the United States, and of the law of Nations, in such case provided. For this purpose a competent force will be posted so as to prevent entrance and exit of vessels from the ports aforesaid. If, therefore, with a view to violate such blockade, a vessel shall approach, or shall attempt to leave either of the said ports, she will be duly warned by the Commander of one of the blockading vessels, who will endorse on her register the fact and date of such warning, and if the same vessel shall again attempt to enter or leave the blockaded port, she will be captured and sent to the nearest convenient port, for such proceedings against her and her cargo as prize, as may be deemed advisable.

And I hereby proclaim and declare that if any person, under the pretended authority of the said States, or under any other pretense, shall molest a vessel of the United States, or the person or cargo on board of her, such person will be held amenable to the laws of the United States, for the prevention and punishment of piracy.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this nineteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.”

April 20, 1861 (Saturday)

Letter to [Confederate Agent] D.G. Duncan, Esq.
“Sir: Under the verbal instructions of this Department you will proceed without delay to Washington, and make such arrangements with the telegraph office either there or in Alexandria as will enable you to keep the Department fully advised of all that transpires. Great prudence and circumspection will be necessary both in the selection of your agents and in your entire course generally. Very respectfully, [Confederate Secretary for War] L.P. Walker.” War Department, Montgomery, Alabama. The Norfolk, Virginia, Navy Yard is burned and abandoned. Robert E. Lee resigns from the U.S. Army and offers his services to Virginia.

“London, April 20, 1861.

Dear Mr. President:

I avail myself of the last quarter hour, before the mail closes for Queenstown,¹⁷ to acquaint you that, from information which has just been furnished to me, in addition to that which had been communicated before, I can no longer doubt that Col. Fremont¹⁸ is acting as a secret Agent of the Lincoln government, at this metropolis. I understand that he is exceedingly vehement in his denunciations of the Confederate States. He is

¹⁷ Cobh, formerly Queenstown, in Cork Harbor, Ireland, was an important British naval base. [Footnotes for this letter are from *The Papers of Jefferson Davis*, Vol. 7 – Lynda Lasswell Crist and Mary Seaton Dix, co-editors]

¹⁸ John Charles Fremont (1813-90), born in Savannah, was a topographical engineer (1838-48) whose exploring expeditions to the West gained him international fame. Married to Thomas Hart Benton’s daughter Jessie, Fremont served as the senator from California and was the 1856 Republican presidential nominee. He was appointed major general and commander of the Department of the West in mid-1861, but his declaration of martial law in Missouri the next year led to this transfer and the effective end of his military career; he resigned in 1864. After the war he was a railroad and mining developer and served as governor of Arizona Territory, 1878-87 . . . In early 1861 Fremont was in Europe seeking funds for his California mining ventures. Without official authorization he purchased weapons and ammunition for the Union army before returning to New York in June

lionized by Exeter-Hall.¹⁹ Out of that circle he can exercise no harmful influence. Oh! that my colleagues were here.²⁰ We shall have to make a vigorous fight for our recognition; and it cannot be too soon commenced. Mr. Gregory,²¹ the champion of our cause in the Commons, was with me three hours to-day. Mr. Crawford,²² the city member, is to visit me in a few minutes.

I wrote a long letter to Mr. Toombs this morning. I enclosed to him a very significant leader of the Times of yesterday. It says nothing worse of you than that you are ‘ambitious.’²³

Mr. Bates, my old and ever valued friend—the head of the eminent House of Baring Brothers & Co.²⁴—is as cordial as he well could be. There is a cover at his table for me whenever I choose to avail of it.—I have not seen Peabody.²⁵ I learn that he is opposed to our recognition until Mississippi and

¹⁹ Exeter Hall, built in 1829-31 in London’s Strand as a nonsectarian meeting hall for religious, scientific, and philanthropic groups, became synonymous with anti-slavery activities after 1837, when a series of meetings there led to the founding of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Noted abolitionist leaders, including Americans William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Henry Ward Beecher, addressed sympathetic audiences at ‘that factory of reformation,’ where then thousand flocked to celebrate Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation in January 1863

²⁰ Mann arrived in London on April 15 and met with George M. Dallas, the U.S. minister on the 18th. Mann’s colleagues William L. Yancey and Pierre A. Rost reached London on April 29

²¹ Sir William Henry Gregory (1817-92), member of Parliament from Ireland, 1842-47 and 1857-71, arranged a meeting between the Confederate emissaries and Lord John Russell in May 1861. During a tour of North America in 1858 Gregory had met William Porcher Miles and other southerners who convinced him of the South’s right to secede. Gregory’s many southern friendships and support for free trade made him the foremost advocate of Confederate recognition in the House of Commons. Gregory retired from public life in 1877. . . .

²² Robert Wigram Crawford (1813-89) was elected to Parliament from the City of London in April 1857, serving until his retirement in 1874; he was identified as a ‘Reformer’ and ‘Liberal.’ A director of the Bank of England, 1850-89, he was principal of an East India trading firm

²³ Mann’s letter to the secretary of state has not been found. While praising the Confederacy’s organizational efforts and enthusiasm, the Times editorial noted the loyalty of the border states to the Union was a disappointment to southern leaders and their ‘ambitious’ president.

²⁴ Joshua Bates (1788-1864), a Bostonian, was senior partner of Baring Brothers, a British merchant banking firm with vast American interests, including the financial affairs of the federal government, 1843-71. Although Bates remained loyal to the Union, his partner Russell Sturgis was a ‘rebel sympathizer’

²⁵ George Peabody (1795-1869), a Massachusetts native and Anglo-American philanthropist, lived most of his life in London as founder (1837) of George Peabody and Co., specializing in American securities and foreign exchange. After near collapse during the Panic of 1837, the firm recovered and eventually became part of J.P. Morgan’s holdings Early in 1861 Peabody endeavored to remain neutral, having business and person ties in the North and South and realizing the war’s potentially disastrous economic consequences. Suspected of being a southern partisan, of reaping profits at the expense of the United States, and of speculating in Confederate bonds, Peabody did support the southern position in the Trent affair but refused to negotiate a loan for the Confederacy and proved loyal to the Union

Florida acknowledged their debts!²⁶ He carries no weight with him, however. In an interview which I had with the Brown's,²⁷ at Liverpool, they seemed to be quite friendly.

If we can take the stand in the family of nations which we deserve to enjoy without unsheathing the sword we shall accomplish the most glorious achievement that the world ever witnessed. This is said on all sides. How much they do dread a war!

Yours Sincerely,

A. Dudley Mann.” (Letter from A. Dudley Mann to Jefferson Davis)

April 23, 1861

“As scheduled, the *Adriatic* sailed for New York with 572 passengers and a crew of 162, under the command of Capt. James Walker on Tuesday evening, 23 April. On a more somber note, the *Galway Vindicator* reported that, before leaving, a search of the ship had found 25 stowaways, of whom fifteen were fishermen from Claddagh. Just over nine days later, the *Adriatic* docked in New York after a record-breaking trip, which included a delay of 29 hours due to fog off St. John's, Newfoundland. The *Adriatic* did even better on her return voyage, arriving back in Galway in five days 22 hours. Because there was no evidence of the repairs to the *Hibernia* being completed, the *Parana*

²⁶ As early as 1839 an English analyst compiled debt statistics on various states and the federal government, concluding that northern states were a better risk than their southern counterparts. This proved true when, after the Panic of 1837, a number of states defaulted on interest payments. Arkansas, Michigan, Mississippi, and Florida repudiated all or most of their debts, and others (mostly southern) were delinquent in repayment, resulting in considerable skepticism among foreign investors. Additionally, Davis himself was seen by many as an ‘arch-repudiator’ because of his 1849 letter in defense of Mississippi’s actions. The *New Orleans Daily Delta* (Apr. 6, 1861) complained about a *London Times* article wondering who would be interested in a Confederate loan when the government was headed by ‘the apostle of repudiation’

²⁷ James Brown (1791-1877) and Sir William Brown (1784-1864) left their native Ireland to join their father’s prospering banking firm in Baltimore but returned to establish a branch of Brown & Sons in Liverpool, specializing in cotton consignments. William entered politics and served in Parliament, 1846-59, James opened a highly successful New York office that became the firm’s headquarters in the 1830s. The two major Liverpool partners felt the company should at least remain neutral and one was ‘a strong southern sympathizer’; the New York managers, including James Brown, were mostly ‘staunch Unionists.’ During the war Brown & Sons closed its offices and agencies in New Orleans, Mobile, Charleston, and Savannah

was chartered for her third and, as it turned out, last Galway Line voyage, to take the scheduled next sailing on Tuesday 7 May. As the Postmaster General cancelled the mail subsidy just four days later, this was the last contracted mail sailing of the year.” (Collins, Timothy. Transatlantic Triumph and Heroic Failure – The Story of the Galway Line 2002)

April 24, 1861

“No. 2. Department of State, Montgomery, April 24, 1861.

Hon. W. L. Yancey, Hon. Pierre A. Rost, Hon. A. Dudley Mann, Commissioners of the Confederate States, etc.

Gentlemen: Since the date of my last dispatch (2nd instant) events of great magnitude have occurred, of which I deem it important to apprise you officially, as well for your own guidance as for the information of the Governments to which you are accredited. Notwithstanding the persistent and anxious efforts of this Government to avoid a hostile collision with the United States, and to effect a peaceful solution of the questions which necessarily arose from the separation of the Confederate States from the late Federal Union, war has actually commenced between the two Confederacies.

The United States Government has thrown down the gauntlet, and we have promptly picked it up, trusting to Providence and the devotion of the our people to their just cause for a successful issue out of the difficulties which are the necessary concomitants of war. As the effort will doubtless be made on the part of the United States to throw the responsibility of the commencement of hostilities on this Government, and generally to misrepresent our acts and intentions, I think it proper to give you a full detail of the facts in order that you may successfully baffle such attempts and amply vindicate the course which this Government has resolved to pursue. When you left this city you were aware that Commissioners from this Government had been sent to Washington with the view to open

negotiations with the Government of the United States for the peaceful settlement of all matters in controversy, and for the settlement of relations of amity and good will between the two countries. They promptly made known to the Administration at Washington the object of their mission; gave the most explicit assurance that it was the earnest desire of the President, Congress, and the people of the Confederate States to preserve peace; that they had no demand to make which was not founded on the strictest justice, and that they had no wish to do any act to injure their late confederates. Conscious of the embarrassments by which the newly installed Administration at Washington was surrounded, they did not press their demand for a formal reception or a recognition of the independence of the Confederate States. So long as moderation and forbearance were consistent with the honor and dignity of their Government they forbore from taking any steps which could possibly add to the difficulties by which the Cabinet of Mr. Lincoln was beset. Acting in pursuance of this policy, they consented to transmit to, and receive communications from, The Secretary of State of the United States through the medium of third persons—gentlemen of the highest social and official position—and in this way they received the most positive assurances from Mr. Seward that the policy of his Government was peace; that Fort Sumter would be evacuated immediately; that Fort Pickens would soon be abandoned; that no measure was contemplated ‘to change the existing status of things prejudicially to the Confederate States;’ and that, if any change were resolved upon, due notice would be given to the Commissioners.

These assurances were repeatedly and authoritatively conveyed by Mr. Seward to the gentlemen to whom I have already alluded, with the express intent that they should be transmitted to the Commissioners of the Confederate States. Incredible as it may seem, it is nevertheless perfectly true that while the Government of the United States was thus addressing the Confederate States with words of conciliation and promises of peace a large naval and military expedition was

being fitted out by its order for the purpose of invading our soil and imposing on us an authority which we have forever repudiated, and which it was well known we would resist to the last extremity. At the very time when persons of high position were authorized and requested to assure the Commissioners that Fort Sumter would be evacuated forthwith, agents were dispatched by the U.S. Government to Charleston for the avowed purpose of making arrangements for the evacuation, but with the real intent to devise and concoct schemes for the stealthy reinforcement of the fortress and its prolonged occupation by the United States. We have the clearest proof of this fact in the remonstrance against such conduct contained in a dispatch (intercepted by us) addressed to his Government by the gallant and distinguished officer²⁸ who commanded the U.S. troops at Sumter, and whose sense of honor was shocked at being made an unwilling party to an act which could not even be justified on the ground of expediency, as he knew that the plan could not succeed, and could only lead to a useless exposure to destruction of life and property. On the 9th instant, when it became apparent to the Commissioners that all hope of peaceful negotiations was at an end, that the United States Government had resolved to attempt to coerce the people of the Confederate States into submission to authority which they had abjured, the Commissioners promptly left Washington, having previously notified the United States Secretary of State of their determination. Annexed to this dispatch you will find copies of their official note and the memorandum of the Department of State at Washington communicated to them by Mr. Seward. Although fully informed of the sailing from various ports of the United States of a large naval and military force destined to invade some part of the Confederate States, this Government still abstained from giving the order to reduce Fort Sumter in the hope that the expedition was not destined to reënforce that work. That hope was soon dissipated by the arrival at Charleston of two authorized agents of the Government, instructed to inform the

²⁸ Robert Anderson.

Governor of South Carolina that it was the intention of their Government to reënforce Fort Sumter with provisions, and that if any resistance were offered by the Confederate States force would be employed to attain that object. Under the circumstances the General²⁹ commanding the Army of the Confederate States at Charleston was immediately ordered to demand the surrender of the works. His demand was refused; but, as the officer commanding the troops in Fort Sumter accompanied his refusal to surrender with the statement that he and his command would be 'starved out in a few days,' the general was immediately instructed to inform Major Anderson that if he would indicate the time when he would be compelled to surrender from want of provisions, and would agree not to use his guns against the Confederate States unless their guns were first used against him, Fort Sumter should not be bombarded. It was only when he declined to make such an agreement that Gen. Beauregard determined to proceed to reduce the fort.

Having knowledge that a large fleet was expected hourly to arrive at Charleston harbor with orders to force an entrance and attempt to victual and reënforce the fortress, and that the troops of the Confederate States would be thus exposed to a double attack, Gen. Beauregard had no alternative left but to dislodge the enemy and take possession of the fort, and thus command absolutely all the approaches to the port of Charleston, so that the entrance of a hostile fleet would be almost impossible. I annex copies of the official correspondence by telegraph between the Secretary of War and Gen. Beauregard, and of the correspondence between Gen. Beauregard and Maj. Anderson prior to the bombardment of Fort Sumter (marked D). Gen. Beauregard opened his batteries at 4:30 A.M. on the 12th instant, and at 1:30 P.M., on the next day, Maj. Anderson hauled down his flag and surrendered unconditionally to the troops of the Confederate States.

²⁹ P. G. T. Beauregard.

I am happy to inform you that this brilliant success was accomplished without the loss of a single man on our side, and with inconsiderable loss on the part of the enemy. The Government of the Confederate States, still hoping that the authorities at Washington would abandon the course of aggression on which they had entered and order the withdrawal of the United States troops from Fort Pickens, the only other point where immediate collision was to be apprehended, generously forbore from using the powers which the unconditional surrender of Fort Sumter placed in its hands. Instead of detaining Maj. Anderson and his men as prisoners of war, they were permitted to leave the fort with their side arms and baggage; were allowed to salute their flag, and were conducted by an escort of troops to the United States ships of war lying off the harbor of Charleston.

The response of the United States Government to these acts of forbearance was President Lincoln's proclamation of war, of the 15th instant, calling out an army of 75,000 men for the declared purpose of invading the Confederate States with a view to capturing our forts. War being thus forced upon the Confederate States, in view of the proclamation of President Lincoln and the extensive preparations for military aggression which have been made by the Government of the United States, the President of the Confederate States has issued his proclamation convoking an extra session of Congress for the 29th instant, and has resolved to use all the means to repel the threatened invasion and to defend the rights and liberties of the people of the Confederate States which the laws of nations and the usages of civilized warfare placed at this disposal. The proclamation of the President of the Confederate States of the 17th instant, inviting applications for letters of marque and reprisal, was made in anticipation of the action of the Congress to whom the question is referred. You are instructed to assure all the powers with which you are in communication that, in the exercise of this questioned belligerent right, the most carefully guarded instructions will be issued to our private armed cruisers, with a view to preventing the

possibility of any interference with neutral commerce or any invasion of the rights of neutral powers.

So far from permitting any abuse in this respect, it is obvious that not only sound policy but a due regard to our own interest requires that we should invite the most unrestricted intercourse with friendly nations. In taking this course, the President of the Confederate States is enthusiastically sustained by the unanimous voice of the people of the Confederate States. Nearly double the amount of the subscription invited for the loan which this government was authorized by Congress to contract has been promptly subscribed for, and we have incontestable proof that ample means to meet all future requirements for common defense and the good of the country will be cheerfully provided.

I have also the pleasure to inform you that we are in receipt of the most cheering intelligence from those States that are known as the border slave States. The great State of Virginia, whose convention has been in session for several weeks, although devotedly attached to the Federal Union, passed an ordinance on the 18th instant dissolving her connection with the United States, and has taken active and efficient steps for her own protection and the defense of the Confederate States against the unprovoked policy of aggression which the Government at Washington has inaugurated.

In the State of Maryland the people have risen to prevent the passage through their territory of armed men from the North to the city of Washington, destined to invade the South; and a conflict is now going on in that State between the people and the invaders. In the States of North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Missouri the people have manifested a determination to follow the example of Virginia, and their respective Governors have tendered to the government of the Confederate States the services of large numbers of troops, which are now being embodied to take the field immediately for the common defense against the aggression of the

United States Government. There is good reason to believe that before thirty days have rolled around all the fifteen States of the South will have severed the bonds which have bound them to the late Federal Union and will have joined the Confederate States.

Your are instructed to read this dispatch to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Governments to which you are accredited.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully yours,

R. Toombs.

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

“CIRCULAR.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 24, 1861.

SIR: The advocates of benevolence and the believers in human progress, encouraged by the slow though marked meliorations of the barbarities of war which have obtained in modern times, have been, as you are well aware, recently engaged with much assiduity in endeavoring to effect some modifications of the law of nations in regard to the rights of neutrals in maritime war. In the spirit of these movements the President of the United States, in the year 1854, submitted to the several maritime nations two propositions, to which he solicited their assent as permanent principles of international law, which were as follows:

1. Free ships make free goods; that is to say, that the effects or goods belonging to subjects or citizens of a power or State at war are free from capture or confiscation when found on board of neutral vessels, with the exception of articles contraband of war.

2. That the property of neutrals on board an enemy's vessel is not subject to confiscation unless the same be contraband of war.

Several of the governments to which these propositions were submitted expressed their

willingness to accept them, while some others, which were in a state of war, intimated a desire to defer acting thereon until the return of peace should present what they thought would be a more auspicious season for such interesting negotiations.

On the 16th of April, 1856, a congress was in session at Paris. It consisted of several maritime powers, represented by their plenipotentiaries, namely, Great Britain, Austria, France, Russia, Prussia, Sardinia, and Turkey. That congress having taken up the general subject to which allusion has already been made in this letter, on the day before mentioned, came to an agreement, which they adopted in the form of a declaration, to the effect following, namely:

1. Privateering is and remains abolished.
2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.
3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag.
4. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by forces sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

The agreement pledged the parties constituting the congress to bring the declaration thus made to the knowledge of the States which had not been represented in that body, and to invite them to accede to it. The congress, however, at the same time insisted, in the first place, that the declaration should be binding only on the powers who were or should become parties to it as one whole and indivisible compact; and, secondly, that the parties who had agreed, and those who should afterwards accede to it, should, after the adoption of the same, enter into no arrangement on the application of maritime law in time of war without stipulating for a strict observance of the four points resolved by the declaration.

The declaration which I have thus substantially recited of course prevented all the

powers which became parties to it from accepting the two propositions which had been before submitted to the maritime nations by the President of the United States.

The declaration was, in due time, submitted by the governments represented in the congress at Paris to the government of the United States.

The President, about the 14th of July, 1856, made known to the States concerned his unwillingness to accede to the declaration. In making that announcement on behalf of this government, my predecessor, Mr. Marcy, called the attention of those States to the following points, namely:

1st. That the second and third propositions contained in the Paris declaration are substantially the same with the two propositions which had before been submitted to the maritime States by the President. 2d. That the Paris declaration, with the conditions annexed, was inadmissible by the United States in three respects, namely: 1st. That the government of the United States could not give its assent to the first proposition contained in the declaration, namely, that 'Privateering is and remains abolished,' although it was willing to accept it with an amendment which should exempt the private property of individuals, though belonging to belligerent States, from seizure or confiscation by national vessels in maritime war. 2d. That for this reason the stipulation annexed to the declaration, viz: that the propositions must be taken altogether or rejected altogether, without modification, could not be allowed. 3d. That the fourth condition annexed to the declaration, which provided that the parties acceding to it should enter into no negotiation for any modifications of the law of maritime war with nations which should not contain the four points contained in the Paris declaration, seemed inconsistent with a proper regard to the national sovereignty of the United States.

On the 29th of July, 1856, Mr. Mason, then minister of the United States at Paris, was instructed by the President to propose to the government of France to enter into an arrangement for its adherence, with the United States, to the four principles of the declaration of the congress of Paris, provided the first of them should be amended as specified in Mr. Marcy's note to the Count de Sartiges on the 28th of July, 1856. Mr. Mason accordingly brought the subject to the notice of the imperial government of France, which was disposed to entertain the matter favorably, but which failed to communicate its decision on the subject to him. Similar instructions regarding the matter were addressed by this department to Mr. Dallas, our minister at London, on the 31st day of January, 1857; but the proposition above referred to had not been directly presented to the British government by him when the administration of this government by Franklin Pierce, during whose term these proceedings occurred, came to an end, on the 3d of March, 1857, and was succeeded by that of James Buchanan, who directed the negotiations to be arrested for the purpose of enabling him to examine the questions involved, and they have ever since remained in that state of suspension.

The President of the United States has now taken the subject into consideration, and he is prepared to communicate his views upon it, with a disposition to bring the negotiation to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion

For that purpose you are hereby instructed to seek an early opportunity to call the attention of her Majesty's government to the subject, and to ascertain whether it is disposed to enter into negotiations for the accession of the government of the United States to the declaration of the Paris congress, with the conditions annexed by that body to the same; and if you shall find that government so disposed, you will then enter into a convention to that effect, substantially in the form of a project for that purpose herewith transmitted to you; the convention to take effect from the time when the due ratifications of the same shall have been

exchanged. It is presumed that you will need no special explanation of the sentiments of the President on this subject for the purpose of conducting the necessary conferences with the government to which you are accredited. Its assent is expected on the ground that the proposition is accepted at its suggestion, and in the form it has preferred. For your own information it will be sufficient to say that the President adheres to the opinion expressed by my predecessor, Mr. Marcy, that it would be eminently desirable for the good of all nations that the property and effects of private individuals, not contraband, should be exempt from seizure and confiscation by national vessels in maritime war. If the time an circumstances were propitious to a prosecution of the negotiation with that object in view, he would direct that it should be assiduously pursued. But the right season seems to have passed, at least for the present. Europe seems once more on the verge of quite general wars. On the other hand, a portion of the American people have raised the standard of insurrection, and proclaimed a provisional government, and, through their organs, have taken the bad resolution to invite privateers to prey upon the peaceful commerce of the United States.

Prudence and humanity combine in persuading the President, under the circumstances, that it is wise to secure the lesser good offered by the Paris congress, without waiting indefinitely in hope to obtain the greater one offered to the maritime nations by the President of the United States.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLAM H. SEWARD.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq.,

The same, *mutatis mutandis*, to the ministers of the United States in France, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Belgium, Italy, and Denmark.

Convention upon the subject of the rights of belligerents and neutrals in time of war, between

the United States of America and her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland.

The United States of America and her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, being equally animated by a desire to define with more precision the rights of belligerent and neutrals in time of war, have, for that purpose, conferred full powers, the President of the United States upon Charles F. Adams, accredited as their envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to her said Majesty, and her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, upon

And the said plenipotentiaries, after having exchanged their full powers, have concluded the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

1. Privateering is and remains abolished. 2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war. 3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag. 4. Blockades in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

ARTICLE II.

The present convention shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and by her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington, within the space of six months from the signature, or sooner if possible. In faith whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention in duplicate, and have thereto affixed their seals.

Done at London, the _____ day of _____, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one (1861.)”

April 26, 1861 (Friday)

“No. 3. Department of State, Montgomery, April 26, 1861.

Hon. Wm. L. Yancey, Hon. Pierre A. Rost, Hon. A. Dudley Mann, Commissioners of the Confederate States, etc.

Gentlemen: In the dispatch (No. 2) addressed to you by the Secretary of State under date of the 24th instant, and confided to the care of William Grayson Mann, Esq., you will be pleased to direct your secretary to make the following alternation: Instead of sentence commencing ‘Nearly double the amount of the loan which this Government was authorized by Congress to contract has been promptly subscribed,’ and so forth, insert, ‘Nearly double the amount of the subscription invited for the loan which the Government was authorized by Congress to contract has been promptly subscribed,’ etc.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

Wm. M. Browne, Assistant Secretary.” (A Compilation of the Message and Papers of the Confederacy)

April 27, 1861 (Saturday)

Blockade is extended to North Carolina and Virginia.

“Mr. Scott Russell and the Great Ship Company.— It will be recollected that during last term a rule was obtained, calling on Mr. Scott Russell to show cause why the award in his favor in this cause should not be set aside, on the ground that the arbitrators went into matters which were not referred to them by the articles of arbitration. The arbitrators awarded the plaintiff £18,000; and the arguments on the rule to set that award and a judgment obtained upon it aside, were heard last term and judgment reserved. The Court of Common Pleas, on Saturday, gave judgment. Their Lordships were of opinion that the award was a good one, and that consequently the judgment upon it must stand. Mr. Watkin Williams applied for speedy execution, as the Great Eastern was the only property of the Company, and was about to be sent to America, so that the plaintiff in the ordinary course would not be entitled to levy upon it till after it would have sailed, and he would

be, therefore, deprived of the advantage of his verdict. Mr. Lloyd, who appeared for the Company, hoped the application would not be granted, especially as he expected to be instructed to ask for leave to appeal. The Court of Queen's Bench had given as clear and unanimous an opinion against this award as their Lordships had given in its favor.—The Lord Chief Justice had no doubt, if Mr. Russell got his writ, that there would be a reconciliation between the parties; and considering that this Company was a limited one, and the only property was the ship, he thought there should be execution forthwith.—Execution ordered accordingly.” (Warrington [Liverpool] Guardian, April 27, 1861)

“The ‘Great Eastern.’—Grinnell, Mintum & Co. announce that the steamship Great Eastern is to sail from England for New York on the 1st of next month; and returning, is intended to leave this port with passengers on or about the 24th of May.” (Scientific American, April 27, 1861)

“The full reports of the fight at Fort Sumter are now here & we cut a sorry enough figure indeed. Every body is laughing at us.

During the morning a telegram was received here for Dudley Mann from Southampton and I at once conjectured it came from Rost & Yancey & was not mistaken. The unblushing impudence of these scoundrels is in character with their thieving at home. It was cool truly to send their message to the US. Leg. for one of their fellow traitors.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

April 29, 1861 (Monday)

Confederate Commissioners Yancey and Rost arrive in London.

“*Gentlemen of the Congress:* . . . I cannot close this review of the acts of the Government of the United States without referring to a proclamation issued by their President, under date of the 19th instant, in which, after declaring that an insurrection has broken out in this Confederacy against the Government of the United States, he announces a blockade of all the ports of these States, and

threatens to punish as pirates all person who shall molest any vessel of the United States under letters of marque issued by this Government.

Notwithstanding the authenticity of this proclamation you will concur with me that it is hard to believe it could have emanated from a President of the United States. Its announcement of a mere paper blockade is so manifestly a violation of the law of nations that it would seem incredible that it could have been issued by authority; but conceding this to be the case so far as the Executive is concerned, it will be difficult to satisfy the people of these States that their late confederates will sanction its declarations—will determine to ignore the usages of civilized nations, and will inaugurate a war of extermination on both sides by treating as pirates open enemies acting under the authority of commissions issued by an organized government. If such proclamation was issued, it could only have been published under the sudden influence of passion, and we may rest assured mankind will be spared the horrors of the conflict it seems to invite. . . .

. . . (Message of Jefferson Davis, President, to the Members of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States of America at Montgomery, Alabama – A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

“No. 4. Department of State, Montgomery, April 29, 1861.

Hon. Wm. L. Yancey, Hon. Pierre A. Rost, Hon. A. Dudley Mann, Commissioners of the Confederate States, etc.

Gentlemen: I have the honor to inform you that in pursuance of the President proclamation of the 12th instant, convoking an extra session of Congress, that body met this day at 12 o'clock, and soon thereafter received a message from the President, a copy of which is sent to you herewith. I have further to inform you of the presence in London or Paris of Capt. Caleb Huse, of the Confederate States Army, who has been sent to Europe by the Secretary of War on special service, and to request that you will give him all the aid in

your power for the accomplishment of the object of his mission. I transmit to you herewith a package of letters for Captain Huse, with a request that you will cause it to be delivered to him as soon as possible.

I remain, gentlemen, very respectfully yours,

Wm. M. Browne, Assistant Secretary.” (A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

April 30, 1861 (Tuesday)

“The Charleston *Courier* says that the subscriptions derived in that city toward the establishment of a steamship between Liverpool and Charleston have reach an amount authorizing the definite organization of the Company and the commencement of the work on contract.” (London American, April 30, 1861)

May 1, 1861 (Wednesday)

“40 Albermarle Street.
Wednesday, May 1, 1861.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:--

How soon, permit me to enquire, will it be convenient for you to afford me the pleasure of a short interview?

I am anxious to converse with you upon a matter of much importance to our respective countries.

Believe me, I pray you,

Yours Most Cordially,

A. Dudley Mann.”

(Emory University)

Great Eastern leaves Milford Haven for New York City; James Dunwody Bulloch leaves New York for

the South. “The *Great Eastern* brings advices from England to May 1” (New York Times, May 13, 1861)

“News of the Day.

* * *

The *Great Eastern* had become involved in another difficulty—Mr. Scott Russell having issued a writ of execution against her.” (New York Times, May 1, 1861)

“Ld. John Russell yesterday requested an interview with Mr. Dallas this morning at 1 o’clk and Mr. D. went. His Lordship said he had been privately informed that Mr. Lincoln meant to blockade the Southern ports, and this Gov’t would object to it. Such a measure might prompt them to recognise the Southern Confederacy. Mr. D. assured him it was an error, which seemed to give satisfaction.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

May 2, 1861

“No. 333.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

London, May 2, 1861.

Sir: In my No. 329 I mentioned having received your Nos. 306 and 307, and ‘a circular of the 9th of March, 1861.’ As I have got no despatch from you, numbered 308, it is probable that this “circular” was considered at the department as representing that number in the series. I have now to acknowledge your several despatches, numbered, respectively, 309, 310, 311, and 312, whose contents have had my careful and prompt attention.

You have doubtless noticed that the motion of Mr. Gregory, in the House of Commons, on the recognition of the southern confederation--which motion I mentioned at the conclusion of my N o. 330--underwent postponement from the 16th to the 30th ultimo, and has again been deferred a fortnight, for the reasons stated in the extract from the

'Times' newspaper of the 30th April, hereto annexed.

The solicitude felt by Lord John Russell as to the effect of certain measures represented as likely to be adopted by the President induced him to request me to call at his private residence yesterday. I did so. He told me that the three representatives of the southern confederacy were here; that he had not seen them, but was not unwilling to do so, unofficially; that there existed an understanding between this government and that of France which would lead both to take the same course as to recognition, whatever that course might be; and he then referred to the rumor of a meditated blockade of southern ports and their discontinuance as ports of entry--topics on which I had heard nothing, and could therefore say nothing. But as I informed him that Mr. Adams had apprised me of his intention to be on his way hither, in the steamship 'Niagara,' which left Boston on the 1st May, and that he would probably arrive in less than two weeks, by the 12th or 15th instant, his lordship acquiesced in the expediency of disregarding mere rumor, and waiting the full knowledge to be brought by my successor.

The motion, therefore, of Mr. Gregory may be further postponed, at his lordship's suggestion.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

G. M. DALLAS.

Hon. William H. Seward,
Secretary of State.

[From the London Times, April 30, 1861.]

AMERICA.--In reply to a question from Mr. W. E. Foster, Mr. Gregory stated that in deference to the expressed opinion of the foreign secretary, who had informed him that a discussion at the present moment upon the expediency of a prompt recognition of the southern confederation of

America would be embarrassing to the public service, and in deference; also, to the wishes of several honorable friends of his, he should postpone for a fortnight the motion which stood in his name for to-morrow night. The noble lord at the head of the foreign office believed that the motion might then be brought forward without inconvenience.

[From the London Times, May 3, 1861.]

AMERICA.-SOUTHERN LETTERS OF MARQUE.--Mr. J. Ewart asked the secretary of state for foreign affairs whether, seeing the possibility of privateering being permitted and encouraged by the southern confederation of the States of America, her Majesty's government had placed a sufficient naval force, or intended to increase it, in the Gulf of Mexico, with a view to protect British shipping and British property on board of American ships; and if privateers, sailing under the flag of an unrecognized power, would be dealt with as pirates.

Lord J. Russell said: In answer to the first part of the question of the honorable gentleman, I beg to say that her Majesty's government has directed that a naval force, for the protection of British shipping, should be sent to the coast of America. As to the latter part of the question, I will state to the house that the government has, from day to day, received the most lamentable accounts of the progress of the war in the States of America. Her Majesty's government heard the other day that the Confederated States have issued letters of marque; and to-day we have heard that it is intended there shall be a blockade of all the ports of the southern States. As to the general provisions of the law of nations on these questions, some of the points are so new as well as so important that they have been referred to the law officers of the crown for their opinion in order to guide the government in its instructions both to the English minister in America and the commander of the naval squadron. Her Majesty's government has felt that it was its duty to use every possible means to avoid taking any part in the lamentable contest now raging in the American

States. (Hear, hear.) And nothing but the imperative duty of protecting British. interests, in case they should be attacked, justifies the government in at all interfering. We have not been involved in any way in that contest by any act or giving any advice in the matter, and, for God's sake, let us if possible keep out of it! (Cheers.)”

May 3, 1861 (Friday)

Lincoln calls for 42,000 3-year volunteers; news of the blockade is published in the London newspapers.

“Lord John Russell has found out Mr. D. was wrong about the power of the president to blockade, and is rather grumpy.

We had a visit to-day from a young fellow by the name of C. H. Morgan, Consul at Messina, who is a naturalized citizen appointed from Ky. His great patron is Dudley Mann and he is lodging with that Traitor at No. 40, Albermarle St. This is a kind of patriotism I don't understand, and I wouldn't be guilty of it for the best friend living. Morgan is somewhat of a 'swell,' well formed, about 28, and 5 feet 11 in high: and is of light complexion.”
(Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

“Thursday Morning, May 3.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:

If not too early come at 9. I shall expect you certainly by 9½.

I cannot adequately express my gratitude for your numerous obliging attentions.

Lord John is very kind in according to us so early an hour.

Yours Most Cordially,

A. Dudley Mann.”

(Emory University)

May 4, 1861 (Saturday)

“Departure of the Great Eastern

For the first time in the history of this great and hitherto most unfortunate undertaking, the directors have been able to keep faith with the public in the matter of punctuality of sailing. The Great Eastern was announced to start on the 1st of May, and recollecting previous disappointments people not unnaturally imagined that by this was meant the 1st of May, for June. No one certainly expected her to go at the date named, so the public will be rather agreeably surprised to hear that the directors have fulfilled their pledge, and that exactly on the day and hour appointed the great ship stood out of Milford Haven, and by 9 o'clock on Wednesday evening was steaming grandly down the Channel. It is barely 10 months since the people of the United States were looking with almost feverish expectation to her arrival at New York. This time, however, her advent will excite but little interest, unless she happens also to be the bearer of the latest news from Europe. All idea of taking her to New York for mere exhibition purposes is at an end; she has gone, for the present at least, regularly into the American trade – unless, indeed, the Government of Mr. Lincoln should divert her from her peaceful calling and take her up as a transport of war. Such an engagement is, we believe, far from improbable, and would be almost certain if there were more ports along the Southern coast which she could either enter or approach with safety; but unfortunately there are very few places of importance among the Southern cities which are easily accessible to her enormous bulk. She might go within a short distance of Richmond, and as Virginia has seceded, on her arrival out it is by no means unlikely that this will be her next destination. In case of an attack on Washington the value of such a magnificent transport, capable of putting 10,000 men with all their stores and ammunition on the shores of Norfolk harbour, in rear of the enemy, would be incalculable to the Northerners. A few

sunken ships at the mouth of Norfolk Harbour would be a very frail barrier against the approach of the Great Eastern under steam.

The rate of speed attained during the last voyage, except during one or two days, was on the whole, considered low for a vessel from which so much was anticipated in this respect. The deficiency was anticipated on all hands to the very foul state of the vessel's bottom. Accordingly when the Great Eastern returned, and she became at once plunged in her usual chaos of difficulties-her screw bearings out of order, her decks deficient, and everything wanting more or less of readjustment and repair, it was decided to lay her up for the winter on a gridiron at Milford Haven, and put her into thorough order. The gridiron was easily made, and the Great Eastern as easily laid upon it, and it was then found beyond a doubt that from whatever cause the lack of speed proceeded, it did not arise from a weedy bottom. There was a certain amount of green slime all over below her water-line, but on the whole the bottom was considered unusually clean and free. While on the gridiron some important improvements were effected. The old and unsightly deck was coated with pitch and a new two-inch deck of the best seasoned pine laid over it. All the lower decks were caulked. This (sic) change is to the eye the greatest that has been effected, and nothing can equal the beauty of the wide, smooth, snowy expanse of deck as it now appears. Feed-pumps were also fitted to the paddle-engines, the screw-shaft lifted, turned down and fitted with massive brass bearing turning upon lignum vitae. The difficulty of effecting this improvement was exceedingly great, and at one time it was thought almost certain that the entire screw shaft would have to be lifted out. Fortunately the skill and ingenuity of Mr. D. Gooch saved the shareholders this vast expense, and the work has been effectually performed at the smallest possible cost. Other minor improvements in the way of new passages of communication between the main and lower deck saloons were also made at the same time, and all changes which it had been felt could be made for the better were thoroughly carried out. Among

others was that of removing the immense square yards from the fore and mainmasts. Square sails for such a vessel as the Great Eastern are practically absurdities; nothing short of a sale astern affects them, and their enormous size gives all hands some hours' work to set them, while taking them in in heavy weather is all but impossible, as was shown during the brief summer gale on the first voyage. The resistance they offer when steaming head to wind is sufficient to diminish speed almost a knot an hour. These alterations, of course, make a great change in her external appearance, and the removal of all the sails gives her a lighter and more sea-going look aloft. The funnels have been painted of a bright red, and the abominable white line round her, which gives her the look of being "hogged" or breaking in the back, has been renewed in all its old deformity. So complete is the optical delusion caused by this line, that even experienced sailors and engineers cannot at first sight bring themselves to believe that the apparent sinking is not real, and the vessel has not sustained injury by being laid on the gridiron. It is almost unnecessary to say that no such alarming symptoms have appeared, and that the vessel is as strong and perfect in her hull as on the day she first left the Thames.

Most of the passengers came down to Milford on Wednesday by a special train, which left Paddington at 8 in the morning. There is very little doubt but that in this voyage there would have been 300 or 400 first-class passengers but for the great uncertainty which prevailed that the differences between the company and Mr. Russell would be so adjusted as to let the vessel start at all. Very many, therefore, declined to take their passages on the mere understanding that she would go on the 1st. "if no unforeseen difficulty prevented." About 100, however, were bold enough to venture (and among them were several ladies), and these arrived at Milford at 4 on Wednesday afternoon. Six o'clock was the hour fixed for the big ship to sail, and that time was passed before all the passengers were well on board. So, to the disappointment of many, none but passengers were allowed up her lofty sides, when immediately the bells were rung, the

gangways hoisted up, and all made ready for a start. There was great difficulty, however, in slipping the moorings, and it was 8 when they dropped with a great splash and rattle into the water, and once more left the huge ship at freedom. In a minute more, and amid cheers from all the little boats in the harbour, she slowly began her voyage at half speed – the paddles going nine and the screws 26 revolutions. Her appearance, as she seemed to slide out of the harbour in the dusk of the evening was a grand sight. Though with nearly 7,000 tons of coals in her, she seemed light in the water, and moved with an easy perceptible motion to the well setting up the Channel. At 9 o'clock, off St. Ann's lights, she hove to, to discharge her pilot, and soon afterwards, with a parting gun, went ahead at full speed to sea. For a time the little City of Paris steamed on to keep alongside, but the great ship went ahead at every stroke of the paddles, and soon through the gathering darkness grew dim and obscure, like the shadow of a ship. After while even this misty outline disappeared, and only her lights twinkling now and then faintly showed where she was careering over the water at such a pace.

It is quite a mistake to suppose that Captain Carnegie has gone in command of the ship, or has anything to do whatever with her management. Captain W. B. Thompson is her sole commander. Mr. Wright has gone as chief officer, and Mr. Robinson as chief engineer. It is hoped and expected that she will make the passage out within the nine days. We trust she may, and that her second visit to the late United States may be both more prosperous and popular than the first." (The Liverpool Telegraph, May 4, 1861).

"The Hon. A. Dudley Mann.

As is well known, commissioners have been sent by the Southern States of America to visit the different Courts of Europe on a mission, the object of which is obvious. Of these Mr. A. Dudley Mann is one. This gentleman, who is descended on both sides from English families, which emigrated to Virginia between 1660 and 1675, was born in that State on the 26th of April 1805. About twenty years ago he entered the

diplomatic service of the United States. In 1845 he was appointed Special Plenipotentiary to Hanover, Oldenburg, and the two Duchies of Mecklenburg, for the purpose of negotiating commercial treaties, the objects of which were the removal of transit dues on American products, and a large reduction of import duties in the States composing the Zollverein on tobacco, which were effected. In 1847 he was accredited to all the German Governments except Prussia. In 1849 he was appointed Commissioner to Hungary; and in 1850 he was appointed Special Minister to Switzerland, between which Republic and the United States he opened relations and negotiated a treaty of friendship, commerce, and extradition. In 1853, after the election of General Franklin Pierce to the Presidency of the United States, Mr. Mann was, without any solicitation on his part, appointed Assistant Secretary of State, an office then for the first time created. In 1855 he resigned that office, and since that he has devoted himself to the development of the material interests of the Southern States. His antecedents thus in every way qualified him for the discharge of the duties of the important office which has now been conferred upon him" (The Illustrated London News, May 4, 1861)

"Admiralty
May 4th 1861

My dear Milne,

In the present state of affairs in your neighborhood I think you will be glad to receive a few lines from me by the mail of this day. By our latest news it would appear to be evident that a Civil War between the once United, & the new secession States will be inevitable. We hear of letters of Marque & of Blockades & our latest telegrams mention the burning of the Gosport-Navy Yard at Norfolk, & the destruction of eleven vessels of war by the people of Maryland. Washington is said to be surrounded. Baltimore is in the hands of the Mob & Texas is preparing for War. In short every thing appears to show that you will have many an anxious moment. You will receive at once the copy of a Foreign Office letter conveying the Queens commands to you. Protection to our Trade & to

strengthen your Squadron, & we shall lose no time in doing our best to assist you. In the first place you will be ordered to keep the St. George & not to send her home again. The Mersey will be sent back to you as soon as possible & we have commissioned the Challenger, Rinaldo & Driver. Unfortunately the Ariadne and Immortablè are both at Gibraltar & both have got defects which must prevent their going to you direct, but probably one or other will be sent you, in addition to Mersey & the rest, as soon as we can manage to do so.

The opinions of the law officers of the Crown upon many complicated questions are being now taken and you will receive instructions as soon as we can enlighten you—at present I can say nothing except to yourself personally and privately and my own impression is that you will do nicely to make no unnecessary show of force in any quarter and above all things to be strictly neutral. Avoid by all means the appearance even of menace to either party, & interfere with nobody unless for the positive protection of British vessels against acts which may be positively piratical. If blockades are declared by either party you will have no questions to ask except to consider whether the force to maintain them is effective, & it seems to me to be immaterial whether the blockade is enforced by ships of war or by letters of marque provided the vessels are really vessels authorized by one or other of the contending parties and that they are sufficient for the purposes—all British vessels however will be entitled to due notice of every Blockade & due warning before they can be legally captured or prevented from quitting a blockaded port.

Civil remonstrances on your part and civil enquiries with the avowed & declared object of respecting the lawful claims of either belligerent will probably do more to save trouble than any other course. You will then be able to advise the masters of British vessels, & in all cases with the Yankee Officers the surest & safest plan will always be to show excessive civility but never concede undoubted rights or any points at all on which you have once determined to make a stand.

Report says that letters of Marque have been already received, & exhibited in this country, & no doubt there will be numberless minor questions of difficulty to perplex yourself & your officers, but there can be no mistake as to the broad line of non interference between the contending parties, the strict observance of neutrality & the simple assertion of the rights of British vessels as neutrals. In the ports of either party they must of course be subject to the de facto authorities.

These appear to me to be the main points to be kept in view in the first instance, & as you can hardly expect to solve all difficulties at once it will be idle for you to perplex yourself with too many technicalities. It is really to be hoped that all the officers in our cruisers will be conciliatory in their dealings with both parties & will avoid becoming partisans, and the longer we can abstain from meddling in any shape or form the better it will be.

I make these remarks solely from my own personal opinions & because they may hopefully be of use to you, but you must not consider them as official. I know only that in your position & in the absence of precise instructions they are the rules which I should adopt under the circumstances. People here in Liverpool are evidently much alarmed about piracy & want of protection, & of course we shall hear enough of it if there should be any real acts of piracy which are not very improbable.

The Committee on the Constitution of the Board have as yet only got through the Examination of the Duke of Somerset & Sir James Graham. Both of them have given strong evidence against any material change, & I do not imagine that any alteration in essentials will eventually be recommended. I fully expect to be examined when all the Ex First Lords have said their say, & I shall certainly not admit the supreme authority of the First Lords to the exclusion of all responsibility of the Board. Sir John Pakington would wish to be Minister of Marine, & he certain continued to

demonstration when he was here that he could not have been safely trusted with more power. I hope you keep your health & with best remembrances to Lady Milne.

I am every yours, Dundee.”

May 6, 1861 (Monday)

Arkansas secedes.

“Confidential

Monday Afternoon – May 6.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:--

As my colleagues were to meet me at my apartment at 5, I concluded not to answer yours of this morning until I conversed with them. While they, as I, are grateful for your kind offer to procure us seats for to-morrow night, they prefer not to be present at the debate. From the first I determined to carefully avoid, in my intercourse with the Britishry, any thing that might be construed into an impropriety. We have a good cause and in such hands as yours it is certain of speedy triumph. Our policy is attentive observations and “masterly inactivity.”

Russell is incapable of writing such letters as those which have their emanation in the brain of so unscrupulous a _____ as Mr. Bancroft Davis – ‘our own correspondent.’ The Times would, in my opinion, do justice to itself, were it to make an explanation to this end = It is certainly due to Mr. Russell.

I have sent for the ‘Press’ and shall receive it shortly. Of course I will read the article to which you refer with lively interest.

Yes! – depend upon it – we will never surrender the right of Privateering.

I have not so much as the shadow of a fear for the result. The clamor of the North is less significant than the silence of the South. 'The magpie prattles while the Eagle stately surveys the object at which he comes.'

Most Cordially Your Friend,

A. Dudley Mann.

P.S. – I want to see so much of you as your convenience will permit.”
(Emory University)

“The Great Eastern Needed.—The *Great Eastern* steamer is expected to reach New-York in about eight days. She will be open for exhibition, but it is quite apparent that she will not draw sufficient numbers to make it pay.

We suggest to the Administration that this mammoth vessel might be put to good account in the present war. She can be chartered on reasonable terms, and purchased on still better. Inasmuch as the Government will wish to throw heavy masses of soldiers on points of the Southern coast, the *Great Eastern* is the boat for that business. She can carry 4,000 men and their munitions and arms at a trip; and no disappointment can occur from the forces being scattered by a storm, has so often happened.”
(New York Times, May 6, 1861)

“MR. GREGORY

said, that in consequence of the news which had arrived from America since he had given notice of his question on this subject he had been obliged to alter its wording. Mr. Lincoln had proclaimed a blockade of the ports of the seven Confederate States, and, therefore, it was necessary to ask a question with regard to other two States which were

in an attitude of hostility to the United States, although they did not belong to the South. He had to ask the noble Lord the Foreign Secretary—1st. Whether any attempt of the Government of the United States to levy Federal Dues off Foreign Vessels outside the ports of North Carolina and Virginia before such vessels break bulk will not be an infringement of International Law, and, if so, whether our Minister at Washington has received instructions to that effect? 2nd. Whether the Government of the United States has been informed that a blockade of any port of the Southern Confederated States, unless effective, will not be recognized? 3rd. The Government of the United States having refused to relinquish the belligerent right of issuing Letters of Marque, the seven Southern Confederated and Sovereign States having become to the United States a separate and independent and foreign Power, whether Her Majesty's Government recognize the right of the President of the Southern Confederacy to issue Letters of Marque, and, if so, whether our Minister at Washington has been notified to that effect?

LORD JOHN RUSSELL

Sir, in regard to the hon. Gentleman's first question, I have to say that, having consulted the Queen's Advocate with respect to Federal dues to be levied outside the ports of North Carolina and Virginia, he stated to me that the answer to such a question must depend entirely upon the circumstances of the case, and that it could not at all be declared beforehand whether such an attempt to levy dues would be according or contrary to international law. Of course no instructions on that subject have been sent to Her Majesty's Minister at Washington; but I am in a position to state that Lord Lyons is of opinion that such an intention would be found impracticable, and would not be likely to be effective. With respect to the hon. Gentleman's second question, whether the Government of the United States have been informed that a blockade of any port of the Southern Confederacy unless it were effective would not be recognized, I certainly have not felt it necessary to give any instructions to our

Minister on that subject. It is well known to Lord Lyons, and it certainly has been declared law by the United States, that no blockade could be recognized or deemed valid unless it were an effective blockade; and I have no doubt that there would be no difference between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States on that point. With regard to the hon. Member's next question as to the belligerent right of issuing letters of marque, I must, in the first place, wait for more explanation, and, in the second place, reserve part of the answer which I have to give. With respect to belligerent rights in the case of certain portions of a State being in insurrection, there was a precedent which seems applicable to this purpose in the year 1825. The British Government at that time allowed the belligerent rights of the Provisional Government of Greece, and in consequence of that allowance the Turkish Government made a remonstrance. I may state the nature of that remonstrance, and the reply of Mr. Canning. "The Turkish Government complained that the British Government allowed to the Greeks a belligerent character, and observed that it appeared to forget that to subjects in rebellion no national character could properly belong." But the British Government informed Mr. Stratford Canning that 'the character of belligerency was not so much a principle as a fact; that a certain degree of force and consistency, acquired by any mass of population engaged in war entitled that population to be treated as a belligerent, and, even if their title were questionable, rendered it the interest well understood of all civilized nations so to treat them; for what was the alternative? A Power or a community (call it which you will) which was at war with another, and which covered the sea with its cruisers, must either be acknowledged as a belligerent, or dealt with as a pirate;' which latter character, as applied to the Greeks, was loudly disclaimed. In a separate despatch of the same date (12th of October, 1825), Sir Stratford Canning was reminded that when the British Government acknowledged the right of either belligerent to visit and detain British merchant vessels having enemy's property on board, and to confiscate such property it was necessarily implied as a condition of such

acknowledgment that the detention was for the purpose of bringing the vessels detained before an established Court of Prize, and that confiscation did not take place until after condemnation by such competent tribunal. The question has been under the consideration of the Government. They have consulted the law officers of the Crown. The Attorney and Solicitor General, and the Queen's Advocate and the Government have come to the opinion that the Southern Confederacy of America, according to those principles, which seem to them to be just principles, must be treated as a belligerent. But further questions arise out of that question, with respect to which we are still in doubt—as what are the alterations which are to be made in the law of nations in consequence of the declaration of Paris; and those questions being of a difficult and intricate nature have not yet been determined upon. They are still under the consideration of the Government, and will be still further considered before any declaration is made to other Powers. (House of Commons [Hansard] May 6, 1861)

May 7, 1861 (Tuesday)

J. D. Bulloch arrives in Montgomery, Alabama.

“Lord John Russell said last night in the House of Commons that the Southern Confederate states must be recognised by Gt. B. as belligerents. This is regarded by many as a strong indication that they mean to recognise this pretended Confederacy, and the result is great anxiety among merchants. My opinion is that Lord John was hasty and the Gov’t will take the back track.”

Mr. Dallas and Phil. have gone to Fleming’s Hotel, Half-Moon St. for a time. He is greatly alarmed to-day about Mrs. Dallas, as *The Times* says Southern Privateers are already preying on Northern commerce. This is done, I think, to alarm.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

May 8, 1861 (Wednesday)

J.D. Bulloch sees Judah Benjamin, who asks him to go to Europe. “The Government steamer *Star of the*

West had been captured by some Galveston volunteers off Indianola, and taken to New Orleans. She had a large quantity of provisions on board at the time, which she was conveying to the troops in Texas.” & “Hon. Dudley Mann. – The portrait of this gentleman has appeared in a London illustrated paper. Mr. Mann is well known in America in connection with the efforts that have been made during the last few years to establish direct communications with some Southern port. Whatever may be the result of the present struggle, the South will probably preserve a partial commercial independence of the North, and the commerce of that Section of the country would seem to justify the lines, that are projected, to Charleston and New Orleans.” & Confederate Commissioners in London are at “Westminster Palace Hotel” (London American, May 8, 1861)

“Latest via Londonderry.

* * *

Queenstown, Friday

* * *

The steamship *Great Eastern* has been seized upon a writ of execution, served by Scott Russell.” (New York Times, May 8, 1861)

May 9, 1861 (Thursday)

Commander James Dunwoody Bulloch, CSN, leaves the South for Europe. (*Confederate Navy* at 35) He leaves Montgomery by train, goes to Detroit, and takes a steamship from Montreal to Liverpool.

May 10, 1861 (Friday)

Confederate Congress appropriates \$2 million for the purchase or construction of iron warships in Europe. A week later, Confederate Navy Secretary Mallory orders Lt. James H. North abroad with instructions to secure one or two such vessels. (*Confederate Navy* at 51).

“The *Great Eastern*.

The advices by the *Africa* state that the *Great Eastern* would positively leave Milford

Haven for this port on the 1st inst., and therefore she may be daily expected to arrive through Long Island Sound, at Morrisiana, where she will anchor.” (New York Times, May 10, 1861)

“Paris, France, May 10, 1861.

Hon. Robert Toombs, Secretary of State of the Confederate States.

Sir: Since our last dispatch (No. 2), the motion (by Mr. Gregory) in the House of Commons, that the independence of the Confederate States be recognized by England, was taken up on the 7th instant, and at the request of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the representatives from Manchester, Liverpool, and others, was withdrawn. The reasons for this course were that the consideration of the motion would give rise to a debate in which great uncertainty would be manifested; that parties would form upon it, and that these things would prevent the Government from acting impartially when the proper moment for action should arise. An opinion is that the Government of England simply waits to see which shall prove the stronger, and that it is sincere in its expressed design to be neutral.

From our intercourse with people here whose opinions are entitled to weight, we are of the opinion that France will pursue the same policy, observing a strict neutrality, and awaiting the exhibition of sufficient consistency in our internal affairs and strength to maintain our proposition to justify a recognition.

At the same time we believe that whenever England and France shall come to the conclusion that the North and South are irremediably separated they will be easily satisfied as to our own ability to maintain our position, and that when the cotton crop is ready for market their necessities will force them to conclusions favorable to the South.

All that we can do at present is to affect public opinion in an unobtrusive manner as well as

we can, to await some favorable event which shall enable us to press the consideration of the recognition of the Confederate States upon both England and France.

We are fully satisfied that the interview with Lord John Russell has been officially communicated to the government of France.

Lieutenant Bullock arrived in London about the 4th instant.

Respectfully, your obedient servants,

W. L. Yancey,
P.A. Rost.

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

May 10, 1861 (Friday)

VOICE OF THE LONDON PRESS

From the London Saturday Review

The attack on Fort Sumter may be explained by the strong interest of the seceding States in provoking a collision. Although the officer in command seems to have sustained the honor of his flag, the result of the struggle could not have been doubtful. The Government of Washington must have foreseen the occurrence, and it has throughout preserved the secret of its intentions with unusual firmness. The telegraphs and the newspaper correspondents have become so far aware of the change as to diversify their positive statements with occasional confessions of ignorance. A small force has been dispatched southward, but it has for some time been understood that the Cabinet had abandoned all intention of relieving Major Anderson in Fort Sumter. The remaining alternatives were the occupation of the posts on the islands of the Southern coast, and the more formidable enterprise of reinforcing Gen. Houston in Texas. In the absence of information, it may be safely assumed that Mr. Lincoln had never any intention of commencing hostilities, though it might be prudent to take up positions that might be

serviceable in the event of a collision, while they would have a tendency to exercise a favorable influence on negotiation, Mr. Jefferson Davis has probably a defensive force greatly superior to any army of which the Northern States could dispose for purposes of invasion. On the other hand, he cannot hope to command the sea, and he must be well aware that Foreign Powers will not be hasty quarrel, on the subject of blockade, with the United States.

The other Federal posts in the South will probably share the fate of Fort Sumter. Both the principal parties to the dispute are, with good reason, chiefly anxious to secure the support of the wavering Border States. Virginia and Kentucky can only be kept in the Union by pacific and conciliatory measures; and therefore Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward had every reason for postponing a collision as long as possible. Mr. Davis may perhaps have hoped to effect his object by a precisely opposite course. When blood has once been shed, alliances are determined by the preponderance of interests and sympathies, and not by a judicial estimate of the merits of the ultimate quarrel. Slave States, since the struggle has begun, will not desire to be at war with the supporters of their own institutions. In ordinary times, it would be highly inconvenient to Border slaveholders to live in the neighborhood of an imaginary frontier with free institutions beyond it, and without a Fugitive Slave law; but if it is necessary to break with either party, Virginia, as a slave-breeding country, can no more dispense with the cotton districts than the Lincolnshire horse-dealer could do without a market in London. It was, therefore, the interest of the South, and not of the North, to bring about a state of affairs in which neutrals will be compelled to choose their side. For this purpose, it may have been worth while to accept the responsibility of being both really and apparently in the wrong. Another motive for a rupture may have been furnished by the existence of the minority which, according to the sanguine belief of Northern politicians, is inclined to revoke the act of secession. Mr. Jefferson Davis and his colleagues are themselves undoubtedly in earnest, and they

must be well aware that a war would at once suppress all difference of opinion.

From the London Spectator.

The prospect of the future is dark and lowering. The North has men, and what is more, money. In England sufficient account has never yet been taken of the vast strength which the North has in reserve—its free spirit, liable to be aroused to fanaticism. Once thoroughly roused, the North will act with all the energy of the Anglo-Saxon race, and it is difficult to conceive the defeat of 19,000,000 of free people by the comparatively small white population of the South. On the other hand, there is a fanaticism also in the South. There is plenty of material for armies in the “mean whites,” and plenty of soldiership as well as statesmanship in the slave-owning, slave-glorifying aristocracy. Money may be the weak point in the Southern armor, but they have even got money for present needs. The relative power of the two sections at the outset would be unequal, for the South has larger forces at its immediate disposal. As the Northern attempt to relieve Fort Sumter has roused the South, so we believe there are two acts which the South might do which would rouse Northern fanaticism. One is to close the Mississippi, or exercise sovereign rights thereon, impeding free transit; and the next is the reported scheme of marching on Washington. In any case, “the Great Republic is gone.” There can never more be one United States of America, and the chance is that out of the coming strife several Confederacies will arise. The tendency to split off from the centre has gone on without cessation since Washington’s death; now, one whole group of States have broken utterly the Federal ties. Why should the process not go on?

From the London Times, April 27.

Nature, or something that stands in its stead, is still strong in the Americans. They fight “willing, but with unwilling minds.” They lift the hand to strike, they ___ the instrument of death, but a mysterious power averts the stroke, or blunts the

edge, or deadens the blow. Are they in earnest, or are they playing at war, or dreaming that they strike, and still strike not? It sounds more like a dangerous game than a sad reality. Seven batteries breached and bombarded Fort Sumter for forty hours, burnt down its barracks, blew up several magazines, threw shells into it innumerable, and did a vast show destruction. The fort replied with like spirit. At length it surrendered, the garrison marched out prisoners of war, and it was then found that not a man was killed or an officer wounded on either side. Many a “difficulty” at a bar has cost more bloodshed. Was this a preconceived feat of conjuring? Were the rival Presidents saluting one another in harmless fireworks to amuse the groundlings? The whole affair is utterly inexplicable. It sounds like the battles when the coat of mail had come to its perfection, and when the only casualty, after a day’s hard fighting, was a case of suffocation and a few bruises. Odin’s heroes as they renew their daily warfare are really wounded, though their wounds are quickly healed. This is sparring with boxing gloves—not the loaded caetus of modern warfare. It is a mere spectacle. The population and even the ladies of Charleston poured forth to see the sight. Ten thousand soldiers lined the works, watching the sport and contributing their share. Our own Cockneys have seen as much, and done as much, at Cremorne, or the Surrey Gardess, not more unscathed, and, let us hope, in not more pacific mood. But, perhaps, this is only the interchange of courtesies which in olden times preceded real war. The result is utterly different from all we are accustomed to hear of the Americans. There, “a word and a blow” has been the rule. In this case, the blow, when it does at last come, falls like snow and lights as gently as thistle-down. Surely it cannot be a “cross?” If it be, half the Old Union is in the conspiracy, for all are arming and rushing to war as if they expected serious work.

What next? An attempt to recapture Fort Sumter? A contest for Fort Pickens? A struggle for the Capitol? A diversion in Texas? A renewal of negotiations? No one knows, and what is worse, no

one credits President Lincoln for any plan. We can only compare the two sides, and strike a balance. In the North there is an army and a navy, and money, and a more numerous white population, without, too, the incubus of slavery. There is also the tradition of the Union, the Capitol, and the successor of Washington. Modern warfare cannot go on without money, and the Northern States can more easily raise and spend a hundred millions of dollars a year than the South can raise ten millions. All that is outside, and material, is in favor of the North. It has the preponderance of everything that can be counted, measured and weighed; that can be bought and sold; that can be entered in ledgers and put on a balance-sheet. It has the manufactories, the building yards, the dock yards,—the whole apparatus of national wealth and strength. It has the money market, and it borrows more easily than the South, where, however, political zeal sustains a fictitious credit. So in the North we read of numerous gatherings of State forces—of many steamers chartered, stripped of their finery, filled with soldiers, food, and ammunition, and steaming southward. So much for the North. In the South, on the contrary, there is little or nothing but that which often becomes the counterbalance to everything else. There are the men of action, who can combine, conspire, keep the secret, have a plan, and carry it out without wavering or flinching. The politicians at Washington have been vacillating between war and peace, between compromise and resistance. In the South there has been one steady, uninterrupted progress towards secession and war. To the very last, President Lincoln has been behindhand. His ships, sent to relieve Fort Sumter, only arrived in time to be distant spectators of the scene; they came, in fact, but to contribute to the glory of the captors, and to bring shame and distrust on themselves and their cause. If this is to be an omen of the result, the rich and unready North will be no match for the fiery forwardness of the South.

But long shots are very different from close quarters. A fight of batteries across a river, watched with telescopes, and quietly witnessed by a large population, affords little clue for the result of a

battle, hand to hand, step by step, with revolvers, knives, and what not, round the very building of the Capitol. That appears to be the thing next apprehended, and President Lincoln has summoned to his aid all the miscellaneous local corps of the several Northern States that may choose to hear him. Strange that the spot once held so sacred and so carefully insulated from local or partial associations should become the object of the first civil war! That is, indeed, what we have come to. Many of us remember, not without a tingle of shame for our own country the wanton attack of the British army on the Capitol, and the foolish injuries done there, destined to more than avenged. This was but a souvenir of the old War of Independence. No British officer would have dared to insult the shrine of American union and liberty, had it not been felt that, besides the question then at issue, there was an account still to settle for the former war. Since the year 1813, there has been a generation of mutual respect—of even affection. That is all gone by. Other combatants gather round Washington. The War Minister of the Southern Confederacy publicly promises that the Secession flag shall float over the Capitol by the 1st of May. Any day it is expected that Virginia, whether by choice or necessity, will join the Secession, and then the sacred district of Columbia, which was to have been the common ground of the world's great brotherhood, will be the debatable border of a divided allegiance and a bloody quarrel. Meanwhile time brings round anniversaries which are celebrated as of yore, but with the felling that they are now a solemn mockery. What re the Declaration of Independence, the Battle of Lexington, the Birthday of Clay, and the other red-letter days in the American Calendar, now that the glorious fabric is itself in the dust, and the mountain made with hands shattered to pieces? It was but the other day, that all eyes were fixed on the capital of the Old World as the single object of interest, and the expected scene of the great events that were to mark the latter years of this century. Rome occupied the attention of all men. A hundred questions were asked, but all were of Rome. Will Rome still be a Capital? Will it be the head of a Confederation, or the Throne of a King, or the seat

of a foreign Viceroy, or the See of a Universal Bishop, or the Senate of a National Republic? Before these questions could be answered, and while they are still asked, the Capital of the New World comes to the foreground, and is the object of much the same inquiries. The two cities of Rome and Washington are not so differently situated at this moment, nor are their prospects so different, as might be. For the present, indeed, we shall all think more of Washington than of Rome.

From the London Shipping Gazette, April 26.

We have at last the intelligence that hostilities have broken out between the Federal Government and the Southern States. Fort Sumter has fallen, after what is described as a gallant resistance on the part of Major Anderson and his force of forty hours' duration. But, singular enough—and fortunate as it is singular—during this protracted cannonade, in the course of which some 1,700 rounds of shot and shell were fired by both parties, not one single man was killed on either side, and it is doubtful whether any one has been wounded. This bloodless conclusion of the first encounter, taken in connection with the circumstances which preceded and followed it, seems to indicate that there is no very bitter or rancorous feeling on either side, and favors the hope that a good deal of the pent-up irritation of the Southerners has found vent in the first and comparatively harmless passage of arms. From the correspondence between General Beauregard and Major Anderson immediately before the forts opened fire, it was quite obvious that bloodshed was not intended, and that the Commander of Fort Sumter, in resisting the demand to evacuate, stood simply on a point of honor, and, in returning the fire of the Secessionists, only desires to justify himself to his Government, and remove the impression which his passive conduct appears to have created at Washington. We say all this is to be gathered from the correspondence in question, and derives confirmation from the fact that immediately after Major Anderson hauled down his flag, he proceeded to Charleston, where he became the guest of

General Beauregard. It is further observable that, although there were ships of war under the orders of the Federal Government in the offing, no attempt was made to relieve Fort Sumter, nor when the Commander commenced to reply to the Secessionists' fire. The excitement both at Charleston and at Washington is described as intense; but it would seem that the feeling has not yet reached the occupants of the White House, who, and more especially the President, are said to be calm and composed. Neither has the news from the South, notwithstanding its gravity, produced anything like a panic at New-York. The stocks generally receded, it is true, but the Government Securities are reported to have been firmly held—a fact in itself of sufficient significance, as indicating confidence in the proceedings of the Administration. The suspension of business in Wall-street was the natural consequence of the report of the actual outbreak of hostilities, but the absence of anything approaching to a panic could not fail to be regarded as a proof that the mercantile community, at least do not regard civil war with all its horrors, as inevitable, or that the general interruption of trade is the necessary consequence of the existing state of things. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the reluctance of the Federal Government to resort to hostilities, it is obvious that they are prepared to take a determined stand against the Secessionists, wherever the rights or property of the Union are attacked. It rests, therefore, with the Southern Convention to say whether they are disposed to listen to terms, or whether they are prepared to persevere in the course they have adopted, regardless of the consequences.” (New York Times, May 10, 1861)

May 11, 1861 (Saturday)

Letter from the Duke of Newcastle to Governor of Bermuda and other colonial governors. “The accounts which have reached this Country from the United States of America leave no doubt that hostilities are imminent, if, indeed, they may not be said to have commenced, between the two Confederacies into which those States have now separated. It will therefore be the duty of Her Majesty’s Government to apprise you, from time to

time, of their views on the questions which are likely to arise out of this state of conflict, and in respect of which you may be called upon to act.

“The first question for neutral Nations to consider is, what is the character of that conflict, and whether it should be regarded as a War carried on between Parties severally in a position to wage War, and to claim the rights and to perform the obligations attaching to Belligerents.

“Her Majesty’s Government consider that that question can only be answered in the affirmative. It the Government of the Northern portion of the late Union possesses the advantages inherent in long-established Governments, the Government of the Southern portion has nevertheless duly constituted itself, and carries on in a regular form the Administration of the Civil Government of the States of which it is composed. . . .”

Great Eastern arrives at Sandy Hook, New Jersey. “Well-informed Americans are confident that on the arrival of the *Great Eastern* at New York, the Northern States will offer to buy her.” (Warrington [Liverpool] *Guardian*, May 11, 1861)

“The *Great Eastern* Due.—Messrs. Grinnell, Minturn & Co., to whom the *Great Eastern* is consigned, expected that she would be telegraphed off Block Island yesterday. She is to come up Long Island Sound, and to anchor for a time in Flushing Bay, where she will be open for exhibition. Some of the members of the Board of Directors will accompany the ship. It is not yet determined whether she will take out passengers, or both freight and passengers.” (New York Times, May 11, 1861)

May 12, 1861 (Sunday)

Telegram to L.P. Walker from
D.G. Duncan

“*Great Eastern* arrived yesterday at Sandy Hook. Rumored [Virginia] Governor [John Letcher] has chartered her as transport.”
Richmond, Virginia

Telegram to D.G. Duncan from L.P. Walker

“Telegraph only ascertained facts, not floating rumors, and brief them.” Montgomery, Alabama

“The Great Eastern.—A Chance Not To Be Lost.—The Administration now has an opportunity of striking a blow at the rebels, which to omit will go very far to destroy all confidence in its sincerity and energy. The *Great Eastern* is here, and we understand its officers have authority to arrange a charter with Government, looking to its immediate conversion into a transport ship. Let it be hired at once. It will be remembered that the Leviathan will comfortably accommodate an army of 10,000 men, with horses, artillery, and the most liberal stores for a long voyage. So furnished and dispatched to the Gulf of Mexico, the vessel would almost supersede the presence of a squadron, save the few frigates engaged in the blockade of three or four principal ports; for passing with the utmost speed from point to point, it would render the Gulf too hot for privateer; and threatening now one sea-port, and now another, it would furnish ample occupation for a rebel army of fifty thousand men. It is needless to remind the reader of its numerous and ample boats, by which a landing could be effected anywhere,—or a hostile vessel taking shelter in shore, could be pursued and cut out. We trust the obvious economy of the warfare, the *Great Eastern* thus insures, will have such weight with the authorities as to cause its immediate charter and dispatch to Southern waters.” (New York Times, May 12, 1861)

“The Voyage of the Great Ship.
From our special correspondent.

On Board the Great Eastern.

Off Sandy Hook, Saturday May 11.

The departure of the *Great Eastern* from Milford Haven, for New-York, was fixed for the 1st inst. The announcement produced no excitement. The least powerful of steamers arriving from America was more of a topic. The notice of the sailing stood among other notices in the marine columns of the Press, without wonder on the part of the British public, while the line that told of the signaling of the smallest of the Atlantic fleet, agitated the soberest men of the City, and set

engines moving toward extra editions. An action brought by Mr. Scott Russell against the Great Ship Company diverted some attention to the leviathan. He instituted his suit, as you are aware, just previous to the 1st of May. This embarrassed the owners, and gave anticipatory passengers extreme trouble, for the Court granted Mr. Russell his claim—eighteen thousand pounds—and a little paper threatened to hold the *Great Eastern* to her moorings. The office of the Company was in acute financiering throes for days. Mr. Scott Russell was at several consultations. At the eleventh hour this amiable Engineer relented. We need not dwell upon the local trials of the big ship. History will spurn such tiresome details as the differences of Directors, the rigors of the law when invoked by cunning scientific men, and the paltry inconvenience of unpaid claims and undivided dividends, and refuse all facts but those which form the grand picture of the greatest of ships, the creation of wonderful skill and genius.

So the departure was taken on the day fixed. The weather was pleasant, and the passengers, who went down to Milford in the express train, with some Directors and Mr. Scott Russell, were in spirits. A steamer took them down to the leviathan, lolling in the jaws of the channel, and when quite near it, she stuck fast, as if readily overwhelmed with inferiority; and by and by she regained her balance, and put all aboard. Steam was up in paddle and screw departments. The gun was fired, and moorings were shipped at 8½ P.M. The living freight of the ship consisted of officers and men and ninety passengers—sixty-one first class, sixteen second, and thirteen third class. The command was as follows:

James Bett Thomson, Commander. Thos. Wright, Chief Officer; Tomyns D. Brown, second officer; John McAllister, third officer; W. B. C. Jones, fourth officer; John G. Goulstone, Surgeon; Richard W. Curtis, Purser; Lawrence Archdeacon, Assistant Purser; John O. Hepworth, Junior Clerk; George Bennett and Henry Arthur, Midshipmen; James Rorison, Chief Engineer; six Engineers,

paddle department; six engineers, screw department; 47 stewards; 43 petty officers; 88 seamen; 163 firemen, trimmers, &c.

This is not the complement of the *Great Eastern*. Her executive officers are reduced from ten to four, and the force of seamen is far below the right figure. The deficiency is accounted for by the untimely action of Mr. Scott Russell, and will be remedied before the next trip. The command was offered to Capt. Thomson, when it was thrown up by Capt. Carnegie, for reasons, we may surmise not unconnected with the suit referred to. The latter officer, who has served with distinction in the Royal Navy, (his last command was the frigate *Tribune*, in the Black Sea.) and held a place among the Lords of the Admiralty, and who has been one of the most active of the Great Eastern's Directors, came over with her unofficially. Capt. Thomson has long enjoyed a high reputation. He served for many years in the East Indian and other trades. In 1857 he joined the New-York and Glasgow Steam Shipping Company. He has also commanded for the Liverpool, New-York and Philadelphia Company, as many passengers by that popular line remember pleasantly.

A sail on a summer lake would be like the peaceful sailing over the Atlantic of the *Great Eastern* for the first four days. The great coquette, the sea, was in one of her most dangerous and delicious moods. She caressed her strong lord with the gentlest gales, blown from the lightest clouds. The waves were never up. Saluting ships that sparkled around the horizon, the vast ship moved grandly across the main with a glory of foam about her. It was the most pleasurable of pleasure trips. The hours glided into each other without noise of engines, or jar, or sickness. A slight tremor of the strong frame, the nervousness of unusual strength, alone exposed the substantiality of the ship, and defeated the idea of a trim phantom doomed to eternal space—a monster Flying Dutchman, under happier auspices. The congratulations of the passengers were frequent and sincere. There was a perpetual surprise of undiscovered qualms. The

squeamishest were confident. The bhlobs smoked cigars. Dancing was a serious proposition; and all the time, pleasantly floating, far above the spray's reach, with giant shadows wavering aloft upon the sky, and long reaches of smooth deck before the eye, and brilliant suites of saloons below, there was no taint of burning fat commingled with the odor of dishes from the kitchen; and the swell was a lullaby. It was wagered that the trip would be the quickest run ever made across the Atlantic. In these four days the average run each day was 330 knots—the best run was 342 knots; the action of the machinery was perfect, for the ship was built to run *fourteen knots an hour*.

In these calm days the happy voyagers became acquainted with each other, and except that they spent the greater part of the time in exploring for each other in different parts of the ship, were in convivial high feather. Certainly, no ocean travelers were ever so free from the common inconveniences of the sea. Luxurious was the accommodation of the staterooms, and no guards protected the dishes of the daily feasts. The dining-saloon might have been that of any first-class hotel, and the grand saloon some favored haunt of Metropolitan beauty and fashion. The *Great Eastern* had been sent to sea with special guarantees against the weather.

But on the evening of the fourth day, being Sunday, the wind freshened. At 4 o'clock of Monday morning, there was a violent burst of the elements. The sea was in its mad white caps. Feathers of foam whirled from it. From the southeast came the gale, and it grew with the growing day. All Monday, the 6th of May, the *Great Eastern* was driving against one of the sharpest gales of the boisterous season on the North Atlantic. The wind blew nearly a hurricane for quite eight hours. Caught by the tremendous stress from the east and south, the ship took to the trough of the sea. The crash of crockery and all moveable things started the timid. But the least important of an ocean swell would have gotten up the same excitement, since the *Great Eastern* went to sea determined not to roll, and without fastening her things. Broken

plates were of less account than broken spars. In the tremendous roll of the ship (she never pitched) the inconvenience of her ponderous rigging became evident. Two gafts broken from their stays, and swung fearfully free, endangering the funnels; and when, after long and hard exertion, they were secured, a boatswain's mate bore testimony by a broken leg to the severity of the struggle. All through the hurricane, while the waters were hissing up her sides, half overturning her boats on their davits, and dashing spray far up into the yards, the leviathan was moving steadily at the rate of ten knots an hour. Twice or thrice the vessel was put off her course by a couple of points, to make fast the upper works. Then the real greatness of the *Great Eastern* appeared. With her head to the wind, she stood perfectly firm and composed. Her motion was again easy. There was no shock, no strain. The labor was with the sea, and it was in vain. The ship may never again encounter such a gale. If she ever does she will meet it on fairer terms. Her masts will not be encumbered with heavy and impractical spars, difficult to move, but very dangerous in motion. Then the battle will be to her, easily. It was proved on Monday that to the utmost extent of human ability, she is made to bear and suffer, and be strong. For close examination of all departments of the ship, when the weather had moderated, disclosed no single evidence, in plank or plate, that the fury of the waves and winds had been never so slightly felt. And there was no fault to find with the movement of her engines. That was perfect. The distance performed in this day of 'weather,' not including the miles traveled out of course, was 215 knots.

To this rough and yet satisfactory experience succeeded fine steaming, with abated wind. The sense of the company was taken, and praises of the big ship went round. A chill in the air bespoke the near neighborhood of ice; then, on the Banks, (where a 'wild time,' unshakespearean, generally grows.) a fog came up, through which the vessel moved at full speed, sounding her shrill whistle, and closing the day so spent with the best record of all the voyage—350 knots. On Thursday last soundings

were taken and a fog fought; on Friday the weather was a beautiful welcome home, and the ship was steered for Sandy Hook, although the pilot was directed to meet her off Montauk Point. The last dinner was a fine event. Not only were the guards again removed from the dishes, and the viands left to their equilibrium, but complimentary resolutions were passed by the passengers, viva voce, the big ship responded through the eloquence of Capt. Thomson, and very good feeling prevailed. This morning found the Leviathan roaming along shore. The pilot boats were all chasing her far out at sea, and she actually reached Sandy Hook before she caught one of them. Her anchor was dropped about two miles outside the bar. The actual time of the voyage was nine days, thirteen hours and twenty minutes, and the last day's run was 344 knots. A small steamer came along-side and was chartered to convey passengers and baggage to the City, where we shall probably arrive with our baggage at 6 o'clock.

As the judgment of the consignees of the *Great Eastern*, Messrs. Grinnell, Minturs & Co., shall decide, the ship will either go round Montauk and pass up the sound to moorings, at Morrisania, or cross the bar at high tide early tomorrow morning.

What the future disposition of the superb steamer will be, much depends upon the promptness of the Federal Government. Her arrival at this momentous crises in American affairs, is not purely an accident of intercourse. As a transport ship she has no equal in the naval architecture of the world. Her ventilation is beneficent, her room is scarcely estimable, her hospital (at present under the charge of one of the most skilful of English surgeons, Dr. Goulstone) is a pattern of comfort and cleanliness, and her solidity of hulk insures her against attacks of sea or land. I cannot state authoritatively that the direction of the *Great Eastern* favors the chartering of the vessel for service of war, but I am able to affirm that suitable propositions from the Government *will be entertained*. These propositions, however, must be for the purchase of

the ship. Capt. Russell, a passenger, is a representative of the French Government, taken from his post in the *Marine Imperiale*, and expressly commissioned to examine the capacity of the *Great Eastern* for just such service. He has watched her movements closely during the voyage, and is prepared to report warmly in her favor, and it will not be the fault of this officer if his sagacious government does not reap the best benefits of the skill and energy lavished upon the big ship.

Capt. Thomson may or may not open the big ship to the public. Under ordinary circumstances she should prove vastly interesting as a study of elaborate and massive mechanism; but what excitement would not an inspection of her produce if it were known that her gigantic energy was to be exerted in behalf of the Stars and Stripes?

H.N.”

(New York Times, May 12, 1861)

“English Views of the War.

Among our intelligence by the *Great Eastern*, we give an article from the *London Times* upon the affairs of this country. It differs in no essential respect from the previous commentaries of the same journal upon American questions, which appear to be an insoluble puzzle for the Thunderer, and to abate much of the dogmatism it is apt to bring to all its editorial discussions. In the present case the reader will be at no loss to discern the entire failure to appreciate the motives which have at last put the united North in action, or the energy which must inevitably result from the impulse. The *Times* compares the military strength of the Contending sections by the assumption that skill and experience are on the side of the South, allied with sufficient means and men; while the North lacks the skill, and has no mentionable advantage in the other particulars. We, who know better, are aware that Northern troops had a larger share of instruction in the military school of the Mexican war than those of the South; while here we have also European volunteers, practiced and thoroughly

disciplined at home in martial exercises, and numerous enough to hold their own alone against the largest force procurable at the rebel States. We also know better the value of the credit displayed in the subscription to the Southern loan. Not one-half of the amount, after all means of compulsion had been exhausted, was secured; and that which the pressure of terror actually extorted was paid, not in gold or silver, but in over-issues of bank paper, unsupported by a specie basis. Such pecuniary resources are of small worth.” (New York Times, May 12, 1861)

May 13, 1861 (Monday)

Queen Victoria issues Proclamation of Neutrality which is transmitted to Governor of Bermuda on May 16, 1861. (Received by Governor of Bermuda on July 11, 1861); Charles Francis Adams, the new American Minister to England, arrives in Liverpool, and goes to London on May 14.

“The Great Eastern.
Her Second Visit to New-York—How She Was Received.

The *Great Eastern* steamship looms up once more at her old anchorage in the North River. Being obliged, on account of the tide, to remain outside of the Hook until yesterday morning, she weighed anchor between 8 and 9 o’clock, and prepared to come over the bar while the tide was at its height—about 9 ½ o’clock. She came in without accident, under the skillful management of Admiral Murphy, her former pilot, and turning the Southwest Spit at 9 ¾, came up the bay in magnificent style.

Large numbers took the early boats to Staten Island, in order to obtain a good view of the great ship as she passed by. The Staten Island bluff, and the shores of Long Island around Fort Hamilton and Bayside, were lined with people in carriages and on foot, who waved their welcome, and cheered cordially, as she passed through the Narrows. The ship fired a salute and dipped her enormous English ensign, in response to these salutations. She carried the Stars and Stripes at the main, as usual.

The day was most beautiful, and all the vessels at anchor in the Bay, and many public and private buildings which skirt the shores, hoisted their colors, and dipped them in compliment as she passed.

After a short pause at Quarantine, to permit the visit of the health-officer, during which innumerable boats and yachts hovered about the monster ship, she took her way up to the City, arriving off the Battery about 11 o'clock. Castle Garden and the whole line of the Battery were occupied by the Second Regiment of troops and citizens, who watched the great ship with the deepest interest as she moved onward towards her anchorage. The Second Regiment fired a salute of twelve guns. The flags of all the ships were displayed, and the decks of vessels and the wharves were crowded with people, hundreds of whom saw the ship for the first time.

There was less of enthusiasm displayed than when she entered the harbor of New-York, for the first time, about a year ago, but there was everywhere expressed a sentiment of cordial welcome to the great ship, which was rendered the more earnest by the belief, which appears to have spontaneously taken possession of the public mind, that she is likely to be chartered by our Government, and to be turned to some great and useful account in the present crises." (New York Times, May 13, 1861)

"Mr. Chas. Francis Adams, our new Envoy, has arrived at Liverpool in the America. He is to be here to-night."

"E. DeLeon wrote me a few days since for Dudley Mann's address. I replied to-day that I would do anything in reason for him, but could not find it in my conscience to assist treason. This will doubtless terminate our friendship. He is at the Grand Hotel du Louvre, Paris." (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

May 14, 1861 (Tuesday)

Telegraph to L.P. Walker from D.G. Duncan

“Contents last dispatch communicated to me by Mr. Tyler. Have since seen Governor Letcher, who replied to my request for the facts that they were not in shape and was not at liberty to give them even to War Department, but that two messengers had arrived from Hampton. May be more successful tomorrow.” Richmond, Virginia

“The Great Eastern.

The *Great Eastern* weighed anchor and drifted to a position further up the North River, and near her former position opposite Hammond-street. It is probable that she will be coated while lying in the stream, and prepared for her next trip without coming to the dock. The pilot who brought the *Great Eastern* into port was Mr. James Britton, of the *Edmund Blunt*, No. 2, and not Mr. Murphy as heretofore stated. It is probable that she will be opened to the public before her departure.” (New York Times, May 14, 1861)

May 15, 1861 (Wednesday)

Telegraph to L.P. Walker from D.G. Duncan
“Private. Governor’s private secretary informs me confidentially that Letcher is aggrieved by want of cordiality and freedom of intercourse on part of Administration.” Richmond, Virginia

Telegraph to L.P. Walker from D.G. Duncan
“Troops from Fort Monroe thought only in search of water. Encamped on farms of Joseph Segar and John Tyler not far from Hampton. Governor’s council now in session, noon. Governor perhaps disinclined to give facts last night before submitting to council.” Richmond, Virginia

“General City News.

The Great Eastern To Sail For Liverpool.
--We are informed by the Agents of the *Great Eastern* that she will positively sail for Liverpool on Saturday, the 25th inst., as advertised. As an evidence of the advantages she offers for passengers, we may mention there was not a single case of sea-sickness on board during her passage out of England, and passengers by her, who have frequently crossed before, say the comfort on board

exceeds what they have ever experienced by any other vessel.” (New York Times, May 15, 1861)

“The Outlets for Cotton Under the Blockade.

The blockade of Southern ports necessarily raises a question of first-rate importance—already attracting great attention in England—whether cotton is to be exempted; and if not, whether it is to be allowed to be sent to market through the *interior* routes of communication, and through the free Northern ports. The attention of our Government has already been called to this matter, and the answer indicates that the blockade is to apply to every kind of Southern produce. At the mouth of James River, where the blockade is now rigidly enforced, a considerable quantity of cotton has already been seized and held, showing that the instructions of Government include that as well as all other articles.

We do not see how the Government can act upon a different policy. The blockade is enforced for other objects than to weaken the rebels by destroying their commerce. It is an act of *self-defense*. But for the blockade, our commerce might be swept from the seas by Southern privateers and pirates. Already is a bounty offered for any life of our merchantmen destroyed, or for any prisoner taken. We must shut up the nest of such foes to mankind. We must also prevent the importation of arms and munitions of war and food. To secure all these results, the blockade must be perfect, not a vessel being allowed to go in or out of any Southern port.

Should such a course prevent the exportation of *cotton* altogether, it would produce much inconvenience and distress both in the Northern States and in Europe, the Southern States being, at the present time, the chief source of supply for the world. England and France would, very probably, endeavor to exempt cotton from the articles prohibited, without basing their objections upon stronger ground than their own *convenience*. The importation of an article to commerce does not purchase for it an exception from the well

established rules applicable to a blockade—otherwise it might be defeated altogether. What is important to one nation is not to another. By the laws of nations, a blockade, maintained by a competent force, applies to every ship entering or leaving port, with their entire cargoes.

But a blockade of Southern ports is by no means conclusive against sending cotton to market. It merely closes up the customary channels, but it may leave others open almost equally direct and convenient. For years past there has been a gradual diversion of cotton by way of the interior routes, to Northern and Eastern markets. It is only a comparatively few years since all of the products of the Mississippi Valley were sent down the river to New-Orleans, as a matter of necessity. The opening of various public works from the Atlantic into that great valley, has turned the almost entire trade of the country watered by that river above Cairo, over these new channels. There were sent, eastward, over the public works of the single State of New-York, the past year, 71,384,143 bushels of grain, the produce of the Western States, against 5,687,399 sent down the river to New-Orleans. Of animal food and provisions 437,659 tons, valued at \$87,803,694, were sent East, over the same routes, against 95,700 sent down the Mississippi River to New-Orleans. The tendency of this diversion of the products of the great valley over the interior routes to the Atlantic cities, is steadily increasing.

Taking Cairo as a point, the interior routes can undoubtedly command the transportation of produce concentrating at that point, and destined for Eastern or European markets. Now, it is well known that the cotton of the States of Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, and of the greater part of Alabama and Louisiana, can be delivered as cheaply at Cairo as at Mobile or New-Orleans. The centre of the cotton belt is about half way between Cairo and the Gulf. Cotton can as well be sent *up* as *down* the Mississippi, and north as well as south, by railroad. From Cairo are two great lines of railroad, one extending direct to New-Orleans, the other to Mobile. These roads traverse the best cotton

districts in the South, and with the Mississippi River, can readily deliver three-fourths of the crop at a point from which it can be sent to Liverpool as cheaply as from the present leading ports of exportation.

For the crops of the States of Georgia and South Carolina, ample means exist for sending them to market over the interior routes, in the Western and Atlanta, the Memphis and Charleston, the Nashville and Chattanooga, and Louisville and Nashville Railroads. It would cost perhaps a cent a pound more to send the crops of these States to market over these routes than to export them from Charleston and Savannah direct. These two States produce about 800,000 bales.

It will thus be seen that there is no difficulty whatever in sending the next crop of cotton to market at cheap rates, with every Southern port closed. The question with our Government will be, whether we shall allow it to be sent forward at all. If it does, then it must, of course, allow the proceeds to return through the same channels. If the South sends forth \$100,000,000 worth, then it must take back, in specie or merchandise, an equal sum, for we take it, we shall not imitate the Southern custom of *confiscating* the property of the citizens of the rebelling States passing through our territory. We can let the South have back the proceeds of their crop, but not in contraband articles.

These are strong arguments for the course indicated, addressed to ourselves. If we could turn the entire crop over our public works, and through our own ports, we should immediately gain some compensation for the excessive losses already sustained by the rebellion.

We know that the Southern people already declare that the crop *shall never take the interior routes to market*—that they will hold on to it or destroy it first. Such a declaration would entirely spoil their cause in Foreign Courts, from which, by virtue of cotton, they still expect to be rescued from the scrape into which they have precipitated

themselves. Cotton, in their imaginations, is still to shield them from the penalty for their crimes. But when foreign nations see that cotton can be sent to market over the Pennsylvania, New-York and Canadian railroads and canals, as well as through New-Orleans, Mobile or Savannah, they will not listen to the childish petulance of the South, which declares that if it cannot be sent over just such routes as suits Southern caprice, it shall not go to market at all! As for its not going to market over any route we may leave open to it, we have little to fear. An unruly child in the fit of the pouts may push away his breakfast, but only to make a double meal at dinner.” (New York Times, May 15, 1861)

May 16, 1861 (Thursday)

Telegraph to L.P. Walker from D.G. Duncan, received 2.40 o'clock
“British consul at Richmond construes Lord John Russell’s statement to mean authority in absence and instructions to recognize Government of the Confederate States. Has already opened communications with Executive of Virginia and North Carolina.” Adams takes full charge of the American Legation in London.

“News of the Rebellion.

* * *

There is no probability that the *Great Eastern* will be purchased by the Government. It is hardly probable that she will be chartered. She is not fitted for any service the Government now has in hand.

Leo.” (New York Times, May 16, 1861)

“Notes have been received appointing 3 o'clock to-day as the time when the Queen will receive Mr. Dallas and Mr. Adams at the Palace, & owing to the sudden death of the Duke of Bedford, Lord John Russell’s brother, Lord Palmerston will receive this gentlemen and conduct them to Her Majesty.

Mr. Adams called at the Legation to-day at 12 o'clock, when Mr. Dallas transferred him in my presence, the archives of the Mission and handed over to him full charge of the Legation. Phil. Dallas also transferred his power to Mr. Wilson, & Mr. Adams & Mr. Wilson were therefore duly installed. I remain as Ass't Sec.y. and Mr. Adams, Jr. acts as Private Sec.y. to his father.

The Legation is to be temporarily removed to No. 7 Duke St. Duchess St. Portland Place. This must take place on Saturday next as the agents of 24 P[ortland] P[lace] won't let us remain longer.

Mr. Dallas took leave of The Queen at 3, at Buckingham Palace, to-day; and Mr. Adams at the same time presented his Letter of Credence and was received as U.S. Minister. Mr. Dallas was dressed in black trousers, black vest, black frock coat, boot, hat, *white* cravat, and black gloves, while Mr. Adams' dress was a Dress coat in place of a frock. Black gloves were worn as mourning because of the recent death of the Dutchess of Kent. Neither sword nor chapeau was worn, but plain morning dress." (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

May 17, 1861

"No.1.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, May 17,
1861.

SIR: I have the satisfaction to announce my safe arrival at this place on Monday evening, the 13th of this month. The steamer reached Liverpool at eleven in the morning, where I was received with the utmost kindness, and strongly solicited to remain at least one day. A large deputation of the American Chamber of Commerce waited upon me and delivered an address, to which I made a brief reply. Both have been printed in the newspapers, and I transmit a copy of the Times containing them. I could not fail to observe, in the course of these proceedings, the great anxiety and the fluctuating sentiment that prevail in regard to the probable issue of affairs in America. I could also perceive that my

arrival had been expected with far more solicitude than I had anticipated. It was not disguised from me that a supposed community of interest in the cotton culture was weighing heavily in that city in favor of the disaffected; and that much misapprehension prevailed as to the relative position of parties in the United States, which it was of some consequence to dispel. To this end it had been the wish that I could have found it convenient to make a longer stay in the place.

Under other circumstances I might have so far deferred to these representations as to delay my departure for twenty-four hours. But, on the other hand, some incidental allusions to the state of things in London convinced me of the importance of losing no time on my way. Accordingly I took the next train in the afternoon, and was in a condition to proceed at once to business on the morning of Tuesday, the 14th. In the interval between my departure from Boston on the 1st and my arrival on the 14th, I discovered that some events had taken place deserving of attention. The agents of the so-called Confederate States had arrived, and, as it is supposed, through their instigation certain inquiries and motions had been initiated in Parliament for the purpose of developing the views of the ministry in regard to American affairs. I allude more particularly to the questions proposed by Mr. Gregory, of Galway, and to the motion of Mr. Horsfall, the member for Liverpool, touching the effect of the blockade proclaimed by the President against the southern ports. The answer given by Lord John Russell, in the proceedings of the 6th of May, will, of course, have attracted your attention long before these lines meet your eye. I need not say that it excited general surprise, especially among those most friendly to the government of the United States. There seemed to be not a little precipitation in at once raising the disaffected States up to the level of a belligerent power, before it had developed a single one of the real elements which constitute military efficiency outside of its geographical limits. The case of the Greeks was by no means a parallel case, for the declaration had not been made until such time had intervened as was

necessary to prove, by the very words quoted by Lord John Russell from the instructions of the British government, that the power was sufficient “to cover the sea with its cruisers.’ Whereas in the present instance there was no evidence to show as yet the existence of a single privateer afloat. The inference seemed almost inevitable that there existed a disposition at least not to chill the hopes of those who are now drawing the very breath of life only from the expectation of sympathy in Great Britain. Yet I am not quite prepared to say that there is just ground for the idea. On the contrary, I am led to believe, from the incidental discussion afterwards held in both houses, as well as from other information, that the language of Lord John Russell was viewed as not altogether sufficiently guarded, and that the ministry as a whole are not prepared to countenance any such conclusion. There are still other reasons which occasion in me great surprise at the action of his lordship. I need not say that I was received by my predecessor, Mr. Dallas, with the greatest kindness and cordiality. I immediately learned from him that he had declined himself to enter into any discussions on the subject, because he knew that I was already on my way out, and that I should probably come fully possessed of the views of my government, and ready to communicate them freely to the authorities here. To this end he had already concerted with Lord John Russell the earliest possible measures for my presentation and for a conference with him. In regard to the ceremony, there were circumstances attending it which in the precise posture of affairs, give it some significance. * * On Tuesday morning Mr. Dallas called on me to accompany him on his visit to Lord John Russell, at his house, at eleven o'clock. Great was our disappointment, however, to find that he had been suddenly called away, at an early hour, to visit his brother, the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey, who was very ill, and who actually died at two o'clock in the afternoon of that day. This, of course, has put an end to all further communication with him for the present. I very much regretted this circumstance, as I should have been glad to converse with him prior to the final action upon the proclamation which was adopted by the Privy

Council, and which was issued in the Gazette on the very same day. A copy of that proclamation is to be found in the Times of the 15th of May, the same paper which I have already desired to transmit for another purpose. I submit it to your consideration without comment. Feeling doubtful how the informal arrangement of Lord John Russell might have been affected by his sudden departure, I at once addressed to him the customary announcement of my arrival, and a request for an audience of her Majesty at an early day. This brought me immediate replies from the minister and from his secretary, Mr. Hammond, confirming the appointment of Thursday (yesterday) as the time for my presentation, while the latter gentleman notified me that in the absence of Lord John Russell Lord Palmerston would be in waiting at the palace at three o'clock to present me. At the same time Mr. Dallas received a similar notification, appointing the same hour and place for his audience of leave. This arrangement was fully carried out yesterday according to the programme. Mr. Dallas was introduced first, and took his leave, after which I presented my credentials, with a few words expressive of the desire of my government to maintain the friendly relations existing between the two countries; and thus I became the recognized minister.

Thus an end is put to all the speculations which have been set afloat in some quarters for interested purposes touching the probable position of the minister of the United States at this court. I might add, that so far I have every reason to be fully satisfied with the reception which I have met with from everybody. Fortunately the news which came from the United States by the same steamer which brought me was calculated to dispel many of the illusions that had been industriously elaborated during the period of isolation of the city of Washington, and to confirm the faith of those who had permitted themselves to doubt whether all government in the United States was of any more cohesiveness than a rope of sand. Yet I cannot say that the public opinion is yet exactly what we would wish it. Much depends upon the course of things in

the United States, and the firmness and energy made visible in the direction of affairs.

The morning papers contain a report of the debate in the House of Lords on the Queen's proclamation, to which I beg to call your particular attention. I cannot say that the tone of it is generally such as I could wish. There is undoubtedly a considerable influence at work here both in and out of the ministry which must be met and counteracted at as early a moment as practicable. Mr. Gregory yesterday gave notice of a postponement of the consideration of his motion until the 7th of June. The reason assigned is the situation of Lord John Russell. * * The same cause, however, which postpones this debate also delays my opportunities of conference with the minister. My wish has been to confer with him rather than with any of the subordinates, for reasons which will readily occur to you. Next week come the Whitsuntide holidays, and the adjournment of Parliament for ten days, during which little can be done with effect. I propose, nevertheless, at once to apply for a conference at as early a period as possible.

I have just received a visit from a Mr. Arrowsmith, who came on behalf of Mr. Cunard's Steamship Company, to know whether the government would desire any number of their steam vessels to further their operations of blockade. I said, in reply, that I had no instructions on that point, and could give no information, but that I was now writing and would communicate the proposal. Mr. Arrowsmith says that fifteen or twenty vessels could be furnished at a moment's notice, which, by preparations of cotton pressed between decks, could be made to sustain guns, and thus be efficient instruments in closing the southern ports.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,
CHARLES FRANCIS
ADAMS.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.

P.S.--I have this moment received your despatches No.3 and No.4. They are of such importance that I immediately addressed a note to the foreign office requesting an early interview.”

May 18, 1861 (Saturday)

“No. 5. Department of State, Montgomery, May 18, 1861.
Hon. Wm. L. Yancey, Hon. Pierre A. Rost, Hon. A. Dudley Mann, Commissioners of the Confederate States, etc.

Gentlemen: My dispatch of the 24th ultimo contained an accurate summary of the important events which had transpired up to that date, and informed you that the Executive of the United States had commenced a war of aggression against the Confederate States. The Assistant Secretary of State in his dispatch of the 29th ultimo informed you that, in response to the call made by the President in his proclamation of the 12th March [April], the Congress reassembled here on the 29th of that month [April] and inclosed you copies of the President’s message. Since that day the Congress has passed a law, which was approved on the 6th instant, recognizing the existence of war between the United States and the Confederate States, authorizing the President to use the whole land and naval force of the Confederate States to meet the war, and to issue letters of marque and general reprisal against the vessels and property of the United States and their citizens.

In issuing letters of marque and reprisal to private armed vessels to act against the United States, the Confederate States have exercised a right which the law of nations clearly recognizes as belonging to belligerents. It will be remembered that when the principal powers of Europe proposed at the Paris Conference in 1865 to obtain the consent of the other nations of the world to the abandonment of this right the Government of the United States refused to comply on the ground that in any future contest with other nations the United States, having a comparatively small navy, could not consent to surrender the advantage which the employment of ‘the militia of the sea’ afforded

them. The Government of the United States has seized, and is now using against us, the entire navy which belonged to that Confederacy prior to its dissolution, of which a large portion justly belongs to the Confederate States, who contributed their share of the money expended in building and equipping it. It is only by the use of privateers that we can now encounter the United States upon the high seas. It is the only weapon of maritime defense left to us; and of all nations, the United States are the last who can justly object to the use of a right which they expressly reserved to themselves for reasons which forcibly apply to the present position of the Confederate States. President Lincoln has proclaimed that the exercise of this acknowledged right is an act of piracy, and that all persons engaged in privateering in the service of the Confederate States who fall into the hands of the United States shall be treated as pirates.

The Confederate States are resolved to regard rigidly the usages of civilized warfare, and use none but legitimate means of defense; but if the United States enhance the inevitable horrors of war by a resort to practices which the civilized world justly regards as barbarous, the Confederate States will be reluctantly compelled to retaliate, in justice to themselves and in self-defense. I inclose you herewith copies of the act, and of the instructions of the President to the commanders of private armed vessels thus commissioned, from which you will perceive that every possible precaution has been taken to guard the rights of neutral and friendly nations and to protect them against loss or injury. I have also to inform you that you are jointly and severally authorized to receive applications for such letters of marque and reprisal, and to issue commissions thereon, in the form and manner prescribed by law. Before, however, you receive any application or grant any commission, you will take steps to inform yourselves as to whether your doing so would be displeasing to the Governments to which you are accredited, or whether, while those Governments might not directly sanction the proceeding, they would tacitly permit it, being assured that the interests of their own citizens will

be scrupulously protected. In case you find that those Governments are earnestly opposed to your issuing the commissions within their limits, and that your influence and position would be compromised or lessened thereby, you will decline to receive any applications which may be made to you for letters of marque and reprisal, and not use the commissions sent you herewith.

You are already aware that the State of Virginia by act of her convention dissolved her connection with the United States on the 18th of April. On the 24th of the same month a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded at Richmond between the State of Virginia and the Confederate States, and on the 25th of April the convention of Virginia passed an ordinance adopting the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate State, and commissioned delegates to the Congress, who have since arrived and taken their seats in that body. The States of Tennessee and Arkansas have passed ordinances dissolving their union with the United States, have united their fortunes with those of their seven sisters who first formed the Government of the Confederate States, and have drawn the sword in defense of our common rights, honor, and safety against the common enemy.

On the 20th instant the convention of the people of North Carolina will assemble at Raleigh, and there is no doubt that, immediately thereafter, ordinances of secession from the United States, and union with the Confederate State, will be adopted. Although then independent and sovereign States have thus deliberately severed the bonds which bound them in political union with the United States, and have formed a separate and independent Government for themselves, the President of the United States affects to consider that the Federal Union is still legally and constitutionally unbroken; that the Constitution of the United States is still in full force and effect in every State, and that it is his paramount duty to enforce this principle. It matters not to him that, with the exception of three or four forts still occupied by U. S. troops, the Federal

Government of the United States does not exercise jurisdiction of any kind over one inch of soil in the Confederate States. He still claims to be our ruler, and insists that he has the right to enforce our obedience. For this avowed purpose, he usurps the authority to call out large armies, make gigantic military preparations, equip powerful fleets, order the blockade of 2,000 miles of seacoast, and generally assume and exercise by himself the war-making power, which the Constitution that he pretends to be so anxious to preserve and force upon 12,000,000 people expressly denied to him. It is manifest to everybody at all conversant with the meaning and intent of the Constitution of the United States that there is not a single act which President Lincoln has done in pursuance of his various proclamations which is not a flagrant violation of the plainest provision of that instrument, and the boldest and most reckless usurpation. For the ostensible purpose of compelling us to bow before the majesty of the Federal Constitution which we have abjured, in the exercise of our inherent rights, and for the preservation of a Union already dissolved, and which never rested on any other basis than the common consent of the States which composed it, war is declared, and is now being carried on by the most flagrant violation of every principle, of every provision, and every mandate which that Constitution contains. From the newspaper press, the rostrum, and the pulpit, the partisans of Mr. Lincoln, while they clamorously assert their devotion to the Union and Constitution of the United States, daily preach a relentless war between the sections, to be prosecuted not only in violation of all constitutional authority, but in disregard of the simplest laws of humanity. The authorized exponents of the sentiments of the party of which Mr. Lincoln is the leader, and whose policy he has resolved to carry out, avow that it is the purpose of the war to subjugate the Confederate States, spoliage the property of our citizens, sack and burn our cities and villages, and exterminate our citizens; and some are so lost to shame, so dead to every sense of humanity and civilization, as to stimulate the basest passions of those whom they desire to enlist by giving glowing allusions to the

beauty of our women who are to become the prey of an infuriate soldiery.

It is obvious, therefore, that, however it may be concealed under the guise of patriotism and fidelity to the late Federal compact, the real motive which actuates Mr. Lincoln and those who now sustain his acts is to accomplish by force of arms that which the masses of the Northern people have long sought to effect—namely, the overthrow of our domestic institutions, the devastation and destruction of our social interests, and the reduction of the Southern States to the condition of subject provinces. It is needless to recur to the long series of wrongs, extending over more than forty years, which culminated on the 6th of last November in the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States. By that election it was proclaimed by the party which achieved it that the Government formed ‘to establish justice’ had become the perverted instrument of sectional aggression; that the Constitution designed ‘to form a more perfect Union’ should thenceforth be exclusively administered by those whose principles commenced in discord and whose policy must end in dissolution. Then was pronounced by a purely sectional party the deliberate judgment that a great political charter framed for the benign purpose of ‘promoting the general welfare and insuring domestic tranquility’ was to be used as the tool of a fanatical association by which the rights of minorities were to be swept away in order to give unbridled sway to the power of majorities. It is not astonishing that a people educated in that school which always taught the maintenance of the rights of the few against the might of the many, which ceaselessly regarded the stipulation to protect and preserve the liberties and vested rights of every member of the Confederacy as the condition precedent upon which each State delegated certain powers necessary for self-protection to the General Government, should refuse to submit dishonorably to the destruction of their constitutional liberty, the insolent denial of their right to govern themselves and to hold and enjoy their property in peace. In the exercise of that greatest of the rights reserved to the several States

by the late Federal Constitution—namely, the right for each State to be judge for itself as well of the infractions of the compact of the Union as of the mode and measure of redress—the sovereignties composing the Confederate States resolved to sever their political connection with the United States and form a Government of their own, willing to effect this purpose peaceably at any sacrifice save that of honor and liberty, but determined even at the cost of war to assert their right to independence and self-government. The objects and desires of the Government and people of the Confederate States cannot be better expressed than in the concluding paragraph of the President’s recent message to the Congress, wherein he says: ‘We seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no concession of any kind from the States with which we were lately confederated. All we ask is to be let alone; that those who never held power over us shall not now attempt our subjugation by arms.’

It is impossible to exaggerate the enthusiasm and unanimity with which the people manifest their determination to maintain their rights. From every State the people are flocking in thousands to the Confederate standard, and 100,000 of the flower of our youth and vigor are now in arms, ready to do and die in defense of their just cause. In my dispatch to the distinguished intermediary through whom our Commissioners to Washington consented to receive from and transmit communications to the United States Government I informed you of the assurance which they received through this agency from Mr. Seward that the Administration at Washington had resolved to pursue a peaceful policy toward the Confederate States; and I made manifest to you how deceptive those assurances were, as was proved by the subsequent conduct of Mr. Seward and the Cabinet of which he is a member. I am now at liberty to inform you that the intermediary was the Hon. John A. Campbell, a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States; and in order that the nature of Mr. Seward’s conduct in relation to Judge Campbell and the laudable purpose of his interference may be fully understood, I refer you to the special message of the President to

Congress of the 8th instant, communicating certain letters addressed by Judge Campbell to Mr. Seward and the President, copies of which are herewith inclosed (marked A). I also send you herewith (marked B) a copy of a dispatch from Mr. Seward to Mr. Dayton, the present representative of the United States in France (published by the Department of State at Washington), wherein the United States Secretary of State makes the astounding assertion that 'there is no difference of opinion whatever between the President and his constitutional advisers, or among those advisers themselves, concerning the policy that has been pursued, and which is now prosecuted by the Administration, in regard to the unhappy disturbance existing the country.' The discrepancy between this broad assertion of the Secretary of State of the United States and the narrative of the facts contained in Judge Campbell's letters is too obvious to need particular allusion.

You will not fail to show the Government with which you are in communication the prejudicial results to their interests, and those of their citizens, of the blockade which Mr. Lincoln has of his own authority assumed to declare, and the inconsistency of such a belligerent act with the theory on which the Government at Washington insists, that the blockaded ports still belong to the United States. It appears that the Government has required that all foreign vessels now in the ports of the Confederate States shall set sail within fifteen days from the date of the notice, and that even to ship productions in compliance with standing contracts with the British Government, after the expiration of that time, will not be permitted. This action contrasts unfavorably with the course pursued by this Government, which accords to vessels of the enemy thirty days to leave our ports after the publication of the act of May 6, recognizing the existence of war. As I have already observed, it has been the purpose of the Confederate States to mitigate rather than add to the unavoidable cruelties of war. While the Government of the United States has sanctioned the illegal seizure and detention in Northern ports of the property of

private citizens of the Confederate States, this Government has refused to permit retaliation, and has suffered ships and merchandise belonging to citizens of the United States to the value of millions of dollars to leave our ports as freely as if no injustice had been done to us and profound peace existed. Private property which has entered our ports relying on our protection has been invariably respected by this Government, and orders have been given to the collectors of customs to grant clearances to all U.S. merchant vessels not carrying naval stores and supplied to the enemy. Scarcely a day passes that we do not receive intelligence of the capture in the United States of goods, the private property of our citizens, purchased and acquired long before the commencement of hostilities. Some idea may be formed of the extent to which this lawless appropriation of property has been carried on in the United States by citing the fact that the U.S. District Attorney at New York City attempted to seize the balances due citizens of the Confederate States by the New York banks, and desisted only when informed that, were the Confederate States to resort to retaliation, they could inflict much greater injury on U.S. citizens than that which it was in his power to inflict on us.

As it is of the utmost importance that there should be frequent and secure communication between your Commission and this Department, you will take measures to arrange some plan by which you may regularly transmit your dispatches. You will be careful, however, not to send any dispatches through the mail by the regular mail steamers destined to Northern ports, nor under cover to G. B. Lamar, Esq., New York, it being now altogether unsafe to transmit letters by those vessels or through that agency. This dispatch will be handed you by Mr. James H. North, of the Confederate States Navy, whom, together with Mr. James D. Bullock, I now introduce to you. These gentlemen proceed to Europe on important business of the Government, and you are requested to give them every aid in your power toward the accomplishment of the mission with which they are charged. They will inform you of the nature of their

business, and will also explain to you by what means this dispatch has been conveyed and how your reply can be safely transmitted to this Department. I inclose you herewith (marked C) a copy of the tariff which was adopted on the 17th instant by the Congress. You will also find herewith (marked D) copies of the dispatches of the Secretary of the Treasury to the collectors of customs, prohibiting the seizure of merchant vessels of the enemy prior to the declaration of war.

I remain, gentlemen, very respectfully yours,

R. Toombs.

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

“No. 136.] FOREIGN OFFICE, May 18, 1861.

My Lord: Her Majesty’s government deeply lament the outbreak of hostilities in North America, and they would gladly lend their aid to the restoration of peace.

You are instructed, therefore, in case you should be asked to employ your good offices either singly or in conjunction with the representatives of other powers, to give your assistance in promoting the work of reconciliation. But as it is most probable, especially after a recent letter of Mr. Seward, that foreign advice is not likely to be accepted, you will refrain from offering it unasked. Such being the case, and supposing the contest not to be at once ended by signal success on one side or by the return of friendly feeling between the two contending parties, her Majesty’s government have to consider what will be the position of Great Britain as a neutral between the two belligerents.

So far as the position of Great Britain in this respect toward the European powers is concerned, that position has been greatly modified by the declaration of Paris of April 16, 1856. That declaration was signed by the ministers of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey.

The motives for making that declaration, and for agreeing to the articles of maritime law which it proposes to introduce with a view to the establishment of a ‘uniform doctrine’ and ‘fixed principles,’ are thus shortly enumerated in the declaration:

‘Considering that maritime law in time of war has long been the subject of deplorable disputes;

‘That the uncertainty of the law and of the duties in such a matter gives rise to differences of opinion between neutrals and belligerents which may occasion serious difficulties and even conflicts;

‘That it is consequently advantageous to establish a uniform doctrine on so important a point;

‘That the plenipotentiaries assembled in congress at Paris cannot better respond to the intentions by which their governments are animated than by seeking to introduce into international relations fixed principles in this respect—

‘The above-mentioned plenipotentiaries, being duly authorized, resolved to concert among themselves as to the means of attaining this object, and having come to an agreement have adopted the following solemn declaration:’

1st. Privateering is and remains abolished.

2d. The neutral flag covers enemy’s goods, with the exception of contraband of war.

3d. Neutral’s goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy’s flag.

4: Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective—that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

The powers signing the declaration engaged to bring it to the knowledge of the states which had not taken part in the congress of Paris, and to invite those states to accede to it. They finally agreed that ‘the present declaration is not and shall not be binding, except between those powers who have acceded or shall accede to it.’

The powers which acceded to the declaration are Baden, Bavaria, Belgium, Bremen, Brazil, Duchy of Brunswick, Chili, the Argentine Confederation, the Germanic Confederation, Denmark, the Two Sicilies, the Republic of the Equator, the Roman States, Greece, Guatemala, Hayti, Hamburg, Hanover, the Two Hesses, Lubeck, Mecklenburg Strelitz, Mecklenburg Schwerin, Nassau, Oldenburg, Parma, Holland, Peru, Portugal, Saxony, Saxe Attenburg, Saxe Coburg Gotha, Saxe Meiningen, Saxe Weimer, Sweden, Switzerland, Tuscany, Wurtemberg, Anhalt Dessau, Modena, New Grenada, and Maguay.

Mr. Secretary Marcy, in acknowledging, on the 28th of July, 1856, the communication of the declaration of Paris made to the government of the United States by the Count de Sartiges, proposed to add to the first article thereof the following words: ‘and that the private property of the subjects or citizens of a belligerent on the high seas shall be exempted from seizure by public armed vessels of the other belligerents, except it be contraband;’ and Mr. Marcy expressed the willingness of the government of the United States to adopt the clause so amended, together with the other three principles contained in the declaration.

Mr. Marcy also stated that he was directed to communicate the approval of the President of the second, third, and fourth propositions, independently of the first, should the proposed amendment of the first article be unacceptable.

The United States minister in London, on the 24th of February, 1857, renewed the proposal in regard to the first article, and submitted a draft of

convention, in which the article so amended would be embodied with the other three articles. But, before any decision was taken on this proposal, a change took place in the American government by the election of a new President of the United States, and Mr. Dallas announced, on the 25th of April, 1857, that he was directed to suspend negotiations on the subject; up to the present time those negotiations have not been renewed.

The consequence is, that the United States remaining outside the provisions of the declaration of Paris, the uncertainty of the law and of international duties with regard to such matters may give rise to differences of opinion between neutrals and belligerents which may occasion serious difficulties and even conflicts.

It is with a view to remove beforehand such 'difficulties,' and to prevent such 'conflicts,' that I now address you.

For this purpose I proceed to remark on the four articles, beginning, not with the first, but with the last.

In a letter to the Earl of Clarendon of the 24th of February, 1857, Mr. Dallas, the minister of the United States, while submitting the draft of a new convention, explains the views of the government of the United States on the four articles.

In reference to the last article, he says: 'The fourth of those principles, respecting blockades, had, it is believed, long since become a fixed rule of the law of war.'

There can be no difference of opinion, therefore, with regard to the fourth article.

With respect to the third article, the principle laid down in it has long been recognized as law, both in Great Britain and in the United States. Indeed this part of the law is stated by Chancellor Kent to be uniform in the two countries.

With respect to the second article, Mr. Dallas says, in the letter before quoted: 'About two years prior to the meeting of congress at Paris, negotiations had been originated and were in train with the maritime nations for the adoption of the second and third propositions substantially as enumerated in the declaration.'

The United States have therefore no objection in principle to the second proposition.

Indeed her Majesty's government have to remark that this principle is adopted in the treaties between the United States and Russia of the 22d of July, 1854, and was sanctioned by the United States in the earliest period of the history of their independence by their accession to the armed neutrality.

With Great Britain the case has been different. She formerly contended for the opposite principles as the established rule of the law of nations.

But having, in 1856, upon full consideration, determined to depart from that rule, she means to adhere to the principle she then adopted. The United States, who have always desired this change, can, it may be presumed, have no difficulty in assenting to the principle set forth in the second article of the declaration of Paris.

There remains only to be considered the first article, namely, that relating to privateering, from which the government of the United States withhold their assent. Under these circumstances it is expedient to consider what is required on this subject by the general law of nations. Now, it must be borne in mind that privateers bearing the flag of one or other of the belligerents may be manned by lawless and abandoned men, who may commit, for the sake of plunder, the most destructive and sanguinary outrages.

There can be no question but that the commander and crew of the ship bearing a letter of

marque must, by law of nations, carry on their hostilities according to the established laws of war. Her Majesty's government must, therefore, hold any government issuing such letters of marque responsible for, and liable to make good, any losses sustained by her Majesty's subjects in consequence of wrongful proceeding of vessels sailing under such letters of marque.

In this way the object of the declaration of Paris may, to a certain extent, be attained without the adoption of any new principle.

You will urge these views upon Mr. Seward. The proposals of her Majesty's government are made with a view to limit and restrain that destruction of property and that interruption of trade which must, in a greater or less degree, be the inevitable consequence of the present hostilities. Her Majesty's government expect that these proposals will be received by the United States government in a friendly spirit. If such shall be the case, you will endeavor (in concert with M. Mercier) to come to an agreement on the subject binding France, Great Britain, and the United States.

If these proposals should, however, be rejected, her Majesty's government will consider what other steps should be taken with a view to protect from wrong and injury the trade and the property and persons of British subjects.

I am, &c., &c., &c.,

J. RUSSELL.

The Lord Lyons."

May 20, 1861 (Monday)

North Carolina secedes (possibly on May 21, 1861)

May 21, 1861 (Tuesday)

"[Extracts.] No. 10.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, May 21, 1861.

Sir: This government considers that our relations in Europe have reached a crisis, in which it

is necessary for it to take a decided stand, on which not only its immediate measures, but its ultimate and permanent policy can be determined and defined. At the same time it neither means to menace Great Britain nor to wound the susceptibilities of that or any other European nation. That policy is developed in this paper.

The paper itself is not to be read or shown to the British secretary of state, nor are any of its positions to be prematurely, unnecessarily, or indiscreetly made known. But its spirit will be your guide. You will keep back nothing when the time arrives for its being said with dignity, propriety, and effect, and you will all the while be careful to say nothing that will be incongruous or inconsistent with the views which it contains.

Mr. Dallas, in a brief despatch of May 2, (No. 333,) tells us that Lord John Russell recently requested an interview with him on account of the solicitude which his lordship felt concerning the effect of certain measures represented as likely to be adopted by the President. In that conversation the British secretary told Mr. Dallas that the three representatives of the southern confederacy were then in London, that Lord John Russell had not yet seen them, but that he was not unwilling to see them unofficially. He further informed Mr. Dallas that an understanding exists between the British and French governments which would lead both to take one and the same course as to recognition. His lordship then referred to the rumor of a meditated blockade by us of southern ports, and a discontinuance of them as ports of entry. Mr. Dallas answered that he knew nothing of those topics, and therefore could say nothing. He added that you were expected to arrive in two weeks. Upon this statement Lord John Russell acquiesced in the expediency of waiting for the full knowledge you were expected to bring.

Mr. Dallas transmitted to us some newspaper reports of ministerial explanations made in Parliament.

You will base no proceedings on parliamentary debates further than to seek explanations, when necessary, and communicate them to this department. The President regrets that Mr. Dallas did not protest against the proposed unofficial intercourse between the British government and the missionaries of the insurgents. It is due, however, to Mr. Dallas to say that our instructions had been given only to you and not to him, and that his loyalty and fidelity, too rare in these times, are appreciated.

Intercourse of any kind with the so-called commissioners is liable to be construed as a recognition of the authority which appointed them. Such intercourse would be none the less hurtful to us for being called unofficial, and it might be even more injurious, because we should have no means of knowing what points might be resolved by it. Moreover, unofficial intercourse is useless and meaningless if it is not expected to ripen into official intercourse and direct recognition. It is left doubtful here whether the proposed unofficial intercourse has yet actually begun. Your own antecedent instructions are deemed explicit enough, and it is hoped that you have not misunderstood them. You will, in any event, desist from all intercourse whatever, unofficial as well as official, with the British government, so long as it shall continue intercourse of either kind with the domestic enemies of this country. When intercourse shall have been arrested for this cause, you will communicate with this department and receive further directions.

Lord John Russell has informed us of an understanding between the British and French governments that they will act together in regard to our affairs. This communication, however, loses something of its value from the circumstance that the communication was withheld until after knowledge of the fact had been acquired by us from other sources. We know also another fact that has not yet been officially communicated to us, namely that other European states are apprized by France and England of their agreement, and are expected to

concur with or follow them in whatever measures they adopt on the subject of recognition. The United States have been impartial and just in all their conduct towards the several nations of Europe. They will not complain, however, of the combination now announced by the two leading powers, although they think they had a right to expect a more independent, if not a more friendly course, from each of them. You will take no notice of that or any other alliance. Whenever the European governments shall see fit to communicate directly with us, we shall be, as heretofore, frank and explicit in our reply.

As to the blockade, you will say that by our own laws and the laws of nature, and the laws of nations, this government has a clear right to suppress insurrection. An exclusion of commerce from national ports which have been seized by insurgents, in the equitable form of blockade, is a proper means to that end. You will not insist that our blockade is to be respected, if it be not maintained by a competent force; but passing by that question as not now a practical or at least an urgent one, you will add that the blockade is now, and it will continue to be, so maintained, and therefore we expect it to be respected by Great Britain. You will add that we have already revoked the exequatur of a Russian consul who had enlisted in the military service of the insurgents, and we shall dismiss or demand the recall of every foreign agent: consular or diplomatic, who shall either disobey the federal laws or disown the federal authority.

As to the recognition of the so-called Southern Confederacy, it is not to be made a subject of technical definition. It is, of course, direct recognition to publish an acknowledgment of the sovereignty and independence of a new power. It is direct recognition to receive its ambassadors, ministers, agents or commissioners, officially. A concession of belligerent rights is liable to be construed as a recognition of them. No one of these proceedings will pass unquestioned by the United States in this case.

Hitherto, recognition has been moved only on the assumption that the so-called Confederate States are de facto a self-sustaining power. Now, after long forbearance, designed to sooth discontent and avert the need of civil war, the land and naval forces of the United States have been put in motion to repress insurrection. The true character of the pretended new State is at once revealed. It is seen to be a power existing in pronunciamiento only. It has never won a field. It has obtained no forts that were not virtually betrayed into its hands or seized in breach of trust. It commands not a single port on the coast nor any highway out from its pretended capital by land. Under these circumstances, Great Britain is called upon to intervene and give it body and independence by resisting our measures of suppression. British recognition would be British intervention, to create within our territory a hostile State by overthrowing this republic itself.

* * *

As to the treatment of privateers in the insurgent service, you will say that this is a question exclusively our own. We treat them as pirates. They are our own citizens, or persons employed by our citizens, preying on the commerce of our country. If Great Britain shall choose to recognize them as lawful belligerents, and give them shelter from our pursuit and punishment, the laws of nations afford an adequate and proper remedy.

Happily, however, her Britannic Majesty's government can avoid all these difficulties. It invited us in 1856 to accede to the declaration of the congress of Paris, of which body Great Britain was herself a member, abolishing privateering everywhere in all cases and forever. You already have our authority to propose to her our accession to that declaration. If she refuses it, it can only be because she is willing to become the patron of privateering when aimed at our devastation.

These positions are not elaborately defended now, because to vindicate them would imply a

possibility of our waiving them. We are not insensible of the grave importance of this occasion. We see how, upon the result of the debate in which we are engaged, a war may ensue between the United States and one, two, or even more European nations. War in any case is as exceptional from the habits as it is revolting from the sentiments of the American people. But if it come it will be fully seen that it results from the action of Great Britain, not our own; that Great Britain will have decided to fraternize with our domestic enemy either without waiting to hear from you our remonstrances and our warnings, or after having heard them. War in defence of national life is not immoral, and war in defence of independence is an inevitable part of the discipline of nations.

The dispute will be between the European and the American branches of the British race. All who belong to that race will especially deprecate it, as they ought. It may well be believed that men of every race and kindred will deplore it. A war not unlike it between the same parties occurred at the close of the last century. Europe atoned by forty years of suffering for the error that Great Britain committed in provoking that contest. If that nation shall now repeat the same great error, the social convulsions which will follow may not be so long, but they will be more general. When they shall have ceased, it will, we think, be seen, whatever may have been the fortunes of other nations, that it is not the United States that will have come out of them with its precious Constitution altered, or its honestly obtained dominions in any degree abridged. Great Britain has but to wait a few months, and all her present inconveniences will cease with all our own troubles. If she take a different course she will calculate for herself the ultimate, as well as the immediate consequences, and will consider what position she will hold when she shall have forever lost the sympathies and affections of the only nation on whose sympathies and affections she has a natural claim. In making that calculation she will do well to remember that in the controversy she proposes to open we shall be actuated by neither pride, nor passion, nor cupidity, nor ambition; but

we shall stand simply on the principle of self-preservation, and that our cause will involve the independence of nations and the rights of human nature.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c.”

“[Extracts.]
No.2.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, May 21, 1861.

Sir: At the close of my last despatch I stated my purpose to ask an early interview with Lord John Russell. A note to that effect was immediately sent to the foreign office. An answer was received on Saturday morning, saying that his lordship would be happy to see me, if I would take the trouble to go out to Pembroke Lodge, at Richmond, where he is retired for the present, on Monday at twelve or one o'clock, or, if I preferred it, he would see me at one o'clock on that same day, (May 18.) Although it was approaching eleven o'clock when I got the answer, and the distance exceeds nine miles from the city, I replied by accepting the earlier appointment, and was probably myself at the Lodge before he received my note.

Be this as it may, I found his lordship ready to receive me, so that I proceeded at once to business. After expressing the general feeling which I believed prevailing in the United States of goodwill towards Great Britain, and the confident expectations I had entertained, down to the period of my arrival, that these sentiments were fully reciprocated to my government on the part of the government here, I signified my sense of disappointment in not finding this quite so unequivocally manifested as I had hoped. There were now fewer topics of direct difference between the two countries than had probably existed at any preceding time, and even these had been withdrawn

from discussion at this place to be treated on the other side of the water. I therefore came out here with little to do beyond the duty of preserving the relations actually existing from the risk of being unfavorably affected by the unfortunate domestic disturbances prevailing in my own country. It was not without pain that I was compelled to admit that from the day of my arrival I had felt in the proceedings of both houses of Parliament, in the language of her Majesty's ministers, and in the tone of opinion prevailing in private circles, more of uncertainty about this than I had before thought possible. This sentiment alone would have impelled me to solicit an early interview; but I was now come under a much stronger motive. I had just received a despatch from my government, based upon a letter from Mr. Dallas, of much earlier date than any of the matters to which I had alluded. In that letter he had reported a conversation with his lordship, the close of which had been deemed so unsatisfactory that I had been directed at once to seek for a further elucidation of his meaning. It was the desire of my government to learn whether it was the intention of her Majesty's ministers to adopt a policy which would have the effect to widen, if not to make irreparable, a breach which we believed yet to be entirely manageable by ourselves.

At this point his lordship replied by saying that there was no such intention. The clearest evidence of that was to be found in the assurance given by him to Mr. Dallas in the earlier part of the conversation referred to. With regard to the other portion, against which I understood him to intimate he had already heard from Lord Lyons that the President had taken exception, he could only say that he hardly saw his way to bind the government to any specific course, when circumstances beyond their agency rendered it difficult to tell what might happen. Should the insurgent States ultimately succeed in establishing themselves in an independent position, of the probability of which he desired to express no opinion, he presumed, from the general course of the United States heretofore, that they did not mean to require of other countries to pledge themselves to go further than they had

been in the habit of going themselves. He therefore, by what he had said to Mr. Dallas, simply meant to say that they were not disposed in any way to interfere.

To this I replied by begging leave to remark that, so far as my government was concerned, any desire to interfere had never been imputed to Great Britain; but in her peculiar position it was deserving of grave consideration whether great caution was not to be used in adopting any course that might, even in the most indirect way, have an effect to encourage the hopes of the disaffected in America. It had now come to this, that without support from here, the people of the United States considered the termination of this difficulty as almost entirely a question of time. Any course adopted here that would materially change that calculation would inevitably raise the most unpleasant feelings among them. For independently of the absolute influence of Great Britain, admitted to be great, the effect of any supposed inclination on her part could not fail to be extensive among the other nations of Europe. It was my belief that the insurgent States could scarcely hope for sympathy on this side of the Atlantic, if deprived of any prospect of it here. Hence anything that looked like a manifestation of it would be regarded among us as inevitably tending to develop an ultimate separation in America; and, whether intended or not, the impression made would scarcely be effaced by time. It was in this view that I must be permitted to express the great regret I had felt on learning the decision to issue the Queen's proclamation, which at once raised the insurgents to the level of a belligerent State, and still more the language used in regard to it by her Majesty's ministers in both houses of Parliament before and since. Whatever might be the design, there could be no shadow of doubt that the effect of these events had been to encourage the friends of the disaffected here. The tone of the press and of private opinion indicated it strongly. I then alluded more especially to the brief report of the lord chancellor's speech on Thursday last, in which he had characterized the rebellious portion of my

country as a belligerent State, and the war that was going on as *justum bellum*.

To this his lordship replied that he thought more stress was laid upon these events than they deserved. The fact was that a necessity seemed to exist to define the course of the government in regard to the participation of the subjects of Great Britain in the impending conflict. To that end the legal questions involved had been referred to those officers most conversant with them, and their advice had been taken in shaping the result. Their conclusion had been that, as a question merely of fact, a war existed. A considerable number of the States, at least seven, occupying a wide extent of country, were in open resistance, whilst one or more of the others were associating themselves in the same struggle, and as yet there were no indications of any other result than a contest of arms more or less severe. In many preceding cases, much less formidable demonstrations had been recognized. Under such circumstances it seemed scarcely possible to avoid speaking of this in the technical sense as *justum bellum*, that is, a war of two sides, without in any way implying an opinion of its justice, as well as to withhold an endeavor, so far as possible, to bring the management of it within the rules of modern civilized warfare. This was all that was contemplated by the Queen's proclamation. It was designed to show the purport of existing laws, and to explain to British subjects their liabilities in case they should engage in the war. And however strongly the people of the United States might feel against their enemies, it was hardly to be supposed that in practice they would now vary from their uniformly humane policy heretofore in endeavoring to assuage and mitigate the horrors of war.

To all which I answered that under other circumstances I should be very ready to give my cheerful assent to this view of his lordship's. But I must be permitted frankly to remark that the action taken seemed, at least to my mind, a little more rapid than was absolutely called for by the occasion. It might be recollected that the new administration had scarcely had sixty days to develop its policy;

that the extent to which all departments of the government had been demoralized in the preceding administration was surely understood here, at least in part; that the very organization upon which any future action was to be predicated was to be renovated and purified before a hope could be entertained of energetic and effective labor. The consequence had been that it was but just emerging from its difficulties, and beginning to develop the power of the country to cope with this rebellion, when the British government took the initiative, and decided practically that it is a struggle of two sides. And furthermore, it pronounced the insurgents to be a belligerent State before they had ever shown their capacity to maintain any kind of warfare whatever, except within one of their own harbors, and under every possible advantage. It considered them a marine power before they had ever exhibited a single privateer on the ocean. I said that I was not aware that a single armed vessel had yet been issued from any port under the control of these people. Surely this was not the case in the instance which had been relied upon in his speech by his lordship as authority for the present action. There the Greeks, however small as a people, had long been actively and effectually waging war, before the interposition of Great Britain, and, to use the language of the government, as quoted by himself, had 'covered the sea with cruisers.' It did seem to me therefore as if a little more time might have been taken to form a more complete estimate of the relative force of the contending parties, and of the probabilities of any long drawn issue. And I did not doubt that the view taken by me would be that substantially taken both by the government and the people of the United States. They would inevitably infer the existence of an intention more or less marked to extend the struggle. For this reason it was that I made my present application to know whether such a design was or was not entertained. For in the alternative of an affirmative answer it was as well for us to know it, as I was bound to acknowledge in all frankness that in that contingency I had nothing further left to do in Great Britain. I said this with regret, as my own feelings had been and were of the most friendly nature.

His lordship replied by an assurance that he participated in those feelings; neither did he see the action that had been thus far taken at all in the light in which I saw it. He believed that the United States, in their own previous history, had furnished examples of action taken quite as early as that now complained of. He instanced two cases. The first I do not now remember, for it seemed to me not important at the time; the other was the insurrection in Hungary under Kossuth, at which period, he believed, they had gone so far as actually to send an agent to that country with a view to recognition, and that to the great dissatisfaction and against the remonstrances of Austria.

I replied only to the second case, by remarking that the incidents attending that affair were not fresh in my mind, neither was I sure that I ever knew the whole action of the government; but it was my impression that the object of the mission was only confined to the acquisition of the facts necessary to form an opinion, and that, after they were obtained, no public step of any kind had been taken. Neither could I myself recollect an instance in which ample time had not been given by the United States for the development of events sufficiently decisive to justify any action that might have followed; for I begged it to be understood that the government did not mean at all to deny that there were cases in which recognition of a revolutionary government might be both expedient and proper. The rule was clear, that whenever it became apparent that any organized form of society had advanced so far as to prove its power to defend and protect itself against the assaults of enemies, and at the same time to manifest a capacity to maintain binding relations with foreign nations, then a measure of recognition could not be justly objected to on any side. The case was very different when such an interference should take place, prior to the establishment of the proof required, as to bring about a result which would not probably have happened but for that external agency.

And here I stop for a moment to make two remarks upon this part of the conversation. The first of these is, that I have an impression that the agent to go to Hungary, alluded to by his lordship, was Mr. Mann, the same gentleman who is now figuring in the commission of the confederates at this place. If in this I am right, we can be at no loss for his lordship's sources of information. The other remark is, that the Hungarian precedent was unquestionably one in which a very strong sympathy with the insurgent party actually existed in the United States. Are we therefore to infer a similar impulse to actuate the precipitate measure now taken here?

I did not say this to his lordship, though I might have done so; but I proceeded to observe that I had come to England prepared to present the views of my government on the general question, and that I should have done so in full but for the interposition of this more immediate despatch. At the present moment I should touch only upon one point in connexion with the acknowledgment of the insurgents even as a belligerent State. It seemed necessary to call the attention of his lordship to the fact which must be obvious to him, that as yet they had not laid any foundation for government solid enough to deserve a moment's confidence. They had undertaken to withdraw certain States from the government by an arbitrary act which they called secession, not known to the Constitution, the validity of which had at no time been acknowledged by the people of the United States, and which was now emphatically denied; but not content with this, they had gone on to substitute another system among themselves, avowedly based upon the recognition of this right of States to withdraw or secede at pleasure. With such a treaty, I would ask, where could be vested the obligation of treaties with foreign powers, of the payment of any debts contracted, or, indeed, of any act performed in good faith by the common authority for the time being established. For my own part, I fully believed that such a system could not deserve to be denominated, in any sense, a government; and therefore I could not but think any act performed here, having a tendency to invest it in the eye of the world with the

notion of form and substance, could be attended only with the most complete disappointment to all the parties connected with it.

His lordship here interposed by saying that there was not, in his opinion, any occasion at present for going into this class of arguments, as the government did not contemplate taking any step that way. Should any such time arrive in the future, he should be very ready to listen to every argument that might be presented against it on the part of the United States. At this moment he thought we had better confine ourselves to the matter immediately in hand.

I then remarked that there was another subject upon which I had received a despatch, though I should not, after so long a conference, venture to do more than open the matter to-day. This was a proposal to negotiate in regard to the rights of neutrals in time of war. The necessary powers had been transmitted to me, together with a form of a convention, which I would do myself the honor to submit to his consideration if there was any disposition to pursue the matter further. His lordship then briefly reviewed the past action of the two countries since the meeting of the congress at Paris, and expressed the willingness of Great Britain to negotiate but he seemed to desire to leave the subject in the hands of Lord Lyons, to whom he intimated that he had already transmitted authority to assent to any modification of the only point in issue which the government of the United States might prefer. On that matter he believed there would be no difficulty whatever. Under these circumstances, I shall not press the subject further at this place until I receive new directions to that effect from the department.

His lordship then observed that there were two points upon which he should be glad himself to be enlightened, although he did not know whether I was prepared to furnish the information. They both related to the President's proclamation of a blockade. The first question was upon the nature of the blockade. The coast was very extensive,

stretching along the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico a great way. Was it the design of the United States to institute an effective blockade in its whole extent, or to make only a declaration to that effect as to the whole, and to confine the actual blockade to particular points? Considering the uniform doctrine of the government refusing to recognize the validity of mere paper blockades, he could hardly suppose they designed the latter.

To this I replied that I knew nothing directly of the President's intentions on this subject; but that inasmuch as the government had always protested against mere paper blockades, I could not suppose that it was now disposed to change its doctrine. On the contrary, I had every reason for affirming that it was the intention to make an effective blockade; and this was more practicable than at first sight might appear from the fact that there were few harbors along the coast, however great its extent, and these were not very easy of access. I thought, therefore, that even though the blockade might not be perfect, it would be sufficiently so to come within the legitimate construction of the term.

His lordship then alluded to the other point, which was, that the proclamation assigned no precise date for the commencement of the blockade, which he believed was necessary; but he presumed that that defect might be remedied at any time. To which I added that I did not doubt any such omission of form would be supplied as soon as it was pointed out.

His lordship then made some remarks upon the adoption of the tariff; to which I replied that, in my belief, that law was mainly passed as a revenue measure, with incidental protection; that it was not in any way aimed in a hostile spirit to foreign nations; and that the people of the United States would always buy from Great Britain as much as they could pay for, and generally a good deal more. This last remark raised a smile; and thus ended his lordship's series of inquiries.

Having thus disposed of these secondary questions, I returned once more to the charge, and asked him what answer I should return to the inquiry which I had been directed to make. In order to avoid any ambiguity, I took out of my pocket your despatch No.4, and read to him the paragraph recapitulating the substance of Mr. Dallas's report of his interview, and the very last paragraph. I said that it was important to me that I should not make any mistake in reporting this part of the conversation; therefore I should beg him to furnish me with the precise language. He said that he did not himself know what he was to say. If it was expected of him to give any pledge of an absolute nature that his government would not at any future time, no matter what the circumstances might be, recognize an existing State in America, it was more than he could promise. If I wished an exact reply, my better way would be to address him the inquiry in writing. I said that I was well aware of that, but I had hoped that I might be saved the necessity of doing so. On reflection, he proposed to avoid that by offering to transmit to Lord Lyons directions to give such a reply to the President as, in his own opinion, might be satisfactory. To this arrangement I gave my assent, though not without some doubt whether I was doing right. In truth, if I were persuaded that her Majesty's government were really animated by a desire to favor the rebellion, I should demand a categorical answer; but thus far I see rather division of opinion, consequent upon the pressure of the commercial classes. Hence I preferred to give the short time demanded, as well as to place in the hands of the President himself the power to decide upon the sufficiency of the reply.

* * *

It may be as well to state that, both in matter and manner, the conference, which has been reported as fully and as accurately as my memory would permit, was conducted in the most friendly spirit.

* * *

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.”

Secretary of State Seward presents President Lincoln with a draft “manifesto” addressed to Charles Francis Adams, the United States Minister in London. It demands that England accept the blockade, refuse to recognize the Confederacy, and stop all further activities with rebel commissioners abroad. If England refuses, it means war with the United States. Lincoln reviews the draft with Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts who raises concerns. Lincoln marks the document “confidential” so that only Adams can read it and takes out some harsh language. However, the final draft retains the provision that if England recognizes the Confederacy, it means war with the United States. (*Oates* 241-42).

“No. 1. London, May 21, 1861.
Hon. Robert Toombs, etc.

Sir: On the receipt of letters of credence to the various Courts to which we have been commissioned, we at once departed upon our mission, and reached this city—Mr. Mann on the 15th, and Messrs. Yancey and Rost, with the Secretary to the Commission, Mr. Fearn, on the 29th of April.

On the 3d instant, through the kind offices of W. S Gregory, Esq., we obtained an informal interview with Her Majesty’s Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord John Russell. In that interview we informed his Lordship that we had been duly accredited by the Government of the Confederate States of America as Commissioners to the Government of Her Majesty the Queen, &c., and should be ready at some proper moment to ask for a formal interview for the purpose of presenting our letters of credence; but that our object at

present, if agreeable to him, was to have with him an informal interchange of views upon American affairs. His Lordship replied that it would give him pleasure to hear what he had to communicate, though he should under present circumstances have but little to say.

Availing ourselves of this, we proceeded to state that seven States, lately members of the Government of the United States of America, had withdrawn from the Government, revoking the powers originally granted to it (for certain defined purposes within definite limits), and in accordance with the great principles of self-government had deliberately and in perfect order proceeded to alter their constitutions, and had formed a new Government, for their common purposes, styled the Confederate States of America.

We further stated in this connection that the people had thrown off one Federal Government and formed a new one, and put it into successful operation, without shedding a drop of blood, without violating a single private or public right, and that during the entire process of those momentous events law and justice had been administered in every department as usual, and commerce and all other industrial pursuits had been uninterrupted; that, while thus illustrating our desire for the preservation of order and peace, we were prepared to maintain our independence.

We undertook to answer an objection urged against this movement, that the people had violated the great principle of allegiance, by showing from well-known historical facts that the independence and sovereignty of the original thirteen States severally, and not the independence and sovereignty of the confederation under which these States were then united, had been recognized and acknowledged by Great Britain in the treaty of Paris, and that this great principle was a key to the proper understanding of the Constitution of the late United States of America; and that the people of the several States forming the Confederate States of America had acted upon this principle, and had not violated,

but preserved, their allegiance to their several sovereigns—viz., to the respective States of which they were citizens.

We also recited, as fully as the character of such an interview would allow, the causes which had led to this great movement, demonstrating, in our opinion, that the Southern States, forming the Confederate States of America, had acted strictly in defense of their rights and liberties, and had at last withdrawn from the late Union upon the conviction, not only that the Government of the United States no longer afforded security for their Federal rights as members of that Union, but that it was to be used to invade rights and liberties which had been reserved by them as sovereign States when the Federal Constitution was framed.

The facts and reasons tending to show the ability of the Confederate States to defend their position, and the elements of permanency and great commercial success to be found in the people—their institutions, climate, soil, and productions—were also dwelt upon.

The disposition of our Government to act upon the defensive and to cultivate peace and amity with the nations of the earth was set before his Lordship. We concluded the conversation upon our part by expressing a hope that the Government of Great Britain would find it to be not only for the benefit of industrial interests generally, but as tending to subserve the highest interests of peace, civilization, and constitutional government, that it should recognize the independence of the Confederate States of America at an early day. His Lordship manifested much interest in the whole subject, making pertinent inquiries as the conversation proceeded, and replied, thanking us for the facts which we had communicated to him, and said that the whole matter would be made a subject of Cabinet consultation at as early a day as possible; that at present we would recognize the propriety of his not expressing any opinion upon the matter. This concluded our interview.

Since the, one of our Commission, Mr. Rost, after consultation and agreement as to its policy and propriety, has visited Paris and had an interview with the Count de Morny, the confidential friend of the Emperor. In this interview the Count said that France and England have agreed to pursue the same course toward us; that we need apprehend no unfriendly action on their part, and that recognition was, in his opinion, a mere question of time. He added that Mr. Rost must be satisfied both nations understood their own interests, commercially and otherwise, and that nobody here believed in, or desired, the reconstruction of the Union on the old basis; but at the same time he considered that it would be a fatal mistake to insist upon an immediate recognition during the war now in progress. Both countries would be strictly neutral, both have recognized us as a belligerent power, and this informal recognition, coupled with the rights of neutrals under the law of nations as that law has been interpreted by the Government and courts of the United States, would be fully as effective as treaties in protecting us, and less embarrassing to European Governments.

He further assured Mr. Rost that the French Government would always be ready to receive unofficially, and to give due consideration to, any suggestions we might deem it proper to make, provided strict secrecy were maintained; and in the meantime, so long as we produced cotton for sale, France and England would see that their vessels reached the ports where it was to be had.

We are satisfied that the public mind here is entirely opposed to the Government of the Confederate States of America on the question of slavery, and that the sincerity and universality of this feeling embarrass the Government in dealing with the question of our recognition.

We are fully convinced, however, that the leading public men of all parties look to our recognition as certain unless the fortunes of war should be against us to such an extent as to destroy all reasonable hope of our permanency.

In the House of Commons, on the 6th instant, Lord John Russell, in answer to a question of which notice had been given, said: 'The Government had come to the opinion that the Southern Confederacy of America, according to those principles which seem to them to be just principles, must be treated as a belligerent.' (See extract from *London Times* on May 7, herewith transmitted.)

These remarks appear to have given almost universal satisfaction to the intelligent men of the country, and both the Government and opposition parties cordially unite in commending the wisdom of the position then taken.

Since then an important debate has taken place in the House of Lords, in which it was announced that the United States would not be allowed to treat privateers as pirates without bringing down upon them the indignant judgment of the civilized world.

Taking a view of the whole matter, we are of the opinion that neither England nor France will recognize the independence of the Confederate States at present, but that England in reality is not averse to a disintegration of the United States, and both of these powers will act favorably toward us upon the first decided success which we may obtain. We acknowledge the receipt of your dispatches of the 2d and 22d and 26th of April (unnumbered).

Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was absent at the date of the receipt of the last two, and is still absent. As soon as he returns, we shall ask an interview for the purpose of communicating to him their contents in accordance with the instructions we have received.

Our colleague, Judge Rost, is still in Paris.

We have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servants.

W. L. Yancey,
A. Dudley Mann”

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the
Confederacy)

May 23, 1861 (Thursday)

“*Correspondence of the New-York Times*. London,
Monday, May 11, 1861.

There are three questions of commanding interest to be written upon at the moment from London to the United States; first, the intentions of the British Government; second, the feeling of British capitalists; and third, the feeling among resident Americans.

Taking the last first, we have here in London two hostile American camps; the Union party, represented by the *London American*, and the Confederate State party, to be represented by a paper about to be started under some such name as the *Confederate Republican*, the *Confederate Union*, or the *Confederate Herald*. I am told, on what must be considered good authority, that everything is in train for the Southern organ making its *début* in a week or two, under the editorship in chief of Mr. Dudley Mann. His assumption of the editorship is likely, because, if the *London American* ever goes to the wall it will be in consequence of not having a proper editor. Almost every American adventurer, now in London, has had more or less to do with the editing of the *American*, and as too many cooks always spoil the broth, it has not yet made its mark, and is comparatively unknown. There was no one besides connected with it who could foresee what was coming; and holding a dangerous half-and-half middle course, it has pleased nobody, and disgusted a great number of its best supporters and warmest friends. Of course the time for indecision is now past, and the *London American* does its best against the Secessionists, and is a thorn in the side of those living here with Southern sympathies.

Under the auspices of the Southern Embassy and the pen of Mr. Mann, London Southerners look forward to the new organ being a great commercial and political success. It is to disseminate information regarding the Border and Cotton States, and to make common cause with England for the extension of the policy of free trade. Slavery is to be gilded over by the premise that so soon as the connexion with the "bloody North" is severed, Slavery will soon die out, and in much the same way as it is said to have died out in the original States. Southerners will have to choose between Negroes and speculations which will pay better, and so on. I go into this detail that you may know what the Southern platform is here in England. Commercially it is supposed, and I believe wrongly, that the paper will command a great sale in the manufacturing districts. Every man interested in cotton, and who desires to buy grain, and beef and pork, cheaper in New-Orleans than in New-York, is expected to advertise and subscribe, and introduce the paper among his friends. Speaking from some experience of newspapers, I say unhesitatingly, that neither of those results will be realized. In nothing are Englishmen so shy as in supporting new newspapers, and this Mr. Mann and his friends will by and by find out, if they unwisely make a trial.

As you are aware, we have at the moment two Southern steamboat schemes before the public. One between Liverpool and New Orleans, and the other between Liverpool and Charleston. So far as I can learn, the promoters of these two schemes are the promoters of the Southern newspaper, and if the newspaper fares no better than the steamboats, it will be some time yet before the trade of Illinois is permanently diverted down the Mississippi in the Winter time while the Erie Canal is frozen. I am told that not a single share in either of the steamboat schemes has yet been sold, that no a single inquiry has been made regarding them. So far they are a total failure.

Passing to the second question, that, namely, of the feeling among British capitalists, it is one of sincere regret. It is felt that the cause of liberty and

civilization has now been hopelessly thrown back for many years, and if their counsel were to be taken, it would be that peace should be at once restored by any sacrifice. Nothing like panic exists among them, nor is that to be expected, should difficulties even multiply. Their confidence in things coming right in the end is unbounded, and a market will be found here for Securities, as well as other things which the Union States have to offer. The sympathy of the monied men is shared by the masses. With the multitude the Southerners are looked upon as vandals, holding an unfortunate race of human beings in hopeless bondage, and it is to the sympathy of the English masses with the North that the indecision of the British Government is to be traced. To fight for Slavery against freedom would be abhorrent to every Englishman, and the thunders of Exeter Hall would be hurled at the head of any Government, under any circumstances, to propose such a thing.

But the Government are now being worked on by Manchester, and the Conservative Party seem keenly alive to the risks to which British lives and property in the Northern and Southern States are now exposed. Manchester points to 4,000,000 of the British population being dependent on the cotton trade, and firmly asks that the supply be continued at all hazards. They even go the length of asking that, if necessary, war must be at once declared; while the Conservatives in the interest of the toiling millions, but more especially in the interest of British lives and property, demand the immediate presence of an overwhelming force, both upon the Lakes and the Atlantic coast. What the Government will do, under this combined pressure, it is of course impossible to say. Into their hands the issues of peace and war are now placed, or rather claimed, as on Tuesday night Lord Palmerston, in the House of Commons, told the member from Liverpool, Mr. Horsfall, that intended policy of the Government in the matter of the question of rights of neutrals, and other things, could not now be referred to in that House, without detriment to the public service. Perhaps you will know what is to be done, sooner than we do here in London, as I am told the return

dispatches to Lord Lyons will be submitted to a Cabinet Council to-day, and be sent out by the steamer bearing this letter. If your Washington correspondent can find out what passes between Lord Lyons and Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, within the next ten days, you will know the secret." (New York Times May 23, 1861.)

May 24, 1861 (Friday)

Lincoln informed that Colonel Elmer Ellsworth of the New York Fire Zouaves, a close friend of the Lincoln family, had been killed fighting in Alexandria, Virginia. (*Oates* 234, 240). New York shocked at Ellsworth's death (*Dugan* 97)

"No. 6 Department of State, Montgomery, May 24, 1861.

Hon. Wm. L. Yancey, Hon. Pierre A. Rost, Hon. A. Dudley Mann, Commissioners of the Confederate States, etc.

Gentlemen: I have to inform you that the Congress which assembled in extraordinary session on the 29th ultimo adjourned on the 21st instant to meet at the city of Richmond on the 20th of July next. It is the unanimous desire of the people of the Confederate States that the President shall assume the chief direction of the military operations in the field, and shall proceed for that purpose to Virginia, which is the principal theater of those operations at present.

In consequence of this action on the part of Congress, and in compliance with the popular desire, the President has resolved to remove to Virginia, and the Executive Departments of the government will necessarily accompany him. In my last dispatch (No. 5) I intimated to you my conviction that the State of North Carolina would immediately on the assembling of her convention on the 20th instant pass an ordinance dissolving her union with the United States, and would unite herself to the Confederate States. The result has proved that my confidence was well placed.

On the 21st instant, by a unanimous vote of the convention, she seceded from the late Federal Union, adopted the Constitution of the Confederate States, and resolved to furnish \$3,000,000 for the common defense against the enemy.

I am, etc.,

R. Toombs.

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

May 24, 1861 (Friday)

Hamilton E. Towle arrives in Galway via the Adriatic.

May 25, 1861 (Saturday)

Great Eastern departs from New York for Liverpool with 5,000 tons of barreled wheat and 194 passengers. (*Dugan* 96-97)(New York Times, May 13, 1861)

“THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.

The latest news from the States is of a very warlike character, and dissipates the slight hopes that were entertained of a pacific solution of the quarrel. Both the Northern and the Southern States are actively continuing their preparations for civil war. By the Bremen, which left New York on the 11th inst., we have the following intelligence:--The forward movement of National troops on Baltimore has commenced. Large bodies of troops from the South are also advancing into Virginia. Senator Wigfall has announced that 100,000 Southerners are on their way to Washington, and that President Lincoln and his Cabinet will be captured, unless they retreat before the middle of June. Active preparations are going on in all the Northern States, and troops from every point are advancing in the direction of Washington. The Executive at Washington are actively preparing for the emergency. Western Virginia holds out strong against secession. Some soldiers of the National Army have surrendered to the rebels at Texas, and Colonel Waite is also in their hands as a prisoner of war. The Northwestern States are very firm, and loyal to the Federal Government. The militia company of St. Louis, having been supposed to be hostile to the Federal

Government, has been disarmed by Federal forces. The mob fired on the Federal troops, who returned the fire, killing twenty of the populace, including two women and several children. The Maryland Legislature Committee have adopted resolutions condemning the Federal policy, but recognising their obligations to the Union, and requesting the President to cease the war until Congress assembles. The cutter Harriet Lane has captured a privateer. The Governor of Kentucky has issued a proclamation calling for a convention of the people to declare for or against the Union. The latest advices from Fort Pickens state that six Federal war-vessels were off the fort. The Secessionists were preparing for an attack. A convention has been called in Western Virginia to form a separate State and join the Union. A ship has arrived in New York from Bermuda, on the 2nd inst., and reports passing the frigate St. George, with Prince Alfred on board, entering Bermuda. The Great Eastern arrived in New York at 11:30 a.m. to-day (11th inst.)

The following scraps are from other sources:--The Union party in Baltimore had so far recovered ascendancy that the passage through the city is said to be free and the bridges between Baltimore and Washington had been completely repaired. The Virginians had seized the heights on the Maryland side of the Potomac, and were engaged in intrenching themselves there. A bloody affray, which is obscurely related, had occurred in St. Louis between the Secessionists and Federalists. General Frost's brigade of Missourian Militia, numbering some 800 men, had, we are told, been "captured" near St. Louis by the Federal volunteers, who were assailed with stones by the mob on their arrival in St. Louis, and who repelled the attack by a fire of musketry which is said to have killed some twenty persons. Some 300,000 northern volunteers are asserted to have proffered their services for the maintenance of the Union. The Legislature of Pennsylvania has passed bills for raising a loan of 4,000,000 dollars, and for levying fifteen more regiments of volunteers. The great Eastern has arrived at New York, and the Washington

Government was negotiating for her services as a transport.

In a secret Session on the 7th, Virginia was admitted into the Southern Confederacy. The Governor has issued a proclamation declaring that he would resist any invasion of that State. Secession ordinances had been passed in Arkansas and Tennessee; and there can be no doubt that North Carolina would comply with the recommendations of her Government and do likewise. The Southern Congress has passed a law recognising the existence of war with the Federal Government, and an Act has also been passed for granting letter of marque-- thirty days to be allowed to United States' vessels in Confederate ports to quit. It is very likely that public attention will soon be fixed on Fort Pickens as it was on Fort Sumter, for we read that General Bragg is making active preparations for an attack. The Southern Confederacy is said to be in possession of military stores sufficient for the supply of an army of 150,000 men for a year.

President Davis has sent a new message of great length to the Congress at Montgomery, in which he accuses President Lincoln as having been wanting in courtesy, candour, and directness towards the commissioners from the South. Four-fifths of the contents are devoted to the assertion of a State's right to dissolve connection with the general Government when it finds itself hopelessly in the minority. The President of the Southern Confederation asserts that the seceding States are earnestly desirous of peaceful, although independent, relations with the Government at Washington; and he endeavours to throw the onus of civil war upon the latter, neither section being willing to assume the responsibility of the contest. He makes a grand parade of all his preparations, and concludes with the following flourish:--"We seek no conquest, no aggrandisement, no concession from the free States. All we ask is to be let alone, that none shall attempt our subjugation by arms. This we will and must resist to the direst extremity. The moment this pretension is abandoned the sword will drop from our grasp, and we shall be ready to

enter into treaties of amity and commerce mutually beneficial. So long as this pretension is maintained, with a firm reliance on that Divine power which covers with his protection the just cause, we will continue to struggle for our inherent right to freedom, independence, and self-government."

The official correspondence between Mr. Seward and Mr. Dayton, the new American Minister in Paris, on the subject of the recognition by the French Government of the independence of the Government of the Confederate States has been published. Mr. Seward requests Mr. Dayton to explain to the French Government that there is not now, nor has there been, nor will there be, any the least idea entertained by the Government of the United States of suffering a dissolution of the Union to take place in any way whatever, and that the thought of a dissolution of the Union peaceably or by force has never entered into the mind of any candid statesman here, and that it is high time that it be dismissed by statesmen in Europe.

Mr. Cassius M. Clay, U.S. Minister to St. Petersburg, writes to the Times, setting forth what he considers the salient point of the question at issue in the impending conflict. He compares the relative strength of the contending parties:--"The whole seven revolted States (2,173,000) have not as much white population as the single State of New York (3,851,563) by 1,500,000 people. If all the Slave States were to make common cause, they have only 8,907,894 whites, with 4,000,000 slaves, while the Union has about 20,000,000 of homogeneous people, as powerful in peace and war as the world has seen. . . We can blockade them by sea, and invade them by land, and close up the rebellion in a single year if we are `let alone.' For the population of the Slave States is divided perhaps equally for and against the Union, the loyal citizens being for the time overawed by the organised conspiracy of the traitors; while the North is united to a man, the late allies of the South, the Democratic party, being now more earnest for the subjugation of the rebels than the Republicans." (London Illustrated Times, May 25, 1861)

May 24, 1861 (Friday)

IRELAND.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT).

DUBLIN, Saturday Morning.

The Subsidy Meeting.—The Adriatic.—Opinion of Americans.

The arrival of the Adriatic at Galway yesterday morning with the American mails and passengers after a passage made in five days and a half, notwithstanding a detention of several hours caused by ice, is a proof—if proof were wanting—of the great superiority of the route, and was used by the speakers at the public meeting to-day for the purpose of protesting against the annulling of the contract, at the very moment when the arrangements of the company were on the point of being completed. The Adriatic brings the news of the successful voyage outwards of the Parana, the ship the Post office refused to allow to carry the mails. The meeting convened by the Lord Mayor to take into consideration the announcement made by the English Postmaster General to annul the postal subsidy to the Atlantic Company, was held to-day at the Rotunda, and was very numerous and respectable attended by the leading citizens of Dublin and several gentlemen from the country, who came up on purpose to be present and take part in the proceedings. Resolutions were adopted strongly condemnatory of the conduct of Lord Stanley of Alderley, and expressive of the intention of all parties interested in the welfare of Ireland to leave nothing undone that promises the restoration of the subsidy, upon which so greatly depends the material interests of this country.

The Evening Post has the following respecting the probable views of some eminent Americans, and the people of New York in general, upon the proposal to ruin a company that has established the shortest sea route between the Old World and the New—‘We learn, from distinguished Americans now in this city, who arrived by the Adriatic yesterday, that the proposed withdrawal of

the Galway subsidy will, if persisted in, result in great inconvenience to others, besides those interested either from motives of patriotism or gain, in seeing the firm establishment of steam communication between Ireland and America. Already our Transatlantic cousins recognize the line as one of the most desirable for passenger traffic between the Old and New Worlds. To proof this, we need only refer to the list of distinguished Americans who arrived in the Adriatic, at Galway, on yesterday. Amongst them we notice Mr. Bradford H. Wood, of New York; Mr. Harvey, of Pennsylvania, minister to Portugal; Mr. Fogg, of New Hampshire, minister to Switzerland; and Mr. Francis Williams, of New Jersey, attaché of the American embassy to Russia. All of these gentlemen will take a short tour through 'our own green isle' before proceeding to their respective destinations. The Adriatic also brought over Commodore Engle, one of the oldest and most distinguished officers in the United States navy, who goes to China, accompanied by Captain McKinstry, another eminent officer, to bring back the American squadron in Chinese waters, to take part in Mr. Lincoln's blockade of the Southern ports. In addition to these is Mr. Hamilton E. Towle, the civil engineer, who is well known from his professional labours in this own country, and for his successful management of engineering works for the Austrian government, and who makes his present European visit to introduce to the English Admiralty some important inventions connected with nautical affairs. Signor Volpini, the popular tenor of the Havannah Opera troupe, also was a passenger by the Adriatic, on his way to fulfill engagements at the Paris and London Opera Houses; he will return to Cuba in the fall. Passengers from Lima, South America, and other parts of the New World, also have arrived by this noble ship, and all of them expect to spend a week's time and money in Ireland. We are glad to see our country visited by intelligent strangers from all parts of the New World. But quite as important as this is the fact that the Galway line enables Irishmen, and the descendents of Irishmen who had emigrated to the United States, to revisit their

friends at home. Nearly 300 steerage passengers entered Galway yesterday, the vast majority of whom were induced by the easy access to our country to re-visit the scenes of their youth, and thus bind closer the ties of amity between Ireland and America. What Irishman, in view of these facts, will regard with anything but reprobation the efforts now making to destroy, for a mere technical quibble, our noble Galway line.'(The Standard (London), May 27, 1861)

May 28, 1861

“Copy presented, of Correspondence with the United States Government respecting Blockade [by Command].

LORD JOHN RUSSELL

said, in moving that this Correspondence should lie upon the table it may, perhaps, be convenient to the House, and especially so to the commercial interests in this country, that I should state the substance of the correspondence which has lately taken place with the Government of the United States of America with regard to the blockade of ports in that country. On the 19th of April the President of the United States issued a notification in which he intimated that it was intended to institute a blockade of the ports of the seven States which had seceded from the Union, and on the 27th of April another notification was issued, announcing that it was intended to blockade the ports of North Carolina and Virginia. When Lord Lyons applied for an official notification of the establishment and commencement of the blockade, he was told by the Secretary of State that it was not usual to make such a notification, but that it would be made by the different naval commanders at the several ports when the blockade was instituted. It results from the correspondence that the blockade is to be notified in that manner, and that one blockade has already been so notified; namely, that of the ports of Virginia and North Carolina by flag officer Prendergast, who has declared that he is in a situation to make an efficient blockade of those ports. There has been no notification of a similar kind with regard to the

ports of the other States which it was declared were also to be blockaded. The rules, so far as Lord Lyons has been able to ascertain them, and of which he has given an account to Admiral Milne, commanding the squadron in these waters, are, first, that the notification is in each place to be made by the naval officer commanding the squadron or the ships which institute the blockade; and, in the next place, that fifteen days are to be allowed, after the establishment of the blockade, for vessels, to come out of the ports. It appears that whether they were loaded or not at the time the blockade was established, provided they come out within fifteen days, their passage is to be allowed. On the other hand it is not permitted, by the United States' Government that vessels should be sent to ports which are blockaded for the purpose of bringing away the property of British subjects, or the vessels or property of other nations. An application for such permission was made, to which the Secretary of State replied that if such a facility were granted it would be used by American citizens wishing to bring away property. Lord Lyons ends his communication to Admiral Milne very properly. He says that if the blockade is carried into effect according to the rules established by the law of nations we must of course conform to it; and that we can only see that the blockade is sufficient and regular.

MR. T. DUNCOMBE

Sir, I think that the noble Lord ought to inform the House what means he has taken to give protection to British subjects and British property in the Slave States of America. I understand that the greatest outrages are being committed upon British subjects in those States. The noble Lord may have no information upon the subject, but I have this morning received letters from persons upon whom I can depend, and who have requested me to ask what the Government are doing or intended to do in this matter. There is not the least complaint made against the Government of the Free States. But in the Confederated States neither life nor property is safe, and it has been stated to me that British

subjects who went there with wholly different objects and under very different circumstances are compelled to take up arms and fight in the pro-slavery ranks. The noble Lord took great credit to himself for having issued a proclamation and for declaring that the Foreign Enlistment Act will be put in force. But, if that be so, all persons compelled to engage in this war under such circumstances will be treated as pirates. The mercantile marine of America, particularly of the Southern States, is chiefly manned by Irishmen and Englishmen, and others from our own colonies, who will now be compelled to remain and to enter the ranks of the belligerents, and if taken, though they may be loyal subjects of the Queen who wanted to get away, but had not the means, of doing so, under the noble Lord's proclamation they will be treated as pirates. We talk of our neutrality; we boast of it. A letter which I have received from a gentleman asks:—"Is it nothing that a British officer," the captain of a merchant vessel, "has been tarred and feathered?" [Laughter.] It is all very well for hon. Gentlemen to laugh, but I foresee that these are questions which will involve us in difficulty before long. "Is it nothing," this gentleman asks, "that a British subject has been tarred and feathered; nothing that free men of colour, British subjects, are imprisoned; nothing that men of colonial birth are forced to sea in an open boat; others held as prisoners, and that Englishmen should be compelled to fight in pro-slavery ranks?" What is to be done, and what means have been taken by the noble Lord to give those persons an opportunity of avoiding being treated as pirates. I can state on reliable information that at this moment there is an advertisement in the newspapers of the Slave States offering on the part of the Con 191 federated States 20 dollars for every person killed aboard an American vessel. What a set of savages they must be! Who would care for going to war with such a people? Do you suppose the people of Canada will submit to have their fellow-subjects dragged away and compelled to fight for slavery? They will stand no nonsense, and after a time your very neutrality will lead you into war. The question which I have been requested to ask is whether it is not intended immediately to increase

the British squadron on the Southern coast, and to have every vessel examined, so that Englishmen, Irishmen, and subjects of our colonial empire, who may be serving compulsorily on board American vessels shall have an opportunity of getting away in case they wish to do so? I have received letters from men on whom I can depend, and they all state that occurrences such as I have adverted to have already taken place, and more will undoubtedly follow unless England adopts a more decided tone. We have no right to sit down and occupy ourselves exclusively in quarrelling about the paper duties while our fellow subjects are suffering by hundreds and thousands in the hands of these savages.

MR. BERNAL OSBORNE

Sir, I must, at this early stage, protest against the language made use of and the sentiments expressed by my hon. Friend the Member for Finsbury (Mr. T. Duncombe), who has altogether prejudged this question. He talks of reliable information which he has received from certain friends of his; but I am also in possession of reliable information which gives the direct lie to the statements made by the hon. Gentleman. I am not only in a position to deny that any of those outrages have been committed in the Southern States; but, if this were the proper time, I could point to outrages committed by the militia of New York in one of the Southern States occupied by them, where the General commanding, on the pretext that one of his men had been poisoned by strychnine, issued an order of the day, threatening to put a slave into every man's house to incite the slaves to murder their masters. Such was the general order issued by General Butler. Therefore, do not let us be led away by old wives' tales into appeals to that very powerful and very dangerous element in this House—I mean the Exeter Hall feeling. I do hope the feeling of the House will be strongly expressed against anything like a debate upon this subject at the present moment; and that hon. Gentlemen will not be tempted to follow my hon. Friend, but will rather imitate the judicious silence which the noble Lord has always maintained on this point.

MR. BRIGHT

I think nothing could be more injudicious or more unfortunate than to have submitted to us accounts from private letters of particular outrages said to be committed in America. We know, before war is terminated, there or anywhere else, there will be outrages enough; but of this I think we may be quite assured that in the North as well as in the South, and in the South quite as much as in the North, there will be the greatest possible disposition to avoid everything which can bring about a quarrel with this country. Nothing could be more unfortunate for the South, nothing could be more unfortunate for the North, whatever quarrels there may be between the two sections of the American Republic, than that the quarrel should extend to this country. I feel confident that we are not more anxious to remain at peace with both the sections than they are to continue on good terms with us. In the policy which the noble Lord has announced—that of strict neutrality—I agree as cordially as any other Member of this House; and I think it would be well if that policy were not confined merely to the Government, but if individual Members of the House were as far as possible to adopt the same line of action. It is an unhappy thing that these dissensions should have arisen; but let us hope, and I hope still, that among a population more extensively educated, probably, than the population of any other country in the world, it may yet be found possible to surmount the vast difficulties which have arisen in that country without those extensive cruelties which almost always accompany a civil war. With that expression of opinion I wish to make a request—and the House, I am sure, will feel that I am only asking what is reasonable and prudent—that we should avoid, as much as possible, discussions on matters which, I believe, we cannot influence for good, but with regard to which we may create a state of feeling, either in the North or South, that will add to the difficulties of the Government in preserving the wire line of action which they have laid down.

MR. GREGORY

Sir, I really must warn the House not to be led away by stories and by letters which one gentleman has received from another gentleman, on whom he places the most implicit reliance, but who very probably knows nothing more of the matter than the Gentleman who reads the communication with such perfect faith in the accuracy of its contents. As to the nonsensical trash of twenty dollars being offered by the Confederated States for every man put to death on board an American ship, the House knows perfectly well that neither letters, newspapers, nor accredited information of any kind can at present be received from the South, but all are stopped on the borders. Anything which does see the light is cut into slips and published in the New York papers. Very few communications of the kind have reached this country, and they are principally the State documents which have been put forward by the South. I cannot better evidence the spirit by which they are animated than by referring to the late address of President Davis; and I will ask the House whether it breathes a single one of those bloodthirsty, wicked, terrible opinions which my lion. Friend is anxious to impress on the House as being the doctrine of the Southern States? I beg to take this opportunity of saying that I shall certainly bring forward my Motion on the subject of the recognition of the Southern Confederacy on the 7th of June, when I trust the matter will be fairly discussed, and in the meantime that we shall not throw imputations on one party or the other.

MR. E. P. BOUVERIE

Sir, in the question of notification of blockade to which reference has been made a matter which is very important for the commercial interests of the country is involved. The rule, I believe, is this—Public notification must be given to the State of which a neutral who seeks to violate a blockade is a member, before he can be held to have subjected himself to forfeiture of his vessel and goods; or actual notice must have been given to the neutral himself. The House will see that this is a most important question, because the intent to sail to a blockaded port, as to which a neutral merchant has

received a notice of blockade, is considered as a violation of neutrality, and the ship will be accordingly condemned in the prize court of the capturing Power. I wish the noble Lord to state distinctly whether or not the mercantile interests of this country are to understand that a public notification of blockade of the ports to which he has referred will be given; or that merely an intimation of the blockade to neutral ships arriving off those ports will be given to them when they get there?

LORD JOHN RUSSELL

who was indistinctly heard, was understood to say that he could not give any further information to his right hon. Friend with regard to the blockade; but the papers on the subject would shortly be laid on the table, and when they were submitted the House would be in possession of the exact state of the case. But his right hon. Friend would understand that when Mr. Seward was asked whether he would give a notification of the blockade he refused to do so, saying that he found no precedent for such a proceeding. He (Lord John Russell) referred him to a precedent, but Mr. Seward said that he would not give a general notification of a blockade, but would leave it to the naval commanding officer on each station to declare that the blockade had been instituted, and when that was generally communicated it was to be considered that the blockade was of course, established. He would not regularly enter into questions which might afterwards have to be argued and decided in a prize court with regard to the regularity of the blockade. He had no doubt that the United States Government, always very cautious on the subject of blockades, had consulted precedents and taken the best legal advice before they had adopted the course which had been pursued. With regard to the question of his hon. Friend the Member for Finsbury, he must say that it was founded on rather on a vague statement, and he had not brought forward any particular facts upon which the Foreign Office could take any steps. His hon. Friend had alluded to the case of the master of a merchant vessel who had been tarred and feathered, but the case occurred several weeks

before anything like the outbreak of civil war—at a time, in fact, when the whole country was at peace. There might have been some intention of secession, but no secession had actually taken place. There were rumours of a very disparaging character with regard to that master of a merchant vessel, and he was attacked and ill-treated by the mob; but the authorities endeavoured to arrest the rioters, and the English Consul stated that they had done everything that it was possible to do to afford him protection. That affair, therefore, had really nothing to do with the question of secession or civil war. With regard to such cases generally, he might refer to the steps which had been taken by the Government, and they were chiefly these:—They had desired that Admiral Milne should be present with a sufficient squadron, and orders have also been given by the Admiralty that other vessels should be sent out to strengthen the squadron in those seas. Lord Lyons had taken care to inform himself in regard to the law of the United States and of the seceded States in regard to persons serving in the militia. Those laws varied in different States in Europe, and they varied even in the different States of America. Lord Lyons had taken the opinion of counsel, and, no doubt, if any question arose Lord Lyons would entertain the matter with due discretion, having reference both to international law and the law of the particular State in respect to which the question arose. In the next place, without entering on the question of neutrals, which he should be ready to discuss at the proper time, he might state that Her Majesty's Government had been in communication with the French Government, and had made a proposition on that subject to the Government of the United States. He agreed with the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright) that in respect to that unhappy quarrel, which had given the greatest pain throughout the whole of the country, no words should be used which would either tend to bring the country into the conflict or that might create exasperation or bitterness on the one side or the other. That a great and free nation like America should be exposed to all the evils of civil war was an event which every lover of liberty must deplore, and he hoped that the conflict, if it could not be averted, might, at all

events, be a short one, and not interfere with the ultimate prosperity of the country.

Petition to lie upon the Table.” (House of Commons [Hansard] May 28, 1861)

May 29, 1861 (Wednesday)

Richmond becomes the capital of the Confederacy. “Addresses of Americans in London – Hamilton E. Towle, C.E., Boston, Waverly Hotel, 37, King-street, Cheapside” (London American, May 29, 1861)

“The Great Eastern.-The greatest distance run by this steamship during her late voyage to New York was on her eighth day out, when she ran 348 miles in the 24 hours-a speed of 14½ nautical miles per hour. The wind blew steadily against her from the westward, so that she could make but little use of her canvas, and the American papers inform us that only half her steam power was employed during the voyage. The coal consumed during the passage was from 150 to 200 tons per day, the entire distance, 3,093 miles, was accomplished in 10 days. The *New York Tribune* says:- ‘It is now definitely understood that the ship will be offered for sale to the Government as a transport ship, but should a sale not be negotiated, she will accept of a charter for the service. The Government will, no doubt, immediately avail itself of the opportunity to obtain so desirable an addition to their means of offensive operations.’” (The Liverpool Telegraph, May 29, 1861)

May 31, 1861 (Friday)

“The Great Eastern for Liverpool.

There appears some prospect at last of the shareholders in the Great Ship Company receiving at no distant day dividends for their investment. It has been definitely decided to send the Great Eastern to Liverpool, a stop that should have been taken when she was first read for sea, and a steam-tug the Speedwell, and a ‘lump’ have been dispatched to Milford to bring moorings for her. She may be expected to arrive in the Mersey on Tuesday or Wednesday next, that is if all goes well, when she will be anchored between Rock Ferry and New Ferry. As a triumph of naval architecture the

Great Eastern stands unquestioned, but the wisdom of building a vessel too large for any harbour or dock, and almost for any trade, is at least problematical (sic). The resolution to send her to the Mersey, however, looks like putting the splendid ship in her proper place. The right idea is sometimes only arrived at either through the pocket or torture of mind, and in sending the Great Eastern to Liverpool the Directors could not do a wiser thing for the shareholders, who, sooth to say, have suffered no little loss already. The trade between this port and America, goods and passengers, is sufficiently large to make even the Great Eastern prove profitable, and if not, of which we have no doubt, excepting of course the Northern and Southern States of America ruin each other in the impending fierce struggle, and so put a stop to all commerce, there is the now large Bombay cotton trade, daily expanding to her large carrying capacity, and which, if the troubles in the United States continue, in a few years will be something incredible. Indeed as a means of rapidity, supplying our manufacturers with cotton from India, the Great Eastern would prove eminently serviceable now, and we have no doubt the millowners of Lancashire would rejoice at the prospect of her being in this trade. However, apart from impressions and convictions there is wisdom in sending the big ship to Liverpool, and we rejoice at the fact for more reasons than one.” (*The Liverpool Telegraph*, May 31, 1861)

“We had been hard at work on the Great Eastern all the winter at Milford, getting her ready for another trip to America. She sailed in May and made a good voyage, returning to Liverpool. She had about 7,000 tons of cargo on her return trip, chiefly corn, and the earnings of the voyage more than covered her expenses. We had some difficulty in getting her off the gridiron; it was an awful wet and rough night and by some blundering of the pilot her anchors were not let go in time, and she went into a man of war, doing her damage to the extent of 350£ which we afterwards had to pay.” *Memoirs and Diary of Sir Daniel Gooch.*

“Three Days Later From Europe.
Arrival of the *America* at Halifax.
Official Reception of the New American Minister.
The American Question in the House of Lords.
Debate on the Blockade and Contraband Goods.
The French Troops to Evacuate Syria.
Further Decline in Cotton—Breadstuffs and
Provisions Steady.
Large Sales of American Stocks at Firm Prices.

Halifax, Thursday, May 30.

The Royal Mail Ship *America*, from Liverpool Saturday, 18th, via Queenstown Sunday, 19th inst., arrived at this port at 5 o'clock this morning, and sailed at 10 for Boston. The *America* has 93 passengers, including Ex-Minister Dallas, Rev. Messrs. Wendell, Prince, Langdon, Von Kleck; Capts. Eldridge, Beatty, Ritchie, and others. She also has \$1,200,000 in specie.

The *America* reports speaking the steamships *Asia* and *City of Manchester*, from New-York, for Liverpool, and the ships *Lizzie Thompson* and *Sea Bride*.

The steamship *City of Washington*, from New-York, arrived at Liverpool on the 16th inst., and the *Bavaria*, from New-York, at Southampton, on the 17th inst.

Great Britain

Minister Adams has presented his credentials at the Court of St. James.

The new steamship *Hiberian*, from Liverpool, on the 16th inst., for Quebec, put back with slightly damaged machinery. The *North Briton* takes her place. The steamship *Columbia*, on the Galway line, at arrived at Liverpool. to repair damages received from ice. The steamship *Prince Albert* is advertised to leave Galway on the 21st inst.

In the House of Lords, on the 16th inst., the Earl of Ellenboro asked the Government whether the term "lawful blockade," used in the recent proclamation, was to be interpreted literally or with qualifications, or, according to strict meaning of the Paris agreement, it was impossible to maintain an effective blockade. He complained of the vagueness of the proclamation with respect to articles contraband of war.

The Earl of Granville replied, that lawful blockade must be maintained by a sufficient force; but it was not absolutely necessary to render all ingress or egress impossible, but to render it extremely difficult. With respect to other questions, he stated that certain articles were clearly contraband of war, but that certain other articles depended upon special circumstances and contingencies, which could only be decided by a Prize Court, and which it was impossible to define beforehand.

The Earl of Derby said that there were two points on which it was desirable that the Government should come to an understanding with the United States. They proclaim a blockade of the whole Southern coast; which they had not the force to maintain. Although they could lawfully blockade certain ports, it was not desirable that they should proclaim a universal blockade, but only maintain a partial one. The Northern States also declare that they should treat privateers as pirates, but they could not do so by the law of nations, and it was desirable that, notwithstanding the proclamation, that it should be declared such penalty on British subjects would not be viewed with indifference by England.

Lord Brougham said, privateering, according to International law, was not piracy, but to join an expedition against a Power at peace with England was a piratical act. To constitute an efficient blockade, such a force must be maintained as to make the passage of it absolutely impossible, but this was very difficult.

Lord Chelmsford denied the doctrine of Lord Brougham relative to privateers.

Lord Campbell said that Earl Granville had laid down the law correctly with respect to the blockade and articles contraband of war. A subject of another Power, holding letters-of-marque, were not guilty of piracy.

Lord Kingsdown said that the Northern States might consider the people of the Southern States as rebels, and guilty of high treason, but that this would not apply to the subjects of other Powers becoming privateers.

At a preliminary meeting of the Great Ship Company, the Chairman said that contingent orders had been given to the Captain of the *Great Eastern* with respect to her employment by the American Government, and the Ministers in Parliament would be asked whether she would be absolved from the penalties, if chartered before the Queen's proclamation got out.

Queen Victoria held court at Buckingham Palace on the 16th inst., at which Mr. Dallas delivered his letter of recall, and presented Mr. Adams to Her Majesty. . . .” (New York Times, May 31, 1861)

“[Extracts]
No.4.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, May 31, 1861.

Sir:

* * *

I have likewise to acknowledge the reception of a printed circular addressed to my predecessor, Mr. Dallas, and dated the 27th of April, 1861, transmitting the proclamation of the President declaring the blockade of the ports of Virginia and North Carolina. In this connexion it may be as well to call your attention to the manner in which these measures are viewed here, so far as it may be gathered from what is casually dropped by

members of Parliament as well as what is published in the newspapers. A leading article in the Times newspaper of this morning is especially deserving of attention. It would seem from this that a scheme to overturn the old and recognized British law of blockade, through the means of a joint declaration of the European powers, somewhat after the fashion of the armed neutrality of the last century, is among the things now floating in the minds of people here. Great Britain, so long known and feared as the tyrant of the ocean, is now to transform herself into a champion of neutral rights and the freedom of navigation, even into the ports of all the world, with or without regard to the interests of the nations to whom they may belong.

* * *

I beg to call your attention to the language used by Lord John Russell and by Mr. Gladstone in the debate in the House of Commons last evening, in relation to a passing remark of Sir John Ramsden upon American affairs on the preceding Monday. They indicate what I believe to be true, that the feeling toward the United States is improving in the higher circles here. It was never otherwise than favorable among the people at large. I was myself present and heard Sir John Ramsden on Monday night. His remark was partially cheered by the opposition, who were ready to receive anything favorably from a new convert; but I have reason to believe that it met with decided condemnation from a large majority of the members. The proof of this was established last night in the manner in which the castigation of Mr. Gladstone, which I also witnessed, was listened to and approved. Sir John seems to have gained no laurels in this conflict. The ministry sustained themselves in the division last night, which is, I presume, the decisive test for the year, I believe this may be regarded as a favorable result to the United States. I shall reserve some general observations on the subject for a separate despatch in the early part of next week.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.”

June 1, 1861 (Saturday)

“No. 2 London, June 1, 1861.
*Hon. Robert Toombs, Secretary of State of the
Confederate States of America.*

Sir: On the 21st instant [ultimo] we sent a dispatch by Mr. C. H. Morgan detailing the progress we had made in our mission to that date. It may, however, have been intercepted, and we will briefly recapitulate its contents.

The Commission had an informal interview with Lord John Russell on the 3d instant [ultimo], in which its credentials were stated, and the rise and formation of the Government of the Confederate States of America and the causes leading to it were reviewed, the elements of its permanency and strength were descanted upon, and its desire to form peaceful relations with the world was declared. His Lordship gave marked attention to this statement, making some inquiries as to points bearing upon the permanency of the new Government and upon the great question of neutral rights, which the Commission assured by facts showing the physical, military, and commercial resources of the Confederate States, and answering that it would be the policy of our Government to recognize neutral rights and property as fully as the most liberal nation could desire. His Lordship promised to lay the matter before the Ministry, and the interview terminated.

The dispatches from the Department of State of April 22, 26, and 29 were duly received.

The Commission again had an interview with Lord John Russell, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in which the dispatch of the 28th was read to him, and a copy of the dispatch and President's message at the convening of the extra session of Congress was left with his Lordship.

The Secretary manifested considerable interest at the recital of the conduct of the Government of the United States toward the Commissioners of the Confederate States at Washington, and said that the Government of Great Britain desired to communicate with the Government of the United States, and at Montgomery, with reference to the declaration of Paris upon the question of blockade, of neutral rights, and especially as to the freedom on neutral goods in enemies' ships, and as to letters of marque. His Lordship further said that all these questions, including the question of the independence of the Confederate States, would be made, by the British Government, matters of consideration and communication with the powers of Europe, and in the meantime he could not answer; that the time between this and the answer to our claim to recognition would be short.

Our opinion is that the British Government have no settled policy as to the recognition of our Government; that they will adhere to their declaration recognizing the Confederate States as belligerents, but will postpone a decision as to a recognition of the independence of those States as long as possible, at least until some decided advantage is obtained by them, or the necessity for having cotton becomes pressing.

The public journals have been growing more favorable to our cause, and public opinion, we have reason to believe, is more enlightened upon the nature of the contest than formerly.

The dispatches of Mr. Seward to Mr. Dayton, and the letters and speeches of Cassius M. Clay, have materially injured the cause of the United States, and proportionately benefited that of the Government of the Confederate States. The opinion is general, however, that the North is too strong for the South, and that, by blockade and armies, the South will probably be overcome; and that as long as this may be within probabilities

England should not recognize the independence of our Government.

One of the Commissions (P.A. Rost) it was thought best should proceed to Paris, and as far as possible, in an informal and quiet way, sound the disposition of the French Government. He has returned, and the result of his inquiries and observations is, that there exists an understanding between this Government and that of France to cooperate in their policy upon American affairs. This has been confirmed by what we have learned here. The exact nature and extent of that understanding we have not as yet ascertained. The opinions of the French people and of the Government, as far as could be learned, are considered to be quite favorable to our cause. The public journals are generally favorable.

The antislavery element is weak and not active in Paris. The imperialists are considered as not averse to seeing a division of the later United States, while large numbers of the red republicans and Orleanists view it in an unfavorable light, as destroying a naval power which they had looked to as a counterpoise to that of Great Britain.

But however favorable French views may be considered to be in some respects, all seem to concur in the opinion that France does not wish to be pressed to recognize the Confederate States at present. Advocates of the cause of the United States have been active in attempting to influence public opinion here by speeches and letters published in the daily journals. The effect has been most decidedly to injure the cause and to excite British antagonism. This has been so evidently the case that the Commission have thus far studiously avoided public discussions; and they believe that their conduct has met with public approval, though it may yet be considered politic to place the cause of the South before the European world in a temperate and well-considered manner. The Commission suggest that letters of credence from the President to the Queen of Spain be sent to them, as they may find it very important to open communication with

that power, and indeed, from matters within their knowledge, think it to be so at this time.

We are, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

W. L. Yancey,
P. A. Rost,
A. Dudley Mann.”

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

“Copy

The Sec
To the Admiralty

Foreign Office
June 1st/61

Sir

I have laid before Lord J. Russell your letter of the 27th inst inclosing a copy of the _____ from R. Adml. Milne dated the 1st inst. in which he requests instructions with regard to certain questions stated by him, and advising of the impending hostilities between the U.S. of North America & the so styled Confederate States.

Rear Adml Milne’s first question is ‘are they to be considered in a state of actual War. I am to request that you will state to the Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty in reply that Lord J Russell is of opinion that Rear Adml Milne should be informed in answer ‘that the U.S. of North America and the so styled Confederate States are to be considered as in a state of actual War with each other.’

The 2nd question is as follows

And if so how ___ is the Paris Declaration of 1856 in respect to free ships making free goods if _____ contraband of War _____ from ___not contraband and being seizable in enemies ships to

be considered applicable to Brit Ships conveying ___ the property of either of the belligerents or their ships conveying British goods.

In reply to this question Lord J Russell requests that R Adml Milne may be instructed that neither the U.S. of North America or the so styled Confederate States having as yet acceded to the Declaration of Paris the rules laid down in that Declaration will not be applicable to Brit vessels and goods of neutrals during the War between the U.S. of North America with the so styled Confederate States until further notice & fresh instructions to him.

Rear Adml. Milne's third question is. —

‘Are the Belligerents to be allowed to visit & search our merchant ships on the High Seas.’

Lord J Russell conceives that the Rear Adml should be told in reply that the right of visit & search is regarding by this Govt. as a right appertaining to the lawfully commissioned cruizers of Belligerents when exercised by them subject to their conformity with the Modern Law & usage of Nations.

4th R Adml Milne observes that contraband of war will probably be defined by each of the Belligerents.

Thereupon Lord J Russell apprehends that the Rear Adml. should be instructed that excepting as to arms ammunition military stores (which are clearly contraband of War by the common Law & usage of Nations) it must be left to the Govts & Prize Courts of the Belligerents in the exercise of a reasonable discretion in accordance with the laws & usages of Nations to define & announce what articles will be so considered & treated by them.

And lastly with respect to Rear Adml Milne's fifth question which is as follows.—

The validity of a blockade held to be dependent as to its Efficiency.—

Lord J Russell is of opinion that the answer to this question as he understands it is decidedly in the affirmative.

I am to add that the letter has been submitted to and has received the concurrence of the proper Law Adviser or the Crown.

I am &

/s/ __ Hammond”

“Admiralty
1 June 1861

No 285

Sir,

With reference to your letter of the 1st May, No 183, requesting information and instructions on certain points arising out of the impending hostilities between the United States of North America, and the so styled Confederate States. I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for your information and guidance, a copy of a Letter dated the 1st Instant, from the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, answering in detail the questions you have asked and stating—

1st—That the two contending Parties are to be considered as in a state of actual War with each other.

2nd—That as neither of the two contending Parties have as yet acceded to the Paris Declaration of 1856 with respect to free ships making free goods and goods of neutrals not being seizable in Enemy’s ships, the Rules laid down in that Declaration will not be applicable to British vessels and goods,

3rd—That the right of visit and search is regarded by Her Majesty’s Government as a right appertaining to the lawfully commissioned cruizers

of Belligerents, when exercised by them, subject to and in conformity with the Modern Law and usage of Nations,

4th—That excepting as to Arms, Ammunition and Military Stores (which are clearly contraband of War by the common law and Usage of Nations) it must be left to the Government and Prize Courts of the Belligerents in the exercise of a reasonable discretion to define what Articles will be considered and treated by them as contraband of War, and,

5th—That the validity of a Blockade must be held to be dependent on its Efficiency.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedt Servant,

Rr Adml
Sir Alex Milne K.C.B.
&c &c &c”

“The Law of Blockade

If this terrible contest between the North and the South is to go on we must watch ourselves very narrowly, or we shall be certainly involved in it. We have two parties eagerly bidding for our aid and jealously watching our actions. We have merchants and shipowners sharply alive to the opportunities of turning any circumstances to advantage, and ready to test every point in the law of blockade. The real business of this war is indubitably the blockade of the Southern ports—not now, perhaps, for the last cotton crop is, for the most part, stored in our European warehouses; but in a few months the question will be whether the North can hermetically seal the South, and then Lancashire will be hungering for cotton, and the Federal States will be fainting for the supplies by which it should be paid for. But even already we see the commencement of future difficulties. The American news we published yesterday pictures to us a single

American war steamer cruising off the harbour of Charleston and declaring a strict blockade of 'the whole Southern coast of the United States of America.' The Niagara boards the Liverpool ships and warns them off the coast, and she is strictly within her belligerent rights in so doing. At other times she is engaged in a most exciting chase of other less obedient British craft which, under the hope of a good freight, stand the risk of a race and sometimes make good their entrance into the blockaded port. As time wears on these chases will become much more numerous, and if Governor Seward has already had occasion to utter dark threats against the French Emperor for some fancied tendencies of a Southern character, we may expect what these complications will be as soon as it becomes the direct pecuniary interest of every merchant and shipowner of Europe to break this blockade of a quarter of a continent. It will be found very difficult to keep sealed what all the world has an interest in breaking; and we cannot hope that the watchers will always maintain an unfailing good humour in dealing with the host of evaders. We may depend upon it that we shall soon have a revival of these old questions so familiar in our history. What the law of blockade is no one knows. True, it may be read in treatises and may be found laid down in textbooks. But these textbooks have not the authority to be derived from consistency, and have never been obeyed in practice. They have for the most part been written by two different schools of jurist,-the subjects of warring Powers, and the subjects of neutral Powers. All the authorities of this country are in favour of the most generous interpretation of the rights of belligerent Powers, for we have always been belligerent; it has always been our interest to give a belligerent Power the strongest possible rights over neutral ships; and our Prize Courts have always been laying down doctrines which the rest of the world repudiated as illegal and untenable. The consequence is that we shall now find ourselves in a false position in all these questions. We shall be bound by our own interests as neutrals, and we shall have to submit to rules of maritime public law which will much increase the evils we must necessarily endure from the blockade,

however inefficient, of the coast which is to us so important both for exports and imports.

All this tends to future difficulties. It is at this moment the desire of every political party in the country to avoid being in any way implicated in what is now going on beyond the Atlantic. Never did any people look on with calmer or more judicial mind upon any event passing outside their own land than do the British people upon this American quarrel. The prevailing feeling is one of simple regret. We sympathize with the exaggerated resentment of neither party. But we have hitherto felt no immediate effects operating upon ourselves. We cannot answer that our thoughts would be as calm, or our judgement as impartial, if all Lancashire were blockaded by the fleet which blockades the Southern ports, and if the ships which keep those ports closed were at the same time keeping closed the workshops of Manchester and Sheffield. The law of blockade might then come to be discussed in a very different spirit. Now, while it is yet time, it is, we think, the duty of the Governments of Europe to come to some general understanding upon this subject, and to agree to propositions which shall form a real public law. We are, for the first time, a neutral Power; we hope to remain so; we no longer feel it to be a vital interest to sustain exaggerated pretensions in favour of belligerent Powers. We draw nearer now to those principles with which we have always in former days been in conflict, and we might escape many difficulties which are not far ahead if we could give universal authority to some well-considered exposition of the law of blockade, the rights of neutrals and the description of articles of contraband of war. – *Times*.” (The Liverpool Telegraph, June 1, 1861)

“The Great Eastern.

By the Adriatic we have received the particulars of the outward voyage of the Great Eastern, which arrived at New York on the 12th. The trip occupied nine days and 13 hours, and have been quicker but for a severe gale on the 6th inst.,

which necessitated an abandonment of her regular courses for a while. This gale amounted to almost a hurricane, and cause the great ship to roll in a manner which had not been anticipated. Tables, chairs, &c., which were not screwed down were overturned and thrown together in a broken heap. Altogether, however, the ship behaved admirably, and although she was often covered with spray, it was quite impossible for any sea to overleap her lofty sides. The best days run was 348 miles. A speed of 11 knots an hour was several times exceeded, but on the whole voyage an equal average was not reached. Sails were found to be of little or no service, and their use was discontinued. The almost absolute safety of the ship, and the unparalleled comfort she afforded, were fully demonstrated during the voyage. The *New York Times* says:--“It is now definitely understood that the ship will be offered for sale to the Government as a transport ship, but should a sale not be negotiated, she will accept a charter for that service. The Government will, no doubt, immediately avail itself of the opportunity to obtain so desirable an addition to their means of offensive operations”. (Warrington [Liverpool] Guardian, June 1, 1861)

June 1861 (day unknown)

Great Eastern chartered by the British War Office and fitted out at Brikenhead Iron Works as a troop ship to carry an army to Quebec purportedly to forestall the Irish Fenians in the United States who were threatening to make armed raids into Canada. (*Beaver* at 72) “Her cargo spaces were quickly modified for the purpose and with wives and families and forty independent passengers, including William Froude, the aspiring naval hydrodynamist, and Henry Brunel, the younger son of the great engineer, there was a total of 3,400 people aboard.” (*Emmerson* at 99).

June 3, 1861

“No. 14.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 3, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of May 17 (No.1) has been received.

Your speech at Liverpool was equally prudent and happy. Your promptness in passing through the town to the seat of government, although to be regretted in some respects, is, in view of the circumstances, approved. Every instruction you have received from this department is full of evidence of the fact that the principal danger in the present insurrection which the President has apprehended was that of foreign intervention, aid, or sympathy; and especially of such intervention, aid, or sympathy on the part of the government of Great Britain.

The justice of this apprehension has been vindicated by the following facts, namely:

1. A guarded reserve on the part of the British secretary of state, when Mr. Dallas presented to him our protest against the recognition of the insurgents, which seemed to imply that, in some conditions, not explained to us, such a recognition might be made.

2. The contracting of an engagement by the government of Great Britain with that of France, without consulting us, to the effect that both governments should adopt one and the same course of procedure in regard to the insurrection.

3. Lord John Russell's announcement to Mr. Dallas that he was not unwilling to receive the so-called commissioners of the insurgents unofficially.

4. The issue of the Queen's proclamation, remarkable, first, for the circumstances under which it was made, namely, on the very day of your arrival in London, which had been anticipated so far as to provide for your reception by the British secretary, but without affording you the interview promised before any decisive action should be adopted; secondly, the tenor of the proclamation itself, which seems to recognize, in a vague manner, indeed, but does seem to recognize, the insurgents as a belligerent national power.

That proclamation, unmodified and unexplained, would leave us no alternative but to regard the government of Great Britain as questioning our free exercise of all the rights of self-defence guaranteed to us by our Constitution and the laws of nature and of nations to suppress the insurrection.

I should have proceeded at once to direct you to communicate to the British government the definitive views of the President on the grave subject, if there were not especial reasons for some little delay.

These reasons are, first, Mr. Thouvenel has informed our representative at Paris that the two governments of Great Britain and France were preparing, and would, without delay, address communications to this government concerning the attitude to be assumed by them in regard to the insurrection. Their communications are hourly expected.

Second. You have already asked; and, it is presumed, will have obtained, an interview with the British secretary, and will have been able to present the general views of this government, and to learn definitely the purposes of Great Britain in the matter, after it shall have learned how unsatisfactory the action of the British government hitherto has been to the government of the United States.

The President is solicitous to show his high appreciation of every demonstration of consideration for the United States which the British government feels itself at liberty, to make. He instructs me, therefore, to say that the prompt and cordial manner in which you were received, under peculiar circumstances arising out of domestic afflictions which had befallen her Majesty and the secretary of state for foreign affairs, is very gratifying to this government.

A year ago the differences which had partially estranged the British and the American people from each other seemed to have been

removed forever. It is painful to reflect that that ancient alienation has risen up again under circumstances which portend great social evils, if not disaster, to both countries.

Referring you to previous instructions, and reserving further directions until we shall have your own report of the attitude of the British government as defined by itself for our consideration.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c.”

June 4, 1861 (Tuesday)

Commander James Dunwoody Bulloch, Confederate Naval officer in charge of acquisition in Europe, arrives in Liverpool, England, under orders to procure “six steam propellers” to act as commerce raiders. (*Foster* at 3) (*Still*). A million dollars appropriated for Bulloch’s activities, but little of this amount had arrived when Bulloch began his work. (*Foster* at 3) Bulloch shortly starts working with an Anglo-Confederate banking and shipping company, Fraser, Trenholm & Company of Liverpool. (*Foster* at 3) “Mr. Dudley Mann, the English Commissioner of the S.C., on his arrival in London, dropped a line to Mr. George Peabody, in the hope that he would bite at the new Southern Loan. The great fish had no fancy for the bait, having already had a hook in his gills, in the shape of half a million of Repudiated Mississippi Bonds. He then angled for the Rothschild, but his success with the Baron was barren indeed.

The last that was seen of the fisher Mann, he was at the British Museum, studying, what he supposed was a work on finance – “Cotton’s Angler?” *Vanity Fair*

“The Great Eastern

The Great Eastern may now be hourly expected in the Mersey. Taking into account her

date of sailing this may be regarded as certain, that is, accident excepted, so that our readers will soon have the pleasure of seeing one of the largest and noblest specimens of naval architecture in the world. The Great Eastern is loaded principally with grain, two hundred thousand bushels having been consigned to one house alone in Liverpool, which, as a matter of course, the big ship being unable to dock, will have to be transferred to lighters, and thus discharged. The freight already offered to the Great Eastern is pretty indicated if the trade best adapted to her huge proportions. Indeed the Directors of the Great Ship Company seem to have arrived at the conviction that the American trade is the only one likely to make the leviathan a paying speculation, hence the sudden resolution to send her to Liverpool. A wise step taken after damage is shorn of half its wisdom, but in this instance we are only too glad to note the step and leave abstract theories out of the question. Immediately after the Great Eastern arrives at her moorings the Rock Ferry boats will make special trips round her, and, as a matter of course, public excitement consequent on her arrival will be great, though nothing like what it would have been had she arrived in the Mersey when her proportions were more of a novelty than they are now.

ARRIVAL OF THE GREAT EASTERN

Since the above was put in type, this monster steamship, about which so much has been said and written, and which has excited so much attention in this country and America, as the most splendid specimen of naval architecture and mechanical skill in the world, was telegraphed as being off Holyhead yesterday at half-past four, from New York, from which port she sailed on the 25th ult. Owing to the state of the tide, however, her entrance into the Mersey was necessarily delayed, but she may be expected about nine o'clock this morning, when her reception will be in keeping with her fame. The Great Eastern has made a very fair passage, and we trust, for the sake of the Great Ship Company, this will not be the last trip of the

King of the Seas to Liverpool.” (*The Liverpool Telegraph*, June 4, 1861)

June 5, 1861 (Wednesday)

“The Great Eastern

Like all accomplished wonders the Great Eastern is already outliving popularity. The eye has been so familiarized with her proportions, and the ear so accustomed to her novelty, that her appearance in the Mersey has created nothing like the sensation that might have been anticipated. Whether we are too much accustomed to large ships, or we are more of a practical turn than our friends of the Thames, we cannot exactly say, but it is no less a fact that the leviathan has not produced that excitement amongst us many supposed. Possibly, enthusiasm may warm a little in a day or two, and the rush to see the big ship bear comparison with her size, but as yet, as we have said, her presence in the Mersey seems to have little changed the surface of business of every day life. She certainly is a wonderful conception and creation, and the more her huge symmetrical hull is examined and criticised the more does this conviction force itself upon the mind. But there is one fact few business minds can avoid in scrutinizing the exterior of the Great Eastern, a fact which every day makes clear, and that is, with commerce at its present limits, and with the accommodation of our docks and harbours as now constituted, the Great Eastern *is* too big. However, some minds may dispute this impression, and that such has, or is, the case, the big ship herself is an ugly fact, and we sincerely hope that the latter conclusion is the right one.

As a matter of course, we feel feel (sic) an interest in the monster ship, and a pride which impels us to put the best construction upon her chance of turning out a profitable speculation, and we can only say we trust she will be as profitable as she is a wonderful specimen of naval architecture. We believe the Great Eastern will, in a day or two, be open for public exhibition and, no doubt, we shall have a great influx of visitors from the manufacturing towns to inspect the greatest marvel

of the present day. To gratify the curiosity of the public steamers are constantly starting from the Landing-stage on a trip round the leviathan, and we understand, that the general wish to see the Great Eastern may not be disappointed. Messrs. T. & J. Jolliffe are about run their fine steamers Emperor and Lion, and Gladstone, Oldham and Co. their splendid packet Benbigh, trips round the monster ship during her stay in the Mersey, so that no opportunity will be lacking to those who wish to see the wonder of our time.” (The Liverpool Telegraph, June 5, 1861)

June 6, 1861 (Thursday)

“Gregory Withdraws His Motion.

In the House of Commons, on 6th June, Mr. Gregory agreed to postpone his motion, in favor of the recognition of the rebel confederacy by England, indefinitely. It was remarked that a discussion on the constitutional aspect of the case would be very inconvenient to the Government.

In a letter to the *Times* Mr. Gregory gives the following as his reasons for desiring the recognition of the Southern Confederacy: ‘I advocate the recognition of the Southern Confederacy because I believe by the separation of the North from the South we may deal an effectual blow at that accursed traffic, the slave-trade. Hitherto we have received obstruction rather than co-operation from the United States in our endeavors to put down that traffic. The Northerners have always contended that Southern prejudices have been a bar to their hearty co-operation with us. They have now got rid of these prejudices; and as the Cuban slave-trade is mainly carried on by ships sailing from Northern ports and floated by Northern capital, I look forward with confidence to the future action of the United States Government to restrain their citizens at least from this odious enterprise. As for the South, the slave-trade has been formally and strictly forbidden by the constitution; that constitution has been ratified by the several Confederate States, and I should, had my motion come on, been in a position to prove from various

reasons to the House of Commons the sincerity of the Southern President and Congress on this point.

‘I advocate the recognition of the Southern States, because I am of the opinion that by this separation the area of slave-occupied territory will be circumscribed, instead of increased.’ (Harper’s Weekly, July 6, 1861)

June 7, 1861 (Friday)

“[Extract.]
No.5.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, June 7, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your several despatches, No.7, of the 11th of May, with copies of the correspondence relating to the slave trade and to San Domingo; No.8, of the 20th, enclosing the commission of Neil McLachlan, esq., as consul at Leith; and No.9, of the 21st, enclosing the commission of Edward Leavenworth, esq., as consul at Sydney, New South Wales. These commissions have been duly transmitted to her Majesty’s secretary for foreign affairs, with the customary request for recognition. The earlier papers have been carefully read, and will be made the subject of consideration at the next conference, which I purpose to ask of his lordship at an early day.

I think I can report with confidence a considerable amelioration of sentiment here towards the government of the United States. This may be partly ascribed to the impression made by the news received of vigorous and effective measures in America, and partly to a sense that the preceding action of her Majesty’s ministers has been construed to mean more than they intended by it. It cannot be denied that it had opened a most grave question touching the use that might be made of all the ports of Great Britain as a shelter for captures by privateers purporting to be authorized by the rebellious States. After a careful examination of the subject, I had come to the conclusion that, without some further positive action, the preceding practice in this country would authorize the retention of such captures until condemned as prizes in some

admiralty court set up by the insurgents at home and the sale of them afterwards. The effect of this, in giving them encouragement, can scarcely be estimated. It would at once enlist in their behalf most of the daring and desperate adventurers of every nation, whose sole object is plunder, and would initiate a struggle between a community of planters, who have nothing to lose on the ocean, and a commercial nation which whitens every sea with the sails of a peaceful navigation. That so serious a consequence as this was ever intended to flow from the precipitate act of the government here I did not believe. Hence it was with great satisfaction that I learned, on Monday, that the question would be proposed on that day by Mr. Forster in: the House of Commons, which you will have seen before this in the record of the proceedings of that body, and that it would be fully answered by Lord John Russell on behalf of her Majesty's ministers. This answer, as since made, may be regarded as satisfactory, so far as it closes the door to one bad effect of the proclamation; but it does not remove the main difficulty of putting the legitimate and the spurious authority in the same category. Although in practice the operation is favorable to the former, in theory the admission of equality is equally vicious. The only consolation is to be found in the evident desire betrayed by the government here to avoid in any way a collision with the United States or any direct encouragement of the insurgents.

This is the day assigned for the consideration of the motion of Mr. Gregory, the member for Galway. I understand that he means to enter largely into the question of recognition of the confederates, and that he will probably be answered as fully. It is stated to me that the ministry are willing to have the discussion go on. For obvious reasons I do not think it advisable to attend the debate myself; but I shall take measures to obtain the best information of the actual state of feeling in the House from personal observation, and to transmit my own conclusions in the next despatch. Unfortunately it will be necessary to close the present one before evening, in order to be in time for the steamer.

* * *

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient
servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.”

“COLONEL WILSON PATTEN

said, that, before the Order of the Day for going into Committee of Supply was read, he wished to make an appeal to the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Gregory), and to ask him whether it was absolutely necessary that he should proceed with the Motion of which he had given notice:—"To call the attention of the House to the expediency of the prompt recognition of the Southern Confederacy of America"? He believed he was speaking the opinion of a great number of persons who were well acquainted with everything which related to the United States of America, and who were deeply interested in our maintaining friendly relations with those States, when he said that it would be very inexpedient at the present moment to enter upon such a discussion.

MR. GREGORY

said, in answer to the question of the hon. Member, he could assure the House that he was the last man who would willingly involve the country in any embarrassment, or take any course which would in any degree be prejudicial to the maintenance of friendly feelings with America. He had proposed to bring forward this Motion because he thought it only fair that one section of the States should have an opportunity of justifying the course which they had taken, and the only object which he had in view in bringing forward the subject was that he might endeavour, if possible, to give a perfectly impartial statement of the differences which exist between the two sections of that country. He must say that he felt himself almost pledged to do so, in consequence

of the letters that have been published in the papers, and the speeches that have been made by American Plenipotentiaries; but, although they had heard only one portion of the question, although the information which had been published came almost exclusively from Northern sources, and although he was almost pledged to persevere in his Motion, yet seeing that there was such a strong feeling in the House on the subject, he was unwilling to do anything which could in the slightest degree aggravate or embitter the dispute. He would not put himself in opposition to the wishes of the House, so generally expressed, and, therefore, he would postpone the Motion to some future opportunity. His hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham said, "Withdraw it." He would 763 postpone it sine die, with the hope that he should have some opportunity before the close of the Session of bringing forward the subject; because he must say that it was most unfair and most unjust that publications should be circulated throughout England in which the Southern Confederacy were accused of unwarrantable secession, and its members were called traitors and perjurers; and that he should have no opportunity whatever of putting forward their case in a manner in which it could be dispassionately considered.

MR W. E. FORSTER

said, he wished to know whether the hon. Gentleman meant to bring the subject forward on another occasion or to postpone it altogether?

LORD ROBERT CECIL

said, he hoped it would be understood on behalf of those who did not take the same view as the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken—"Order."

MR. SPEAKER

I must remind the noble Lord that there is no Question before the House.

MR. MONCKTON MILNES

wished to ask the hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. Forster) whether it was his intention to proceed with his Motion; which, he apprehended it was perfectly competent for him to do, notwithstanding the withdrawal of the Motion of the hon. Member for Galway?—"To call the attention of the House to the inexpediency of interfering in behalf of those Citizens of the United States who are now in insurrection against their Government, by a recognition of the Confederacy which they have formed."

MR. W. E. FORSTER

entirely agreed in the feeling of the House that it was most undesirable there should be a discussion on the merits of the quarrel between the States of America. He should never have thought of putting his notice on the paper had it not been for the notice of the hon. Member for Galway. If it were only the intention of the hon. Member to postpone his Motion for a short period he believed it would conduce to a better understanding of the relations with America and to preventing misconception were he to bring forward his Motion to-night, [Cries of "No!" and "Agreed."] With the understanding that the Motion of the hon. Member was postponed indefinitely, he would withdraw his Motion altogether.

MR. CRAWFORD

asked the hon. Member for Galway, whether his notice would remain on the paper? ['No—he said sine die.']" (House of Commons [Hansard] June 7, 1861

June 8, 1861 (Saturday)

"The Great Eastern at Liverpool

The Great Eastern, so long expected at Liverpool, which will doubtless now be her headquarters while in England, reached the bar at the mouth of the Mersey about nine o'clock on Monday evening; but to the disappointment of expectant thousands, who thronged both sides of the river, it was not thought advisable for her to enter the port.

It was, however, announced that she would make her first appearance on the waters of the Mersey about nine o'clock on Tuesday morning, and long before that hour the piers, roofs, and other available spots on both the Lancashire and Cheshire banks of the river were covered with spectators. As the noble vessel, evidently very lightly laden, gradually crept up the stream, headed by a small tug, her vast size, which dwarfed the surrounding craft, including the City of Baltimore, far surpassed all expectation. The river steamers sailing round her were filled with eager sightseers. At intervals both the screw and the paddles were used, and after 'taking it easy' for upwards of half an hour, the great ship finally settled down at her anchors in the Sloyne. The Great Eastern brings 212 passengers and a cargo of upwards of 3,000 tons of flour, grain, and provisions. During the voyage the screw was the chief propelling power employed, and the highest speed obtained was 355 knots in the twenty-four hours. Ere the voyage terminated, resolutions were adopted by the passengers expressed their high satisfaction with the internal arrangements of the vessel, and also with her qualities for navigation. These resolutions describe her as par excellence the most desirable ship for ladies and families. She is expected to sail again for New York about the beginning of July." (Warrington [Liverpool] Guardian, June 8, 1861)

“Arrival of Great Eastern.

The Steamship Great Eastern was telegraphed off Holyhead on Monday afternoon, at half-past four o'clock. This becoming pretty generally known throughout Liverpool, immense crowds of persons proceeded to the landing stage and Prince's Pier, and by nine o'clock it was estimated that something like twenty thousands persons had congregated. The assemblage waited patiently until ten o'clock; but as at that time there was no sign of the Great Eastern or the tender, the people began to disperse, and by eleven o'clock comparatively few remained.

The Great Eastern sailed from the quarantine, New York, at six o'clock on the morning of the 25th May. The passage across that Atlantic was exceedingly pleasant, and the great ship 'behaved' herself to the entire satisfaction of all on board. Little or no vibration was felt. She arrived off the bar at half past nine o'clock; but it was considered prudent to delay coming up the Mersey until about nine o'clock yesterday (Tuesday) morning." (Supplement to the Warrington [Liverpool] Guardian, May 8, 1861)

“RETURN OF THE GREAT EASTERN.--The great ship, which sailed from the quarantine, New York, at six o'clock on the morning of May 25, arrived off the bar at the mouth of the Mersey about nine o'clock on Monday evening. It was announced that she would make her first appearance on the waters of the Mersey about nine o'clock on the following morning, and long before that hour the piers, roofs, and other available spots on both the Lancashire and Cheshire banks of the river were covered with spectators. As the noble vessel (evidently very lightly laden) gradually crept up the stream headed by a small tug, her vast size, which dwarfed the surrounding craft including the City of Baltimore, far surpassed all expectation. The river steamers sailing round her were filled with eager crowds of sightseers. At intervals both the screw and the paddles were used, and, after "taking it easy" for upwards of half an hour, the great ship finally settled down at her anchors in the Sloyne. The Great Eastern brings 212 passengers and a cargo of upwards of 3000 tons of flour, grain, and provisions. During the voyage the screw was the chief propelling power employed, and the highest speed obtained was 355 knots in the twenty-four hours. Her passage across the Atlantic was exceedingly pleasant, and she "behaved" herself most satisfactorily. Little or no vibration was felt. Ere the voyage terminated resolutions were adopted by the passengers expressing their high satisfaction with the internal arrangements of the vessel, and also with her qualities for navigation. These resolutions describe her *aspar excellence* the most

desirable ship for ladies and families.” (London Illustrated News, June 8, 1861)

“No. 16.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 8, 1861.

Sir: I enclose a copy of a note of this date addressed to Lord Lyons, which will dispel any uncertainty which the British government may entertain in regard to our recognition of a rule of international law which they may deem important.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c.”

“ DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 8, 1861.

My Lord: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 5th instant, with the accompanying papers, relative to a claim. In the case of the cargo of the bark Winifred, a part of which is represented to belong to British subjects.

In reply, I regret that at this juncture I do not feel at liberty to interfere in the case, as it is understood that the usual proceedings in the prize court at New York have been set on foot against the vessel and her cargo

If, however, that court shall be satisfied of the ownership by British subjects of the part of the cargo claimed, it cannot be doubted that restitution will be decreed, as this government recognizes the right of the property of a friendly nation in the vessels of an insurgent to be exempted from condemnation.

The papers which accompanied your note are herewith returned.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, your lordship's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.
The Right Honorable Lord Lyons , &c., &c., &c.”

“No. 15.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 8, 1861.

Sir: I have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your despatch of May 21, (No.2,) which contains a report of the conversation which you had held with Lord John Russell on the 18th day of that month.

This government insists, as all the world might have known that it must and would, under all circumstances, insist, on the integrity of the Union, as the chief element of national life. Since, after trials of every form of forbearance and conciliation, it has been rendered certain and apparent that this paramount and vital object can be saved only by our acceptance of civil war as an indispensable condition, that condition, with all its hazards and deplorable evils, has not been declined. The acceptance, however, is attended with a strong desire and fixed purpose that the war shall be as short and accompanied by as little suffering as possible. Foreign intervention, aid, or sympathy in favor of the insurgents, especially on the part of Great Britain, manifestly could only protract and aggravate the war. Accordingly, Mr. Dallas, under instructions from the President, in an interview conceded to him by the British secretary of state for foreign affairs, presented our protest against any such intervention.

Lord John Russell answered with earnestness that there was not in the British government the least desire to grasp at any advantages which might be supposed to arise from the unpleasant domestic differences in the United

States, but, on the contrary, that they would be highly gratified if those differences were adjusted, and the Union restored to its former unbroken position.

Mr. Dallas then, as he reported to us, endeavored to impress upon his lordship how important it must be that Great Britain and France should abstain, at least for a considerable time, from doing what, by encouraging groundless hopes, (of the insurgents,) would widen a breach still thought capable of being closed; but his lordship seemed to think that the matter was not ripe for decision, one way or another, and remarked that what he had already said was all that at present it was in his power to say.

Upon this report you were instructed to inform her Britannic Majesty's government that the President regarded the reply made by his lordship to Mr. Dallas's suggestion as possibly indicating a policy which this government would be obliged to deem injurious to its rights, and derogating from its dignity. This government thought the reply of the secretary unjustifiably abrupt and reserved. That abruptness and reserve unexplained, left us under a seeming necessity of inferring that the British government might be contemplating a policy of encouragement to the insurgents which would widen the breach here which we believed it possible to heal if such encouragement should not be extended. A vital interest obliged the United States to seek explanation, or to act on the inference it thus felt itself obliged to adopt.

Your despatch of the 21st of May, (No.2,) which has just been received, shows how you have acquitted yourself of the duty imposed upon you. After stating our complaint to his lordship, you very properly asked an elucidation of his meaning in the reply to which exception had been taken by us, and very rightly, as we think, asked whether it was the intention of her Majesty's ministers to adopt a policy which would have the effect to widen, if not to make irreparable, a breach which we believe yet to be entirely manageable by ourselves. His lordship

disclaimed any such intention. A friendly argument, however, then arose between the secretary and yourself concerning what should be the form of the answer to us which his lordship could properly give, and which would, at the same time, be satisfactory to this government. The question was finally solved in the most generous manner by the proposition of his lordship that he would instruct Lord Lyons to give such a reply to the President as might, in his own opinion, be satisfactory, which proposition you accepted.

I hasten to say, by direction of the President, that your course in this proceeding is fully approved. This government has no disposition to lift questions of even national pride or sensibility up to the level of diplomatic controversy, because it earnestly and ardently desires to maintain peace, harmony, and cordial friendship with Great Britain. Lord John Russell's proposition, by authorizing the President to put the most favorable construction possible upon the response which was deemed exceptionable, removes the whole difficulty without waiting for the intervention of Lord Lyons. You will announce this conclusion to Lord John Russell, and inform him that the settlement of the affair in so friendly a spirit affords this government sincere satisfaction.

Your conversation with the British secretary incidentally brought into debate the Queen's late proclamation, (which seems to us designed to raise the insurgents to the level of a belligerent state;) the language employed by her Majesty's ministers in both houses of Parliament, the tone of the public press, and of private opinion, and especially a speech of the lord chancellor, in which he had characterized the insurgents as a belligerent State, and the civil war which they are waging against the United States as *justum bellum*.

The opinions which you expressed on these matters, and their obvious tendency to encourage the insurrection and to protract and aggravate the civil war, are just, and meet our approbation. At the same time, it is the purpose of this government, if

possible, consistently with the national welfare and honor, to have no serious controversy with Great Britain at all; and if this shall ultimately prove impossible, then to have both the defensive position and the clear right on our side. With this view, this government, as you were made aware by my despatch No. 10, has determined to pass over without official complaint the publications of the British press, manifestations of adverse individual opinion in social life, and the speeches of British statesmen, and even those of her Majesty's ministers in Parliament, so long as they are not authoritatively adopted by her Majesty's government. We honor and respect the freedom of debate, and the freedom of the press. We indulge no apprehensions of danger to our rights and interests from any discussion to which they may be subjected, in either form, in any place. Sure as we are that the transaction now going on in our country involves the progress of civilization and humanity, and equally sure that our attitude in it is right, and no less sure that our press and our statesmen are equal in ability and influence to any in Europe, we shall have no cause to grieve if Great Britain shall leave to us the defence of the independence of nations and the rights of human nature.

My despatch No. 14 presented four distinct grounds on which this government apprehended a policy on the part of her Majesty's government to intervene in favor of the insurgents, or to lend them aid and sympathy. The first ground was the reserve practiced by the British secretary for foreign affairs in his conversation with Mr. Dallas, referred to in the earlier part of this despatch. I have already stated that the explanations made and offered by Lord John Russell have altogether removed this ground from debate.

The second was the contracting of an engagement by the government of Great Britain with that of France, without consulting us, to the effect that both governments would adopt one and the same course of proceeding in regard to the subject of intervention in our domestic affairs. You were informed in my despatch No. 10 that, as this

proceeding did not necessarily imply hostile feelings towards the United States, we should not formally complain of it, but should rest content with a resolution to hold intercourse only with each of those States severally, giving due notice to both that the circumstance that a concert between the two powers in any proposition each might offer to us would not modify in the least degree the action of the United States upon it.

The third ground was Lord John Russell's announcement to Mr. Dallas that he was not unwilling to receive the so-called commissioners of the insurgents unofficially. On this point you already have instructions, to which nothing need now be added.

The fourth ground is the Queen's proclamation, exceptionable first for the circumstances under which it was issued, and secondly, for the matter of that important state paper.

My despatch No. 14 apprised you of our reason for expecting a direct communication on this subject from her Majesty's government. I reserve instructions on this fourth ground, as I did in that despatch, expecting to discuss it fully when the promised direct communication shall bring it authoritatively before this government in the form chosen by the British government itself.

My silence on the subject of the defence of that proclamation made by Lord John Russell in his conversation with you being grounded on that motive for delay, it is hardly necessary to say that we are not to be regarded as conceding any positions which his lordship assumed, and which you so ably contested on the occasion referred to in your despatch. Your argument on that point is approved by the President.

The British government having committed the subject of the proposed modifications of international law on the subject of the right of neutrals in maritime war to Lord Lyons before you

were prepared by our instructions to present the subject to that government, no objection is now seen to the discussion of that matter here. No communication on any subject herein discussed has yet been received from Lord Lyons. Despatches which you must have received before this time will have enabled you to give entire satisfaction to his lordship concerning the blockade. We claim to have a right to close the ports which have been seized by insurrectionists, for the purpose of suppressing the attempted revolution, and no one could justly complain if we had done so decisively and peremptorily. In resorting to the milder and very lenient form of the blockade, we have been governed by a desire to avoid imposing hardships unnecessarily onerous upon foreign as well as domestic commerce. The President's proclamation was a notice of the intention to blockade, and it was provided that ample warning should be given to vessels approaching and vessels seeking to leave the blockaded ports before capture should be allowed. The blockade from the time it takes effect is everywhere rendered actual and effective.

Your remarks on the subject of the late tariff law were judicious. The subject of revenue policy in the altered condition of affairs is not unlikely to receive the attention of Congress.

We are gratified by the information you have given us of the friendly spirit which has thus far marked the deportment and conversation of the British government in your official intercourse with it.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c.”

“ London, June 8, 1861.

Dear Sir: I send herewith a copy of the London Times of this morning, containing an account of the termination of Mr. Gregory's movement.

Subsequent events only can now do anything to improve the prospect of the confederates at this court. Yours, &c.,

C. F. ADAMS.
Hon. W. H. SEWARD, Washington, D. C.”

June 10, 1861 (Monday)

Motion made in House of Commons (by Mr. Gregory) that independence of Confederate States be recognized by England was withdrawn for reason that parties would form upon it and prevent Government from acting impartially when proper moment for ; Frances issues a Proclamation of Neutrality.

“Private and Confidential

Washington
June 10, 1861

My dear Sir Alexander,

Nothing could in my opinion be better adapted to all the purposes we have in view that your instructions to the Cruisers. = I do not regard a sudden declaration of war against us by the United States as an event altogether impossible at any moment. I just mention this confidentially. If I think the danger imminent and am precluded from telegraphing in cipher I will send you the following telegram:

‘Could you forward a letter for me to Antiqua?’

We should, I suppose, make a slight shade of difference, as for honour & such things are concerned, between the United States who we recognize as de jure and de facto as a friendly & legitimate Government – and the Confederates whom we only regard as de facto belligerents. But I hardly know that the case will practically present itself.

Yours very sincerely

Lyons

Rear Admiral Sir Alexander Milne KCB.”

June 12, 1861 (Wednesday)

“The Great Eastern came up the Mersey safely on Tuesday morning, having been detained all night for want of water.”

* * *

“Additional by the Arabia.

Halifax, 11th

The following additional news is compiled from the foreign papers at hand:

* * *

“At a special meeting of the Great Eastern Ship Company, it was stated that the employment of the vessel by the Federal Government of America would not be in accordance with the Queen’s Proclamation, and the agent for the ship had therefore been instructed to procure 3000 tons of freight at 26 shillings per ton.

The chairman proposed a resolution that £35,000 be realized, leaving the 10 per cent interest to be secured by a mortgage on the vessel. The resolution was adopted.” (Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, Bangor, Maine, June 12, 1861)

“The steamship *Great Eastern*, from New-York, arrived off Holyhead at 4:30 on the afternoon of the 3rd inst., and steamed up the Mersey safely on Tuesday morning, 4th, having been detained outside all night, on account of low water.” (New York Times, June 12, 1861)

“The Great Eastern. – We understand this magnificent vessel has been chartered by government for the conveyance of three regiments of infantry to Canada. This step has been resolved upon as a precautionary measure, the military posts

on the frontiers to the United States being very inefficiently garrisoned. At a period when the eruption of armed bands from the States might not only seriously affect our neutrality, as respects America, but possibly involve a question of our supremacy in Canada.” (Liverpool Telegraph, June 12, 1861)

June 13, 1861 (Thursday)

“In the House of Commons, on June 13, Admiral Duncomb asked the Secretary of the Admiralty whether the Admiralty had taken up the *Great Eastern* for the conveyance of troops to Canada; If so, at what rate per man, how many soldiers were to embark in her, and whether their being sent in that ship was with the concurrence of the Secretary of State for War.

Lord C. Paget said the *Great Eastern* had been so far taken up that the Government had come to arrangement with the owners of that vessel that she should carry a certain number of troops to Quebec. They would consist of 7 officers, 220 men, and 110 horses of the Royal Artillery; 39 officers, 868 men, and 6 horses of the Thirtieth Regiment; 39 officers, 868 men, and 6 horses of the Sixtieth Regiment; and draughts of various regiments, consisting of 4 officers and 101 men, making altogether 89 officers, 2,056 men, and 12 horses, with the usual proportion of women and children. The rates to be paid were for officers, £18; for men, £5 18s. 6d.; and for horses, £20 each, and for stores in excess of the regulated regimental baggage, £2 10s. per ton. These sums would include messing and every other requisite for the officers, victualling for the men, and forage for the horses. All the necessary fittings would be at the expense of the ship, the Government lending bedding for the voyage. He might also state that the arrangement was made with the full concurrence of the Secretary of State for War [Hear, hear]” New York *Times* June 28, 1861.

June 14, 1861

“[Extracts of letter to Mr. Seward]

No. 8.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, June 14, 1861.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the reception of your despatches No. 10, dated the 21st of May, and No: 11, dated on the 24th, with a copy of a letter from Mr. O. Vandenburgh, and also a printed circular from the department of the 20th of May, relating to purchases made here of articles contraband of war.

The intelligence of the feeling expressed in America upon the reception of the Queen's proclamation was fully expected by me, so that it excited no surprise, and much of the course of your argument in your despatch will be found to have been already adopted in my conference with Lord John Russell, an account of which is before this time in your hands.

* * *

However this may be, my duty was plain. I applied for an interview with Lord John Russell, and he appointed one for ten o'clock on Wednesday, the 12th, at his own house. After some slight preliminary talk, I observed to him that I had been instructed to press upon her Majesty's government the expediency of early action on the subject of privateering; that in the present state of excitement in the United States consequent upon the measures which it had felt it necessary to adopt, I did not know of anything which would be so likely to allay it as an agreement on this point. His lordship then said that he did not know whether I knew it, but the fact was that Mr. Dayton had made a proposition to France for negotiation on the basis of the articles as agreed upon in Paris. France had communicated the fact through her minister, the Comte de Flahault; and he intimated that there had been a cabinet conversation on the subject, without arriving at a decision. I then referred to what had passed at our former interview. I mentioned my proposal to negotiate, and the inclination shown by his lordship to leave the subject with Lord Lyons, with authority to arrange the only point in dispute as the government at Washington might desire. There I had left the matter. His lordship replied that he did not mean to be quite so understood. His intention

was to say, that having agreed upon the three articles, he should be ready to consent to the total omission of the fourth article, if that would be agreeable to Washington. I said that I had not so understood him, and from my present recollection, I am confident that my report of his language was not incorrect.

* * *

I next approached the most delicate portion of my task. I descanted upon the irritation produced in America by the Queen's proclamation, upon the construction almost universally given to it, as designed to aid the insurgents by raising them to the rank of a belligerent State, and upon the very decided tone taken by the President in my despatches in case any such design was really entertained. I added that from my own observation of what had since occurred here, I had not been able to convince myself of the existence of such a design. But it was not to be disguised that the fact of the continued stay of the pseudo commissioners in this city, and still more the knowledge that they had been admitted to more or less interviews with his lordship, was calculated to excite uneasiness. Indeed, it had already given great dissatisfaction to my government. I added, as moderately as I could, that in all frankness any further protraction of this relation could scarcely fail to be viewed by us as hostile in spirit, and to require some corresponding action accordingly.

His lordship then reviewed the course of Great Britain. He explained the mode in which they had consulted with France, prior to any action at all, as to the reception of the deputation from the so-called Confederate States. It had been the custom both in France and here to receive such persons unofficially for a long time back. Poles, Hungarians, Italians, &c., &c., had been allowed interviews, to hear what they had to say. But this did not imply recognition in their case any more than in ours. He added that he had seen the gentlemen once some time ago, and once more some time since; he had no expectation of seeing them any more.

* * *

I shall continue my relations here until I discover some action apparently in conflict with it, or receive specific orders from the department dictating an opposite course.

I ventured to repeat my regret that the proclamation had been so hastily issued, and adverted to the fact that it seemed contrary to the agreement said to have been proposed by Mr. Dallas and concurred in by his lordship, to postpone all action until I should arrive, possessed with all the views of the new administration. But still, though I felt that much mischief had ensued in the creation of prejudices in the United States, not now easy to be eradicated, I was not myself disposed in any part of my conduct to aggravate the evil. My views had been much modified by opportunities of more extended conversation with persons of weight in Great Britain, by the improved tone of the press, by subsequent explanations in Parliament, by the prohibition of all attempts to introduce prizes into British ports, and, lastly, by the unequivocal expression of sentiment in the case of Mr. Gregory when the time came for him to press his motion of recognition. I trusted that nothing new might occur to change the current again, for nothing was so unfortunate as the effect of a recurrence of reciprocal irritations, however trifling, between countries, in breaking up the good understanding which it was always desirable to preserve.

His lordship agreed to this, but remarked that he could not but think the complaint of the proclamation, though natural enough perhaps at this moment, was really ill founded. He went over the ground once more which he occupied in the former interview—the necessity of doing something to relieve the officers of their ships from the responsibility of treating these persons as pirates if they met them on the seas. For his part, he could not believe the United States would persevere in the idea of hanging them, for it was not in consonance with their well-known character. But what would be

their own situation if they should be found practicing upon a harsher system than the Americans themselves.

Here was a very large territory—a number of States—and people counted by millions, who were in a state of actual war. The fact was undeniable and the embarrassment unavoidable. Under such circumstances the law officers of the crown advised the policy which had been adopted. It was designed only as a preventive to immediate evils. The United States should not have thought hard of it. They meant to be entirely neutral.

I replied that we asked no more than that. We desired no assistance. Our objection to this act was that it was practically not an act of neutrality. It had depressed the spirits of the friends of the government. It had raised the courage of the insurgents. We construed it as adverse, because we could not see the necessity of such immediate haste. These people were not a navigating people. They had not a ship on the ocean. They had made no prizes, so far as I knew, excepting such as they had caught by surprises. Even now, I could not learn that they had fitted out anything more than a few old steamboats, utterly unable to make any cruise on the ocean, and scarcely strong enough to bear a cannon of any calibre. But it was useless to go over this any more. The thing was now done. All that we could hope was that the later explanations would counteract the worst effects that we had reason to apprehend from it; and, at any rate, there was one compensation, the act had released the government of the United States from responsibility for any misdeeds of the rebels towards Great Britain. If any of their people should capture or maltreat a British vessel on the ocean, the reclamation must be made only upon those who had authorized the wrong. The United States would not be liable.

I added that I could not close the interview without one word upon a subject on which I had no instructions. I saw by the newspapers an account of a considerable movement of troops to Canada. In our situation this would naturally excite attention at

home, and I was therefore desirous to learn whether they were ordered with any reference to possible difficulties with us. His lordship said that the country had been denuded of troops for some time back, and it was regarded only as a proper measure of precaution, in the present disordered condition of things in the United States, to restore a part of them. He said he did not know but what we might do something. He intimated a little feeling of uneasiness at the mission of Mr. Ashmun, without any notice given to them of his purposes; and he likewise said nothing about a threat uttered by yourself to Lord Lyons to seize a British vessel on Lake Ontario without ceremony. To this I replied, that inasmuch as I had understood Mr. Ashmun's mission had been made known to the governor of Canada, it did not seem to me that it could be of much concealed significance; and that as to the other matter, if there was any reality in the threat, it surely was an odd way of proceeding to furnish at once the warning in time to provide against its execution.

* * *

I did not touch at all on the subject of the blockade, as referred to in your despatch No. 10, for the reason that I do not now understand the government as disposed in any way to question its validity or to obstruct it. On the contrary, his lordship, incidentally referring to it in this interview, said that instructions had been sent out to the naval officers in command to respect it, and never themselves to seek to enter any of the ports blockaded, unless from some urgent necessity to protect British persons or property.”

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.”

June 15, 1861 (Saturday)

“The Great Eastern.” – It was yesterday announced at Head Quarters, Royal Artillery, Woolwich, that according to the present arrangements, the Great Eastern, conveying troops to Canada, will sail from Liverpool about the 29th instant. She will not be

open for public inspection after to-day.” Warrington [Liverpool] Guardian, June 15, 1861.

Mid-June 1861

England announces it will respect blockade.

June 19, 1861 (Wednesday)

“No. 21.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 19, 1861.

SIR: On the 15th day of June instant, Lord Lyons, the British minister, and Mr. Mercier, the French minister, residing here, had an appointed interview with me. Each of those representatives proposed to read to me an instruction which he had received from his government, and to deliver me a copy if I should desire it. I answered, that in the present state of the correspondence between their respective governments and that of the United States, I deemed it my duty to know the characters and effects of the instructions, respectively, before I could consent that they should be officially communicated to this department. The ministers therefore, confidentially, and very frankly, submitted the papers to me for preliminary inspection. After having examined them so far as to understand their purport, I declined to hear them read, or to receive official notice of them.

I proceed now to give you our reasons for this course, that you may, if you find it necessary or expedient, communicate them to the government of Great Britain.

When we received official information that an understanding was existing between the British and French governments that they would take one and the same course concerning the insurrection which has occurred in this country, involving the question of recognizing the independence of a revolutionary organization, we instructed you to inform the British government that we had expected from both of those powers a different course of proceeding. We added, however, that insomuch as the proposed concert of action between them did not necessarily imply any unfriendliness of purpose or of disposition, we should not complain of it, but that we should insist in this case, as in all others, on

dealing with each of those powers alone, and that their agreement to act together would not at all affect too course which we should pursue. Adhering to this decision, we have not made the concert of the two powers a ground of objection to the reading of the instruction with which Lord Lyons was charged.

That paper purports to contain a decision at which the British government arrived; to the effect that this country is divided into two belligerent parties, of which this government represents one, and that Great Britain assumes the attitude of a neutral between them.

This government could not, consistently with a just regard for the sovereignty of the United States, permit itself to debate these novel and extraordinary positions with the government of her Britannic Majesty; much less can we consent that that government shall announce to us a decision derogating from that sovereignty, at which it has arrived without previously conferring with us upon the question. The United States are still solely and exclusively sovereign within the territories they have lawfully acquired and long possessed, as they have always been. They are at peace with all the world, as, with unimportant exceptions; they have always been. They are living under the obligations of the law of nations, and of treaties with Great Britain, just the same now as heretofore; they: are, of course, the friend of Great Britain, and they insist that Great Britain shall remain their friend now just as she has hitherto been. Great Britain, by virtue of these relations, is a stranger to parties and sections in this country, whether they are loyal to the United States or not, and Great Britain can neither rightfully qualify the sovereignty of the United States, nor concede, nor recognize any rights, or interests, or power of any party, State, or section, in contravention to the unbroken sovereignty of the federal Union. What is now seen in this country is the occurrence, by no means peculiar, but frequent in all countries, more frequent even in Great Britain than here, of an armed insurrection engaged in attempting to overthrow the regularly constituted

and established government. There is, of course, the employment of force by the government to suppress the insurrection, as every other government necessarily employs force in such cases. But these incidents by no means constitute a state of war impairing the sovereignty of the government, creating belligerent sections, and entitling foreign States to intervene or to act as neutrals between them, or in any other way to cast off their lawful obligations to the nation thus for the moment disturbed. Any other principle than this would be to resolve government everywhere into a thing of accident and caprice, and ultimately all human society into a state of perpetual war.

We do not go into any argument of fact or of law in support of the positions we have thus assumed. They are simply the suggestions of the instinct of self-defence, the primary law of human action, not more the law of individual than of national life.

This government is sensible of the importance of the step it takes in declining to receive the communication in question. It hopes and believes, however, that it need not disturb the good relations which have hitherto subsisted between the two countries which, more than any other nations, have need to live together in harmony and friendship.

We believe that Great Britain has acted inadvertently, and under the influence of apprehensions of danger to her commerce, which either are exaggerated or call for fidelity on her part to her habitual relations to the United States, instead of a hasty attempt to change those relations.

Certainly this government has exerted itself to the utmost to prevent Great Britain from falling into the error of supposing that the United States could consent to any abatement of their sovereignty in the present emergency. It is, we take leave to think, the common misfortune of the two countries that Great Britain was not content to wait before despatching the instruction in question, until you

had been received by her Majesty's government, and had submitted the entirely just, friendly, and liberal overtures with which you were charged.

Although the paper implies, without affirming, that the insurgents of this country possess some belligerent rights, it does not name, specify, or indicate one such right. It confines itself to stating what the British government require or expect the United States to do. Virtually, it asks us to concede to Great Britain the principles laid down in the declaration of the congress held at Paris in 1856. It asks indeed a little less, certainly nothing more or different from this. The British government ask this of us to-day, the 15th of June, in ignorance of the fact that we had, so early as the 25th of April, instructed you to tender, without reservation, to Great Britain our accession, pure and simple, to that declaration. We have all the while, since that instruction was sent forth, been ready, as we now are ready, to accede to the declaration, where and whenever Great Britain may be ready and willing to receive it. The argument contained in the instruction seems, therefore, to have been as unnecessary and irrelevant as it is unacceptable. Lord Lyons thinks that his instructions do not authorize him to enter into convention with us here. You will inform the government of Great Britain of the fact, and, if they prefer, you will enter into the convention at London.

Of course it is understood that the concessions herein made do not affect or impair the right of the United States to suppress the insurrection as well by maritime as by land operations, and for this purpose to exclude all commerce from such of the ports as may have fallen into the hands of the insurgents, either by closing the ports directly or by the more lenient means of a blockade, which we have already adopted.

It is thus seen that, in the present case, there is only an embarrassment resulting from the similar designs of the two governments to reach one common object by different courses without knowledge of each others dispositions in that respect. There is nothing more. We propose, as a

nation at peace, to give to Great Britain as a friend what she as a neutral demands of us, a nation at war. We rejoice that it happens so. We are anxious to avoid all causes of misunderstanding with Great Britain; to draw closer, instead of breaking, the existing bonds of amity and friendship.. There is nothing good or great which both nations may not expect to attain or effect if they may remain friends. It would be a hazardous day for both the branches of the British race when they should determine to try how much harm each could do the other.

We do not forget that, although thus happily avoiding misunderstanding on the present occasion, Great Britain may in some way hereafter do us wrong or injury by adhering to the speculative views of the rights and duties of the two governments which she has proposed to express. But we believe her to be sincere in the good wishes for our welfare, which she has so constantly avowed, and we will not, therefore, suffer ourselves to anticipate occasions for difference which, now that both nations fully understand each other, may be averted or avoided.

One point remains. The British government while declining, out of regard to our natural sensibility, to propose mediation for the settlement of the differences which now unhappily divide the American people, have nevertheless expressed, in a very proper manner, their willingness to undertake the kindly duty of mediation, if we should desire it. The President expects you to say on this point to the British government, that we appreciate this generous and friendly demonstration; but that we cannot solicit or accept mediation from any, even the most friendly quarter. The conditions of society here, the character of our government, the exigencies of the country, forbid that any dispute arising among us should ever be referred to foreign arbitration. We are a republican and American people. The Constitution of our government furnishes all needful means for the correction or removal of any possible political evil. Adhering strictly as we do to its directions, we shall surmount all our present complications, and preserve the

government complete, perfect, and sound, for the benefit of future generations. But the integrity of any nation is lost, and its fate becomes doubtful, whenever strange hands, and instruments unknown to the Constitution, are employed to perform the proper functions of the people, established by the organic laws of the State.

Hoping to have no occasion hereafter to speak for the hearing of friendly nations upon the topics which I have now discussed, I add a single remark by way of satisfying the British government that it will do wisely by leaving us to manage and settle this domestic controversy in our own way.

The fountains of discontent in any society are many, and some lie much deeper than others. Thus far this unhappy controversy has disturbed only those which are nearest the surface. There are others which lie still deeper that may yet remain, as we hope, long undisturbed. If they should be reached, no one can tell how or when they could be closed. It was foreign intervention that opened and that alone could open similar fountains in the memorable French revolution.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.
CHARLES F. ADAMS, &c., &c., &c.”

June 20, 1861 (Thursday)

John A. Kennedy, Superintendent of Metropolitan Police for New York City, wrote William H. Seward, Secretary of State, the following letter:

Sir: * * * In connection with this matter I may as well mention that the British consul at Charleston, Mr. Bunch, is a notorious secessionist, and that he has used his position in every way he could since the troubles began in aiding the secession movement. To say nothing of furnishing Trappman, a native of the United States, with a passport and making him bearer of dispatches for Lord Lyons I have several other cases where he has furnished passports to citizens of the United States. I think I can procure one of the passports given to a

young man who is now here and I learn is about to be an officer in Sickles' brigade. He had been in the secession service before Fort Sumter.

What I was about to refer to was the use he has made of his office for facilitating the transmission of treasonable correspondence between Charleston and other places. A Belgian by the name of Du Clos, formerly a merchant here—one of the most outspoken of Southern sympathizers—for several weeks before he left for Europe, as is supposed on the business of the Confederate States of America, was in the habit of receiving letters from Charleston at the office of Mr. Archibald, the British consul, which were inclosed under the consulate seal of Mr. Bunch, the consul, in one of which he said he received \$500 and on which he entered on his travels. On inquiring at Mr. Archibald's office into this practice the vice-consul avowed that up to the stoppage of the mails South they were in the constant receipt of packages of letters from Mr. Bunch for strange persons of whom they had no knowledge which they delivered to whoever asked for them, the office of the consul being thus made a convenience for all operations with Confederates here that the ordinary securities of the mail were regarded too insecure to furnish.

I mention this now in view of the connection Mr. Bunch's name has with Trappman, but not with the thought of involving Mr. Archibald who was used as the convenient instrument of others. I may be able to procure for you a photograph of Captain Trappman in full uniform in a few days.

Very truly, yours,

June 21, 1861 (Friday)

[Extracts.]
No.9.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, June 21, 1861.

Sir:

* * *

I have not deemed it necessary to ask a special interview to communicate to Lord John Russell the sense entertained by the President of the manner of my reception here, as directed in yours of the 3d of June. Presuming it to be altogether likely that another despatch, prepared after the reception of my No.2, is now near at hand, I have preferred to wait and see if that may not give me other matter to submit at the same time.

The intelligence received from the United States of the effect produced by the reception of the Queen's proclamation has not been without its influence upon opinion here. Whilst people of all classes unite in declaring that such a measure was unavoidable, they are equally earnest in disavowing any inferences of want of good will which may have been drawn from it. They affect to consider our complaints as very unreasonable, and are profuse in their professions of sympathy with the government in its present struggle. This is, certainly, a very great change from the tone prevailing when I first arrived. It is partly to be ascribed to the accounts of the progress of the war, but still more to the publications in the *London Times* of the letters of its special correspondent. There is no longer any floating doubt of the capacity of the government to sustain itself, or any belief that the insurgents will make their own terms of accommodation. The idea still remains quite general that there will never be any actual conflict, and it is connected in many cases with an apprehension that the reunion may be cemented upon the basis of hostile measures against Great Britain. Indeed, such has been the motive hinted at by more than one person of influence as guiding the policy of the President himself. Whenever such a suggestion has been made to me, I have been careful to discountenance it altogether, and to affirm that the struggle was carried on in good faith, and from motives not subject to be affected by mere considerations of policy, or by temporary emotions. More especially have I endeavored to disavow any "arrière pensée" which has the effect to confirm the suspicion of our sincerity, I regret to say, by far too much disseminated.

* * *

I am now earnestly assured on all sides that the sympathy with the government of the United States is general; that the indignation felt in America is not founded in reason; that the British desire only to be perfectly neutral, giving no aid nor comfort to the insurgents. I believe that this sentiment is now growing to be universal. It inspires her Majesty's ministers, and is not without its effect on the opposition. Neither party would be so bold as to declare its sympathy with a cause based upon the extension of slavery, for that would at once draw upon itself the indignation of the great body of the people. But the development of a positive spirit in the opposite direction will depend far more upon the degree in which the arm of the government enforces obedience than upon any absolute affinity in sentiments. Our brethren in this country, after all, are much disposed to fall in with the opinion of Voltaire, that "Dieu est toujours sur le coté des gros canons." General Scott and an effective blockading squadron will be the true agents to keep the peace abroad, as well as to conquer one at home. In the meanwhile the self-styled commissioners of the insurgents have transferred their labors to Paris, where, I am told, they give out what they could not venture publicly to say here, that this government will recognize them as a State. The prediction may be verified, it is true; but it is not now likely to happen, under any other condition than the preceding assent of the United States.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State."

June 23, 1861 (Sunday)

"News of the Day.

* * *

The steamship, *Anglo-Saxon*, which left Liverpool on the 13th and Londonderry on the 14th inst., arrived off St. Johns, N.F, last evening, on her way to Quebec, and her advices, which are five days later, were obtained by the agent of the Associated Press. The political news is unimportant. The steamship *Great Eastern* had been taken up by the British Government for the transportation of troops to Canada, and the *Golden Fleece* was to follow on the same service. The Liverpool Cotton market is reported dull and unchanged. . . . ” (New York Times, June 23, 1861)

June 24, 1861 (Monday)

Tennessee secedes.

June 25, 1861 (Tuesday)

“The Great Eastern is expected to leave Liverpool in about a fortnight with three infantry regiments; a field battery of artillery and horses for Quebec. It is admitted that this movement is suggested by the American difficulties, but it is merely for protection and will only raise their present weak state to what they were ten years ago. The movement is regarded by some as an insult to the United States.” (Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, Bangor, Maine, June 25, 1861)

June 27, 1861 (Thursday)

Great Eastern leaves Liverpool, England for Quebec, Canada as a troop carrier. (*Dugan at 99*)

“Another British Blunder.—Our European advices instruct us that large bodies of English troops are in motion for Canada; that the *Great Eastern* has been secured for their transportation; and that in addition to the number of frigates already detailed to reinforce the squadron in our waters, a fleet of gunboats is to be forthwith dispatched. This formidable for contingencies never in the slightest degree likely to occur, may well excite our surprise; but it certainly excites none of that alarm which the English Press and people seem to anticipate. The London papers are filled with sedatives for apprehensions, which they assume will thrill the American mind with terror at the news of these demonstrations. But while we are quite sure the display of military and naval power is uncalled for by any conceivable exigency, and that the pretended

fear of hostile incursions into Canada, from the American side, is the shallowest of pretenses, we can safely assert that these movements are witnessed here with thorough indifference; so much so, indeed, as if the shipment was away rather than into adjoining colonies. It is probable that no Englishman will ever learn to comprehend the genius and character of our people. If the manifestation of indignant feeling at the cool unfriendliness of John Bull in our day of emergency be received as an evidence of fear on the part of this people, the fact proves how impossible it is to penetrate the stolid self-conceit and prejudice of our venerable ancestor by any direct appeal. That manifestation was indeed the highest evidence of the rash and almost reckless spirit of our population. There was even an unreasonable eagerness to accept the attitude of the British Government as a just cause of war; and foolish men, prompted by designing ones, labored earnestly to work up the masses to a fighting pitch of Anglophobia. It has only been the amended and chastened temper of the English themselves that has rendered this effort vain; and we are quite sure the coming of armies to Canada as numerous as that of Xerxes, and of fleets as formidable as the Armada, will excite no other emotion here than of momentary surprise, followed by permanent indifference.” (New York Times, June 27, 1861)

June 28, 1861 (Friday)

“There is no doubt a vague notion that somehow or other the struggle which is now imminent between the Northern and Southern States required some addition to the military force in Canada. It is difficult to appreciate the precise danger which is apprehended. The idea that the Northern States, who are at present straining every nerve to bring an army into the field for the purpose of recovering their position in the South, should suddenly turn round and invade Canada, is a little preposterous. The idea that fugitive armed bands of either section may cross the Canadian frontier and alarm the peaceable British subjects is equally improbable. . . . If the three regiments which are now about to embark for Canada have been dispatched, not at the request of the Canadian Government, but at the

suggestion of the Colonial or War Minister, it is a gross blunder of policy which ought to be remedied without delay.” London News quoted in New York Times June 28, 1861.

“The Blockade.

It Must Be Made Effectual To Be Respected.

From the London Herald

‘It’s an ill wind that blows nobody good.’ The much neglected Great Eastern, after all sorts of misadventures, has at last found its way into Government employ, and we venture to think its capacity as a troop-ship will prove so extraordinary as to recommend its permanent appropriation to the Government service. Lord Palmerston’s anticipations have, in fact, already been disproved. The intelligence brought by the last mail from America is of a very grave, if not of a startling character, and has compelled the authorities to take immediate steps for placing the defences of our North American dependencies on a proper footing. Three infantry regiments, we are informed, are under orders for Canada, with a corresponding force of artillery. These troops, with all the requisite material, horses, &c., will easily be stowed away in the *Great Eastern*; and we may hope very soon to hear that there is no need of further anxiety about the safety of British interests on the North American continent. Too much precaution cannot be taken in the present excited state of the Northern portion of the Union. Already we understand meetings have been held and threatening language has been used in districts adjoining the Canadian frontier. Mr. Seward’s habitual language and avowed policy in reference to this country place us under no necessity for apologising for any apparent mistrust. Nor can a great Power prudently, or in bare justice to its own rights, maintain an attitude of perfect confidence when its forbearance and neutrality are so violently assailed and so wantonly misrepresented. There is apparently something very mysterious now going on at Charleston. The ports of South Carolina were declared blockaded. The Niagara was for some time stationed off the harbor of Charleston, and the blockade was effectively maintained. Suddenly we

hear of the departure of the Niagara southward. *Such a state of things can hardly fail to produce very mischievous results; and it seems to be inevitable that before long the question of a paper blockade will become a subject of serious discussion.* The Government and the nation have displayed every desire to conciliate American feeling. They sympathize deeply with the Great Republic in its trials. *But neither sympathy for its calamities, respect for its power, nor regard for its threats, must induce a British Minister to forego one iota of the rights of British subjects.* We desire the more earnestly to impress this upon the Foreign Secretary, as it is reported that the strict letter of the law will be rigorously insisted upon by the French Government; *that 'a mere blockade' will not be allowed to stand in the way of the shipping of cotton from New Orleans to Havre, and that, rather than imperil the interests of the French manufacturers, the French Government would be inclined to acknowledge the independence of the Southern Confederacy.* What truth there may be in this rumor we know not. It would not be a new thing to find the French Government acting more energetically for the interests of French subjects than our own for those of the British manufacturer. *But it is obvious that it will not do for Manchester to be dependent upon Havre for its supply of cotton any more than this country to be indebted to the foreigner for the recognition of her undoubted rights as a neutral Power.*" (New York Times, June 28, 1861)

“[Extracts.]

No. 10.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, June 28, 1861.

Sir:

* * *

My interview with his lordship was intended only to express to him the views entertained by the President, as communicated to me in your despatches No. 14 and No. 15 of the reports made by me of our first conference. His lordship said that

be had just received despatches as late as the 15th, communicating the same information, and that Lord Lyons had learned, through another member of the diplomatic corps, that no further expression of opinion on the subject in question would be necessary. This led to the most frank and pleasant conversation which I have yet had with his lordship, in which we reviewed the various points of difficulty that had arisen in a manner too desultory to admit of reporting, excepting in the general result.

* * *

I added that I believed the popular feeling in the United States would subside the moment that all the later action on this side was known. There was but a single drawback remaining, which was what I could not but regard as the inopportune despatch of the Great Eastern with the troops for Canada. He said that this was a mere precaution against times of trouble.

* * *

His lordship then said something about difficulties in New Granada, and the intelligence that the insurgents had undertaken to close several of their ports. But the law officers here told him that this could not be done as against foreign nations, excepting by the regular form of blockade. He did not know what we thought about it, but he had observed that some such plan was said to be likely to be adopted, at the coming meeting of Congress, in regard to the ports of those whom we considered as insurgents. I replied that such was one of the several projects reported at the last session of Congress, to which I was a member, but I had heard some serious constitutional objections raised against it. My own opinion was that the blockade would be persevered in, which would obviate all difficulty.

On the whole, I think I can say that the relations of the two countries are gradually returning to a more friendly condition. My own reception has been all that I could desire. I attach

value to this, however, only as it indicates the establishment of a policy that will keep us at peace during the continuance of the present convulsion.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Hon. WILLIAM. H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.”

June 29, 1861 (Saturday)

“The Great Eastern.—Embarkation of Troops for Canada.—The embarkation of the troops intended to reinforce the Canadian contingent commenced on Tuesday, under the superintendence of Sir G. Wetherall. Upwards of 2,000 men, with 89 officers, 122 horses, and 180 women and children, were taken on board on Tuesday—viz., 7 officers, 220 men, and 110 horses of the Royal Artillery; 39 officers; 868 men, and 6 horses, of the 60th Regiment; and detachments from various regiments, comprising 4 officers and 101 men. The men and materiel were conveyed on board from the great landing stage in lighters, which were placed at the disposal of the Admiralty by the Cunard Company. The Armstrong guns (12-pounders), 18 in number, excited much attention and curiosity, and were much admired for their neat and smart appearance and high finish. Only one slight accident occurred during the embarkation, one of the artillerymen being bruised in the foot by an ambulance wheel passing over it. The estimated cost to Government of the conveyance of troops is £27,000, an amount large enough to put the shareholders in good spirits, particularly as it is not unlikely, if she turns out well on this voyage, that she may be employed frequently, if not regularly, as a transport vessel. Should no other arrangement of this kind, however, immediately present itself, she will return to Liverpool, coming round by New York, if a sufficiently remunerative freight is not obtained at Quebec.” (Warrington [Liverpool] Guardian, June 29, 1861)

“The British Forces in Canada.—Sir J. FERGUSON called attention to the recent augmentation of our

forces in Canada, which were sent out in such haste and had so much of the character of an expedition, as to require explanation here and to excite discontent in the United States. There was nothing in the present internal position of Canada to warrant so great an increase in our forces, and it was most injudicious at the present time to risk ill-felling among the Canadians.....Lord PALMERSTON said that the troops were neither sent out to guard Canada against an external attack nor to keep down internal discontent. The Government had no fear that the United States would commit such an act of folly as to attack Canada, nor did they feel any mistrust of Canada's loyalty, but it had always been the practice to strengthen the force on a frontier beyond which war was raging, and the Government had not neglected this ordinary precaution. He considered that the conduct of the British Government could not excite the just suspicion of the people of the United States. (Warrington [Liverpool] Guardian, June 29, 1861)

July 1, 1861

“No.32.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 1, 1861.

SIR: Your despatch No.8 (dated June 14) has been received.

My despatch, No. 21, of 19th ultimo, has anticipated the matter you have discussed in the paper before me. It remains only to say that while we would prefer to add Mr. Marcy's amendment, exempting private property of non-belligerents from confiscation in maritime war, and desire you to stipulate to that effect if you can, yet we are, nevertheless, ready and willing to accede to the declaration of the congress of Paris, if the amendment cannot be obtained. In other words, we stand on the instructions contained in my aforesaid despatch.

We, as you are well aware, have every desire for a good understanding with the British government. It causes us no concern that the government sends a naval force into the Gulf and a military force into Canada. We can have no designs

hostile to Great Britain so long as she does not, officially or unofficially, recognize the insurgents or render them aid or sympathy. We regard the measures of precaution on her part, to which I have alluded, as consequences of the misunderstanding of our rights and her own real relation towards us that she seemed precipitately to adopt, before she heard the communication with which you were charged on our behalf. These consequences may be inconvenient to herself, but are not all occasion of irritation to the United States. Under present circumstances, the more effectually Great Britain guards her possessions and her commerce in this quarter the better we shall be satisfied. If she should change her course and do us any injury, which we have not the least idea now that she purposes to do, we should not be deterred from vindicating our rights and our unbroken sovereignty against all the armies and navies that she could send here.

Before the Queen's proclamation was issued, and at the moment when privateers were invited and a naval force announced as being organized by the insurrectionists, it was reported to this government that the iron steamer Peerless, lying at Toronto, had been sold to insurgents to be used as a privateer to prey upon our commerce, and that she was, nevertheless, to pass under British papers and the British flag down the St. Lawrence to be delivered over to a pirate commander in the open sea. It was said that the governor general declined to interfere. I asked Lord Lyons to request the governor general of Canada to look into the facts, and prevent the departure of the vessel if he should find the report to be true. Lord Lyons answered that he had no authority to do so. I then said that I should direct our naval forces to seize and detain the vessel if they should have good reason to believe the facts reported to be true, and to refer the parties interested to this government. I did this at once, and his lordship protested. Afterwards, as we understand, the governor general did interfere, and the Peerless was prevented from sailing until the danger of her being converted into a pirate was prevented. Here the matter ended. Certainly the British government could not expect us to permit

the St. Lawrence to become a harbor for buccaneers. Had the vessel been seized or detained we should at once have avowed the act and tendered any satisfaction to the British government if it should appear that the character of the vessel had been misunderstood.

Mr. Ashmun went to Canada, to watch and prevent just such transactions as the sale or fitting out of the Peerless for a pirate would have been. It was not supposed that his visit there would be thought objectionable, or could give any uneasiness to the British government. Lord Lyons here viewed the subject in a different light and complained of it. I instantly recalled Mr. Ashmun.

These are the two grievances presented to you by Lord John Russell. I trust that the British government will be satisfied that in both cases we were only taking care that the peace of the two countries should not be disturbed through the unlawful action of covetous and ill-disposed persons on the border which separates them.

I conclude with the remark that the British government can never expect to induce the United States to acquiesce in her assumed position of this government as divided in any degree into two powers for war more than for peace. At the same time, if her Majesty's government shall continue to practice absolute forbearance from any interference in our domestic affairs, we shall not be captious enough to inquire what name it gives to that forbearance, or in what character it presents itself before the British nation in doing so. We hold ourselves entitled to regard the forbearance as an act of a friendly power, acting unconsciously of a domestic disturbance among us, of which friendly States can take no cognizance. On this point our views are not likely to undergo any change. In maintaining this position we are sure we do nothing derogating from the dignity of the British government, while we inflexibly maintain and preserve the just rights and the honor of the United States.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c.”

“The news is cheering. It seems Dallas has come out a Union man & wants to get into Congress as a representative in the place of E. Joy Morris just appointed Minister to Constantinople. His speech is of the usual Dallas staple. It would serve him right if I were to let the world know that he aided the Virginia rebels last summer by arranging with Lancaster in London to supply them with 5000 stand of arms & other equipment. Like all demagogues he is now on the other side, because it’s the winning one.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

July 4, 1861 (Thursday)

“Capt. Russell, who was appointed by the French Government to report upon the performance of the *Great Eastern*, on her voyage to and from New-York, has had an audience of the Emperor. Capt. Russell is stated to have expressed the opinion that a reunion between the Northern and Southern States is impossible, and that the establishment of two republics is inevitable. The armaments of the North, he says, are by no means so formidable as represented. He apprehends the same state of things in the South, and does not look on serious warfare as imminent for some time to come.

* * *

This Morning Post’s Paris correspondent writes as follows: ‘The Commissioners of the Southern States of America—Judge Rost, Mr. Dudley Mann and Mr. Yancey—arrived in Paris a few days since. They have not been officially received by the French Government. These gentlemen speak as if they expected Great Britain would acknowledge ‘the South.’ I think they are guessing too fast. North and South are much more likely, when they make friends, to pick a united quarrel with England. The general impression in Paris is that the civil war in America will be a

bloodless one. At all events, France will act with caution, holding communication only with the Government of Washington.” (New York Times, July 4, 1861)

“Affairs at London.

Mr. Train’s Polemic Dejeuner—What Came of It—
The Rebel Commissioners on the Continent—
English Politics—Meeting of Convocation—
Improvement in American Affairs.

From our own correspondent.

London, Saturday June 22, 1861.

Mr. Geo Francis Train has again come forward in a public character. Even the Times has not yet had the heart to raise its scourge over his last effort. Perhaps the great thunderer feels that the less its editorials meddle in future with American affairs the less trouble there will be. Mr. Train is a popular man in England, too, and no one wishes to injure him. Dashing and careless of form, free and open-handed, he manages to collect about him at his informal breakfasts or at his more ostentatious displays—such as that of the 19th—a set of clever, and often even eminent men, who are not prevented by the fear of being dragged into publicity, from accepting his hospitality. Those who figured at the Union celebration of the battle of Bunker’s Hill, were mostly literary men of more or less reputation. None were “representative men,” unless in so far as they represented the Press.

Their letters and speeches as reported, down to the last comma and period, tell their own story better than any one could tell without them, and overlooking for once the very unpleasant trick of publishing all these documents, Americans ought to be grateful to Mr. Train for having given them so fair a chance of seeing their real position. Some of the papers here have been misled by the tone of Mr. Train’s remarks into supposing that he was disappointed with the result of the trial, and felt sore at the coldness of his company towards the American Union. This is, I believe, not so. Mr. Train was perfectly satisfied—every one in England

(except, perhaps, in some narrow circles) must be satisfied, that the sympathies of the English are actively with us. What Mr. Train objected to was, the ignorance they showed of the possibility of a rupture between America and England. What he wanted to wake them up to appreciate, was the necessity of their exerting themselves as individuals to prevent such a rupture, and to show America what they all knew, but what Americans still doubted, that England was and means to be our friend.

I have no doubt that the expression of feeling was a fair one. The English are the most practical people on the face of the earth. They would not, even when intoxicated, hang on Mr. Train's neck and swear to exterminate the rebels with their own hands. Moreover, they are under no call, as a nation, to feel passionate sympathy for us. As a nation, we have never felt any sympathy for them, nor even made the pretense of showing any until the Prince of Wales visited us. But nevertheless they feel, in their cold and practical way, that their true interests lie with the North, and their common sense tells them that the cause of free institutions, their own cause as much as ours, is bound up in the result of our contest. Slowly and steadily, then, and without the movement of a feature or an extra beat of the pulse, they gravitate towards us, and there they will remain unless we fling them off. Why should we be angry with their impassible nature? We may think it their mistake or their misfortune, but all we have to do is meet it with a face as sepulchral as its own, and take the offered hand in the same practical spirit of mutual advantage in which it is given.

One name on Mr. Train's list is conspicuous by its absence. Our minister, Mr. Adams, seems to have contented himself with a verbal answer to Mr. Train's invitation. He has evidently no idea of showing his hand nor of being dragged into publicity if he can help it. Perhaps he was warned by the fate of Mr. Clay and Mr. Burlingame, at that unlucky meeting at the Louvre. Far from learning the same lesson, Mr. Clay, who seems made with

cacoëthes scribendi, has again appeared in print, though this time with a much more diplomatic air, and practically retracts what it would have spared great evil had he never spoken.

Meanwhile, the Southern Commissioners, Messrs. Dudley Mann, Yancey and Rost, have crossed the Channel, and sought the chances of another battle-field. To us loyalist their retreat seems a rout. They have failed in every single object that they tried for. They wished recognition, and they were never further from it than now. They wished agitation, but the House of Commons swept down on their poor champion, and overwhelmed him remorselessly. They wished to organize a fleet of privateers, and the British Government shut their ports in their faces. They wished to borrow money, and their bonds remain untaken. They hoped to create a popular feeling in their favor, and thanks to Mr. Russell's letters in the Times, popular opinion is more than ever against them. One sees every morning in the lists that are given of the guests at the first houses in the country, the names of our own representatives here. If any house worth entering is closed to them, it has yet to be known. But never yet have I seen the names of Mr. Mann, Mr. Yancey or Mr. Rost in the columns that tell of fashionable life in the daily journals.

Yet, like good Generals, these three gentlemen "bate not a jot of heart or hope." With the pleasing and kindly, though-erring, disposition to see, or pretend to see, all his own projects in the rosiest colors—that disposition which has made the originator of Southern Commercial Conventions and Southern European steamship lines, so harmlessly and humorously famous—Mr. Dudley Mann still trusts that England will reverse her policy, and, in the middle of their full retreat, the Confederates still boast of the distinction with which they have been treated in England. When the Southern armies gain a great victory, it will be time for them to return here. Until then they will no doubt find it useful to study the beauties of diplomacy under the direction of a skillful professor

like Mr. Thouvenel.” (New York Times, July 4, 1861)

July 6, 1861 (Saturday)

Great Eastern arrives at Quebec, Canada. She has on board 2,144 officers and men of the Royal Artillery, the Thirtieth Regiment, the Sixtieth Rifles, and components of three more rifle regiments (the 4th battalion of The Rifle Brigade (The Prince Consort’s Own); The troops were accompanied by 473 women and children, and 120 horses. In addition, there was a crew of approximately 400. (*Dugan* at 97-99; Quebec port of entry records). She made the voyage in 8 days, 6 hours, a world record (*Beaver* at 72)

“Saturday Morning, July 6.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:

Upon reflection I concluded not to send the Letter. No risk must be incurred that would operate injuriously. In your partiality for my wronged country you were prompted to make the obliging offer and in my desire to communicate with it I reluctantly accepted.

I have now to thank you for the permit to visit the “Warrior.” – How can I ever make a suitable recompense for your numerous kindnesses? I look forward to the day when we shall meet in my dear native land – “Old Virginia.”—

I assure you I have never been more hopeful of the triumphant maintenance of our independence than I am now. There are reliable indications that Wall-Street will not furnish any portion of the “screws” for the prosecution of the war. Then, again, a Constitutional party is rapidly manifesting itself in each of the States of the North. Thinking men there are becoming alarmed at the frequent palpable violations of that which Webster himself – the greatest “Constitutionalist” of his time – designated as the “Bond, and the only Bond of the Union.”

Your ever grateful friend,

A. Dudley Mann.

W. H. Gregory Esq.
M.P.”
(Emory University)

July 7, 1861

“Arrival of the *Great Eastern*—The Object of the Reinforcements—English Feeling Towards the North.

From our own correspondent.

Quebec, Sunday, July 7, 1861.

The *Great Eastern* arrived here to-day. As she swung around Point Levi and appeared in full view of the town, it seemed to ten thousand spectators as though a slice of land had been miraculously detached from the shore, and was floating on the broad bosom on the St. Lawrence. There was a large crop of ships in port, and the leviathan glided in and out among them with the ease and assurance of a tiny ferry-boat. She never looked so vast upon the waters of New-York Bay as she does her, where every vessel is a foil to her superiority, and every object ashore throws her bulky proportions into wondrous relief. As she passed the transport *Golden Fleece*, the latter—itsself an enormous ship—looked like a yacht in comparison. The *Great Eastern* has made the passage in eight days, and however great her failure in some respects, she has certainly made a successful voyage in the service to which she is now consigned. It is very probable that she will be retained by Government for the purpose of transporting troops to distant parts of the Empire.

Some 4,000 British soldiers, including two Regiments of the line, a regiment of rifles, a battery of flying artillery, and half a dozen Armstrong guns, have been brought to this Province within a week by the *Great Eastern* and the *Golden Fleece*. The movement has, I see, excited comment in the United States, and English journals do not seem to

understand its object. The explanation offered by military authorities here is not an unreasonable one. In the first place they say that the reinforcements, excepting the artillery force, merely raise the garrison of Canada to its strength before the Crimean war. This is true. Again, it is urged that the troops are required to maintain the police of the Canadian frontiers during the existence of pending troubles. This is also true. In times past frontier duty was performed by a Provincial regiment (the Canadian Rifles,) but on the withdrawal of line regiments for Crimean and subsequently for Indian service, the Rifles were ordered to garrison Quebec and Montreal. By the new arrangement they will merely return to their old occupation, and the regiments just arrived will garrison the large towns. It is understood to be the opinion of the British Government that the civil war now raging in America, will be of brief duration, and that after the Northern army has been disbanded, a strong Police force on the Canada border will be necessary to enforce obedience to the laws of the Province and to prevent any unauthorized irruptions by fillibusters and marauders. This opinion does not indicate any intimate knowledge of the people of the United States or their Government; but, in an international point of view, it may be held to justify the present reinforcement of Provincial garrisons. The same policy was pursued after the Mexican war. The subject is hardly important enough to justify diplomatic interference. The small number of troops transported hither prevents us looking upon the act in the light of a menace; and even if it were so intended, the Canadians are the last people in the world to tolerate a war between themselves and the neighboring Republic, though it were waged to obtain all the cotton that was ever raised in Dixie's Land. On the other hand, no one here imagines for a moment that the United States entertain any hostile designs against British America; yet it is only under such a supposition that one can explain, on rational grounds, the articles that have appeared in the New-York *Herald* and other kindred prints, touching this reinforcement of the Provincial garrisons.

I do sincerely hope and trust that the vindictive irritation displayed by a portion of the American Press against England has now subsided, and that the acts of a people who most sympathize with us are viewed with a more unbiased judgment. I have been in different portions of the British Empire since the commencement of the war, and I have spoken to hundreds of Englishmen on the subject, yet I have never heard *one* express any sympathy with the South in its unnatural rebellion against the most beneficent Government that man ever established or Providence ever blessed. Any one who takes the trouble to feel the pulse of British sentiment will find that, in spite of cotton and other devilish temptations to go astray, there is an earnest desire to see the Union restored and its glory reestablished. In a domestic strife like ours, where the issues are purely local, it would have been undignified and unjustifiable for a friendly Government and a kindred people to have assumed any other position than one of the strictest neutrality. This position England and France have both taken, and when the objects of the war shall have been accomplished, their neutrality will be regarded by both sections of a reunited country as the wisest and truest course that they could have possibly pursued.

W.G.S.”

(New York Times, July 7, 1861)

“Four Days Later From Europe.
Advices by the Great Eastern.

* * *

The Propriety of Sending Troops to Canada Under
Discussion in Parliament.

* * *

Father Point, Saturday, July 6—Noon.

The steamship *Great Eastern's* report for the Associated Press has been brought to Father Point by the steamer which went down to meet her with pilots from Cape Desmonts.

The dates per the *Great Eastern* are to the 27th of June, four days later than those received.”

(New York Times, July 7, 1861)

July 8, 1861 (Monday)

“Arrival of Great Eastern.—The Great Eastern arrived at Farther Point, on Saturday.

* * *

Sir James Fergusen, in the house of commons, condemned the reinforcements to Canada.

D’Iserali also thought the government was incurring serious responsibilities.

Lord Palmerston defended the act of the government as the usual precautionary measure of all Governments in the immediate vicinity of hostilities. The step indicated no distrust of the faith of the northern states, and no want of confidence in Canada. The time was fit and proper, because reinforcements can only be sent to Canada in the summer.”

* * *

Additional to Great Eastern.—The Times continues to maintain that Americans have no ground for their abuse of England, beyond mortification at England’s lack of appreciation. It says that the northern people have thrown themselves into a passion, and must be left to recover.

Sir Archibald Allison, in a letter to C. M. Clay, contends that the American constitution is a failure, and recommends national church and monarchy as a remedy”
(Janesville [Wis] Daily Gazette, July 8, 1861)

July 9, 1861

“Quebec, July 8.

It was exactly eight days from the time the Liverpool pilot left the Great Eastern till the Canada pilot boarded her, during which time she had only 24 hours of clear weather. She made Cape Race in 6 days from Liverpool. She nearly ran into the Arabia in a fog on the 2d, and would have done so, if she

had had a bowsprit.” (Janesville [Wis] Daily Gazette, July 9, 1861)

“Account of the Passage of the Great Eastern.
Quebec, Monday, July 8.

The steamship *Great Eastern*, commanded by Capt. Kennedy, late of the *Etna*, his first trip in command, and the number of officers reduced one-half, was brought across without the slightest difficulty, and now lies at anchor opposite to the city. It was exactly eight days from the time the Liverpool pilot left till the Canadian pilot boarded her, during which time she had only 20 hours of clear weather. The *Great Eastern* made Cape Race in six days from Liverpool, but the weather was too thick to communicate. She nearly ran into the Arabia in a fog, on the 2d, and would have done so if she had had on bowsprit. On the same day she saw several icebergs.

Two *births* occurred on board during the passage. A number of soldiers wives were found concealed on the steamship. The weather was moderate throughout the passage, the sea being smooth, but a dense fog prevailed from the 29th of June to the 5th of July. The ship will not probably be ready for inspection for a week, and will probably remain over for a month.” (New York Times, July 9, 1861)

“Important from Fort Pickens.

The British Admiral Milne and the Blockade—
What he Thinks Must be Done to render it
Effective—The Landing of Wilson’s Zouaves—
Condition of Pickens—Bragg’s Forces, &c.

From our own correspondent.

Fort Pickens, Friday, June 28, 1861.

I wrote to you, some days ago, to the effect that Admiral Milne, of the British Navy, the Commander-in Chief of Her Britannic Majesty’s naval forces in North America, was giving especial

attention to our blockade. The news is confirmed. A British steam-frigate has arrived here from Havana, and is now swinging from a pair of anchors in the berth occupied by the *Sabine*. The officer in command of the former vessel makes no secret of his mission. It is, he says, to see that the rights of English commerce are protected; and that the blockade must be such as will prevent ‘the entrance or departure of any craft to or from any harbor of the South, coaster, ocean trader, or tender.’ This will be strange intelligence to the majority of the Times’ readers. The Treaty of Paris has not laid down any rules by which we may know what is and what is not an effective blockade. Admiral Milne makes up for the deficiency. Here is his definition, as furnished to one of his subordinate commanders:

1. No port is blockaded efficiently, if any vessel can enter or depart from it, unknown to, or in spite of, the guarding men-of-war.
2. An efficient blockade necessitates the complete cutting off of all maritime ingress or egress, except in regard to harbor islands, having no outlet to the sea, save under the guns of the fleet.
3. The escape of the third vessel from the blockading squadron signalizes the invalidity of the blockade.

If her Britannic Majesty wishes to keep the letter of this law in force, should it be broken from any cause, she must send out bigger and better men-of-war than any of hers at present in the waters of North America. I give you the programme exactly as it was made out, and you can see its absurdity on its face. What does it mean by alluding to ‘island harbors having no outlet except under the guns of the fleet?’ There are ‘island harbors’ at several of the Southern ports which could keep the rebels in provisions for months. We have cut them off in more places than one. Will our British cousins insist that a proper blockading fleet should wink at grub going to camps on the main land from adjoining islands? The Admiralty of England, I understand, established a proper blockade law during the

existence of some South American troubles a few years ago. It provided merely for the successful cutting off of ocean traffic, and said nothing whatever about coasting, 'island harbors,' and the like. It appears that this thing called international law is just as England wishes to make it; where she has any 'say,' at all events. Capt. McKean does not believe that there is any responsible authority for the definition given by Milne. The Admiral had in his possession a copy of Capt. Adams' letter issued on the 19th of May, from the frigate *Sabine*, and I learn he sent a duplicate of it to England.

When Her Majesty's ship anchored she ran up the American flag and fired 21 guns, which we immediately returned. She then fired thirteen, in deference to the Commodore, which was answered by the flag-ship. An exchange of visits between the respective officers then took place, and to see the manner in which wine and good-fellowship went around in the ward-rooms would convince any honest man that there is more deceit in the Anglo-Saxon character than we have been in the habit of thinking of. A very funny incident occurred during firing of the salutes. I suppose you are aware that the first thing a foreign man-of-war does, when saluting a friendly nation, is to send aloft its ensign. So our Star-spangled Banner was hoisted to the foretop of the *Briton* when being saluted, and circumstance caused the most magnificent confusion in the rebel camp on shore. What could it be? The Union Jack at the peak, and the Stars and Stripes at the fore of a man-of-war blazing away at Pickens! Was it a new-fledged Confederate vessel successfully pebbling us under false pretenses? Every telescope and opera-glass in camp was brought to bear upon the ships, and I hear that the garrisons of McRae and Barrancos were summoned to quarters. Officers from the different posts were seen hurriedly riding to and from Gen. Bragg's quarters, and Bragg is reported to have commanded 'a general fall in on the Warrington Road.' For over seven or eight hours the hoax was working dire trouble and uneasiness on shore, and no one but the rebels know whether the fear of Yankee power, occasioned that day, has subsided yet. So far, then,

Renshaw's moonlight humbug has been repaid with a vengeance.

* * *

TODD.”

(New York Times, July 9, 1861)

July 10, 1861

156 Cheapside, London, July
1, 1861

Gentlemen, Please accept my thanks for your kind invitation to join you at breakfast on the glorious Fourth. I am very sorry I cannot have this pleasure, as I must be in Paris to-morrow and for several days following.

Your appropriate mottoed envelope cast a thrill of delight as my eye first met it. Though occasional clouds and shadows may pass over and tint the page of our nation's history, with our banner inscribed "The Union for ever – one and inseparable," our shining Republic will never cease to be the wonder and admiration of the world. – I am gentlemen, your obedient servant,

Hamilton E. Towle

To the Gentlemen of the Celebration
Committee (*London American*, July 10, 1861)

“Collection of the Revenue.

Mr. Washburne, from the Committee on Commerce, reported back House bill No. 16, further to provide for the collection of duties on imports and for other purposes; asked that the same might be put on its passage, and called the previous question.

The bill was read.

* * *

Mr. Wickliffe. I wish to make a single inquiry of the gentleman from Illinois. I understand one of the clauses of the bill to authorize the suspension of the ports of entry of the States in rebellion, still recognizing them as ports of entry

into the United States. Now, I am of the impression that there are certain treaties between this country and other nations making the freedom of importing goods into all the ports of the United States unrestricted and unlimited. Has the gentleman examined into that subject, and taken into consideration the propriety of abolishing them as ports of entry, in preference to their suspension by the Executive?

Mr. Washburne. I think if the gentleman from Kentucky had listed to the communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, he would have seen that his inquiry is fully answered. . . . The Secretary says:

* * *

‘The fourth section of the bill gives to the President the power to close a port of entry whenever duties cannot be collection in the ordinary way, or without too serious inconvenience and difficulty in the modes provided in the previous sections of the bill. The right to prescribe at what points commerce shall be carried on, and duties collected, has been exercised by Congress from the origin of the Government in all the various laws creating collection districts and ports of entry and delivery. This section vests the President with the power, where it is impracticable or extremely difficult to collect duties at a port of entry, to suspend the privilege of important at that point, giving due notice of such suspensions, and restoring the privilege when the emergency shall have ceased.’

This, I think, answers the interrogatory propounded by the gentleman from Kentucky.” (*The Congressional Globe*, 1861)

July 11, 1861

“LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, July 11, 1861.

My Lord: From the tenor of the last despatches received from the Department of State at Washington, I am led to suppose that there has been some misunderstanding in regard to the intentions of her Majesty's government respecting a proposal to negotiate upon the basis of the declaration of the Congress held at Paris in 1856. In the first conversation which I had the honor to hold with your lordship, so long ago as the 18th of May last, in answer to an offer then made by myself, under instructions from my government, I certainly understood your lordship to say that the subject had already been committed to the care of Lord Lyons, at Washington, with authority to accept the proposition of the government of the United States, adopting three articles of the declaration at Paris, and to drop the fourth altogether. For this reason you preferred not to enter into the question on this side of the water. I am now informed that Lord Lyons thinks his instructions do not authorize him to enter into convention with the authorities at Washington, and am instructed to apprise her Majesty's government of the fact.

Under these circumstances, I am directed once more to renew the proposition here and to say that, if agreeable to your lordship, I am prepared to present to your consideration a project of a convention at any moment which it may be convenient to you to appoint.

Seizing the occasion to renew the assurance of my highest consideration, I have the honor to be your lordship's most obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.
The Right Honorable Lord JOHN RUSSELL,
&c., &c., &c.

July 12, 1861

“LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, July 12, 1861.

Sir: Your despatches, from No.2 to No. 25, inclusive, were received at this office early in the present week.

I have read the first of these papers, containing further instructions to me, and dated on the 21st of June, with close attention. My prevailing feeling has been one of profound surprise at the course of this government throughout the present difficulty. First. It prepares, in the form of an instruction to Lord Lyons, a paper to be presented to you, among other things ‘virtually asking you to concede the principles laid down in the declaration of the congress held in Paris in 1856.’ Secondly. When in obedience to my instructions I propose to offer a project to Lord John Russell, actually designed to do the very thing desired, I am told the directions have already been sent out to Lord Lyons to arrange the matter on the basis proposed by the American government of the three articles, omitting the fourth altogether. Thirdly. Lord Lyons expresses the opinion to you that his instructions do not authorize him to enter into a convention with you in the United States. Fourthly. When, concurrently with these events, Mr. Dayton proposes to negotiate on the same basis with France, I am informed that this proposal has been communicated to the ministry here, and that no definite conclusion had been arrived at. I must say that a more remarkable series of misunderstandings has seldom come within my observation.

I now propose to bring this matter to a distinct issue. To this end I have addressed a letter to Lord John Russell, to know whether, under the renewed instructions of the present despatch, he is disposed to open the negotiation here. The advantage of this will be that I shall get an answer in writing, which will admit of no misconception. A copy of that answer will be forwarded so soon as it is received.

* * *

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, &c., &c., &c.”

“Private

Admiralty
Friday 12 July/61

Dear Sir Alexander Milne

I was not surprised that you should, on receiving Lord Lyons' announcement, have asked for immediate reinforcements.

We had previously ordered the frigates *Daide* & *Immortalité* to be got ready, but it was thought better not to send them to Halifax until we had heard again; first because of the desertions to which the crews would be exposed at Halifax, and next because if such an event were to occur as was indicated in Lord Lyons' letter, not only two frigates, but a large proportion of the channel fleet must be sent across to be under orders. We have referred to the law officers to get their opinion as to the legality of the indiscriminate search of vessels by the *Pyramus* ordered by you, but I fear that we shall not be able to send the results by this mail.

There is a report that the Congress will endeavor to close the ports of the Southern states by a municipal act, so as to avoid the necessity of maintaining a strict blockade. Such a proceeding would, I believe, be held to be illegal and void, but the subject is under the consideration of the law officers so that instructions may be sent. Commodore Dunlop's letter of instructions to officers in reference to New Granada affairs has been much approved; and the Government here are quite satisfied with the course you have pursued in this somewhat delicate state of affairs throughout your station.

Believe me yours faithfully
Somerset.”

July 13, 1861 (Saturday)

“FOREIGN OFFICE, July 13, 1861.

Sir: I have just had the honor to receive your letter dated the 11th instant. In the first conversation I had the honor to hold with you, on the 18th of May, I informed you that instructions had been sent to Lord Lyons to propose to the government of the United States to adopt the second third and fourth articles of the declaration of Paris, dropping the first altogether.

You informed me that you had instructions on the same subject. but I understood you to express an opinion, in which I fully concurred that it would be well to leave the question in the hands of the Secretary of State at Washington.

Lord Lyons had instructions to make an agreement with the government of the United States, but he had no express authority to sign a convention.

The States who have adhered to the declaration of Paris have generally, if not invariably, done so by despatches or notes, and not by conventions.

As, however, you have been instructed to present to her Majesty's government, for consideration, a project of a convention, I shall be happy to see you at the foreign office at three o'clock to-day, for the purpose of receiving that project.

I request you to receive the assurance of my highest consideration, and have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

J. RUSSELL.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c..”

“Ld. John R. has replied to Mr. Adams fixing to-day for an interview on the Paris Declaration of 1856. His note is full of

misrepresentations a strange statement respecting a former interview on this subject with Mr. Adams, & in future Mr. Adams will get his Lordship's opinions on such questions in writing. Mr. Adams took with him a copy of Mr. Seward's project & a copy of his Full Power." (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

"The history of nations may not seem to require many lines for a week. It was so a century ago. Now-a-days war is proclaimed, battles fought, and peace made in three months or less. We are at peace at present; but who can tell how long it will last? The most powerful, the most unscrupulous, and most talented of the new York press—the Herald—after being compelled by mob violence to side with the North, is trying hard to unite North and South in a war to wrest Canada from England and Cuba from Spain. This policy, it is supposed, would unite the belligerents, and yet give vent to the fiery passions of both sides. The flax is as yet but smoking; but desperate men try desperate remedies to keep place and power, and to hide their own blunders." (Warrington [Liverpool] Guardian, July 13, 1861)

"Public Acts of the Thirty-Seventh Congress of the United States, *Passed at the first session*³⁰ *which was begun and held at the City of Washington, in the District of Columbia, on Thursday, the fourth day of July, A..D. 1861, and ended on Tuesday, the sixth day of August, A.D. 1861.*

* * *

Chap. III.—*An Act further to provide for the Collection of Duties on Imports, and for other Purposes.*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That whenever it shall in the judgment of the President, by reason of unlawful combinations of persons in opposition to the laws of the United States, become impracticable to execute

³⁰ This session was called by Proclamation of the President, dated April 15th, 1861. See Appendix, Proclamation, No. 3, post, p. 1258 (Footnote from original text)

the revenue laws and collect the duties on imports by the ordinary means, in the ordinary way, at any port of entry in any collection district, he is authorized to cause such duties to be collected at any port of delivery in said district until such obstruction shall cease

* * *

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That if, in the judgment of the President, from the cause mentioned in the first section of this act, the duties upon imports in any collection district cannot be effectually collected by the ordinary means and in the ordinary way, or in the mode and manner provided in the foregoing sections of this act, then and in that case the President is hereby empowered to close the port or ports of entry in said district, and in such case give notice thereof by proclamation; and thereupon all right of importation, warehousing, and other privileges incident to ports of entry shall cease and be discontinued at such port so closed, until opened by the order of the President on the cessation of such obstructions; and if, while said ports are so closed, any ship or vessel from beyond the United States, or having on board any articles subject to duties, shall enter or attempt to enter any such port, the same, together with its tackle, apparel, furniture, and cargo, shall be forfeited to the United States.

* * *

Sec. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That in the execution of the provisions of this act, and of the other laws of the United States providing for the collection of duties on imports and tonnage, it may and shall be lawful for the President, in addition to the revenue cutters in service, to employ in aid thereof such other suitable vessels as may, in his judgment, be required.

* * *

Approved, July 13, 1861.” (The Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations of the United States of

America from December 5, 1858, to March 3, 1863.)

“The War Comet of ’61.
Vanity Fair’s Reports from the Interior.

The magnificent Comet which appeared in this thrifty municipality the other night, was witnessed by thousands of our citizens, and has been graphically described by the daily papers. We therefore need no further allude to the appearance of the brilliant visitor here, but will proceed to lay our reports from the interior before the readers of Vanity Fair:--

* * *

Portland, Me., July 6.

The Comet was here this morning. It was vastly superior to the *Great Eastern*, even admitted that there is any such boat, which we by no means do.” (Vanity Fair, July 13, 1861)

“Babbitt Metal

For Sale in quantities to suit, by
D.C. Lowber & Co.
172 Camp Street”
(Daily True Delta, July 13, 1861)

July 15, 1861 (Monday)

“London, June 29, 1861. . . .In spite of the remonstrances of a large part of the daily Press, including even the *Times*, which shows some practical wisdom in the matter, the Government has held to their determination, and the *Great Eastern* has gone with its three thousand troops to Canada. I have the strongest reason, from personal conversation with men of different parties, to believe that this step is looked upon as a blunder almost universally. But the control of the army is vested in the Crown, and popular opinion acts on the Horse-guards very slowly. So the measure is carried out in haste, to be regretted at leisure, and Lord Palmerston, when called upon to explain it, shuffles and equivocates, while Dr. Disraeli

completely corners him, and leaves him no resource but in absolute silence. I have said once before that I believed this measure to be taken in consequence of some idea of the Ministry that our people meditate some sort of attack on Canada. What this fear really is, and what foundation it has, I cannot learn, but it comes from your side of the Atlantic, and whether the New-York *Herald* or more reliable authorities are responsible for it, is for this Government to explain." New York *Times* July 15, 1861

"No. 3 London, July 15, 1861.

Hon. Robert Toombs.

Sir: We are in receipt of your dispatches numbered 5 and 6, together with the documents therein referred to . We are happy to announce the safe arrival of Lieutenants North and Bullock and of Captain Huse, who had arrived sometime previously. All of these officers have communicated with the Commission.

Since the date of our dispatch No. 2, Mr. Rost has obtained an informal interview with M. Thouvenel, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. In that interview, as we are informed by our colleague, M. Thouvenel expressed a sincere desire to see peace established between the belligerent powers in America; that France concurred with the other powers in Europe in pursuing a strict neutrality as to the present contest; that the French Consuls throughout the South had assured the Imperial Government that the Southern people were united in maintaining the Government of the Confederate States, and that there was no disturbance of the labor of the cotton States by the war. Our colleague did not deem it proper to press the question of recognition upon the Minister at that interview.

Another member of the Commission, Mr. Yancey, was in Paris at this time, having arrived after Mr. Rost had arranged for the interview with M. Thouvenel.

His opinions as to the disposition of the French Government toward the Confederate States are, that the Emperor looks upon European policy to be of more importance to France, at this time, than American; that the Imperial Government has no feeling upon the subject, and is in perfect understanding with the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, and will leave the decision of this question in the hands of the British Cabinet, and coincide with it unless some unforeseen event shall disturb the amicable relations between the two Governments. From information derived from very reliable sources, we are of the opinion that the Governments of Spain, Belgium, and Denmark entertain toward the Confederate States the most friendly feeling, and are ready to recognize their independence as soon as either England or France shall determine to do so, but, in deference to those great powers, will not take the initiative.

We are satisfied that the Government is sincere in its desire to be strictly neutral in the contest, and will not countenance any violation of its neutrality. The best-informed Englishmen (and we think the opinion is decidedly the prevailing one), while denying the right of secession and being divided on the question of there being sufficient justifying cause for the movement, seem to agree that the great principle underlying the contest, and by which it should be judged, is that of self-government, and that, looking at the contest from this point of view, eleven great united States have the right to throw off the power of a Union which they think is used to their injury and to form a new Confederacy, and that to resist the exercise of their right by arms is to deny the truth of the Declaration of Independence of 1776. Public opinion here as to the power of the North to overcome the South has undergone a considerable change. While it may not be considered as unanimous, yet we are satisfied that it is now the decidedly prevailing impression in the governing circle that it is folly to think that the North can subdue the South. The former opinion that there was a considerable party in the

Confederate States anxious for a reconstruction of the late Union has given way before the march of events, and has been abandoned. In consequence, there is now a universal desire to see an early peace established between the two sections, and that England, when occasion offers, should tender her mediation.

We are more fully satisfied of the correctness of the opinion advanced in our previous dispatches that the question of the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States is considered both here and on the Continent as but a question of time.

The unity of our population in favor of the Confederate Government having been satisfactorily established, taken in connection with the recognized wisdom and vigor of statesmanship displayed by the public men who conduct it, has led to this result.

The conduct of Mr. Seward, and of the diplomatic representatives of the Government of the United States, has been considered offensive, as we learn, both here and in France.

We have good reason to believe that the relations between Mr. Adams and the British Cabinet are not altogether amicable or satisfactory to either, and that both in his diplomatic and social relations Mr. Adams is considered a blunder. Our own course here has been dictated by the most anxious desire to allow the blunders of our enemies to have full effect on the public mind, and not to divert attention from them by any public movements which would at once have become the object of attack and criticism on the part of Northern emissaries.

We are fully satisfied that this course has met with eminent success, and is duly appreciated in quarters where we desire to make a favorable impression. We have, however, not been inactive, but have endeavored to inspire correct views of the course of the Confederate States in the minds of persons who, from their position and intelligence,

we thought would be most likely to bring to bear a favorable influence on the British Cabinet.

As soon as a favorable military event is officially announced to us we expect to demand an official recognition of our presence here as Commissioners, and to push the question of the recognition of our Government to a determination. If such an event does not occur, we are satisfied that we cannot expect it before the cotton is picked and the supply of that article here is exhausted, and no other means of replenishing it can be found than through treaties with the Confederate States.

One other cause of delay in our negotiation is to be found, we think, in the position of the two great parties here. They are nearly balanced, and any move of the Cabinet on that question, for or against us, unless in perfect concert, might well be seized upon by the opposition as the means of overthrowing it. Parliament will be prorogued on the 10th proximo to meet again in February next. We consider it fortunate that the British Cabinet will then have to deal with the question without fear of parliamentary inquiry or discussion at the time.

We have naturally considered the question of the issuance of letters of marque. In your dispatch No. 5, of May 18, is the following: 'In case you find that those Governments are earnestly opposed to your issuing the commissions within their limits and that your influence and position would be compromised or lessened thereby, you will decline to receive any applications which may be made to you for letters of marque and reprisal, and not use the commissions set you herewith.' Under these instructions we do not conceive that we have any directions.

We are perfectly satisfied that to issue them here would be very offensive to the British Government, and would not only compromise and lessen our influence and position, but would subject all parties concerned in doing so to criminal prosecution. We should, therefore, decline to issue

any such commissions here until we are advised of a change in the disposition of this Government.

In order to convey to the Government a better idea of public opinion here, as far as public journals indicate it, we forward with this dispatch editorials of different dates by leading journalists.

Not a Southern newspaper is now received in England. We suggest that files of one of the leading papers at Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans be kept and forwarded to the Commission as often as opportunity offers.

The British and French Governments are kept well informed by their Consuls and Ministers, and it is evident that the Commission must be at much disadvantage in communicating with those Governments, if in ignorance of occurrences at home. We further suggest that the Commission be kept fully informed of every fact connected with the blockade; of the ports blockaded and the force before each; of those not blockaded; of violations of the blockade; and of captures made by the blockading squadrons.

The blockade question we consider to be the great lever which will eventually decide the relations between Europe and the South.

We suggest also that the Commission be kept fully informed of military events, successful or otherwise, that will affect the public mind here. The Northern journals, we have no doubt, will conceal as far as possible our successes and their defeats.

In dispatch No. 5 we are instructed as follows: 'As it is of the utmost importance that there should be frequent and secure communication between your Commission and this Department, you will take measures to arrange some plan by which you may regularly transmit your dispatches. You will be careful, however, not to send any dispatches through the mail by the regular mail steamers destined to Northern ports nor under cover to G. B. Lamar, Esq., New York, it being now

altogether unsafe to transmit letters by those vessels or through that agency.’

The Commission was fully aware of the great importance of secure communication between it and the Department, and suggested to the Secretary of State before its departure from Montgomery that it should have the power to employ messengers. But this was perhaps properly deemed by the Secretary too expensive a mode of communication, except to announce the fact of recognition or of a treaty.

Not a dollar has been furnished to the Commission for secret service, and no plan suggests itself to the Commission by which it can carry out the views of the Department in this particular, that does not involve the outlay of money which it is not in the power of the Commission to command. If we might be allowed however to suggest a plan, it would be this—viz., that the Government employ a resident agent upon its frontiers, and another at some proper point in Canada, and that every week or every fortnight, or as often as occasion requires, a messenger should carry dispatches over the immediate country both to and from the Commission. This will be attended with some risk and expense, but it must be conceded that communication across a hostile country can only be carried on by incurring both.

We have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servants,

W. L. Yancey,
A. Dudley Mann.

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

July 18, 1861 (Thursday)

“FOREIGN.OF:FICE, July 18,1861.

Sir: Upon considering your propositions of Saturday last I have two remarks to make.

First. The course hitherto followed has been a simple notification of adherence to the declaration

of Paris by those states which were not originally parties to it.

Secondly. The declaration of Paris was one embracing various powers, with a view to general concurrence upon questions of maritime law, and not an insulated engagement between two powers only.

Her Majesty's government are willing to waive entirely any objection on the first of these heads, and to accept the form which the government of the United States prefers.

With regard to the second, her Majesty's government are of opinion that they should be assured that the United States are ready to enter into a similar engagement with France, and with other maritime powers who are parties to the declaration of Paris, and do not purpose to make singly and separately a convention with Great Britain only.

But as much time might be required for separate communications between the government of the United States and all the maritime powers who were parties to or have acceded to the declaration of Paris, her Majesty's government would deem themselves authorized to advise the Queen to conclude a convention on this subject with the President of the United States so soon as they shall have been informed that a similar convention has been agreed upon, and is ready for signature, between the President of the United States and the Emperor of the French, so that the two conventions might be signed simultaneously and on the same day.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

J. RUSSELL.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c.”

July 19, 1861 (Friday)

“LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

London, July 19, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch, No. 32, dated the 1st of July, relating to the communications between the two governments respecting the declaration of the convention at Paris, in 1856, reached me soon after I had addressed a formal letter to Lord John Russell, designed to bring the matter to a definite point. In my No. 14, dated on the 12th, I stated the fact that I had sent such a letter, and I promised that I would forward his lordship's answer so soon as it should be received. I now transmit copies of my letter and of the answer.

It is not a little singular that his lordship's memory of what passed at our first interview on this subject should differ so widely from mine. It would seem, by his account, that he had been the first to mention the instructions to Lord Lyons to propose a negotiation on the subject of the declaration of Paris, and that I had thereupon expressed the opinion that it would be well to leave it in your hands, in which opinion he fully concurred.

On my side, I am quite certain that the discussion which actually took place between us involved a wholly different class of topics of a very critical nature, and never touched upon the declaration of Paris, until it had exhausted itself on the others. It was by that time late, and I then opened the new subject by remarking that there would be no time to do more than to allude to it at this conference. I first mentioned the fact that I had instructions to propose a negotiation upon the disputed point of the Paris declarations, and the necessary powers to perfect an agreement, if her Majesty's government were disposed to enter into it. It was this proposal that elicited the explanations of his lordship as to what had been already done, and the expression of an opinion that the instructions sent to Lord Lyons were of such a kind as to make some agreement on your side so very likely as to render any treatment of the same matter here unadvisable; and it was then that I concurred in his opinion.

As things now stand, perhaps this difference of recollection in the present instance may not be material. But there might be cases in which it would be of so much moment that I think hereafter I shall prefer, upon essential points, to conduct the affairs of this legation a little more in writing than I have heretofore thought necessary.

At the hour appointed in his note, I waited upon his lordship for the first time, at his official residence in Downing street. After comparing our respective remembrance of the facts in dispute, I went on to repeat what I maintained I had at first proposed, to wit: that I was ready to negotiate if her Majesty's government were so disposed. To that end I had brought my powers, and also the project of a convention, copies of both of which papers I offered to leave with him. He remarked that at this stage it was not necessary to look at the powers. The other one he took and examined. The first remark which he made was that it was essentially the declaration of Paris. He had never known until now that the government of the United States were disposed to accede to it. He was sure that I had never mentioned it. To this I assented, but observed that the reason why I had not done so was that my government had directed me to make a preliminary inquiry, and that was to know whether her Majesty's ministers were disposed to enter into any negotiation at all. It was because of my understanding his lordship to say that he preferred to leave the matter with Lord Lyons, that I had considered negotiation here to be declined. I had also heard, through his lordship, of a proposition since made by Mr. Dayton on this subject to the French government, and which had been communicated to him, that led me to suppose the matter might be taking its shape at Paris. His lordship observed that Mr. Dayton's proposal was nothing more than a repetition of that made by Mr. Marcy, which they were not willing to accede to. I then said that Mr. Marcy's amendment was undoubtedly the first wish of my government. I also had instructions to press it, if there was the smallest probability of success; but I understood that this matter had been definitively settled. His lordship

signified his assent to this remark, and added that I might consider the proposition as inadmissible. He would therefore take the copy of the project of a convention which I had offered him, for the purpose of submitting it to the consideration of his colleagues in the cabinet, and let me know when he should be ready to meet again.

In the course of conversation, I took the occasion to remark upon that passage of his lordship's note to me which related to the manner in which other states had signified their adherence to the declaration. I called his attention to the fact that, whatever might be the course elsewhere, the peculiar structure of our government required some distinct form of agreement or convention to be made with foreign States upon which the Senate could exercise their legitimate authority of confirmation or rejection. He seemed at once to understand the force of this observation, and to assent to the necessity. Yet I foresaw at the time the difficulty in which it would place the British government in its relations with the other parties to the convention at Paris. The reply of his lordship, this moment come to hand, a copy of which is herewith submitted, explains it fully, and leaves the matter in the same state of suspense that it was in before.

Under these circumstances, and presuming it to be the wish of the President that no time be lost, I shall write to Mr. Dayton, at Paris, to know whether he considers himself authorized to proceed to conclude a similar arrangement with the French government; if so, I shall try to go on without waiting for further instructions; if not, I shall hold myself ready to act here so soon as this difficulty shall have been removed elsewhere.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington., D. C.”

July 20, 1861 (Saturday)

“The arrival of the Great Eastern at Quebec has caused great joy.” Warrington [Liverpool] Guardian, July 20, 1861.

“Paris July 20th 1861.

Sir,

Being at this time alone in Paris, I avail myself of a favorable opportunity to transmit to your Excellency information which I deem important³¹.

Two questions occupy at this time the attention of the English and French governments, how to obtain a supply of cotton from the Confederate States next fall, and when obtained how to pay for it. Without cotton many millions of their population are doomed to misery and starvation and if it can be had the importation of European goods to America being greatly reduced it will have to be paid for in gold and this drain of specie, added to that arising from a short grain crop will inevitably cause a fearful revulsion among the commercial classes.

Whenever approached on those subjects I have said that we shall produce this year four millions and a half bales of cotton to be found in our sea-ports where the law of necessity will justify European ships in coming for it, blockade or no blockade. To obviate the second difficulty, I have ventured to suggest that our Congress would perhaps be willing to make for a limited time and at a determined value the notes of the Banks of England and of France real tender in payment of debts, so as to give them currency in our States and dispense with the importation of gold. The idea has been very favorably received; by the principal bankers here, and a man high in authority has told

³¹ In mid-May Commissioner Rost left his associates William L. Yancey and A. Dudley Mann in London and visited Paris to explore the French government’s attitude. After an interview with the Court de Morny, a confidant of Emperor Napoleon III, he returned to London to consult with his fellow commissioners. By June 10 Rost was back in Paris, this time accompanied by Yancey; Yancey returned to London on June 18 . . . [footnotes to this letter are from The Papers of Jefferson Davis, Vol. 7 Lynda Lasswell Crist and Mary Seaton Dix, co-editors]

me that he would consider such a measure an act of the highest statesmanship and one calculated to overcome many objections to our recognition. I really believe it would and submit it for your consideration.

We have just received Mr. Lincoln's Message; it is laughed at by the semi-official papers here as ridiculous bombast. I send herewith the views of the 'Times' newspaper.³²

Much regret has been expressed here by our friends that Harper's Ferry should have been evacuated so soon and that the Federal troops should have been allowed to cross the Potomac near that point without opposition. Having full confidence in our leaders, I lose no opportunity to say, and attempt to show, that there were sufficient strategic reasons for giving up the line of the Potomac and that the result of the first encounter with the enemy will fully justify it.

We regret deeply that Mr. Russell the correspondent of the 'Times' should have been allowed to see our forts and armies in detail; he is our enemy and his misrepresentations are doing us harm. One of this letter ridicules Gen. Pillow's command and represents his fortifications at Memphis as a nuisance to the besieged, although highly beneficial to a besieging army. Some persons here who knew the General in Mexico fear that there may be truth in the criticism how does the matter stand? The Chickasaw bluffs are the most important military position on the Mississippi and I have no doubt that you will in due time, give it your personal supervision and render it impregnable. According to what the Northern Americans now in Paris say, their crowning triumph is to be the taking of New Orleans next fall, by an army of eighty thousand men and the blockading fleet. Assurances

³² President Lincoln's July 4th message to the special session of Congress appeared in the London Times on July 19 along with an editorial predicting that the war would lead in the end to a recognition of southern independence (pp5, 9). On receiving the first excerpts of the speech, the Times expressed shock at Lincoln's call for 400,000 men and \$400 million to wage the war, 'an American war budget of European proportions' (July 18, p8)

that the blockade would thus be raised, are said to have been given to the French Government.

Public opinion here is getting more and more favorable to us and as the Editors of the semi-official press apply to me for information, readily publish whatever I send them and side with us.³³ I infer that the government is also favorably disposed. I am, with the highest regard,

Your obedient Servant

P. A. Rost³⁴.” (Letter from P. A. Rost to Jefferson Davis)

“AMERICA.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

NEW YORK, July 6.

I have sent you this morning two copies of the President’s message. That document was delivered to Congress yesterday at two o’clock. It confirms what I have frequently written you, that there is not a state in the Union (South) but what has a majority of Union men, if left to a fair vote, except in South Carolina. Of course, in that state no fair vote can be taken, for ‘poor white trash’ is not allowed to vote. The President has very fairly spoke the mind of the public. They will endorse –and pay, if need be – every word he has said in his message. Congress will give him everything he asks, and five times more, if he need it, and asks in return but two things, already frequently named in my letters –

³³ Several weeks later the United States minister to France corroborated Rost’s opinion that a once pro-northern press was gradually becoming more sympathetic to the South. Such semiofficial newspapers as *Patrie*, *Pays*, and *Constitutionnel* favored recognition of the Confederacy, and unknown to Rost the French government was suggesting to Great Britain that the two powers intervene to end the blockade and obtain needed cotton

³⁴ Pierre Adolphe Rost (1797-1868) left his native France after Waterloo and setting in Natchez, where Joseph E. Davis became his friend and mentor. In 1830 Rost moved to New Orleans, made an advantageous marriage, and was appointed to the state supreme court. His French heritage, prestige in Louisiana, and ties to the Davis family recommended Rost as an appropriate commissioner to negotiate recognition of the Confederacy in Europe. In August, when it seemed that neither Great Britain nor France was likely to make such a commitment, Davis made Rost special commissioner to Spain, an assignment that proved even more futile. In bad health and dispirited, Rost resigned in May 1862 and returned to France for the remainder of the war. He died in New Orleans.

First, 'Go a-head and crush out the rebels;' secondly, 'Destroy the cause of it, and end African slavery on this continent.' If he fails to do that he will be the first victim of his great blunder, and his career as President will end long before his constitutional period of four years is up. I see no reason to change my opinion that when the vast army has pushed the rebels out of Virginia, and when all the forts, arsenals, &c., belonging to the United States will have been regained, then will come the tug of war. The President may try to ignore the institution of African slavery, as he has done in his message, but it will not ignore him. That issue has got to be met and settled now, or the army will settle it, and in doing that some military chief will settle the President too. General Fremont may be that man. The President has sent him to command the army in the west. (Supposed to mean Cairo and the operations down the Mississippi.) The right hand of the Secretary of State (Mr. Seward) in this city is Captain A. H. Schultz. He was a candidate for United States marshal in this city. He was promised the appointment, but the woman influence (as it is called) for an Irishman and a very gallant man, named Bob Murray, succeeded. The captain is considered one of the shrewdest men in this state, equally smart as Thurlow Weed. I have heard of a very curious interview between the captain and Mr. Seward's son Frederick, who is Assistant Secretary of State. The captain was heard to say, 'Well, Fred, you know the old man always had a hankering after Canada, what does he think of his chances now?' Fred. Seward, -- 'There is no possibility of a war with England, cap. Our latest advices from Mr. Adams say that Palmerston and Russell regret deeply the blunder made about belligerents.' Captain Schultz -- 'I don't care a _____ what Lords Russell and Palmerston say to Mr. Adams. They are not creation and all out-doors besides. I say, you may tell your pap from me that the chances are nine to ten that we shall be at war with England before the first day of February next, and I'll bet him a hundred-dollar bill that it is so.' Seward.—'Poh, poh, cap. What can bring on a war with England?' Schultz.—'I'll tell you what will prevent a war with England, and it is all that can do

it. Pitch in. Scatter them _____ rebels before fall, and open those cotton ports before the new crop reaches their markets, so that there will be no delay in the crop going forward to English ports, for if you do not you will have trouble.’ Seward.—‘What has that got to do with it?’ Schultz.—‘It has got this to do with it. If your father is so blind a statesman as not to know what England will do, and what her ministers will do in a certain contingency, he had better go back to Auburn and teach school to children again. Suppose England was likely to want flour, and there was a fair prospect that in a few months five millions of her toiling people would cry for bread, and suppose ten millions of barrels of flour were lying in four American ports, and suppose a barrel of flour were not be obtained anywhere else, and that these immense and useless quantities of flour were guarded and kept from being exported by a few rotten old mud scows, and it was called a blockade: what would the people of England force a ministry to do, however willing they might be to recognize the law of nations, law of blockade, &c.?’ Fred. Seward.—‘England is powerful, and I presume under such circumstances she would break up the blockade and get flour to feed her dying people.’ Captain Schultz.—‘Just so, young colt, and tell your old man that he can tell the President, and he can make his calculations accordingly, that it is just what England will do in the case of cotton at Charleston; She will knock every blockading craft into kingdom come if the blockade is continued one hour beyond December next, or after the new crop reaches those ports in quantities: 500 British merchant ships will come over to convey that crop to England, and it will go forward in spite of any feeble opposition the whole American navy could bring to oppose it. Great Britain will break the blockade, get forward a million bales of cotton, and then explain afterwards.’ Seward, jun.—‘Do you really think that would be the policy of England?’ Captain Schultz.—‘ Unless England is changed from what she was. So, Fred, end the blockade, or England will end it for you; and we have got to fight her for honour (while she gets the cotton) afterwards.’³⁵

³⁵ This “conversation” between Fred Seward and Alexander Schultz is obviously fabricated. “Manhattan,”

Your very able editorial in reference to cotton, of June 19, has been extensively copied here. No one can complain if a bale of cotton is never again purchased from our Southern states or while produced by slave labour. Were a new white emigration to go south, I am satisfied that 8,000,000 bales of cotton would be produced in 1862, instead of the quantity produced in 1860. Make the free system of labour respectable South, and, while it would end slavery, it would double the value of the South, and it would produce double the quantity of cotton, and consume double the amount of articles that we now get from England. It is a great mistake that cotton cannot be produced, except by slave labour. It is proved that in many parts of Texas cotton is made by the German emigrant and his family cheaper than it can be produced by slave labour. So far as climate is concerned, there is no state in which white labour cannot be used. The people of the free states have now reached that point of exasperation that they would gladly rather see cotton go to destruction than rule. Hence every article from abroad, showing where England can purchase cotton cheaper than in our Southern states, is hailed with the very greatest satisfaction. The rebel states have decided not to let cotton be exported through the Northern or free states. Their idea in thus acting is to bring on a collision between the United States and England. I am of opinion that before a bale of new cotton reaches even the local interior cotton markets, the way will be opened for exporting cotton by immense quantities through the Atlantic seaports of the free states, and also from Richmond, Norfolk, and Baltimore. Of course, the moment the American navy reaches a foot south,

the author of this article, has been identified by John D. Bennett in his book, *The London Confederates*, as Joseph A. Scoville. In a chapter captioned "The Propaganda War," Mr. Bennett writes:

. . . during the Civil War the Standard became renowned for its 'Manhattan Letters,' written by the paper's New York correspondent, Joseph A. Scoville. So critical were they of the Federal Government that at one stage their author was arrested and imprisoned. The effect of them in London was to increase the paper's circulation dramatically.

Scoville had devoted many years to promoting the candidacy of John C. Calhoun, the ardent pro-slavery United States Senator from South Carolina, for President.

say Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, or New Orleans, that moment the blockade ceases, and cotton will go forward as usual, for at every port an overpowering military force will be kept for some years. I have seen in an English paper an allusion made the cotton will reach England via Mexico. As that species of transportation would have to be done by waggons, and a distance of over 400 miles, I think if ever a bit of cotton did reach Liverpool it would stand the owner a cost of about one pound sterling for every pound avoirdupois, and would not, therefore, be quite as cheap as the Indian or Egyptian cotton.

The chamber of commerce of this city is composed of a body of men who are constantly on the watch to do something extraordinary. Led by the New York Herald they have just discovered that our harbour defenses sadly need repairing, and that a British fleet is very likely to steam up to this city, and batter it down. Under these circumstances the chamber has memorialized Congress to go to work, and fortify New York. As preliminary our sagacious merchants have spent over two hours and a half in examining the strength of our old forts, and have counted the bricks and loose stones lying about previous to drafting the memorial. The Tribune of this city has an article upon this subject that contains so much truth, I give it:--

‘We beg leave to dissent, very briefly but most decidedly, from the tenor of the sayings and doings in the chamber of commerce yesterday respecting our harbour defences. We hold that the true way to defend our harbour, and the harbours of all other loyal cities, is to thrash the rebels soundly at the earliest possible moment. We hold that our city would be far better protected this day by one hundred good field guns in front of General Beauregard’s position than by three hundred of the heaviest Paixhans or Dahlgrens mounted in our various ports and batteries. No foreign fleet will trouble us if we whip the rebel main army speedily and thoroughly; and if we fail to do that, forty thousand artillerists in garrisons about our harbour will not secure us either respect or safety. We beg

the government, therefore, not to spend one dollar on the harbour defences of New York, but to devote all the energies and means to an early trouncing of the rebels in Virginia; for it is there, and there only, that our city can be adequately and certainly protected from insult and possible assault from the other side of the ocean.'

Among the journals that feel the effect of these hard times is the long-established Boston Post. It has had to reduce its size and curtail its expense. The Weekly Dispatch of this city, until now supposed to be one of the most prosperous, has reduced its size, and its price from 4c. to 3c. Nearly one-third, if not one-half, of our city papers will be obliged to fail and go out of business. In the South it is far worse,. Seven-eighths of the journals have already suspended, and all have reduced their size.

Mr. Lincoln was called upon for a Fourth of July speech. He merely said, 'I trust you will not blame me to-day for keeping in the background. I take pleasure in introducing General Scott to you.' The old chief came forward and bowed. He was received with cheers. Seward came forward next. He said, 'According to "Daboll's Arithmetic," counting from 1776 to 1861 makes eighty-six Fourths of July., and we will have a thousand more of the same sort and if ballots will not pull us through, bullets shall.' He was cheered and then retired. Other members of the Cabinet spoke, then a few generals spoke, and finally all went home happy.

Kentucky has at last decided against neutrality, and troops will now be organized in every part of the stte. The moral effect of the fact that the great slave states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Virginia, cannot be carried for this rebellion, will rouse up the Union men in all the other rebel states. It has already done so in Texas. If the army goes rapidly South there will be a general uprising all along the route. The contest iwth the rebeles is in fact ended. Now will come the contest between the people who would destroy slavery and

the President and Cabinet who would protect it. The army will decide the matter eventually.

MANHATTAN.”

(The Standard (London), July 20, 1861)

July 21, 1861 (Sunday)

The Battle of Bull Run (First Manassas) is a Confederate victory.

“No. 42.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 21, 1861.

Sir [C.F. Adams]: Your despatch of June 28, No. 10, has been received.

I have already, in a previous communication, informed you that this government has not been disturbed by the action of the British authorities in sending three regiments into Canada, nor by the announcement of the coming of British armed vessels into American waters. These movements are certainly not very formidable in their proportions; and we willingly accept the explanation that they proceed from merely prudential motives.

Doubtless it had been better if they had not been made. But what government can say that it never acts precipitately, or even capriciously. On our part the possibility of foreign intervention, sooner or later, in this domestic disturbance is never absent from the thoughts of this government. We are, therefore, not likely to exaggerate indications of an emergency for which we hold ourselves bound to be in a measure always prepared.

Another subject which, according to your report, was discussed in your late interview with Lord John Russell demands more extended remarks. I refer to the portion of your despatch which is in these words: ‘His lordship then said something about difficulties in New Grenada, and the intelligence that the insurgents there had passed a law to close their ports. But the law officers here

told him that this could not be done as against foreign nations, except by the regular form of blockade. He did not know what we thought about it; but he had observed that some such plan was said to be likely to be adopted at the coming meeting of Congress in regard to the ports of those whom we considered as insurgents.’

Much as I deprecate a reference in official communications of this kind to explanations made by ministers in Parliament, not always fully or accurately reported, and always liable to be perverted when applied to cases not considered when the explanations are given, I nevertheless find it necessary, by way of elucidating the subject, to bring into this connexion the substance of a debate which is said to have taken place in the House of Commons on the 27th of June last, and which is as follows:

Mr. H. Berkly asked the secretary of state for foreign affairs whether her Majesty’s government recognized a notification given by Señor Martin, minister plenipotentiary to this court from the Grenadian confederation, better known as the Republic of New Grenada, which announces a blockade of the ports of Rio Hacha, Santa Marta, Savanilla, Carthagená, and Zaporte, and which government did her Majesty’s government recognize in the so-called Grenadian confederation.

Lord John Russell said the question is one of considerable importance. The government of New Grenada has announced, not a blockade, but that certain ports of New Grenada are to be closed. The opinion of her Majesty’s government, after taking legal advice, is, that it is perfectly competent for the government of a country in a state of tranquility to say which ports shall be open to trade and which shall be closed; but in the event of insurrection or civil war in that country, it is not competent for its government to close the ports that are de facto in the hands of the insurgents, as that would be an invasion of international law with regard to blockade. Admiral Milne, acting on instructions from her Majesty’s government, has ordered the

commanders of her Majesty's ships not to recognize the closing of their ports.

Since your conversation with Lord John Russell, and also since the debate which I have extracted occurred, the Congress of the United States has by law asserted the right of this government to close the ports in this country which have been seized by the insurgents.

I send you herewith a copy of the enactment. The connecting by Lord John Russell of that measure when it was in prospect with what had taken place in regard to a law of New Granada, gives to the remarks which he made to you a significance that requires no especial illustration. If the government of the United States should close their insurrectionary ports under the new statute, and Great Britain should, in pursuance of the intimation made, disregard the act, no one can suppose for a moment that the United States would acquiesce. When a conflict on such a question shall arrive between the United States and Great Britain, it is not easily to be seen what maritime nation could keep aloof from it. It must be confessed, therefore, that a new incident has occurred increasing the danger that what has hitherto been, and, as we think, ought to be, a merely domestic controversy of our own, may be enlarged into a general war among the great maritime nations. Hence the necessity for endeavoring to bring about a more perfect understanding between the United States and Great Britain for the regulation of their mutual relations than has yet been attained.

In attempting that important object I may be allowed to begin by affirming that the President deprecates, as much as any citizen of either country or any friend of humanity throughout the world can deprecate, the evil of foreign wars, to be superinduced, as he thinks unnecessarily, upon the painful civil conflict in which we are engaged for the purpose of defending and maintaining our national authority over our own disloyal citizens.

I may add, also, for myself, that however otherwise I may at any time have been understood, it has been an earnest and profound solicitude to avert foreign war; that alone has prompted the emphatic and sometimes, perhaps, impassioned remonstrances I have hitherto made against any form or measure of recognition of the insurgents by the government of Great Britain. I write in the same spirit now; and I invoke on the part of the British government, as I propose to exercise on my own, the calmness which all counsellors ought to practise in debates which involve the peace and happiness of mankind.

The United States and Great Britain have assumed incompatible, and thus far irreconcilable, positions on the subject of the existing insurrection.

The United States claim and insist that the integrity of the republic is unbroken, and that their government is supreme so far as foreign nations are concerned, as well for war as for peace, over all the States, all sections, and all citizens, the loyal not more than the disloyal, the patriots and the insurgents alike. Consequently they insist that the British government shall in no way intervene in the insurrection, or hold commercial or other intercourse with the insurgents in derogation of the federal authority.

The British government, without having first deliberately heard the claims of the United States, announced, through a proclamation of the Queen, that it took notice of the insurrection as a civil war so flagrant as to divide this country into two belligerent parties, of which the federal government constitutes one and the disloyal citizens the other; and consequently it inferred a right of Great Britain to stand in an attitude of neutrality between them.

It is not my purpose at this time to vindicate the position of the United States, nor is it my purpose to attempt to show to the government of Great Britain that its position is indefensible.

The, question at issue concerns the United States primarily, and Great Britain only secondarily and incidentally. It is, as I have before said, a question of the integrity, which is nothing less than the life of the republic itself.

The position which the government has taken has been dictated, therefore, by the law of self-preservation. No nation animated by loyal sentiments and inspired by a generous ambition can even suffer itself to debate with parties within or without a policy of self-preservation. In assuming this position and the policy resulting from it, we have done, as I think, just what Great Britain herself must, and therefore would do if a domestic insurrection should attempt to detach Ireland, or Scotland, or England from the United Kingdom, while she would hear no argument nor enter into any debate upon the subject. Neither adverse opinions of theoretical writers, nor precedents drawn from the practice of other nations, or, even if they could be, from her own, would modify her course, which would be all the more vigorously followed if internal resistance should fortify itself with alliances throughout the world. This is exactly the case now with the United States.

So, for obvious reasons, I refrain from argument to prove to the government of Great Britain the assumed error of the position it has avowed.

First. Argument from a party that maintains itself to be absolutely right, and resolved in no case to change its convictions, becomes merely controversial. Secondly. Such argument would be only an indirect way of defending our own position, which is unchangeable. Thirdly. The position of Great Britain has been taken upon the assumption of a certain degree of probability of success by the insurgents in arms; and it must be sooner or later abandoned, as that probability shall diminish and ultimately cease, while in any case that circumstance does not affect our position or the policy which we have adopted. It must, therefore, be left to Great Britain to do what we have done,

namely, survey the entire field, with the consequences of her course deemed by us to be erroneous, and determine as those consequences develop themselves how long that course shall be pursued.

While, however, thus waiving controversy on the main point, I am tempted by a sincere conviction that Great Britain really must desire, as we do, that the peace of the world may not be unnecessarily broken, to consider the attitude of the two powers, with a view to mutual forbearance, until reconciliation of conflicting systems shall have become in every event impossible.

The British government will, I think, admit that so soon as its unexpected, and, as we regard it, injurious position assumed in the Queen's proclamation became known to us, we took some pains to avert premature or unnecessary collision, if it could be done without sacrificing any part of the sovereignty which we had determined in every event to defend. We promptly renewed the proposition which, fortunately for both parties, we had tendered before that proclamation was issued, to concede as one whole undivided sovereignty to Great Britain, as a friend, all the guarantees for her commerce that she might claim as a neutral from this government as one of her two imagined belligerents. It seemed to us that these two great and kindred nations might decline to be dogmatic, and act practically with a view to immediate peace and ultimate good understanding.

So, on the other hand, it is my duty to admit, as I most frankly do, that the directions given by the British government that our blockade shall be respected, and that favor or shelter shall be denied to insurgent privateers, together with the disallowance of the application of the insurgent commissioners, have given us good reason to expect that our complete sovereignty, though theoretically questioned in the Queen's proclamation, would be practically respected. Lord Lyons, as you are aware, proposed to read to me a despatch which he had received from his government, affirming the

position assumed in the Queen's proclamation, and deducing from that position claims as a neutral to guarantees of safety to British commerce less than those we had, as I have already stated, offered to her as a friend. I declined, as you have been advised, to hear the communication, but nevertheless renewed through you, as I consistently could, the offer of the greater guarantees before tendered.

The case then seemed to me to stand thus: The two nations had, indeed, failed to find a common ground or principle on which they could stand together; but they had succeeded in reaching a perfect understanding of the nature and extent of their disagreement, and in finding a line of mutual, practical forbearance. It was under this aspect of the positions of the two governments that the President thought himself authorized to inform Congress on its coming together on the 4th of July instant, in extra session that the sovereignty of the United States was practically respected by all nations.

Nothing has occurred to change this condition of affairs, unless it be the attitude which Lord John Russell has indicated for the British government in regard to an apprehended closing of the insurrectionary ports, and the passage of the law of Congress which authorizes that measure in the discretion of the President.

It is my purpose not to anticipate or even indicate the decision which will be made, but simply to suggest to you :what you may properly and advantageously say while the subject is under consideration. First. You will, of course, prevent misconception of the measure by stating that the law only authorizes the President to close the ports in his discretion, according as he shall regard exigencies now existing or hereafter to arise.

Secondly. The passage of the law, taken in connexion with attendant circumstances, does not necessarily indicate a legislative conviction that the ports ought to be closed, but only shows the purpose of Congress that the closing of the ports, if it is now or shall become necessary, shall not fail for want of

power explicitly conferred by law. When, on the 13th of April last, disloyal citizens defiantly inaugurated an armed insurrection by the bombardment of Fort Sumter, the President's constitutional obligation to suppress the insurrection became imperative.

But the case was new, and had not been adequately provided for by express law. The President called military and naval forces into activity, instituted a blockade, and incurred great expense, for all which no direct legal provisions existed. He convened Congress at the earliest possible day to confirm these measures, if they should see fit.

Congress, when it came together, confronted these facts. It has employed itself less in directing how and in what way the Union shall be maintained, than in confirming what the President had already done, and in putting into his hands more ample means and greater power than he has exercised or asked.

The law in question was passed in this generous and patriotic spirit. Whether it shall be put into execution to-day or to-morrow, or at what time, will depend on the condition of things at home and abroad, and a careful weighing of the advantages of so stringent a measure against those which are derived from the existing blockade.

Thirdly. You may assure the British government that no change of policy now pursued, injuriously affecting foreign commerce, will be made from motives of aggression against nations which practically respect the sovereignty of the United States, or without due consideration of all the circumstances, foreign as well as domestic, bearing upon the question. The same spirit of forbearance towards foreign nations, arising from a desire to confine the calamities of the unhappy contest as much as possible, and to bring it to a close by the complete restoration of the authority of the government as speedily as possible, that have

hitherto regulated the action of the government will continue to control its counsels.

On the other hand, you will not leave it at all doubtful that the President fully adheres to the position that this government so early adopted, and which I have so continually throughout this controversy maintained; consequently he fully agrees with Congress in the principle of the law which authorizes him to close the ports which have been seized by the insurgents, and he will put into execution and maintain it with all the means at his command, at the hazard of whatever consequences, whenever it shall appear that the safety of the nation requires it.

I cannot leave the subject without endeavoring once more, as I have so often done before, to induce the British government to realize the conviction which I have more than once expressed in this correspondence, that the policy of the government is one that is based on interests of the greatest importance, and sentiments of the highest virtue, and therefore is in no case likely to be changed, whatever may be the varying fortunes of the war at home or the action of foreign nations on this subject, while the policy of foreign States rests on ephemeral interests of commerce or of ambition merely. The policy of these United States is not a creature of the government but an inspiration of the people, while the policies of foreign States are at the choice mainly of the governments presiding over them. If, through error, on whatever side this civil contention shall transcend the national bounds and involve foreign States, the energies of all commercial nations, including our own, will necessarily be turned to war, and a general carnival of the adventurous and the reckless of all countries, at the cost of the existing commerce of the world, must ensue. Beyond that painful scene upon the seas there lie, but dimly concealed from our vision, scenes of devastation and desolation which will leave no roots remaining out of which trade between the United States and Great Britain, as it has hitherto flourished, can ever again spring up.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

July 22, 1861 (Monday)

“Private

Washington,
July 22nd, 1861.

My dear Sir Alexander

The main Army of the United States under General McDowell was totally defeated yesterday near a place called Bull’s Run about thirty miles from Washington, by the Confederate forces under General Beauregard. I know little for certain except the fact that the rout was complete. I do not suppose that this in any degree affects our line of conduct, but it may be convenient to you to know the fact, as the newspapers will not probably state it fairly.

I send you a letter from Fort Pickens which has been going the round of the newspapers, and has created some sensation. There is nothing in your instructions the least like the definition of the Blockade attributable to you. I have said, when asked, that whatever may be thought of the definition, you are not responsible for it.

I send you also an Act of Congress empowering the President to close the Southern Ports by Proclamation. You will see that it does not come into operation unless the President issues the Proclamation. This it is hoped he will not do. Lord John Russell mentioned in the House of Commons that he had sent you instructions about a similar matter in New Granada—I do not think we are called upon to resist by force an attempt to close of the Ports of the South by the United States, without positive instructions from Her Majesty’s Govt. I suppose our line would be to observe and report home.

M. Mercier (the French Minister here) will I believe write today to Admiral Reynaud to advise

him not to bring his squadron to New York or to any considerable place in the United States. This is entirely in accordance with my opinion.

I have to thank you for private letters of the 10th and 15th.

The Blockade is anything but regular. I am ordered not to enter into a contentious correspondence with the United States Government upon individual cases in which irregularities occur but to send information home.

Believe me to be,
My dear Sir Alexander
Your very sincerely
Lyons

Rear Admiral
Sir Alexander Milne K.C.B.”

July 24, 1861 (Wednesday)

“Commodore Stringham, of the Federal blockading squadron, has issued a notification, advising vessels to keep off the Southern coast, as several small Confederate cruisers had been rather successful with several small craft which had ventured too near inshore. A letter from Fort Pickens of June 28, refers as follows to the British squadron:--

‘I wrote to you, some days ago, to the effect that Admiral Milne, of the British Navy, the Commander-in Chief of Her Britannic Majesty’s naval forces in North America, was giving especial attention to our blockade. The news is confirmed. A British steam-frigate has arrived here from Havana, and is now swinging from a pair of anchors in the berth occupied by the *Sabine*. The officer in command of the former vessel makes no secret of his mission. It is, he says, to see that the rights of English commerce are protected; and that the blockade must be such as will prevent “the entrance or departure of any craft to or from any harbor of the South, coaster, ocean trader, or tender.” This will be strange intelligence to the majority of *The Times*’ readers. The Treaty of Paris

has not laid down any rules by which we may know what is and what is not an effective blockade. Admiral Milne makes up for the deficiency. Here is his definition, as furnished to one of his subordinate commanders:

1. No port is blockaded efficiently, if any vessel can enter or depart from it, unknown to, or in spite of, the guarding men-of-war.

2. An efficient blockade necessitates the complete cutting off of all maritime ingress or egress, except in regard to harbor islands, having no outlet to the sea, save under the guns of the fleet.

3. The escape of the third vessel from the blockading squadron signals the invalidity of the blockade.' (London Times, July 24, 1861)

July 25, 1861 (Thursday)

“Important from Fort Pickens.
The British Admiral’s Opinion of the Blockade.
His Report to the British Admiralty.

He Considers the Blockade Totally Inefficient.

Affairs at the Fort—The Wilson Zouaves—They
Desire to Reconnoitre the Enemy’s Position, &c.

From our own correspondent.

Fort Pickens, Sunday, July 7, 1861.

Through a third party I have been endeavoring for some time to obtain something like the substance of a report of our blockade, made to the British Admiralty by Admiral Milne, the Commander-in-Chief of Her Britannic Majesty’s naval forces here. I had learned three things from undoubted authority: first, that Lord Paget had instructed the Admiral to detail vessels to look after the cutting off of egress to the Southern ports; second, that the Admiral had obtained one or two copies of Commodore Mervin’s official orders; third, that his Admiralty was reported in Havana to have laughed at the idea ‘of the United States being able to effectively cut off maritime communication with the harbors of revolted States.’

It seems to me, for several reasons, that the reply of the Commander-in Chief to the First Lord of the Admiralty would be a document of great importance to you, and I left no means untried to procure it. Owing to the industry of a subordinate officer of one of our gunboats, and to the kindness of one of our most loyal citizens in the Cuban capital, I am enabled to give you ‘the body and soul’ of Admiral Milne’s letter. Leaving out the verbiage, here is its substance:

I regret that it is my duty to discuss, in a measure, the nature of this so-called blockade. Representatives of the United States meet me with two statements, the force of which it will be for your lordships to decide. I am told by some that there is no pretensions on the part of the United States of a blockade existing; that the Government is merely *closing its own ports*, to do which they claim to have a perfect right. In direct conflict with this are all the official notifications of United States officers. Capt. Adams, for instance, writing on board the *Sabine*, on May 19, says in a letter to Gen. Bragg:

‘This (Pensacola) port is now strictly *blockaded*,’ &c.

Commodore Mervin’s announcements—I have not seen any of them—are said to be similarly worded; and I am told that the President of the United States ‘publicly promulgated the blockade of all the ports south of Baltimore,’ (which is in the State of Maryland.)

A prominent feature of this alleged blockade is the complete absence of uniformity, order and regularity which has characterized it. The distance of several rendezvous of the naval fleet from Washington, the difficulty with which communication is kept up, and the immense extent of the coast line to be guarded, are represented as the causes which necessitated the United States Government to leave the date of blockade, and the commencement of it, to the discretion of the commanders of the men-of-war. No date was laid

down on which the cessation of general commercial intercourse was to stop, and ports situated within a day's sail of each other have been for weeks blockaded, and not blockaded, at the same time.

The confusion arising from this state of things can be imagined by your lordships. On the 19th of May, as you will see by the inclosed circular, the blockade of Pensacola began; yet, up to the 30th of that month, vessels freely obtained admission, some had leave to do so, others were not even overhauled, and others, still, seemed to defy the cruisers. One bark, ordered off from the Pensacola entrance, through an unknown instrumentality, found out that Mobile was not guarded, and immediately sailed for and arrived at that place, where her cargo was disposed of. Five or six brigs, two barks and some fifteen or twenty schooners, also warned off by the fleet, moved to other harbors, and easily gained admission.

A grace of fifteen days was given to vessels under certain circumstances, which were so confusingly explained, that no one I have seen thus far could properly understand them. Three British ships, laden with cotton in the harbor of Mobile, were compelled to pack up and go away, to fulfill this requirement, while, under almost under similar circumstances, four barks and brigs were permitted to commence loading at another point, on the twentieth day after the announcement of the blockade.

The frequency of vessels escaping the vigilance, or rather the lack of vigilance of the United States squadron, are too numerous to be even named. I sent Capt. Von Donop, of the *Jason*, to look after the interests of our shipping, and to the efficiency of the blockading ships, in several ports. He mentions numerous cases of ships, barks, and brigs, escaping the cruisers. I learn that while a large American frigate—fully as formidable as the *St. George*, apparently—was under steam, off Charleston, a complete flotilla of small ocean traders and coasters continued to pass in to the city,

and out again, either regardless of, or insensible to, the presence of war ships.

The numerous facts establishing the perfect inefficiency of the men-of-war, in regard to the stopping of commercial intercourse with ports before which they have appeared, could be elaborated to a great length. But even now, [the Admiral, permit your correspondent to say, is writing about the 2d of June,) St. Marks, an important port, is not at all cut off from maritime trade, as one of my fleet saw all sorts of vessels enter and depart from it, without being impeded. Apalachicola was thronged with craft until a few days since, and four other ports are stated to be open to-day.

A regular steamer communication is constantly kept up between Savannah, an Important harbor in the State of Georgia, and some other port.

Above you have all the facts, which, I have reason to believe, are by this time before the English Government. The document from which I make this extract is said to be almost a perfect copy of the Admiral's official report, the nature of which is as fully understood in American and British circles in Havana, as we know the irrepressible tone of hostility towards our country which Britons give utterance to. It is right to say that, in order to make the Admiral's statement brief, I have not followed his exact and careful style.

* * *

The British fleet here is to be increased by the *Mersey*, *Ariadne*, *Challenger*, *Rinaldo* and *Driver*, and some thirteen gun-boats. There will then be over thirty-five vessels, manned by some 3,500 men, under the command of our friend, Admiral Milne.

TODD.”

(New York Times, July 25, 1861)

“37TH CONGRESS,
1ST SESSION. S. R. 10.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.
July 25, 1861.

Mr. Clark asked, and by unanimous consent obtained, leave to bring in the following joint resolution; which was read the first and second time, ordered to lie on the table, and be printed.

JOINT RESOLUTION

Declaratory of the determination of Congress to maintain the supremacy of the government and integrity of the Union.

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That we, as representatives of the people and States, respectively, do hereby declare our fixed determination to maintain the supremacy of the government and the integrity of the Union of all these United States; and to this end, as far as we may do so, we pledge the entire resources of the government and people, until all rebels shall submit to the one, and cease their efforts to destroy the other.”

July 26, 1861 (Friday)

“Arrival of the Steamship Great Eastern at Quebec
First Class Fare from Portland, Yarmouth and
Danville Junction to Quebec and return.
Tickets \$6.00
Good for One Week by any Regular Train with
a privilege of stopping over at the White Mountains.
Apply to Agents of Company, or
William Flowers
Eastern Agent, Bangor.
July 10
Bangor & Dexter Mail Stage”
(Bangor , July 26, 1861)

“[Extracts.]
No. 20.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, July 26, 1861.

Sir: At the close of my despatch, No.11, on the subject of my last conference with Lord John Russell, I mentioned my intention to write to Mr. Dayton, at Paris, to know whether he felt authorized to proceed in a simultaneous negotiation on the subject of the declaration of the congress at Paris. I have now to report that I executed my purpose on the 19th instant.

On the evening of the 24th I received a note from Mr. Dayton announcing his arrival in town and his wish to confer with me upon this matter. Yesterday morning I had the pleasure of a full and free conversation with him in the course of which we carefully compared our respective instructions and the action taken under them.

I am very glad he has taken the trouble to come over to see me, for I confess that I was a little embarrassed by not knowing the precise nature of his proposal to the French government at the time when I heard of it from Lord John Russell. Had I been informed of it I should perhaps have shaped my own course a little differently. So I doubt not that he would have been pleased to know more exactly my own proceedings as well as the more specific character of my instructions. An hour's interview has had the effect to correct our impressions better than could have been accomplished by an elaborate correspondence.

I can now perfectly understand as well as enter into the reasons which prompted his proposal of the declaration of Paris, connected as it was with the modification first suggested by Mr. Marcy. There can be no doubt that the attempt to secure such an extension of the application of the principle contained in the first point of that declaration was worth making, on the part of the new administration, particularly at a place where there was no reason to presume any disinclination to

adopt it. Neither did the reply of Mr. Thouvenel entirely preclude the hope of ultimate success, so far as the disposition of France may be presumed.

The obstacles, if any there are, must be inferred to have been thought to exist elsewhere. And an advance could be expected only when the efforts to remove them had been applied with effect in the proper quarter. It was, therefore, both natural and proper for Mr. Dayton, after having made his offer, and received such an answer, to wait patiently until it should become apparent that such efforts had been made, and made without success.

There can be no doubt that the opposition to this modification centres here. Independently of the formal announcement of Lord John Russell to me that the proposition was declined, I have, from other sources of information, some reason to believe that it springs from the tenacity of a class of influential persons, by their age and general affinities, averse to all sudden variations from established ideas. Such people are not to be carried away by novel reasoning, however forcible. We have cause to feel the presence of a similar power at home, though in a vastly reduced degree.

All modifications of the public law, however beneficent, naturally meet with honest resistance in these quarters for a time. It is to be feared that this may have the effect of defeating, at this moment, the application of the noble doctrines of the declaration of Paris, in the full expansion of which they are susceptible. But to my mind the failure to reach that extreme point will not justify the United States in declining to accept the good which is actually within their grasp. The declaration of the leading powers of civilized Europe, made at Paris in 1856, engrafted upon the law of nations for the first time great principles for which the government of the United States had always contended against some of those powers, and down to that time had contended in vain.

That great act was the virtual triumph of their policy all over the globe. It was the sacrifice,

on the part of Great Britain, of notions she had ever before held to with the most unrelenting rigidity. It would therefore seem as if any reluctance to acknowledge this practical amount of benefit, obtained on the mere ground that something remained to require, was calculated only to wither the laurels gained by our victory.

It would almost seem like a retrograde tendency to the barbarism of former ages. Surely it is not in the spirit of the reformed government in America to give countenance to any such impression. Whatever may have been the character of the policy in later years, the advent of another and a better power should be marked by a recurrence to the best doctrines ever proclaimed in the national history. And if it so happen that they are not now adopted by others to the exact extent that we would prefer, the obvious course of wisdom would seem to be to accept the good which can be obtained, and patiently to await another opportunity when a continuance of exertions in the same direction may enable us to secure everything that is left to be desired.

I think that Mr. Dayton has waited only to be convinced that his proposed modification cannot be secured before he acts upon the authority given him to accede to the declaration of Paris, pure and simple.

On my part, I have apprised him of the answer made to me by Lord John Russell at our last conference. But he wishes some evidence upon which he can rely a little more securely than a report of conversation. And considering the remarkable discrepancy in the recollection of the conferences with his lordship which has thus far taken place, I am not surprised. In order to meet this difficulty he has addressed to me a letter of inquiry, which I propose to answer. At the same time I design to address a letter to his lordship recapitulating the portion of his conversation that is in question, and informing him that, on the assumption that I understood him right, Mr. Dayton consents to proceed. This will, of course, render it

necessary for him to explain himself, if the fact should be otherwise.

Mr. Dayton will, of course, communicate directly with the department as to the later measures which he may think proper to take.

You will have been already informed by the newspapers of the changes which the ministry has undergone in consequence of the necessity imposed upon Lord Herbert by his failing health to retire from his post. As a consequence, Lord John Russell has been called to the House of Lords, though retaining his official station, and some shifting of other places has occurred.

The only new appointment is that of Sir Robert Peel.

* * *

But I have not time at the close of this communication to enter into any speculations so intimately connected with a general view of the state of affairs in the other countries of Europe as well as in the United States. I shall therefore reserve what views I may have to submit on this subject to a future opportunity.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.”

“[Confidential.]
No 46.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 26, 1861.

Sir:: My despatch, No. 42, dated July 21, was delayed beyond the proper mail day by circumstances entirely beyond my control. I trust, however, that it will still be in time.

Our army of the Potomac on Sunday last met a reverse equally severe and unexpected. For a day or two the panic which had produced the result was followed by a panic that seemed to threaten to demoralize the country. But that evil has ceased already. The result is already seen in a vigorous reconstruction upon a scale of greater magnitude and increased enthusiasm.

It is not likely that anything will now be done here, hastily or inconsiderately, affecting our foreign relations.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
.WILLIAM H. SEWARD.
OHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c.”

“London, July 25, 1861.

Sir: Yours of the 19th instant, enclosing a copy of Lord John Russell's of the 18th instant, was duly received by me at Paris. My powers to negotiate with France an accession by the United States to the treaty of Paris of 1856 are of the same general character as your own. Under those powers and the instructions received by me from Washington, I did propose such accession to the government of France, but with an addition to the first clause of the following words: ‘And the private property of subjects or citizens of one of the belligerents shall not be seized, upon the high seas, by the vessels of war of the other belligerents, unless it may be contraband of war.’ To this proposition I received an answer from the French minister of foreign affairs, dated June 20, 1861, the substance of which was that the French government declined to consider the proposition (inasmuch as it differed from the provisions of the treaty of Paris) unless it was addressed to all the powers who were parties to that convention. In the meantime I saw it stated in the public press of Europe that the British, French, Spanish, and Belgian governments had made a declaration of their intentions as respects their conduct towards the United States government and the insurgents of the south, and I was not

certain whether our government would desire, under the circumstances, that the proposition to accede to the treaty in question, without the amendment, should be made.

Your renewed instructions to proceed on the basis of that treaty are subsequent to and with a full knowledge by our government of the facts hereinbefore stated.

Under these circumstances, therefore, I feel authorized and required to proceed without further delay. Before, however, I shall communicate further with the French government, I wish to know whether Great Britain has, at your instance, or otherwise, considered the amendment of the treaty hereinbefore referred to. Before abandoning the hope of obtaining the incorporation, in our code of maritime law, of that great and humane principle, it seems to me desirable that we should have distinct assurance that the principle will not be admitted. I do not recollect that Great Britain has any time, heretofore, answered distinctly, if at all, upon that proposition, but seems rather to have avoided it. I think it desirable that that answer should be of record, (either in a note from or to you,) so that the responsibility may attach, through all time, where it properly belongs.

Immediately upon the receipt of your answer I will enclose a copy of your notes, in connection with that from Lord John Russell to the French government, and, as soon as heard from, advise you of its reply.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
WM. L. DAYTON.

His Excellency CHAS. F. ADAMS.”

“MR. GREGORY

The disruption of the American Republic was another circumstance which gave him hopes that they might at length be able to aim an effective blow at the slave trade. It was notorious that the real

traffickers in the flesh and blood of their fellow men were citizens of the Northern States. It was in Yankee ships, floated by Yankee capital, commanded by Yankee skippers, sailing forth on their abominable errand, with the connivance of bribed Yankee authorities, that this work of the devil was carried on. Lord Lyons writing to Lord John Russell in September, 1860, stated that within the previous 18 months 85 vessels had sailed from American ports to be employed in the slave trade. The captures made by the American squadron itself off the African coast from September, 1859, to October, 1860, consisted of 10 vessels, seven of which were from New York. Of 44 slavers which arrived at a certain part of the African coast within a limited period, 31 were American vessels. It was not surprising, under these circumstances, that Lord John Russell should have written in strong terms of the prostitution of the American flag. The noble Lord had conducted his correspondence with the American Government in a spirit which entitled him to the highest commendation from every person to whom humanity was dear. The reply of General Cass was couched in a style of flippant impertinence; but the rejoinder of the noble Lord—that as long as it was clear that the American flag was prostituted to the purposes of the slave trade—as long as that accursed traffic was mainly maintained by American citizens he would not cease to remonstrate with the American Government and people on the subject — was worthy of the Foreign Secretary of England.” (House of Commons [Hansard] July 26, 1861)

July 27, 1861 (Saturday)

General McClellan replaces General McDowell; the first remittance for the Confederate Navy reaches England (Bulloch 71)

July 29, 1861 (Monday)

“Private & Confidential

Monday Morning, July 29, 1861.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:

In conformity with the policy announced in Her Majesty’s Proclamation, I do think that the

British government should peremptorily forbid the raising of a loan, in the British Empire, for the prosecution of the Scott-Seward-Lincoln war against the Confederate States. That there is an authorized agent here for the accomplishment of such purpose is quite clear – All we desire is fair play. Money is “the screws of war,” and there can be no neutrality where it is furnished to a belligerent – with the consent of a neutral.

Belmont I learn is already here, and he is to be followed by Sherman.

If Great Britain wishes for a speedy termination to hostilities she should resolutely prohibit the rendering by her subjects of any assistance whatever to the North.

Ever your Friend

A. Dudley Mann.

W. H. Gregory Esq.
M.P. etc. etc. etc.”
(Emory University)

“No. 7. Department of State,
Richmond, July 29, 1861.

Hon. Wm. L. Yancey, Hon. P.A. Rost, Hon. A.D. Mann, Commissioners of the Confederate States, etc.

Gentlemen: It affords me extreme pleasure to announce to you in my first official communication the glorious victory achieved by our army over the forces of the United States, on Sunday, the 21st instant, at Manassas, in this State. The United States forces, computed at 60,000 men, commenced the attack along our entire line about six o'clock in the morning; and after a fierce contest, which lasted ten hours, the enemy was completely routed with a loss of 15,000 in killed, wounded, and missing. All his artillery, ammunition, and provisions were captured, together

with 2,500 prisoners, several regimental standards, and a flag of the United States.

Our army was commanded by Generals Beauregard and Johnston, and during the latter part of the action the President of the Confederate States was present in person.

The main attack was directed against the left of our army, which was commanded by General Joseph Johnston, and consisted of about 15,000 men of all arms. The force of the enemy at this point is computed to have been fully 35,000, among whom were some of the picked corps of the regular Army of the United States. It is impossible, in the absence of the official account of the battle, to give you an accurate and detailed description of it, but you will perceive from the dispatches sent to the War Department on the night of the battle, from the account published by the newspaper press, and from the admissions of the enemy's papers, copies of which we here inclose, that our victory was complete, and that the enemy's defeat was most disastrous. This great military success has been hailed with universal joy by the people of the Confederate States. It has inspired the bold defenders of our country's freedom and honor with renewed courage and vigor; it has removed the fears of the timid; it has silenced the voice of the feeble minority which existed in one or two of the Confederate States that still clung to the Federal Union as a compact which it was desirable to maintain; and it has proved beyond a doubt to all that the Confederate States can and will maintain their independence and successfully resist the efforts of the United States Government to compel them by force to submit against to a political union with the North.

For weeks previous to the battle of Manassas the Northern press teemed with boastful assurances of the vast superiority of the Federal Army over that of the Confederate States.

It was urged that the military authorities should attack us at once and 'press on to

Richmond;’ that the Army of the United States had but to come and see and conquer; and that our Army would disappear before it from fear to engage an adversary so superior in number, discipline, and equipment.

The result has proved how delusive was their confidence in their superiority and in our weakness.

The Executive Department with their archives, pursuant to a resolution of Congress approved May 21, having been removed from Montgomery to this city, were opened here for the transaction of business on the 15th of June.

It affords me gratification to inform you that since the date of the last dispatch sent by this Department both Virginia and Tennessee have been duly admitted members of the Confederacy, and its laws extend over them as fully and completely as over the other States composing the same. The ordinance of secession adopted by the convention of Virginia on the 17th of April last was submitted to the popular vote of that Commonwealth on the 30th of the following month, and sustained by a majority of more than 100,000. In Tennessee the question of separation and adoption of the Constitution for the Provisional Government of the Confederate States, proposed by the General Assembly of the State for submission to the people, was on the 8th ultimo decided in the affirmative by a majority of over 60,000. This near approach to unanimity of sentiment amongst the qualified voters of these two States has fully met the expectations of the most sanguine friends of our cause, and confirmed the worst fears of its enemies.

The occupation of Missouri and Maryland by the United States troops, and the forcible disarming of their citizens by the direction of the authorities at Washington, have thus far, it seems, rendered it impracticable for those States finally to sever their connection with the late Federal Union or maintain their sovereignty inviolate. The very presence, however, of those troops, and the many

acts of outrage perpetrated by them upon the unarmed people of those States, have aroused a spirit of indignation and resistance against their oppressors, and they only await a favorable moment to rise in their strength and force the invaders from their soil.

As one of the many acts of outrage complained of, and one that will appeal most forcibly to the sympathy and understanding of every free people, I would here refer to the right claimed and exercised by the President of United States not only to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* himself, at his discretion, but to delegate that arbitrary power to a military officer and leave to the latter the option of obeying judicial process that may be served upon him.

The eminent and venerable Chief Justice Taney, of the U.S. Supreme Court, whose purity of character and whose great legal ability are acknowledged by all, has in a recent decision [*ex parte* of Jno. Merryman] clearly exposed the unconstitutionality of the proceedings, and has judicially declared that obedience to the writ would in that instance have been enforced, if it were not certain that the *posse* summoned to enforce it would be resisted by military force.

Already the Governor of Missouri, incited by repeated acts of wanton aggression upon the citizens of his State, has issued a proclamation inviting 50,000 of her citizens to arm themselves and expel the Federal troops from her boundaries; and there is good reason to hope that this object will be speedily attained.

In Maryland, resolutions were adopted at the recent session of her Legislature instructing the Representatives from that State to the U.S. Congress that assembled at Washington on the 4th instant to vote for the prompt recognition of the independence of the Confederate States.

Your dispatch of May 21, numbered 1, and those of June 1 and May 10, both unnumbered, have

been received and communicated to the President. I see no reason to make any change in the instructions which you have already received from this Department. The purpose and general policy of the Government of the Confederate States remains unchanged. I have not dwelt upon the questions at issue between this Government and that of the United States, but have simply desired to furnish you with such facts and events of recent date as are deemed of interest.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R.M.T. Hunter

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

“[Confidential.]
No. 49.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 29, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of July 12, 1861, No 14, has been received.

Your proposition of making a distinct appeal to the British government on the subject of the issue between it and this government, upon the questions so long discussed, is approved. We shall look with much interest for the answer of that government.

You will hear of a reverse of our arms in Virginia. The exaggerations of the result have been as great as the public impatience, perhaps, which brought it about. But the affair will not produce any serious injury. The strength of the insurrection is not broken, but it is not formidable. The vigor of this government will be increased, and the ultimate result will be a triumph of the Constitution. Do not be misled by panic reports of danger apprehended for the capital.

Some important points in your despatch will be treated of in another paper.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c..”

“LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, July 29, 1861.

My Lord: I have the honor now to inform your lordship that, in consonance with the intention expressed in my note of the 19th instant, I have written to Mr. Dayton, at Paris, touching the extent of his powers to negotiate upon the same basis proposed by me to you, with the government of France to which he is accredited. I have also to say that since the date of my writing I have had the pleasure to converse personally with him as well as to receive a letter from him in answer to my inquiry.

Mr. Dayton informs me that, some time since, he made a proposal to the French government to adopt the declaration of the congress of Paris in 1856, with an addition to the first clause, in substance the same with that heretofore proposed by his predecessor, Mr. Mason, under instructions given by Mr. Marcy, then the Secretary of State of the United States. To that proposal he received an answer from the French minister of foreign affairs declining to consider the proposition, not for any objection entertained against it, but because it was a variation from the terms of the original agreement requiring a prior reference of it to the other parties to that convention. This answer does not, in his opinion, make the ultimate acceptance of his addition impossible, and he does not feel as if he ought to abandon the support of what he considers as so beneficent an amendment to the original plan until he has reason to despair of success. He has therefore requested to know of me whether I have reason to believe perseverance in this direction to be fruitless.

For my part I entirely concur in the view entertained by Mr. Dayton of the value of this amendment. I also know so well the interest that my

government takes in its adoption as to be sure that it would refuse to justify a further procedure on our part which was not based upon a reasonable certainty that success is not attainable, at least at the present moment. I have, therefore, ventured to state to Mr. Dayton my belief that I have that certainty. I have therefore mentioned to him, what I have likewise communicated to the proper department of the government of the United States, the fact that in the last conference I had the honor to hold with your lordship, allusion having been made to the amendment of Mr. Dayton, I said that that amendment was undoubtedly the first wish of my government, and that I had instructions to press it if there was the smallest probability of success, but that I supposed this matter to have been already definitively acted upon. To which I understood your lordship to signify your assent, and to add that I might consider the proposition as inadmissible. If I have made no mistake in reporting the substance of what passed between us, Mr. Dayton tells me he is satisfied, and expresses his readiness to proceed on the basis proposed by me to your lordship with the French government. But in order to remove all probability of misconception between him and myself, I have taken the liberty of recalling your lordship's attention to the matter before it may be too late. Should there have been any essential error of fact on the main point, I trust your lordship will do me the favor to set me right.

Should it happen, on the contrary, that I am correct, I believe it will not be necessary to interpose any delay in the negotiation for further reference to the government of the United States. Mr. Dayton will take the necessary steps to apprise the government of the Emperor of the French of his intention to accede to the declaration of Paris, pure and simple, and the negotiations may be carried on simultaneously in both countries as soon as the necessary arrangements can be perfected on the respective sides.

However my government may regret that it has not been able to expand the application of the principles of the declaration of Paris to the extent

which it deems desirable, it is too well convinced of the great value of the recognition actually given to those principles by the great powers of Europe in that act, longer to hesitate in giving in its cordial adhesion. But it ardently cherishes the hope that time and the favoring progress of correct opinion may before long bring about opportunities for additional development of the system they initiate, through the co-operation of all maritime nations of the earth, and most especially of one so enlightened and philanthropic as Great Britain.

Renewing the assurances of my highest consideration, I have the honor to be your lordship's most obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

The Right Hon. Lord JOHN RUSSELL, &c., &c.,
&c.”

“Private

Admiralty
Monday 29 July 1861

Dear Admiral Milne

The act passed by the United States which only arrived here the other day, appears to be an attempt to secure the advantages of a blockade of the ports of the confederate states, without the necessity of rendering that blockade effective; it also in the second section establishes custom houses on board vessels at sea. These enactments have serious consequences. The instructions given by Commodore Dunlop on the 30 April 1861 in reference to certain ports in New Granada were approved by the Secretary of State for foreign affairs, after having been referred to the law officers for their opinion. The political position of those ports appears to be almost identical with those of the Southern States at present. The British & French governments will, I believe act together in the policy now to be pursued. Their remonstrances and reference to the laws and usages of civilised nations may however have little effect upon the government

of the United States urged on by the excitement of the people. The establishment of custom houses on board ships at sea is a proceeding also of doubtful legality. On this matter, the opinion of the law officers both here & at Paris will probably be asked. Under these circumstances, it is deemed necessary to strengthen your force. This letter will accordingly go by the Diadem and the Immortalite will follow in a day or two. Further re-enforcements will be sent, unless more satisfactory information is received within a few days. In so grave a state of affairs, I feel confidence in your judgment, for while we cannot allow a proceeding so openly at variance with the law of nations to be adopted by the United States, which we had already refused to admit in the case of new Granada, yet we shall be anxious to take advantage of the interval which the act of the U.S. authorities, to bring the subject under consideration of the President, before he exercises the illegal authority with which he has been invested. I trust that by the next mail, I may be able to send you more satisfactory intelligence; in the meantime you must caution the officers in command of the detached ships, so that the calm and deliberate measures of the government may not be frustrated by any premature act, which would further complicate a state of affairs already most embarrassing.

Believe me, yours very faithfully, Somerset.”

July 31, 1861 (Wednesday)

“List of Americans in Paris – Hamilton E. Towle, do., “(NY is the address of prior listed person) & “American Register of John Munroe & Co., Paris - . . . Mr, Hamilton E. Towle, Boston;” (London American, July 31, 1861)

“We have taken up our abode at No. 5 Mansfield St. Portland Place, in the finest house the embassy has occupied in my time. It is the property of Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, late under Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs, & contains some splendid and valuable pictures.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

“ FOREIGN OFFICE, July 31, 1861.

Sir: I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 29th instant, in which you inform me that Mr. Dayton, some time since, made a proposal to the French government to adopt the declaration of the congress of Paris in 1856, with an addition to the first clause, in substance the same with that heretofore proposed by his predecessor, Mr. Mason, under instructions given by Mr. Marcy, then the Secretary of State of the United States. After giving an account of the reception given to that proposition by the French government, and the value attached to it by Mr. Dayton and yourself, you proceed to state that in a conversation with me you told me that the addition proposed was the first wish of your government, and that you had instructions to press it if there was the smallest probability of success, but that you supposed this matter to have been already definitively acted upon. You represent me as signifying my assent, and adding that I considered the proposition as inadmissible.

So far as I am concerned, this statement is perfectly correct.

You go on to inform me that in the case of your statement being correct, Mr. Dayton will take the necessary steps to apprise the French government of his intention to accede to the declaration of Paris, 'pure and simple, and that the negotiations may be carried on simultaneously in both countries as soon as the necessary arrangements can be perfected on the respective sides.'

You will doubtless recollect that in my letter of the 18th instant, I stated that 'her Majesty's government are of opinion that they should be assured that the United States are ready to enter into a similar engagement with France, and with the other maritime powers who are parties to the declaration of Paris, and do not propose to make simply and separately a convention with Great Britain only.'

But as I agreed in the same letter to waive this assurance, and as I conclude, in point of fact, the United States are willing to sign similar conventions shall be ready to carry on the negotiations as soon as with all the states parties to the declaration of Paris, I the necessary arrangements can be perfected in London and Paris, so that the conventions may be signed simultaneously at those two capitals.

I need scarcely add that on the part of Great Britain the engagement will be prospective, and will not invalidate anything already done.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

J. RUSSELL.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c.”

August 1, 1861 (Thursday)

D.C. Lowber “passed through New York en route for Liverpool about the 1st of August as bearer of dispatches from the Confederate States to France and England.” (Mary Lowber Schultz’ letter to Seward of August 24, 1861.)

“London, August 1, 1861.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:--

Yours of the 30th was received yesterday. I observed with great pleasure your question to Lord Palmerston – As yet I have not been enabled to see Mr. Osborne. I will endeavor to do so to-day.

I never was in a more impatient state of anxiety than at this very moment. It is very certain that a great battle has been fought at Manassas Junction. A gentleman who entered yesterday from New-Orleans assures me that we have two hundred thousand troops in Virginia – 60,000 of which are at Manassas, excellently well armed. I am quite

confident, as I ever have been, with respect to the final result.

If we win at Manassas Lincoln will not succeed in raising a dollar here. I interpret the telegraphic accounts of the 19th and 20th, from New-York, favorably.

I trust you are in the enjoyment of the repose which you so much need, and so much deserve, after your arduous labor.

The mind of the Emperor of the French, I have best of reasons for believing, has been employed recently with the American question. If we are _____ victorious, in the first great engagement, he will, almost certainly, enter into diplomatic relations with us – at once. Spain, perhaps, is peculiarly desirous for such a consummation.

Trusting that you will do me the honor to write to me freely and frequently, I remain, My Dear Mr. Gregory,

Yours Cordially and Faithfully,

A. Dudley Mann.”
(Emory University)

“No. 4 London, August 1, 1861.

Hon. Robert Toombs, etc.

Sir: The means of sending our last dispatch, No. 3, dated 15th July, having unexpectedly failed, and an opportunity offering at this time which we deem to be reliable, we avail ourselves of it to add that since that date nothing has occurred here or in France to alter the views therein expressed. We are confirmed in the opinion that upon the question of neutrality both the English and French Governments are firm and sincere in the stand they have taken, and that they will recognize the independence of the Confederate States of America as soon as the

inability of the Government of the United States to subdue them is manifested on the field.

The probabilities of a reconstruction of the Union have outweighed, in the view of these Governments, the wisdom, energy and completeness of the Government which the Southern States have erected in lieu of the late Union.

We have reason to believe that the antislavery sentiment so universally prevalent here no longer interferes with a proper judgment of this contest, and now its diplomatic solution will depend purely upon the question of the ability of the Confederate States to maintain the Government they have instituted.

We have reason to believe that the blockade is watched closely and with increasing interest by this Government, and that the most rigid interpretations of international law will be applied to its consideration. We have good reason to think that in the French Cabinet, at least, there is a disposition to take the ground that when a nation blockades its own ports that nation must invest such ports both by land and sea before it can exclude neutral commerce and establish an effective blockade.

We have information which we deem reliable that this Government has sent out to its squadron on the American coast a number of flags.

The Commission has felt almost daily the want of contingent funds, and even of authority to employ and send dispatches by special paid agents.

It has no authoritative information of affairs in the Confederate States since your dispatch No. 6, and all our sources of information are the New York and Baltimore papers. The diplomatic representatives of the United States, we have every reason to believe, have a large contingent fund, which is freely used in obtaining information of the movements of every agent or friend of the Confederate States, and this, in addition to their being representatives of a

recognized Government, with high salaries and distinguished position, places the agent of the Confederate States here at a great disadvantage.

Great as those disadvantages and embarrassments are, however, we have some reason to believe that the greatly altered and more favorable tone of public sentiment, both here and in France, has been, in some measure, owing to our exertions. So satisfied have we been that both the English and French Governments entertain decided views upon the question of recognition of the Confederate States of America, only to be affected by military events in Virginia, that we have felt it to be useless and unwise to press that issue further than we have already done until some event decidedly favorable to the Confederate cause shall have happened. When we receive properly authenticated information of such an event, we shall press for a decision upon that question.

In the meantime we shall not relax our exertions to keep the public mind and this Government properly informed as to the true character of the issues involved in the great contest, and of the advantages of an early recognition of the Confederate States.

Our colleague, Mr. Rost, is yet in Paris.

We have the honor to be sir, your very obedient servants,

W. L. Yancey,
A. Dudley Mann.” (A
Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the
Confederacy)

“Ld. John Russell has written Mr. Adams expressing the consent of this Gov’t to enter into a Treaty with the U.S. to consist of the four articles of the Declaration of Paris of 1856; but with a sort of mental reservation that the convention is to be *prospective* only. This is a trick. What dirty object is aimed at we don’t exactly know; but there is something favorable to Southern Piracy contemplated by the condition. The hint of such a

thing creates distrust, & it is quite clear Mr. Adams won't accept it." (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

August 2, 1861 (Friday)

"The Great Eastern at Quebec – The arrival of the Great Eastern at Quebec excited great interest. No sooner was her approach telegraphed from Father Point than every available (sic) craft was pressed into service to welcome the levithian (sic) – the Mayor, the city corporation, the members of the Board of Trade, the Chief Commissioner of Public Works, and other official personages of the city taking the lead on board the Napoleon. The excursionists in all the steamers had nearly reached the further end of the Island of Orleans, when a dense cloud of smoke in the distance told that something unusual (sic) was at hand. All the telescopes and opera glasses on board were at once directed to the horizon, and very soon the Great Eastern was distinctly made out. Her great breadth, as she came up, stem on, was the first thing marked. As she came nearer, her six great masts, destitute of yards – her five huge funnels – her paddle-boxes, themselves bigger than many a river steamer, her numerous boats, all became visible, when, putting on full steam for the moment, she moved majestically past, and her full grandeur became apparent, as without the slightest "swell" she cut through the calm waters of the St. Lawrence. The feelings of delight, of national pride, burst forth in hearty cheers from all, which were no less heartily returned by the soldiers and passengers who crowded the decks, and filled even the boats as they hung from her massive davits. The bands then played national airs; the Great Eastern acknowledged the compliment by a salute; she slowed her engines to accommodate her speed to that of the steamers that had come out to meet her, and, accompanied by them, she proceeded to Quebec. There every wharf was crowded; the batteries; the glacis, even the citadel, manned by numerous hosts of people, admiring the sight as the big ship moved up, dwarfing into nothingness by comparison not only the timber sheets in port, but even the magnificent Golden Fleece herself. She glided up to her berth without the slightest accident,

though the harbour was pretty full and the water alive with steam, sail and row boats, and dropped her anchors somewhat above the Queen's-wharf, at about 7 o'clock, making the passage from Liverpool in about nine days." (*The Liverpool Telegraph*, August 2, 1861)

"No. 22.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, August 2, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit the copy of a note addressed by me, on the 29th of July last, to Lord John Russell, and likewise a copy of his lordship's reply. I must frankly admit that I do not understand the meaning of the last paragraph.

I have transmitted a copy of his lordship's note to Mr. Dayton. I doubt not that it will be deemed by him so far satisfactory as to induce him to take the necessary measures for a simultaneous negotiation as soon as the customary arrangements with the French government can be made.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Hon. WM. H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D.C."

"No. 24.] Paris, August 2, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch No. 27 was not received by me until after my return' from London.

By my note to Mr. Adams, written in London, and to be found in despatch No. 22, you will find your instructions were anticipated by my action; that immediately upon learning, from a reliable source, what were the views of the government in regard to an accession to the treaty of Paris, expressed with full knowledge of facts occurring since its original instructions to me, I at once took measures to comply with them, without

attempting to balance the suggestions of my own mind against its known wishes. But I confess that in a matter of such grave importance as an accession by the United States to that treaty, I did want those wishes distinctly expressed with full knowledge of the facts. You will observe, by the copy of a communication to the minister of foreign affairs, (marked A,) and hereunto annexed, that I have already moved in the matter here.

* * *

With much respect, I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

WM. L. DAYTON.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.”

“PARIS, August 2, 1861.

SIR: I had the honor to inform your excellency some time since that I was authorized, upon the part of the United States, to treat with any person or persons authorized by the Emperor concerning the principles of maritime law which affect neutral and belligerent rights at sea, and other matters connected therewith, of interest to the two nations, and on the 31st of May last proposed to your excellency an accession by the United States to the treaty of Paris of 1856, with certain words of addition thereto.

Under date of 26th of June last I received a reply from your excellency stating that the protocols of the congress of Paris impose upon all the powers who signed the declaration of the 16th of April the obligation not to negotiate, separately, upon the application of maritime rights in time of war, any arrangement which differed from the declaration resolved upon in common, and that, as a consequence, it would be necessary that my offer include the other powers signing the declaration before it would be considered.

At the time the foregoing offer was made I made some reason to believe that it might be accepted by all the powers who negotiated that treaty, but subsequent information (the nature of which I have explained to you) has satisfied me that this was an error.

The government of the United States would have preferred the incorporation in the treaty of the amendment before referred to; and when there shall be any hope for the adoption of that beneficent feature by the necessary parties as a principle of the law of nations, the United States will not only be ready to agree to it, but even to propose it, and to lead in the necessary negotiations.

Under existing circumstances I am satisfied that I would not be justified in further delaying negotiations for an accession by the United States to the treaty of Paris of 1856, in the vain hope that the amendment in question, if proposed to all the powers, would, at present, be accepted. I have the honor, therefore, to apprise your excellency that I am prepared, on the part of the government of the United States, and hereby propose to your excellency, to enter into a convention with the Emperor of the French for accession by the United States to the 'declaration concerning maritime law' adopted by the plenipotentiaries of France, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey, at Paris, on the 16th of April, 1856, and that I have special authority for this purpose from the President of the United States, dated 26th of April last, which shall be happy to submit to your excellency. I beg likewise, in this connection, to say to your excellency that a like proposition has been made by Mr. Adams to her Britannic Majesty, and herewith I deem it proper to enclose you a copy of the reply of Lord John Russell.

With much respect, I have the honor to be
your very obedient servant,

WM. L. DAYTON.

MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE.”

August 3, 1861 (Saturday)

“The Great Eastern. *Le Journal de Quebec* of Tuesday, says that the number of visitors to the big ship, up to that time, amounted to over 13,000. Above 400 first-class state-rooms have already been engaged for Europe.” (New York Times, August 3, 1861)

“Charleston, S.C., August 3, 1861.

Hon. R.M.T. Hunter, etc.

Dear Sir: I arrived here yesterday, and communicated to the Consuls of England and France the result of my visit, at which they represent their great gratification. I informed them that while the President did not decline to receive their communication, he was disappointed that their Governments should have adopted so irregular a mode of communication, especially as the importance of the subject-matter was the strongest proof of the necessity of placing the relations of the Governments upon a regular and recognized policy, and that even if there was reason under present circumstances for such informal communication, he was disappointed that his representatives who were accredited, though not recognized in England and France, were not made the channel of such communication. I then stated the nature of the action taken, the character of the resolutions, &c., and added that, while willing to manifest his respect for the maritime law of the world, the President did not feel that England and France were acting conformity with the spirit of these articles while they excluded our prizes from their ports; for such an expulsion was impartial only in appearance, and also that he hoped that the same anxiety which led to the desire on their part for the accession of the Confederate States to these principles would induce them to watch with the utmost strictness the violation of the rule in relation to blockade by the United States. In reply to their inquiry as the responsibility of the Government with regard to privateers, I said I had no authority to say more than the instructions to our privateers contained, in a spirit the most considerate to neutrals, and that the characters and conduct of the Confederate States

were the only guarantees and the best; and I furnished them copies of the instructions.

The English Consul showed me this morning the copy of the dispatch which would be sent separately but identically to their Governments, in which the points stated above are already explained. The language as to the blockade was even stronger than I had suggested, stating that the President confidently expected that the principle accepted would be vigorously applied to the United States. Mr. Burch [Bunch] also expressed the hope of the Confederate Government: that the policy of excluding our prizes would be reconsidered. After the conversation was over I asked the French Consul if he felt authorized to tell me whether or not Mr. St. Andre, his successor, was instructed to apply for his exequatur at Washington. Mr. St. Andre, who was present, said I was at liberty to inform you unofficially that he had not done so, and had purposely avoided going to Washington on his way South, so as not to have the question made there; that he had come here directly, and would wait here, he supposed, until it was time to ask the exequatur from the Government. This is very nearly his answer in words, and I think it quite as precise as I had a right to expect. I have no idea of his applying elsewhere for his exequatur. Mr. Burch [Bunch] informed me that he had forwarded the most minute information to Lord John Russell (sending duplicates to Admiral Milne) of the condition of the blockade in North and South Carolina ports, showing that it was utterly and ludicrously ineffectual; that, for example, ninety-five (95) ships had entered the North Carolina ports since the declaration.

He also said that if you saw fit to require your collector to furnish you with a history of the blockade at each port he could forward such a summary privately to Lord John Russell. Such a history you might embody in a dispatch to our Commissioners, and send him a copy, which would be transmitted.

The dispatches from the Consuls will be sent as soon as they obtain copies of the resolutions.

Yours very truly and respectfully,

William Henry Trescott.

Burch [Bunch] showed me a letter from Russell, the correspondent of the Times, written just after the battle of Manassas, at which he was present. He says: 'It was the most dastardly, cowardly, and ruffianly rout I ever witnessed.'" (A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

August 5, 1861 (Monday)

"Navy Department, August 5, 1861.

Sir: I am embarrassed as to the instructions I am to give our naval officers in relation to the interdiction of commerce with the ports in the insurgent States. If the interdiction is to be by blockade, then the rules and principles of international law must govern; the Confederate States must be considered and treated as a distinct nationality, their collectors, revenue officers, clearances, registers, etc., are to be recognized as legitimate; but if the interdiction is to be by the closing of the ports, which is a legal municipal enactment of our own Government, asserting and carrying into effect its own authority within our own jurisdiction, then the collectors of the Confederate States are to be considered as nullities, their registers and clearances of no account, and those who disregard our authority and laws do so at their peril. In either case, whether by blockade or by closing the ports, an armed force must be maintained along our whole coast and before the principal ports; but the instructions to our principal naval officers must be made to conform to our position and the facts. Our opponents are to be recognized and treated in the one case as a distinct community, having distinct rights, authority, and officers as an independent nation, or they are to be considered as a part of our own country and countrymen who are usurping authority and violating the laws and Constitution. It is obvious that we take this view of the insurgents in the whole

character of our policy, both legislative and executive, in regard to them. Why, then, should we make an exception in the matter of blockades? If the insurgents have a right to demand that we shall close the ports only by blockade, which must of necessity be in pursuance of international law, then undoubtedly they, as against us, have the rights of a belligerent government. If neutral powers have a right to demand that we close the ports south of the Chesapeake only by such a blockade, then manifestly they have an equal right to claim entrance into those ports under the authority of the Confederate States. To admit this is to admit disunion and revoke our whole policy.

There is difference among legal gentlemen as to the validity of a blockade of our own ports, which if ultimately decided against the United States will involve the Government in immense amounts for the seizure and detention of vessels, breaking up voyages, etc., whereas under the law closing the ports this whole difficulty is avoided. Every capture that is made under blockade will be resisted in the courts and made a claim on the Government; it will constitute an additional bond of sympathy between the insurgents and other nations, creating a common union between them and common enmity toward us; for the very principles of blockade are war against the commerce of the world which attempts to traffic with the region blockaded. But if the ports are closed by a local municipal act, those who would violate it know and submit to the penalty, like any class of smugglers. Should we close our ports, as the law anticipates, the navy which we have and for which we are providing will be sufficient to guard our coast and enforce the laws, but should we omit to close our ports and attempt to interdict commerce by blockade, I apprehend our entire force is insufficient for the purpose. Our right as a nation to close our own ports will not, I take it for granted, be or be permitted to be questioned. They are within our own jurisdiction and control, and the right can not be surrendered to foreign dictation without a surrender of our nationality. I am aware that Lord John Russell has recently asserted a contrary

opinion, evidently intended as an admonition to us, in which he undertakes to maintain that the power and authority of a Government over its own ports is less in a period of insurrection or civil commotion than in peaceful times. In other words, Great Britain declares that when a country needs to exercise its authority most, it shall be dispossessed of that authority by foreign interference; that when the integrity of a country is threatened by insurgents, foreign governments will interpose and assert dismemberment to be a foregone conclusion; that national law is imperative when its enforcement is essential to national existence; that we must rely on the laws of nations, as expounded by British admirals, instead of our own laws and our own officers, governing our own country and regulating its domestic affairs.

I do not admit the morality nor the legality of the theory of the British minister, nor do I believe the British Government would tolerate such dictation or interference with her domestic affairs by others. Were there no fear of Great Britain, no threat or apprehension from foreign powers, should we hesitate for one moment on this question of closing our own ports? If not, shall we in our misfortune submit to the arrogance and dictation of foreign governments in relation to our domestic affairs? To effectually blockade our extensive coast so that there shall be no ingress or egress by the insurgents or by foreigners, is next to an impossibility. We may, after proclaiming our ports closed, so guard them as to cut off pretty effectually their commerce, and foreign nations, notwithstanding the assumptions of Lord John Russell, will be indisposed to transgress our domestic municipal law, made in vindication of our nationality. Should they violate that law, it will be at their peril; they will be the transgressors, and that under circumstances they can not justify, and on them will be the responsibility. In closing the ports our line of policy is clear, distinct, honorable, and legally and morally impregnable. If British subjects disregard our laws, they must abide the consequences; if the British Government attempts to uphold the transgressors and make their cause her

own, she will stand before the world in an attitude she can not defend. Will not the attempt to blockade our own ports by our own Government, and the application of international law to a local municipal question, prove a weak and untenable position before the judicial tribunals? Should our courts ultimately decide, and I fear they will, that prizes under blockade are not legal, the Treasury will be exhausted under the demand that will be made upon it. This will be but one of the evils. We shall by blockade invite a common union on the part of the whole world, certainly the whole commercial world, with the insurgents, and of common enmity toward ourselves. Irritating disputes and controversies will follow every capture; effectiveness of blockade will be disputed by foreign powers when they find it convenient or necessary; its violations and restrictions will be prolific of diplomatic conflicts, ending finally in war.

Great Britain wants our cotton, and under a blockade can concentrate her navy at a given point on the coast or in the Gulf to obtain it. Our Navy must be extended along our whole coast of nearly 3,000 miles, with necessarily but few ships at any given point. She will by her admirals declare the blockade broken or ineffective whenever it is the pleasure of these commanders to say so, or, in the plain words, whenever cotton is wanted and there is a port where it is accumulated. She will have a force sufficient, and the aid of the insurgents to enforce the edicts of her admirals in their expositions of the effectiveness of the blockade when it is for her interest. But, if our ports are closed, these disputes and strifes will be closed with them. Great Britain may make war to get cotton; may deny our nationality or our right to make uniform and necessary laws and enforce them in our own territory, but she will hesitate long before she makes this aggression, provided we respect ourselves and maintain our own rights. I hope we shall not, by a spirit of compromise and evasion, such as has brought the present disasters upon the country, yield up national honor, national integrity, and national independence under foreign dictation, but close our ports pursuant to the act of Congress. The recent

enactment was prompted, I have no doubt, by the considerations here presented, and makes clear our pathway. At the commencement of our difficulties there were embarrassments as to our procedure from the absence of statutory regulations as to the course which should be pursued to meet and quell the great conspiracy that had been matured against the Government.

On the impulse of the occasion, proceedings in the nature of a blockade were instituted. But the obscurity and doubt which then existed no longer remain. Congress, as soon as convened, furnished a remedy in the law authorizing the President to close the ports where duties can not be collected nor the revenue officers sustained. The representatives of the people promptly met the exigency, and by legal enactment have clearly, distinctly, and emphatically marked out a plain and direct course of procedure. It is one strictly national and rightful, attended with no doubts or difficulties except from foreign interference, which should not be permitted to control our internal domestic affairs for a moment. Until the assembling of Congress we did the best that circumstances and the then existing laws would allow, and in interdicting commerce with the insurgents, we, as a matter of comity but not of right, gave foreigners fifteen days to leave the ports, and warned off such as approached the harbors in revolt by armed sentinels performing coast guard, or, as we have unfortunately termed it, blockade duty. We have no revenue officers at the insurgent ports, but there is a class of persons there, acting under the pretended authority of what they call the Confederate States, who assume to perform revenue functions. Shall we recognize them or shall we not? Are their acts legal or are they destitute of all legality? The doctrine of blockade presupposes and admits a distinct nationality to the party blockaded; and if so, the officers and their acts are legal. Whenever a vessel runs the blockade, her clearance from authorities blockaded is legal, for the reason that they are a different nationality or they could not be blockaded; but a vessel with clearances from usurpers in a port closed by national authority is to

be seized anywhere for violating revenue laws, and is subject to fine or confiscation.

Am I to instruct our naval commanders to seize vessels having what is called Confederate clearances whenever they meet them, or am I to tell them not to molest such vessels with such clearances if there is not an effective blockade? Are they to understand that the Confederate States are a distinct community whom we are blockading, and that, consequently, they are to be treated as a belligerent, having distinct belligerent rights, whose clearances are to be respected? If we blockade these ports, do we not, by that act, admit the nationality of the Confederate States and a division of the Union? But if we close the ports and guard them, do we not, by those acts, assert our nationality and maintain the integrity of the country? It appears to me the distinction is broad and marked, and Congress, by the law recently passed, has indicated the only course we can pursue. The subject is divested of all the embarrassments which attended it in our early proceedings and before Congress convened. We had not then the authority conferred by the late enactment. When you invited me, on Saturday, to place my views more fully on paper, I did not intend to have extended my remarks to this length, but the question is one of great magnitude, and fraught, as I verily believe, with important consequences to our country now and in the future. Perhaps I attach too much importance to it from the fact that it has occupied much of my time and attention. To me it appears that the course pursued on this subject will have an overwhelming influence in the disposal of the controversy that now convulses the country. On the policy which the Administration shall adopt, this Department must be governed. If it is directed that the policy shall be by blockade, the instructions to our commanders must be very different than if the policy is to be by closing the ports. The former is international; the latter is municipal. In closing the ports our national integrity and independence are asserted and maintained, and foreign interference and dictation rejected; while by blockade our position is, to say the least, very materially and very differently

affected, and the insurgents will be elevated to the dignity of nationality.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully,
your obedient servant,

Gideon Welles.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.”

“Paris, August 5, 1861.

Sir: I acknowledge with pleasure the receipt of yours of the 1st instant, enclosing a copy of your note to Lord John Russel and his reply. I feel that we have done a good thing in getting the reply of the British government (declaring the amendment to the treaty of Paris inadmissible) in writing. At least, we can proceed now, under our instructions, with a consciousness that we not only have not neglected this point, but that we have the evidence of having pressed it affirmatively. You say you do not comprehend the drift of the last paragraph in Lord John's reply. I think I do, at least, in part, and I shall not be surprised if the meaning, which he has purposely wrapped up in that general language, should in the end break off all negotiation. He may not refer to this language again, but unless you ask its meaning before the treaty is negotiated, it will be used by them afterwards as an excuse for not carrying it in effect as respects the insurrectionists of the south. The paragraph states, 'the engagement of Great Britain will be prospective, and will not invalidate anything already done.' The comment after the treaty, predicated upon this language, will be: 'We had declared before the treaty that the southern insurrectionists were a belligerent party, and entitled to belligerent rights, (among which is the right to issue letters of marque,) and the treaty was to be prospective only, and not to invalidate anything already done. That, in other words, it does not bind your disloyal citizens, recognized by us as a belligerent party.' I long ago wrote Mr. Seward that these powers would, in my judgment, either refuse to negotiate, or, if they did negotiate, it

would be with the understanding that it secured us no rights not already conceded, and charged them with no duties not heretofore acknowledged. It is advisable that we raise no question in advance in reference to this matter, but it is necessary that we know what they mean as we go along.

With much respect, I am yours truly,

WM. L. DAYTON.

His Excellency CHAS. F. ADAMS,
United States Minister.”

“Important Statement of Admiral Milne.

Admiral Sir Alexander Milne, Commander-in-Chief at Halifax. In a private letter to the British Consul at Boston, says: ‘I see a long article in some of the papers, and extracts from a letter from Fort Pickens, alluding to orders I have given; all I can say is, that it is not my version of blockade nor my orders on the subject.’” (New York Times, Aug. 5, 1861)

“Private

Washington,
August 5, 1861.

My dear Sir Alexander [Milne]

Mr. Archibald tells me that he sent you the New York Times of the 25th of July, which shows that that Journal is not tired of writing despatches for you.

The United intend to observe the second and third articles of the Declaration of Paris during the present contest, whether or no they formally adhere to the Declaration or not. I mentioned to you in my letter of the 8th July (I think) that the French Minister and I had received verbal assurances of this. I have no doubt the (so-called) Confederate States will do the same.

Things are going on smoothly between the U.S. Govt. & my French colleague and me just now. May this happy state of things last. I hope you like the French Admiral. Mr. Mercier & I get on as well as possible here.

In great haste
Yours sincerely
Lyons

The Lord John Russell”

“Well, the great battle has been fought, and the slave drivers and treasonmongers are the victors. The English papers head their columns with large type announcing the disgraceful rout of the Federal Army. There was some grand fighting on our side truly; but timely reinforcements to the enemy, cowardice and incompetency on the part of too many of our own officers, and lack of discipline with the men, created a panic that ended in defeat, rout & running. It is sickening. Fortunately the enemy had been soundly flogged before the shameful flight of the Northern Army, and could not follow up his success. The Am. Papers are filled with accounts of the affair, but mostly of a highly exaggerated character. . . .

This defeat will have a bad effect for the North in Europe, & will raise the hopes of the rebels. English inherent hatred of us is being expressed unmistakably to-day, in sneers and chuckling over our misfortune. Their long & loud professions of enmity to slavery are being belied by ill-concealed delight at its success over bleeding freedom. The nation secretly longs for the dissolution of the Union, and are content to see slavery become a mighty power so that aim is accomplished. Their acts show they are willing to see any amount of degradation heaped upon us so that their selfish aims are obtained. There is nothing holy in their bleared eyes in our war for the union, for our traditions, our flag, our history, and our nationality; and they coolly insult us by telling us we should let the Slavedrivers go, & thus sink our manhood. Bad as is this defeat, I think it will do us

good. Make us less boastful, and more in earnest. We shall yet rise above it, and teach this insolent nation of selfishness and hypocrisy that the hour of a nation's agony is a dangerous time to insult its people." (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

August 6, 1861

"The Great Eastern from Quebec for Liverpool, got in contact with ship James Nesmith, Watts, off Green Island 6th inst. The latter had her bulwarks and rigging carried away on the one side, and will have to return to Quebec to repair; she sailed from Bristol on 3d inst.—The Great Eastern it is believed, received no damage, as she has proceeded on her voyage." (Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, August 16, 1816).

"No. 55.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 6, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch, No.17, of the date of July 19th, has been received. I entirely approve of the letter which you addressed to Lord John Russell, of the 11th, a copy of which accompanied that despatch, and I wait now with impatience, yet not without some solicitude, for the action of the British government upon our propositions which we so early sent forward in good faith, and which by such strange accidents have been so long in reaching the cabinet of Great Britain.

I need hardly tell you that the same mail which conveyed our propositions concerning maritime rights for the consideration of the British government, carried also propositions literally the same for the consideration of the French government, and that of every other maritime power in Europe.

All those powers are understood to be awaiting the action of the government of Great Britain.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq.; &c., &c.,
&c.”

“MR. WYLD

said, he wished to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If Her Majesty's Government have received any communication from the President of the United States, or from the British Ambassador at Washington, that it is the intention of the Government of the United States to station vessels off the Ports of the Southern States of America, to collect and levy Duties upon Foreign Merchandize?

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON

Sir, the Federal Congress have passed a Bill into a law empowering the President, if he should think fit, to do what my hon. Friend says; namely, to station vessels off certain ports in the Southern States for the purpose of their collecting Customs Duties upon goods coming in. My hon. Friend will be aware that this proceeding, if it should be adopted, would be practically a supersession of the blockade, because you cannot blockade a port to prevent ships from entering, and at the same time levy Customs Duties on the assumption that the port is open. "We have not yet been informed what are the intentions of the President with regard to the matter, or which of the two modes he will pursue." (House of Commons [Hansard] August 6, 1861

August 7, 1861

“Private

London, August 7, 1861

My Dear Mr. Gregory:--

Since the receipt of yours, from your home, I have scarcely been permitted to write a line -- so constantly have I been occupied by calls of congratulation. I could not imagine that there was such an amount of ardent sympathy for the cause of my country as has exhibited itself since Sunday.

You have read, of course, Russell in yesterday's Times. He tells much that transpired, but does not tell all,--for the reason that he had not time. His last letter equals the best efforts of his previous correspondence.

The Times of this morning contains a powerful article against the North – very much in the sense in which you would have expressed yourself in the House, as far as it goes.

I dined with Mr. Osbourne last Sunday. I met at his table Mr. _____, with whom I conversed a great deal. Our victory was the theme of the evening.

Mr. Osbourne is on a visit to his constituents, for the purpose of publicly addressing them. He thinks it advisable not to make any publication, with respect to the mis-statements of Lord Palmerston concerning the capture of the slaves.

We asked yesterday for an interview, by note, with Earl Russell. We shall press now for our recognition. No valid reason, in my opinion, can be argued against it.

I expect to go to Paris next week. I wish you were here.

The next engagement will probably occur in the neighborhood of Fort Monroe. The steamer due at Queenstown may bring us tidings of it. I am sure we shall tout our victory to the best account.— Davis is the man of the hour. He was conspicuous in command at Manassas.

Whatever they may say to the contrary the North is utterly unequal to the position which she has assumed. Her army is not only disorganized but demoralized.

Let me, I pray you, hear from you as often as your convenience will permit.

Gratefully and Faithfully Your Friend,

A. Dudley Mann.

W. H. Gregory Esq, M.P.
etc. etc. etc.”

(Letter from A. Dudley Mann to William H.
Gregory – Emory University)

“London, August 7, 1861.
No. 5.

Hon. Robert Toombs, etc.

Sir: On the 1st instant we sent you by the yacht ‘Camilla’ dispatches Nos. 3 and 4. We understood that the ‘Camilla’ was to sail on some day last week, but find that she is yet on the coast, expecting to sail some day during this week. Having another, and as we deem equally favorable opportunity, of sending dispatches to the Department of State, and acting upon the hypothesis that one of these may prove failures, we send, by the latter, duplicates of dispatches Nos. 2, 3, and 4.

Since they were written, we have received through the New York journals and the correspondence of the London Times intelligence of the military events of the 19th and 21st of July at Bull Run. The sensation produced by those great events both here and in Paris was profound, and has tended to produce conviction that the Confederate States cannot be brought back onto the Union by arms.

The Parliament was prorogued on yesterday, and the speech of the Queen on that occasion in reference to American affairs was as follows:

‘The discussions which arose some months ago in the United States of North America have, unfortunately, assumed the character of open war. Her Majesty, deeply regretting this calamitous result, has determined, in common with the other powers of Europe, to preserve a strict neutrality between the contending parties.’

Thinking that this great victory, the first real struggle between two contending nations, justified the Commission in seeking another informal interview with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a telegram was at once sent to Mr. Rost, then at Paris, to join his colleagues at this place, and he has done so. The Commission has addressed a note to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs requesting the interview, but Earl Russell was at one of his residences in the country, and we have not yet received a reply.

The Commission, upon consultation, has determined to conduct the interview upon the basis that the Confederate States of America are in such condition as entitles them to a recognition of their nationality. It has been deemed prudent to ask only for an informal interview, and the Commission will afterwards determine upon the question of the policy of asking for a public and official acknowledgement of their character as Commissioners from the Confederate States of America.

As the contest grows warmer, the friends of the United States become more excited. As an evidence, we inclose a report of Mr. Bright's speech, and an editorial of the London Advertiser.

We also inclose other editorials and newspaper slips. It is proper to say that we entertain no hope that the British Cabinet is prepared at this time to acknowledge the independence of the Confederate States of America.

We think that the Queen's speech exhibits truthfully the tone of the Cabinet and British public, and that this also represents the position of the French Government.

Our views as to the course of England and France upon the blockade, as already expressed in previous dispatches, are strengthened, but we are at present inclined to believe that the tendency of the British Government, at this time, is to restrict its

interference between the Confederate States and the United States to the blockade question, as one involving its own commercial interest, and to leave the question of recognition entirely in abeyance until it has been practically settled between the two belligerent powers by such an overwhelming military success upon one side or the other as to render it a matter of no doubt in European eyes which will eventually triumph. We are inclined to think that if Great Britain determines to declare the blockade ineffectual it will become still more decidedly neutral, in order to furnish no further cause of offense to the United States, and will, of course, entertain, for a time, no idea of acknowledging the independence and nationality of the Confederate States.

The Commission has not received from the Department of State an acknowledgement of the receipt of any of the dispatches which it has sent. It has no regular mode of communicating with the Department, and relies entirely upon private opportunities which may offer. It has no funds with which to organize means of forwarding dispatches.

There is a difference of opinion in the Commission as to an important point of policy upon which it is desirable to have the views of the President. It is this: If it should appear to the Commissioners that the British Government is not prepared to receive them officially and to recognize the independence of the Confederate States of America, shall the Commissioners refrain from urging a decision, and remain here until a change of opinion is effected, or shall it respectfully demand and receive a reply, and in the event of rejection proceed to other Governments and make the same demand or ask for a recall?

It is perhaps proper also to state that the Commission has not received the least notice or attention, official or social, from any member of Government since its arrival in England.

This is mentioned in no spirit of complaint, but as a fact which the President may or may not

deem of any consideration in weighing the conduct of this Government toward the Confederate States.

The instruction given to the Commission on its departure upon its mission seems to have been based upon the sole hypothesis that there would be no war between the Confederate States and the United States.

As it is evident that a Commission of three persons can act effectually only when entirely agreed in purpose, it is suggested that full instructions from the President, under the altered condition of affairs, will be valuable in producing concord of views, as each member of the Commission has but one aim at heart, and that is to carry out the views of the Government, and to accomplish as much good as possible for his country.

We are happy to state, however, that thus far in all that has been done here there has been cordial concurrence both of opinion and action among the members of the Commission, and the suggestions now made for instructions for our future guidance are prompted by a desire to remove out of our path any, the least, obstacle which might exist to future harmonious action.

In a former dispatch it was stated that Parliament would stand prorogued until the month of February next. We have to correct that error. The Lord Chancellor yesterday declared it as prorogued to the 22d of October.

Since writing the foregoing, Earl Russell has answered our request for an interview, in a note desiring us to put in writing any communication the members of the Commission wished to make to him.

It is proper to state that our written request was not made in our official character, and that the reply is from Earl Russell simply.

We have to-day written a note in reply informing his Lordship that we would make a written communication at an early day, as this more formal mode has been designated, and we shall make it as Commissioners of the Confederate States.

We have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servants,

W. L. Yancey,
P.A. Rost,
A. Dudley Mann.” (A
Compilation of the Message and Papers of the
Confederacy)

August 8, 1861

“London, August 8, 1861

My Dear Mr. Gregory:--

I knew you would cordially share my joy at the result at Manassas. That result will prove fatal to the Lincoln Administration. The North attributes its horrible disaster to the inefficiency of the blockade.

There are good reasons why we did not proceed to Washington. The army of Patterson – reinforced by Becks – was to be met in the neighborhood of Harper’s Ferry. If we can defeat that army the possession of Washington will be easy and speedy. I think we may expect tidings of an engagement with it, in case it does not retreat, in a very few days. I have confidence.

Baltimore impatiently watches for an hour when it can safely make a demonstration. That hour will arrive when we re-occupy Harper’s Ferry. – In all that we have done and are doing, I can distinctly see the hand of Jefferson Davis. He is the master spirit in war as well as of peace.

I met your friend Mr. Ashley today. He is about to quit town. He believes that there will be a termination to hostilities by November.

The U.S. loan is dead. The Times, city article, of the morning, has, of course, been received by you. There is no advocate for it in the metropolis.

I am delighted with Mr. Osborne's speech. Reserving to you the assurances of my continued estimation believe me

Always yours

A. Dudley Mann

W. H. Gregory Esq.M.P." (Letter from A. Dudley Mann to William H. Gregory – Emory University)

August 9, 1861

"Movements of the Ocean Steamers.
From Europe.

	Leaves	For	
Nova Scotian	Liverpool	Quebec	Aug. 8
North American	Liverpool	Quebec	Aug. 15"

(New York Times, Aug. 9, 1861)

"Consulate of the United States of America,
London, August 9, 1861.

Sir: I this morning received information, which I regard as entirely reliable, that the steamers *Victoria*, *Adelaide*, and *Bermuda* have been conditionally purchased by Messrs. Fraser, Trenholm & Co., of Liverpool, for parties in Charleston and the South. The conditions are that if the English admiral commanding on the American coast shall declare the blockade imperfect or insufficient, and the steamers under English color are placed inside of Charleston Bar, with a given amount of tons of freight on board of each, and each boat not drawing over 16 feet of water, the purchasers are to pay a very high price for the steamers. No money is to be paid until the boats are delivered on the terms and conditions above mentioned.

These boats are propellers, over 2,000 tons in burden, and will steam over 10 knots per hour.

The *Victoria* and *Adelaide* are here in London docks undergoing repairs. The former will be ready for sea in about six weeks; the latter in about two months. The *Bermuda* is the third boat and is not yet launched, though I think she is about ready to be launched. She is the boat to which I have heretofore referred, and she is building at Stockton, on the river Tees.

Permit me to suggest the great importance of making the blockade as perfect as possible, if it is not already so, for there seem to be indications that officials here are seeking and will be glad to find reasons or excuses for declaring the blockade insufficient and void.

It appears to me that the conditions attached to the sale of the above-named boats have not been agreed upon without some knowledge of the desire and perhaps purpose of this Government in reference to our blockade of our Southern ports.

Our recent disasters in Virginia have strengthened the rebels here among the people. The manufacturers and the aristocracy were mainly with them in heart before.

Very sincerely, your obedient servant,

F. H. Morse.

Hon. Wm. H. Seward,
Secretary of State.”

August 10, 1861

“The American Blockade.

The Fort Pickens correspondent of the New York World, who writes under date the 7th of July, is responsible for the following very doubtful statement:--

‘Through a third party I have been endeavoring for some time to obtain something like

the substance of a report of our blockade, made to the British Admiralty by Admiral Milne, the Commander-in-Chief of Her Britannic Majesty's naval forces here. I had learnt three things from undoubted authority; first, that Lord Paget had instructed the Admiral to detail vessels to look after the cutting off of egress to the Southern ports; second, that the Admiral had obtained one or two copies of Commodore Mervin's official orders; third, that his admiralship was reported in Havana to have laughed at the idea 'of the United States being able to effectively cut off maritime communication with the harbours of revolted States.' It seemed to me, for several reasons, that the reply of the Commander-in Chief to the First Lord of the Admiralty would be a document of great importance to you, and I left no means untried to procure it. Owing to the industry of a subordinate officer of one of our gunboats, and to the kindness of one of our most loyal citizens in the Cuban capital, I am enabled to give you 'the body and soul' of Admiral Milne's letter. Leaving out the verbiage, here is its substance:

"I regret that it is my duty to discuss, in a measure, the nature of this so-called blockade. Representatives of the United States meet me with two statements, the force of which it will be for your Lordships to decide. I am told by some that there is no pretensions on the part of the United States of a blockade existing; that the Government is merely closing its own ports, to do which they claim to have a perfect right. In direct conflict with this are all the official notifications of United States' officers. Captain Adams, for instance, writing on board the *Sabine*, on May 19, says in a letter to Gen. Bragg:--

'This (Pensacola) port is now strictly *blockaded*,' &c.

"Commodore Mervin's announcements—I have not seen any of them—are said to be similarly worded; and I am told that the President of the United States 'publicly promulgated the blockade of

all the ports south of Baltimore,'(which is in the State of Maryland.)

A prominent feature of this alleged blockade is the complete absence of uniformity, order and regularity which has characterized it. The distance of several rendezvous of the naval fleet from Washington, the difficulty with which communication is kept up, and the immense extent of the coast line to be guarded, are represented as the causes which necessitated the United States Government to leave the date of blockade, and the commencement of it, to the discretion of the commanders of the men-of-war. No date was laid down on which the cessation of general commercial intercourse was to stop, and ports situated within a day's sail of each other have been for weeks blockaded, and not blockaded, at the same time.

The confusion arising from this state of things can be imagined by your lordships. On the 19th of May, as you will see by the inclosed circular, the blockade of Pensacola began; yet, up to the 30th of that month, vessels freely obtained admission, some had leave to do so, others were not even overhauled, and others, still, seemed to defy the cruisers. One bark, ordered off from the Pensacola entrance, through an unknown instrumentality, found out that Mobile was not guarded, and immediately sailed for and arrived at that place, where her cargo was disposed of. Five or six brigs, two barks, and some fifteen or twenty schooners, also warned off by the fleet, moved to other harbours, and easily gained admission.

A grace of fifteen days was given to vessels under certain circumstances, which were so confusingly explained that no one I have seen thus far could properly understand them. Three British ships, laden with cotton in the harbour of Mobile, were compelled to pack up and go away to fulfill this requirement, while under almost under similar circumstances, four barks and brigs were permitted to commence loading at another point, on the twentieth day after the announcement of the blockade.

The frequency of vessels escaping the vigilance, or rather the lack of vigilance of the United States' squadron, are too numerous to be even named. I sent Capt. Von Donop, of the Jason, to look after the interests of our shipping, and to the efficiency of the blockading ships, in several ports. He mentions numerous cases of ships, barks, and brigs escaping the cruisers. I learn that while a large American frigate—fully as formidable as the St. George, apparently, was under steam, off Charleston, a complete flotilla of small ocean traders and coasters continued to pass in to the city, and out again, either regardless of, or insensible to, the presence of war ships.

The numerous facts establishing the perfect inefficiency of the men-of-war, in regard to the stopping of commercial intercourse with ports before which they have appeared, could be elaborated to a great length. But even now, [the Admiral, permit your correspondent to say, is writing about the 2d of June,) St. Marks, an important port, is not at all cut off from maritime trade, as one of my fleet saw all sorts of vessels enter and depart from it, without being impeded. Apalachicola was thronged with craft until a few days since, and four other ports are stated to be open to-day.

A regular steamer communication is constantly kept up between Savannah, an Important harbor in the State of Georgia, and some other port.

Above you have all the facts, which, I have reason to believe, are by this time before the English Government. The document from which I make this extract is said to be almost a perfect copy of the Admiral's official report, the nature of which is as fully understood in American and British circles in Havana, as we know the irrepressible tone of hostility towards our country which Britons give utterance to. It is right to say that, in order to make the Admiral's statement brief, I have not

followed his exact and careful style.”(London *Times*, Aug. 10, 1861)

August 12, 1861

Seward received the following telegram from a B. T. Henry of Cincinnati, Ohio:

“Robert Mure, an Englishman by birth but resident of Charleston, S.C., for the last thirty years, is to take the steamer at New York Wednesday for Europe. He has highly important dispatches from Confederate Congress very carefully concealed. Intercept dispatches and the Confederates will be in your power. Mr. Mure is cousin to British consul at New Orleans.”

“No. 58.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 12, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of July 24th (No. 20) has been received. I am glad that you have had a full and satisfactory conversation with Mr. Dayton. It seems probable that we shall now be able to arrive at an understanding with the governments of Great Britain and France on the subject of international law relating to maritime war.

The shock produced by the reverse of our arms at Bull Run has passed away. The army is reorganized; the elections show that reaction against disunion has begun in the revolutionary States, and we may confidently look for a restoration of the national authority throughout the Union.

If our foreign relations were once promptly re-established on their former basis, the disunion sentiment would languish and perish within a year.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c.”

August 13, 1861

Seward sent a telegram to Kennedy regarding Mure, a copy of which has not been located.

Resolutions adopted by the Congress of the Confederate States (relating to Declaration of Paris?)

Robert Mure received at Fort Lafayette, New York Harbor.

“We are authorized to state that there is no foundation for a statement which has been circulated to the effect that Admiral Milne has reported the blockade of the Southern ports to be ineffective. No general report on the subject has been officially received.—*Globe*.” (London Times, Aug. 13, 1861)

August 14, 1861

John Bigelow received the following letter :

“Mr. Motley goes out in the *Europa*, from Boston, August 21. Can you go at the same time?”

F.W. Seward

This was my first official information, if such it could be regarded, that I had been appointed Consul to Paris.” (Reflections of an Active Life by John Bigelow)

Kennedy sent the following telegram to Seward:

“I have Mr. Robert Mure with a bag addressed to Lord John Russell in my custody. Mr. Bunch’s instructions request the bag to be forwarded to the British minister in Washington in case of the detention of Mr. Mure by authority of the United States. What shall I do with him and the papers?”

Seward sent the following telegram to Kennedy:

“Send the bag mentioned to this Department by special messenger. Deliver Mure to Col. Martin Burke, Fort Lafayette. Write immediately the particulars of Mure’s instructions—by whom given, from whom the papers came, what they relate to, whether political or private; full details.”

On the same day, Kennedy sent Seward the following telegram:

“Sir: Your telegram of 13th was received last night, and this morning a short time before the departure of the steamer Africa Mr. Robert Mure, of Charleston, to whom you referred went on board with his baggage, whereupon the officers to whom I had intrusted the business took him in custody and brought him and his baggage to my office. He immediately presented me with his credentials as bearer of dispatches from Mr. Robert Bunch, consul of Her Britannic Majesty at Charleston, S.C., and an open letter of instruction from Mr. Bunch dated Charleston, August 7, 1861, the original of both of which are herewith inclosed. On examining his baggage the canvas bag alluded to in the instructions addressed to “Lord John Russell” was found and apparently sealed with a genuine consular seal. No other papers or documents were found in his possession except a large number of what appears to be private letters from persons in the South to others in England, but which I have not yet had an opportunity to examine carefully. A portion of these letters are unsealed and the rest are sealed, by which I believe he renders himself subject to treatment under the postal laws.

The bag addressed to “Lord John Russell” I intrust to the charge of Detective Robert King to deliver with this note to you in Washington, pursuant to the instructions received in your telegram of to-day. On counting the letters I find there are four unsealed and sixty-six sealed. Several of them are bulky and appear to contain a number in each of the envelopes. I respectfully request instructions from you as to the manner in which I shall dispose of these letters.

Very truly, your, &c.

I inclose one of the several pamphlets found among his things which appears to have been printed for foreign circulation.”

The pamphlet was not found with the papers. However, enclosed with the letter from Kennedy to Seward were the following documents:

“HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY’S CONSULATE,
NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA.-No. 121.

We, Robert Bunch, esq., Her Britannic Majesty’s consul for the States of North and South Carolina, &c., do hereby certify that the bearer, Mr. Robert Mure, is a British merchant residing in Charleston and that he proceeds hence to New York and Liverpool charged with dispatches on Her Majesty’s service from us to Lord John Russell, Her Majesty’s principal secretary of state for foreign affairs. We therefore request that he may be permitted to pass freely and that he may receive all proper protection and assistance in virtue of his employment by us.

Given under our hand and seal of office at the city of Charleston the 7th day of August, 1861.

ROBERT BUNCH,
Her Majesty’s Consul”

and

“BRITISH CONSULATE, Charleston, August 7,
1861.

Robert Mure, Esq., Bearer of Dispatches.

SIR: You will receive herewith a bag of dispatches addressed to Lord John Russell, Her Majesty’s principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, which I beg you to convey with all convenient speed to Liverpool. Should you upon reaching that port not proceed immediately to London you will be so good as to deliver the bag to Her Majesty’s postmaster at Liverpool with the request that he will forward it at once to the foreign office. I beg to impress upon you that these dispatches are of the greatest importance and I would suggest that you should keep them by you as much as possible, not allowing them to go into your

luggage. In the improbable event of your being detained on your road to New York by any authority of the United States I have no objection to the bag being delivered to an officer of rank upon his giving a receipt for it and promising to have it delivered to Her Majesty's minister at Washington. But I can scarcely suppose the possibility of your detention. Should you unfortunately be detained in New York by illness or otherwise the bag may be delivered to Her Majesty's consul with the request that he will forward it. But I prefer that it should go with you.

Wishing you a safe and pleasant journey, I am, sir, your faithful servant,

Robert Bunch"

"London, August 14, 1861.

No. 6.

Hon. Robert Toombs, etc.

Sir: As instructed by the Commissioners, I transmit herewith a copy of the note to-day addressed by them to Earl Russell, Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Walker Fearn.

London, 15 Half Moon Street,
August 14, 1861.

Earl Russell:

The undersigned, as your Lordship has already on two occasions been verbally and unofficially informed, were appointed on the 16th of March last a Commission to Her Britannic

Majesty's Government by the President of the Confederate States of America.

The undersigned were instructed to represent to your Lordship that seven of the sovereign States of the late American Union, for just and sufficient reasons and in full accordance with the great principle of self-government, had thrown off the authority of that Union, and formed a Confederacy which they had styled the Confederate States of America. They were further instructed to ask Her Majesty's Government to recognize the fact of the existence of this new power in the world, and also to inform it that they were fully empowered to negotiate with it a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation. At an early day after the arrival of the undersigned in London, at an informal interview which your Lordship was pleased to accord them, they informed your Lordship of the object of their mission, and endeavored to impress upon your Lordship that the action of the people of the seceding States had violated no principle of allegiance in their act of secession, but on the contrary had been true to that high duty which all citizens own to that sovereignty which is the supreme fount of power in a State, no matter what may be the particular form of government under which they live.

They were careful to show to your Lordship, however, that the idea of American sovereignty was different from that entertained in Great Britain and Europe; that, whereas in the great eastern hemisphere generally sovereignty was deemed to exist in the government, the founders of the North American States had solemnly declared, and upon that declaration had built up American institutions, that governments were instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends (security to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness) it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, etc.

The undersigned assume it to be incontrovertible, in order to give practical vitality to this declaration, that the people who were declared to possess the right 'to alter or to abolish' such oppressive government must be the people whose rights such government either assailed or no longer protected. Whether that government should be administered by one tyrant, or the more heartless and equally effectual despotism of sectional and tyrannical majority, could make no difference in the application of the principle. When the people who thus act in abolishing their form of government are not mere self-constituted assemblages of disaffected individuals, but the sovereign people of great States, each possessing separate constitutions and legislative and executive powers, acting in modes prescribed by those constitutions and taking votes under form and by virtue of law, the minority yielding cheerfully to the decision of the majority as to the question of redress, it became clear that, whatever might be European views as to such action, if developed in Europe, the seceding States were amply justified by the great American principles of self-government proclaimed by their ancestors in 1776. They submitted that, so far from the principle of American allegiance having been violated by the people of the seceding States, in those States alone is that principle upheld whereby the actions of men claiming to be representatives of the men of 1776 are to be guided and justified, and that the people and Government of the States upholding Mr. Lincoln in his war upon the Confederate States are alone the traitors to that great political truth, and as such must be judged by an impartial world. In connection with this view, the undersigned explained to your Lordship the unity, the deliberation, the moderation, and regard for personal and public right, the absence of undue popular commotion during the process of secession, the daily and ordinary administration of the laws in every department of justice, all of which were distinguishing features of this great movement.

They expatiated upon the great extent of fertile country over which the Confederate States exercised jurisdiction, producing in ample quantity

every variety of cereal necessary to the support of their inhabitants; the great value of products of cotton and tobacco grown by them; the number and character of their people; and they submitted to your Lordship that all of the these political and material facts demonstrated to the nations of the world that the action of the Confederate States of America was not that of rebel subjects to be dealt with as traitors and pirates by their enemy, but the dignified and solemn conduct of a belligerent power struggling with wisdom and energy to assume a place among the great States of the civilized world upon a broad and just principle which commended itself to that world's respect.

The undersigned have witnessed with pleasure that the views which in their first interview they pressed upon your Lordship, as to the undoubted right of the Confederate States under the law of nations to be treated as a belligerent power, and the monstrous assertion of the Government of Washington of its right to treat its citizens found in arms upon land or sea as rebels and pirates, have met with the concurrence of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and that the moral weight of this great and Christian people has been thus thrown into the scale to prevent the barbarous and inhuman spectacle of war between citizens so lately claiming a common country, conducted upon principles which would have been a disgrace to the age in which we live.

The undersigned, however, received with some surprise and regret the avowal of Her Britannic Majesty's Government that, in order to the observance of a strict neutrality, the public and private armed vessels of neither of the contesting parties would be permitted to enter Her Majesty's ports with prizes. The undersigned do not contest the right of the British Government to make such regulations, but have been disposed to think that it has been unusual for her Majesty's Government to exercise such rights, and that in this instance the practical operation of the rule has been to favor the Government at Washington and to cripple the

exercise of an undoubted public right of the Government of the Confederate States.

This Government commenced its career entirely without a navy. Owing to the high sense of duty which distinguished the Southern officers, who were more lately in commission in the United States Navy, the ships which otherwise might have been brought into Southern ports were honorably delivered up to the United States Government, and the navy built for the protection of the people of all the States is now used by the Government at Washington to coerce the people and blockade the ports of one-third of the United States of the late Union. The people of the Confederate States are an agricultural and not a manufacturing or commercial people. They own but few ships. Hence there has not been the least necessity for the Government at Washington to issue letters of marque. The people of the Confederate States have but few ships, and not much commerce upon which such private armed vessels could operate.

The commodities produced in the Confederate States are such as the world needs more than any other, and the nations of the earth have heretofore sent their ships to our wharves, and there the merchants buy and receive our cotton and tobacco. But it is far otherwise with the people of the United States. They are a manufacturing and commercial people.

They do a large part of the carrying trade of the world. Their ships and commerce afford them the sinews of war, and keep their industry afloat. To cripple their industry and commerce, to destroy their ships or cause them to be dismantled and tied up to their rotting wharves, are legitimate objects and means of warfare. Having no navy, no commercial marine, out of which to improvise public armed vessels to any considerable extent, the Confederate States were compelled to resort to the issuance of letters of marque, a mode of warfare as fully and as clearly recognized by the law and usage of nations as any other arm of war, and most assuredly more humane and more civilized in its

practice than that which appears to have distinguished the march of the troops of the Government of the United States upon the soil and among the villages of Virginia.

These facts tend to show that the practical working of the rule that forbids the entry of the public and private armed vessels of either party into British ports with prizes operates exclusively to prevent the exercise of this legitimate mode of warfare by the Confederate States, while it is to a great degree a practical protection to the commerce of the United States.

In the interview already alluded to, as well as in one of a similar character held between your Lordship and the undersigned at a later date, the undersigned were fully aware of the relations of amity existing between Her Britannic Majesty's Government and that of Washington, and of the peculiar difficulties into which these relations might be thrown if Her Majesty should chose to recognize the nationality of the Confederate States of American before some decided exhibition of ability upon the part of the Government of those States to maintain itself had been shown.

Therefore they did not deem it advisable to urge Her Majesty's Government to an immediate decision upon so grave a question, but contented themselves with a presentation of the course of their Government, and have quietly waited upon events to justify all that they had said, with a hope that Her Majesty's Government would soon come to the conclusion that the same sense of justice, the same views of duty under the law of nations which caused it to recognize the *de facto* Government of Texas while yet a superior Mexican army was contending for supremacy upon its soil, *de facto* Governments of the South American republics while Spain still persisted in claiming to be their sovereign, and the *de facto* Governments of Greece, of Belgium, and Italy, would induce it to recognize the Government of the Confederate State of America upon the happening of evens exhibiting a deep-seated and abiding confidence that success

will attend their efforts. At all vents reconstruction of the Union is an impossibility.

The brief history of the past confirms them in this belief. Since the organization of the Government of the Confederate States in February last, and since Mr. Lincoln assumed the reins of government in the United States and commenced preparing for an aggressive policy against the Confederate States, the moral weight of their position and cause, aided by the constitutional action and policy of the new President and his Cabinet, has caused four other great States—viz., Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, containing about 4,500,000 inhabitants and covering an extent of valuable territory equal to that of France and Spain—to secede from the late Union and join the Confederate States, while the inhabitants of three other powerful States—viz., Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri—are not agitated by the throes of revolution, and a large part of them are rising in arms to resist the military despotism which, in the name of the Constitution, has been so ruthlessly and in such utter perversion of the provisions of that instrument imposed upon them. The undersigned have also sufficient reasons for the belief that even in the northwestern part of the State of Illinois a part of the people have proclaimed open opposition to Mr. Lincoln's unconstitutional and despotic Government, while in several others public assemblies and their Legislatures have condemned the war as subversive of the Constitution. In addition to these striking evidences of the increased strength of the Confederate States, and of great international weakness and division in Mr. Lincoln's Government, the undersigned can proudly and confidently point to the unity which exists among the people of the eleven Confederate States, with the solitary and unimportant exception of the extreme northwest corner of Virginia, lying between Ohio and Pennsylvania, and settled almost exclusively by Northern emigrants. Whatever difference of opinion may have been entertained among the people of the United States as to the policy of secession, there was little difference of

opinion as to the unconstitutional causes which led to it, and after a fair decision at the polls by the majority in favor of secession as the means of expressing their liberties, the great mass of the people at once yielded all objection and are now engaged with their wealth and their persons in the most patriotic exertions to uphold their Government in the course of independence which had been decided upon. Whatever tribute of admiration may be yielded for the part to the people who submit to Mr. Lincoln's usurping Government, for energy displayed in raising and organizing an immense army for the purpose of imposing the yoke of that Government upon a people who are struggling for the inestimable right of governing themselves in order to a preservation of their liberties, a just and impartial history will award to the pole of the Confederate States an unmixed admiration for an effort which, in the space of six months, has thrown off the authority of the usurper; has organized a new Government based upon the principles of personal and public liberty; has put that Government in operation; has raised, organized, and armed an army sufficient to meet and defeat in a fair field, and drive in ignominious flight from that field, the myriads of invaders which the reputed first general of the age deemed fit to crush what he termed a rebellion.

The undersigned call your Lordship's attention to the fact that Mr. Lincoln's Government, though possessed of all the advantages of a numerous population, of the credit due to a recognized Government of long continuance, of the entire navy of the late Union, has not been able to retake a single fortification of which the Confederate States possessed themselves, but on the contrary has been driven out from a mighty fortress upon the Atlantic and from several forts on the western frontier by the Confederate arms; that it has not been able to advance more than five miles into the territory of any of the Confederate States, where there was any serious attempt to prevent it, and is in danger of losing three great States of the Union by insurrection. Even at sea, upon which the Government of Mr. Lincoln possesses undisputed

sway, it has not been able to make an effectual blockade of a single port but those which find an outlet through the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, vessels of every class, private and public armed vessels belonging to the Confederate States and traders, having found their way in and out of every other port at which the attempt has been made.

In everything that constitutes the material of war, thus far the Confederate States have supplied themselves from their own resources, unaided by that free intercourse with the world which has been open to the United States. Men, arms, munitions of war of every description, have been supplied in ample abundance to defeat all attempts to successfully invade our borders. Money has been obtained in the Confederate States in sufficient quantity; every loan that has been put upon the market has been taken at and above par; and the undersigned but state the universal impression and belief of their Government and their fellow-citizens in the Confederate States that, no matter what may be the demand for means to defend their country against invasion, sufficient resources of every character, and sufficient patriotism to furnish them, exist within the Confederate States for that purpose. The undersigned are aware that an impression has prevailed, even in what may be termed well-informed circles in Europe, that the slaveholding States are poor, and not able to sustain a prolonged conflict with the non-slaveholding States of the North.

In the opinion of the undersigned this idea is grossly erroneous, and considering the importance of a correct understanding of the relative resources of the two contending powers, in resolving the question of the ability of the South to maintain its position, your Lordship will pardon a reference to the statistical tables of 1850, the last authentic exposition of the resources of the United States which has been published, and which is appended to this communication.

The incontestable truths exhibited in that table prove that the Confederate States possess the

elements of a great and powerful nation, capable not only of clothing, feeding, and defending themselves, but also of clothing all the nations of Europe under the benign influence of peace and free trade.

The undersigned are also aware that the antislavery sentiment so universally prevalent in England has shrunk from the idea of forming friendly public relations with a Government recognizing the slavery of a part of the human race. The question of the morality of slavery is not for the undersigned to discuss with any foreign power. The authors of the American Declaration of Independence found the African race in the colonies to be slaves, both by colonial and English law, and by the law of nations.

Those great and good men left that fact and the responsibility for its existence where they found it; and thus finding that there were two distinct races in the colonies—one free and capable of maintaining their freedom; the other slave and, in their opinion, unfitted to enter upon that contest and to govern themselves—they made their famous declaration of freedom for the white race alone. They eventually planned and put into operation, in the course of a few years, two plans of government, both resting upon that great and recognized distinction between the white and black man, and perpetuating that distinction as the fundamental law of the government they framed, which they declared to be framed for the benefit of themselves and their posterity; in their own language, ‘to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.’ The wisdom of that course is not a matter for discussion with foreign nations. Suffice it to say that thus were the great American institutions framed, and thus have they remained unchanged to this day. It was from no fear that the slaves would be liberated that secession took place. The very party in power has proposed to guarantee slavery forever in the States, if the South would but remain in the Union. Mr. Lincoln’s message proposes no freedom to the slaves, but announces subjection of his owner to the will of the Union; in other words,

to the will of the North. Even after the battle of Bull Run, both branches of the Congress at Washington passed resolutions that the war is only waged in order to uphold that (proslavery) Constitution, and to enforce the laws (many of them proslavery); and out of 172 votes in the lower House they received all but two, and in the Senate all but one vote. As the army commenced its march, the commanding general issued an order that no slaves should be received or allowed to follow the camp.

The great object of the war, therefore, as now officially announced, is not to free the slave, but to keep him in subjection to his owner, and to control his labor through legislative channels which the Lincoln Government designs to force upon the master. The undersigned therefore submit with confidence that, so far as the antislavery sentiment of England is concerned, it can have no sympathy with the North. Nay, it will probably become disgusted with a canting hypocrisy which would enlist those sympathies on false pretenses.

The undersigned are, however, not insensible to the surmise that the Lincoln Government may, under stress of circumstances, change its policy—a policy based at present more upon a wily view of what is to be its effect in rearing up an element in the Confederate States favorable to a reconstruction of the Union than upon any honest desire to uphold a Constitution the main provisions of which it has most shamelessly violated.

But they confidently submit to your Lordship's consideration, that success in producing so abrupt and violent destruction of a system of labor, which has reared up so vast a commerce between America and the great States of Europe, that it is supposed now gives bread to ten millions of the population of those States, which, it may be safely assumed, is intimately blended with the basis of the great manufacturing and navigating prosperity that distinguishes the age, and that probably not the least of the elements of that

prosperity, would be visited with results disastrous to the world as well as to the master and slave.

Resort to servile war has, it is true, as we have heretofore stated, not been proclaimed but officially abandoned. It has, however, been recommended by persons of influence in the United States, and when all other means shall fail, as the undersigned assure your Lordship they will, to bring the Confederate States into subjection to the power of Mr. Lincoln's Government, it is by no means improbable that it may be inaugurated. Whenever it shall be done, however, the motive, it is now rendered clear, will not be that high philanthropic consideration which undoubtedly beats in the hearts of many in England, but the baser feeling of selfish aggrandizement, not unmixed with a cowardly spirit of revenge.

The undersigned call your Lordship's attention to what is now so publicly known as a fact, to the great battle of Bull Run, three miles in front of Manassas Junction, in which a well-appointed army of 55,000 Federal soldiers gave battle to the Confederate States Army of inferior force. After nine hours of hard fighting the Federalists were defeated and driven from the field in open flight, and were pursued by the Confederate States Army to Centerville, the position of the Federal reserve.

The enemy lost honor and nearly all the arms and munitions of war which had been so industriously gathered together for months for an offensive campaign in Virginia, and they did not cease their flight until, under cover of a stormy night, they had regained the shelter of their intrenchments in front of Washington.

The Confederate States forces have commenced offensive movements, and have driven the vaunting hosts of the United States behind intrenchments upon the border of Virginia, and so far from threatening the integrity of the territory and the existence of the Government of the Confederate States, the Government at Washington seems

content at present, and will be rejoiced it if can maintain a successful defense of its capital and preserve the remnants of its defeated and disorganized forces.

The undersigned would also ask your Lordship's attention to the fact that the cotton-picking season in the cotton-growing States of the Confederacy has commenced. The crop bids far to be at least an average one, and will be prepared for market and be delivered by our planters and our merchants, as usual, on the wharves of the ports of those States when there shall be a prospect of the blockade being raised, and not before. As a defensive measure, an embargo has been laid by the Government of the Confederate States upon the passage of cotton by inland conveyance to the United States.

To be obtained it must be sought for in the Atlantic and Gulf ports of those States.

They submit to your Lordship the consideration of the fact that the blockade of all the ports of the Confederate States was declared to have commenced by the blockading officer off Charleston, when in truth, at that time and for weeks after, there was no pretense of a blockade of the ports of the gulf.

They further submit for consideration that, since the establishment of the blockade, there have been repeated instances of vessels breaking it, at Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, and New Orleans. It will be for the neutral powers whose commerce has been so seriously damaged to determine how long such a blockade shall be permitted to interfere with that commerce.

In closing this communication the undersigned desire to urge upon Her Britannic Majesty's Government the just claim which, in their opinion, the Government of the Confederate States has at this time to a recognition as a government *de facto*, whether its internal peace or its territory, its population, its great resources for both domestic and

foreign commerce, and its power to maintain itself are considered, or whether your Lordship shall take into consideration the necessity of commercial relations being established with it with a view to the preservation of vast interests of the commerce of England. If, however, in the opinion of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, the Confederate States have not yet won a right to a place among the nations of the earth, the undersigned can only assure your Lordship that, while such an announcement will be received with surprise by the Government which they represent, and while that Government is to be left to contend for interests which it thinks are as important to commercial Europe as to itself without even a friendly countenance from other nations, its citizens will buckle themselves to the great task before them, with a vigor and determination that will justify the undersigned in having pressed the question upon Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and when peace shall have been made, their Government will at least feel that it will not be justly responsible for the vast quantity of blood which shall have been shed, nor for the great and widespread suffering which so prolonged a conflict will have entailed upon millions of the human race, both in the Eastern as well as upon the North American continent.

The undersigned have the honor to be, most respectfully, your Lordship's obedient servants,

W. L. Yancey,
P. A. Rost,
A. Dudley

Mann." (A Compilation of the Message and Papers of the Confederacy)

U.S.S. Daylight, Commander Samuel Lockwood, initiates blockade of Wilmington, North Carolina.

August 15, 1861

"The Great Eastern arrived at Liverpool [from Quebec] at 7½ o'clock on the evening of the 15th." New York Times August 30, 1861. *Great Eastern* left Quebec for Liverpool, with 221 cabin passengers and 123 steerage (Quebec ship records)

The *North American* departs Liverpool for Quebec with D. C. Lower on board. (Movements of Ocean Steamers, New York Times, Aug. 9, 1861)

“New York 14th.

Steamship Persia passed the city of Washington on the 6th—the Great Eastern on the 10th, and City of Baltimore on the 12th.” (Bangor, Aug. 15, 1861)

Kennedy sent the following telegram to Seward:

“DEAR SIR: This morning I conveyed Robert Mure to Fort Hamilton and delivered him into the custody of Lieut. Col. Martin Burke, who immediately transferred him to Fort Lafayette.

On my return to town I found among my letters an anonymous one which is represented to be from an intimate acquaintance of Mure. He says Mure is a Scotchman, not an Englishman; that his relatives reside in the vicinity of Kirkcudbright, Scotland; that he has resided in Charleston about thirty years; that before the breaking out of this rebellion he held a commission in a Charleston militia company; that during the last spring he was acting as a field officer of a Charleston regiment; that he was in such service during the attack on Fort Sumter and that he is a citizen of the United States, having been naturalized many years ago. But he declines to make himself known on account of previous intimacy.

From my conversation with Mure I had concluded he was a Scotchman who had resided a long time in this country. He professed to have been perfectly neutral on the rebellion question; that he deplored the existence of war of such a kind; that it had ruined his business of cotton merchant; that he was in the habit of visiting Europe annually and always took with him the dispatch bag of the British consul as an accommodation for himself; that as soon as it became known that he was about to leave for Europe letters were left at his house by everybody; that he intended putting them in the New York post-office on arrival here but was

prevented by want of time; that he don't know who any letter in particular is from and supposes they are all on private affairs, as the disarrangement of the mails has nearly destroyed private correspondence between persons in the South and those in Europe, &c. I have examined the letters found on him and none but one addressed to William H. Trappman are apparently for any known secessionist abroad.

Very truly, yours,"

August 16, 1861 (Friday)

"By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

Whereas on the fifteenth day of April, eighteen hundred and sixty-one, the President of the United States, in view of an insurrection against the laws, Constitution, and Government of the United States, which had broken out within the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and in pursuance of the provisions of the act entitled "An act to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions, and to repeal the act now in force for the purpose," approved February twenty-eight, seventeen hundred and ninety-five, did call forth the militia to suppress said insurrection, and to cause the laws of the Union to be duly executed, and the insurgents have failed to disperse by the time directed by the President; and whereas such insurrection has since broken out and yet exists within the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas; and whereas, the insurgents in all the said States claim to act under the authority thereof, and such claim is not disclaimed or repudiated by the persons exercising the functions of government in such State or States, or in the part or parts thereof in which such combinations exist, nor has such insurrection been suppressed by said States:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in pursuance of an act of Congress approved July thirteen, eighteen

hundred and sixty-one, do hereby declare that the inhabitants of the said States of Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Florida (except the inhabitants of that part of the State of Virginia lying west of the Allegheny Mountains, and of such other parts of that State and the other States hereinbefore named as may maintain a loyal adhesion to the Union and the Constitution, or may be from time to time occupied and controlled by forces of the United States engaged in the dispersion of said insurgents), are in a state of insurrection against the United States, and that all commercial intercourse between the same and the inhabitants thereof, with the exceptions aforesaid, and the citizens of other States and other parts of the United States, is unlawful, and will remain unlawful until such insurrection shall cease, or has been suppressed; that all goods and chattels, wares and merchandise, coming from any of said States, without the special license and permission of the President, through the Secretary of the Treasury or proceeding to any of said States, with the exceptions aforesaid, by land or water, together with the vessel or vehicle conveying the same, or conveying person to or from said States, with the said exceptions, will be forfeited to the United States; and that, from and after fifteen days from the issuing of this proclamation, all ships and vessels belonging in whole or in part to any citizen or inhabitant of any of said States, with said exceptions, found at sea or in any port of the United States, will be forfeited to the United States; and I hereby enjoin upon all district attorneys, marshals, and officers of the revenue and of the military and naval forces of the United States to be vigilant in the execution of said act, and in the enforcement of the penalties and forfeitures imposed or declared by it; leaving any party who may think himself aggrieved thereby to his application to the Secretary of the Treasury for the remission of any penalty or forfeiture, which the said Secretary is authorized by law to grant if in his judgment the special circumstances of any case shall require such remission.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this sixteenth day of August, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-sixty.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.”

Seward sent the following telegram to Kennedy:

“SIR: The bearer, Mr. Robert King, has delivered to me a letter addressed to Mure and inclosed in an envelope directed to me; also a bag addressed to Lord John Russell and a pamphlet, thus fully executing the trust reposed in him. You will please send me all other papers and documents found in the prisoner’s possession, allowing him to retain none, and thus enable me to understand and properly decide upon the case.

Very truly, yours”

Edward W. Fiske, of Brooklyn, sent the following communication to Seward:

“HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

SIR: I take the liberty of introducing Mr. Stanton Blake, banker, who visits Washington for an interview with you on behalf of the friends of Mr. Robert Mure, of Charleston, recently arrested and now confined in Fort Lafayette.

I am not acquainted with Mr. Blake but give the letter on application of Messrs. James and Samuel McLean, members of two extensive and

respectable mercantile firms of New York with whom I have been long and intimately acquainted and in whom I have the most entire confidence. They are originally from the same town in Scotland, and their boyhood intimacy with Mr. Mure has been kept up by correspondence and visiting in this country for the past twenty years.

They spent the whole of the evening prior to his arrest in unreserved conversation with Mr. Mure in the public room of the Brevoort Hotel and fully persuaded that his intended visit to England was on his own private business, and that he is entirely innocent of the charge of which he is alleged to be held, viz, bearing dispatches from the Confederate Government, and is guiltless of any connection with such so-called Government or any of its members.

I am, sir, yours, truly,”

Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador to the United States, wrote Lord Russell, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs:

* * *

“You will see that Mr. Seward has had a messenger with despatches from Mr. Bunch to you arrested. – In speaking to me on the subject this morning, he did not complain of Mr. Bunch; a month ago he would have taken away his Exequatur. Mr. Seward said, that it would be very easy if a Consul chose to assist the Southern Gov. in sending their correspondence, for him to put it in a Bag addressed to you, and let the messenger open the Bag when he arrived in England – and separate what was really for you from the treasonable correspondence.—He should therefore wish the Bag to be placed in your hands exactly as it had been sent off. I resented the idea that Mr. Bunch or any our Consuls could play such foolish and improper tricks—but said no more as he told me he should explain the whole matter to you through Mr. Adams. I made no endeavour to get him to give me the bag. I did not wish to afford the smallest motive

towards these people including me in their small suspicions.

I do not think the seals of the Bag will be tampered with.

I doubt very much whether any grounds exist for the charge against the Messenger, Mr. Robert Mure.

Believe me to be Yours very sincerely”

Blockade Strategy Board reports to Secretary of Navy, Gideon Welles, “it is an important object in the present war that this trade, home and foreign, should be interrupted. . . . The most obvious method of accomplishing this object is by putting down material obstructions; and the most convenient form of obstruction, for transportation and use, is that of old vessels laden with ballast . . . sunk in appropriate place.”

U.S.S. St. Lawrence, Captain Hugh Y. Purviance, captured British blockade runner *Herald*, bound from Beaufort, North Carolina, to Liverpool.

“No. 29.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, August 16, 1861.

Sir: I have read with great attention the contents of your despatch, No. 42, dated the 21st July, and shall avail myself of the argument upon the next occasion of an interview with Lord Russell. But I have not thought it necessary to solicit one, for the reason that the government here does not appear to contemplate any change of position, so long as the blockade shall be kept up.

In the last conference which I had with his lordship, I took occasion towards the close of it to intimate to him that he must not infer, from my not having entered into discussion of the merits of the question, that I gave any assent to the position taken by him about the right of a government to close its own ports, when held by forcible possession of

persons resisting its authority. On the contrary, I desired to reserve for my government the treatment of it as an open question whenever it should take any practical shape.

In the meantime I had every reason to believe that it was the design of the President to persevere in the blockade, and to that end that the necessary forces were in constant process of accumulation. This course, being understood to be one against which his lordship had signified an intention not to raise any objection, I did not think it worth while now to go further. At the time of this interview no mention had been made of the precise form of the legislation contemplated by Congress. We received more precise intelligence on this side of the water a few days before the prorogation of Parliament. On the very last day for transacting business the subject was brought up in the House of Commons on a question addressed to Lord Palmerston by Mr. Wyld. His lordship's answer has doubtless attracted your attention long ere this. He considered the law as merely giving a discretionary power. But if carried into practice he construed it as putting an end to the blockade. So that, whether under blockade or under a levy of duties, foreign nations would have a rule to go by. His reply was, however, rather specious than solid, for it did not touch the difficulty presented by the fourth section, nor that involved in a possible levy of a double set of duties, one by the government on ship-board, and another by the insurgents on land. I am inclined to believe that serious objection would be made here in either of these contingencies. For this reason I do not deem it expedient to stir the matter until the necessity for it shall become positive. Believing the government to be on the whole favorably disposed towards us, and also that it is of great importance to avoid all complications of the present struggle which would practically benefit the insurgents, I shall delay to open any sources of controversy which I think may be avoided until especially instructed to do otherwise.

* * *

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.”

August 17, 1861 (Saturday)

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes to Frederick William Seward:

“Washington August 17 1861

Hon F. W. Seward
Assistant Sec of State

Sir

I propose leaving this city tomorrow (Sunday) at 2½ O’ck PM to make the necessary arrangements in New York, for leaving Boston in the “Europea” on the 21st inst, in obedience to your orders. be pleased to prepare my instructions as of today, if entirely convenient.

Very Respectfully
Your Obt Servant

A H Schultz”

Letter dated August 17, 1861, to Alexander H. Schultz from William H. Seward:

“Sir: With the dispatches herewith intrusted to you you will proceed to London by the Cunard Steamer [Europa] which will start from Boston on Wednesday next [August 21]. On arriving at London you will deliver the dispatches for Mr. Adams to him and as soon as convenient you will proceed to Paris and deliver to Mr. Dayton those addressed to him also. You will remain in Paris for any dispatches which Mr. Dayton may have to send by you and you will return by the way of London for any which Mr. Adams may have. You will exercise all practicable diligence in the discharge of this duty for which you will be allowed a compensation at the rate of \$6 a day and your

necessary traveling expenses of which you will keep an account, to be supported by vouchers in every instance where they can be obtained. The sum of \$400 is now advanced to you on account of your expense.”

“The Great Eastern

Liverpool, Friday

The Great Eastern, which left Quebec on the 6th, arrived last evening, but brought no news.

Captain Kennedy, who commanded the Great Eastern this voyage, will not go in the vessel again, having merely consented, with the permission of the Liverpool, New York, and Philadelphia Steamship Company, to take charge of her for one voyage only. He will immediately rejoin his own vessel, the Etna.” (London Times, *August 17, 1861*)

Seward wrote the following letter to Charles Francis Adams:

“SIR: Alexander H. Schultz, a special messenger, will deliver to you this despatch, together with a bag containing papers addressed to Lord John Russell.

On the 13th instant I was advised by a telegram from Cincinnati that Robert Mure, of Charleston, was on his way to New York to embark at that port for England, and that he was a bearer of despatches from the usurping insurrectionary authorities at Richmond to Earl Russell. Other information bore that he was a bearer of despatches from the same authorities to their agents in London. Information from various sources agreed in the fact that he was traveling under a passport from the British consul at Charleston.

Upon this information I directed the police at New York by telegraph to detain Mr. Mure and any papers which might be found in his possession until I should give further directions. He was so

detained, and he is now in custody at Fort Lafayette, awaiting full disclosures. In his possession were found seventy letters, four of which were unsealed and sixty-six sealed. There was also found in his possession a sealed bag marked "Foreign office 3," with two labels as follows:

On Her Brit. Maj. service.—The Right Honorable the Lord John Russell, M.P., &c., &c., &c. Despatches in charge of Robert Mure, Esq.,"
signed Robert Bunch.

On Her Brit. Maj. service.—The Right Honorable the Lord John Russell, M.P., H.B.M.'s Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Foreign Office, London.

R. Bunch.

The bag bears two impressions of the seal of office of the British consul at Charleston, and seems to contain voluminous papers.

There were also found upon Mr. Mure's person, in an open envelope, what pretends to be a passport in the following words.*³⁶ Also a letter of instruction which is as follows.³⁷

There were also found several unsealed copies of a printed pamphlet entitled, "A narrative of the Battles of Bull Run and Manassas Junction, July 18th and 21st. Accounts of the advance of both armies, the battles and rout of the enemy, compiled chiefly from the detailed reports of the Virginia and South Carolina press, Charleston Steam-Power Presses of Evans & Cogswell, Nos. 3 Broad, and 103 East Bay streets, 1861."

This pamphlet is manifestly an argument for the disunion of the United States. Several copies of it were found in envelopes addressed to persons in England.

The marks and outward appearance of the bag indicate that its contents are exclusively

³⁶ This is the document on page ____.

³⁷ This is the document on page ____.

legitimate communications from the British consul at Charleston to Her Britannic Majesty's Government. Nevertheless, I have what seems to me good reasons for supposing that they may be treasonable papers, designed and gotten up to aid parties engaged in arms for the overthrow of this Government and the dissolution of the Union. These reasons are:

First. That I can hardly conceive that there can be any occasion for such very voluminous communications of a legitimate nature being made by the consul at Charleston to his Government at the present time. This circumstance, however, is admitted to be very inconclusive.

Second. Consuls have no authority to issue passports, the granting of them being, as I understand, not a consular but a diplomatic function. Passports, however, have in other times been habitually granted by foreign consuls residing in the United States. But soon after the insurrection broke out in the Southern States a regulation was made by this Department, which I have excellent means of knowing was communicated to the British consul at Charleston, to the effect that until further orders, no diplomatic or consular passport would be recognized by this Government, so far as to permit the bearer to pass through the lines of the national forces or out of the country unless it should be countersigned by the Secretary of State and the commanding general of the Army of the United States. Mr. Mure had passed the lines of the army, and was in the act of leaving the United States in open violation of this regulation. Moreover, the bearer of the papers, Robert Mure, is a naturalized citizen of the United States, has resided here thirty years, and is a colonel in the insurgent military forces in South Carolina.

Third, If the papers contained in the bag are not illegal in their nature or purpose it is not seen why their safe transmission was not secured, as it might have been by exposing them in some way to Lord Lyons, the British minister residing at this capital, whose voucher for their propriety would as

Mr. Bunch must well know, exempt them from all scrutiny or suspicion.

Fourth. The consul's letter to the bearer of despatches attaches unusual importance to the papers in question, while it expresses great impatience for their immediate conveyance to their destination, and an undue anxiety lest they might by some accident come under the notice of this Government.

Fifth. The bearer is proved to be disloyal to the United States by the pamphlet and the letters found in his possession.

I have examined many of the letters found upon the person of Mr. Mure and I find them full of treasonable information and clearly written for treasonable purposes. These I think will be deemed sufficient grounds for desiring the scrutiny of the papers and surveillance of the bearer on my part.

Comity toward the British Government, together with a perfect confidence in its justice and honor, as well as its friendship toward the United States, to say nothing of a sense of propriety, which I could not dismiss, have prevented me from entertaining, for a moment, the idea of breaking the seals which I have so much reason to believe were put upon the consular bag to save it from my inspection, while the bearer himself might remove them on his arrival in London, after which he might convey the papers, if treasonable, to the agents of the insurgents now understood to be residing in several of the capitals in Europe.

I will not say that I have established the fact that the papers in question are treasonable in their nature, and are made with purposes hostile and dangerous to this country. But I confess that I fear they are so, and I apprehend either that they are guilty despatches to the agents of disunion, or else that, if they are really addressed to the British Government, they are papers prepared by traitors in the insurrectionary States, with a view to apply to the British Government for some advantage and

assistance or countenance from that Government injurious to the United States and subversive of their sovereignty. Of course, I need hardly say that I disclaim any thought that Earl Russell has any knowledge of the papers or of their being sent, or that I have any belief or fear that the British Government would in any way receive the papers if they are illegal in their character, or dangerous or injurious to the United States. It is important, however, to this Government that whatever mischief, if any, may be lurking in the transaction be counteracted and prevented.

I have, therefore, upon due consideration of the case concluded to send the bag by a special messenger, who will deliver it into your care, and to instruct you to see that it is delivered according to its address exactly in the condition in which you receive it.

You will also make known to the Earl Russell the causes and circumstances of the arrest and detention of Mr. Mure and his papers, adding the assurance that this Government deeply regrets that it has become necessary; and that it will be very desirous to excuse the brief interruption of the correspondence of the British consul, if it is indeed innocent, and will endeavor, in that case, to render any further satisfaction which may be justly required. On the other hand, you will, in such terms as you shall find most suitable and proper, intimate that if the papers in question shall prove to be treasonable against the United States, I expect that they will be delivered up to you for the use of this Government, and that Her Britannic Majesty's consul at Charleston will, in that case, be promptly made to feel the severe displeasure of the Government which employs him, since there can be no greater crime against society than a perversion by the agent of one Government of the hospitality afforded to him by another, to designs against its safety, dignity, and honor.

I think it proper to say that I have apprised Lord Lyons of this transaction, and of the general character of this letter, while he is not in any way

compromised by any assent given to my proceedings, or by any opinions expressed by him or asked from him.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,”

Seward wrote Adams an additional note:

“Charles Francis Adams, &c.

SIR: Among the letters found on the person of Robert Mure mentioned in my despatch No. 63, of this date, there are many which more or less directly implicate Mr. Robert Bunch, the British consul at Charleston, as a conspirator against the Government of the United States. The following is an extract of one of them:

Mr. B., on oath of secrecy, communicated to me also that the *first step* to recognition was taken. He and Mr. Belligny together sent Mr. Trescot to Richmond yesterday, to ask Jeff. Davis, President, to _____ the treaty of _____ to _____ the neutral flag covering neutral goods to be respected. This is the first step of direct treating with our Government. So prepare for active business by January 1.

You will submit this information to the British Government and request that Mr. Bunch may be removed from his office, saying that this Government will grant an exequatur to any person who may be appointed to fill it, who will not pervert his functions to hostilities against the United States.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant”

“No. 61.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, .August 17,
1861.

Sir: Your despatch of August 2 (No. 22) has been received. It is accompanied by a correspondence which has just taken place between

yourself and Lord John Russell, with a view, on your part, to remove possible obstructions against the entrance upon negotiations, with which you have so long been charged, for an accession on our part to the declaration of the congress of Paris on the subject of the rights of neutrals in maritime war. It was also understood by you that a further result of the correspondence would be to facilitate, indirectly, the opening of similar negotiations for a like object, by Mr. Dayton, with the government of France.

Your letter to Lord John Russell is judicious, and is approved. Lord John Russell's answer is satisfactory, with the exception of a single passage, upon which it is my duty to instruct you to ask the British secretary for foreign affairs for an explanation.

That passage is as follows:

'I need scarcely add that on the part of Great Britain the engagement will be prospective, and will not invalidate anything already done.'

A brief statement of the objects of the proposed negotiation will bring the necessity for an explanation of this passage into a strong [sic] light. We have heretofore proposed to other maritime states certain meliorations of the laws of maritime war affecting the rights of neutrals. These meliorations are: 1st. That the neutral flag shall protect enemy's goods not contraband of war. 2d. That the goods of neutrals, not contraband, though found under an enemy's flag, shall not be confiscated. 3d. That blockades to be respected, must be effective.

The congress at Paris adopted these three principles, adding a fourth, namely, that privateering shall be abolished. The powers which constituted that congress invited the adhesion of the United States to that declaration. The United States answered that they would accede on condition that the other powers would accept a fifth proposition, namely, that the goods of private persons, non-

combatants, should be exempt from confiscation in maritime war.

When this answer was given by the United States, the British government declined to accept the proposed amendment, or fifth proposition thus offered by the United States, and the negotiation was then suspended. We have now proposed to resume the negotiation, offering our adhesion to the declaration of Paris, as before, with the amendment which would exempt private property from confiscation in maritime war.

The British government now, as before, declares this amendment or fifth proposition inadmissible. It results that, if the United States can at all become a party to the declaration of the congress of Paris by the necessary consent of the parties already committed to it, this can be done only by their accepting that declaration without any amendment whatever, in other words, 'pure and simple.' Under these circumstances you have proposed in your letter to Lord John Russell to negotiate our adhesion to the declaration in that form. It is at this stage of the affair that Lord John Russell interposes, by way of caution, the remark, that 'on the part of Great Britain the engagement will be prospective, and will not invalidate anything already done.'

I need dwell on this remark only one moment to show that, although expressed in a very simple form and in a quite casual manner, it contains what amounts to a preliminary condition, which must be conceded by the United States to Great Britain, and either be inserted in the convention, and so modify our adhesion to the declaration of Paris, or else must be in some confidential manner implied and reserved, with the same effect.

Upon principle this government could not consent to enter into formal negotiations, the result of which, as expressed in a convention, should be modified or restricted by a tacit or implied reservation. Even if such a proceeding was

compatible with our convictions of propriety or of expediency, there would yet remain an insuperable obstacle in the way of such a measure.

The President can only initiate a treaty. The treaty negotiated can come into life only through an express and deliberate act of ratification by the Senate of the United States, which ratification sanctions, in any case, only what is set down in the treaty itself. I am not, by any means, to be understood in these remarks as implying a belief that Lord John Russell desires, expects, or contemplates the practice of any reservation on the part of the United States or of Great Britain. The fact of his having given you the caution upon which I am remarking, would be sufficient, if evidence were necessary, to exclude any apprehension of that sort. It results from these remarks that the convention into which we are to enter must contain a provision to the effect that ‘the engagements’ to be made therein are ‘on the part of Great Britain prospective, and will not invalidate anything already done.’

I must, therefore, now discuss the propriety of inserting such a stipulation in the convention which you have been authorized to consummate. The proposed stipulation is divisible into two parts, namely: First. That the engagements of Great Britain are ‘prospective’ [only.]

I do not see any great objection to such an amendment. But why should it be important. A contract is always prospective, and prospective only, if it contains no express stipulation that it shall be retrospective in its operation. So much, therefore, of the stipulation asked is unnecessary, while, if conceded, it might possibly give, occasion to misapprehension as to its effect. You will, therefore, decline to make such a condition without first receiving a satisfactory explanation of its meaning and its importance.

The second part of the proposed condition is, that the ‘engagement will not invalidate anything already done.’ I am not sure that I should think this

proposed condition exceptionable, if its effect were clearly understood. It is necessary, however, to go outside of his lordship's letter to find out what is meant by the words 'anything already done.' If 'anything' pertinent to the subject 'has been already done' which ought not to be invalidated, it is clear that it must have been done either by the joint action of the United States and Great Britain, or by the United States only, or by Great Britain acting alone. There has been no joint action of the United States and Great Britain upon the subject. The United States have done nothing affecting it; certainly nothing which they apprehend would be invalidated by the simple form of convention which they propose. I am left to conclude, therefore that the 'thing' which 'has been done already,' and which Great Britain desires shall not be invalidated by the convention, must be something which she herself has done. At the same time we are left to conjecture what that thing is which is thus to be carefully saved. It would be hazardous on our part to assume to know, while I have no doubt that the British government, with its accustomed frankness, and in view of the desirableness of a perfect understanding of the matter, will at once specify what the thing which has been done by her, and which is not to be invalidated, really is. You will, therefore, respectfully ask the right honorable secretary for foreign affairs for an explanation of the part of his letter which I have thus drawn under review, as a preliminary to any further proceedings in the proposed negotiation.

You will perform this in such a manner as to show that the explanation is asked in no querulous or hypercritical spirit. Secondly, you will perform it with reasonable promptness, so that the attainment of the important object of the negotiation may not be unnecessarily delayed; and, thirdly, you will assure the British government that while the United States at present see no reason to think that the stipulation proposed is necessary or expedient, yet, in view of the great interests of commerce and of civilization which are involved, they will refuse nothing which shall be really just or even non-essential and not injurious to themselves, while of

course I suppose they are not expected in any way to compromise their own national integrity; safety, or honor.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq. &c., &c.,
&c.”

“[Confidential]
No. 41.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 11, 1861.

Sir: I send you a copy of a despatch, which is this day sent to Mr. Adams, concerning the negotiations with Great Britain for the melioration of international law relating to the rights of neutrals in maritime war.

You will, of course, wait in your negotiations, at Paris, until the result of the explanations, which Mr. Adams is instructed to ask, shall have been received and duly considered. There is reason, however, to expect that the delay which thus becomes necessary will be moved for by Mr. Thouvenel himself when he shall have become advised of the new and singular position assumed by Lord John Russell.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

WM. L. DAYTON, Esq., &c., &c., &c.”

“[Extract]
No. 42.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 17, 1861.

SIR:

* * *

You will learn from a distinct despatch, No. 41, which accompanies which will soon follow this, that our negotiation in England has taken a new

phase, which, of course, will soon present itself in discussion with the French government.

Treason was emboldened by its partial success at Manassas, but the Union now grows manifestly stronger every day. Let us see how Great Britain will explain.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

WILLIAM L. DAYTON, Esq., &c., &c., &c.”

“The Great Eastern.

Liverpool, Friday.

The Great Eastern, which left Quebec on the 6th, arrived last evening, but brought no news.

Captain Kennedy, who commanded the Great Eastern this voyage, will not go in the vessel again, having merely consented, with the permission of the Liverpool, New York, and Philadelphia Steamship Company, to take charge of her for one voyage only. He will immediately rejoin his own vessel, the Etna.” (Times of London, Aug. 17, 1861)

“The Blockade.

We cannot help thinking that many of our contemporaries use very extravagant and unwarranted language in their denunciations of the blockade of our Southern ports. Very many speak of it as utterly inefficient,-- as a blockade merely in name, neither effective in preventing commerce with the blockaded ports, nor entitled to the respect of foreign Powers. Much of this censure is undoubtedly intended to stimulate the Navy Department to a still more vigorous and thorough enforcement of the blockade, and something of it is doubtlessly designed to aid in displacing the present Secretary. But this is carried too far when it misstates the facts of the case, and may mislead foreigners into a course of action highly injurious to ourselves.

It is a mistake to suppose that a blockade to be effective must be so absolute and perfect as never to be broken. No nation has ever gone so far as to require this. What is required, by the recognized law of nations as well as by the declaration of the Congress of Paris, is that the blockade shall be maintained by an actual force present at the blockaded ports, and sufficient for the ordinary emergencies of the service. Kent says that 'the blockade must be existing in point of fact,--and in order to constitute that existence, there must be a power present to enforce it.' The English Courts have decided, in the case of vessels that have slipped into a blockaded port by night, after being warned off, that 'nothing further is necessary to constitute a blockade, than that there should be a force stationed to prevent communication, and a due notice or prohibition given to the party.' The rule in regard to effective blockades was adopted to prevent the destruction of commerce by mere paper declarations, without any adequate force to make the prohibition effectual. But it has never been required that a port must be hermetically sealed,--that it must be so effectively blockaded that a vessel should never go in or out,--in order to entitle the blockade to respect.

In spite of all that is said to the contrary, we think our blockade of the rebel ports quite effective enough to bring it within the definitions of international law and entitle it to the respect of foreign Powers. Vessels have occasionally gone in and out of our blockaded ports,--but they have been few and small, and of little importance. The worst instances that have occurred have been those in which rebel privateers have been permitted to go in and out in spite of the steamer *Brooklyn*;--but this is due much more to the incapacity, to use no harsher term, of her commander, Capt. Poor, than to any lack of force. This defect, however, is one which the Government should not lose a moment in correcting.

We understand that we have already *over two hundred and forty* vessels engaged at various points

in enforcing the blockade, and that this number is being constantly increased by the addition of new vessels. This is certainly a respectable force;--and we do not believe any foreign nation will venture, in the face of it, to treat the blockade as either fictitious or ineffective.” (New York Times, August 17, 1861)

August 18, 1861 (Sunday)

Robert Bunch, the British Consul at Charleston, South Carolina, wrote Lord Lyons:

“Information has been received here of a matter which causes me the deepest concern, and on behalf of which I desire to invoke the powerful assistance of Your Lordship.

Mr. Robert Mure is a Scotchman by birth parentage and education. Having established himself in business in Charleston he, many years ago, became a naturalized Citizen of the United States, as great numbers of British Subjects do, in order to enable them to hold property, and otherwise to form and their commercial pursuits. But he is still to all intents and purposes a British merchant, altho’ he may have forfeited his claim to the direct protection of H. M. officers by his naturalization here. For the ____, he is ____ at the head of the mercantile community here, a man of the highest honour and reputation of the most active benevolence. – The Present of the St. Andrew’s society, and a Trustee of many charitable Institutions. His business is entirely with the British Dominions, nearly all British vessels arriving here are consigned to him, so that no one could think of calling him anything but a British Merchant.

Following his yearly custom Mr. Mure proposed to visit Great Britain in the course of his business, and to see his two sons who are at school in Scotland. He left here on the 7th Instant furnished by me with a Certificate (not a Passport) to the effect that he was a British Merchant residing in Charleston – that he was on his way to England by way of New York, and that he was charged by me with a Bag of Despatches for H. M. Principal Sec.

of State for Foreign Affairs. His intention was to leave New York by the "Africa" on the 14th.

To the great distress of Mr. Mure's family and friends it is stated by a telegram in the newspapers, confirmed by a private message received subsequently that he was arrested on board of the "Africa" and that he has been confined in Fort Lafayette, in New York Harbour. Upon what charge or for what reason no one knows. The Paper indeed says that he was carrying Despatches for the Confederate Govt. I feel quite certain that this is false, as he assured me twice that he had nothing whatever except letters for the post which he could not refuse to receive from his brother Merchants, but which any one might take from him and post when and where they liked.

Such is the state of this unfortunate case, and I venture earnestly to commend it to Y. L. kindest sympathies. I do not write officially expecting it because Mr. Mure may be said to have forfeited his claim to your protection; but I cannot help thinking that upon an explanation Mr. Mure's real character and position the Govt. of the U.S. may be disposed to release him, always provided that he has not committed some overt act against it, which I cannot possibly believe.

Some years ago Mr. Mure was a member and also the Captain of a Scotch Volunteer Company called the "Union Light Infantry". But in consequence of his age he resigned long before the Secession of South Carolina, and has of course taken no part in hostilities against the U.S.

As regards my Despatches of which Mr. Mure was the Bearer I take it for granted that they have been forwarded to their destination. They were of the greatest importance as Y. L. will see by the copies when they reach you. If they should be detained I must call on your aid for their recovery.

I feel deeply interested in this matter; not only because I am well acquainted personally with Mr. Mure, but also because his position ought to

exempt him from suspicion. He could certainly not have expected such treatment as numbers of South Carolinians, native born and bred, have gone to the Northern Ports and sailed for Europe without

_____ -

I beg, &c.”

“FOREIGN OFFICE, August 19, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose a copy of a declaration which I propose to make upon signing the convention of which you gave me a draft embodying the articles of the declaration of Paris.

I propose to make the declaration in question in a written form, and to furnish you with a copy of it.

You will observe that it is intended to prevent any misconception as to the nature of the engagement to be taken by her Majesty.

If you have no objection to name a day in the course of this week for the signature of the convention, Mr. Dayton can on that day, and at the same time, sign with M. Thouvenel a convention identical with that which you propose to sign with me.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

RUSSELL.

C. F. ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c., &c.

Draft of Declaration

In affixing his signature to the convention of this day between her, Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and the United States of America, the Earl Russell declares, by order of her Majesty, that her Majesty does not intend thereby to undertake any engagement, which shall have any

bearing, direct or indirect, on the internal differences now prevailing in the United States.”

August 19, 1861 (Monday)

“No. 46.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 19, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch No. 22, under the date of July 30, has been received. It relates to an interview, and is accompanied by a correspondence between yourself and Mr. Adams.

Your proceedings and your letter are deemed judicious, and are fully approved.

In communications which have preceded this I have already said all that the despatch now before me seems to require.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

WILLIAM L. DAYTON, Esq., &c., &c., .&c.”

“[Extracts.]
No. 29.] PARIS, August 19, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatches Nos. 29, 30, and 31.

* * *

Your despatch No. 30 includes copies of despatches 42 and 46 to Mr. Adams. These are of great interest, as they affect the question of our blockade of the southern ports. I never think it wise to volunteer a subject out of which complaints may arise before they are brought to my notice by the party likely to complain; but should occasion arise, I shall avail myself fully of the views suggested by you as to the purpose and object of the late act of Congress authorizing the President to close the ports by proclamation. But I very much fear that difficulties will grow up between us and Great Britain and France upon this question. Unless the

ports are hermetically sealed by blockade, not by proclamation—if these countries get short of cotton, and we are not ourselves in possession of the interior—excuses enough will be made for breaking the blockade. The tone of the public press here indicates this; the private conversation of public men indicate it.

* * *

With much respect, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM L. DAYTON.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Esq., &c., &c., &c.”

“No. 31.] PARIS, August 19, 1861.

Sir: On Thursday of last week I was informed by Lord Cowley that Mr. Adams and Lord John Russell had agreed upon the text of a convention in respect to maritime rights, &c. On the following day a copy of this convention was sent to me by Lord Cowley. I find it substantially, if not literally, the same as that which you enclosed to me, and directed me to execute. I am to see Mr. Thouvenel upon the subject by appointment tomorrow. Unless something shall occur, altering the existing condition of things, this convention will doubtless be executed at an early day. Your despatch No. 30 says, ‘the President is not impatient about the negotiation concerning neutral rights,’ but your prior despatches and the action of Mr. Adams have put any considerable delay out of my power. Besides, if the treaty is to be executed, whether it be done a few days or weeks earlier or later is, perhaps, not very important. I have felt much relieved in this negotiation by the specific character of my instructions.

With great respect, I have the honor to be
your obedient servant,

WILLIAM L. DAYTON.

The Hon. WILLIAM. H. SEWARD, &c., &c.,
&c.”

“Private

Washington,
August 19, 1861.

My dear Sir Alexander [Milne],

The French Admiral gave your despatch & letter to me of the 26th July, to the French Minister, who kept them in his pocket until the 10th—being supposed absorbed in doing the honour to Prince Napoleon.

The Government at home wish to have as complete information as possible as to the manner in which the Blockade is maintained, in order to judge of the validity of claims against the U.S. Of this however you have no doubt heard from home. I don't think there is any necessity for an increase of cruisers on account of the law enabling the President to close the ports. In the first place, I hope and trust he will not exercise the power; and in the second place if he do exercise it, our Government do not wish us to resist by force without positive orders from them. I turn a deaf ear to the representation of Consuls, who ask for ships without any clearly defined reason. I suppose it is very desirable at this season to keep our ships away from Southern Ports.

I am very glad of the increase of your Squadron—Such things have a very sedative effect here. For the present I am getting on smoothly enough but I am beset by small troubles about British ships and British subjects, and I do not keep things smooth without hard work in details.

Yours sincerely

Lyons”

“Lord Russell has written requesting Mr. Adams to fix an early day for the signature of the

proposed Convention on the Paris Declaration and the mental reservation he heretofore hinted at is now given in the shape of a Declaration which he proposed to make on going on the sealing. It is a specious piece of rascality, & shows both the leanings and the policy of the British Gov't towards us in the present emergency. In fact, if this proposition were adopted privateering would be abandoned by us, and be maintained by them. It is as follows:

In signing the Treaty 'Her Majesty does not intend thereby to undertake any engagement which shall have any bearing direct or indirect, on the internal differences now prevailing in the United States.'

A more barefaced attempt at accomplishing an end by false pretences never came to my notice. And it must be borne in mind that it comes when least expected, and really before an exchange of full powers has been effected between the negotiators for the framing of the Convention. When Mr. Adams saw his Lordship he presented both the full powers and a projet of the Treaty. But while his Lordship received the projet he said there was no present necessity for the powers, and after looking over the Articles, remarked with surprise that they were identically those of the Paris Declaration and before negotiation could go on he must show them to his colleagues. He also stated that he was not aware our Gov't were willing to go so far, and intimated that himself and the rest of the Cabinet could see no objection to their acceptance. Now he proposes a mental reservation after signing, which absolutely nullifies the most important clause of the whole – that abolishing privateering – and does this with the cool effrontery of a footpad. We have sent a copy both to Mr. Adams and Mr. Dayton, & I trust both will reject the proposal most positively. If it is to be binding and is accepted, why not put it in the bond?

But it is clearly meant for one side only, and is intended both as an insult & to defeat the

signature of the Treaty. The truth is this Gov't don't want such a convention with us. The proposal to admit the Declaration is an indication of the policy Great Britain always pursues towards us in matters of Treaties, which is that she makes [them] to be broken if it suits her purpose to do so. For years I have been firmly convinced that our best policy is to have no conventions of any kind with her, & if I had the power I never would make another.”
(Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

“(40 Albemarle Street)

London, Aug. 19, 1861.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:--

Fresh indications, of a reliable character, are furnished by the last arrival – the ‘Arabia’ – that the position which the North has assumed is impossible. The Lincoln concern must break down in the next ninety days, -- Notwithstanding the increase in the wages of the troops, \$4 per month, comparatively no volunteers are offering. The prosecution of hostilities will fail for the want of both men and money. It is admitted on all sides that there is no longer a Constitution of the United States in existence – that ‘the bond, the only bond of Union’ has been severed by the Administration at Washington.

Your old friend Senator Hunter has been appointed Secretary of Foreign Affairs by President Davis. Vice Robert Toombs appointed Brigadier General. Mr. Moles [?] was in the battle of Manassas as aid of Beauregard; and deported himself most gallantly.

Our forces are steadily moving up toward Washington and Alexandria. A battle may soon be expected.

Public opinion in Great-Britain is rapidly coming up to your judicious proposal. I can but

think that the government made a serious mistake in not recognizing us when we presented ourselves informally to Lord John. However, it is not for me to criticize their policy.

Mr. Osborne is in Ireland. He has written to me to say that he will not return to town for about three weeks. Mrs. Osborne has gone to the Continent.

The Morrill Tariff has been re-affirmed in principle, with increased duties on many articles -- chiefly affecting French products.

The cotton supply question is becoming exceedingly grave. The Factors of New Orleans have issued a Circular to the Planters not to bring their cotton to the city as long as the blockade is in force. This is aimed at the New England mills, and will be felt as they are so destitute of stock that shipments are made to Boston from Liverpool.

Thanks for your last. Like all its predecessors I value it highly.

Yours most Faithfully

A. Dudley Mann

W. H. Gregory Esq. M.P.”

August 20, 1861(Tuesday)

Geo H. Ball of 160 Pearl Street, New York,
wrote a letter to Seward:

“Sir: From sources entitled to the utmost confidence I learn there is now on the way from Europe a bearer of dispatches to the Confederate States of America. His real name is D. C. Lowber and is a brother of Captain Lowber, of the U.S. Revenue Service. He left this country under an assumed name and may possibly return under the same appellation. I will endeavor to ascertain what it is and communicate it to the U.S. marshal of this

district. I understand his arrival is expected every moment and would be happy if the Government could get possession of his dispatches, and have in writing this morning communicated the affair to the U.S. marshal.

It may appear impertinent for me to offer a suggestion, but I avail myself of this occasion to recommend putting martial law in force in New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia as the only means of suppressing the treasonable papers, spies, &c., which are actively at work. It is well known here that Adams Express daily conveys information in every shape to all quarters of the Southern Confederacy and we apprehend the Government is yet hardly aware of the necessity of the most energetic measures against an enemy that stops at nothing and would glory in the destruction of the North.

Very truly, yours,"

August 20, 1861

William Henry Seward wrote Lord Napier:

"Washington, 20th Augt. 1861

My dear Lord Napier

I begin with saying that the little of the faculty of writing legibly which remained with me when I came into my present busy place, has been completely lost, and as you probably have no decypherer of hieroglyphics in your Legation, I accommodate myself to the poverty of the British Empire in that respect, by having this letter copied before I sign it.

It is a great satisfaction to me that you have written. I had, as the New England man says, ee'n a'most given you up for a Britisher who could not understand how an American can rightfully prefer the high hopes of his own country to the praises of his jealous English cousins. To be entirely frank

with you, your letter is a most agreeable surprise. I have written to Lady Napier many months ago, two or three letters which brought no reply. I believe in her so fully that I shall not think she has forgotten me even if she says she has.

You are early arrived at the height of a high diplomatic career. Your employment is honorable and easy – God be thanked for it. I think it suits your tastes and satisfies your ambition while it secures you and your family independence and comfort, which are conditions preliminary to happiness. I, at the very time when I thought retirement and ease awaited me, am thrown into a more responsible public service than ever. A nation (excuse the American vanity) the greatest in the tide of time, seems every day as if it might take some detriment from a want of my poor counsel or feeble energy. You will wonder how I feel about all this. I answer that I am as cheerful and hopeful as ever. I believe in justice, loyalty and virtue.

A thousand thanks to you for recalling the memory of that merry youthful day when we journeyed over the Highlands and looked down upon my native valley, so surprisingly beautiful, yet to myself almost as novel, certainly as beautiful as to you. Ah well a day! Neither here nor in foreign lands may I look forward to such another day of dreamy pleasure. The feelings we have on such occasions seem to me to be of the class that were confessed by the tenants of the Earthly Paradise to Dante when Beatrice was descending to meet the poet, and conduct him to the regions of yet more perfect happiness.

I left my home at Auburn in early December last, and since that time I have been a prisoner here. In all that time I have seen neither Mrs. Seward nor Fanny. I cannot leave the city you will say perhaps because I fear my old friends, Jefferson Davis and his wife who are at Manassas will come here to take it. I cannot bring my family here because, simply I do not want to expose them to Toombs' tender mercies if they should fall into his hands. God be praised they are well and more cheerful and happy

since great and real anxieties have replaced petty causes for morbid discontents. My son Frederick and his wife, the pretty little Jessica of Mrs. G___'s masquerade, are with me, and they are dutiful and affectionate. He is assistant Secretary of State. My oldest son, Augustus is a Major in the Army in New Mexico, but coming on here to take his more active part in this unnatural war. My youngest son is a banker in Auburn, trying to prove that he can 'make rich' out of a small capital I have furnished him.

Why didn't you take time to tell me about my nice young friend Willie, the heir of your house? Send Jack to me and I'll put him into the Navy to fight for the stars and stripes 34 of former against 11, mayhap a few months hence. He may have to bear it aloft in opposition to that standard of treason combined with the tricolored flag of France and the Cross of St. George. He shall thus live for ever in history and atone by his service to liberty for the crime that naughty great grandfather of his was committing against her who was taken with Burgoyne at Saratoga. Mark and Basil too. How are they? I hope they grow and wax in learning, though I don't know how either can increase the large stock of knowledge he has.

Your letter went through our old friend Mr Hunter's hands, and he incontinently sent the letters to the "two Southern ladies." One of them he says was Mrs. Davenport – "he" forgets the name of the other. Know my good friend, that Mrs D. is not now a Southern but a Northern woman, and her husband remains loyal in the Union service.

Cultivate my friend Mr Clay if you can for my sake. He hates John Bull I see as cordially as John bull thinks that I do. May his sacred animosity be as harmless as my imputed offence.

No! I shall not go to you again. I am sixty and in the midst of a civil war of which I see not the end – too old to go abroad if I survive it. But I shall look to see you here after the rebellion is at an end. After your old confreres, now so disloyal, have been pardoned – the slavery question resolved, and Great

Britain wants a more reliable ally than the one on which she is at present leaning. Then you will come here and cement a new Union among the British races of both worlds, freed from the curse of slavery, which meantime afflicts us all.

I am living in the old Club House nicely fitted up and furnished. Your picture and that which presents your family in a group confront me every morning when I am making my toilet, and they calm and compose my spirit with suggestions of what now seem happier days. Tell Lady Napier that a cat that I gave Lord Lyons is the keeper of the garden she planted and I visit it often and watch its developing beauties.

Affectionately yours,

William H Seward”

“An Efficient Blockade.

From the Philadelphia Inquirer.

The twenty-four new gunboats, twelve of which are to be built in New-York, for the protection of our commerce along the Mississippi, will shortly be completed, and will constitute an almost irresistible blockade. The boats are built under the Direction of the Secretary of the Treasury. The Navy Department has employed a number of merchant vessels, which are now being altered and adapted for warlike purposes. The Confederates are relying upon the foreign Powers to break the blockade, and if France and England are insane enough to follow their advice, they will be woefully disappointed. In thirty days every Southern port will be hermetically sealed up.” (New York Times, August 20, 1861)

August 21, 1861 (Wednesday)

N. A. Adams of New York wrote the following letter to Seward:

“Dear Sir: I have most positive assurances that a rebel ambassador, a bearer of dispatches from Jeff. Davis’ Government to Europe, is now on his return home. His real name is D. C. Lowber but did not sail under that name when he went out and probably has some other name on his return voyage. There is no doubt whatever that he is now on his way home for I have the intelligence through some of his most intimate friends who condemn his course but will not name it to the Government. Would it not be well to instruct Marshal Murray about this? Permit me to say also that Adams Express is yet daily carrying South from Northern traitors letters containing revelations of all that is doing here, and on application only a day or two since at their office they replied they would take whatever of documents might be desired, not claiming of course to know contents. In this way it is not difficult to post Jeff. Davis and his rebels with any news of matters occurring here. The carrying of mails and papers by this express surely can do no good, but I only name the circumstances existing for your consideration.

Respectfully,”

An anonymous writer from Newburg [New York] wrote the following to Kennedy:

“D. C. Lowber, of New Orleans, at 15 Broadway, New York, house of Richards & Co., came out in the last steamer as a bearer of dispatches from England and France in relation to a loan for the Confederates. He came over the country this morning from Halifax. He intends to send his dispatches by Adams & Co.’s Express if he can safely to-day. If not he may send them by a young man by the name of John Jackson,³⁸ a Southerner, at

³⁸ John Jackson was born March 9, 1832, and died on September 12, 1894, in Maryland. Therefore, at the time of Mary Lowber Schultz’ letter, Jackson was 29 years old. The following information was obtained from *Keeping the Lamp of Remembrance Lighted* (Hagerstown Bookbinding 1985), a genealogical work written by John Jackson’s great grandson, Elmer Jackson:

As a clerk with a busy firm John Jackson met many people, mainly men with stories to tell about other parts of the country, and that northern business firms were jealous of the growing power of the south. John spent much time exploring New Orleans, tried creole cooking and no doubt drank modestly. In the friendly atmosphere of eating and drinking establishments John Jackson met David L. (sic) Lowber who seemed to take a great interest in John's welfare.

Lowber came and went from New Orleans but on every visit sought out John Jackson and introduced him to more people including attractive young ladies. John still had his \$500 having refunded the portion he spent the first month in New Orleans. Life was rosy for John and he sent word back home that he was happy, very busy at the Jackson and Washington firm, but wisely reported missing the tender loving care Julie and those in her household had showered on him for long years. He hoped all went well with them. Some nights John read a great deal and sought to improve his country school education, and his new friends taught him a great deal about way lay beyond. John made a few excursions during vacation periods from his work. John was so pleasing as a clerk that a number of customer so the company asked to deal through him. He had a knack for making friends, and was witty, thought never a smart aleck.

Finally everyone talked about the war between the states provoked by powerful men in the northern states who wished to strangle the south by abolishing slavery and with it the cotton industry.

Today we know that slavery is morally wrong but John's family and kin owned a few slaves who tilled the soil and served as house servants. John understood the importance of slaves to southern planters and was aroused by the federal governments meddlesome warnings. In this atmosphere in 1861 David Lowber persuaded John Jackson to help the south against its enemies. John got in step; quit his job. Enroute to New York John Jackson learned what Lowber had in mind. He saw John as the type who would serve faithfully and well as a courier and spy for the Confederacy. As Lowber talked John became truly fascinated by the prospect of spying, using disguise and getting through enemy lines as a courier. His hunting endeavors in the mountains had been a good training field for the assignment Lowber was offering him with the blessing of President Jefferson Davis. Not being worldly wise John Jackson was enthusiastically impressed and pledged his life to the Confederate Cause. He and Lowber celebrated the agreement.

Lowber broke John Jackson into the Confederate spy network by having him move Southern raised cotton to Canada in exchange for bacon and other needed food. This assignment was a snap for John, and satisfied with his work Lowber next had John assist him with his courier assignments some of which affected the very heartbeat of the Confederacy. Efforts were being made to have England and other countries build ships for the Confederacy, furnish money, and hopefully England would join the Southern states in their defense against Northern aggression. Messages to and from Confederate agents abroad and Richmond authorities were handled by Lowber, Jackson and other members of the Secret Service of the Confederate States. The Union had a great array of secret agents and their greatest chore was to keep up with or stay ahead of the Confederate spies.

the above-mentioned house, 15 Broadway. Inform the chief of police or the U. S. marshal at once. Keep the source of this dispatch to yourself.”

“Capt. Alexander H. Schultz sails from New York to-morrow for Europe. He is intrusted with an important mission to the posts of England and France, and will be absent for two months.” *New York Times* August 21, 1861

August 22, 1861 (Thursday)

The *Europa*, carrying Alexander H. Schultz, left Boston for Liverpool

Kennedy wrote Seward the following:

“Daniel C. Lowber, of New Orleans, went to Europe six weeks ago³⁹ under suspicious circumstances. In returning instead of coming on the steamer he landed at Halifax and came across country to Newburg. Last night⁴⁰ he took the 5 o’clock train at Poughkeepsie for the West. He is undoubtedly bearer of important papers from the Confederates and every effort should be made to secure his arrest. We have one of his trunks addressed to him at Indianapolis. Would it not be well to put the officers of all sorts on the border on their guard? He wears false teeth. His whiskers are grayish and he lisps in his speech. I have sent a man in pursuit but he may be too late.”

“Marine Intelligence.
New York . . . Wednesday, Aug. 21.

* * *

Arrived.

Steamship Edinburg, (Br.,) Roskell.
Liverpool, Aug. 7, and Queenstown 8th, at 8:40 P.M. with mdse. and passengers to J. G. Dale. Aug. 12, lat. 50 49. lon. 28 21, passed steamship Great

³⁹ The date would be around July 12, 1861.

⁴⁰ August 21, 1861.

Eastern, from Quebec for Liverpool” (New York Times, Aug. 22, 1861)

“No. 35.] PARIS, August 22, 1861.

Sir: My anticipations expressed in despatch No. 10 are fully realized. Both Lord John Russell and Mr. Thouvenel refuse to negotiate for an accession by the United States to the treaty of Paris of 1856, except on the distinct understanding that it is to have no bearing, directly or indirectly, on the question of our southern or domestic difficulty, and to render the matter certain they each propose to make a written declaration simultaneous with the execution of the convention, of which I herewith send you a copy and a translation. I likewise send you a copy of Mr. Thouvenel’s note to me with its translation.

I had an interview on Tuesday, the 20th instant, with Mr. Thouvenel by appointment in reference to the subject-matter of the convention, and then he gave me the first notice of the purpose of the French government to execute this outside declaration, predicated as it was, beyond all doubt, upon a note he had just received from Lord John Russell, dated only the day preceding. He said that both France and Great Britain had already announced that they would take no part in our domestic controversy, and they thought that a frank and open declaration in advance of the execution of this convention might save difficulty and misconception hereafter. He further said, in the way of specification, that the provisions of the treaty standing alone might bind England and France to pursue and punish the privateers of the south as pirates. That they were unwilling to do this, and had already so declared. He said that we could deal with these people as we chose, and they could only express their regrets on the score of humanity if we should deal with them as pirates, but they could not participate in such a course. He said, further, that although both England and France were anxious to have the adhesion of the United States to the declaration of Paris, that they would rather dispense with it altogether than be drawn into our domestic

controversy. He insisted somewhat pointedly that I could take no just exception to this outside declaration, simultaneous with the execution of the convention, unless we intended they should be made parties to our controversy; and that the very fact of my hesitation was an additional reason why they should insist upon making such contemporaneous declaration. These are the general views expressed by him.

In answer, I assented at once to the propriety of such declaration being made in advance *if France and England did not mean to abide by the terms of the treaty*. I stated that I had no reason to suppose that the United States desired to embroil these countries in our domestic difficulties—that in point of fact our great desire had been that they should keep out of them; but they proposed now to make a declaration to accompany the execution of the convention which they admitted would vary its obligations. That my instructions were to negotiate that convention, and that I had no authority to do anything or listen to anything which would waive any rights or relieve from any obligation which might fairly arise from a just construction of its terms. He said they did not mean to alter its terms, that it was not like an addition of other provisions to the terms of the treaty itself. To this I replied, that for the purpose intended, it was precisely the same as if this declaration they proposed to make were to be incorporated into the treaty itself. That its effect was to relieve them (without complaint on our part) from compliance with one of the admitted obligations of the treaty. I then told him I would consult with Mr. Adams, and it was not improbable that we might feel ourselves under the necessity of referring again to our government, to which he answered that that must be a question for us to determine. In the course of our conversation I told him that any declaration or action which looked to or recognized a difference or distinction between the north and south was a matter upon which our government was, under the circumstances, peculiarly sensitive. That we treated with foreign governments for our whole country, north and south, and for all its citizens, whether true men or

rebels, and when we could not so treat, we would cease to treat at all. He answered that they did not mean to contest our right to treat for the whole country, and that was not the purpose of the outside declaration they proposed to make; but having heretofore adopted a course of strict neutrality, the declaration in question was right and proper to prevent misconception and controversy in the future.

After my conference with Mr. Thouvenel closed, I immediately wrote to Mr. Adams, and suggested to him the propriety of either referring again to our government for instructions, or, if he thought that such reference would involve any unnecessary delay, then, at least, that at the time of executing the convention (if it were executed) we should in like manner make a counter declaration in writing, stating, in substance, that 'we have no power to admit, and do not mean to admit, that this outside declaration by Great Britain and France is to relieve them, directly or indirectly, from any obligation or duty which would otherwise devolve upon them in virtue of said convention.'

I have felt constrained to make these suggestions to Mr. Adams, for I am unwilling to act affirmatively in a matter of so much importance without being clearly within my instructions. I shall await his answer before I communicate further with the French government.

With much respect, your obedient servant,
WM. L. DAYTON.

His Excellency WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, &c., &c., &c.

PARIS, August 20, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to communicate to you the text of the written declaration that I propose to myself to make, and of which I will take care to remit to you a copy, at the moment of the signing of the convention designed to render obligatory

between France and the United States the principles upon maritime rights proclaimed by the congress of Paris. This declaration has for its object, as you will see, to prevent a misunderstanding upon the nature of the engagements which the government of the Emperor is disposed to contract.

If you were ready to sign the convention contemplated, we might be able to agree to make it the same day when Lord Russell should proceed from his side to the signing of a similar act with Mr. Adams.

Accept the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,
THOUVENEL.

Mr. DAYTON,
Minister of the United States at Paris.

Draft of Declaration

In affixing his signature to the convention concluded in date of this day between France and the United States, the undersigned declares, in execution of the orders of the Emperor, that the government of his Majesty does not intend to undertake, by the said convention, any engagement of a nature to implicate it, directly or indirectly, in the internal conflict now existing in the United States.”

August 23, 1861 (Friday)

Daniel C. Lowber arrested at Crestline, Ohio.⁴¹

Lord Lyons wrote Lord Russell the following letter:

* * *

⁴¹ Lowber had certain correspondence in his possession when arrested. One was a letter dated “Paris, August 4, 1861” addressed to “N. M Benachi, Esq., New Orleans, La. (Politeness of D. C. Lowber)” from B. [Ben] Rodriguez; another was dated “Liverpool, August 7, 1861” addressed to J. B. Phelps, Esq., Crescent, New Orleans, from W. W. Mertens. This latter letter confirms that “I have yours of 13th of July, 1861.” This correspondence would lead to the conclusion that Lowber was in Paris on August, 4, 1861, and in Liverpool on August 7, 1861.

The practical abrogation of legal securities may lead to serious difficulties concerning British Subjects. – The two, (Quillan and Fitzpatrick) who were in prison were released on a private application from me to Mr. Seward. But any one who has an enemy to inform against him is in danger.

This affair of Mr. Bunch's messenger, Robert Mure, is a disagreeable one. The letters found on him, which have been published in the newspapers so improperly, are not more objectionable than are, I suppose, all letters written in the South now. But they contain plenty of "treason", on the hypothesis that the whole population of the South are simply ordinary Rebels. It was from fear of something of this kind happening that I gave the Consuls such stringent instructions not to forward letters.—There is clearly some foundation for the account given in the published correspondence (Wm. Seward officially) of a conversation with "Mr. B" or "Mr. Bunch." – though the principal assertion, that of our having taken the first step to recognize the South by proposing a Commercial Treaty, is so completely false.—It is true that I, like everybody else, made the remark that after the Battle of Bull's Run, it would be impossible to deny that the Southern States were de facto Belligerents but I am pretty sure, that I did not write it to Mr. Bunch. It may be a long time before I receive any explanation from Mr. Bunch for the communication with the South is rendered more difficult by the President's Proclamation enjoining non-intercourse.

As it is quite certain that no application from me in favour of Robert Mure would be attended to, and as he is a naturalized American Citizen, I have thought it better for him, and more prudent altogether, to let the matter rest, until I have orders from you about it.

Mr. Seward told one of my colleagues that he could not enter into any discussion concerning the Declaration of Paris, because there was a hitch in England, which had obliged him to send fresh

instructions there, and that he must wait until he had an answer. I am afraid it will be found that the desire of the United States to adhere, will evaporate, if they do not believe that by doing so, they will bind the European Powers not to recognize the privateers of the Confederate States.—I consider it very important that the Convention should not be made without a perfectly clear previous understanding on this point.

Believe me
My dear Lord
Yours sincerely

Seward wrote Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, the following note:

Hon. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy.

SIR: Presuming that they will be of interest to your Department I inclose herewith transcripts⁴² of certain letters found upon the person of Mr. Mure, recently arrested under suspicious circumstances at New York.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

“No. 32.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, August 23, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit a copy of a note addressed to me by Lord Russell, transmitting to me a copy of a declaration which he proposes to make upon signing the convention, embodying the articles of the declaration of Paris, in conjunction with myself.

I have waited to communicate with Mr. Dayton until I now learn from him that Mr. Thouvenel proposes to him a similar movement on the part of France.

⁴² The Government report shows that these “transcripts” were “not found.”

This proceeding is of so grave and novel a character as, in my opinion, to render further action unadvisable until I obtain further instructions; and I find Mr. Dayton is of the same opinion on his side. I propose to address a letter to his lordship stating my reasons for declining to proceed, as soon as possible, but I fear I shall not have time to get it ready and a copy made in season for the present mail. I shall therefore postpone any further elucidation of my views until the next opportunity. I do so the more readily that I am informed by Mr. Dayton that you have ceased to consider the matter as one of any urgent importance.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington.”

“LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, August 23, 1861.

The undersigned, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States, has the honor to acknowledge the reception of the note of the 19th instant, of Lord Russell, her Majesty’s principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, covering the copy of a declaration which his lordship proposes to make upon signing the convention which has been agreed upon between her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and the United States of America, embodying the articles of the declaration of Paris, and at the same time requesting him to name a day in the course of this week for the signature of the convention, in conjunction with a similar proceeding, to be arranged to take place at Paris, between Mr. Dayton and the minister of foreign affairs on the part. of the French government.

The first step rendered necessary by this proposal was that the undersigned should communicate with Mr. Dayton in order to know

whether a similar declaration was contemplated on the part of the Emperor of the French, and in case it was, whether Mr. Dayton was still prepared to proceed. Mr. Dayton's letter containing that information was received only yesterday, which fact, in conjunction with a brief absence of the undersigned, will account for the apparent delay in answering his lordship's note.

In order perfectly to understand the position of the undersigned, it will be necessary briefly to recapitulate the particulars of this negotiation. But a few weeks after the accession of the President of the United States to office, his attention was turned to the state in which the negotiation on the subject of the four articles of the declaration of Paris had been left by his predecessor; and his disposition manifested itself to remove so far as he could the obstacles which had been interposed in the way of completing it. To that end, among the duties with which the undersigned was charged immediately upon his arrival at his post, was an instruction at once to make overtures to her Majesty's government for a revival of the negotiation here. And, in case of the manifestation of a favorable disposition, he was further directed to offer a project of a convention, which he was properly empowered to sign, after satisfying himself that the incorporation of the amendment which had been proposed by Mr. Marcy for the government of the United States, at a former stage of the proceedings, was not attainable.

On the eighteenth of May last, being the day of the first interview had with his lordship, the subject was only opened by the undersigned as one on which he had power to negotiate, and the disposition of her Majesty's government to proceed here was tested. It was then that he received a distinct impression from his lordship that the matter had been already committed to the care of Lord Lyons at Washington, with authority to agree with the government of the United States on the basis of the adoption of three of the articles, and the omission of the fourth altogether. Considering this to be equivalent to declining a negotiation here, and

at the same time relieving him from a duty which would be better performed by his own government, the undersigned cheerfully acquiesced in this suggestion, and accordingly wrote home signifying his intention not to renew the subject unless again specifically instructed so to do.

One month passed away, when the Secretary of State of the United States, after a conference with Lord Lyons, learning that his lordship did not confirm the representation of the powers with which the undersigned had understood him to be clothed, and, so far from it, that he did not feel authorized to enter into any convention at all at Washington, directed the undersigned to inform the government in London of this fact, and to propose once more to enter into convention, if agreeable, here.

Immediately upon the receipt of these instructions, the undersigned wrote a letter on the 11th of July, as his lordship may remember, reciting these facts and renewing the question whether a proposal of negotiation at this place would be acceptable to her Majesty's government. To this letter a favorable reply was received on the 13th, and an interview took place the same day, at which, after ascertaining that the amendment desired by his government would not be successful, the undersigned had the honor to present to his lordship the project in the same form in which it had been, nearly two months before, placed in his hands, and in which it has been since accepted; and to offer a copy of his powers to negotiate. His lordship, after examining the former, remarked that he would take it for consultation with his colleagues, and in the meantime that there was no necessity for a copy of the powers.

The next step in the negotiation was the receipt, by the undersigned, of a letter from his lordship, dated the 18th of July, calling his attention to the fact that the declaration of Paris contemplated a concurrence of various powers, and not an insulated engagement of two powers only, and requiring an assurance that the United States were ready to enter into a similar engagement with

France and with other maritime powers, parties to the declaration, and not with Great Britain alone. But, inasmuch as this process itself might involve the loss of much time, that her Majesty's government would deem themselves authorized to advise the Queen to conclude a convention with the President of the United States so soon as they should have been informed that a similar convention has been agreed upon between the President and the Emperor of the French.

Upon receiving this reply the undersigned, not unwilling to do everything within his power to forward an object considered by him of the greatest value, immediately opened a correspondence with Mr. Dayton, the representative of the United States at Paris, to learn from him whether such an arrangement as that contemplated in his lordship's note could not be at once carried out by him. With some reluctance Mr. Dayton consented to promote it, but only upon the production of evidence satisfactory to his own mind that the amendment originally proposed by Mr. Marcy was not attainable. The undersigned then addressed himself to his lordship, and with entire success. The evidence was obtained, Mr. Dayton acted with success, and no further difficulties then seemed to be in the way of a speedy and simultaneous affirmation of concurrence in the principles of the declaration of Paris by the United States, in conjunction with the other powers.

The public law thus declared to be established, embraced four general propositions, to wit:

1. Privateering is abolished.
2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, except contraband of war.
3. Neutral goods safe under an enemy's flag, with the same exception
4. Blockades, to be binding, must be effective.

The government of the United States, in proposing to join in the establishment of these principles, are believed by the undersigned to be acting with the single purpose of aiding to establish a permanent doctrine for all time. Convinced of the value of it in ameliorating the horrors of warfare all over the globe, they have, perhaps against their notions of their immediate interest, consented to waive temporary considerations of expediency for the attainment of a great ultimate good. They are at last prepared to sign and seal an engagement pure and simple, and by so doing to sacrifice the hope of attaining, at least for the present, an improvement of it to which they have always attached great value. But just at the moment when their concurrence with the views of the other maritime powers of the world would seem to be certain, they are met with a proposition from one, if not more, of the parties, to accompany the act with a proceeding somewhat novel and anomalous in this case, being the presentation of a written declaration, not making a part of the convention itself, but intended to follow the signature, to the effect that 'her Majesty does not intend thereby to undertake any engagement which shall have any bearing, direct or indirect, on the internal differences now prevailing in the United States.'

Obviously a consent to accept a particular exception, susceptible of so wide a construction of a joint instrument, made by one of the parties to it in its own favor at the time of signing, would justify the idea that some advantage is, or may be suspected to be, intended to be taken by the other. The natural effect of such an accompaniment would seem to be to imply that the government of the United States might be desirous, at this time to take a part in the declaration, not from any high purpose or durable policy, but with the view of securing some small temporary object in the unhappy struggle which is going on at home. Such an inference would spoil all the value that might be attached to the act itself. The mere toleration of it would seem to be equivalent to a confession of their own weakness. Rather than that such a record should be made, it were a thousand times better that

the declaration remain unsigned forever. If the parties to the instrument are not to sign it upon terms of perfect reciprocity, with all their duties and obligations under it perfectly equal, and without equivocation or reservation of any kind, on any side, then is it plain that the proper season for such an engagement has not yet arrived. It were much wiser to put it off until nations can understand each other better.

There is another reason why the undersigned cannot at this moment consent to proceed under the powers conferred on him to complete this negotiation when clogged with such a declaration, which is drawn from the peculiar construction of the government of his own country. By the terms of the Constitution, every treaty negotiated by the President of the United States must, before it is ratified, be submitted to the consideration of the Senate of the United States. The question immediately arises in this case, what is to be done with a declaration like that which his lordship proposes to make. Is it a part of the treaty, or is it not? If it be, then is the undersigned exceeding his instructions in signing it, for the paper made no part of the project which he was directed to propose; and in case he should sign, the addition must be submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent, together with the paper itself. If it be not, what advantage can the party making the declaration expect from it in modifying the construction of the project, when the Senate have never had it before them for their approval? It either changes the treaty or it does not. If it does, then the question arises, why did not the undersigned procure it to be incorporated into it? On the other hand, if it do not, why did he connive at the appearance of a desire to do it without effecting the object?

The undersigned has ever been desirous of maintaining and perpetuating the most friendly relations between her Majesty's kingdom and the United States, and he continues to act in the same spirit when he deprecates the submission of any project clogged with a similar exception to the consideration of the Senate of the United States. He

has reason to believe that already a strong disinclination exists in that body to the acceptance of the first of the four propositions embraced in the declaration itself, and that mainly because it is esteemed to be too much of a concession to the great maritime powers. Were he now to consent, without further instructions, to accept a qualification which would scarcely fail to be regarded by many unfavorably disposed persons as more or less directly an insult to the nation in its present distress, he should deem himself as incurring the hazard of bringing on difficulties which he professes an earnest wish to avoid.

For the reasons thus given the undersigned has reluctantly come to the conclusion to decline to fix a day for proceeding in the negotiation under its present aspect, at least until he shall have been able to submit the whole question once more to the judgment of the authorities under which he has the honor to act.

A copy of this letter will also be forwarded to Mr. Dayton for his information.

The undersigned prays Lord Russell to receive the assurances of the most distinguished consideration with which he is his obedient servant.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Right Hon. EARL RUSSELL, &c., &c., &c..

[enclosure]

FOREIGN OFFICE, May 14, 1861.

It is for the Spanish government to weigh in the balance of their judgment the advantages and inconveniences which may arise from the annexation of the territory of the Dominican state to the dominions of Spain and any opinion which her Majesty's government may form on the subject can be founded on no other consideration than a regard for what they may look upon as the real and permanent interests of Spain.

Her Majesty's government would, no doubt, have felt a strong and decided dissatisfaction at the proposed annexation if it had been likely to lead to the introduction of slavery into a community which is free from the taint of that pernicious institution but the formal and repeated declarations of Marshal O'Donnell, that under no circumstances will slavery be introduced into the Dominican territory, have removed the main cause which would have led her Majesty's government to view the proposed annexation with dislike and repugnance.

Her Majesty's government certainly apprehended, when first this projected annexation was talked of, that it might, if carried into execution, involve Spain in unfriendly discussions, if not in conflict, either with France or with the United States, or with both. With regard to France, her Majesty's government have not learned that the French government has expressed any positive objection to the proposed arrangement; although she may not think it advantageous to Spain. It appears, also, from what has been stated to you, that there is no probability at present of any positive resistance to the measure, either by the northern or the southern confederation of North America. But the Spanish government should not too confidently rely on the permanent continuance of this indifference or acquiescence on the part of the North Americans; and it is not impossible that when the civil war which is now breaking out shall have been brought to an end, an event which may happen sooner than at present appears likely, both the north and the south might combine to make the occupation of the Dominican territory by Spain the cause of serious difference between the North American governments and that of Spain.

Her Majesty's government do not deny that Great Britain, as a power naturally inclined to peace, and systematically addicted to commerce, must always view a war between any two powers as an event not only at variance with her principles, but to a certain degree injurious to her interests. But with respect to Spain, the motives of the British

government spring from far higher sources. Great Britain and Spain have for long periods of time, and in circumstances of high moment to each, been faithful and active allies; their alliance has been greatly useful and eminently honorable to both. It is a fundamental maxim of British policy to wish well to Spain, and earnestly to desire her welfare and prosperity; and therefore any combination of events which might at any time involve the possibility of Spain being engaged in a conflict which, from local circumstances and disadvantages, might be in the end seriously injurious to her rule over her ancient possessions, would be viewed by her Majesty's government with lively apprehension and sincere regret.”

August 24, 1861

Mary Lowber Schultz, the daughter of Alexander H. Schultz., of Peekskill, New York, wrote Seward the following letter:

“Dear Sir: My uncle, D. C. Lowber, of New Orleans, passed through New York en route for Liverpool about the 1st of August as bearer of dispatches from the Confederate States to France and England. A day or two before my father left for Liverpool ⁴³I was shown a letter from Mr. Lowber in which he said, “I have succeeded in getting a big thing for the Confederate States of America from some moneyed men in England.” As my father had only a few hours at home I did not trouble him about it, but arranged that he (uncle) should be searched immediately on his arrival by steamer Edinburgh. This was checked by his coming through by way of Quebec and reaching our house Tuesday evening⁴⁴ Wednesday⁴⁵ he went to New York. He told us to dispose of his papers, sending them South if possible through Adams Express, if not by private messenger, John Jackson. I sent messenger through Mr. Monell⁴⁶ to have Jackson watched and Adams Express searched for several

⁴³ Schultz left on August 22, 1861

⁴⁴ August 20, 1861.

⁴⁵ August 21, 1861

⁴⁶ J.J. Monell was originally from Newburgh, but after marrying the widow of Andrew Jackson Downing, he moved to Fishkill Landing. His wife was a daughter of John Peter DeWindt who owned a good deal of Beacon (which now incorporates what was Fishkill Landing). Her grandparents were Abigail and John Adams. (Letter from Joan K. VanVoorhis, Beacon City Historian, Beacon, N.Y., dated Nov. 24, 2003)

days. Returning at 3 o'clock⁴⁷ he asked for some letters which he had left lying carelessly about on the library table. One was mislaid and in the fright which seized him he told me that it was the dispatch brought from England for Davis. He had been unsuccessful in France. He was to leave at 6 o'clock for Richmond, via Indianapolis and Louisville. The family were too strongly anxious for his safety to permit any information to be given endangering one who through thirty years of political antagonism had continued my father's closest friend and our dearest relative.

The only means I could contrive to get the papers was to create a panic. I drove to the station in advance with his trunk and returned with news that the station agent had refused to check the trunk; that the detectives were doubtless on his track and gave him a telegram received from John Jackson in confirmation. He handed me the dispatches to conceal, jumped into the carriage which was waiting and we started for Dover Plains where he could take the Harlem train to New York. But a second thought for the safety of our family urged him to return and before we knew what he was about he had burned the dispatch, trusting to his memory to carry the contents safely to Richmond, so I was again checked.

In our long night drive, however, his gratitude for my assisting him in his flight, his release from the sudden fear and his old love and confidence in us led him to talk freely. He had made proposals to France and England. The commissioners in England has assured him that before Christmas the blockade would be [broken]. With this assurance he went to several large houses in England and made proposals for a loan upon sugar and cotton, chiefly upon cotton, and received from some of them proposals in return. Others were to follow him by mail. His English letters would be addressed care of A.H. Schultz, or to D. Matthews, 87 (or 78, I forget which) Nassau street, or to John Jackson, 17 Broadway, or box. Wherever they came they were to be taken up by Jackson, opened,

⁴⁷ Presumably on August 21, 1861.

memoranda taken of them and copies made and sent to Henry Neill, Galt House, Louisville, or inclosed to editor of Louisville Courier, to be kept until called for by Henry Neill under which name my uncle will travel. If the proposals were accepted Jackson was to telegraph him to the same address "All favorable." The originals will be sent to me to mail to the same address from Fishkill. His trunk I am to open and make copies of any letters in it which might be detained were it opened and forwarded to him there or to New Orleans, keeping the originals. There was a new cipher contrived and agreed upon between him and Jackson by which he could send any information which might transpire. This I have not yet got but hope to. He anticipated an attack upon our troops before Sunday, 30th of August. If repulsed or if uncertain of success they would as before feign a retreat to draw our soldiers upon the batteries they have been busied in building since the Manassas affair. These will be completed in eight or ten days and they are in haste to use them before our gun-boats are completed. In order to cover uncle's flight I urged Mr. Jackson to follow him with me to the Newark station where he might wait for money. Owing to the information given we were all day under police surveillance but at least we eluded them and returned to Staten Island without having seen him, where I was forced from exhaustion to remain.

Uncle will return to England should all be favorable by way of Detroit and Chicago to Quebec. He says the police and marshals in either or any of the Western towns are more careless and indifferent and slow than those of New York and anticipated no detention there. The correspondence I hope can be seized at the post-office or Adams Express. Any why can't this be stopped entirely? If not I would go to New York to mail the letters and they could be taken upon me by notice given to the police. In this case I would rather suffer anything for treason than have my family know that I was acting as spy. Should any name have to be used in the former case Mr. J. J. Monell, of Newburg, has given me leave to substitute his for mine.

With warm thanks for your late kindness to my father and kind remembrance and wishes for myself, I remain, yours, truly,

MARY LOWBER SCHULTZ

For the purpose of keeping this secret from my family I have written from Mrs. Beecher's at Peekskill. Should there be any reply or questions to be asked if you address to Peekskill in cover to H. W. Beecher they will at once forward it to me."

"No. 9. State Department, Richmond, Va.,
August 24, 1861.
Hon. Wm. L. Yancey, Hon. Pierre A. Rost, Hon. A. Dudley Mann, Commissioners, etc.

Gentlemen: I have the honor to send you herewith the usual letters of credence and introduction accrediting you to represent the Confederate States near the Government of the Queen of Spain, together with the necessary commission and passport. I have also to inform you that it is the desire of the President that Mr. Rost should undertake the duties of this mission, and proceed to Madrid as soon as possible.

I remain, etc.,

R.M.T. Hunter, Secretary of State."
(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

"Inclosure.

Department of State, Richmond, August 24, 1861.
Hon. Wm L. Yancey, Hon. Pierre A. Rost, Hon. A. Dudley Mann, etc.

Gentlemen: Deeming it of important that the Confederate States be represented at the Court of Spain, the President has appointed you Special Commissioners to the Government of Her Catholic Majesty. Together with this notification of your appointment, I send you the usual letters of credence and introduction accrediting and

empowering you to represent the Confederate States near the Spanish Government. It is the President's desire that you should proceed with all convenient speed to Madrid, and enter upon the duties of your mission."

"No. 8.

Department of State, Richmond, Va., August 24, 1861.

Hon. Wm. L. Yancey, Hon. Pierre A. Rost, Hon. A. Dudley Mann, etc.

Gentlemen: I am directed by the Secretary of State to transmit to you the inclosed reports to the Secretary of the Treasury by the collectors of customs at the ports of Charleston, Savannah, Wilmington, and Pensacola, showing the number, names, nationalities, and destination of the vessels which have entered and cleared from those ports since the President of the United States declared them to be blockaded. These reports, you will perceive, furnish conclusive evidence that the blockade of the coast of the Confederate States is nominal, not real, that it is in contravention of the now universally accepted law of nations in relation to blockade, and that every seizure made under it and every hindrance offered to foreign vessels bound to or from those ports is illegal and void.

You are instructed to communicate the facts contained in these reports to the Government to which you are accredited, and, if required, to furnish them with copies. I am further directed to transmit you a copy (marked B) of resolutions adopted by the Congress, and approved by the President on the 13th instant, defining the position of the Confederate States in respect to certain points of maritime law.

I remain, etc.,

Wm. M. Browne, *Assistant Secretary of State.*" (A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

“ Department of State,
Washington, August 24, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith for your information and consideration an extract from a dispatch dated 9th August and received here to-day from Mr. F. H. Morse, the consul of the United States at London, respecting the alleged purchase of the steamers *Victoria*, *Adelaide*, and *Bermuda*, for parties in Charleston and the Southern States.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

Wm. H. Seward,

Hon. Gideon Welles,
Secretary of the Navy.”

“The Blockade and Neutral Rights.

The correspondent of a New-York cotemporary, writing from Fort Pickens, undertakes, on the strength of a communication received from Havana, to give the substance of Admiral Milne’s rumored dispatch to the Government, the contents of which, as well as the instructions in reply, are looked for with so much interest, both here and in America. The writer of the letter from Fort Pickens may be rightly informed, or he may be hazarding what he imagines a shrewd guess at the contents of the British Admiral’s dispatch; but we do not require the information he professes to place before us, or the dispatch itself, to enable us to appreciate the conduct of the National Government with reference to the blockade, and of those officers instructed to establish it. The blockade of the Southern ports was formally proclaimed on the 29th of April, fifteen days of grace being allowed for vessels to clear out after the date of the proclamation. Some weeks subsequently another proclamation was issued, declaring all the ports south of Baltimore, Key West excepted, to be under blockade. We need not repeat what we have so often stated, upon the authority of the most eminent jurists, and especially those of the United States,

that no blockade can be maintained without the continued presence of a competent armed force, except where that force may be removed by a gale of wind, or some temporary necessity. The ports at which, since the publication of the blockade, this requirement of the law of nations has been complied with are, Hampton Roads, Savannah, Charleston, Pensacola, Mobile, New-Orleans, and since the 7th of July, the port of Galveston. These are the ports at which blockading ships have been stationed, and, consequently, the only ports under such a blockade as can be recognized by a neutral State. At the ports of Wilmington (in North Carolina,) St. Mark's and Apalachicola, (in Florida,) Beaufort and other places, no such steps have been taken to render the blockade effectual. No men-of-war have been stationed, or have even arrived, so far as we can ascertain, with that object. It is by no means improbable, moreover, that the blockade even of those ports where it has been regularly established has been irregularly and inefficiently maintained. We can hardly conceive how it could be otherwise, considering the vast extent of coast line the National Government has undertaken to close against commerce, and the limited resources at their disposal, to effect so extensive a blockade. The inability of the Cabinet at Washington to give effect to their war policy in this regard is manifest from the fact that they have been compelled, after the publication of the blockade, to leave the date and manner of effecting it entirely to the discretion of the commanders of the blockading squadron. This, in itself, must have created confusion and misunderstandings innumerable. The National Government may say that they are at liberty to take their own time in the matter of blockading the Southern coast, seeing that in doing so they are only closing their own ports. This is not an explanation which would for a moment be listened to by any European Government, more especially by the Government of this country, which has expressly conceded to the South the rights of belligerents, and has acted from the first on the understanding that the National Government, in proclaiming a blockade of the Southern ports, was also exercising those rights which, in a spirit of rigid neutrality, we

extended to North and South alike. Moreover, the National Government has within the past year refused to recognize the right of a Sovereign to blockade his own ports, and on those grounds actually obtained compensation from the ex-Government of Naples for losses incurred by an American ship during the blockade of the Neapolitan ports. *The National Government must blockade as belligerents, or they cannot blockade at all; and what we have from the first contended for on behalf of neutral commerce is, that the blockade shall be established and maintained according to the strict usages of maritime warfare—that it shall be effectual in form and impartial in its operation.* This, we have no doubt, the British Government will insist upon, and they will be supported in their demand by all the maritime States of Europe; and if it shall appear that the National Government is unequal to blockade the whole of the Southern seaboard, then *it will be the duty of the neutral fleets in those waters to see that neutral vessels entering or leaving unblockaded ports are not subjected to interference or molestation on the part of the National cruisers.*” (New York Times, Aug. 24, 1861)

From A. Dudley Mann (DLC, CSA Recs., v1 f445-48) to Jefferson Davis: private; from London; states that Prince Napoleon sent to America by emperor expressly to report on true condition of U.S. and CSA; emperor already has four confidential agents there; refers to L of last week [not found], noting European cotton supply even more problematical now; recommends that planters retain cotton until blockade lifted; English press favorable to South; victory at Manassas a great help; notes [John Arthur] Roebuck’s helpful speech in Parliament on Aug. 22.” [The Papers of Jefferson Davis, Vol. 7 Lynda Lasswell Crist and Mary Seaton Dix, co-editors]

“Mr. Adams has replied, under yesterday’s date, to Ld. Russell’s proposed mental reservation to the Convention, & says that sooner than accept the Declaration he would rather a thousand times the Treaty remained unsigned forever. This is my

view exactly. He likewise expresses his belief that the proposal is an insult to the nation in its present difficulties.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

“Sheet Iron,
100 bundles English, Nos.
15, 16, 18, 20 and 22
for sale in lots to suit by

D.C. Lowber & Co.
172 Camp Street.”

(Daily True Delta, August 24, 1861)

August 25, 1861

Kennedy wrote Seward as follows:

“Office King has just arrived with Daniel C. Lowber in custody, whom he arrested in Ohio. I have examined his baggage carefully. Find nothing in shape of dispatches. If he had any he parted with them. What shall I do with him?”

Lord Palmerston, Prime Minister, wrote Lord Russell as follows:

“ _____ 25 Aug 1861

My dear John Russell

I have seen the Duke of Somerset on the subject of this Letter. He says that the Letters he gets from Adm Milne & the Reports of those who have lately returned from the station lead to the Belief that the Admiral thinks he has force quite enough to cope with any thing the Americans could bring against him, and the more especially because many of theirs are sailing ships while ours have the weather gage below decks in the shape of the steam engines which work their screws. With regard to Bermuda he says that line of Battle Ships at all events such as we now have with the home squadron cannot get in to Bermuda. But he says he could send to the American Nation if it is thought necessary or useful an additional strong Frigate or perhaps Two, and that these frigates with their steam power would each of them be equal to an American sailing liner. Shall I ask him to do this?

I see the Great Eastern is come back. Wouldn't it not be well to send her out again with the same number of troops which she carried out on her former voyage: She would then be back again in time to take out a third cargo before the navigation was closed, if we should think it advisable to send more troops.

Your sincerely,"

August 26, 1861 (Monday)

"Daniel C. Lowber, of New-Orleans, was, no Sunday night, arrested at Crestline, Ohio, by Detective King, of this City, assisted by United States Deputy Marshal Archer, of Ohio, charged with being a bearer of dispatches from England to Jeff. Davis. His trunks were seized in this City some days ago, and the dispatches found. He acknowledges bearing the dispatches, but declares himself ignorant of their contents. He will be taken to Washington." (New York Times, August 26, 1861)

Kennedy wrote Seward:

"SIR: Previous to the arrival of Mr. Daniel C. Lowber from Europe I was called upon by a person related to him by family ties and who necessarily desires to be kept from exposure and informed that Lowber was expected to return on the steamer Edinburgh, then expected to arrive on Tuesday last, 20th instant; that when he went out he carried dispatches and that doubtless he would have others on his return. On this information I communicated with the U.S. marshal and arranged for a joint action to secure him and his papers on the arrival of the steamer.

The Edinburgh did not arrive until the 21st⁴⁸ and on the search it was ascertained he had not come on that vessel. While our officers were engaged on the steamer making the search I received the telegraphic dispatch from Newburg, a copy of which I herewith inclose except the names of the parties, who desire not be made known, but

⁴⁸ *[Wednesday August 21, 1861)*

they are respectable persons. I at once placed detectives at the office of Richards & Co., 15 Broadway, where he had a business connection; at Adams Express, where every package during the day received with a New Orleans address was carefully examined and nothing found of the form or character of dispatches to the Confederates. I also put a watch on the house of his brother-in-law, Mr. Evans, in West Twenty-fifth street. At 9:45 in the evening I sent three men to Fishkill Landing to look for him there, he having a sister-in-law living at Matteawan. On arriving there they found his trunk marked "Neill," the name of his son-in-law, which had been checked for Indianapolis, which was sent to me. And they also ascertained that some intimation was given to the lady at the depot by which she was enabled to infer that officers were in pursuit. She immediately returned home and accompanied him in a carriage in the direction of Fishkill village, giving out that they were going to Poughkeepsie to take the Hudson River train up, but in reality went to a station on the Harlem road and took a train down to the city, passed over to Jersey City and so proceeded to Philadelphia, and then took the next train west via Pittsburgh, &c.

On receipt of this telegram from Fishkill announcing his departure I sent a man by the New Jersey Central, being the first train west, to head him off if possible, supposing he had gone by way of Buffalo; but it so happened that by the time they reached Pittsburg both Officer King and the fugitive were on the same train, and the sagacity of the officer led to his detection and identification at a station on the Fort Wayne railroad (Alliance), where the train stopped to dine, but he prudently telegraphed for help to meet him at the depot at Crestline, where the arrest was made, but nothing found on him to implicate him.

The great pains he took to avoid arrest is the strongest feature against him as it stands unless some of the letters which I this day forward to you by Adams Express may contain matter of treasonable character. He denies having had anything of the kind intrusted to him, either in going

out or returning; that his visit was on business and in pursuit of health solely. He is a New Yorker by birth, thoroughly southernized by more than twenty years' residence at the South. I am thus particular that you may see the whole case.

Very truly, yours⁴⁹”

Seward wrote Kennedy:

“Deliver D. C. Lowber into custody of Col. Martin Burke at Fort Lafayette.”

Kennedy wrote Lieut. Col. M. Burke, Commanding at Fort Hamilton, the following:

“Sir: By direction of the Secretary of State I am prepared to deliver into your custody Mr. Daniel C. Lowber, of New Orleans, who accompanies me.

Very truly, yours,”

“LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 26; 1861.

MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 20th instant, in which (carrying out the purpose expressed by you in our prior conversation of that day) you communicate to me the text of a written declaration which you

⁴⁹ Enclosed in this letter was the following communication:

Newburg [New York], August 21, 1861

D. C. Lowber, of New Orleans, at 15 Broadway, New York, house of Richards & Co., came out in the last steamer as bearer of dispatches from England and France in relation to a loan for the Confederates. He came over the country this morning from Halifax. He intends to send his dispatches by Adams & Co.'s Express if he can safely to-day. If not he may send them by a young man by the name of John Jackson, a Southerner, at the above-mentioned house, 15 Broadway. Inform the chief of police or the U.S. marshal at once. Keep the source of this dispatch to yourself.

propose to make simultaneous with the execution of the convention between the United States and France, in reference to the principles upon maritime rights proclaimed by the Congress of Paris in 1856. You further suggest in your note that if I were ready to sign the convention contemplated, we might be able to agree to do so the same day when Lord Russell should proceed, on his side, to the signing of alike convention with Mr. Adams.

The declaration which you propose to make in writing, simultaneous with the execution of the convention, has for its object, you say, 'to prevent all misunderstanding as to the nature of the engagements which the government of the Emperor is disposed to contract,' and this declaration is, that 'in the execution of the orders of the Emperor the government of his Majesty does not intend to undertake, by said convention, any engagements of a nature to implicate it directly or indirectly in the internal conflict now existing in the United States.'

My impressions, hastily thrown out when this proposition was verbally suggested, have been strengthened by subsequent reflection. I do not stop to inquire how such outside declaration as you propose may affect the rights or obligations of parties under the treaty. Indeed, it is so general that it may not be possible to anticipate its entire scope or operation. It gives us notice that the engagements of your government are not to be "*of a nature to implicate* it directly or *indirectly* in the internal conflict,' &c. It may be that the conduct of the government of France, under this declaration, would practically extend no further than would be agreeable to the United States; yet I cannot act upon such assumption. My instructions are to negotiate a particular convention, the text of which has been examined and approved, as I understand, by your excellency. If the declaration which you propose to make does not alter the obligations or duties which would otherwise devolve upon France, in virtue of that convention, it is useless to make it. If it does alter such obligations or duties, then I am not authorized to execute the convention subject to such declaration. This, indeed, so far as my action at

present is concerned, is the whole case. But the subject justifies, and perhaps requires some other remarks. You stated that you thought it more frank and loyal to make your declaration in advance, and in this I entirely concurred. If the treaty without such declaration would impose any duty upon France which she would be unwilling to perform, it was manifestly proper that she should declare her purpose in advance. It was proper, not only for the purpose of preventing misunderstanding as to the nature of her intended engagements, but for the other purposes of leaving to the United States the option of determining, with full knowledge, whether she would or would not enter into the treaty subject to such declaration. The declaration, it is true, is not strictly a part of the treaty, yet, for the purpose intended, its effect and operation would be the same as if it were incorporated into the treaty itself. It will prevent misunderstandings as to the nature of the engagements, or, in other words, it will prevent one party complaining of a non-performance of supposed engagements by the other under the treaty, just as effectively as if it were a condition added to the treaty itself. But for the interposition of this declaration I should have assented to the execution of the treaty at once; as it is, I have no power to do so.

From this it must not be inferred that there is now, or at any time has been, the slightest wish upon the part of the United States to involve France or any other foreign government in its domestic controversy. The wish, nay, stronger than this, the right to be let alone by other nations, has been claimed at all times, so far as I know, by our government and its representatives abroad. They have never failed to deprecate, in the most earnest manner, all interference in this question upon the part of foreign powers. Yet the declaration which it is now proposed to make would seem to imply that such interference might be claimed by us at the hands of those powers with whom such treaty might be made. I submit, with great respect, that there is nothing in the present position of the United States, or in the past history of this negotiation, which would justify such an inference. When the present

administration at Washington came into power it almost immediately gave orders to its representatives abroad to open negotiations upon this general subject; not, it is to be assumed, for any small purpose or object growing out of what they then believed to be a mere temporary insurrection, but with a view to the settlement, so far as their assent could settle the same, of certain great principles of maritime law.

The second and third of those principles, enunciated in the declaration of Paris, has been already proposed and urged upon the attention of other nations by the United States.

The fourth of those principles, which requires that blockades to be respected shall be effective, had never been denied (at least by the United States) as a principle of international or maritime law. It was the first only of the points enunciated in that celebrated declaration about which hesitation existed.

The abandonment of the right, by belligerents; to issue letters of marque and reprisal, under proper restraints, was a serious matter to a country having the extended commerce and limited navy of the United States; yet such abandonment by all nations would, we well knew, tend much to lessen the afflictions incident to war; and so, too, the exemption of property of non-combatants at sea, (except contraband,) as it is on land, would, in a still greater degree, tend to the same end.

Hence the disposition manifested on the part of the United States, on every proper occasion, to connect in its negotiations the two; to make the concession of the one the equivalent, if possible, of the concession of the other. This was the condition of things when the present administration at Washington came into power. Not trammelled by certain considerations which had affected some of their predecessors, they immediately took up the negotiation where it had been left by a prior administration. Ascertaining definitely that the exemption of private property afloat (except

contraband) would not be conceded by *all* the powers, they assented at once to the execution of a convention, adopting the four principles of the declaration of Paris as they are, without addition and without limitation.

Then, for the first time, we were informed that the government of his Majesty the Emperor (in connexion with that of her Britannic Majesty) would only execute such convention subject to a certain condition, which it declares for itself, and of the extent and operation of which it is itself to judge.

I cannot, of course, anticipate with certainty what view the government of the United States may take of this question, but I can scarcely suppose it will assent to the execution of a convention adopting the declaration of Paris, except upon terms of entire reciprocity, and subject to no other condition than those existing by and between the original parties; nor do I believe that it will, in its negotiations with foreign governments, at all assent to exceptions and reservations, verbal or written, predicated upon the existing state of things in that country. It will, I apprehend, exact no more and be content with no less than it would have been entitled to had the convention been executed in advance of its present internal controversy. If, therefore, the government of France shall consider that an unconditional execution of that convention will demand of it interference in our affairs, or will implicate it in any shape in the civil war now raging in our country, then it is obvious this is not a proper time for her or for us to enter into such agreements.

But these suggestions are made, of course, subject to correction from the government at Washington. To it I shall at once refer the communication of your excellency, together with a copy of the declaration which you have done me the honor to submit upon the part of the French government.

I avail myself of the opportunity to renew to your excellency assurances of the high

consideration with which I have the honor to be, sir,
your very humble and obedient servant,
WILLIAM L. DAYTON.

Monsieur THOUVENEL,
Ministre des Affaires Étrangères.”

D.C. Lowber received at Fort Lafayette, New York Harbor.

August 27, 1861

“The Case of Mr. Lowber.

Mr. Daniel C. Lowber, who is suspected of taking out and bringing home dispatches for Jeff. Davis, was yesterday escorted by Mr. Police Superintendent Kennedy to Fort Lafayette. The capture of this man reflects great credit upon the detective service of the city. His departure for Europe became known to Mr. Kennedy, and his probable return was pretty accurately ascertained. Instead, however, of coming home in the Edinburgh, as he had apprised his friends, and as the police expected, he changed his course, took passage by the Bohemian, and landed at Quebec a week ago yesterday. Thence he came by Rouse’s Point and Albany to Fishkill and Mattawean, reaching the residence of his brother-in-law, Alex. H. Schultz, esq., on the afternoon of Tuesday; but a few hours after Mr. Schultz had left for Boston, to take passage for Europe by the steamer, as bearer of Lord Lyon’s dispatches, taken from Mr. Muir, which, under the circumstances, international etiquette required we should forward by special messenger.

On Wednesday morning Mr. Lowber came to the city, where he remained for three hours, and returned to Fishkill. In the afternoon, as a friend was checking his trunk at the depot for Indianapolis, a dispatch was sent apprising that friend that there was danger ahead, and that Mr. Lowber, who intended to take the 7 o’clock up-train that night would do well to start earlier. The friend, leaving the trunk, dashed back to Mattawean, and speedily warning Lowber of his danger, got him into the wagon and drove off, ostensibly for Poughkeepsie,

really for Dover Plains on the Harlem Road, but missing the road, brought him up at Pawlings, where he took the late train for New-York.

Meantime the police started from New-York the same night for Fishkill at 9:45, and, of course, learned next morning that the bird had flown. A telegraphic dispatch informed Mr. Kennedy of the fact, and he sent Detective King in pursuit, with directions to intercept the fugitive at Crestline, Ohio, of course not knowing that the fugitive had doubled on his track. Pursuer and pursued went by routes that joined at Harrisburg, the two trains being there combined. But as that point was reached in the night, the detective did not look for his friend till daylight. Suffice it that he found him eventually, and identified him by a skillful stroke of finesse, when they stopped for dinner at a way station, but not daring to take him, as there were too many Southerners on the train, telegraphed ahead to the United States Marshal at Crestline, then 100 miles distant, to be ready to assist him.

At Crestline they changed cars, and Mr. Lowber was adroitly led aside by King, and privately informed that he was a prisoner. He manifested no surprise, said he had been expecting it, and was brought back. No dispatches were found on him, and he protested that he had not taken nor brought any. But as he had been three hours unmolested in New-York, he might have passed them to others. His trunk, still left at Fishkill, is in the possession of the police, and twenty eight letters, addressed to Soulé and other prominent Southerners, were taken from him and forwarded to Mr. Seward.

He traveled under the name of Neill (his son-in-law), and pretends that he went to Europe for his health, and in the conviction that the Southern Confederacy would speedily be recognized, to establish a business connection with the great iron houses of Scotland, in which he succeeded. Mr. Lowber is by birth a New-Yorker, having been early taken in hand by Mr. Schultz, who from a newsboy on one of his boats made him clerk and set

him up in the business. Eventually they married sisters, and Mr. Lowber went South, where he has been in the business for the past 20 years with varying success.”(*New-York Daily Tribune*, August 27, 1861)

Seward wrote the following letter to Charles C. Nott, of No. 69, Wall Street, New York:

“SIR: Your letter of the 24th instant* is received. In reply I have to inform you that it is not deemed compatible with the public interest to permit visitors to hold intercourse at present with Robert Mure.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,”

Seward wrote Kennedy:

“SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 26th instant relative to the arrest of D. C. Lowber, and to state in reply that the energy and skill evinced by you and your officers on that occasion are highly satisfactory.

I am, sir,”

“No. 14.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 27, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of August 8, No. 25, has been received.

The account you have given us of the impression made by the reverse of our arms at Manassas does not surprise me. But there are to be very many fluctuations of opinion in Europe concerning our affairs before the Union will be in danger from any source.

The insurgents are exhausting themselves. We are invigorated even by disappointment. To-day the capital is beyond danger, and forces are accumulating and taking on the qualities which will render them invincible. The Union armies are preparing for movements which will, in a few weeks, remove the war from the present frontier.

The blockade is effective, and is working out the best fruits.

We do not at present depart from that policy, but we are preparing for any emergency in our foreign relations.

The sentiment of disunion is losing its expansive force, and every day it grows weaker as a physical power.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

F. W. SEWARD, Assistant
Secretary.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c.”

August 28, 1861

“I sailed with my family in the *Persia* on the 28th of August, 1861, and while the disastrous battle of Bull Run, fought on the 21st of July, was still casting gloomy shadows over the country. After a week spent in London to look over the situation, with Mr. Adams and some English friends whose judgment I valued, I left for and reached Paris on Saturday, the 13th of September.” (*Reflections of an Active Life* by John Bigelow)

E. S. James of Philadelphia, wrote Seward the following:

“SIR: My anxiety and the occasion of my writing to you yesterday⁵⁰ was, I find in an interview with Mary [Lowber Schultz], not well founded. I feared that Mary felt herself to be the cause of her uncle’s [D. C. Lowber’s] arrest and that it had so influenced her feelings as to prompt an impulsive visit to Washington in the hope of interesting you in a merciful consideration of her uncle’s case. As you know now from Mary’s own statement to you she wrote me under the influence of a high sense of duty that she feared her uncle was possessed of both means and papers to be used against the Government. Believing Mr. Lowber would be in the

⁵⁰ This letter is not found.

Edinburgh I sent my brother to Mr. Kennedy to impart my belief and conviction that Mr. Lowber was in a hostile attitude to the Government with both means and papers in possession that would prove his guilt. I desired my brother to say to Mr. Kennedy that I was prepared to make oath as to my belief if such would be required to warrant the arrest. Mr. Kennedy promised prompt action and that Mr. Lowber should be arrested. He did not make sufficiently intelligent arrangements and unnecessary notoriety has been given to a very simple affair.

Mr. Lowber's visit to the home of my uncle⁵¹ was a gross insult and any man of ordinary sense might have easily so recognized. It may be that it was designed to disarm suspicion. If so the outrage was the greater. That feeling should have acted with some members of the family I can well comprehend, as it too often influences for the time the higher attribute of duty."

"Cleveland. Aug. 24—Detective King of New York, assisted by U.S. Deputy Marshal Archer of Ohio, arrested Daniel C. Lowber, of New Orleans, at Crestline, O., last night. Lowber acknowledged himself a bearer of dispatches from England to Jeff Davis, but professes entire ignorance of their contents. The dispatches are in his trunks, which were seized in N.Y. some days since. The officers, with their prisoner, leave Monday for Washington via N.Y." (Dawson's Fort Wayne Weekly Times, Aug. 28, 1861)

"The Marshal of Ohio arrested at Crestline, Daniel L. Lowber, of New Orleans, bearer of dispatches from England to Jeff Davis, and have taken him to New York where his trunks were secured." (The Ohio Repository, Aug. 28, 1861)

"Executive Department, August 28, 1861.
Hon. Howell Cobb, President of the Congress.

Sir: I hereby nominate, for the advice and consent of the Congress, the Hon. James M. Mason,

⁵¹ [Alexander H. Schultz]

of Virginia, to be Commissioner to England, and the Hon. John Slidell, of Louisiana, to be Commissioner to France.

Jefferson Davis (A
Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the
Confederacy)

“FOREIGN OFFICE, August 28, 1861.

The undersigned, her Majesty’s principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, has had the honor to receive the note, of the 23d instant, of Mr. Adams, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States.

Mr. Adams has accounted satisfactorily for the delay in answering the note of the undersigned of the 19th instant. Her Majesty’s government in all these transactions has acted in concert with the government of the Emperor of the French, and the undersigned cannot be surprised that Mr. Adams should wish to communicate with Mr. Dayton, at Paris, before replying to his note.

The undersigned is quite prepared, following Mr. Adams to recapitulate the particulars of this negotiation, and he is happy to think that in matters of fact there is no ground for any controversy between them. He need only supply omissions.

Mr. Adams, at his first interview with the undersigned, on the 18th of May last, mentioned the subject of the declaration of Paris as one on which he had power to negotiate, and the undersigned then told him that the matter had been already committed to the care of Lord Lyons. at Washington, with authority to agree with the government of the United States on the basis of the adoption of three of the articles and the omission of the first, being that relating to privateering. So far, the statement of Mr. Adams agrees substantially with that which is here made. But the representation of the undersigned was strictly accurate, and in faith of it he subjoins the despatch by which Lord Lyons was authorized to negotiate on the basis of the three

latter articles of the declaration of Paris. Lord Lyons, however, was not empowered to sign a convention, because that form had not been adopted by the powers who originally signed the declaration, nor by any of the numerous states which afterwards gave their adherence to its articles.

At a later period, when Mr. Adams brought a copy of his full powers to the foreign office, the undersigned asked why the adherence of the United States should not be given in the same form as that of other powers, and he was told, in reply, that as the Constitution of the United States required the consent of the Senate to any agreement with foreign powers, that agreement must necessarily, or at least would most conveniently, be made in the shape of a convention.

The undersigned yielded to this argument, and proposed to the government of the Emperor of the French, with which her Majesty's government have been acting throughout in complete agreement, to concur likewise in this departure from the form in which the declaration of Paris had been adopted by the maritime powers of Europe.

But the British government could not sign the convention proposed by the United States as an act of Great Britain singly and alone, and they found to their surprise that in case of France and of some of the other European powers the addition of Mr. Marcy relating to private property at sea had been proposed by the ministers of the United States at the courts of those powers.

The undersigned concurs in the statement made by Mr. Adams respecting the transactions which followed. Her Majesty's government, like Mr. Adams, wished to establish a doctrine for all time, with a view to lessen the horrors of war all over the globe. The instructions sent to Lord Lyons prove the sincerity of their wish to give permanence and fixity of principles to this part of the law of nations.

The undersigned has now arrived at that part of the subject upon which the negotiation is interrupted.

The undersigned has notified Mr. Adams his intention to accompany his signature of the proposed convention with a declaration to the effect that her Majesty 'does not intend thereby to undertake any engagement which shall have any bearing, direct or indirect, on the internal differences now prevailing in the United States.'

The reasons for this course can be easily explained. On some recent occasions, as on the fulfilment of the treaty of 1846, respecting the boundary, and with respect to the treaty called by the name of the 'Clayton-Bulwer treaty,' serious differences have arisen with regard to the precise meaning of words, and the intention of those who framed them.

It was most desirable in framing a new agreement not to give rise to a fresh dispute.

But the different attitude of Great Britain and of the United States in regard to the internal dissensions now unhappily prevailing in the United States gave warning that such a dispute might arise out of the proposed convention.

Her Majesty's government, upon receiving intelligence that the President had declared by proclamation his intention to blockade the ports of nine of the States of the Union, and that Mr. Davis, speaking in the name of those nine States, had declared his intention to issue letters of marque and reprisals; and having also received certain information of the design of both sides to arm, had come to the conclusion that civil war existed in America, and her Majesty had thereupon proclaimed her neutrality in the approaching contest.

The government of the United States, on the other hand, spoke only of unlawful combinations, and designated those concerned in them as rebels

and pirates. It would follow logically and consistently, from the attitude taken by her Majesty's government, that the so-called Confederate States, being acknowledged as a belligerent, might, by the law of nations, arm privateers, and that their privateers must be regarded as the armed vessels of a belligerent.

With equal logic and consistency it would follow, from the position taken by the United States, that the privateers of the southern States might be decreed to be pirates, and it might be further argued by the government of the United States that a European power signing a convention with the United States, declaring that privateering was and remains abolished, would be bound to treat the privateers of the so-called Confederate States as pirates.

Hence, instead of an agreement, charges of bad faith and violation of a convention might be brought in the United States against the power signing such a convention, and treating the privateers of the so-called Confederate States as those of a belligerent power.

The undersigned had at first intended to make verbally the declaration proposed, But he considered it would be more clear, more open, more fair to Mr. Adams to put the declaration in writing, and give notice of it to Mr. Adams before signing the convention.

The undersigned will not now reply to the reasons given by Mr. Adams. for not signing the convention if accompanied by the proposed declaration. Her Majesty's government wish the question to be fairly weighed by the United States government. The undersigned, like Mr. Adams, wishes to maintain and perpetuate the most friendly relations between her Majesty's kingdom and the United States. It is in this spirit that her Majesty's government decline to bind themselves without a clear explanation on their part to a convention, which, seemingly confined to an adoption of the declaration of Paris of 1856, might be construed as

an engagement to interfere in the unhappy dissensions now prevailing in the United States—an interference which would be contrary to her Majesty’s public declarations, and would be a reversal of the policy which her Majesty has deliberately sanctioned.

The undersigned requests Mr. Adams to accept the assurance of his highest consideration.

RUSSELL.

C. F. ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c., &c.”

August 29, 1861

“40 Albermarle Street.
London, Aug. 29, 1861.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:--

All the recent intelligence from America, of a reliable nature, is highly favorable to the speedy definitive success of the South.

I received a letter yesterday from my young friend Morgan, who was here in May, and whom you may recollect, written at Fairfax Court House. He is on the staff of the 3rd Tennessee Regiment and was at the battle of Manassas. From what he says Washington may fall into our possession in a short time. I think it is the _____ of President Davis to take it.

In the Northern army there is occurring insubordination. The fresh recruits are unreliable and the old volunteers are demoralized.

We have not yet received particulars of the battle at Springfield. The Federalists lost of one their very best Generals – Lyon. I am quite confident that we achieved a brilliant victory. Fremont is so alarmed that he has placed St. Louis under martial law.

The Times, in the leaders of Monday and Tuesday, did us great service. You, of course, have received them. From all I can hear public opinion in Great-Britain is almost up to our recognition. If we shall win another signal victory in Virginia. I incline to believe, it will be entirely so.

When shall you visit London? I must not be out of the way when you arrive. I have postponed from day to day my departure for Paris. I may, however, go over to that city next Monday.

I am now just starting to the country to enjoy the friendly hospitality of Mr. Hankey.

You will have seen that Lord Palmerston has taken a slight belt at the renowned Bull Run-ers. At present the North is the laughing-stock of the world. She will sink low on the scale of nations unless she does something soon to repair the disgrace which she has so ignobly brought upon herself.

Believe me, My Dear Sir,

Yours Faithfully,

A. Dudley Mann.

W. H. Gregory Esq.
M.P.
etc. etc. etc.
(Emory University)

“ . . . The Morrill Tariff cuts off her profits on goods, and the blockade cuts off cotton, and disguise it as they may, the English ruling class have at present a thorough dislike towards this country. We have placed them in a terrible dilemma. There is a real Scylla and Charybdis on either side. How can England avoid this dilemma? Not at all. She has to meet dangers greater than that of the war with Napoleon and as, in the case of an individual, the direct consequences of her own conduct. She must be neutral, unless she sides with the North. Suppose she were to break the blockade, and side with the South,

would she get cotton? But little more than she would with the blockade. The crop is much less than usual. It cannot be carried without Northern ships. Northern privateers would, in spite of the British navy, cut off half the cotton vessels. On the whole, with all the power of Britain, but a small portion of cotton would reach England. John Bright said correctly at Manchester, that war with the United States would not pay. This he said without going into details; but, unquestionably, a man of his political sagacity was not ignorant that in England the bread question is the greatest question. If an American laborer loses half his wages he can live, for bread is cheap and wages high. But an English laborer has no such margin. Reduce his wages but little and he goes to the poor-house. Let England, or even France, go to war with the United States, and the match is put to that great magazine of revolutionary elements, which are ready to explode at any moment. A war such as never has been seen would ravage Europe. While they call upon us to emancipate slaves, there are tens of millions there for whose emancipation earth and heaven, men and angels cry aloud. Of these Mrs. Browning says:

The rich preach 'rights' and future days,
And hear no angel scoffing;
The poor die mute—with starving gaze
On corn-ships in the offing.

A VETERAN OBSERVER.” (*New York Times*, August 29, 1861)

“No. 37.] PARIS, August 29, 1861.

Sir: Herewith I beg to enclose a copy of a communication made by me to Mr. Thouvenel, in answer to his formal notice of a purpose on the part of the French government to make an outside declaration of its intentions at the time of the execution of the treaty, copies of which were enclosed in despatch No. 35.

It is in part the same matter suggested to him by me in the conference in which he first notified me of his purpose. His written communication subsequent to that conference required a like formal

reply. I am happy to learn from a communication received from Mr. Adams that he concurs with me in the propriety of stopping the negotiation where it is, and referring the matter to the government at home. I should have been most reluctant, under the circumstances, to execute this convention, had Mr. Adams insisted upon it, making only a counter declaration, such as was referred to in despatch No. 35; but I was very desirous, after what had passed, not to be considered an obstacle in the way of carrying out the wishes of the administration. I doubt now, however, if England and France would themselves have assented to proceed with the execution of the convention in the face of such declaration.

With much respect, I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

WM. L. DAYTON.

His Excellency WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, &c., &c.”

August 30, 1861 (Friday)

“No. 34,] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, August 30, 1861.

Sir: It is not without regret that I am compelled to announce the failure of the negotiation which I am led, by the tenor of your despatches, Nos. 55 and 58, to infer you considered almost sure to succeed. I have now the honor to transmit the copy of a note addressed by me to Lord Russell on the 23d instant, assigning the reasons why I felt it my duty to take the responsibility of declining to fix a day for signing the convention agreed upon between us, burdened, as it was to be, with a contemporaneous exposition of one of its provisions in the form of an outside declaration made by his lordship on behalf of her Majesty the Queen. I have gone so fully into the matter in that note as to render further explanation unnecessary. At the same time I take the liberty to observe that, in case the President should be of opinion that too much stress has been laid by me upon the objectionable character of that paper, an opening has been left by me for the resumption of the negotiation at any moment under

new instructions modifying my views. I transmitted to Mr. Dayton a copy for his information immediately after the original was sent. I have not received any later intelligence from him; but I do not doubt that he will forward to the department by this mail his representation of the state of the corresponding negotiation at Paris, so that the whole subject will be under your eye at the same moment. From the tenor of his last note to me, I was led to infer that M. Thouvenel contemplated a parallel proceeding in the conclusion of his negotiation, and that he regarded it there very much in the same light that I did here.

From a review of the whole course of these proceedings I am led to infer the existence of some influence in the cabinet here adverse to the success of this negotiation. At the time of my last conference with Lord Russell I had every reason, from his manner, to believe that he considered the offer of the project as perfectly satisfactory. The suggestion of a qualification did not make its appearance until after the consultation with his colleagues, when it showed itself first in the enigmatical sentence of his note to me of the 31st of July, of which, in my despatch No. 22 to the department, I confessed my inability to comprehend the meaning, and afterwards in the formal announcement contained in his note of the 19th of August. That the failure of the measure, by reason of it, could not have been altogether unexpected I infer from Mr. Dayton's report to me of M. Thouvenel's language to him, to the effect that his government would prefer to lose the negotiation rather than to omit making the exception.

Although the matter is not altogether germane to the preceding, I will not close this despatch without calling your attention, to the copy of a letter of Lord John Russell to Mr. Edwardes, which I transmit as cut from a London newspaper, The Globe. It purports to have been taken from parliamentary papers just published, although I have not seen them, nor have I found it printed in any other newspaper. You will notice the date, the 14th of May; being the very day of my first visit to his

lordship in company with Mr. Dallas, when he did not see us, as well as of the publication of the Queen's proclamation. I have reason to believe that the original form of that proclamation described the parties in America in much the same terms used by his Lordship, and that they were only qualified at a very late moment, and after earnest remonstrance. The tone of the letter corresponds very much with that used to me, a report of which was transmitted in my despatch No, 8.

I have the honor to be, sir,. your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.”

“Yancey and Mann, the slave-driving Commissioners are now taken by the hand in the city: and are being dined and feasted widely. The *noble* merchants of the realm see nothing dishonorable in slavery now; but on the contrary, have found out it is a very excellent thing, as there is a prospect of its proving profitable to them in the event of the thieves, perjurers, and mansellers of the South being recognised as a nation!” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

August 31, 1861 (Saturday)

“Schultz” arrives in Liverpool via *Europa*. (*London American*, September 4, 1861)

“Three Days Later from Europe.

* * *

The Great Eastern to Carry More Troops to Canada.

* * *

Cape Race, Friday, Aug. 30.

The U.S. Mail steamship *Arago*, Capt.
Lines, from Havre, via Southampton 21st inst.,

passed Cape Race at 6:00 A..M. to-day. She was boarded by the Press yacht.

* * *

The *Great Eastern* was expected to take more troops to Canada.” (New York Times, Aug. 31, 1861)

Lyons writes Lord Russell:

“My Lord

I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of a private letter dated the 18th instant, which I received yesterday from Mr. Consul Bunch. It relates to the arrest of Mr. Robert Mure, the Bearer of a Bag of Despatches from Mr. Bunch to your Lordship.—

Several Persons, in the Northern States, who have influence with this Government, are exerting themselves to obtain Mr. Mure’s release. One of them in particular came to consult me on the subject. We arrived at the conclusion, that any active interference on my part would be likely to thwart the endeavors of Mr. Mure’s private friends. I think it probable that he may be set at liberty, upon the receipt of Mr. Adams’ Report of the delivery of the Bag to your Lordship – if it shall appear (as will no doubt be the case) that the contents of the Bag were unobjectionable.

I am by no means certain that an official demand from me for Mr. Mure’s release would be justifiable. I am sure that it would not at this moment be successful. He is a naturalized American Citizen – and consequently the United States Government absolutely deny his having any claim to British protection in this Country.—And as your Lordship will have received from the dispatch from Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams, of which a copy was inclosed in my Despatch No. 438 of the 19th instant, this Government refuses to admit that such a Passport or “Certificate” as Mr. Mure held affords any protection, when emanating only from a Consul.

From a consideration therefore of my official duty, as well as from a regard for Mr. Mure's interests, I have determined not to take any step in the matter, until I receive instructions from your Lordship.

I have the honour to be Your Lordship's Very faithful humble servant,"

"Office of the Supt. Of the Metropolitan Police,
New York, August 31, 1861.

Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State.

Sir: In order to be able to perform the service you sometimes require of me it will be necessary in future to have the revenue department at this post instructed to allow my officers opportunity and some facilities for boarding the incoming ships, steamers especially, before the parties sought for have time to escape or to transfer papers, &c., intrusted to their charge. In two cases lately I have been refused any such aid. In one case I applied in person at the office of the surveyor (on 20th instant), the collection at the time being at Newport, and the surveyor also absent from town, Mr. Benedict, the deputy surveyor, acting. I made a request to allow two of my detectives to go on board of the revenue steamer in order that they might have the best opportunity to arrest a person expected on the steamer Edinburg due that day who was suspected of being an agent of the rebels. My request was declined. I specially urged it on the ground that the person for whom I was in search was a near relative to the boarding officer who had charge of the steamer, but without avail further than to refer me to this very boarding officer. Being anxious to secure the arrest of the person I then went to the steamer and made the request of Mr. Lowber, the boarding officer, which he declined unless ordered to comply by his superior officer; a very proper position for him to take. It became necessary for me then to have recourse to the quarantine department, a great inconvenience and loss of time, by which I was enabled to get my men on the ship but not until after the brother of the person for whom I was in search had been on board inquiring for his brother. He was not on that ship.

* * *

Very respectfully, yours, &c.,

John A. Kennedy,
Superintendent.”

“Private

Washington
August 31st 1861

My Lord.

I have the honour to transmit to Your Lordship herewith a copy of a private letter dated the 18th instant, which I received yesterday from Mr. Consul Bunch. It relates to the arrest of Mr. Robert Mure, the bearer of a bag of despatches from Mr Bunch to Your Lordship.

Several persons, in the Northern States, who have influence with this Government, are exerting themselves to obtain Mr Mure’s release. One of them in particular came to consult me on the subject. We arrived at the conclusion that any active interference on my part would be likely to thwart the endeavors of Mr Mure’s private friend. I think it probable that he may be set at liberty, upon the receipt of Mr Adams’ Report of the delivery of the Bag to Your Lordship – if it shall appear (as will no doubt be the case) that the contents of the Bag were unobjectionable.

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From a consideration therefore of my official duty, as well as from a regard for Mr Mur's interests, I have determined not to take any step in the matter, until I receive instructions from Your Lordship.

I have the honor to be
Your Lordship's
Very faithful
Humble servant

Lyons"

(enclosure)

"Copy

Charleston – Aug 18. 1861.

My dear Lord Lyons,

Information has been received here of a matter which causes me the deepest concern, and on behalf of which I desire to invoke the powerful assistance of Your Lordship.

Mr. Robert Mure is a Scotchman by birth parentage and education. Having established himself in business in Charleston he, many years ago, became a naturalized Citizen of the United States, as great numbers of British Subjects do, in order to enable them to hold property, and otherwise to forward their commercial pursuits. But he is still to all intents and purposes a British Merchant, altho' he may have forfeited his claim to the direct protection of H. M. Officers by his naturalization here. For the best, he is quite at the head of the mercantile community here, a man of the highest honour and reputation of the most active benevolence –The President of the St. Andrew's society, and a Trustee of many charitable Institutions. His business is entirely with the British Dominions, nearly all British vessels arriving here

are consigned to him, so that no one could think of calling him anything but a British Merchant.

Following his yearly custom Mr. Mure proposed to visit Great Britain in the course of his business, and to see his two sons who are at school in Scotland. He left hereon the 7th Instant provided by me with a Certificate (not a Passport) to the effect that he was a British Merchant residing in Charleston – that he was on his way to England by way of New York, and that he was charged by me with a Bag of Despatches for H. M. Principal Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs. His instruction was to leave New York by the ‘Africa’ on the 14th.

To the great distress of Mr. Mure’s family and friends, it is stated by a telegram in the newspapers, confirmed by a private message received subsequently that he was arrested on board of the ‘Africa’ and that he has been confined in Fort Lafayette, in New York Harbour. Upon what charge or for what reason no one knows. The Paper indeed says that he was carrying Despatches for the Confederate Govt. I feel quite certain that his is false, as he assured me twice that he had nothing whatever except letters for the post which he could not refuse to receive from his brother Merchants, but which any one might take from him and post when and where they liked.

Such is the state of this unfortunate case, and I venture earnestly to commend it to Y. L. kindest sympathies. I do not write officially respecting it because Mr. Mure may be said to have forfeited his claim to your Protection, but I cannot help thinking that upon an explanation of Mr. Mure’s real character and position the Govt. of the U.S. may be disposed to release him, always, provided, that he has not committed some overt act against it, which I cannot possibly believe.

Some years ago Mr. Mure was a member and also the Captain of a Scotch Volunteer Company called the ‘Union Light Infantry’. But in consequence of his age he resigned long before the

Secession of South Carolina, and has of course taken no part in hostilities against the U.S.

As regards my Despatches of which Mr. Mure was the Bearer I take it for granted that they have been forwarded to their destination. They were of the greatest importance as Y.L. will see by the copies when they reach you. If they should be detained, I must call in your aid for their recovery.

I feel deeply interested in this matter; not only because I am well acquainted personally with Mr. Mure, but also because his position ought to exempt him from suspicion. He could certainly not have expected such treatment as numbers of South Carolinians, native born and bred, have gone to the Northern Ports and sailed for Europe without hesitation.

I beg &

Robert Bunch.”

September 2, 1861 (Monday)

“QUEENSTOWN, Aug. 31.

“The Royal Mail steamship Europa, Captain Anderson, which arrived here at 3 p.m. to-day, left Boston on the 21st and Halifax on the 22^d inst. She brought 76 passengers. She landed six passengers and 65 sacks of mails, and proceeded for Liverpool at 3 20 p.m.; all well.

NEW YORK, Aug. 20, Evening.

(per Europa via Boston and Queenstown)

It is reported from Washington that the Confederates have organized a plan to cross the Potomac in a few days into Maryland, and below Washington, with a large force, and that for this purpose they have erected heavy batteries at Acquia Creek and Mathias Point.

The plan includes the capture of Annapolis and an attack on Washington from the Northern side.

A proclamation has been issued ordering all the Volunteer regiments and parts of regiments which have been accepted by the War Department to proceed to Washington forthwith, with or without uniforms or arms.

The Volunteers are leaving as fast as possible.

The Washington National Republican threatens the slaveholders of Lower Maryland with forcible emancipation if they do not remain loyal to the Union.

More insubordination is showing itself among the Federal troops at Washington.

Great excitement prevails throughout Missouri.

Accounts are received of active forward movements being made by the Confederates, who are occupying many towns of South Western Missouri.

Numerous arrests for treason continue to take place.

The number of prisoners at Fort Lafayette increases daily.

President Lincoln has issued a proclamation notifying that all persons leaving or coming to a suspected State must be provided with passports from the Secretary of State or an American Minister abroad.

Reports of extensive captures by privateers continue to be received.

The editor of a Secession journal has been tarred and feathered in Massachusetts.

The Bohemian and the Bremen have arrived out.” (London *Times*, September 2, 1861)

“LONDON, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1861

The Army and Navy Gazette has announced that three more regiments of infantry are about to be placed under immediate orders for Canada, and that they will probably embark in the Great Eastern before the middle of the present month. This is a circumstance of no little importance in itself. Our little army takes its turn of service in every part of the world, and that some two or three thousand of the soldiers who have been in camp at the Curragh should now have a spell of work in a British dependency is not a matter which, under ordinary circumstances, would deserve remark. The climate is healthy, and the men will probably hope to find a little agreeable excitement in the change. They are going to the uttermost parts of the earth, to exterminate New Zealanders, but to a great country which multiplies its population and trade at short intervals; where 70,000 emigrant Frenchmen have, which their home population has remained stationary, increased to more than half a million, where great cities are continually becoming greater, and where there is a Militia force of excellent materials, among which our little English contingent will be hardly visible. If the movement announced were an item of ordinary routine we should declare war against the routine, but there would be nothing special to object to in this instance of its operation.

The Government, however, which sends three regiments to Canada at this crisis means something more than routine. It is manifestly intended to be a significant fact. It is a demonstration. Well, what is it to demonstrate? Is it to overawe any one? Is it a pledge of future action? On the first supposition it would be ridiculous, on the second it would be most mischievous. Are these 2,500 men to garrison the frontier of Canada? They are not two men to every mile of frontier. Let us suppose that there is some necessity to overawe, some threatening enemy. Surely it cannot be expected that any enemy would could think of attacking in their own territory a thriving and

increasing people, inhabiting an enormous country, would be deterred by so small an increase to the force of that country as the three regiments who are to out the in the Great Eastern? Excellent as they are in discipline, equipment, and courage, they are but three battalions, and Canada has 400,000 square miles. If, then, this measure is not a menace, is it a pledge? Is this appearance of a small body of English troops to be considered as an assurance to the people of Canada that in case of attack they may rely upon these islands to send them armies for their defence, and treasure to defray the cost of their wars? Is it the enunciation of a principle that Quebec and Toronto and Montreal have nothing to do with a Canadian war, and that they may buy and sell and live at ease, for that Yorkshire and Lancashire and Middlesex will work for their defense, and give men to die for their safety? If this be so we protest, not only in the name of this country, but also in the interest of Canada, against any such promise. We can conceive nothing more destructive to political concord in this country than such a demand on the part of any Government, and we know of nothing which could operate so ill upon the dignity and self-respect of Canada. That Colony is perfectly able to take care of herself. The only enemy who can attack her is Northern America. We are not now calculating the probabilities of such an event. What a capricious and turbulent people may do in passion or resentment, or in the pursuit of what they may suppose to be a policy, we do not now surmise. But, suppose the event should occur the suggestion of which alone could give any colour for this demonstration, Canada ought to be able to meet the occasion,. She has a population which can readily throw out 50,000 fighting men for the defence of their own homes. The sort of enemy which would attack her would be precisely that which she is most able to meet. The undisciplined levies of the Northern States, far from their homes and ill-served in the appliances of scientific warfare, would be the enemy which the Canadian Militia would be most easily able to give a good account of. This has been so before, and the countries have increased with an equal growth. Why, then, are we to take Canada under our protection, and tell her to

lie still, and be content that we should fight for her? We cannot do this with all our dependencies if we would. We have not men enough in these small islands to fight the battles of the Anglo-Saxon race all over the world, and at the same time to hold our own in Europe and to govern the most populous regions of Asia. Our recruiting-ground is too small, and even the resources of commerce are all inadequate to such a Quixotic position.

Nor does any duty call us to such an exhausting task. No society has ever held that it is the duty of the father to sustain and defend the son when the son has grown to manhood. We have spread our race and our language all over the temperate earth, and when we plant a colony we hedge it round with our protection until it has taken root and is able to go alone. As soon as this happens we give it a separate constitution, and leave it to govern itself. It has its politics and its Parliament, as we have our politics and our Parliament. The only immediate connexion between the two peoples is that they have the same Queen. What advantage do the people of England derive from the connexion which exists between them and the people of Canada, or what force would they exercise to continue such a connexion against the will of the Canadians? We are not aware of any single advantage which Canada gives us, and which, in time of peace, we have not from the United States. Canada, on the contrary, finds her interest in the connexion. While we ask nothing of her but goodwill she grows under our protection. What we give, and most willingly, give to Canada is our powerful and inseparable alliance; and the offensive and defensive alliance of England is worth something to any State. He who attacks Canada declares war against England, and will call down upon himself all the might of England, but in the matter of her own fields and cities Canada's duty is to defend herself. If we know anything of the people of Canada, they would not only do this as a duty, but demand it as a right.

We cannot tell what political necessity may justify some demonstration just at this moment.

What may be passing between the rude and truculent men who direct the foreign relations of the Northern States and our Government had better not be known. What insults may be given or menaces made by persons to whom much may be forgiven or disregarded we have no desire to discover. What insane notions may in some quarters prevail of the possibility of recalling American unity by an expedition against a foreign enemy we do not ask to be supplied with the means of saying. If these things exist, our Government are alone in possession of them, and they act upon their exclusive knowledge and also upon their exclusive responsibility. One thing is perfectly certain. These three regiments do not go to Canada to threaten any offensive operations against America. If they are a demonstration it is a demonstration in a defensive sense. No one can persuade himself that the demonstration can be more than a declaration of identity between England and Canada for peace or for war. Of the present necessity of this Government will hereafter be called upon to satisfy Parliament and the country. We hope, however, that, whether justifiable or not, Canada will not take this little contingent we are about to send as indicative of any more than it really means; and will not believe that we expect from her, or intend to discharge towards her, any further duties than those of an intimate ally. The first duty of a people aspiring to become a nation is to show that it is able to protect itself." (London *Times*, September 2, 1861)

“[Extracts.]
No. 78.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 2, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of the 16th of August, number 29, has been received.

* * *

Steadily for the period of four months our forces have been coming into the field at the rate of two thousand a day, and the same augmentation will go on nearly at the same rate until 500,000 men will

be found in the service. Our supplies of arms are running low.

My despatch, No. 42, acknowledged by you in the paper before me, was written, as you will see by its date, July 21, during the progress of the battle at Bull Run, though sent a few days afterwards. From this fact you will see that our policy and our claims upon the government of Great Britain are not affected by the caprices of military fortune.

We have now reached a new and important stage in the war. The enemy is directly before us, invigorated and inspired by a victory, which it is not the part of wisdom for us to undervalue. But that victory has brought with it the necessity for renewed and decisive action with proportionate results. The demoralization of our forces has passed away. I have already stated that they are increasing in numbers. You will learn through other channels that they are equally perfecting themselves in discipline. Commander Stringham and General Butler's success at Hatteras was not merely a brilliant affair. It brings nearly the whole coast of North Carolina under the surveillance of our blockade.

* * *

I shall be entirely satisfied with the exercise of your own discretion as to the time and form you may choose for making the explanations to the British government on those subjects with which you are charged, and I regard the condition of things in that respect, as you have reported it to me, as, under the circumstances, quite satisfactory. No change of policy in regard to the blockade has been adopted since my former despatches.

I can well enough imagine that your position has been made a trying one by the exultations of enemies of our country and its institutions over the disaster of the 21st of July. But you will be able to comprehend what they cannot, that faction ripens fast, whence its necessities impel to action which exhausts its energies. Loyalty in any free country

organizes less rapidly and gains strength from time and even from reverses. The previous success of this government is a sufficient guaranty of the safety of our cause, and is a fact too important to be misunderstood in the political circle in which you are moving.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c..”

“Lord Russell has written an acknowledgement of Mr. Adams’ note of the 23d on the Paris Declaration, but it is not an answer to my chief’s argument. It is dated the 28th Inst., and after reciting some facts connected with the negotiation, affirms that the Declaration he proposed to make, was designed to prevent our Gov’t from raising objections such as followed the Ashburton Treaty, the Clayton-Bulwer Convention & the Oregon boundary Treaty. The cool impudence of saying this that we have misconstrued these agreements is a peculiarity entirely characteristic of British statesmen. They, of course, never deal in sophistry, or quibble about the nature of their obligations. But they do sign Treaties with mental reservations as to their meaning. For my part, until John Bull learns honestly to behave himself and carry out his contracts according to their true meaning as expressed in their language, I never would enter into another treaty with him.

● * * *

●

Captain Alexander H. Schultz, once master of a North River steamboat, arrived here this morning as special bearer of despatches from Washington, bringing with him a Despatch Bag from Bunch the British Consul at Charleston, addressed to Lord Russell, and found in possession of Robert Mure, a naturalized Scotchman and rebel Colonel, who was arrested while on his way to Europe, with treasonable documents on his person.

The bag is supposed to contain communications for the Rebel Representatives in London. There were 60 odd letters found on Mure, nearly all of which treasonable, and he passed our lines through Bunch's connivance with a Courier's passport in violation of the rule without the proper countersign. One of the letters intercepted reveals the fact that the British and French Consuls at Charleston have been in official correspondence with the Rebel authorities on two of the articles of the Paris Declaration, and Mr. Adams is instructed to ask Bunch's recal for this proceeding and for having violated the rule about passports above described of he had received official notice. If these Consuls acted by authority on these Declarations, as I suspect, then this and the French Govt. have been acting with bad faith towards us, & neither Consul will be removed." (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

September 3, 1861 (Tuesday)

Adams wrote the following note to Lord Russell:

"My LORD: I have the honor to inform your lordship that I have received by the hands of a special messenger of the Government just arrived in the steamer Europa from the United States a sealed bag marked "Foreign office 3," with two labels as follows:

On her Brit. Maj.'s service.--The Right Honorable the Lord John Russell, M. P., &c. Dispatches in charge of Robert Mure, esq.

ROBERT BUNCH.

On her Brit. Maj.'s service.--The Right Honorable the Lord John Russell, M. P., H. B. M.'s principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, foreign office, London.

R. BUNCH.

Agreeably to instructions communicated by my Government to me to see that this bag is delivered according to its address in exactly the condition in which I received it, I have the honor to

transmit the same by the hands of my assistant secretary, Mr. Benjamin Moran, who is directed to deliver it into your own hands if present, or if absent, into those of one of the undersecretaries of state for foreign affairs.

It now becomes my duty to explain the circumstances under which this bag has found its way from the possession of the person to whom it was originally intrusted into that of the authorities of the United States. It appears that the Secretary of State of the United States, on the 15th of August last, received information deemed worthy of confidence that Mr. Robert Mure, the bearer of this bag, was at the same time acting as a bearer of dispatches from the insurrectionary authorities of Richmond to your lordship. Other information came that he was a bearer of dispatches from the same authorities to their agents in London, and still other information from various sources agreed in affirming that he was traveling under a passport issued by Her Majesty's consul at Charleston. Upon this information instructions were sent forthwith to the police of New York to detain Mr. Mure and any papers which might be found in his possession. He was accordingly detained, and is now in custody at Fort Lafayette awaiting full disclosure. A large number of papers were found upon him, an examination of which was found fully to sustain some portions of the information which had been furnished, and to prove that Mr. Mure was acting as the bearer of a treasonable correspondence between persons acting in open arms against the Government of the United States and their friends and emissaries in Great Britain. He had also with him several copies of a printed pamphlet purporting to be a narrative of the events of the 21st of July at Manassas Junction addressed to persons in England and evidently intended to further the purpose of the conspirators in South Carolina. Robert Mure, the bearer of these papers, is represented to be a naturalized citizen of the United States where he has resided for thirty years, and as actually holding a commission of colonel in the insurgent forces of South Carolina.

It turned out to be true that in the hands of this gentleman were found in an open envelope a paper purporting to be a passport, a copy of which I have the honor to append to this note as paper marked A;* and a letter of instructions, signed by Robert Bunch, Her Majesty's consul for the United States residing at Charleston, a copy of which is likewise appended, as paper marked B.* In the absence of all other evidence against Mr. Bunch to prove his departure from the line of his legitimate duty it is quite enough to call the attention of your lordship to the fact that in issuing such a paper as this passport he has acted in direct contravention of a regulation issued by the proper Department of the United States, of which he had received notice, which forbids all recognition of any diplomatic or consular passport so far as to permit the bearer to pass through the lines of the national forces or out of the country unless it should be countersigned by the Secretary of State and the commanding general of the Army of the United States. Mr. Mure attempted to do both with a paper bearing no such signatures.

There is, however, other and still more serious cause of complaint against Mr. Bunch as disclosed by the papers of Mr. Mure, the exposition of which I am compelled to reserve for a separate communication. The present purpose is confined to an explanation of the reasons which have actuated the Government of the United States in taking the extraordinary step which has had for one of its consequences the effect of diverting, be it but for a moment, a part of the official correspondence of Her Majesty's Government from the channel in which it was originally placed. I am directed to express the regret the Government feels that such a measure had become imperative, and to assure your lordship of its earnest desire to make any suitable amends which may justly be required. If in the process there may have happened a slight interruption of the correspondence of the British consul, it is their desire that the pressing nature of the emergency may induce your lordship to excuse it.

It is needless to say that the bag passes into the hands of your lordship in precisely the same condition in which it came from those of Mr. Mure. Comity towards the Government of a friendly nation, together with a full confidence in its justice and honor, to say nothing of a sense of propriety, would deter the Government which I have the honor to represent from entertaining the idea of breaking the seals which protect it even were there ten times more reason than there is to presume an intention under so sacred a sanction to perpetrate a wrong certainly on one and perhaps on both Governments.

Still less is it the intention of the American Government to intimate the smallest suspicion of any privity whatever on the part of the authorities in Great Britain in aiding, assisting or countenancing a supposed design injurious to the United States and subversive of their sovereignty. Much ground as there is for presuming that it never was the intention of those who prepared the package to forward it to its nominal address, but that it was rather the design, after bringing bad matter under this sacred sanction safely through the dangers of hostile scrutiny, to open the bag themselves and to disseminate the contents far and wide among the evil-disposed emissaries to be found scattered all over Europe; this consideration has never weighed a single moment to change their views of this trust when put in the balance with the strong reliance placed upon the good faith of Her Majesty's constitutional advisers. Least of all has it been in the thought of any one that your lordship would consent in any way to receive the papers if they are really illegal in their character or dangerous or injurious to the United States.

Should it, however, prove on inspection that any abuse has been attempted in America of the confidence to which Her Majesty's Government is in every way entitled, I am directed to express to your lordship the hope that any papers of a treasonable character against the United States may be delivered up to me for the use of my Government and that Her Majesty's consul at Charleston if shown to be privy to the transmission of them under

such a form, may be made promptly to feel the severe displeasure of the Government whose good faith he has sought to dishonor. For there can be no difference of opinion as to the nature of an offence which involves the perversion by the agent of one Government of the hospitality afforded to him by another to conspire against its safety, dignity and honor.

I pray your lordship to accept the assurances of the highest consideration with which I have the honor to be your lordship's most obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.”

Adams sent a second letter to Russell:

“London, September 3, 1861.

MY LORD: The undersigned, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States, deeply regrets the painful necessity that compels him to make a representation to the Right Honorable Lord Russell, Her Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, touching the conduct of Mr. Robert Bunch, Her Majesty's consul for the port of Charleston, in the United States. It appears from the contents of one of the many letters found in the possession of Mr. Robert Mure, bearer of dispatches from Mr. Bunch to the Government of Great Britain, but detained as an agent of the enemies of the United States, that the following statement is made of the action of Mr. Bunch in Charleston.

Mr. B., on oath of secrecy communicated to me also that the first step to recognition was taken. He and Mr. Belligny together sent Mr. Trescot to Richmond yesterday to ask Jeff. Davis, President, to ____ the treaty of _____ to _____ the neutral flag covering neutral goods to be respected. This is the first step of direct treating with our Government. So prepare for active business by 1st of January.

The undersigned is instructed to submit this information to Her Majesty's Government with a request that if it be found to be correct, Mr. Bunch

may be at once removed from his office. The undersigned is further instructed to add that the President will cheerfully accord an exequatur to any person who may be appointed to succeed him who will faithfully perform his functions without injury to the rights and the interests of the United States.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to renew to Lord Russell the assurances of his highest consideration.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.”

“Daniel C. Lowber was arrested some days since at Crestline, Ohio, charged with being a bearer of dispatches from England to Jeff. Davis. He was brought to New York, and is now confined at Fort Lafayette. The dispatches were found in his trunks, seized several days since.” (Waukesha (Wis.) Freeman, Sept. 3, 1861)

“Navy Department, September 3, 1861.

Sir: Your attention is invited to the following papers (copies herewith submitted), viz: Letter of the Secretary of State, dated August 24, and enclosures, respecting the alleged purchase of the steamers *Adelaide*, *Victoria*, and *Bermuda*, in England, for parties in Charleston and the Southern States; letter of the Secretary of State, dated August 28, and enclosure, relative to the arrival of the five schooners at Halifax, Nova Scotia, which had run the blockade from North Carolina; letter from the Secretary of State, dated August 29, respecting the schooner *William H. Northrop*, belonging to Wilmington, N.C., which has repeatedly entered the sport of Nassau, New Providence, with the flag of the insurgent States flying; extract from a letter from Mr. Upton, of Boston, received through the Department of State, on the subject of the strong feeling at St. John, New Brunswick, in favor of the so-called Southern Confederacy.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,
Gideon Welles.

Flag-Officer S. H. Stringham,
Comdg. Atlantic Blockading Squadron,
Hampton Roads, Virginia.”

“One of our Despatches implicates Croskey & Co.⁵² London, & Brown, Shipley & Co., Liverpool, as being in treasonable intercourse with the rebels. I called Mr. Adams’ notice to the fact that J. H. Wolff, the vice Consul at Southampton, is of the firm of Croskey & Co., & Britton has been directed to learn more on the subject. An intercepted letter from Dr. G. Holland shows that Croskey & Co. permit rebel and treasonable letters to be addressed to them, to avoid interception. Holland may have assumed this address without authority; but that is scarcely possible, as Croskey is a friend of Dudley Mann, and has always been friendly to the present rascality.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

⁵² Mr. J. Rodney Croskey was a member of the new Board of Directors of the Great Ship Company elected on January 11, 1860, at the London Tavern. (See Emmerson at 73), and the entry for January 11, 1860 above. Croskey was a native of Pennsylvania, a citizen of the United States, and at the time the American Consul at Southampton.

September 4, 1861 (Wednesday)

United States.

Goods for Shipment per Great Eastern are received North-east Corner Waterloo Dock.

GREAT EASTERN FOR NEW YORK.



The Steamship G R E A T E A S T E R N,

JAMES WALKER, Commander;

Will be despatched from LIVERPOOL for NEW YORK, as under:—

TUESDAY.....September 10.
TUESDAY.....October 29.

Fares—Cabin Passage, £20 to £28, according to accommodation; Stowage, Seven Guineas and upwards.

Freight, on moderate terms, payable here, or at New York at \$4 80c. per pound sterling.

Apply to the Great Ship Company (Limited), 90, Cannon-street, London, E.C.; or to

3207

C. E. DIXON, 9, Rumford-place.

THE GREAT EASTERN FOR NEW YORK.

PASSAGE TO NEW YORK £7 7s.



The GREAT EASTERN,

13 343 tons register, Captain Kennedy, will sail FROM LIVERPOOL TO NEW YORK on the following dates:—

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10.
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 29.

Stowage Fare Seven Guineas and upwards to Ten Guineas, according to accommodation. The fare includes an unlimited supply of provisions of the best quality. Early application should be made for berths to

inwf

SABEL & SHARLES,
19 Water-street.

Southern States.



STEAM COMMUNICATION BETWEEN LIVERPOOL AND CHARLESTON.

On the reopening of the port of Charleston, the under-mentioned first-class screw steamships will be despatched for that port, taking freight and passengers for all the Southern and Western Cities:—

BERMUDA.....	New Ship.
ADELAIDE.....	2060 tons.
VICTORIA.....	1877 tons.

First-class passage to Charleston, £25.

For further particulars apply to

FRASER, TRINHOLM, & CO.,
10, Rumford-place; or to
M. G. KLINGENDER & CO.,
22 Water-street.

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WINSTANLEY & KELLY'S, RE-
ACTION PUMPS are now in extensive use for Engines and Main Pumps in the War and Mercantile Navies.

(Liverpool Mercury, Sept. 4, 1861)

“Reinforcements for Canada.

It is announced that an important addition is about to be made to the military force in Canada. It is felt that it would be unwise, in the face of the present disturbances in North America, to leave our frontier unprotected against the lawlessness which is either anticipated or has already begun to show itself, and it has, therefore, been determined—as the *Globe* and *Army and Navy Gazette* inform us—to send out a reinforcement of three regiments. The *Great Eastern* has, it is said, been again chartered for transport service, and will leave in the course of a week or two with the regiments selected for the protection of our Canadian provinces. It is reported that our little army in New Zealand will also be immediately strengthened, and that for some time to come a considerable force will be maintained in the colony.” (The Derby Mercury, Sept. 4, 1861)

“The *Great Eastern*.

Captain Walker, of the *Galway Line*, has been appointed to the command of the *Great Eastern*.” (Belfast News-Letter, Sept. 4, 1861)

“The *Great Eastern*.—Capt. Walker, of the *Galway line*, has been appointed to the command of the *Great Eastern*.” (Freeman’s Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser, Sept. 4, 1861)

“Liverpool.

Monday, Sept. 2.
(from our own correspondent.)

Departure of Orleans Princes for America.

On Friday evening the Prince DeJoinville, the Duc De Nemours, the Duc De Montpensier, and the Duc De Chartes, accompanied by the Count De Paris, arrived in Liverpool by the *London and North*

Western Railway, and at once proceeded to the Adelphi Hotel, where apartments had been prepared for their reception. As their visit was altogether private, and unannounced, neither thy Mayor, nor any of the Corporation Officials were in waiting to receive them. On Saturday morning they drove down to the Great Landing Stage, and afterwards went on board the Great Eastern, where they were received by Captain Cawkett, who conducted them over the vessel, and showed them every attraction. They expressed themselves much gratified by the inspection of the 'Great Ship,' and spoke in high terms of her noble proportions and admirable machinery." (The Derby Mercury, Sept. 4, 1861)

September 5, 1861 (Thursday)

"No. 53.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 5, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of August 19, No. 31, has been received.

Before this shall reach you, my instruction, No. 41, will have come to your hands. In that paper you were informed that you would be expected to rest in your negotiation concerning maritime rights until after we should have received some explanations from Lord Russell on a point raised in the negotiation at London.

Those explanations have not yet been received here.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

WILLIAM. L. DAYTON, Esq., &c., &c., &c."

"Yesterday the Count and Countess Alexander Strogonoff, cousins of the Emperor of Russia, visited Liverpool. After seeing the 'lions' of the town they proceeded in a special steamer, accompanied by Mr. K. Victor, who acted as interpreter, on board the Great Eastern. On stepping on board the illustrious party was met by Captain Walker, late of the Railway Company, who conducted them through the most interesting parts

of the ships. On leaving, the Count and Countess congratulated Captain Walker on his position as commander of the largest ship in the world, and also spoke kindly of the facilities placed at their service by Mr. C. E. Dixon, the agent of the Great Ship Company at Liverpool. The noble party left Liverpool the same evening by rail, *en route* to the Isle of Wight.” (Daily News (London) Sept. 5, 1861)

September 6, 1861 (Friday)

“ROCHDALE, ENGLAND, September 6, 1861.

My DEAR MR. SUMNER, -- I have often thought of writing to you during the last few months, but have been afraid to intrude upon you. I have grieved, as you have, over the calamities in which you are now involved, but have felt as though I could say nothing worth your reading, and that the case was one too complicated and too terrible for any stranger to interfere in it.

And now I write only to express the anxiety with which I regard the progress of your revolution; for whether you come to separation or to reunion, the result of what is now passing in your country must be a revolution. Judging from this distance I confess I am unable to see any prospect of reunion through a conquest of the South, and I should grieve to see it thro' any degrading concessions on the part of the North. I confess I am surprised at the difficulties you meet with even in the Border States. It would seem that the separation, in regard to feeling and interests, had made a fatal progress before secession was openly proclaimed. For surely if there was a large and preponderating sympathy for the Union in those States, the Northern forces would have great advantages over the South in the conduct of their operations, which they do not now appear to have. It has always seemed to me that the only way ultimately to save the Union, since the election of President Lincoln, was to offer abolition to the Border States on a full compensation, and thus to bind them indissolubly to the North. The Cotton States alone are too weak to form a nation or to resist the overwhelming power of the North. To compensate the Border States and to make them free States would

require less money than the cost of the war for one year, and a loan for that purpose could be easily raised in this country. But I suppose that up to the beginning of the war your democratic party would not have listened to such a scheme, and that since that time the Border States themselves could not be negotiated with, and that therefore I am writing of what, however good as a project, is wholly impracticable.

I am anxious about the course taken by our Government, having, as you know, no confidence in our Prime Minister, and little in his colleague at the Foreign Office. I think the one capable of any evil, and the other capricious and liable to act from passion or sudden change of purpose, tho' I hope not ill meaning to your country.

You will see they are sending troops to Canada. I cannot make out what this is for. It has been customary for the English Government to move ships and troops whenever and wherever any disturbance is going on ("to be ready for any emergency," and generally to meddle in it). This is the tradition of the last two centuries, and Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell are saturated with it. What they do may be no more than this, and I hope it is not; but I wish they would let even that alone. Again I don't place much faith in their minister at Washington. I once saw him, and dined in his company at Rome, and did not form a high opinion of his capacity. He may be well meaning, but he ought to be acute and firm, and thoroughly friendly to your Government, which possibly he is; but I happen to know that some persons here have not been without anxiety as to the manner in which he regards what is passing with you. The Times newspaper, as you know, will willingly make mischief if its patrons want mischief; and on your side you have the New York Herald doing Southern work when it dares to do it, and stirring up ill-blood with England as the best mode of helping its Southern friends. Public opinion here is in a languid and confused state. The upper and ruling class have some satisfaction, I suspect, in your troubles. They think two nations on your northern continent more easy to deal with than one, and they see, without

grief, that democracy may get into trouble, and war, and debt! And taxes, as aristocracy has done for this country. The middle class wish abolition to come out of your contentions, but they are irritated by your foolish Tariff; and having so lately become free traders themselves, of course, they are great purists now, and severely condemn you. In this district we have a good many friends of the South. The men who go South every year to buy Cotton for our spinners, and those among our spinners and merchants, who care little for facts and right, and go just where their interest seems to point. I have not so far seen any considerable manifestation of a disposition to urge our Government to interfere in your affairs, and yet, with some, doubtless, there is a hope that France and England will not permit their cotton manufacture to be starved out by your contest. There is a great anxiety as to what is coming. Our Mills are just now reducing their working time to four days, and some of them to three days in the week. This is not universal or general, but it is spreading, and will soon become general I cannot doubt. Working half time we can go on till April or May perhaps, but this will cause suffering and discontent, and it is possible pressure may be put upon the Government to take some step supposed likely to bring about a change. I preach the doctrine that the success of the North is our nearest way to a remedy, but there are those who hold a contrary opinion. Lords Palmerston and Russell in public speak in a friendly tone, and I have been disposed to believe in the honest disposition of the latter; but I do not like the moving of troops to Canada, for it indicates some idea of trouble in the future. They may only fear it, acting on ancient tradition, and may not intend it. Still with our upper class hostility to your country and Government, with the wonderful folly of your Tariff telling against you here, and with the damage arising from the blockade of the Southern ports, you will easily understand that the feeling here is not so thorough and cordial with you as I could wish it to be. At the same time there is a strong feeling of regret at what has happened, and many console themselves with the hope that the great question of the future condition of your four million negroes is about to be solved. I do not see how you can move for Emancipation within your Constitution,

or without giving to the South a complete case in favor of their insurrection; but if necessity or the popular feeling should drive you to it, then there will I think be no power in this country able to give any support to the South. Many who cavil at you now say, "if the war was for liberating the slave, then we could see something worth fighting for, and we could sympathize with the North." I cannot urge you to this course; the remedy for slavery would be almost worse than the disease, and yet how can such a disease be got rid of without some desperate remedy?

By the way, I heard a few days ago that there are buyers in Manchester from the South, purchasing largely for export from this to New Orleans. They say the blockade is but in name, and that during the night they can get any goods they want into that port, and I suppose into other ports as well. I do not know how this is, but I heard this from a person who is making goods which are commonly shipped to New Orleans, and who spoke most positively on the subject.

I see from a letter from Mr. Edge, the private correspondent of the Morning Star (London paper) who is now in Washington, that he is expecting another battle not far from the Capital. I cannot wish for a battle, but if it takes place, I hope it may lead to some negotiation thro' which peace may come. I cannot see how the South with its vast territory is to be subdued, if there be any of that unanimity among its population which is said to exist, and of which there are some proofs. If it be subdued, I cannot see in the future a contented section of your great country made up of States now passing thro' the crisis of a civil war, with every ferocious passion excited against the North, and the prospect being so dark, looking thro' the storm of war, I am hoping for something that will enable you to negotiate. I have no sympathy with the South, their folly seems to be extreme, and I think their leading men, who have made this insurrection, are traitors to human nature itself. They have sought to overthrow the most free Government and the noblest constitution the world has ever seen, and they wish to decree the perpetual bondage of many millions of human beings. Whatever of evil comes to them from the war, they will have richly deserved it.

But I dread the results of the war to the North. Debt, taxes, army, and the corruption which grows inevitably in times when so much of public money is being expended, are fearful things. We have had them, and have them now in this country; I hope they may never grow to so rank a luxuriance in yours. And now, after writing all this I leave the matter as I found it. "All that we know is, nothing can be known." I can give no advice, I can point out no way of escape. The devil of slavery has been cherished, and now threatens to destroy you; if he is to be driven out, as in old time, he will tear and rend you.

Whatever is done and whatsoever comes, I need not tell you that I am for the Government which was founded by your great men of eighty years ago, and that all my sympathies and hopes are with those who are for freedom. If you are ever again one nation I shall rejoice in your greatness; if your Northern States are henceforth to form your nation, I shall still have faith in your greatness, and rejoice in your renown. Clear of the curse which afflicts the South, you will be able, only with a brighter light still, to lead mankind in the path of freedom.

I cannot ask you to write to me, for I can imagine your many labors, and your, may I not say, destroying anxieties. Yet I often think if I could spend one evening with you, or have a letter from you giving me hope of better days, it would afford me an intense pleasure.

I trust in the calmness and moderation of your Government and people, and I will hope in the same high qualities in ours, to prevent any serious estrangement between you and us. I would that every man in England felt with you as I do, and that every man in your country were convinced that every Englishman was his friend.

As it is I will hope that a wise view of our interests and some regard to the requirements of Christian morality will enable us to maintain an unbroken amity between your nation and ours. If you have a few minutes of leisure at any time, and can tell me anything, I shall be happy to hear from you, and in

strict confidence whatever you may be at liberty to say. . . .

JOHN BRIGHT”

(Letter from John Bright to Senator Charles Sumner dated Sept. 6, 1861.)

“GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

An authoritative contradiction is give to the report that the Great Eastern has been chartered for the transport of the three regiments ordered to proceed to Canada. The Great Eastern, it is announced, will leave the Mersey for New York on Tuesday next, under a new commander—Captain Walker, late of the Galway line.

* * *

The *Army and Navy Gazette* says government has determined to make an important increase in the strength of our military force in North America, and three regiments of infantry are about to be placed under immediate orders for Canada. They will probably embark in the Great Eastern before the middle of next month. Owing to the absence of the General Commanding-in-Chief no selection of the regiments for this duty can be made for a few days. It is very likely, however, that three old thoroughly efficient battalions—the 1st battalion of the Rifle Brigade, the 1st battalions of the 15th and 98th regiments, all at present at the Curragh—will be chosen.” (The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, Sept. 6, 1861)

September 7, 1861

“The Great Eastern is still lying in the Mersey, and was visited last week by nearly 30,000 persons. Her next trip will probably be to Canada in a few days.” (Jackson’s Oxford Journal, Sept. 7, 1861)

United States.

Goods for Shipment per Great Eastern are received North-east Corner Waterloo Dock.

GREAT EASTERN FOR NEW YORK.



The Steamship GREAT EASTERN,

JAMES WALKER, Commander;

Will be despatched from LIVERPOOL for NEW YORK, as under:—

TUESDAY.....September 10.
TUESDAY.....October 29.

Fares.—Cabin Passage, £20 to £28, according to accommodation; Steerage, Seven Guineas and upwards.

Freight, on moderate terms, payable here, or at New York at \$4 80c. per pound sterling.

Apply to the Great Ship Company (Limited), 93, Cannon-street, London, E.C.; or to

C. F. DIXON, 9, Rutherford-place.

The GREAT EASTERN will start for NEW YORK on TUESDAY NEXT, the 10th instant. The Steam-tender ROVER will leave the south end of Prince's Landing stage, at Eleven o'clock morning, with the Cabin Passengers for the GREAT EASTERN.

Southern States.



STEAM COMMUNICATION BETWEEN LIVERPOOL AND CHARLESTON.

On the reopening of the port of Charleston, the under-mentioned first-class Screw Steamships will be despatched for that port, taking freight and passengers for all the Southern and Western Cities:—

HEMUDA.....New Ship.
ADELAIDE.....2060 tons.
VICTORIA.....1877 tons.

First-class passage to Charleston, £25.

For further particulars apply to

FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,

19, Rutherford-place; or to

M. G. KLINGENDER & CO.,

22, Water-street.

Calcutta.

FOR CALCUTTA.

(The Liverpool Mercury, Sept. 7, 1861)

“No. 83.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, September 7, 1861.

Sir: I have received your despatch of August 23, number 32. It is accompanied by a note which was addressed to you by Lord Russell on the 19th of the same month, and a paper containing the form of an official declaration which he proposes to make on the part of her Majesty on the occasion of

affixing his signature to the projected convention between the United States and Great Britain for the accession of the former power to the articles of the declaration of the congress of Paris for the melioration of the rigor of international law in regard to neutrals in maritime war. The instrument thus submitted to us by Lord Russell is in the following words: 'Draft of declaration.—In affixing his signature to the convention of this day, between her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and the United States of America, the Earl Russell declares, by order of her Majesty, that her Majesty does not intend thereby to undertake any engagement which shall have any bearing, direct or indirect, on the internal differences now prevailing in the United States.'

Lord Russell, in his note to you, explains the object of the instrument by saying that it is intended to prevent any misconception as to the nature of the engagement to be taken by her Majesty.

You have judged very rightly in considering this proceeding, on the part of the British government, as one so grave and so novel in its character as to render further action on your part in regard to the projected convention inadmissible until you shall have special instructions from this department.

Long before the present communication can reach you, my instructions of August 17, No. 61, will have come to your hands. That paper directed you to ask Lord Russell to explain a passage in a note written to you, and then lying before me, in which he said: 'I need scarcely add that on the part of Great Britain the engagement (to be contained in the projected convention) will be prospective, and will not invalidate anything already done;' which explanation I stated would be expected as a preliminary before you could proceed further in the transaction.

You have thus been already prepared for the information that your resolution to await special instructions in the present emergency is approved.

I feel myself at liberty, perhaps bound, to assume that Lord Russell's proposed declaration, which I have herein recited, will have been already regarded, as well by him as by yourself, as sufficiently answering the request for preliminary explanations which you were instructed to make.

I may, therefore, assume that the case is fully before me, and that the question whether this government will consent to enter into the projected treaty with Great Britain, subject to the condition of admitting the simultaneous declaration on her Majesty's part, proposed by Lord Russell, is ready to be decided.

I am instructed by the President to say that the proposed declaration is inadmissible.

It would be virtually a new and distinct article incorporated into the projected convention. To admit such a new article would, for the first time in the history of the United States, be to permit a foreign power to take cognizance of and adjust its relations upon assumed internal and purely domestic differences existing within our own country.

This broad consideration supersedes any necessity for considering in what manner or in what degree the projected convention, if completed either subject to the, explanation proposed or not, would bear directly or indirectly on the internal differences which the British government assume to be prevailing in the United States.

I do not enlarge upon this branch of the subject. It is enough to say that the view thus adopted by the President seems to be in harmony equally with a prudent regard to the safety of the republic and a just sense of its honor and dignity.

The proposed declaration is inadmissible, among other reasons, because it is not mutual. It proposes a special rule by which her Majesty's obligations shall be meliorated in their bearing upon

internal difficulties now prevailing in the United States, while the obligations to be assumed by the United States shall not be similarly meliorated or at all affected in their bearing on internal differences that may now be prevailing, or may hereafter arise and prevail, in Great Britain.

It is inadmissible, because it would be a substantial and even a radical departure from the declaration of the congress at Paris. That declaration makes no exception in favor of any of the parties to it in regard to the bearing of their obligations upon internal differences which may prevail in the territories or dominions of other parties.

The declaration of the congress of Paris is the joint act of forty-six great and enlightened powers, designing to alleviate the evils of maritime war, and promote the first interest of humanity, which is peace. The government of Great Britain will not, I am sure, expect us to accede to this noble act otherwise than upon the same equal footing upon which all the other parties to it are standing. We could not consent to accede to the declaration with a modification of its terms unless all the present parties to it should stipulate that the modification should be adopted as one of universal application. The British government cannot but know that there would be little prospect of an entire reformation of the declaration of Paris at the present time, and it has not even told us that it would accept the modification as a general one if it were proposed.

It results that the United States must accede to the declaration of the congress of Paris on the same terms with all the other parties to it, or that they do not accede to it at all.

You will present these considerations to Lord Russell, not as arguments why the British government ought to recede from the position it has assumed, but as the grounds upon which the United States declines to enter into the projected convention recognizing that exceptional position of her Majesty.

If, therefore, her Britannic Majesty's government shall adhere to the proposition thus disallowed, you will inform Lord Russell that the negotiation must for the present be suspended.

I forbear purposely from a review of the past correspondence, to ascertain the relative responsibilities of the parties for this failure of negotiations, from which I had hoped results would flow beneficial, not only to the two nations, but to the whole world—beneficial, not in the present age only, but in future ages.

It is my desire that we may withdraw from the subject carrying away no feelings of passion, prejudice, or jealousy, so that in some happier time it may be resumed, and the important objects of the proposed convention may be fully secured. I believe that that propitious time is even now not distant; and I will hope that when it comes Great Britain will not only willingly and unconditionally accept the adherence of the United States to all the benignant articles of the declaration of the congress of Paris, but will even go further, and, relinquishing her present objections, consent, as the United States have so constantly invited, that the private property, not contraband, of citizens and subjects of nations in collision shall be exempted from confiscation equally in warfare waged on the land and in warfare waged upon the seas, which are the common highways of all nations.

Regarding this negotiation as at an end, the question arises, what, then, are to be the views and policy of the United States in regard to the rights of neutrals in maritime war in the present case. My previous despatches leave no uncertainty upon this point. We regard Great Britain as a friend. Her Majesty's flag, according to our traditional principles, covers enemy's goods not contraband of war. Goods of her Majesty's subjects, not contraband of war, are exempt from confiscation though found under a neutral or disloyal flag. No depredations shall be committed by our naval forces or by those of any of our citizens, so far as we can

prevent it, upon the vessels or property of British subjects. Our blockade, being effective, must be respected.

The unfortunate failure of our negotiations to amend the law of nations in regard to maritime war does not make us enemies, although, if they had been successful, we should have perhaps been more assured friends.

Civil war is a calamity from which certainly no people or nation that has ever existed has been always exempt. It is one which probably no nation ever will escape. Perhaps its most injurious trait is its tendency to subvert the good understanding and break up the relations existing between the distracted state and friendly nations, and to involve them, sooner or later, in war. It is the desire of the United States that the internal differences existing in this country may be confined within our own borders. I do not suffer myself for a moment to doubt that Great Britain has a desire that we may be successful in attaining that object, and that she looks with dread upon the possibility of being herself drawn into this unhappy internal controversy of our own. I do not think it can be regarded as disrespectful if you should remind Lord Russell that when, in 1838, a civil war broke out in Canada, a part of the British dominions adjacent to the United States, the Congress of the United States passed and the President executed a law which effectually prevented any intervention against the government of Great Britain in those internal differences by American citizens, whatever might be their motives, real or pretended, whether of interest or sympathy. I send you a copy of that enactment. The British government will judge for itself whether it is suggestive of any measures on the part of Great Britain that might tend to preserve the peace of the two countries, and through that way, the peace of all nations.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c.”

“[Extracts.]

No. 39.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, September 7, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the
reception of despatches from the department,
numbered from 61 to 67, both inclusive.

Since the date of your No. 61, of the 17th of
August, you will have learned ere this that the
enigmatical extract from Lord Russell’s note to me,
of which you instructed me to ask an explanation,
has taken a very distinct and unequivocal shape,
superseding all necessity for further inquiry. I may
take occasion to remark upon the similarity of some
of the reasoning in your despatch with that which
you will find already made use of in my letter to his
lordship, of the 23d August, declining to conclude
the negotiation. On the whole, it seems to me that it
is perhaps as well to let it stay for the present in the
situation in which her Majesty’s ministers have
placed it. But in this I remain to be directed at the
pleasure of the President.

In this connexion I have the honor to
transmit a copy of Lord Russell’s note of the 28th of
August, in reply to mine of the 23d of that month to
him, already referred to in the preceding paragraph.
I likewise send a copy of his instructions to Lord
Lyons, which he seems to have furnished to me as
an evidence of his good faith in the representation
he made of them to me at the conference.

* * *

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient
servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.”

“No. 44.] Paris, September 7, 1861.

Sir: Your despatches, 41, 42, and 43, are duly received through Captain Schulz.

Your action, indicated in 41 and 42, has been anticipated by me. In a letter from Mr. Adams, dated London, August 1, 1861, he encloses me a copy of Lord John Russell’s note of July 31, 1861, and in reference to the vague paragraph to which your despatches refer he says: ‘I do not quite comprehend the drift of the last paragraph, but I presume you will find it out in the progress of your negotiation.’ This I immediately answered by a letter, of which I herewith send you a copy.

Their subsequent offer to make a written outside declaration cotemporaneous with the execution of the treaty was a degree of frankness which I did not anticipate, and for which I had not given them credit. I shall wait with great pleasure, according to your instructions, ‘the result of the explanations which Mr. Adams is instructed to ask,’ but I expect that both he and I have already received all necessary explanations on that point. My conversations, at least with Mr. Thouvenel, have covered the whole ground, as stated to you in despatch No. 35. I add that I communicated immediately to Mr. Adams the substance of that conversation with Mr. Thouvenel.

The exequatur of James Lesley, appointed consul of the United States to Lyons, was applied for immediately on the receipt of his commission.

With much respect, I have the honor to be,
your obedient servant,

WILLIAM L. DAYTON.

His Excellency WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, &c.”

“America

* * *

Intelligence has reached New York from Halifax, Nova Scotia, upon the authority of the commander of a French frigate stationed there, that as soon as reinforcements from the other side of the Atlantic, now on their way, arrived to join the English and French fleets, they would both sail for the southern coast of the United States, and open the blockade. It is not at all improbable (observes the Herald) that such is the intention of the Governments of England and France, but, at the same time, it may be that the French officer who made this statement has no positive knowledge of the destination of the squadrons, although, of course, the concentration of so large a naval force on the North American coast at this time would naturally indicate to the officers in command a contemplated movement in the direction of our Southern ports.

As illustrative of the inefficiency of the blockade, a Boston paper publishes the following items:--

‘The schooner Albion, from Wilmington, with a cargo of rice and naval stores, arrived at Cardenas August 1, and reports no blockade of that port on her departure.

‘The schooner Adeline, from Savannah, with rice and naval stores, arrived at Havannah, August 3, and reports no blockading vessel off that port when she left.

‘The British ship Roman Tree, from Calcutta, with a full cargo of gunny cloth and saltpeter, for New Orleans, arrived at Havannah, August 5, having been ordered off by a blockading vessel at the mouth of the Mississippi, and will discharge in deposit at Havannah.

‘The schooner Major Barbour, from New Orleans, with a full cargo of cotton, arrived at Havannah, August 8; reports no blockading vessel in sight on her departure.

‘The schooner Price of Wales, from Newbern, with rice and naval stores, arrived at Savannah August 11, and reports no blockade.’” (Times of London, Sept. 7, 1861)

September 8, 1861 (Sunday)

Letter from A.H. Schultz to John Bigelow, newly appointed U.S. Consul to France):

“Liverpool Sept 8th 1861

My Dear Sir

I am convinced by reading the Letter (of which I sending on a copy) from my nephew and adopted son Edward G. James of Phila, a Partner in the house of Richardson Spencer & Co, Liverpool – that he or his brother B. Lloyd James – had their uncle arrested for they told me they believed he was not only a real secessionist but in the interest of the Rebels. Of course I could have not believe it – for I could not think he would compromise me in any way. He talked secession to me following the one half hour I saw him on his way to England but I ridiculed the idea and told him to stop his nonsense, as I wanted to talk about business. I paid no other attention to it until I was about leaving when he was expected back when my wife told me she was afraid he would make himself obnoxious to his fellow passengers be arrested as a Rebel in New York. She said also that she had her fears for his integrity. I still laughed at the idea as I did not contemplate for a moment he would do anything else but talk Southern.

It is strange. I admit how infatuated I have always been with him and I have been frequently told by my best friend that he has heretofore blighted my worldly prospects -- impoverished me, and kept me under the harness for nearly twenty-five years. If in addition to all this I am to lose position and character it will indeed be ruinous.

But to the Letter (Copy)

Phila August 23, 1861

I have brief time to write that I hope this will find you safely arrived in the old world and in good health – Uncle Daniel was home Saturday afternoon. He only escaped arrest from me because I found him in my counting room at my desk. Had I seen him in the street I should have had him placed in custody but coming to me, I had to rise to the dignity of a savage & hold him an unwilling guest. It is enough to have one's mere acquaintances engaged in an assault that may not only rob him of his little all but destroy his own, and the lives of those closer still but when the folly and the crime are in his own household the act is past toleration or forgiveness.

Affectionally yours,

E. G.

James

In order that you may better understand the connection of our families, I will state that Lowber married my wife's sister Mary – the mother of Mr. James was an other sister. I brought up and educated her two boys. Of course, Lowber is their uncle but these boys have always disliked him for the trouble & loss he had repeatedly visited upon me.

Very truly yours,

A. H. Schultz" (Letter
obtained from Union College Library)

September 9, 1861 (Monday)

No. 41.] Legation of the United States
London, September 9, 1861.

Hon. William H. Seward,
Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception at the hands of your messenger, Captain Schultz, of a bag purporting to contain public dispatches from Mr. Robert Bunch, the consul at Charleston, to Lord Russell, the head of the foreign office in London.

In conformity with the instructions contained in your No. 63 dated the 17th of August, I immediately addressed a note to Lord Russell, explanatory of the reasons why such a bag was received through this channel, a copy of which is herewith transmitted. In it you will perceive that I have endeavored to adhere as closely as possible to the language of your communication to me. At the same time in obedience to the directions contained in your No. 64, dated the 17th of August, I addressed another note to his lordship stating the grounds of dissatisfaction felt by the President with the conduct of Mr. Bunch, and requesting his removal. A copy of this note is likewise appended to the present dispatch. These two notes, together with the bag in exactly the same condition in which I received it from Captain Schultz, I directed my assistant secretary, Mr. Benjamin Moran, to take with him to the foreign office, and there to deliver into the hands of his lordship if present, or if absent from town, into those of one of her Majesty's under secretaries of state for foreign affairs.

Accordingly on the afternoon of Tuesday the 4th instant at about quarter past 3 o'clock, as Mr. Moran reports to me, he went to the foreign office, and finding Lord Russell to be absent from town, he delivered the bag and the notes into the hands of Mr. Layard, one of the undersecretaries. Since that time I have had no reply from his lordship, although I received on Saturday last two notes from him on matters of minor consequence. I had hoped to send something by Captain Schultz, who returns in the Great Eastern, and I shall yet do so if it should come before the bag closes. I have consented to the departure of Captain Schultz mainly because Mr. Dayton has expressed a great desire that he should take charge of his dispatches as soon as possible.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

P.S.—I have just learned from Mr. Davy that the Bermuda put into Falmouth for coals. Her cargo in arms, ammunition, and clothing, is valued at £80,000 sterling. The importance of intercepting her cannot be overestimated.”

“We have sent Despatches off to-day by the Great Eastern.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

“America.

Liverpool, Sept. 8

The Royal Mail steamship Persia, Captain Judkins, has arrived, with advices from New York to the 28th ult. On leaving that port she spoke the ships Union and Rinaldo, and the Royal Mail steamship Asia, bound in. On the 29th the City of Washington, Hibernia, and Teutonia had arrived out. Passed the ship Cultivator, bound west, and the screw steamer Chersonnee, bound east. On the 4 inst. spoke the schooner Petrel, bound east.

The New York Tribune publishes the following special dispatch from Washington:-

‘Mr. Adams, Minister at St. James’s, writes that in the British mind the independence of the rebels is fully admitted as a military and political necessity; that there acknowledgement by England is but a question of time and prudent courtesy; that, while Britain is impatient to get cotton from the South in exchange for manufactured goods, she is anxious not to lose Northern markets, and is unwilling to part with her hope of breaking down the Morrill Tariff, by the same means with which she chained the North with the Walker Tariff; and that two or three more successes like that of Bull’s Run would entitle the slaveocracy to immediate recognition.’

* * *

Mr. Berrett, Mayor of Washington, had been sent to Fort Lafayette for refusing to take the oath of allegiance. Mr. D.C. Lowber, of New Orleans, a bearer of dispatches from President Davis, had been arrested on his way to embark for England.

* * *

The New York Tribune of the 21st publishes extracts from correspondence found on the person of Mr. Robert Muir, of Charleston, confined in Fort Lafayette. One letter, from James S.M. Carter, is dated Charleston, July 31, and is addressed to 'Charles Cavendish Clifford, M.P., House of Commons, London,' and gives a résumé of the events which had occurred, but with which our readers are familiar. He says in one portion that he is 'pained to see the disposition of my neighbours to underrate the courage and patriotism of the North, and have feared it might have led us into fatal security. The last battle has taught us that the Yankees will fight, and most desperately, and will lead to greater caution in future. I could hope that neither section would be again humiliated by so disastrous a defeat as that of Manassas. The bankers are everywhere subscribing the half of their entire crops to the Government loan. Everywhere in North Carolina and Virginia there is a promise of most abundant crops, and I have never seen such favourable prospects for planters as there are now.' Another letter says, 'Have no doubt that there will soon be direct opportunities with the South by steam.' A Miss Annie K. Anderson, writing from Norfolk on the 11th of July, states that the blockade had caused everything to rise in value, and that meat was almost beyond the reach of the poor. The schooner Henry Middleton was loading with 600 barrels of spirits for Liverpool, and would run the blockade. 'Mr. Robert Muir, the letters says,--"One of the parties interested in the adventure, and by whom I send this, will confer and advise whether it will be better for the schooner to clear for a Northern port, so that, in case she is ordered off by the blockading fleet, she may proceed to New York or Philadelphia. Confer with Mr. Muir on this point,

and whether it will be necessary to put her under the British flag. Endeavor to have some goods to meet the raising of the blockade. Salt is worth to-day \$4 per sack.”

* * * *

Raveul and Co., of Charleston, send a draught in favour of Coates, of Paisley, for \$717. . . . Mr. E. N. Thurston, of Charleston, writes to Mr. C. K. Priolau, of Liverpool, and speaks hopefully of the state of affairs.” (London *Times*, Sept. 9, 1861)

Adams wrote the following letter to Seward:

“SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception at the hands of your messenger, Captain Schultz, of a bag purporting to contain public dispatches from Mr. Robert Bunch, the consul at Charleston, to Lord Russell, the head of the foreign office in London.

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I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,"

Russell wrote the following to Adams:

"SIR: I received with some surprise from Lord Lyons an intimation that a sealed bag, directed by one of Her Majesty's consuls to Her Majesty's secretary of state, had been seized and detained by order of the Secretary of State of the United States. It seems to have been suspected that Her Majesty's consul had inserted in his official bag and covered with his official seal the correspondence of the enemies of the Government of the United States now engaged in open hostilities against them.

Had Her Majesty's consul so acted he would have, no doubt, been guilty of a grave breach of his duty toward his own Government and that of the United States. But I am happy to say there does not appear, on opening the bag at the foreign office, to be any ground for such a suspicion.

Her Majesty's Government were advised that the suspension of the conveyance by post of letters from British subjects between the Northern and the Southern States was a contravention of the treaty on this subject contracted by the two Governments. Her Majesty's Government has been unwilling to press this view on the United States.

But this stoppage of the post has occasioned great inconvenience to individuals, and I inclose a copy of a note from Mr. Bunch to the undersecretary of foreign affairs, showing the mode in which he had endeavored to palliate the evil by inclosing private letters in his consular bag.

I shall address any further communication I may have to make on this subject to Lord Lyons.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, sir, your most obedient humble servant,”

Enclosed with the letter from Russell to Adams was the following letter dated Monday, August 5th:

“Charleston, August 5, 1861.

Her Majesty’s Undersecretary of State
For Foreign Affairs:

Mr. Bunch presents his compliments to Her Majesty’s undersecretary of state for foreign affairs and takes leave to inclose to him herewith certain letters which are intended for the post.

They are principally letters of servants, governesses, &c. (British subjects), which owing to the discontinuance of the post they are unable to send in any other way. Some also contain dividends, the property of British subjects, which they could scarcely receive without Mr. Bunch’s intervention.

Mr. Bunch hopes that there is no irregularity in this proceeding. No expense of postage is incurred by the foreign office as the bag in which the letters are contained goes by a private hand to Liverpool.”

Russell wrote a second note to Adams:

“SIR: The undersigned, Her Majesty’s principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, has received a communication from Mr. Adams, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the

United States at this court, dated the 3d instant giving some information regarding the conduct of Mr. Bunch, Her Majesty's consul at Charleston in the United States, and requesting on the part of the Government of the United States that Mr. Bunch may at once be removed from his office.

The undersigned will, without hesitation, state to Mr. Adams that in pursuance of an agreement between the British and French Governments, Mr. Bunch was instructed to communicate to the persons exercising authority in the so-called Confederate States the desire of those Governments that the second, third and fourth articles of the declaration of Paris should be observed by those States in the prosecution of the hostilities in which they were engaged. Mr. Adams will observe that the commerce of Great Britain and France is deeply interested in the maintenance of the articles providing that the flag covers the goods, and that the goods of a neutral taken on board a belligerent ship are not liable to condemnation. Mr. Bunch, therefore, in what he has done in this matter has acted in obedience to the instructions of his Government, who accept the responsibility of his proceedings so far as they are known to the foreign department, and who cannot remove him from his office for having obeyed his instructions.

But when it is stated in a letter from some person not named, that the first step to the recognition of the Southern States by Great Britain has been taken, the undersigned begs to decline all responsibility for such statement. Her Majesty's Government have already recognized the belligerent character of the Southern States, and they will continue to consider them as belligerents. But Her Majesty's Government have not recognized, and are not prepared to recognize the so-called Confederate States as a separate and independent State.

The undersigned requests Mr. Adams to accept the assurance of his highest consideration."

“[Translation.]
Paris, September 9, 1861.

Sir: I have received the letter which you did me the honor to write me, the 26th of the month of August, in order to explain to me the reason which induced you to await further instructions from your government before proceeding to the signing of the convention relative to maritime rights.

In this state of affairs, I could but await the arrival of the instructions which you have requested, and, consequently, I do not wish to enter into the discussion of the motives which have-prevented you from signing the contemplated convention, and which you were pleased to bring to my knowledge. I desire, however, to set forth clearly, by some further explanations, what is the train of thought followed by the government of the Emperor, in judging, like the government of her Britannic Majesty, that it is expedient to accompany the proposed treaty with a special declaration.

If the United States, before the actual crisis, had adhered to the declaration of the congress of Paris, as this adhesion would have bound the whole confederation from that moment, the cabinet of Washington might, at the present time, have availed itself of it to contest the right of the southern States to arm privateers. Now, if this supposition be correct, (fondée,) one could not be astonished that the government of Mr. President Lincoln, according to the principles which it has set forth in its manner of viewing the present conflict, should wish to consider the contemplated convention as much obligatory upon seceded States, in the present circumstances, as if it had preceded the hostilities. But if this opinion be quite explicable on the part of the cabinet of Washington in the situation in which events have placed it, it could not be thus with governments which have proposed to themselves to preserve the strictest neutrality in a struggle, the gravity of which it has no longer been possible for them to disregard. In accepting, then, a proposition presented (formulée) by the federal government, when the war had already unhappily broken out between the northern and southern States of the Union, it was natural that the government of the

Emperor, having decided not to turn itself aside from the attitude of reserve which it had imposed upon itself; should consider beforehand what extension the cabinet of Washington might be induced, on account of its position, to give to an arrangement, by which it declared that the United States renounced privateering. The hostilities, in which the federal government is actually engaged, offering to it the opportunity of putting immediately into practice the abandonment of this mode of warfare; and its intention, officially announced, being to treat the privateers of the south as pirates, it was manifestly of importance to caution the cabinet of Washington against the conviction, where it might exist, that the contemplated treaty obliged us thus to consider the privateers of the south as pirates. I will not dwell upon the matter (n'insisterai pas) in order to show how much we would deviate from the neutrality we have declared ourselves desirous of observing towards the two factions of the Union, if, after having announced that they would constitute for us two ordinary belligerents, we should contest the primitive rights of a belligerent to one of them, because the other should consent voluntarily to the abandonment of it in a treaty concluded with us. There is no need to point out, further, how we would forcibly break through our neutrality as soon as we should be constrained, in virtue of the contemplated convention, to treat as pirates the privateers which the south will persist in arming. The cabinet of Washington might, then, I repeat, be led, by the particular point of view in which it is placed, to draw from the act which we are ready to conclude such consequences as we should now absolutely reject. It has seemed to us that it is equally important to the two governments to anticipate (prévenir à l'avance) all difference of interpretation as regards the application to the actual circumstances of the principles which were to become common to them both. Otherwise, it would have been to be feared, if the same explanations had had to be exchanged later, that there would have been attributed to them a character altogether different from that which they really possess. We would regret, too, sincerely that the least

misunderstanding should be produced in our relations with the United States, not to be anxious, from this moment henceforth, to enlighten them upon a reserve, which, being officially stated to the cabinet of Washington before the signing of the convention, maintains strictly one line of neutrality, without taking away from the value of the agreement, which, in this case, we will be happy to establish with the United States.

Accept the assurances of the high consideration which I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

THOUVENEL.

Mr. Dayton,
Minister of the United States at Paris.”

“Reinforcements for Canada.—No selection has yet been made of the regiments which we announced in our last impression the Government intended to send out as a reinforcement to Canada. Doubtful opinions as to the policy of the step have been expressed, and it may be inferred that they have not been without influence upon Her Majesty’s responsible advisors, from the fact that the arrangements are for the moment suspended. The St. Lawrence navigation will be open long enough to allow of their reaching Quebec by the Great Eastern after she returns from her next voyage, should that vessel be employed, as we mentioned last week was in contemplation. . . . Army and Navy Gazette.” (Times of London, Sept. 9, 1861)

“America.

* * *

The New York Tribune of the 21st publishes extracts from correspondence found on the person of Mr. Robert Muir, of Charleston, confined in Fort Lafayette. One letter, from James S.M. Carter, is dated Charleston, July 31, and is addressed to ‘Charles Cavendish Clifford, M.P., House of Commons, London,’ and gives a resume of the events which had occurred, but with which our

readers are familiar. He says in one portion that he is 'pained to see the disposition of my neighbours to underrate the courage and patriotism of the North, and have feared it might have led us into fatal security. The last battle has taught us that the Yankees will fight, and most desperately, and will lead to greater caution in future. I could hope that neither section would be again humiliated by so disastrous a defeat as that of Manassas. The bankers are everywhere subscribing the half of their entire crops to the government loan. Everywhere in North Carolina and Virginia there is a promise of most abundant crops, and I have never seen such favourable prospects for planters as there are now.' Another letter says, 'Have no doubt that there will soon be direct opportunities with the South by steam.' A Miss Annie K. Anderson, writing from Norfolk on the 11th of July, states that the blockade has caused everything to rise in value, and that meat was almost beyond the reach of the poor. The schooner Henry Middleton was loading with 600 barrels of spirits for Liverpool, and would run the blockade. 'Mr. Robert Muir, the letter says,--

'One of the parties interested in the adventure, and by whom I send this, will confer and advise where it will be better for the schooner to clear for a Northern port, so that, in case she is ordered off by the blockading fleet, she may proceed to New York or Philadelphia. Confer with Mr. Muir on this point, and whether it will be necessary to put her under the British flag. Endeavour to have some goods to meet the raising of the blockade. Salt is worth to-day \$4 per sack.'

Mr. R. T. Walker, of Charleston, writes, on August 6th, to Mr. Charles Moore, of Liverpool, that 600 barrels of spirits of turpentine had been sold for shipment to Liverpool at 25c. the gallon:--

'Should the vessel be overhauled by the blockading fleet, the captain has instructions to fire her. The parties making the shipment are determined the ____ Yankees will derive no benefit from it. The stock of spirits in the place is about 1,200 barrels; none of it for sale under 30c. There will be very little resin

received here this year, in comparison with the last, many of the distillers having abandoned the business.’

Among the letter was a draught for 250*l* from the Bank of South Carolina in favour of R.M. Stokes, being a legacy. Raveul and Co., of Charleston, send a draught in favour of Coates, of Paisley, for \$717. A mother and daughter write to their ‘dear Willie,’ and mention that there was little tea or coffee for sale in Charleston. Mr. E. N. Thurston, of Charleston, writes to Mr. C. K. Priolau, of Liverpool, and speaks hopefully of the state of affairs.

It is mentioned in Washington letters that the Government contemplated encouraging privateering ventures by waiving their claim to a share in prizes captured. . . .” (Times of London, Sept. 9, 1861)

September 10, 1861 (Tuesday)

“Foreign Intelligence.

America.

Liverpool, Sept. 8.—The Royal Mail steamship Persia, Captain Judkins, has arrived, with advices from New York to the 28th ult.

* * *

The New York Tribune publishes the following special despatch from Washington:--‘Mr Adams, Minister at St. James’s, writes that in the British mind the independence of the rebels is fully admitted a military and political necessity; that their acknowledgement of England is but a question of time and prudent courtesy; that, while Britain is impatient to get cotton from the South in exchange for manufactured goods, she is not anxious to lose Northern markets, and is unwilling to part with her hope of breaking down the Morrill tariff, by the same means with which she chained the North with the Walker tariff; and that two or three more successes like that of Bull’s Run would entitle the slavocracy to immediate recognition.’

* * *

Mr. Berrett, Mayor of Washington, had been sent to Fort Lafayette for refusing to take the oath of allegiance. Mr D. C. Lowber, of New Orleans, a bearer of despatches from President Davis, had been arrested on his way to embark for England.” (The Caledonian Mercury, Sept. 10, 1861)

Great Eastern leaves Liverpool; discharges pilot at 3:55 p.m. -- “The Cotton Supply question was still engaging the anxious attention of the British Press, and the Government was urged to strain every nerve to develop the cultivation of the plant in India. In it announced by the London *Globe* that during the present month the British Army in Canada is to be reinforced by *twenty-two thousand five hundred men*. No explanation is given of the reasons inducing this step, but the ones advanced on the occasion of the previous reinforcement will hardly do now.” New York *Times* Sept. 19, 1861.

“The Civil War in America.
From our special correspondent.)
Washington, Aug. 20

* * *

England is abused, where, indeed, to be praised is dishonour, because she has declared that she will observe a strict neutrality. It was next alleged that she would force the blockade for the sake of the vital necessity ‘cotton.’ Now, when it is pretty clear that she will do nothing of the kind on that account, she is accused of atrocious designs on this whole Republic, and it is said that her conduct in not forcing the blockade is accounted for by her desire to see the North and South waste each other in a prolonged war. In the same way her refusal to force the blockade for cotton and her desire to render herself independent of the semi-monopoly of the South is said to arise from her hatred to America generally. In fact these men are frantic because England gives them no pretext for anything but vulgar insolence. In the present state of the public mind, as expressed by the tone of the papers, it is

quite evident that there is an incapacity, produced by passion, to distinguish falsehood from truth, and a profound judicial blindness, feigned or real, among the public instructors. For instance, one paper accepts, or pretends to accept, the most ridiculous statements in, or said to be in, one of the letters from the South seized on Mr. Mure. There is, of course, the usual sensation heading,—‘English Neutrality—Startling Development,’—and then comes an extract from the intercepted letter, to the effect that ‘Mr. B.’ showed the writer confidentially my letter about the battle of Bull’s Run. The probability or possibility of the fact is never thought of for a moment; it is a peg to weave a string of lies upon, though the journal in question is *au fait* at making whole cloths of these articles without any peg at all. On the same authority the State Department is actually called upon not to lose a moment in demanding an explanation from Lord Lyons respecting some statement in the same letter that the *nommé* B. and Mr. Bouligny had sent Mr. Trescott (who was Under-Secretary of State during Mr. Buchanan’s administration) to Mr. Jefferson Davis, at Richmond, to ask him to accept the doctrine that the neutral flag covers goods not contraband of war, which ‘is the first step of direct treating with our Government.’ Another paper takes comfort in comparing the loss in killed of the small assaulting column of the English at the Redan with the loss of the whole Federal army in the battle of Bull’s-Run, and finds that the former was 386, and the latter 480—whence it concludes that either both were ‘awful conflicts’ alike, or both were ‘sham battles.’ In the same way it is sought to irritate and excite ill-feeling against your correspondent by willfully ignoring the express words of his letter in reference to Bull’s Run, in which he distinctly stated that he left it for American journals to describe the fighting, and that he only related what he saw with his own eyes. This, too, is done by papers which freely applied the words ‘cowardice,’ and ‘disgrace,’ ‘infamy,’ and such opprobrious epithets to the conduct of the army itself and its officers, and quoted the words of United States ‘honourables’ narrating their impressions, far stronger than any I used, with evident complacency.

These people know in their hearts that I never impeached the courage of those who fought, but that I did endeavour to describe the terror of the flight and the panic of those who ran. If they succeed in their object I cannot help it, but they may depend upon one thing, -- that nothing, while I have life, will induce me to suppress what I believe to be the truth, and that all they can do is to add another to the proofs that freedom of speech and thought can be rendered unsafe and dangerous in the land of freedom of speaking and thinking. As if not to be outdone in extravagance, some of the Southern papers are calling out for the expulsion of the Consuls of the European Powers which have not acknowledged the Confederacy, and in the face of the blockade, which will soon be rigid enough, are using the most absurd language as to their might and power, and the power of the 'cotton press' over all the world. With the exception of their great success in Missouri, the political events in the border States have been unfavourable to the Confederates; but the signs of dissension and trouble in the North, on the other hand, are alarming to those who can read the signs of the times. The State Democratic Convention in Maine has split on the question of peace or war, and a great animosity exists on that very question in larger circles in other States. Kentucky is distracted in her attempts to preserve a strict neutrality and to follow the example of France and England."

* * *

August 27.

As an instance of the inconveniences of the system now pursued by the United States Government and of the embarrassment caused to them by their own acts, take the case of Mr. Mure, an American naturalized subject, as I believe, and carrying dispatches addressed to Earl Russell by Mr. Bunch, the British Consul at Charleston. Mr. Mure is the bearer of other letters written by people in the South, who are, of course, Secessionists, to their friends in Europe. Mr. Seward discovers that, among the property of Mr. Mure, there is not only

matter of the latter kind, but a regular dispatch to the English Foreign-office. What will he do with it? He applies to Lord Lyons to come and see it opened, I believe, and assist him in disposing of it. Lord Lyons declines to do anything of the kind. The dispatches addressed to the British Minister have been seized. They are in the custody of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the Washington Government. Let the United States' Government deal with them. Mr. Seward, of course, cannot send the dispatches direct to Earl Russell, and the strange proceeding of forwarding the communications of a British Consul with his Government by the Secretary of State at Washington, to the American Minister at London, who will probably thereupon remit them to Downing-street, will be the result—with what after-conclusion it is not easy to say. Of course, any complaints founded on matter contained in private and confidential communications between individuals not owing allegiance to the United States, which become improperly known owing to the seizure of the correspondence and the laxity of the authorities, cannot be entertained for a moment. Mr. Mure seems to have acted improperly if he has indeed conveyed any dispatches for the Southern Commissioners under the cover of the passport granted to him by the British Consul as bearer of dispatches; but it is very doubtful indeed whether the arrest itself was not unlawful, as the British flag should have protected him for any political offence, and if the captain of the vessel had refused to give him up the question would have assumed a very serious form. It is quite probable that Mr. Bunch and M. de Belligny, the Consuls of Great Britain and France, may have asked Mr. Trescot to ascertain Mr. Davis's views respecting the propositions agreed to by all the Powers except the United States at the Paris Conference, in presence of the fact that the Confederate privateers are becoming very active; and if Mr. Trescot's representations induced the Government at Richmond to agree to all these propositions except the first, which does away with privateering itself, no one can say any harm has come of it. But it by no means follows that the gloss of an ignorant

Secessionist is correct, and that the Confederate States are by one step nearer to recognition in consequence of that act than they were after the battle of Manassas. It would not be surprising to find that Mr. Seward was well aware an application would be made to Mr. Davis, whom we have acknowledged to be at the head of a belligerent Power, to accede to the principles accepted by the great Powers at the end of the Russian war, respecting which Mr. Seward's own views had undergone remarkable modifications since this great contest began. There is a tenacity in the Government and people of the United States in maintaining their pretensions, while in their acts they scarcely bear out one of them, which is curious and significant. Thus, for example, although they do not venture to execute their threats and their captured pirates, they refuse to acknowledge the Confederates as other than rebels, and leave their prisoners to pine away in confinement sooner than ask for an exchange, which would seem to admit that the Confederates were alien enemies. The authorities are all working with energy to bring every power to play against the South, and, as they consider it important to prevent communications between the Confederates and their Commissioners in Europe or their friends here, they have resolved henceforth to stop and board all the steamers outside the ports, and place officers on board of them to look out for suspicious persons. But what can they do when ladies will wad their crinolines with percussion caps, and carry galvanic batteries in their tender bosoms?—when they hug sulphuric acid under their arms, and wear stays of copper wire?—when they pad their petticoats with revolvers, and swell their stocking-legs with quinine?”

* * *

After noon General M'Clellan, escorted by a rough-but-ready looking body of United States troopers, and attended by a small staff, appeared in the distance, preceded by an open carriage, in which sat the President and Mr. Seward. The troops stood to their arms, forming in line with considerable

precision. As the President drove down the ranks the men presented arms and the bands struck up various tunes—‘Hail Columbia,’ ‘The Star-spangled Banner,’ ‘The Red, White, and Blue’ (which seems cosmopolitan), and others unknown, and the colours, which are generally large and handsome, and show very well, were lowered. The solitary carriage then took up a position in the front of the centre, and the division marched past—eight regiments of various strength, having probably 5,500 men on the field. The marching was generally very good. The men were silent in the ranks, and there was no cheering. With some exceptions, there were many reasons to be satisfied with the appearance of the division. The President, who did not remain an hour on the field, drove back over the Long-bridge.”

(The Times, London, September 10, 1861)

“No. 56.] Department of State,
Washington, September 10, 1861.

SIR: Your despatch of August 22, No. 35, has been received. I learn from it that Mr. Thouvenel is unwilling to negotiate for an accession by the United States to the declaration of the congress of Paris concerning the rights of neutrals in maritime war, except ‘on a distinct understanding that it is to have no bearing, directly or indirectly, on the question of the domestic difficulty now existing in our country,’ and that to render the matter certain Mr. Thouvenel proposes to make a written declaration simultaneously with his execution of the projected convention for that accession.

You have sent me a copy of a note to this effect, addressed to you by Mr. Thouvenel, and have also represented to me an official conversation which he has held with you upon the same subject. The declaration which Mr. Thouvenel thus proposes to make is in these words:

‘DRAFT OF DECLARATION.

‘In affixing his signature to the convention concluded on date of this day between France and the United States,

the undersigned declares, in execution of the orders of the Emperor, that the government of his Majesty does not intend to undertake by the said convention any engagements of a nature to implicate it, directly or indirectly, in the internal conflict now existing in the United States.'

My despatch of the 17th day of August last, No. 41, which you must have received some time ago, will already have prepared you to expect my approval of the decision to wait for specific instructions in this new emergency at which you have arrived.

The obscurity of the text of the declaration which Mr. Thouvenel submits to us is sufficiently relieved by his verbal explanations. According to your report of the conversation, before referred to, he said that both France and Great Britain had already announced that they would take no part in our domestic controversy, and they thought that a frank and open declaration in advance of the execution of the projected convention might save difficulty and misconception hereafter. He further said, in the way of specification, that the provisions of the convention standing alone might bind England and France to pursue and punish the privateers of the south as pirates; that they are unwilling to do this and had so declared. He said, also, that we could deal with these people as we choose, and they (England and France) could only express their regrets on the score of humanity if we should deal with them as pirates, but that they could not participate in such a course. He added, that although both England and France are anxious to have the adhesion of the United States to the declaration of Paris, yet that they would rather dispense with it altogether than be drawn into our domestic controversy. He insisted somewhat pointedly that we could take no just exception to this outside declaration, to be made simultaneously with the execution of the convention, unless we intended that they (England and France) shall be made parties to our controversy, and that the very fact of your hesitation was an additional reason why

they should insist upon making such contemporaneous declaration as they proposed.

These remarks of Mr. Thouvenel are certainly distinguished by entire frankness. It shall be my effort to reply to them with moderation and candor.

In 1856, France, Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, Sardinia and Turkey being assembled in congress at Paris, with a view to modify the law of nations so as to meliorate the evils of maritime war, adopted and set forth a declaration, which is in the following words:

1st. Privateering is and remains abolished.

2d. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.

3d. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag.

4th. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective—that is to say, maintained by forces sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

The States which constituted the congress mutually agreed to submit the declaration to all other nations and invite them to accede to it. It was to be submitted as no special or narrow treaty between particular States for limited periods or special purposes of advantage, or under peculiar circumstances; but, on the contrary, its several articles were, by voluntary acceptance of maritime powers, to constitute a new chapter in the law of nations, and each one of the articles was to be universal and eternal in its application and obligation. France especially invited the United States to accede to these articles. An invitation was equally tendered to all other civilized nations, and the articles have been already adopted by forty-one of the powers thus invited. The United States hesitated, but only for the purpose of making an effort to induce the other parties to enlarge the

beneficent scope of the declaration Having failed in that effort, they now, after a delay not unusual in such great international discussions, offer their adhesion to that declarations pure and simple, in the form, words and manner in which it was originally adopted and accepted by all of the forty-six nations which have become parties to it. France declines to receive that adhesion unless she be allowed to make a special declaration, which would constitute an additional and qualifying article, limiting the obligations of France to the United States to a narrower range than the obligations which the United States must assume towards France and towards every other one of the forty-six sovereigns who are parties to it, and narrower than the mutual obligations of all those parties, including France herself.

If we should accede to that condition, it manifestly would not be the declaration of the congress of Paris to which we would be adhering, but a different and special and peculiar treaty between France and the United States only. Even as such a treaty it would be unequal. Assuming that Mr. Thouvenel's reasoning is correct, we should in that case be contracting an obligation, directly or indirectly, to implicate ourselves in any internal conflict that may now be existing or that may hereafter occur in France, while she would be distinctly excused by us from any similar duty towards the United States.

I know that France is a friend, and means to be just and equal towards the United States. I must assume, therefore, that she means not to make an exceptional arrangement with us, but to carry out the same arrangement in her interpretation of the obligations of the declaration of the congress of Paris in regard to other powers. Thus carried out, the declaration of Paris would be expounded so as to exclude all internal conflicts in States from the application of the articles of that celebrated declaration. Most of the wars of modern times—perhaps of all times—have been insurrectionary wars, or 'internal conflicts.' If the position now assumed by France should thus be taken by all the other parties to the declaration, then it would follow that the first article of that instrument, instead of

being, in fact, an universal and effectual inhibition of the practice of privateering, would abrogate it only in wars between foreign nations, while it would enjoy universal toleration in civil and social wars. With great deference, I cannot but think that, thus modified, the declaration of the congress of Paris would lose much of the reverence which it has hitherto received from Christian nations. If it were proper for me to pursue the argument further, I might add that sedition, insurrection and treason would find in such a new reading of the declaration of Paris encouragement which would tend to render the most stable and even the most beneficent systems of government insecure. Nor do I know on what grounds it can be contended that practices more destructive to property and life ought to be tolerated in civil or fratricidal wars than are allowed in wars between independent nations.

I cannot, indeed, admit that the engagement which France is required to make without the qualifying declaration in question would, directly or indirectly, implicate her in our internal conflicts. But if such should be its effect, I must, in the first place, disclaim any desire for such an intervention on the part of the United States. The whole of this long correspondence has had for one of its objects the purpose of averting any such intervention. If, however, such an intervention would be the result of the unqualified execution of the convention by France, then the fault clearly must be inherent in the declaration of the congress of Paris itself, and it is not a result of anything that the United States have done or proposed.

Two motives induced them to tender their adhesion to that declaration— first, a sincere desire to co-operate with other progressive nations in the melioration of the rigors of maritime war; second, a desire to relieve France from any apprehension of danger to the lives or property of her people from violence to occur in the course of the civil conflict in which we are engaged, by giving her, unasked, all the guarantees in that respect which are contained in the declaration of the congress of Paris. The latter of these two motives is now put to rest, insomuch as France declines the guarantees we offer. Doubtlessly, she is satisfied that they are

unnecessary. We have always practiced on the principles of the declaration. We did so long before they were adopted by the congress of Paris, so far as the rights of neutrals or friendly States are concerned. While our relations with France remain as they now are we shall continue the same practice none the less faithfully than if bound to do so by a solemn convention.

The other and higher motive will remain unsatisfied, and it will lose none of its force. We shall be ready to accede to the declaration of Paris with every power that will agree to adopt its principles for the government of its relations to us, and which shall be content to accept our adhesion on the same basis upon which all the other parties to it have acceded.

We know that France has a high and generous ambition. We shall wait for her to accept hereafter that co-operation on our part in a great reform which she now declines. We shall not doubt that when the present embarrassment which causes her to decline this co-operation shall have been removed, as it soon will be, she will then agree with us to go still further, and abolish the confiscation of property of non-belligerent citizens and subjects in maritime war.

You will inform Mr. Thouvenel that the proposed declaration -on the part of the Emperor is deemed inadmissible by the President of the United States; and if it shall be still insisted upon, you will then inform him that you are instructed for the present to desist from further negotiation on the subject involved.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

W L. DAYTON, Esq., &c., &c., &c.”

“[Extract.]

Paris, September 10, 1861.

Sir:

* * *

I herewith enclose to you a copy and translation of a communication recently received by

me from Mr. Thouvenel on the subject of the execution of the convention as to maritime rights. It contains nothing that I have not referred to before, but it is evident he wanted to put the specific grounds of exception to an unconditional exception of the treaty on record.

* * *

With much respect, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM L. DAYTON.

His Excellency WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, &c., &c., &c.”

September 11, 1861 (Wednesday)

Fastnet Rock (navigation point) sighted by Captain Walker at 1:40 p.m. “Towards midnight a long westerly swell set in ship rolling at times.” Captain Walker, letter to Directors dated October 10, 1861

“No. 86.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 11, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of August 23d has been received.

The inefficiency of the British laws to prevent violations of our rights is deeply to be regretted. We shall necessarily be obliged to exercise vigilance in detecting the unlawful character and objects of British vessels approaching our coasts, which will not be pleasant to the government whose flag they will be perverting to such unfriendly uses.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c.”

“The Great Eastern.—The Great Eastern sailed yesterday afternoon, at 3.30, from Liverpool for New York, with upwards of 400 passengers and a general cargo. The chairman and directors of the Great Ship Company, with a number of the leading gentlemen of the port, including the Mayor, S. R. Graves, Esq., accompanied the ship as far as the

Bell Buoy. She was in excellent order, and her departure was witnessed by many thousands, who lined the banks of the Mersey.” (Morning Chronicle (London) Sept. 11, 1861)

September 12, 1861 (Thursday)

“The Great Eastern left the Mersey on Tuesday for New York. The prospects of profit seem to be poor, for the number of passengers was under 300, and the cargo small.” (The Leeds Mercury, Sept. 12, 1861)

“Liverpool News.

(From our own correspondent.)

Liverpool, Sept. 10.

Sailing of the Great Eastern.-- The leviathan steamship Great Eastern sailed to-day for New York, having on board 165 cabin and 197 steerage passengers. She also took out about 350 tons of cargo. She dropped her moorings precisely at half-past one, and proceeded slowly down the river till three miles beyond the bar, when the Government emigration officers, the ship's agents, and a numerous party who accompanied them, got on board two steam tenders and returned to Liverpool, which they reached about six o'clock. The great steamship, immediately on parting with the tenders, got up steam and proceeded on her course, south-westward. An immense crowd of spectators was assembled on the landing stages, and also on the different piers, to witness the Great Eastern's departure. In passing the Persia she dipped her flag and fired two guns, which ceremony was returned by the Persia; the same mode of salutation was observed by the big ship as she passed the City of New York, which proceeds on her first voyage across the Atlantic to-morrow.” (Glasgow Herald, Sept. 12, 1861)

4:00 a.m. “Breeze and sea increasing at noon the ship rolled heavily at times from a long swell and cross sea. At 2 p.m. I put on the relieving tackles. Shortly after a boat getting unslung and stove, stopped the Paddle Engines and cut the boat adrift

which fell clear and again turned ahead. The gale increasing with a very heavy sea, causing the ship to roll very heavily. I hauled her up to the sea, but in about 10 minutes she fell off 4 or 5 points and could not get her to the wind again. I then set fore staysail and trysail to get her before the wind but the clew of the trysail was carried away and the fore staysail was split by the violence of the gale. From this time the ship became unmanageable constantly rolling sponsons under. I believe the Rudder shaft had parted at the moment when the ship first refused to keep to the wind between 4 and 5 o'clock. The fracture was not discovered till the next morning owing to the steady resistance offered by fourteen men at the relieving gear and the churning up of large fragments of iron 8 and 9 inches long in the fractured part of the rudder shaft which were held together by a screw nut 11 in deep and prevented the broken ends of the shaft from turning freely on each other. Neither the men at the helm, nor those at the reversing gear heard any noise or felt any jar which could lead to a suspicion that the rudder or shaft had parted. About 6.30 p.m. the Port Paddle wheel broke up and was carried away. About midnight the Gale was fearful and a tremendous sea – ship labouring and rolling heavily.” (Captain Walker letter of Oct. 10, 1861) -- “About ten o'clock on Thursday night the gale was at its full height and the ship, with its rudder powerless, lay in the trough of the sea, rolling fearfully, the deck; according to the statements of some of the passengers, inclining at an angle of 45 degs. frequently, and the gunwale, which was nearly forty feet about the water mark, sometimes being on a level with the sea. The confusion on board was naturally very considerable. It appears from the statements of the passengers that the ship had put to sea without being at all prepared to encounter rough weather, and, both verbally and by a resolution passed before landing, they condemn highly the conduct of the directors and managers in allowing her to go to sea in such a state. Nothing, it appeared, had been got ship-shape when she sailed, and almost everything was in confusion; two or three tickets had been given to different passengers for the same berths, which occasioned disputes and the

crew, it seemed, were drawn away too much from their regular duties, in attending to what should have been done before leaving port. This, it is said, contributed much to the disasters which occurred on board. None of the furniture in the saloons or cabins was secured and when the gale became violent, and the rolling of the vessel increased, sideboard, tables, chairs, stools, crockery ware, china, glass, and other articles, and even passengers, went sliding and rolling backwards and forwards across the deck in a prominous heap, causing a sense of confusion and destruction which is but seldom witnessed even at sea. From the way in which the paddle wheels rubbed against the sides of the ship, it was deemed prudent to stop them, and the screw was also stopped as the captain did not deem it advisable to go on with his rudder useless; and the ship lay on the waters a complete log, rolling in the fearful manner described. On deck, every thing rolled about the deck as below. A cowshed, with two cows in it, broke lose, and after a few excursions over the deck, it broke through into the ladies' cabin, adding not a little to the terror and confusion already prevailing there. Both the cows were killed by this fall. Two oil tanks also broke loose, and after tumbling about for a time, they broke through the upper hatchway and fell down, but one was stopped by the hatchway of the lower deck, where it got tightly jambed, and effectively stopped the communication there. Though fortunately no lives were lost, a large number of the passengers and crew were much injured, some of them seriously, by being tumbled about among the furniture in the cabins. The chairs were all light cane-bottomed articles, not secured to the decks, and a party sitting on one of them would find himself and his seat suddenly crossing the deck at a very disagreeable and dangerous speed. Naturally enough he would make a grasp at some large object near him, perhaps a sideboard or a table, but that was also crossing the deck as fast as himself, and all would go together with a violent bang against the opposite side, more or less injury to each being the result, the passenger getting a fractured rib, leg, or arm, or perhaps, sustaining the comparatively minor injury of a bruise, a cut, or a black eye, while the sideboards,

chairs, tables, &c., were gradually getting themselves to very small pieces. Now and then, above the other din, would come a louder crash, as some pile of crockery and glass came down and strewed itself in infinitesimal fragments over the deck. One gentleman (Mr. A. G. Creagh of Cork) to whom, as well as Mr. Henry Wilson, of Liverpool, we are indebted for most of our information regarding the storm, states that a gentleman near him went head foremost into an immense mirror about twelve feet high, the largest in the grand saloon, but escaped with a black eye and a few cuts. Mr. Creagh himself, in his involuntary peregrinations about the saloon, managed to keep himself in such a position as to avoid going head over heels and performing other acrobatic feats after the example of many around him, but the shock which the great mirror had received from the gentlemen who had "pitched" into it, brought it down and covered the floor with very small fragments. Some of those penetrated Mr. Creagh's flesh as well as that of the other passengers, and made their position still more uncomfortable. Mr. Creagh also had his wrist severely sprained, besides receiving several cuts and scrapes, in addition to those inflicted by the glass. The chandeliers also fell from the ceilings, the crashes they made in coming down adding to the general din. The chief cook was flung against one of the paddle boxes and having put out his hand to save himself, had his wrist sprained; he was then flung towards the other side, and coming against a stanchion in the way, his leg was fractured in three places. One lady had a rib fractured, another had her shoulder dislocated, another her wrist. Among the passengers and crew there were 22 fractures altogether during storm and an innumerable number of cuts, bruises, and sprains, hardly one on board escaping damage of some kind. Heavy chain cables rolled about the decks so fast that, as some of the passengers remarked, they actually polished themselves bright. In this condition the night was passed, the fearful rolling of the ship, the crash of furniture and other articles below, the chains rolling over the deck, and the howling of the tempest, realising in the minds of the passengers the most frightful ideas, probably,

that any of them had ever formed of Pandemonium.” *Cork Examiner* Sept. 18, 1861.

September 13, 1861 (Friday)

Adams wrote the following to Russell:

“MY LORD: The undersigned envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States has the honor to acknowledge the reception this day of two notes from the Right Hon. Earl Russell, Her Majesty’s principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, both dated the 9th of September and both in reply to notes addressed to his lordship by the undersigned on the 2d instant touching the case of Mr. Bunch, Her Majesty’s consul at Charleston, and the mode of transmission of his dispatches. The undersigned has the honor to inform his lordship that copies of these notes will be transmitted by the next steamer for the consideration of the Government of the United States.

The undersigned requests Earl Russell to accept the assurance of his highest consideration.”

September 14, 1861 (Friday)

“At five o’clock on Friday afternoon [Sept. 14, 1861] the joyous news went through the ship that a sail was in sight, and signals were made and guns were fired, but the report turned out to be untrue, and with heavy disappointment the passengers returned to their preparations for what many of them believed to be their inevitable fate. Friday night was passed in the same dreadful state as the night before and Saturday morning dawned with little or no hope. The ship had drifted considerably out of her course and the place where the passengers and crew now found themselves, was out of the ordinary track of ships, the steamer having drifted, it is said, to the North of Galway. About four o’clock on Saturday, a sail was again reported to be in sight, and blue lights were lit, rockets sent up, and guns fired. This time the news proved to be correct, and very soon a brig was seen approaching, which proved to be the Magnet of Halifax, Nova Scotia. We regret not being able to give the captain’s name, as all the passengers we conversed with speak in the highest terms, and with

most lively feelings of gratitude, of his noble conduct in coming to their assistance, and remaining by them as long as they needed him. The sight of this vessel inspired all with hope and confidence and the passengers, though still suffering much, began to resume their former cheerfulness. It should be mentioned here that the general conduct of the passengers, including the ladies, with but one or two exceptions, was highly creditable, even during the very worse periods of the storm. A large proportion of the cabin passengers were ladies and children, and the former displayed admirable courage and self-possession, all remaining in their cabins, in accordance with the desires intimated to them, the gentlemen, from time to time, giving them reports of how matters went on. The children were, of course, to a great extent unconscious of their danger, and except in some cases of sea sickness and, when one of them would now and then be dashed, with more violence than was agreeable, against some hard object, they were not in much trouble. The gentlemen behaved equally well, and did what they could to keep order, in which they succeeded very satisfactorily. They appointed a sort of committee or police, on Friday, consisting of between twenty and thirty who took the duty in turn of going round the vessel, reassuring the ladies, and preserving order. Four of them only, who were called directors, had the privilege of speaking to the Captain during the storm, this being done for the purpose of preventing his being annoyed by parties questioning him every minute. The little brig Magnet stood faithfully by the steamer, even at the imminent of being dashed to pieces against her huge side. At one time the steamer was very near crashing her, the brig, having rather incautiously come too close while the other was giving one of her tremendous rolls. While the steamer was in this position, attempts to steer her by means of a spar and fastened to some chains and with an anchor fluke attached to it, but it was found that that would not answer. *Cork Examiner* Sept. 18, 1861.

Persia leaves Liverpool for New York (New York *Times* Sept. 22, 1861)

“The Great Eastern.—Liverpool, Sept. 10.—The Great Eastern sailed this afternoon at 3 30 for New York, with upwards of 400 passengers and a general cargo. The chairman and directors of the Great Ship Company, with a number of the leading gentlemen of the port, including the mayor, S. R. Graves, Esq., accompanied the ship as far as the Bell Buoy. She was in excellent order, and her departure was witnessed by many thousands who lined the banks of the Mersey.—Queenstown, Sept. 11.—The Great Eastern passed here at 9 A.M.” (Mitchell’s Maritime Register, Sept. 14, 1861)

Adams wrote the following to Seward:

“SIR: I now have the honor to transmit copies of two notes received yesterday from Lord Russell in answer to my notes of the 3d of September transmitting to him the bag of Mr. Bunch.

It appears from one of them that Mr. Bunch has been acting under secret instructions, which are only now acknowledged because they have come to light, and that his granting a safe conduct to an emissary of secession charged with treasonable papers is no objection to his neutral character in the eyes of his employers.

With regard to the question presented in the other note it is satisfactory to me at least in so far as it devolves all responsibility for the further treatment of the question into more capable hands. I transmit also a copy of my reply.

I shall not dwell further on the difficulties this question may occasion but proceed rather to another subject not altogether foreign from it which will not fail to require speedy attention.

* * *

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,”

“No. 88.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 14, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of August 30 (No. 34) has .Just been received. Your note to Lord John Russell, which accompanies it, is approved. My despatch to you, (No. 83,) under the date of the 7th instant, will have reached you before this communication can arrive. You will have learned from that paper that your course, as now made known to me, was anticipated by the President, and that he had already directed that the negotiation for our adhesion to the declaration of the congress of Paris should be suspended.

It is due to the British government to say that the letter of Lord John Russell to Mr. Edwards, upon Dominican affairs, to which you refer, and a copy of which you enclose, was read to me by Lord Lyons, pursuant to instructions from Lord Russell.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c.”

“No. 89.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 14, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of August 30 (No. 35) has been received. While I regret with you that the administration of the laws of Great Britain is such as to render comparatively ineffectual your efforts to defeat there the designs of parties in that country injurious to the United States, I have great pleasure in saying that the information we receive from you concerning them is often very valuable, and enables us to put our own authorities here in a way of vigilant surveillance which promises good results.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c.”

September 16, 1861 (Monday)

“About nine o’clock on Monday [Sept. 16, 1861] morning a steamer was discovered in sight and passed close to them, which turned out to be the Persia, outward bound. Captain Walker of the Great Eastern, ordered a black board to be put up, with the words in white letters “our rudder and paddle wheels are gone,” and desired him to come along side. The Persia accordingly put about, and sailed under the Great Eastern’s stern, but Captain Walker was afraid of stopping his engines for fear of disarranging his steering gear and intimated such to the Persia by white letters on a black board. The Persia finally turned off and continued her course.”
(*Cork Examiner* Sept. 18, 1861)

“Five Days Later From Europe.

St. Johns, N.F. Saturday, Sept. 14.

The steamship *Kangaroo*, from Liverpool on the 4th, *via* Queenstown on the 5th inst., arrived off Cape Race at 12¹/₂ o’clock this afternoon. She was boarded by the news yacht of the Associated Press, and the following five days’ later intelligence from Europe obtained:

* * *

Great Britain.

The political news is unimportant.

It was reported that spies, in the employ of the Government at Washington, were on board of all the transatlantic steamers.

The announcement is made that three more regiments are ordered to Canada. They start about the middle of September, and will leave in the *Great Eastern*, which goes to New-York, as advertised.

The *Times*, in an editorial, says that the Government may have private reasons for the

movement, but that there are none apparent. If it purely a defensive movement and a mere declaration of identity between England and Canada, it hopes that Canada will not take it for more than it means, but hold herself ready, if it should be needful, to protect herself. It is regarded as a wise guarantee against all complications and calculated to strengthen her interior.

The *Times*, in another editorial, says that the great question with capitalists is this: ‘How will the Americans endure the burdens of taxation to which they are as yet strangers?’ It also argues that the temptation of high prices is almost sure to set some part of the cotton crop free, especially as the crop of Texas is not far from the ports of Mexico.” (New York Times, Sept. 16, 1861)

September 17, 1861 (Tuesday)

“Nor when morning broke did the prospect bring much comfort, as the damage done to the vessel was really ascertained. Every vestige of the paddles, floats, iron bands, and all, had been washed away, and on examining the rudder, it was found that the top of the rudder post, a bar of iron about ten inches thick, had been wrenched away, thus leaving the rudder quite loose, and flapping from side to side against the screw, with the motion of the waves. The gale still continued unabated, and the vessel still laboured and rolled as much as ever, in fact it is the opinion of most on board that nothing but her extraordinary strength preserved her from complete destruction, and that had an ordinarily built ship been under the same circumstances she would inevitably been lost, with all on board. After each roll, and with every sea that struck her, the huge monster quivered in every timber from stem to stern; and those on board expected each minute that she would break and go down. Six of the boats had been washed away during the night. The place where they hung was forty feet above water mark, but as the ship rolled, she inclined so much to each side as to bring them within reach of the raging bellows. All the other boats had been more or less damaged – two of them to such an extent as to be quite useless. All the passengers were now seriously contemplating the probability of a watery grave – in

fact, but faint hopes of safety remained among them; and prayer services were held every few hours – there being several clergymen on board – at which most of them attended.” (*Cork Examiner*, Sept. 18, 1861)

“We sent her away again from Liverpool with a good lot of passengers in August. We were in capital spirits about her and I arranged after she sailed to go to Mr Baker’s house near Worcester, who was at the time chairman of the Ship Co, to talk over our future, believing a bright one was in store for us. I went there and we had just finished dinner & were preparing to close in near a comfortable fire and have our chat, when the servant came in with a telegram saying the ship was off the Irish coast. This spoilt our wine and our hopes, and instead of discussing her future we had to speculate upon the cause of her return. Of course, this led us to no result and we went to bed hoping to hear news the following day.

I had not been very long asleep when a knock at my door awoke me and poor old Baker walked into my room with a fresh telegram in his hand. I will never forget the appearance of the old gentleman as he stood at the foot of my bed to read the telegram, wrapped up in a white flannel dressing gown and one of those old fashioned night caps on his head, a lamp in one hand and the telegram in the other. This telegram did not give us more information, so I went to sleep again, but in a short time another telegram arrived and a similar scene gone through. Next day we had full particulars; the ship had got into a heavy gale and her rudder shaft had broken, and she was left for a couple of days to the mercy of the wind & sea until a temporary arrang[men]t could be made to steer her. She had a very bad time of it, but got safely into Queenstown. Both her paddles were carried away. We got her over to Milford again and put her on the gridiron for repairs; these repairs were very costly and cleared away much more than our profits. We, however, set about the work and during the winter got her all ready again for sea.” *Memoirs and Diary of Sir Daniel Gooch.*

September 18, 1861

“Latest Intelligence.
The Great Eastern Disabled.

The Great Eastern arrived off Cork Harbour this (Tuesday) evening, in a very damaged state. She encountered a very heavy gale about 290 miles to the west of Cape Clear on Thursday, and had both paddles carried away. The top of the rudder-post (a bar of iron ten inches in diameter) was wrenched away, so that she was unable to answer the helm. She lay like a log in the trough of the sea from Thursday evening until two o'clock on Sunday, rolling all the time, her bulwarks almost touching the water. The furniture of the cabin and saloons was completely broken to pieces, and the greater part of the passengers' luggage was destroyed. A cowshed with two cows in it broke into the ladies cabin, and both cows were killed. The passengers and crew expected every minute that the vessel would go down, and they spent a great part of the time at prayers. Between 20 and 30 of those on board, including several ladies, had limbs, ribs, &c., fractured, and numerous cuts and bruises were inflicted. A temporary steering gear was fitted on Sunday, and the vessel made for Cork harbour, sailing with her screw at the rate of nine knots an hour. She is at present moored about a mile outside the lighthouse of Cork harbour.—*Cork Examiner*. (Liverpool Telegraph, Sept. 18, 1861)

“THE GREAT EASTERN IN CORK HARBOUR

Another very serious mischance has this great ship. As previously announced she left Liverpool yesterday week, having on board 175 cabin and 198 steerage passengers. Everything went on right well until Thursday last, and the vessel seemed to realize all the anticipations that had been formed as to her superior comfort and convenience as a passenger ship. The motion of the sea had no effect on her; the passengers describe her as going so steadily through the water that they were as much at ease in her as if they were in their own drawing-rooms, and even some could hardly persuade themselves that they were at sea, and would go on deck and look over the side to see if the ship were really moving. Not the

slightest appearance of pitching and rolling was there, nor even was any vibration felt from the working of the engines. This continued up to about noon on Thursday. The vessel was then about 280 miles to the west of Cape Clear, having been steaming at the rate of thirteen knots an hour since she left Liverpool. The wind commenced rising gradually about noon on that day, and about four o'clock it had increased to a pretty smart breeze, and the barometer was found to be falling rapidly. At noon it had fallen to 30 deg., and it was still falling, thus betokening the approach of unpleasant weather. At four o'clock one of the forward boats got loose from one of its davits, and orders were given to secure it, but the motion of the ship at this time was such, and the wind blew so violently, catching in the boat and knocking it about, that the attempt was given up, and the boat was ordered to be cut away. Up to this all had been well aboard, though the motion of the ship had become rather disagreeable to the stomachs of those who were susceptible of sea sickness; but now commenced the series of mischances which left the noble vessel a wreck at the mercy of the waves. The engines were stopped in order to allow of the boat being cut away without getting foul of the paddle-wheels or any other portion of the ship; and when they went on again, the captain sent an order aft to put the helm down, in order to bring the vessel's head to the wind. It was found, however, that she would not answer the helm, and hence it became apparent that the rudder or steering gear was out of order; but the Captain, whose conduct throughout is spoken of in the highest terms, for coolness, courage, and thorough seamanship, for fear of creating a panic among the passengers, concealed the circumstance from them, and still kept men at the wheel, as if they were really steering, though all command over the ship had been completely lost for the time. The forward sails were ordered to be set, but so great was the violence of the gale at this time, before four and five o'clock, that they were at once blown to ribbons. About five o'clock the barometer had sunk to 29 to 36, and it was blowing one of the most terrific gales that ever swept the Atlantic. One of the passengers, a gentleman of advanced years, stated that though he had been bred at the sea, he had never been in such a storm before and Captain WALKER, the commander of the Great Eastern, we understand,

stated that it was a real hurricane in every respect. While the ship was in this state, with no steering power, a terrible noise was heard in the engine room, which necessarily caused some consternation among the passengers, many of whom began to feel some terror at the aspect of the raging sea, around them and the rattle and crash inside – for the rolling of the ship had already begun to knock the furniture in the cabins and the crockery ware and china about at a furious rate, committing, of course, considerable deratation and strewing the decks with fragments. A rush was made to the entrance of the engine-room, and it was found that the noise was caused by some two or three large sheets of lead which had broken lose, and were sliding backwards and forwards across the deck as the huge vessel, which was labouring very heavily, rolled from side to side. However, the passengers were no longer relieved in some measure from one cause of terror, than another rose, for now a terrible crunching noise came from the paddle boxes and it became evident that the paddles had gotten twisted in some way, and were rubbing against the ship's sides. About ten o'clock on Thursday night the gale was at its full height and the ship, with its rudder powerless, lay in the trough of the sea, rolling fearfully, the deck; according to the statements of some of the passengers, inclining at an angle of 45 degs. frequently, and the gunwale, which was nearly forty feet about the water mark, sometimes being on a level with the sea. The confusion on board was naturally very considerable. It appears from the statements of the passengers that the ship had put to sea without being at all prepared to encounter rough weather, and, both verbally and by a resolution passed before landing, they condemn highly the conduct of the directors and managers in allowing her to go to sea in such a state. Nothing, it appeared, had been got ship-shape when she sailed, and almost everything was in confusion; two or three tickets had been given to different passengers for the same berths, which occasioned disputes and the crew, it seemed, were drawn away too much from their regular duties, in attending to what should have been done before leaving port. This, it is said, contributed much to the disasters which occurred on board. None of the furniture in the saloons or cabins was secured and when the gale became violent, and the rolling of the vessel increased, sideboard, tables, chairs, stools,

crockery ware, china, glass, and other articles, and even passengers, went sliding and rolling backwards and forwards across the deck in a prominous heap, causing a sense of confusion and destruction which is but seldom witnessed even at sea. From the way in which the paddle wheels rubbed against the sides of the ship, it was deemed prudent to stop them, and the screw was also stopped as the captain did not deem it advisable to go on with his rudder useless; and the ship lay on the waters a complete log, rolling in the fearful manner described. On deck, every thing rolled about the deck as below. A cowshed, with two cows in it, broke lose, and after a few excursions over the deck, it broke through into the ladies' cabin, adding not a little to the terror and confusion already prevailing there. Both the cows were killed by this fall. Two oil tanks also broke loose, and after tumbling about for a time, they broke through the upper hatchway and fell down, but one was stopped by the hatchway of the lower deck, where it got tightly jambed, and effectively stopped the communication there. Though fortunately no lives were lost, a large number of the passengers and crew were much injured, some of them seriously, by being tumbled about among the furniture in the cabins. The chairs were all light cane-bottomed articles, not secured to the decks, and a party sitting on one of them would find himself and his seat suddenly crossing the deck at a very disagreeable and dangerous speed. Naturally enough he would make a grasp at some large object near him, perhaps a sideboard or a table, but that was also crossing the deck as fast as himself, and all would go together with a violent bang against the opposite side, more or less injury to each being the result, the passenger getting a fractured rib, leg, or arm, or perhaps, sustaining the comparatively minor injury of a bruise, a cut, or a black eye, while the sideboards, chairs, tables, &c., were gradually getting themselves to very small pieces. Now and then, above the other din, would come a louder crash, as some pile of crockery and glass came down and strewed itself in infinitesimal fragments over the deck. One gentleman (Mr. A. G. Creagh of Cork) to whom, as well as Mr. Henry Wilson, of Liverpool, we are indebted for most of our information regarding the storm, states that a gentleman near him went head foremost into an immense mirror about twelve feet high, the largest in the grand saloon, but escaped with a black eye and a

few cuts. Mr. Creagh himself, in his involuntary peregrinations about the saloon, managed to keep himself in such a position as to avoid going head over heels and performing other acrobatic feats after the example of many around him, but the shock which the great mirror had received from the gentlemen who had “pitched” into it, brought it down and covered the floor with very small fragments. Some of those penetrated Mr. Creagh’s flesh as well as that of the other passengers, and made their position still more uncomfortable. Mr. Creagh also had his wrist severely sprained, besides receiving several cuts and scrapes, in addition to those inflicted by the glass. The chandeliers also fell from the ceilings, the crashes they made in coming down adding to the general din. The chief cook was flung against one of the paddle boxes and having put out his hand to save himself, had his wrist sprained; he was then flung towards the other side, and coming against a stanchion in the way, his leg was fractured in three places. One lady had a rib fractured, another had her shoulder dislocated, another her wrist. Among the passengers and crew there were 22 fractures altogether during storm and an innumerable number of cuts, bruises, and sprains, hardly one on board escaping damage of some kind. Heavy chain cables rolled about the decks so fast that, as some of the passengers remarked, they actually polished themselves bright. In this condition the night was passed, the fearful rolling of the ship, the crash of furniture and other articles below, the chains rolling over the deck, and the howling of the tempest, realising in the minds of the passengers the most frightful ideas, probably, that any of them had ever formed of Pandemonium. Nor when morning broke did the prospect bring much comfort, as the damage done to the vessel was really ascertained. Every vestige of the paddles, floats, iron bands, and all, had been washed away, and on examining the rudder, it was found that the top of the rudder post, a bar of iron about ten inches thick, had been wrenched away, thus leaving the rudder quite loose, and flapping from side to side against the screw, with the motion of the waves. The gale still continued unabated, and the vessel still laboured and rolled as much as ever, in fact it is the opinion of most on board that nothing but her extraordinary strength preserved her from complete destruction, and that had an ordinarily built ship been under the same circumstances she would

inevitably been lost, with all on board. After reach roll, and with every sea that struck her, the huge monster quivered in every timber from stem to stern; and those on board expected each minute that she would break and go down. Six of the boats had been washed away during the night. The place where they hung was forty feet above water mark, but as the ship rolled, she inclined so much to each side as to bring them within reach of the raging bellows. All the other boats had been more or less damaged – two of them to such an extent as to be quite useless. All the passengers were now seriously contemplating the probability of a watery grave – in fact, but faint hopes of safety remained among them; and prayer services were held every few hours – there being several clergymen on board – at which most of them attended. At five o'clock on Friday afternoon the joyous news went through the ship that a sail was in sight, and signals were made and guns were fired, but the report turned out to be untrue, and with heavy disappointment the passengers returned to their preparations for what many of them believed to be their inevitable fate. Friday night was passed in the same dreadful state as the night before and Saturday morning dawned with little or no hope. The ship had drifted considerably out of her course and the place where the passengers and crew now found themselves, was out of the ordinary track of ships, the steamer having drifted, it is said, to the North of Galway. About four o'clock on Saturday, a sail was again reported to be in sight, and blue lights were lit, rockets sent up, and guns fired. This time the news proved to be correct, and very soon a brig was seen approaching, which proved to be the Magnet of Halifax, Nova Scotia. We regret not being able to give the captain's name, as all the passengers we conversed with speak in the highest terms, and with most lively feelings of gratitude, of his noble conduct in coming to their assistance, and remaining by them as long as they needed him. The sight of this vessel inspired all with hope and confidence and the passengers, though still suffering much, began to resume their former cheerfulness. It should be mentioned here that the general conduct of the passengers, including the ladies, with but one or two exceptions, was highly creditable, even during the very worse periods of the storm. A large proportion of the cabin passengers were ladies and children, and the former displayed

admirable courage and self-possession, all remaining in their cabins, in accordance with the desires intimated to them, the gentlemen, from time to time, giving them reports of how matters went on. The children were, of course, to a great extent unconscious of their danger, and except in some cases of sea sickness and, when one of them would now and then be dashed, with more violence than was agreeable, against some hard object, they were not in much trouble. The gentlemen behaved equally well, and did what they could to keep order, in which they succeeded very satisfactorily. They appointed a sort of committee or police, on Friday, consisting of between twenty and thirty who took the duty in turn of going round the vessel, reassuring the ladies, and preserving order. Four of them only, who were called directors, had the privilege of speaking to the Captain during the storm, this being done for the purpose of preventing his being annoyed by parties questioning him every minute. The little brig Magnet stood faithfully by the steamer, even at the imminent of being dashed to pieces against her huge side. At one time the steamer was very near crashing her, the brig, having rather incautiously come too close while the other was giving one of her tremendous rolls. While the steamer was in this position, attempts to steer her by means of a spar and fastened to some chains and with an anchor fluke attached to it, but it was found that that would not answer. The vessel continued rolling helplessly until the afternoon of Sunday, the heavy spray from the waves dashing over her running down in streams into the holds and cabins, and drenching the passengers. There were several feet of water in the grand saloons and cabins, in which fragments of furniture and other articles floated about. The luggage was also flooded, the luggage, which had not been secured, was dashed about, trunks, valises, &c. striking against each other and against the sides of the compartment, until they were knocked to pieces – the very leather of the trunks being torn into small fragments, and the contents of course completely destroyed. On Sunday the weather had considerably moderated, and preparations were made for fitting up a temporary steering gear. This was a work of very great difficulty and danger and one that required great courage and cleverness to accomplish. Two men, John Carroll and Patrick Grant, volunteered for it, and were let down from the

stern at the imminent risk of being dashed against the stern below, and have their brains knocked out or their limbs broken. The rudder, in slapping backwards and forwards, had received a large indentation from the screw, and this, fortunately, facilitated the operation greatly. Chains were fastened to the rudder by means of this and passed round the stern, so that she was able to be steered with some ease. An American gentleman, Mr. Towle, of New Hampshire, a civil engineer; rendered great assistance in superintending and directing the work. The two brave fellows, Carroll and Grant, who had risked their lives, received not only the hearty thanks of the passengers, but also a more substantial token of gratitude, for each of them was presented with a purse of money and a written testimonial acknowledging their services on the occasion. About two o'clock on Sunday the vessel got up steam in her screw boilers and directed her course to Cork Harbour, making about nine knots an hour with the screw. About nine o'clock on Monday morning a steamer was discovered in sight and passed close to them, which turned out to be the Persia, outward bound. Captain Walker of the Great Eastern, ordered a black board to be put up, with the words in white letters "our rudder and paddle wheels are gone," and desired him to come along side. The Persia accordingly put about, and sailed under the Great Eastern's stern, but Captain Walker was afraid of stopping his engines for fear of disarranging his steering gear and intimated such to the Persia by white letters on a black board. The Persia finally turned off and continued her course. We should mention that the brig Magnet never left the Great Eastern until she was under steam, and then only when the latter had outstripped her. The ship arrived off the Old Head of Kinale about ten o'clock yesterday morning, and it may be remarked that she was providentially fortunate as regards weather in returning, for had another storm overtaken her close to the shore, with her imperfect steering gear, she could not escape being driven on shore and lost, with probably all, or a great number, of those on board. Two fishing boats from Courtmacaberry boarded her off the Head, and shortly after a Coast Guard's boat put out to her from Kineale. News having reached Cork of her condition, the tugboat Robert Bruce started to her assistance from Queenstown, and met her making for Cork Harbour, where she arrived

about four yesterday evening, and cast anchor a mile outside the lighthouse, at the Ringabella side. The vessel behaved very well coming back; and although her screw engines, of one thousand, six hundred horse power, were working coming and propelling her at the rate of nine knots an hour, no vibration was noticed and her motion through the water was smooth and easy. On her arrival outside the harbour the steam tender Advice put out to render any assistance she required. She lay in the place where she had anchored up to a late hour yesterday evening. It is said that a large hole was also made in her bows by one of the anchors getting loose during the storm, and hanging down in front, where it struck violently against the bow at each motion of the vessel.

The passengers speak very highly of Capt. Walker, all that we conversed with uniting in the opinion that he possesses all the qualities necessary for an accomplished and thorough-going seaman, and that in the midst of the fearful storm and the great disasters that followed so close on one another to his ship, he never for an instant lost his coolness and presence of mind. They also speak on high terms of the chief mate, but they say with the exception of those two, the ship was badly officered the others being all very young and not of the class found usually in transatlantic steamers. As already mentioned, the arrangements of the ship were loose and imperfect, and the attendance was also on a limited scale. One gentleman asked the officer in charge of the luggage room why he had not the luggage properly secured, to which the other replied that he had not had assistance enough and that he had asked for fifteen men and would not get them. The stewards and attendants were also, it is said, very limited in number.

When the ship was returning on Monday, a meeting of passengers was held, among whom were several large shipowners, and resolutions were passed and reference to the late agenda which are to be published. The first was one expressive of their thanks to God for their safety; the next condemned the directors and managers of the Great Ship Company for mismanagement; and another was in the form of a vote of thanks to Captain Walker for his conduct during the storm.

We understand the Great Eastern has been towed into the Harbour to-day by some Queenstown tugs." (The Cork Examiner, Sept. 18, 1861)

September 19, 1861

"THE DIASTER TO THE GREAT EASTERN

The statements made yesterday, _____ the Great Eastern was lying _____ the _____ was _____. _____ was in fact anchored about a mile outside the Light-house, but owing to her enormous hulls, and the deceptive effect of distance, it appeared from Queenstown that she was inside or nearly opposite the Light-house, rather than outside it. It would have been very fortunate if the couple of miles differences had been _____ as you originally supposed, and that the vessel had really lay in the Harbour's mouth. When she arrived on Tuesday night, it was fair weather, and by the advice of some parties, who we do not exactly know, the captain was induced to remain outside, lest he might possibly do or receive some damage in the dark. But next morning it _____ on to blow rather strong from the South East and what would have been easy the night before than became very difficult, and up to the present has been found impracticable. The injury which disables the vessel is that to her rudder. Her screw engines and the screw itself are in perfect order and she is at present capable of steaming nine and a-half knots an hour. But her rudder-head, nine inches in diameter, has been completely smashed and her steering is dependent upon very imperfect gear. This consists in a two-inch cable rove through a hole made in the blade of the rudder by a blow of the screw, as mentioned in our account yesterday, at the action of a temporary gear, fitted onto a sort of mushroom-shaped head above, which was designed to bear the chief weight of the rudder, and so relieve the projection of the keel below. It was immediately above this peculiar apparatus, which revolves on rollers the shape of cannonballs, that the breakage had taken place. Upon the mushroom head (we know no better name to call it) gearings were then fastened to assist in the steering. The joint power of all was found, however, quite insufficient to get the rudder over. Every aid that could be furnished here was placed at the disposal of those in charge of the ship.

H. M. steam tender Advice stood by her all day; the Cunnard tender Jackal, the tugs Robert Bruce and Willing Mind. The beautiful three-masted revenue steam yacht Argus, having on board Commander Yelverton, Inspecting General of Coast Guards, was also amongst the vessels standing by. Mr. Crichton, superintendent of the Cork Steam Company's works, went on board at an early hour of the day and remained on board till a late hour at night, in the hope of being able to render some assistance. Captain O'Beyen, Harbour Master of Queenstown, Mr. Cummins, local agent, and Mr. Gri__on, representative of the Cunnard company, also went on board. Several attempts were made during the day to get her into the Harbour. When a favorable moment was thought approaching, the anchors would be lifted, the tugs put into position, the steering gear strained to its utmost possibility. Once or twice her head was pointed fair for the Harbour, but the wind caught her huge wall-side, and she paid off, and became perfectly unmanageable. The four tugs then appeared to have exactly about as much power upon her as four whale boats would have had. All that could be done was to screw her slowly to sea, and after a circuit five or six miles, sometimes more, to bring her back to somewhat nearly the position she had quitted. In one of these excursions they feared it would be quite impossible to turn her at all, so slowly did she yield to the insufficient steering appliances. What increases the difficulty of managing her is that she dares not to be reversed, as there is no power to keep the rudder straight, and any retrograde motion would almost certain drive it back upon the screw and break one or both. At last all attempts upon her last night had to be abandoned, and she was anchored out above five miles distance from the Harbour's mouth, having been removed so far seaward to allow her sufficient room in case of her anchors dragging. To-day the wind has so increased as to put all attempts for the present out of the question, at least with the means possessed here. Unless in perfectly calm weather, it would be quite useless to attempt to get her into the Harbour without the aid of at least four of the most powerful Liverpool tugs. The large channel steamers from this port, of which we have scarcely ever so many available at a time, are scarcely handy enough for the purpose. That she should get into the Harbour is a matter of absolute necessity as

she could not possibly venture across the Channel incapable of steering as she is at present, and she is not of the size or manageableness to be trusted to the external steering at sea of even the most powerful craft. Indeed, to say the truth, the Great Eastern is at this moment in a most critical position, and if it comes on to blow much worse than it did this morning, it would be difficult to say that she had seen her worse adventure even in the midst of the Atlantic Ocean. Three or four days in the calm water, however, would enable her steering apparatus to be so secured as to fit her to proceed to Milford or Liverpool.

She was visited yesterday by the _____ of the Citizens' Company and an opportunity of inspecting her exterior was afforded to large crowds, of a somewhat venturesome disposition. For the sea was sufficient to make even the Great Eastern roll so heavily that communication was nearly cut off from her. Several of the gentlemen we have named as having visited her were compelled to remain on board all night. Only one, Mr. Crichton, was able to get away, and the difficulty of doing so may be imagined when we say that the moment after he had got into the tug boat, the ladder which he quitted was ten feet above the paddle-box of the tug. Coming down again upon the paddle-box the ladder was completely smashed, and Mr. Crichton, who was standing upon it, had a narrow escape of his life. Mr. Cotter, the pilot, only succeeded in getting into a whaleboat after a fall into the sea, and was very near being drowned. Another mishap occurred as the Great Eastern was swinging to her final anchorage for the night. A fishing smack, which showed no light, came close up to her, and by the surge of the sea was jerked up against the boats of the Great Eastern, tearing away her own bulwarks. The amount of her damage was not exactly ascertained in the dark, but there was awful consternation amongst the crew. She was rendered quite helpless and had to be towed in by the steam tender Advice.

By far the larger portion of the passengers are still on board the Great Eastern. At first they conceived there was no necessity of quitting her, as they expected that she would either be able to go at once into the Harbour or would proceed immediately

to Liverpool or Milford. When it was discovered yesterday that neither was probable, it would then have been difficult not to say dangerous to attempt to put them on board any of the tugs. To-day it would be quite impossible. All those persons, therefore, are not subjected to very severe anxiety; not very dissimilar, we presume, from what they underwent when to _ing in the Atlantic.

As yet no representative of the directors of the Great Eastern has come, nor have any precise directions, we believe, been given to the Captain as to what he is to do. On the latter point indeed there is perhaps ____ necessity, as he has no choice but to get into Cork Harbour as best he can. But the absence of decisive instructions, or the presence of any responsible person to represent the owners, seems pretty much of a piece with the whole management. Captain Walker, who is absolutely sacrificing himself to his duty, never having slept since the occurrence of the disaster, has been placed in a most unfair position. He had not joined the ship two days before she was dispatched to sea. He had not had the appointment or selection of a single officer or man on board, nor was he even acquainted with any of the ship's officers, except one, the chief. As an instance of the difficulties with which he had to contend, understand the boatswain was yesterday put in irons for disobedience of orders. The ship was evidently set to sea in the most mischievous haste. Such cargo as there is, is said to have been very badly stowed. Berths to an immense number for steerage passengers put up before she left, and the joiners' shavings are still to be seen on the floor! We do not attempt to account for the disaster, or to ascribe it to any cause that was avoidable; but the event has attracted attention to an amount of carelessness and mismanagement that appears most extraordinary in a vessel in which care and good management would seem to be matters of more than ordinary necessity." (The Cork Examiner, Sept. 19, 1861)

"American Topics in England.
The Troops for Canada.
Announcement of the Movement.

In reference to the dispatch of troops to Canada the Army and Navy Gazette says:

'Her Majesty's Government has determined to make an important increase in the strength of our military force in North America, and three regiments of infantry are about to be placed under immediate orders for Canada. They will probably embark in the Great Eastern before the middle of September. It is very likely that three old and thoroughly efficient battalions will be chosen. Whatever may be the effect in some quarters of the announcement we now make, we have little doubt that the public generally will recognize this step as an act of wise precaution on the part of those responsible for the dignity and integrity of the Empire.'

Comments of Lord Palmerston's Organs.
From the London Times.

The Government, which sends three regiments to Canada at this crisis, means something more than routine. It is manifestly intended to be a significant fact. It is a demonstration. Well, what is it to demonstrate? Is it to overawe any one? Is it a pledge of future action? On the first supposition it would be ridiculous, on the second it would be most mischievous. Are these 2,500 men to garrison the frontier of Canada? They are not two men to every mile of frontier. Let us suppose that there is some necessity to overawe some threatening enemy. Surely it cannot be expected that any enemy who could think of attacking in their own territory a thriving and increasing people, inhabiting an enormous country, would be deterred by so small an increase to the force of that country as the three regiments who are to go out in the Great Eastern? Excellent as they are in discipline, equipment and courage, they are but three battalions, and Canada has 400,000 square miles. If, then, this measure is not a menace, is it a pledge? Is this appearance of a small body of English troops to be considered as an assurance to the people of Canada that in case of attack they may rely upon these islands to send them armies for their defence, and treasure to defray the cost of their wars? Is it the enunciation of a principle that Quebec and Toronto and Montreal have nothing to do with a Canadian war, and that they may buy and sell and live at ease, for that Yorkshire and Lancashire and Middlesex will work for their defence, and give men to die for their

safety? If this be so we protest, not only in the name of this country, but also in the interest of Canada, against any such promise. We can conceive nothing more destructive to political concord in this country than such a demand on the part of any Government, and we know of nothing which could operate so ill upon the dignity and self-respect of Canada. That Colony is perfectly able to take care of herself. The only enemy who can attack her is Northern America. We are not now calculating the probabilities of such an event. What a capricious or turbulent people may do in passion or resentment, or in pursuit of what they may suppose to be a policy, we do not now surmise. But, suppose the event should occur the suggestion of which alone could give any color for this demonstration, Canada ought to be able to meet the occasion. She has a population which can readily throw out 50,000 fighting men for the defence of their own homes. The sort of enemy which would attack her would be precisely that which she is most able to meet. The undisciplined levies of the Northern States, far from their homes, and ill-served in the appliances of scientific warfare, would be the enemy which the Canadian Militia would be most easily able to give a good account of. This has been so before, and the countries have increased with an equal growth. Why, then, are we to take Canada under our protection, and tell her to lie still, and be content that we should fight for her? We cannot do this with all our dependencies if we would. We have not men enough in these small islands to fight the battles of the Anglo-Saxon race all over the world, and at the same time to hold our own in Europe and to govern the most populous regions of Asia. Our recruiting-ground is too small, and even the resources of our commerce are inadequate to such a Quixotic position.

Nor does any duty call us to such an exhausting task. No society has ever held that it is the duty of the father to sustain and defend the son when the son has grown to manhood. We have spread our race and our language all over the temperate earth, and when we plant a colony we hedge it round with our protection until it has taken root, and is able to go alone. As soon as this happens we give it a separate constitution, and leave it to govern itself. It has its politics and its Parliament, as we have our politics and our Parliament. The only immediate connection

between the two peoples is that they have the same Queen. What advantage do the people of England derive from the connection which exists between them and the people of Canada, or what force would they ever exercise to continue such a connection against the will of the Canadians? We are not aware of any single advantage which Canada gives us, and which, in time of peace, we have not from the United States. Canada, on the contrary, finds her interest in the connection. While we ask nothing of her but good will, she grows under our protection. What we give, and most willingly give, to Canada is our powerful and inseparable alliance; and the offensive and defensive alliance of England is worth something to any State. He who attacks Canada declares war against England, and will call down upon himself all the might of England, but in the matter of her own fields and cities Canada's duty is to defend herself. If we know anything of the people of Canada, they would not only do this as a duty, but demand it as a right.

We cannot tell what political necessity may justify some demonstration just at this moment. What may be passing between the rude and truculent men

September 20, 1861 (Friday)

“The Great Eastern

The announcement of the disaster to the Great Eastern on her voyage out from Liverpool was the topic of conversation and excitement yesterday, not only in the city, but throughout the metropolis. The telegram received by the Great Ship Company, and posted at the their offices in Common-street, received from Captain James Walker, the commander of the vessel, was as follows –

‘Queenstown, Sept. 9

‘Having lost both paddles and rudder-head (sic) in a terrific gale, I have been compelled to put back until put to rights.

‘J. Walker.

‘To the Directors of the Great Ship Company.’

From other information received by the authorities it appears that the vessel left Liverpool on the 10th inst. with 400 passengers and a large general cargo, a complement both of passengers and freight considerably larger, indeed, than she has carried on any previous voyage, arising from the feeling of confidence and security that had been established

by her previous successful voyages, and more particularly her last from New York to Liverpool, when it will be remembered a testimonial was presented by the whole of the passengers, numbering 212 in all, to the commander and the officers, expressive of their appreciation of the great vessel and her working, and recommending her on the ground of her ample accommodation, easy motion, and safety, as one of the best vessels in which the public could cross the Atlantic. On the present occasion every berth was taken, there being 400 passengers, including several families, on board. Between 100 and 200 passengers occupied the berths in the principal cabin, saloons, and state rooms, at passage rates of from £20 to £28, and the remainder of the passengers occupied the intermediate and steerage cabins at from £7 to £10 respectively. All went well till on Thursday last, as she was under full steam and sail, she encountered a terrific gale about 280 miles to the west of Capo Clear, which swept away both her paddles. Nor was this the only damage, for at the same time the top of the rudder-post, a bar of iron of immense size, being 10 inches in diameter, was wrenched away, so that the vessel was no longer able to answer her helm. Her steering gear was also shattered and gone, so that she lay, like a huge log in the trough of the sea from Thursday evening until 2 o'clock on Sunday, her bulwarks almost touching the sea furrows, and rolling and pitching about, the passengers expecting that she would every moment go down, and offering up prayers for their deliverance. The rocking and rolling of the vessel displaced and destroyed the furniture of the cabin and saloons, throwing the passengers pell-mell about the cabin. Everything that occupied the upper deck was washed away, and a large part of the passengers' luggage was destroyed; while between 20 and 30 of those on board, including several ladies, were bruised and maimed. No particulars of their names or of the precise injuries they have received have as yet come to hand, nor does it yet appear that any of the officers or crew were lost. The passengers are all safe. One of the cowsheads, with two cows in it, was washed into the ladies' cabin, and caused indescribable confusion.

On Sunday evening, after two days suspense, a temporary steering gear was fitted up, and the disabled vessel made for Cork harbour, running with her screw at nine knots an hour. Her flag of distress was sighted at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday off the Old Head off Kinsale, and Her Majesty's ship Advice at once steamed out to her assistance, and towed her to within one mile of the lighthouse off Cork harbour by about 9 o'clock, where she remains moored; her passengers disembarked at that harbour. She will, on clearing out, be towed forthwith to Liverpool, where she will be laid upon the gridiron and repaired. The principal directors and officers of the company yesterday started for Cork and Liverpool with a view of instituting a rigid inquiry in to the causes of the catastrophe, and telegraphed special instructions to their agents at the respective ports.-Times.

LATEST PARTICULARS.

A telegram from Queenstown was received here at five o'clock yesterday afternoon, stating that the Great Eastern was still unable to make the port, and inquiring if the Edinburgh (ss), which had arrived there at two p.m., on her way to New York, might be permitted to delay her voyage to render assistance to the big ship, as it was blowing a strong gale, and there were 600 souls on board. She is said to be quite unmanageable.

Queenstown, Thursday, 4 30 p.m.-Wind south, blowing a gale. The Great Eastern is still in the offing, but out of sight. The Edinburgh (ss), has gone in search of her. A great portion of the passengers are on board; they could not be got off owing to the defective state of the rudder." (The Liverpool Telegraph, Sept. 20, 1861)

"THE DIASTER TO THE GREAT EASTERN. In the forenoon of yesterday the Great Eastern left her anchorage and stood out to sea, with the intention of getting space to turn, preparatory for making an attempt to come in the harbour; but in consequence of the heavy gale that come on, and

the consequent thickness of the weather, it was, probably, found unsafe to do so, and so she remained outside until this morning. Many of the passengers who had landed at Queenstown had their families still on board, and when the vessel had gone out and the storm increased, great alarm was excited amongst them. They, therefore, begged of Captain W.D. Seymour, agent to Inman Line of mail steamers, that he would dispatch the Edinburgh, belonging to that line, which had called in on her outward voyage, after the Great Eastern, in order to afford protection to the lives of the crew and passengers in case any accident should happen. Amongst those who waited on him for the purpose was Mr. Forward, of the firm of L & Co., Harrison, and Forward, Liverpool. Captain Seymour did not hesitate to comply with the request, and proceeded out seawards in the Edinburgh, but when the latter ship had reached the entrance to the harbour the storm had increased so much and the sea ran so high, that it was deemed useless to proceed further, as neither she nor the Great Eastern could lower a boat with any chance of safety. The Edinburgh, therefore, remained as she was until daylight. About half-past one o'clock this morning, Captain Seymour, who had come on shore, sent out a note to her by the tender, to proceed after the Great Eastern as soon as the gale had abated, and accordingly about daylight she started. The Great Eastern, however, seemed to pass the night pretty well, notwithstanding the disabled state in which she was. She remained about twenty miles to the south of the harbour during the night, and this morning, the storm having passed away, she steamed again towards the harbour. The Edinburgh met her at some distance outside, and, probably, seeing that she was all right, proceeded on her course. The Great Eastern entered the harbour about seven or half-past seven this morning and now lies inside the forts, between them and Seik _____. She would have come in farther, but when she got inside, it is said that she became quite unmanageable, and it was found necessary to _____ anchor where she now lies. She is at present, however, in perfect safety, and it is, we believe the intention to bring her farther in. (The Cork Examiner, Sept. 20, 1861)

Foster & Thomson of New York wrote Seward the following note:

“DEAR SIR: Mr. Mott, who was associated with us for Mr. Mure, of Charleston, now in Fort Lafayette, having left for Saint Louis the further care of the matter has devolved upon us. May we ask the favor of you to inform us by letter as soon as the Department is in receipt of the expected information bearing upon the case that we may apply for a personal interview with the Secretary of State, and oblige,

Yours, very truly,”

“The Great Eastern.

One of the passengers on board this ship narrates the following incidents that occurred during the storm;--

During the extreme height of the gale the vessel rolled and pitched so violently that at times her decks were on an incline of 50 degs. And during one fearful minute she assume this position no fewer than seventeen times. On these lurches almost everything in the cabins that was not properly secured broke loose and went rolling about, causing a scene of confusion and destruction seldom witnessed. Tables that were screwed down were torn up, sofas and loungers that were secured against the sides of the chief cable were unloosed, and the beautiful mirrors of the saloon were so shattered that at times their fragments when falling resembled showers of silver. During these trying times to keep an erect position was an utter impossibility, and in order to lessen the danger of being violently thrown from one side of the ship to the other, the passengers in a promiscuous mass sat down on the lower deck, at each lurch sliding from one side of the vessel to the other. The quantity of glass, china, and crockery-war broken is almost inconceivable:--to sue the words of one of the passengers, ‘it wasn’t by scores they were broken, but whole pantries of them used to come down

together, creating a noise, especially at night, that was dreadful.' The confusion on board was naturally very considerable. From statements made by the passengers it appears that the vessel put to sea without at all being prepared to encounter rough weather. The destruction of the passengers' luggage has already been referred to; but there was one peculiarly pitiable case. There was on board an aged couple (Canadians.) they were in the Canada when that vessel was wrecked and all they had was lost. Cast back on their friends in England, these raised enough to send them out by the Great Eastern, and now they are destitute again.

On Wednesday morning, owing to the wind becoming rather strong from the south east, efforts were made to get the great ship inside the harbour; but it was found perfectly impracticable to do so. To assist her the services of four tugs were engaged, but their united strength, owing to the pressure of the wind on the vessel's hull, proved unavailing, and she began to pay off. The Great Eastern was then steamed out to sea, and after a circuit of some four or five miles brought back to the position she had previously occupied. All attempts to bring her in on Wednesday being abandoned, she as moored out about five miles distant from the harbour's mouth.

At 4 o'clock yesterday evening a telegram was received from Queenstown, stating that the Great Eastern was still in the offing, but out of sight, and that the Edinburg, ss.s. has gone in search of her. From later accounts, however, it was gathered that owing to the gale that prevailed, from the South the ship had stood out to sea. Late last night the wind moderated and went round to the westward; so that the Great Eastern may be expected close off the harbour again this morning; but owing to the defective state of her rudder, it is almost impossible that she can be got in unless some powerful tugs from the Mersey or elsewhere come over to assist her. It is said that there is no harbour in either England or Ireland into which unassisted she could get in her present disable condition, except Cork harbour, and even as regards

that she would required assistance too. During the whole of yesterday the vessel lurched so heavily that communication was nearly cut off from her. The great majority of the passengers are still on board the Great Eastern, they having expected that she, on her arrival here, would either have been able to come at once into the harbour or else to proceed to Liverpool or Milford. On Wednesday and yesterday it was utterly impossible, from the way in which the vessel rolled, to have put them on board any of the tugs. A great many of the relatives of the passengers on board the Great Eastern have arrived at Queenstown, and the great anxiety prevails on their behalf. Capt. O'Brien, Harbour Master of Queenstown, went on board the ship at the request of Captain Walker, and remains in her still." (The Constitution, or Cork Advertiser. Sept. 20, 1861)

"That boasted marvel of naval architecture the Great Eastern, has come to grief again. She has returned to Queenstown completely disabled after having encountered an ordinary blow that any common vessel would have rode out harmless. It seems she rolled about like a barrel, smashed everything moveable on board, and for 3 days was a mere log in the sea. A young American Engineer by the name of Hamilton E. Towle happened to be on board, who rigged up a temporary steering apparatus, her rudder gear having early broken down, which brought her into port, and when clear water was gained and the danger over, the English passengers tried to deprive Towle of the honor of his invention. This is characteristic. Had his gearing broken down they would have jeered it as Yankee and ridiculed Towle as a fool. Among the passengers were B. F. Angel, Esq., late Minister to Sweden; the Rev. Dr. Patton, Geo. G. Barnwell, and others I know. Those of them I have seen speak of the vessel as having been badly provided, and of the crew as a set of positive thieves.

This vessel has been a failure from the first and had she been American and been heralded to the world with half of the fulsome boasting the English have bestowed on her, the jeers at Yankee swagger would have pervaded every journal in

Great Britain: and the Times and Saturday Review would have made her a standing theme of taunt and insult! Being English her failure is wonderfully smoothed down.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

September 21, 1861 (Saturday)

“Return of the Great Eastern.

The reviewer of ‘current events,’ must this week have his hands as full as they will hold. The tragedy at Fulwood Barracks, the attempt to enrol Garibaldi as commander of the Federal Army, the satisfactory result of the harvest, and the unsatisfactory aspect of the cotton supply, are all topics for moralizing on for one week at least, however rapid the writers, or omnivorous the readers.

Over and above all these, however, is the must-to-be-deplored fact that the noblest vessel afloat—the supposed ruler of the waves, has had to return to land, a huge, unmanageable, hulk, after receiving the good offices of a vessel which she could have put in one of her coal bunkers.

The Great Eastern, amid the best wishes of thousands, left the Mersey on Tuesday week; parted with her pilot at 4; delighted swarms of visitors on the Great Ormes’ Head at 5; steamed across the Irish Channel and over the Atlantic in the conscious pride of power, till Thursday, when, to the dismay of captain and crew, it was found that the rudder-pin was broken, and the Leviathan as helpless as a huge whale deprived of its tail.

Thereafter commenced a series of troubles, which could have happened in no other ship, for any other would have gone to the bottom in a storm so dreadful, and in a state so unmanageable. Her engines being stopt, the Great Eastern, says a passenger, once more started on her course. The passengers went down to dinner, and from that moment commended a chaos of breakages which lasted without intermission for three days. Everything breakable was broken; furniture, fittings, services, glasses, piano—all were involved

in one common wreck. It now became known that the rudder was unmanageable. After dinner, at about six o'clock, the vessel had to be stopped again, owing to two rolls of sheet lead, weighing some 7 cwt. Each, which were in the engine-room, rolling about with every oscillation of the vessel with fearful force. These having been secured, another start was effected, when a tremendous grinding, similar to light thunder, was heard under the paddle boxes. The paddles had become twisted, and the floats were grinding against the sides of the ship. The paddles were stopped, and thenceforward the scene is described as having been fearful in the extreme. The ship rolled so violently that the boats, although placed 30 or 40 feet above water, were washed away. The cabin, besides the inconveniences and dangers arising from the crashes and collisions which were constantly going on, had shipped, probably through the port holes, a great deal of water, and stores were floating about in utter confusion and ruin. Some of the chandeliers came down; a large mirror was smashed into thousands of fragments. A spare riding bitt gave way on the cable deck and knocked a hole through the ship's side. Two oil tanks, also on the cable deck, were so much damaged by another concussion that the 200 gallons of fish oil which they contained ran into the hold and caused, during the rest of the unhappy voyage, a most intolerable odour. The passengers' luggage in the lower after cargo space was lying not piled up, two feet in water, and before the ship's deliverance was effected was reduced literally to rags and shreds and pieces of timber. A cook was cast violently by one of the lurches against the paddle-box, sustaining fearful bruises on the arm which he put out to protect himself, and then another lurch came and drove him against one of the stanchions. By that concussion one of the poor fellow's legs was broken in three places. The baker received injuries of a very terrible character in a vital part; and one of the most striking incidents of the affair was this poor man's crawling in his agony to extinguish some portion of his baking gear, which at that untimely moment had caught fire.

Amid all this confusion, desolation, and rib breaking, the noble vessel shipped scarcely a wave on deck. She lay in the trough of the sea perfectly helpless, but her lofty sides were a match for the billows. It was discovered that a ten inch diameter iron pin, upon which the rudder turned, was broken across, although not a flaw was visible. There was no other steering gear—a serious fault. Not a chain, as is customary, at either side, and under the water, to move the mighty helm in such an emergency. Temporary expedients were resorted to, and finally with success, at two o'clock on Sunday—three days after she had become like a log. A small Halifax vessel kept her company for two days. On Monday morning she signaled the Persia, on her outward voyage, but unable to slacken her speed the Persia bore away, able at any rate to tell the friends of the Great Eastern's passengers on her arrival at New York, some what about their condition, which will no doubt be then exciting considerable alarm.

On Tuesday the unfortunate vessel reached the cove of Cork, but only on Friday morning could she be towed into harbour, having had to bear the brunt of a storm previously raging, which had driven her five miles from land. When able to be managed she will proceed to Liverpool or Milford Haven for repairs, while her frightened passengers, after their four days' prayers and tears, will be transshipped into another steamer, launched, it is to be hoped, under a luckier star.

What a lesson does the disaster teach? The largest vessel ever built shivers all over, and is utterly helpless, when the helm is gone. The safety of 750 passengers and crew, and property costing half a million of money are all dependent upon a piece of ten inch iron!" (Warrington [Liverpool] Guardian, September 21, 1861)

“The Great Eastern.

Queenstown, Friday, 8 a.m.

The Great Eastern has just arrived in port, and come to an anchor between Spike Island and Carlisle Fort. She will shift her burthen in when the tide slackens. The Edinburgh did not go in search of

her as reported, but waited to render assistance is required.” (Warrington [Liverpool] Guardian, September 21, 1861)

“The Great Eastern in Cork Harbour

Further Particulars.

Queenstown, Friday Four o’Clock.—The anxiety and suspense respecting its whereabouts, and probable fate, of the Leviathan ship, which agitated the minds of all classes of our fellow-citizens, were happily this morning set at ease by the welcome announcement that she was just after anchoring within the safe waters of our noble harbour.

During the dreadful storm of Thursday great fears were entertained for her ultimate safety, particularly when it became known that she had shifted her moorings, and gone some miles outside the harbour, and there lay exposed to all the fury of the gale. However, to-day they are all dispelled, and the receipt of the news produced quite a sensation in Queenstown and in this city. Every one looked pleased. ‘The Big Ship’ was in every person’s mouth, and scarce anything else was spoken or thought of. In fact, no fleet of men-of-war, however numerous, putting into Queenstown, would have occasioned similar interest as that which this wonderful vessel created. The event, altogether, must have reminded any of our readers who are old enough to recollect it, the period when the great West India fleet rendezvoused in Cork Harbour, some fifty years ago.

Our River Steamers, and the Cork and Passage Railway Company, with an alacrity which does them credit, instantly anticipated the public demands, and commenced running excursion trips every hour, and the river and harbour was dotted with tiny like-looking craft skimming the surface of the waters with their living freight of delighted passengers, anxious to feast their eyes with a sight of the immense vessel.

Rarely have the jetties (or wooden erections apologizing for such), at Passage and Queenstown been in such requisition as they were today, while the accommodation for the landing and taking on board of passengers were by no means adequate for the occasion—particularly at Queenstown, while at Passage one steamer had sometimes to wait for another to take on board passengers before she could proceed on her route.

After leaving Queenstown, the big vessel appears in sight, her huge hull rising out of the water like an immense castle. It is only by comparisons that at a distance an idea can be formed of her immense proportions, and were she farther in the harbour, anchored among the different merchantmen, her immense proportions would be more striking, as when, for instance, she lay at Liverpool, the other shipping there appeared like yachts, and she ‘a triton among minnows.’ We trust, however, in a few days to see her anchored in the man-of-war roads.

It now appears that the suspicions entertained, and the rumours that were afloat respecting respecting the captain taking her out to sea instead of making for the harbour during the storm of Thursday were unfounded., but the fact was, her immense length would not allow his getting her round where she lay, to bring her in, and the prospect of a heavy gale coming on made it dangerous to remain at her anchorage, so he very wisely took a good offing; and having cleared the land, got her head toward the harbour’s mouth, and propelled by her screw safely entered, and cast anchor off Crosshaven, nearly midway between Camden Fort and Spike Island.

We regret to add that a melancholy accident happened on board, which was attended with fatal results. Yesterday morning, just as the vessel was brought to her moorings and made all right, one of the quartermasters, while stationed with others at the wheel on the lower deck, when owing to the occasional violent jerking, one of the handles struck the unfortunate man and killed him on the spot. We

have also to add, that shortly afterwards the vessel forging a little, struck an American barque, the Samuel Maxley, anchored near her, and carried away her davits and chains.

The excursion steamers having twice gone round the Great Eastern, and stopped, in order to take a view of the vessel—as their was no admission on board—an opportunity was thus afforded of getting a near view externally of the ship. And we must confess to a feeling of disappointment, on a close inspection, as naval beauty seems entirely omitted in her construction. Her stem is straight, which gives her bow a heavy appearance, and her round stern is divested of any ornament whatever. ‘The Great Eastern, London,’ in plain letters being just inscribed, while the tiers of little windows on her sides have rather an unsightly appearance, gives her a dark, gloomy look. She is, however, a wonder of naval architecture, and her hull, for size and strength, strikes the spectator with amazement. Imagine three first class men-of-war (such as the Duke of Wellington) fastened together, and that will give an idea of the size of the Great Eastern, but we must add that she stands higher out of the water, her bulwarks being loftier than the funnels of the steamers sailing round her.

Her paddle boxes and bulwarks seem to have escaped the rage of the storm, and her boats, with which she is provided with two fore and eight aft, on each side, were nearly all swinging from the davits, while one swung down as if shaken from its berth.

Her rudder presents a shattered appearance, and is worked by chains on both sides, fastened during the storm in which she was disabled, by one of her brave crew, at the imminent risk of his life, whose name was Peter Carroll.

The vessel lies at anchor, with two small steamers holding her with hawsers by the bow, and the tender Advice, with another hawser, holing on by the stern.

The day was fine, with occasional showers of rain, and numbers availed themselves of the opportunity to see the Great Ship, which it is thought will in a day or two be brought into the man-of-war road.

We cannot but congratulate our fellow citizens on their harbour being thus rendered available at such an important crisis, involving, perhaps, the fate of this noble ship. Hear it, ye Lords of the Admiralty. Look to it, my Lord Palmerston. While to Sir Robert Peel we would say—as we believe he means well to our country.

Is not this circumstance worth a thousand arguments in favor of Cork Harbour as a Transatlantic Packet Station and a Harbour of _____, and does it not loudly call for the Government immediately decided on the merits of the question.” (The Cork Daily Reporter, Sept. 21, 1861)

“The Great Eastern.

The accident to the *Great Eastern* will shake the faith in that vessel for a time, and its financial consequences to the Great Ship Company, we fear, will be lamentable. But there is knowledge to be derived from the break-down. The *Great Eastern* left Liverpool on the 10th inst., with all the berths fitted up, and engaged by passengers at rates, for the first cabin, higher than by any other vessel. Perfect confidence seems to have been reposed in the ship, by the fact of this extensive patronage. She had not left port longer before a heavy gale of wind sprung up, and she encountered its fury about 280 miles to the west of Cape Clear. On a former occasion, when she was caught in a gale, she was hove to, and it is open to doubt whether, had this been done now, she might not have stood the brunt of the worst part of the storm with less damage than if left to roll in the trough of the sea. We have always been of opinion that, from the top-heavy construction of the ship, she must roll heavily; and when all others were predicting that she would bid defiance to the

elements, we believed that, despite these fresh-water engineering calculations, it would be found that, if ever she encounter a beam sea in a strong gale, she would roll worse than any vessel ever built. She is bound to do so from the excessive height above the load line, while her monstrous wheels and paddle-boxes are a butt for the waves. It takes a lively sea to set her in motion, but her own momentum will keep up the motion when once she commences to vibrate. Her particular dimensions, in and out of the water, make her pendulous. Our line-of-battle ships roll badly enough, but the *Great Eastern* will surpass them in this rocking prosperity. The reason is easily demonstrated. When fully laden, as on this voyage, her weight could not have been less than 20,000 tons. This is a great weight for waves to poise. Her heavy dead weight, and deep draught of water, present the seas that roll against her from lifting, passing under her, and reaching the vacuum on the opposite side. As she does not lift, but sustains a pendulous motion, it follows that she must roll to the sea, and hence the cause of the destruction of her wheels, floats, and paddle-boxes.

When her paddle-wheels were carried away the side leverage was lost, and seas striking her at either extremity would bring a tremendous strain on the steering gear. Her rudder is twelve feet broad, and with the wheel, a few turns to starboard or port, the straining would be sufficient to twist the rudder-post, and so destroy the steering power. A ship of this magnitude ought not to be left dependent on one rudder. When the steering gear went, the Crew ought to have had it in their power to fly at once to an auxiliary rudder. There are abundance of plans patented for effecting this latter object, and a small outlay ought not to prevent the Directors the Company from adopting some plan to provide in future against such a mishap. Not only ought the *Great Eastern* to have a reserve steering power, but the Admiralty should not suffer the *Warrior* to make any extensive trip without this provision; for we feel assured that that large mail-class frigate needs all the care than can be bestowed upon her, especially as regards her steerage. Had the *Great*

Eastern been fitted with auxiliary rudders, she would not have been wallowing, as we read, in the sea for two days—‘her bulwarks almost touching the sea furrows, and rolling and pitching about, the passengers expecting that she would every moment go down, and offering up prayers for their deliverance; the rocking and rolling of the vessel displacing and destroying the furniture of the cabin and saloons, throwing the passengers –pell-mell about the cabin, while everything that occupied the upper deck was washed away, and a large part of the passengers’ luggage destroyed.’ All this occurred from lack of original supervision. Spare side rudders would have enabled her to have made a fair average passage to New York, for she steamed back with her screw engines at the rate of nine knots an hour, This speed would have taken her across the Atlantic from where the break-down took place, with the assistance of her sails, under ten days.

The latest intelligence, no doubt, does but justice to Capt. Walker in stating that he tried his best to bring the ship’s head to the wind. The accounts given as to which went first, the paddles or the rudder-post, are at variance. In four letters he paddles are described as being first placed out of position, and twisted so as to grate the ship’s sides. One gentleman writes:--

‘We were pushing ahead with the gale on her port bow, and when we tried to put her head to wind her huge broadside exposed to the gale proved more than her vast power could control. She could not be brought head to wind, nor could she be turned to sail with the wind, and so she lay in the trough of the sea, until, in the stupendous efforts to put her right, her rudder-head broke above; the rudder-post, all of massive iron, yielded; then the wheels (these, perhaps, were not equal to their task) gave way one after another; and so this great, strong, and powerful ship was at the mercy of the waves, a log upon the billows, rolling in a way which can never be described nor yet imaged by those who have not experienced it, and filling the hearts of all on board with views of things that

might yet overtake her which only an experience can enable any one to realise.’

Another passenger gives a log of the mishaps, in which he states that the port paddle gave way at 2 o’clock, and that at 5 45 a sea struck the stern and broke the rudder-post. This is so exact in detail that we take it to be the most correct version.” (Mitchell’s Maritime Register, Sept. 21, 1861)

“The Great Eastern Disabled.”

The Great Eastern arrived off Cork Harbour on Tuesday evening, in a very damaged state. It appears that she left Liverpool on the 10th, with 400 passengers and a large general cargo, a complement both of passengers and freight considerable larger, indeed, than she has carried on any previous voyage. Between 100 and 200 passengers occupied the berths in the principal cabin, saloons, and state rooms, at passage rates of from 20*l* to 28*l*, and the remainder of the passengers occupied the intermediate and steerage cabins at from 7*l* to 10*l* respectively. She proceeded on her voyage all well until Thursday, last week, on which day at noon she had got 280 miles to the westward of Cape Clear. At that time the wind, which until then was blowing a fresh breeze, commenced rising gradually until about 4 o’clock, when it blew a heavy gale. Just at this time one of the forward boats broke from one of her davits, and hung suspended from the other. Efforts were made to secure the boat, but these proving unavailing the Captain ordered it to be cut away, at the same time directing the paddles to be stopped and the helm to be put down to bring the ship up in the wind, in order that the boat might draft clear of the wheel. The vessel did not answer her helm, but the boat fortunately went clear. The Captain then directed several of the head sails to be hoisted for the purpose of bringing her head up, but they had hardly been set when they were blown to ribbons. Very shortly after that a terrific noise was heard in the engine-room, and on looking down several large sheets of lead were seen knocking about with great violence from side to side. Just

then a heavy sea struck the ship as she was lurching, and almost immediately after a grating noise was heard in the paddles. On examination it was found that they were bent from their true position, and were scraping against the sides of the vessel. They, however, still continued to revolve, but the Captain, fearing that they would tear holes in the sides of the ship, ordered them to be stopped, and trusted entirely to the screw to get the vessel on. During the whole of the remainder of the day the gale blew fearfully, the sea running mountains high, and the ship, not being able to bring up, rolling frightfully. Thing thus continued until the following morning, when it was found that the paddles had been broken clean away. It was at the same time discovered that the top of the rudderpost, a piece of iron 10 inches in diameter, had been smashed. The ship now lay quite helpless, lying like a log on the water, and tossing and rolling in the most alarming manner. On many occasions her decks were at an angle of 45 degs. Crockery went crashing about in all directions, chairs and tables were broken, to pieces, chandeliers and mirrors were smashed to fragments, and the whole interior of the vessel presented one scene of utter confusion. Six of her boats were swept away, and two of those remaining were stove so as to be rendered completely useless. On Saturday evening a vessel hove in sight; she proved to be the brig Magnet, of Nova Scotia. The Captain, on seeing the position the Great Eastern, promptly declared his willingness to lie by her as long as might be necessary, and to render any assistance in his power. Up to this time the passengers were panic stricken, but on the arrival of the Magnet, and the announcement of the Captain that he would lie by her, their spirits revived, and they began to have some hope of safety. The gale still continued, and the vessel lay completely unmanageable; her head could not be got up, she would not answer her helm, and she lay in a most perilous position. In this way she remained until about 5 o'clock on Sunday evening, when the wind abating and the sea going down, enabled the Crew to put the vessel into some sort of trim that would allow of her running back. During the gale the rudder, in knocking from side to side, struck against the screw and received a large

indentation. A chain having been run out from the quarter was passed through this; and the chain having been drawn tight and guy ropes affixed, it was secured to the remaining portion of the rudder post, and thus enabled the vessel to be steered. The ship was then got about, and her course directed under steam for Cork Harbour. On Monday morning the Persia was met on her passage for America, and she also offered assistance, but the Great Eastern going on then very well there was no necessity for it, and the Persia proceeded on her way. The Great Eastern continued on her course and arrived off the Old Head of Kinsale at 10 o'clock on Monday morning, and was off Cork Harbour at 4 o'clock P.M. when the Robert Bruce tug steamer, and the Arran Castle went out to render assistance in their power. Later in the evening H.M steam tender Advice and the Cunard Company's tender Jackal also went out to the ship; but by this time she was lying to an anchor about a mile outside the lighthouse. A great many of the passengers landed in small steamers. She afterwards anchored inside the lighthouse, where she still remains. They, with the other passengers, have lost the greater part of their luggage, this, during the rolling of the vessel, having become loose, and so much injured as to be almost worthless. Several accidents occurred during the storm; a lady passenger had an arm broken, the Cook had one of his legs broken, and many of the Crew received serious injuries. Two large oil tanks that were on deck broke loose, and fell down in the hold, causing great alarm. The Captain and several nautical men who were on board have expressed it as their opinion that but for the strength with which the vessel has been built she would have gone to pieces in the gale. It is intended to take her to Liverpool for repairs. The principal directors and officers of the company started for Cork and Liverpool on Thursday, with a view of instituting a rigid inquiry into the causes of the catastrophe." (Mitchell's Maritime Register, Sept. 21, 1861)

"The Great Eastern.

The Great Eastern now lies safe within the shelter of the harbour. As already mentioned in the

Constitution the utmost efforts were made to get her in before, but without success, in consequence of the defective state of her steering gear, which rendered her all but unmanageable. Great exertions were made to remedy this. Some of the chains which had been fastened to the broken rudder post were attached to the steering wheel and were found to be some help to bringing the ship under control. In addition to this other chains which had been passed through the indentation made in the rudder by its knocking against the screw were brought around by the quarters, and whenever it was necessary to alter the vessel's course a number of men were set to haul on these chains to turn the rudder. Yet, notwithstanding everything that could be done, so little command was able to be obtained over the rudder that its influence on the ship was very small, and she, being so light and offering so vast an area for the wind to play on, the utmost care was necessary to prevent her from going ashore, and it became a matter of the highest importance to get her within the harbour, the more particularly as her berth outside was believed not to be the safest of anchorages. The whole of Wednesday was spent in endeavouring to bring her in. Four tugs were engaged at it. Their united strength was put on, and the Great Eastern's screw worked at its full speed, but, owing to the wind, which was then from the south-east, her head could not be brought round so as to allow of her being run in. On some occasions the attempts were very near being successful. The head would be nearly as it was required, the wind and tide setting on the huge hull would give her a sheer and the anchor should be dropped to prevent her going ashore. At one time she was taken a long way to the eastward and carried out a short distance to sea, so as to head her straight in, but when she was got right opposite the centre of the entrance to the harbour she took a sheer to such a position that if driven on she must have gone right into Ringabella Bay. After other fruitless efforts had been made she was moored at a distance of between four and five miles from the Harbour's mouth. On Thursday the attempts were renewed. Shortly after twelve o'clock the anchor was weighed and the vessel proceeded out to sea,

the object being to get her head round, and make for the harbour. She went at half-speed in a south-easterly direction. Shortly after starting a gale began to spring up from the southward. This increased, and it was found impossible to bring her head round, so she was kept on slowly steaming to the south-east for a distance of about ten miles. After this her head was brought round a little more to the south, and she continued heading the way for a couple of hours. Her head was then brought a little more around to the south-west, and the ship went along slowly in that direction for some hours until she had attained a distance of about thirty miles from the harbour. At eight o'clock the gale was blowing very heavily with a heavy sea, but the ship went quite steady through the water, rolling very little. Some of the passengers were alarmed enough after what they had so recently gone through, but the great majority were quite free from fear, and music, singing and dancing were kept up to an advanced hour. Shortly after ten o'clock that night the wind began shifting to the west-ward, and advantage was taken of this to bring the vessel's head round in the direction of the harbour, which was then made for. Towards morning the gale abated, but the ship rolled heavily. At daybreak she was found to be about ten miles to the north-east of the harbour. She was then brought up, headed right in, and at seven o'clock yesterday morning was anchored between Spike Island and the Forts, her masts and funnels being visible over the Island.

About an hour before she came in, a fatal accident occurred. In consequence of the imperfection of the steering-gear the wheel sometimes jerked violently. In one of those jerks one of the iron handles struck a quarter-master a terrific blow near his temple, crushing in the skull, and causing instant death. Another man was injured during the night from a similar cause.

A slight accident occurred to an American barque the Samuel Moxley, Jun., which was lying at anchor close to where the Great Eastern took up her berth. Immediately after the latter dropped her anchor she forged ahead a little, and struck the

Samuel Moxley, damaged her stern, and carrying away her boat-davits and one of her anchors and chains.

Large numbers of persons went to view the great ship yesterday. The river steamers as they arrived from Cork used to go out crowded with passengers. These were not allowed on board the Great Eastern, but were carried around her.

Captain O'Brien, Harbour-master of Queenstown, has been on board the ship since Monday, and Captain Clarke, harbour master of Cork, went out to her early yesterday and remained. It was supposed that she would be brought father in the harbour yesterday, it being the intention to do so. She did not, however, leave her moorings, but it is thought that she will do so to-day.

At four o'clock yesterday the Hon. Captain Carnegie, one of the Directors of the Great Ship Company, accompanied by another Director, Mr. Yeats, Secretary, and the Messrs. Sabell and Searle, passenger agents, arrived at Queenstown, *via* Dublin and Cork, and immediately went off to the ship in one of the tug boat tenders. The vessel's further movements, it was believed, would be entirely regulated by the decision they might come to on an interview with the Captain and Harbour Masters.

A large number of passengers came ashore yesterday and left for this city, but the majority still remain on board.

The destruction of property during the storm of Thursday week they concur in stating was very great. Jewellery and other valuable articles were crushed into an almost undistinguishable mass. A gentleman who was at the *Constitution* Office last night had with him a silver card-case which was crushed quite flat. One lady on board had with her £100 of jewellery, and of that nothing but a single brooch was saved. Many other persons, it is stated, have suffered in a similar manner." (The *Constitution*, or, Cork Advertiser. Sept. 21, 1861)

“Sending Troops to Canada.
From the European Times.

The time is certainly very unpropitious for such a step. Indeed no period could have been selected when the intentions of the Home Government,—whatever they might be,—were so liable to be misunderstood. The speed which we draughted, five or six weeks ago, soldiers and artillery to Quebec by the *Great Eastern* was a nine day’s wonder; but this last movement is still more unaccountable, and, in the judgment of people who have nothing to guide them but the ordinary intelligence open to the world, a blunder of an extremely irritating kind. If Parliament were sitting, a day would not have been allowed to pass without eliciting from the Treasury Bench an explanation of an act so puzzling and incomprehensible, but as we grope about for a solution of the cause, we arrive at a conviction of the wisdom of the Swedish Chancellor, who told his son, when going on his travels, to observe the ease with which the world was governed—a process in which blundering appears to be an essential element.

There are two strong and, as it appears to us, unanswerable objections to this inexplicable act—first, that if the troops already sent and hereafter to be sent to Canada are intended to resist offensive movements towards our North American possessions, they are manifestly and absurdly insufficient for the purpose; and, second, that their being so sent is an unjustifiable interference with that principle of self-government which the Canadians have assumed, and by virtue of which they make their own laws and manage their own affairs without let or hindrance on the part of the mother country. There never was a season in the history of the American Republic when it was less disposed to be aggressive than the time which has been selected for the perpetration of this small and ungenerous act of suspicion and discourtesy. A country struggling with internal foes, and straining every nerve to chastise its rebellious citizens, has something far more serious to occupy its intention

than the thought of annexing a neighboring and friendly colony, and thereby provoking the hostility of a great Power like England. The energy of what remains in the American Union is too severely taxed in its conflict with the South, and in raising the means of subjugating that important section of the Republic, to be able to cast a wistful eye on Canada. But if it were otherwise—if peace prevailed throughout the portion of the Continent that still acknowledges fealty to the Washington President, and it had been determined to expel us from the American Continent altogether, the strength of the troops which we are sending to counteract the movement is so utterly inefficient for the end, that it cannot fail to excite the ridicule and contempt of a people who are now engaged in raising half a million of men to recover the ground belonging to themselves which they have lost. Whenever the civil strife may terminate, the belligerents, bleeding and exhausted by the struggle, will be in no mood to quarrel with those who bear them nothing but good will, and desire their prosperity as heartily as they wish for their own. If this movement of troops to Canada is not a menace to the Americans, it will be so regarded by them, and out of it may spring consequences in the future upon which we do not desire to speculate.

For all purposes of internal defence the Canadians are able and willing to defend themselves. They are strong, wealthy, prosperous, and loyal, and are as independent of the British Government, for all practical purposes, as the Americans themselves. If they wished to be released from their connection with England, there is nothing to interrupt or retard the fulfillment of their desire. Electing their own Parliament, governed by their own laws, framing their own tariffs, they have risen to the dignity of a self-governing people, and whatever turn the course of events may take on the Potomac, their own strong arm would be found sufficient, if the necessity arose, to defend their own homes and hearths. As long as Canada is bound to us by any tie, however slight or silken, we must become active instruments in any quarrel in which she is involved. An attack on her would mean a war

with England. We have accepted this responsibility and do not shrink from it, but this is altogether a different affair from needlessly going out of our way to put Canada and ourselves in a false position—to offer an affront, by implying a suspicion, of a near neighbor. This official meddling is not calculated to give the natural affections of nations free and uncontrolled play. The first shipment of troops to the western shores of the Atlantic was unnecessary and uncalled for, but this last announced supplement is grossly insulting, and will be so regarded.” (New York Times, Sept. 21, 1861)

“The Great Eastern.

Queenstown, Friday.—The big ship is to-day safe, so far, after having been knocking about all night from six to ten miles outside the harbour. She now lies safely anchored, since six o’clock this morning, inside Courland buoy, at the back of Spike Island. We are sorry to have to record that the first fatality which she met with, among her many disasters occurred last night. While the man at the wheel was endeavoring to steer her, the chain broke, and, in the violent revolution of the wheel, he had his skull broken and his brains dashed out. The passengers are all so ‘used up’ that the awful occurrences did not seem to create any sensation amongst them. We have not yet ascertained the man’s name; and, as communication with the ship is very difficult, no further particulars have reached us. Another mishap occurred during the night; she struck an American ship—the Samuel Maxley—on the port bow, and disabled her. It is expected that she will be brought into the inner harbour anchorage this evening, which can only be done on the ebb tide, as she would be likely to steer better against the tide than with it, and less likely to take those ‘sheers’ which render her so thoroughly unmanageable. Capt. O’Bryen, Harbour Master of Queenstown, remains on board, and is rendering valuable assistance, which Capt. Walker has availed himself of. At four o’clock the Hon. Captain Carnegie, Chairman of the Great Ship Company, Mr. Yates, Secretary, and several other directors, arrived in Queenstown, and

proceeded by the Jackal steam tender on board the Great Eastern. What their decision has been in not yet ascertained; but the impression is that she will be towed in this evening to moorings which have been prepared for her in the man-of-war roads, and will remain there for some time. Queenstown is quite full of visitors. A hundred and thirty dined at the table d'hote at the Queen's Hotel last evening.

The announcement of the disaster to the Great Eastern on her voyage out of Liverpool was the topic of conversation and excitement yesterday (Wednesday), not only in the city, but throughout the metropolis. The telegram received by the Great Ship Company and posted at their offices in Cannon-street, received from Captain James Walker, the commander of the vessel, was as follows –

‘Queenstown, Sept. 17.

‘Having lost both paddles and rudder-head in a terrific gale, I have been compelled to put back until put to rights.

‘J. Walker.

‘To the Directors of the Great Ship Company.’

From other information received by the authorities it appears that the vessel left Liverpool on the 16th inst., with 400 passengers and a large general cargo, a complement both of passengers and freight considerably larger, indeed, than she has carried on any previous voyage, arising from the feeling of confidence and security that had been established by her previous successful voyages, and more particularly her last from New York to Liverpool, when it will be remembered a testimonial was presented by the whole of the passengers, numbering 212 in all, to the commander and the officers, expressive of their appreciation of the great vessel and her working, and recommending her on the ground of her ample accommodation, easy motion, and safety, as one of the best vessels in which the public could cross the Atlantic. On the present occasion every berth was taken, their being

400 passengers, including several families, on board. Between 100 and 200 passengers occupied the berths in the principal cabin, saloons, and state rooms, at passage rates of from £20 to £28, and the remainder of the passengers occupied the intermediate and steerage cabins at from £7 to £10 respectively. All went well till on Thursday last, as she was under full steam and sail, she encountered a terrific gale about 280 miles to the west of Cape Clear, which swept away both her paddles. Nor was this the only damage, for at the same time the top of the rudder-post, a bar of iron of immense size, being 10 inches in diameter, was wrenched away, so that the vessel was no longer able to answer her helm. Her steering gear was also shattered and gone, so that she lay, like a huge log in the trough of the sea from Thursday evening until 2 o'clock on Sunday, her bulwarks almost touching the sea furrows, and rolling and pitching about, the passengers expecting that she would every moment go down, and offering up prayers for their deliverance. The rocking and rolling of the vessel displayed and destroyed the furniture of the cabin and saloons, throwing the passengers pell-mell about the cabin. Everything that occupied the upper deck was washed away, and a large part of the passenger luggage was destroyed; while between twenty and thirty of those who were on board, including several ladies, were bruised and maimed. No particulars of their names or of the precise injuries they have received have as yet come to hand, nor does it yet appear that any of the officers or crew were lost. The passengers are all safe. One of the cowsheds, with two cows in it, was washed into the ladies' cabin, and caused indescribable confusion. On Sunday evening, after two days suspense, a temporary steering gear was fitted up, and the disabled vessel made for Cork harbour, running with her screw at nine knots an hour. Her flag of distress was sighted about three o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday off the Old Head of Kinsala, and her Majesty's ship Advice at once steamed out to her assistance, and towed her to within one mile of the lighthouse off Cork harbour by about nine o'clock, wher she remains moored; her passengers disembarked at that harbour. She will, on clearing out, be towed forthwith to

Liverpool, where she will be laid upon the gridiron and repaired. The principal directors and officers of the company yesterday started for Cork and Liverpool with a view of instituting a rigid inquiry in the causes of the catastrophe, and telegraphed special instructions to their agents at the respective ports.—*Times*.

The Great Eastern is again in trouble. She is now lying disabled in Cork Harbour, instead of floating grandly off New York. She started from Liverpool in the afternoon of Tuesday wee. She made a rapid run down St. George's Channel, passing Queenstown at nine o'clock on Wednesday morning. She had accomplished in less than eighteen hours a stage that usually occupies twenty-one hours. A quick and pleasant passage was no doubt anticipated by all on board, -- probably a thousand in number. The first day's experience must have strengthened the cheering anticipation for on Thursday the big ship had got nearly 800 miles west of Cape Clear. But at this point she encountered a gale that soon made her helpless and prostrate amid the might rollers of the Atlantic. Its fury may be imagined from the brief description of its effects telegraphed at Cork. Those immense paddles that seemed built to deny even mountainous waves, were swept away; and the gigantic iron stern post, ten inches in diameter, was wrenched off. Unable to mount the billow or to obey her helm, the huge bulk lay powerless in the trough, which she should have bridged, and rolled from side to side in awful helplessness. As her lofty bulwarks touched the water, above which they so proudly rear in ordinary weather, all the furniture of the saloons and cabins was broken loose by successive shocks and dashed to pieces. The passengers and their luggage suffered similar disasters. Much of the latter was knocked to pieces, and many of the former got broken limbs. One incident, a little unintelligible as reported, doubtless aggravated the confusion and alarm. 'A cowshed, with two cows in it, broke into the ladies' cabin, and both cows were killed.' We must suppose from this brief account of the accident, that the roof of that most superb but

unfortunate apartment was 'broken' through by the force of the tempest hurtling upon it the cowshed; but whether the cows were killed by fright or by the fall does not appear. The passengers of both sexes, and even the crew, seem to have apprehended a fate like that of the cows. From Thursday till Sunday, we are told, it was expected every minute that the vessel would go down; and much time was spent in prayer. But the Great Eastern is not easy to drown or to destroy. If she did not ride out the gale she rolled through it. When the storm abated, her steering gear was refitted, her screw was put to work, and she put back to Cork. Seeing that she was able to perform nine knots an hour in this disabled state, and thus accomplished the return voyage of about four hundred miles in less than two days, it remains to be explained why she did not keep on her way to New York/ Even at that diminished rate of progress, she would have outstripped the news of her disaster; and have reached before this time next week her proper destination. As it is, there will be much anxiety in America at her non-arrival, and the *prestige* re-established by her recent ocean trips will again have suffered. On this matter, however, we must be content to await the report of her commander. It may turn out that she has been more severely injured than the telegrams indicate; and that the safety of the ship and all on board would not permit the continuance of the voyage. But enough is known to justify a repetition of the opinions we have often expressed regarding this noble vessel and her ultimate success. Despite the gloomy succession of accidents attending her career, she is not only the biggest but the best ship afloat. If she has not yet realized anything like the commercial anticipations of her original owners, it is not because she has disappointed the scientific calculations of her designers. The late Mr. Brunel's most majestic conception is in her well nigh perfected. His idea was to build a steamship capable of conveying even as many as ten thousand people to the remotest distance, without stopping to coal. He consulted every consideration of speed, space, and safety. He provided against all the chances of fire and flood. He divided her enormous length and depth into five separate compartments. He placed

engines midships and aft. He fitted the huge bulk with both paddles and screw, and did not refuse to superadd sails—though, only in deference to the prejudice of seamen for those primitive devices. He predicted that she would go faster and farther than any vessel yet designed, and would diminish the discomfort as well as the cost and time of ocean voyages. Unfortunately the truth of these predictions has not been fully tested. The Great Eastern has not yet been allowed to answer to her name. Only a voyage to India or Australia can fairly ascertain her capabilities. Her Atlantic trips have served to demonstrate that she is one of the fastest and pleasantest of ocean steamers; but her absolute pre-eminence remains to be proved by a great experiment. It has not been the least of her disadvantages that she has never yet been fully freighted. With only four hundred passengers, she would fare much worse in a heavy sea than with ten times that number. Her trial trips round the coast, under the lamented Captain Harrison, established nothing more conclusive than the want of a heavy freight to steady her enormous bulk. There was every probability of her attaining those conditions with the lapse of time. Every successful voyage commended her more and more to the confidence of passengers and merchants. We may now expect to hear that she has again shown the unmanageableness of such big ships, and the wisdom on confining our naval architecture within moderate limits. But we hope it will also be remembered that the trials of the Great Eastern would have put an end to any less ambitious structure.—The explosion that destroyed the second of her five compartments, but did no other damage, would have sunk any other ship. The storm that tore away her paddle wheels and rudder post would probably have carried away paddles, masts, and helm of an ordinary ocean steamer, but it left her able to steam at nine knots an hour. If she had parted at midships she might have brought home all her living freight upon the after fragment. It is certainly too early to despair of the success of an enterprise that has been dogged by disaster and yet has not suffered defeat. It is an enterprise, moreover, on which far more depends than the

failure or success of one particular speculation. The Great Eastern was built to be the pioneer of a line of ocean monsters—awful in bulk but benignant in performance; closely uniting the centre of our empire with its extremities—especially the cotton fields of India with our marts and manufactories. The design is too noble to be lightly abandoned. It is worthy, at any rate, to inspire a hope too strong to be extinguished by the gale that caught, and wrestled with, and crippled, but failed to overwhelm, the majestic though mutilated vessel; now moored in the most beautiful of Irish harbours.—*Star*.” (The Cork Daily Herald, Sept. 21, 1861)

September 22, 1861 (Sunday)

“Arrival of the Great Eastern.
She comes to Morris Dock.

The steamship *Great Eastern*, Capt. Walker, from Liverpool Sept. 10, passed Greenport, Long Island, Saturday morning, about 9 o’clock, bound up the Sound. She comes this time to Morris Dock, from which point her cargo will be lightered to New-York. During her stay she will, it is understood, be thrown open for a few days to visitors, and the steamer *Flushing*, from Fulton-slip, will make regular calls at Morris Dock, to land and receive passengers who may wish to inspect the mammoth steamer. She has, no doubt, already reached her moorings.” (New York Times, Sept. 22, 1861)

September 23, 1861 (Monday)

Steamship *Persia* leaves information about *Great Eastern* with launch operated by Associated Press at Cape Race, Newfoundland. Information is telegraphed to members of Associated Press.

“No. 10.
State Department, Richmond, Va., September 23,
1861.
Hon. Wm. L. Yancey.

Sir: I have been informed by Mr. Williams, late U.S. Minister to Constantinople, that he was requested by you to intimate to the President your desire to be relieved from your duties as Commissioner of the Confederate States and to

return to this country. The Hon. L. P. Walker also stated that he had no doubt that Mr. Williams had correctly represented your wishes. Mr. Williams further said that you would have sent by him an official application for your recall, had he had been unable, from the necessity of visiting Washington, to carry dispatches of any sort from your Commission, and that you desire him to represent that fact to this Department. I have communicated your request to the President, and he desires me to say to you that if you are still desirous to return home he accepts your resignation, with regret; but if anything has occurred to change your determination since Mr. Williams left Europe, he desires that you shall continue in the diplomatic service of the Government and give your country the benefit of your ability and experience.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

R.M.T. Hunter, Secretary of State.”
(A Compilation of the Message and Paper of the Confederacy)

“No. 11.
State Department, Richmond, Va., September 23,
1861.
Hon. A. Dudley Mann, etc.

Sir: The President having resolved at the request of Congress to disunite the Commission of the Confederate States now in Europe and to send separate Commissioners to the principal Governments on that continent, I have the honor to inform you that it is the President's desire that you should represent the Confederate States in Belgium, to the Government of which country you already have letters of credence and introduction. The instructions which you have received on your departure from Montgomery you will follow so far as practicable during your residence at Brussels. I have further to inform you that the President has appointed the Hon. James M. Mason, of Virginia, Commissioner to Great Britain. On his arrival in London he will confer freely with you on the subject of his mission, and I am confident that you

will give him the benefit of your advice and experience in relation thereto.

I have the honor, etc.,

R.M.T. Hunter Secretary of State.

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

“Department of State. Richmond, September 23, 1861.

Hon. James M. Mason, etc.

Sir: The President desires that you should proceed to London with as little delay as possible, and place yourself, as soon as you may be able to do so, in communication with the government. The events which have occurred since our Commissioners had their first interview with Lord John Russell have placed our claims to recognition in a much stronger point of view.

* * *

. . . There is yet another question of great practical importance to use and to the world, which you will present on the first proper occasion to Her Britannic Majesty's Government. It was declared by the five great powers at the conference of Paris that 'blockades to be binding must be effectual,' a principle long since sanctioned by leading publicists, and now acknowledged by nearly all civilized nations.

You will be furnished with abundant evidence of the fact that the blockade of the coasts of the Confederate States has not been effectual, or of such a character as to be binding according to the declaration of the conference at Paris. Such being the case, it may perhaps be fairly urged that the five great powers owe it to their consistency, and to the world, to make good a declaration thus solemnly made. Propositions of such gravity and emanating from sources so high may fairly be considered as affecting the general business relations of human society, and as controlling in a great degree the calculations and arrangements of nations so far as

they are concerned in the rules thus laid down. Men have a right to presume that a law thus proclaimed will be universally maintained by those who have the power to do so, and who have taken it upon themselves to watch over its execution; nor will any suppose that particular States or cases would be exempted from its operation under the influence of partiality or favor. If, therefore, we can prove the blockade to have been ineffectual, we perhaps have a right to expect that the nations assenting to this declaration of the Conference of Paris will not consider it to be binding.

We are fortified in this expectation not only by their own declarations but by the nature of the interests affected by the blockade. So far, at least, it has proved that the only certain and sufficient source of cotton supply has been found in the Confederate States.

It is probable that there are more people without than within the Confederate States who derive their means of living from the various uses which are made of this important staple.

A war, therefore, which shuts up this great source of supply from the general uses of mankind is directed as much against those who transport and manufacture cotton as against those who produce the raw material. Innocent parties who are thus affected insist that a right whose exercise operates so unfavorably on them shall be used only within the strictest limits of public law. Would it not be a movement more in consonance with the spirit of the war, this one should be excepted in defense to the general interests of mankind, so many of whom depend for their means of living upon a ready and easy access to the greatest and cheapest cotton market in the world?

If for the general benefit of commerce some of its great routes have been neutralized so as to be unaffected by the chances of war, might not another interest of a greater and more world-wide importance claim at least so much consideration as to demand the benefit of every presumption in favor

of its protection against all the chances of war, save those which arise under the strictest rules of public law? This is a question of almost as much interest to the world at large as it is to the Confederate States.

No belligerent can claim the right thus to injure innocent parties by such a blockade except to the extent that it can be shown to furnish the legitimate, or perhaps we might go still farther and say the necessary, means to prosecute the war successfully. If it has become obvious, as would now seem to be the case, that no blockade which they can maintain will enable the United States to subdue the Confederate States of America, upon what plea can its further continuance be justified to third parties who are so deeply interested in a ready and easy access to the cheapest and most abundant sources of cotton supply? Perhaps we had the right to expect, inasmuch as by the proclamation of Her Britannic Majesty neutrality had been declared as between the belligerents, that one of the parties would not have been allowed to close the ports of the other by a mere proclamation of blockade, without an adequate force to sustain it. In presenting the various views contained in this letter of instructions, you will say that they are offered as much in the general interests of mankind as in our own. We do not ask for assistance to enable us to maintain our independence against any power which has yet assailed us. The President of the Confederate States believes that he cannot be mistaken in supposing it to be the duty of the nations of the earth, by a prompt recognition, to throw the weight of their moral influence against the unnecessary prolongation of war.

* * *

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

“No. 59.] Department of State,
Washington, September 23, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of the 29th of August (No. 37) was duly received.

The proceedings it relates had, however, been anticipated, and it only remains to be said in regard to them, that your conduct therein is fully approved.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

WILLIAM L. DAYTON, Esq., &c., &c., &c.”

“Disaster to the Great Eastern.
(From a Passenger to the Times)

Queenstown Harbour, Cork, Tuesday, Sept.
17.

To the great delight of ourselves and the great surprise of everybody, alas we find ourselves safely here, having been six days at sea; and having during that period encountered disasters which will be memorable in the history of the Great Eastern, although her name has been too much associated with disaster already.

We sailed from the Mersey on the afternoon of the 10th inst., and steamed steadily down to the Channel, amid the cheers and good wishes of thousands of spectators, not one of whom could have imagined how small was the chance of their ever seeing her again.

The fact of her twice having made the passage of the Atlantic in safety had opened up a brighter prospect for her but within 48 hours of her commencing this passage to New York she was in greater peril than she had ever been previously, not omitting the fearful explosion of her first trial trip.

We had nearly 400 passengers on board, including an unusual number of ladies and children. With the crew was made up a total of 800 souls. We proceeded very satisfactorily during Tuesday night and Wednesday, our speed averaging from 12 to 14 knots per hour. We last sighted land soon after noon on Wednesday, and later in the day the wind had

changed from south-east to north-west, blowing fresh.

I can render the events of the next few days more distinct by adopting the form of a diary.

Thursday.—This morning we have a fresh gale, with a good sea. Noon.—A heavy gale; wind, from north to west; sea, tremendous. We roll heavily, and ship many seas. I now begin to understand the true meaning of a gale in the Atlantic. The captain looks anxious, but the passengers have faith in the 'big ship.' The 'rolling' is fearful, and quite upsets all persons' notions of the steadiness of the Great Eastern. One of our cows has her leg broken; in a short time they are both 'rolled' to death. Two o'clock.—Things look worse. The captain tries to put our head to the wind. The port paddle gives way with a great crash in the attempt. The jib is set, I presume to aid in steering, but is blown to ribands in a few moments. The rolling increases; the deck presents an angle of 45 degrees, and none but experienced seamen can walk about. Attention is suddenly drawn to the boats; they are suspended on either side, but mostly on fixed davits. The heaving rolling brings the boats in violent contact with the waves. The tackling of the longboat becomes deranged; a man and a boy enter it to remedy the evil, but the wind strikes the boat, and gives the occupants forcible ejection—happily upon deck, and in a moment it is floating far away from us. Four other boats share a similar fate in rapid succession. Continued efforts are made to bring the ship to the wind. I watch the men at the wheel, there is almost an army of them. They are contending with an elements whose power they are indeed familiar with but cannot fully estimate. They still stand to their post, and we still have hope. 5:45.—Our position is becoming indeed critical. A tremendous sea has just struck out stern. It has broken her rudder-head and done serious damage to her stern post. Still, we are not quite at the mercy of the waves; we have our screw, and we have our starboard paddle. The wind is now getting to the south-west.

I now leave the deck, where I have been studying the great lesson of the deep, and feel anxious to know how matters are progressing below. As I descend the staircase I hear a crashing which even deadens the roaring of the wind and waves. I pass the store-room; its shelves are empty, and the crockery which filled them fighting a fierce battle on the floor below. I pass into the grand saloon, but a change has come over the scene. Every one who has visited this ship must have been struck with the gorgeous magnificence of her saloons, her easy lounges, her brilliant chandeliers, her numerous and extensive mirrors, the regard to comfort and elegance in every shape. But the loungers are now overturned, the tables are thrown down and broken, the chairs are frantically chasing those who but a few moments before had been their fair occupants. The stove from the centre of the room is adrift; it has wreaked its vengeance upon a large mirror, but has mischief in it yet. Books leave their shelves without the slightest solicitation, and present themselves to the mental development in a manner not calculated to aid reflection. But the ladies and children!—where can they seek protection? Some have, indeed, sought their cabins, but the majority are huddled in corners on the floor, and terror is strongly marked on their faces. The stewards are capturing the various articles of furniture, and binding them down as they would so many wild and savage beasts. I venture in to assist, and am rewarded for my indiscretion by being hurled violently against the mirror, which had been ‘starred’ by the stove. It falls into a thousand pieces, and inflicts injury upon many. I am, perhaps, the greatest sufferer. I have my head cut, my little finger dislocated, and a tooth knocked out. Every fresh lurch adds to the destruction and the damage. I leave the grand saloon, and more complete wreck in appearance than it was the day after the explosion on the first trial trip.

There is much more to see below, but I am anxious to know how all is going on deck. The ship, I now learn confidentially, is considered unmanageable. The snapping of the rudder-head is a double misfortune. It allows the rudder to swing

round upon the screw, and entirely prevents it from being worked. The ship has begun to drift into the trough of the sea. Another effort is made with the remaining paddle to turn her head. The effort is too much—this paddle now gives way—and at least we are (10 p.m.) at the entire mercy of the waves. Happily but one or two on board know the full extent of our misfortunes, or there would be very few beds occupied. May the great Ruler of the waves have mercy on us this night! The trysail just set, is blowing in ribands before the wind.

Friday, 6 a.m.—I rise from a feeble attempt to sleep. The gale is still furious. We are drifting before the wind at the rate of three or four knots an hour. We are drifting eastward, now; but, even if the wind does not change, it will be many days before we can reach land in this manner. The pumps are all going. I do not like the sound, but am assured that they have complete mastery over the water. The water has got in through the ports, and by way of the deck. The captain is a brave fellow, and keeps his spirits up wonderfull. He is ever keeping the men steadily at the wheel, although the rudder has been gone for many hours. He knows the alarm a knowledge of this would create. I overheard a consultation between the captain and some of the officers. Something must be done to try and turn the ship's head and then, if the wind abates, sail will be set, and we may reach a port in safety. How is it to be done? A large spar, marked as weighing 4 tons, is to be heavily laded with iron, then fastened to an immense hawser, and thrown overboard. This method has been successfully employed on similar occasions with great success. It is being prepared, and I go down in the meantime to have another investigation below. Luncheon is set in the dining saloon; some cannot eat, but many seats are still occupied. The rolling—or now, more properly speaking, 'rocking,' for the movement is violently from side to side—comes on again with renewed force. The passengers catch hold of the tables to support themselves. The tables are not fastened for who ever supposed the big ship would come so rampant? The tables give way, and the scene of the grand saloon is enacted again with fearful violence.

The stewards rush in to the rescue, but in two minutes every piece of crockery on the table is inevitably smashed, knives and forks fly about in reckless confusion, and the scene closes by a general accumulation of tables, chairs, crockery, passengers, and stewards in the middle of the saloon. The destruction of property by this one casualty may be counted by hundreds. I return to the deck. The spar is being thrown over, and it certainly steadies our movements. But we are still in the trough of the sea—still at the mercy of the winds. It is now evening. It is the second day of our misfortunes, and we do not see the end of them. A meeting of the passengers is held. They face the difficulties manfully. We are out of the track of vessels. It may be some days before we meet with aid. In the meantime we must be careful of our resources. A committee is appointed to confer with the captain, and a working committee to watch and protect the interests of the passengers. The captain and officers must save the ship—we must aid in preserving discipline. I am appointed chairman of the working committee, and go through the ship by virtue of my office. I thus learn much more of the destruction of property and the condition of the passengers than I knew before. The noise produced by the rocking of the vessel is dreadful. Bottles, broken crockery, knives, forks, and plated articles, constantly dashed violently from side to side to side of an iron ship, produce the very agony of discord; and the chorus is brought up by a hollow cask weighing many hundred weight, and a chain cable weighing many tons, which have got loose in a large compartment of the vessel, and spread consternation and terror throughout the ship. We get these matters remedied, and we take very stringent precautions against fire, which is the only element required to make our misery complete. There are more aching hearts than sleeping eyes to-night.

Saturday, 5:30 a.m.—A friend comes to tell my cabin companions that the water is making fast on the pumps, that all hopes of safety are now over, and that it is only a question of time when the boats shall be lowered. I dress quickly, and take, as I consider, a farewell view of my cabin. On getting to

deck I find the alarm a false one. He had only learnt what I already knew as to the steerage, and the water was not gaining upon the pumps; but the hatches were open, and the noise of the water rushing from side to side, with the rocking of the ship, is really alarming. The gale has in a great measure subsided; but there is still a strong swell. We are drifting steadily along, whither we hardly know. A little later I find our course has been much as follows. Yesterday we were going nearly due north, to-day we are going south-west. Our chief hope now lies in sighting some vessel; but we are still miles from the line of ships. Many anxious eyes span the horizon, and many learn, almost for the first time, of the dreary loneliness of the great ocean, except in the beaten tracs of commerce.

A new subject of interest arises. There is scarcely a cabin in the ship to which the water has not found its way. Many require a change of clothes, and the hatchways of the baggage stores are opened. The scene that presents itself defies all description. The water has got in, and in sufficient force to float over many of the larger articles. The rocking of the ship has set the whole mass in motion. It has the free range of a compartment some 60ft. square, and 24 hours of such friction has reduced portmanes, hat boxes, dressing cases, and all the personal chattels incident to 400 passengers into a mass of pulp, such as could not be rivaled by one of the most powerful shoddy mills in the West Riding of Yorkshire. I go down, for I have a personal interest in the mass of ruin. Identity is out of the question. Here are the spangles of a dress of an actress; and there are the sleeves of an officer's coat. On this side the brim of a hat; on that, the leg of a dress blue. There has been most gross negligence in this matter, and the misery which will be occasioned to some portion of the passengers I need not dwell upon, because words cannot adequately express it. Later, I see men feeling cautiously with their bare feet for jewels and money, in which, this desolation is said to be rich. How they will identify their own, and resist the temptation of taking what is not theirs, is beyond my philosophy.

The sea is getting more quiet, and a new hope springs up. An American gentleman, a Mr. Towle, a civil engineer, and a passenger, suggests a means of repairing our rudder. The captain places the engineer department at his disposal. To-morrow will decide. We still look out for a friendly sail, and rockets go up, and blue lights burn as darkness comes on. 9:30.—There is a cry. ‘A sail!’ ‘A sail!’ I look; it is close upon us. A small brig. She speaks us; she is the Magnet of Halifax, and has seen our distress signals. Now for the first time during three days there are signs of rejoicing on board. Husbands embrace their wives; fathers and mothers their children; she agrees to lie by us for the night, and retire with renewed hope.

Sunday.—The sea is calm by comparison. We have drifted about 100 miles in two days; at first in the wrong direction, but are not getting right again, and are going south west. I ask the doctor how many casualties have come under his charge; he says 27, but adds that there are many others. He has only dealt with the worst. We have had no loaf bread for two days. This is chiefly occasioned by a severe accident to the baker, who was thrown across the bake-house during the raging of the storm and has a compound fracture of the leg. Barrels of biscuits are lashed in various conspicuous places, and we help ourselves. An American service is read by the Rev W. Patton, D.D. of New York. The steering arrangements are going on well, and hope is expressed on all sides—it is written upon all faces. 5:30.—There is joy which does not find its expression in words or cheers. The ship moves not by the drifting of the sea of which we have grown so tired during the last few days, but by means of her screw, and her head is being brought round; but her direction is home. Neither the temporary expedient which is now steering us nor the general condition of the ship justify the captain in remaining in the Atlantic. We are 280 miles from Cape Clear. We may hope the screw will take us eight knots per hour, and we shall see land in 86 hours. An English service, conducted by the Rev W. B. Banister of Liverpool, was held as soon as we were well on our

way. The moon shines brightly; the sea has assumed almost a dead calm; the decks are gay, and we are all comparatively happy.

Monday.—We are progressing steadily in a dead calm. At 10 a.m. we sight the Persia. We meet her with mingled feelings of joy and disappointment. She left her port four days after us, and will carry obscure tidings of our misfortune to New York, for we cannot stop our engines without imperiling our temporary steering arrangements. She sees we are distressed, and comes round us. She clearly does not understand why we do not say our course; and she proceeds on her way for she carries the mails. She has important despatches for many here, myself among the number. It adds another link to the chain of our misfortunes. Noon.—All goes well. We are putting our house in order as far as possible. This evening we have had a meeting of passengers convened to consider the incidents of this most unfortunate voyage. It is well attended, and the resolutions will be given in detail hereafter. They draw attention to many points of grave importance, which I hope will receive proper weight in the management and form an appropriate conclusion to this narrative.

Tuesday.—We are in sight of land, and there is great rejoicing. 10 a.m.—We are off Queenstown, and boats are coming to us. The destination of the ship is Milford. We have lost no lives, and the baker is the only person at all in danger.

The damage to the ship and its fittings must be estimated by thousands. The paddlewheels are doubled up like pieces of iron hoop, and have now disappeared down t the shaft. The rudder post was composed of solid iron, some six or eight inches square. The stern post was still more massive. The boats must be replaced readily. The destruction in the fittings is more serious and implies an entire renovation. The crockery and glass is an entire loss, and the stores have been destroyed in the most wholesale manner.

Captain Walker is formerly a commander in the Cunard line. He left to join the Galway Company, and was appointed to the command of the Great Eastern only ten days before we sailed this time.

The following resolutions were passed at a general meeting of the passengers of the Great Eastern, held on her return to port, 17th of September, 1861;--

‘That we recognize with gratitude the kind care of Almighty God in protecting us during the peril of the storm and bringing us at last safely out of our danger.

‘2. That we feel it to be our imperative duty to state that the Great Eastern was sent to sea thoroughly unprepared to face the storms which every one must expect to meet in crossing the Atlantic; and that, if it had not been for the extraordinary strength of the hull, and the skill which was manifested in the construction of the vessel and its engines, in all human probability every soul on board would have perished. We call particular attention to the ballasting of the Great Eastern, the state of her paddle-wheels, the position of the boats, the insecure and most perilous character of internal fittings, and the careless way in which she was stowed, owing to which carelessness. In fact, a large portion of our luggage has been recklessly and utterly destroyed.

‘3. That we desire to express our satisfaction with the conduct of the captain, especially since the occurrence of the disaster which overtook the ship, which has been marked by a high degree of courage, fertility of resources, energy, untiring perseverance, and nautical skill, to which the safety of the ship and passengers is in a great measure attributable.

‘4. That we would also acknowledge with deep thankfulness the sense we entertain of the valuable scientific suggestions of one of the cabin passengers, E. Towle, of Boston, U.S., civil

engineer, made in order to repair the injuries sustained by the steering apparatus of the vessel; and of the patient attention with which, at much personal inconvenience, he assisted Captain Walker until the ship was again enabled to proceed.

‘5. That some suitable testimonial of our appreciation of the skill and services of Mr. Towle be provided and presented to him by the passengers.

‘6. that we regret being obliged to condemn in the strongest terms the confusion and mismanagement evident in every arrangement relating to the comfort and convenience of passengers of all classes, and we have been grieved by the waste and wanton destruction which we have witnessed.

‘7. that feeling that there is ground for the greatest possible censure, we respectfully urge that the Board of Trade should be asked to make immediate inquiry into the condition of the ship when she was sent to sea.

‘8. The names of the committee appointed to protect and consider the interests of the passengers are Benjamin F. Angel, New York; Thomas B. Forward, Liverpool; Montgomery Gibbs, New York; D. V. M’Lean, Easton, Pennsylvania; Cecil Mortimer, London; James Phalen, Paris; Cornelius Walford, London.

‘9. That the unanimous and heartfelt thanks of this meeting of the passengers of the Great Eastern be given to the captain of the brig Magnet, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, for his ready response to our appeal to stand by us in distress on the night on Saturday, the 14th inst., and the following day.’” (The Cork Daily Examiner, Sept. 23, 1861)

“The Great Eastern.

Yesterday Queenstown presented, as might be expected, an unusually gay appearance by reason of the crowds of visitors who arrived to see the

monster ship. The day, unfortunately, was by no means propitious to the excursionists, as from morning and throughout the day the sky was gloomily overcast with clouds, while rain descended in frequent showers. Notwithstanding, however, the unfavourable character of the weather the number of sightseers seemed not the less numerous—a feeling of curiosity evidently predominated over the sense of convenience. Even the earliest boats from Cork brought their quota of passengers; towards noon the railway and river steamers came to the wharves ‘chock full.’ Indeed, such was the extent of the successive crowds of visitors, that it could have been alone by the excellent arrangements of the superintendents that the trips were preformed without the slightest accident and in good time. Towards evening, when the trains from Dublin, Limerick, &c., arrived, the excursionists added to the dense throng. It was fortunate that the Great Eastern—the object of all the curiosity—had come considerably more within the harbour, and to a position decidedly the most favourable for view. At eight o’clock yesterday, the ‘big ship,’ which heretofore proved too much for several tug boats to cope with, swung easily to the tide, having been on Saturday evening towed from her anchorage under Carlisle Fort more directly towards the channel, steamed a-head with her screw into the man-of-war roadstead. She now lies at the south buoy, but it is intended to bring her yet farther in. On Wednesday she will be open to visitors at her usual fare for admittance, when the public will be allowed the privilege of viewing internally as well as externally this astonishing masterpiece of naval architecture.

It is, too, a proud consideration that Cork harbour, so long denied the favour of receiving the largest vessel ever built, can now show with what perfect convenience she can be moored within the noble waters, so well worthy of its motto,

‘Statio bene fida carinis.’”

(The Cork Daily Reporter, Sept. 23, 1861)

“To the Editor of the Daily Reporter.

On board the ship Great Eastern,
Cork Harbour, September 20, 1861.

I was a passenger on board the Great Eastern on her recent unfortunate voyage, and carefully noted all the incidents which occurred from the time of our departure from Liverpool, until the ship anchored at Queenstown. I speak from my own knowledge, therefore, when I state that, some at least of the 'reports' in relation to the conduct of Captain Walker, to which you give currency in your journal of yesterday, are erroneous.

It is not true that the Great Eastern was running at the rate of thirteen or fourteen knots an hour at any time during the gale. At the commencement she was running at the usual rate of speed, but as the gale increased, her speed was reduced to less than five miles an hour. I have the best authority for stating that the paddle engines were stopped entirely before the paddle wheels were swept away. The speed of the engines, for some time before the rudder was found to be broken, was only sufficient to keep the ship well out of the trough of the sea.

As to the statement that Captain Walker refused to bring the ship into the harbour of Queenstown, because he wished to deprive this harbour of the privilege of sheltering the Great Eastern, I can hardly believe any person can have been serious in giving utterance to it. From the time of the reconstruction of the rudder, up to the time of entering the harbour, Captain Walker constantly assured persons, in my hearing, that he intended, if possible, to anchor at Queenstown. This ship was headed directly hither, and arrived, as is well known, on Tuesday. Whether Captain Walker could have put his ship into the harbour then or not, I can not presume to state, it is purely a question for himself. Responsible, as he was, for the lives of his passengers and the safety of his noble vessel, it became him well to act with extreme caution. He believed the time unfavourable for anchoring, and, knowing as he did, that with sea room his ship was safe—he preferred not to take any risks, but to bide

his time. When in his judgment he could safely do so, he anchored his vessel where she now lies, thus carrying out his original design without loss or danger to lives or property.

I have no interest whatever in the Great Eastern. Except as a passenger with him on the Adriatic and his present ship, I have no special interest in Captain Walker; but knowing, as I do, his skill as a navigator, and his untiring efforts to fulfil his duty, as evinced in the recent voyage, I cannot refrain from attempting to shield him from what I know to be unjust censure.

The conduct of Captain Walker since the Great Eastern left Liverpool has been carefully watched by the little army of passengers committed to his charge, among whom were many men of intelligence and of high standing, from every quarter of the globe. The unanimous testimony of these witnesses is recorded in a series of resolutions now published to the world, in which the conduct of Captain Walker is properly characterized. If any further vindication is asked for, I am sure Captain Walker is prepared to give it, for I have the best reasons for believing that his conduct has been prudent, and such as any nautical man qualified to judge, and who knows the facts, would heartily approve. G.”

(The Cork Daily Reporter, Sept. 23, 1861)

“The Accident on Board the Great Eastern.

The remains of the unhappy quartermaster, who was killed by the wheel of the Great Eastern on Friday last, were yesterday interred at the Scots Church, Queenstown. The funeral was attended by an immense concourse of his fellow sailors and other seamen.” (The Cork Daily Reporter, Sept. 23, 1861)

“Disaster to the Great Eastern.

(From the Times.)

An extract from the letter of a well-known merchant in Liverpool, written from Cork on Wednesday afternoon—

‘To attempt to describe all the incidents, or even those in which I bore a part, during the disasters to the Great Eastern, would occupy days. Suffice it to say that, thanks to a merciful Providence, we are here, alive after an experience of the tiny power of man’s great work in naval science to withstand the great equinoctial blasts of the Atlantic. After two days of sailing in the “floating hotel,” as we most of us called her, we found ourselves last Thursday morning in a contention with a small gale, in which the power and efficiency of the great ship were quite conspicuous, and we could watch the gathering fury of the gale at ease. But the storm increased; the sea rises on Thursday afternoon to a full gale, which we must face. We alter our course, or try to do so; but now enter the struggle. We cannot bring her head to wind, or get before the wind. In the attempt to do so one paddlewheel after another goes, the rudderhead is broken, the rudderpost I smashed and our great ship lies disabled, a log rolling terrifically in the rough of the sea for three days and her passengers gradually losing all hope of rescue. But the day dawns on Sunday, with brightness, the wind lulls, the sea calms a little, and beyond all, the efforts of the captain to remedy the steering defects are tried again, and though imperfectly, the ship answers a little, the screw engine starts, and we move forward. Hope rises—the weather is calmer; our crippled ship is, however, presided over by the Angel of Mercy and passes the Atlantic towards a port of safety, which we finally made on Tuesday. The word ‘Great’ is applicable to all incidents—the ship, the start at first, the speed, the hurricane, the mountainous sea, the rolling, the loss of hope, and the skill and perverseness of the master. No other ship but this could have lived out this gale.’

The writer of the above, in a second communication, says:

‘In my note of this morning, I did not say anything to you about the accident to the Great Eastern which would enable you to form any idea of what I think of the ship and her capacities, in engines, power, and general construction, for such voyages.

As to the ship herself, for strength she has no equal. During all the fury of the gale and the terrible rolling in the trough of the sea in an equinoctial gale which broke up the Atlantic into one surface of mountainous waves, not a rivet has started anywhere, not a butt of a plate can be discovered as shaken; the ship has made, I may safely say, no water in her hull, and it really seems as if the great idea were realized in the construction of a ship not to be broken up by winds or waves.

The engines are also untouched; the huge paddle engines worked with a noiseless regularity and precision which surprised all, and even when the paddlewheels yielded the engines showed no symptoms of shaking. So with the screw engines, the efficiency of which has so contributed to our safety. Exposed as they were to the disasters which befel the rudder, which at one time flapped back upon the screw and prevented its working, they were in full working order, and were always ready to do duty when the repairs of the rudder called for their aid. There are also the donkey engines throughout the ship, contributing essential security, because they can clear each compartment of water in case of need.

How, then, has a ship so constructed succumbed? I suppose it is not impossible to put materials together to insure perfect immunity from accident in such a trial.

We were pushing ahead with the gale on our port bow, and when we tried to get her head to wind her huge broadside exposed to the gale proved more than her vast power could control. She could not be brought head to wind, nor could she be turned to sail with the wind, so she lay in the trough of the sea, until in the stupendous efforts to put her right

her rudder head broke above; the rudder post, all of massive iron, yielded, then the whole (these, perhaps, were not equal to their task) gave way one after another; and so the great, strong, and powerful ship was at the mercy of the waves, a log upon the billows, rolling in a way which can never be described nor yet imagined by those who have not experienced it and filling the hearts of all on board with views of things that might yet overtake her which only as experience can enable any one to realize. If any one asks you my opinion of this ship, the answer is, her equal for strength does not exist. What I think of the captain is that he is a noble seaman, ready in case of emergency, never despairing and with energy almost unsurpassed. (The Constitution, or Cork Advertiser, Sept. 23, 1861)

“To the Editor of the Times.

Sir.—This day week the Great Eastern left the Mersey, amid the cheering of hundreds of thousands of spectators, the roaring of guns, and the playing of bands. Very portly directors, with red geraniums in their buttonholes, and shining, benignant, after-dinner faces had been inspecting the great ship, and said that all was very well. They mustered the crew, and the sturdy fellows passed by them pulling their forelocks or doffing their caps. I was glad when these gentlemen left by the Emperor for shore, for I had not the slightest confidence in their praises, as far as their judgment about sea matters is concerned.

We found on board the ship the greatest disorder, and worst possible arrangement. All the passengers complained; comparisons between the order on board the Great Eastern and that of the Cunard steamers were made, very much to the advantage of the latter. However, all went on smoothly and well till we passed Cape Clear. In the morning of Thursday last a rather fresh breeze sprang up, which increased every moment, and became a storm about noon. It was one of those heavy equinoctial gales which are the terror of the seafarer. I am not much of a sailor, but captains on

board her say it was one of the heaviest gales they ever experienced. The Great Eastern was tossed about as if she had been an eggshell; the waves rose as high as Primrose Hill, and to walk on board was impossible. Even the oldest sailors could not find their sea legs. Some of them were hurled against you, or the gunwale, or down some dark hole. The cook broke his leg in three places. A lady broke her arm in her cabin, and broken noses and black eyes were to be seen everywhere. Two cows had been, very properly accommodated just over the ladies' saloon. This miserable shed gave way at once. One cow popped her head through a window to take refuge against the bad weather in the ladies' saloon, but she unfortunately broke her leg, and was thus prevented further progress. A sailor came running up the staircase, a long knife in his hand, and eagerly crying out, 'I am going to kill the cow to save her life.' That fellow was certainly an Irishman, and this 'bull' is not fabricated, for I heard it myself and enjoyed it, notwithstanding all the roaring of the sea.

The night was indeed frightful. The very paddleboxes were plunged into the foaming sea; that is something, if you consider the height of this vessel. The sea was knocking furiously for admittance against my cabin window. I thought it much better to die comfortably, and went to bed, but I was obliged to tie up my arm to the bed post. My cabin was close to the first dining saloon, where a horrible noise was going on. Attracted by curiosity, I peeped through the windows of my neighbor's cabin, and saw the most curious sight I ever saw. Tables and chairs were dancing a hornpipe; the store joined most heartily in the fun, and the dancers seemed determined to break down all the nicely-turned mahogany columns and banisters, which snapped like glass. It was a noise as if rocks were shifted to and fro by an angry surf. In the grand saloon the devastation was almost greater still. A marble slab jointed a high-nosed gentleman in the enterprise of smashing the largest mirror. Of course, nose and mirror had the worst of it. Only with danger of life could people cross one of these saloons. The gentlemen were more

frightened than the ladies, who behaved, without exception, as men ought to do, but there were plenty of old women among the men.

The Great Eastern is a very strong ship, but her paddles and rudder were not in proportion. The paddles were twisted, broken, and carried away, and also the rudder, were an iron bar ten inches in diameter, snapped like a lucifer-match. The storm continued, and the vessel was not to be steered. She was lying in the trough of the sea, and the waves were dashing against her broadside. She proved a most determined cradle, and the oldest man has not been rocked in all his life as much as were in these few days. They said the fault was in the want of cargo. To steady her we attempted to set some sails, but they were blown away.

At last there came help by an American engineer returning to his country on board the Great Eastern, Mr. Hamilton E. Towle. He suggested a plan to mend the rudder, and succeeded perfectly, notwithstanding the roaring of the sea. I have been down in the steerage, and admired very much his very simple and, at the same time, scientific arrangements. The apparatus is very ingenious, and, at the same time, as strong as possible. Whether it would have stood in a heavy gale is another question, but it was perfectly sufficient to bring us to the entrance of the harbour of Queenstown. The captain of the Great Eastern did his duty. If the benignant smiling directors had done the same we should not have suffered as much.

After the storm we met a little brig, the Magnet, from Halifax. She was requested to stay with us all night, and did so; but the next morning we turned her off rather ungraciously. The same was the case with the Persia, for which we all longed. A board was held up stating that we had lost our rudder, and that she might go to our lee side. She did as requested, but we were running before her nine knots an hour (sonly by the screw), and I do not wonder that the captain of the Persia thought us rather foolish. He stopped and made off, probably not seeing a board on which was written

‘We cannot stop the machine,’ and which was held up too late.

The water entered not only a great many cabins, but, what was worse, the hold, where all the luggage was kept. If you had seen down into this room you would never forget that sight. Deal boxes were smashed to atoms, and their contents were floating about,—India shawls, and silk dresses and things of ever description. Leather Trunks looked as if they had been for months in the water. Everywhere sparkling gold chains, watches and Jewellery.

What the Great Ship Company are going to do I do not know, but I hope they will pay back the passage money and indemnify the poor sufferers for the loss of their luggage. The worst off are the steerage passengers. We are just entering port, and I conclude this letter.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
P. De Corvin

September 23, 1861

“The Great Eastern.

Queenstown, Sunday Night.—This noble, though, unhappily, unsuccessful ship, has moved this morning at eight o’clock, from her former perilous position outside, between Camden Fort and Spike Island to within the inner harbour, opposite Whitegate and Corkabeg, where she now lies, happily safe and very secure at strong moorings. This change of locality is a matter of great importance to the shipping frequenting the harbour, as she was really in the way of entrance where she lay, and more than one vessel came in damaging collision with her. What is to be done with the ‘Big Ship’ finally, is still a matter of uncertainty; and, we believe, will not be finally resolved upon by the Directors in London, until they have received the report of the Hon. Captain Carnegie, C.B., Chairman of the Company, and Mr. Yates, the Secretary, who, with Mr. Searle, of the firm of Sabell and Searl, the passenger agents of the ship at Liverpool, arrived at Queenstown on Friday

evening, and were engaged up to four o'clock on Saturday, in enquiring into the circumstance of the disaster and arranging with the passengers. Shortly after their arrival on Friday evening, the passengers were all mustered on the 'tween decks, when Mr. Searle addressed them. He said he was sure they must all feel thankful to Providence for their preservation, and would feel that the occurrence was one over which the Directors, or any connected with the ship, had no possible control—it was the act of the Almighty; and he could assure them the Directors entirely sympathized with passengers in all they had suffered. It was their wish to meet them in the most liberal spirit possible. The Directors and himself had come prepared to refund every passenger on board his full passage money, if he desire to receive it, or to forward them to Liverpool by the Cork Steam Ship Company's vessel next day (Saturday), and then to New York on Tuesday by the Montreal Ocean Steam Ship Company's vessel, the Norwegian, a very superior and well-appointed steamer, without putting them to one penny expense. This announcement was favorably received by all classes of passengers. Most of the first class passengers accepted the offer of having the passage money refunded, and according as they could obtain their luggage, came on shore with a view of proceeding by the Niagara, the outer-bound Cunard steamer to New York, on yesterday. Those who got on shore early, or in the afternoon on Saturday, came up to Cork to see the city; but the great bulk of them remained at the Queen's Hotel in Queenstown, where two hundred and seven were located on Friday night. The steerage passengers generally availed themselves of the offer of being sent forward via Liverpool, and nearly the whole of the passengers of all classes were landed on Saturday night.

On Saturday at noon, Henry Barry, Esq., coroner, proceeded on board the Great Eastern, to an inquest on the body of William Sams, quartermaster, aged 24, who was killed on Thursday night, while in charge of the steering gear, as the ship was getting in from sea. A respectable jury, of which John Montgomery, Esq., of Queenstown, was foreman,

having been sworn and viewed the body, evidence was given from which it appeared that the deceased with four other men was at the wheel when the vessel gave a heavy lurch, the chain broke and the wheel flew round with much velocity that the handle spokes, when he fell under it, struck him on the head, fracturing the skull and causing death in a very short time. The jury returned a verdict of accidental death.

Another casualty occurred the same night, though fortunately unattended with loss of life; an American ship called the John Davis came foul of the Great Eastern and had her stern stove in.

Yesterday, notwithstanding the severe inclemency of the day, thousands of people from Cork poured down both by the river steamers and the railway and satisfied their curiosity by a sail round the great Leviathan of the deep, admiring her gigantic proportions. But great as they appear outside it is only within her immense bulk can be in some respect properly realised. Lying off Courland buoy, outside Spike Island, on Saturday, she drew 23 feet of water forward and 26 feet aft, and there, were 87 feet in height from her water line to her deck line, besides six feet further in depth of gunwale. The most active exertions are being made to put everything to rights, and it is expected that after Wednesday next she will be open to the inspection of the public at a moderate fixed charge for admission; an event which will doubtless be availed of by many, thousands from all parts of the country, as she is now in so convenient a position for seeing quietly and to advantage all her magnificent saloons even though so much shattered, and her gigantic engines, which never failed to do their portion of the work.

We select from the among many other details in the Times, the following most interesting particulars furnished to that journal by two passengers, one a Liverpool merchant:--

Cork, Wednesday.—‘To attempt to describe all the incidents, or even those in which I bore a part, during the disasters to the Great Eastern, would occupy days. Suffice it to say that, thanks to a merciful Providence, we are here alive after an experience of the tiny power of man’s greatest work in naval science to withstand the great equinoctial blasts of the Atlantic. After two days of fine sailing in the “floating hotel,” as we most of us called her, we found ourselves last Thursday morning in a contention with a small gale, in which the power and efficiency of the great ship were quite conspicuous, and we could watch the gathering fury of the gale at ease. But the storm increases; the sea rises on Thursday afternoon to a full gale, which we must face. We alter our course, or try to do so; but now comes the struggle. Vast as our power is, the wind and sea are stronger. We cannot bring her head to wind, or get before the wind. In the attempt to do so one paddlewheel after another goes, the rudderhead is broken, the rudderpost is smashed, and our great ship lies disabled, a log rolling terrifically in the trough of the sea for three days, and her passengers gradually losing all hope of rescue. But the day dawns on Sunday with brightness, the wind lulls, the sea calms a little and, beyond all, the efforts of the captain to remedy the steering defects are tried again, and though imperfectly, the ship answers a little, the screw engine starts, and we move forward. Hope rises—the weather is calmer; our crippled ship is, however, presided over—by the Angel of Mercy, and paces the Atlantic toward a port of safety, which we finally made on Tuesday. The word ‘Great’ is applicable to all the incidents—the ship, the start at first, the speed, the hurricane, the mountainous sea, the rolling, the loss of hope, and the skill and perseverance of the master. No other ship but this could have lived out this gale.

The writer of the above, in a second communication, says:--‘In my note of this morning I did not say anything to you about the accident to the Great Eastern, which would enable you to form any idea of what I think of the ship and her capacities, in engines, power, and general

construction, for such voyages. As for the ship herself, she has no equal for strength. During all the fury of the gale and the terrible rolling in the trough of the sea in an equinoctial gale which broke up the Atlantic into one surface of mountainous waves, not a rivet has started anywhere, not a butt of a plate can be discovered as shaken; the ship has made, I may safely say, no water in her hull, and it really seems as if the great idea were realized in the construction of a ship not be broken up by winds or waves. The engines are also untouched, the huge paddle engines worked with a noiseless regularity and precision which surprised all, and even when the paddlewheels yielded the engines showed no symptoms of shaking. So with the screw engines, the efficiency of which has so contributed to our safety. Exposed as they were to the disasters which befell the ruder, which at one time flapped back upon the screw and prevented its working, they were in full working order and were always ready to do duty when the repairs of the rudder called for their aid. There are also the donkey engines throughout the ship, contributing essential security, because they can clear each compartment of water in case of need. How, then, has a ship so constructed succumbed? I suppose it is not possible to put materials together to insure perfect immunity from accident in such a trial. We were pushing ahead with the gale on our port bow, and when we tried to put her head to wind her huge broadside exposed to the gale proved more than her vast power could control. She could not be brought head to wind, nor could she be turned to sail with the wind, and so she lay in the trough of the sea, until the stupendous efforts to put her right, her rudder head broken above; the rudderpost all of massive iron, yielded; then the wheels (these perhaps, were not equal to their task) gave way one after another, and so this great, strong, and powerful ship was at the mercy of the waves, a log upon the billows, rolling in a way which can never be described or yet imagined by those who have not experienced it, and filling the hearts of all on board with views of things that might yet overtake her which only an experience can enable any one to realize. We have not got our luggage off her yet, as she was not put in the

harbour today, her steering gear not being quite right, but she will most likely be so to-morrow, when I hope to get away. If any one asks you my opinion of ship, the answer is, her equal for strength does not exist. What I think of the captain is that he is a noble seaman, ready, in case of emergency, never despairing, and with energy almost unsurpassed.'

From the Daily News.

Nothing succeeds like success, is a common and true saying, and failure has the same cumulative force. The downward pace of what is called a 'run of bad luck' defies calculation. How the success was achieved, or how the course of failure began, is another question; but certain it is that to ___ a ship unlucky or a house haunted is much the same thing so far as public opinion is concerned. There is no denying that the Great Eastern is an unlucky ship. 'Born in bitterness and nurtured in convulsions,' is a poet's account of an ill-starred life. The misfortunes of the Great Eastern may be said to have begun 'at the font' when the Leviathan stuck obstinately fast, and would not be drawn out with a hook. Changes of name, and we know not how many changes of sponsors, have not charmed away the evil auguries. Her first trip to sea was not unlikely to be the last, though the Directors were able to congratulate the terrified but surviving passengers on the prodigious strength of the ship's scantling, which had stood the shock of an explosion. Public confidence was a little shaken by the accident, yet there was not disposition to condemn the ship; rather the reverse. Then when the ship was sound again, and people were looking forward to her first sea voyage, poor Captain Harrison, who was a 'a sort of father to her,' was drowned in Southampton water, and his melancholy end became associated somehow in the public mind with the fortunes of his ship. Her first voyage to America was made almost in ballast, and her performance at sea was reported to satisfactory, but nothing uncommon. As an exhibition at New York, she overstood her market, and by an ill-managed excursion trip made a host of enemies. On her

return home, to astonish the natives of South Wales, shored up high and dry at New Milford for the winter, her character became as ambiguous as her position. People gave her up in despair, as a show-ship, and if she was not forgotten, she was under a cloud of ugly rumours and misgivings. And yet all this time the country was more than half disposed to be proud of the Big Ship; though the national pride was wounded and dissatisfied. The energy and spirit of the Directors, it is simple justice to say, were equal to any fate, and worthy of a better fortune. Nor was their confidence deceived. With returning spring the public belief in the Big Ship revived, and her departure for America was again an object of interest. If her speed was not all that her creators and designers had dreamed, and if the problem of sea-sickness was not quite solved by her 'long and easy roll,' her passage out and home was quite creditable enough to justify the Government in taking her up to convey troops to Quebec. This was quite a fillip to the fortunes of the Great Eastern, and was enough to give courage even to shareholders. As she lay in the Mersey with three thousand men on board, her extraordinary capabilities as a troop-ship struck every visitor with surprise and admiration. There was not only ample room for quartering the soldiers, but more air and comfort than in a barrack, and almost as much space for drill and exercise. 'We have a perfect troopship' was the general remark. She landed her freight at Quebec as fresh and serviceable as if they had just turned out for parade. Captain Kennedy received the thanks and congratulations of the officers, and brought the ship back with all the honours. All former shortcomings and accidents were forgotten. The Great Eastern, if not a miracle, was a grand result, a proved success, and the success of such a ship was felt to be a subject of national satisfaction. The results of her performance as a troopship was that, when next she was advertised to sail with passengers, all her berths were taken, and on the 10th inst., she left the Mersey a popular favourite. Indeed, it was reported that her career as a troopship had only begun, and was destined to eclipse the services of the Himalaya. Alas! Just when this splendid ship was supposed to be making short

miles of it towards Cape Race she comes in sight of the Old Head of Kinsale, making for Cork Harbour, disabled and in distress. To a ship of this size everything that happens is on a colossal scale. It is a prodigious triumph or an immense calamity. She goes out and meets a 'terrific gale' some 280 miles West of Cape Clear. This is the merest commonplace of Atlantic navigation. Cunard's steamers and a host of others are encountering 'terrific gales' all the winter through, and as often as the 'equinoctials' come round. But the great Eastern vindicates her majesty by a catastrophe without precedent or parallel. Both her paddles are carried away; her rudder post, a bar of iron ten inches in diameter, is wrenched away, and there she lies, 'a huge log in the trough of the sea.' From Thursday evening to Sunday morning this vast, unwieldy lifeless carcass of iron rolls her bulwarks under water, smashing all her furniture, knocking her passengers about like ninepins, and hurling a couple of cows into the ladies cabin. To read of the broken limbs and the cuts and bruises of these scared, bewildered passengers, one would think the ship had met some iron-cased frigate working her heavy guns in the night, and had run the gauntlet of a broadside. Four hundred passengers taking an everyday trip from Liverpool to New York in the biggest steamship ever built, and suffering all the horrors of a naval engagement; and of shipwreck some 210 miles east of Cape Clear—surely this is a monstrous practical sarcasm. It is impossible, however, to regard such a catastrophe as a common and accountable incident. It is idle to talk about terrific gales. Atlantic steamers are meant to meet and to conquer 'terrific gales.' The Cunard and other steamships may perhaps be gifted with extraordinary good luck rather than with exceptional seagoing qualities. Probably they seldom take a passage in the winter without 'carrying away' something, but somehow or other they don't disable their passengers, and they get across what our Yankee cousins call 'the Pond.' What, then, is it that distinguishes the Great Eastern from steamships of an ordinary size and capacity? Is it the size that 'makes calamity of so long life?' It is precisely the enormous length, which was supposed to have

reduced an Atlantic voyage to the insignificance of a trip across the narrow seas—to have made seasickness a nightmare of the barbarous ages, and ‘rolling pitching’ a tradition of affrighted landmen? Our readers will remember the pleasant stories of ships so big that in the heaviest seas they could always ride across three waves as snug as the Ark on the slopes of Ararat. See what these ‘three waves’ can do with a Great Eastern: One carried away both her paddles, another wrenches off her rudder post, and the third washes the cow-house into the ladies’ cabin. One thing is clear to the merest landsman. This disaster to the Great Eastern is the result of defective steering. Let us not be misunderstood. We are far from imputing careless or incompetent seamanship. It is not to be imagined that with such a ship in charge in a ‘terrific gale’ the steersmen could be allowed to go to sleep over the wheel. But it is certain that a single instant’s inattention to the helm, or a single wrong turn of the wheel, or a turn too late, must put any ship in such a ‘box’ in imminent danger of broaching to, and then to bring her head round again before the sea has made a clean sweep of her decks is difficult enough in any case. How difficult with a ship as long as the Great Eastern let his catastrophe bear witness! This is a matter of most serious importance while we go on building ships longer and longer. Is it not time to pause and consider whether, beyond a certain point, size means safety; and not rather increasing danger, in proportion to increasing difficulty of seamanship? Doctors tell us that a child will survive a fracture or a fever when the prick of a pin would kill a giant. Draymen are not types of strength and health; and it may be that colossal steamships are not exceptions to the natural order.’

(The Cork Daily Herald, Sept. 23, 1861)

September 24, 1861 (Tuesday)

“The steamship *Persia*, with advices from Europe four days later, passed Cape Race yesterday morning. She left Liverpool on the 14th, and Queenstown on the 15th inst. She reports having passed the steamship *Great Eastern* on the 16th, on her way back to Liverpool, having suffered some damage which rendered her return necessary.”

(New York Times, Sept. 24, 1861)

“Four Days Later from Europe.
The Persia Off Cape Race.
The Great Eastern Returned to Liverpool.

* * *

St. Johns, N.F., Monday, Sept. 23.

The steamship *Persia*, from Liverpool on the 14th, via Queenstown on the 15th inst., passed Cape Race at half past eight o'clock yesterday (Sunday) morning. She was boarded by the news yacht of the Associated Press and a summary of her news obtained.

The *Persia* makes the following report relative to the *Great Eastern*:

‘On the 16th inst., passed the steamship *Great Eastern*, which was putting back to Liverpool in a damaged state.’

* * *

The London Times editorially ridicules the passport system of the United States, and says it will not secure the desired ends. It adds that the only complaint that has to make in the matter, is in regard to the discourtesy toward Lord Lyon, in leaving him to learn of the new arrangements from the newspapers.

Movements were making of troops preparatory to their embarkment for Canada.

Dr. Russell, in another letter to the London Times on American affairs, says that Gen. McClellan is rapidly becoming master of the situation, and that the movements of the Federalists, by water, both on the seaboard and down the Mississippi River, must greatly embarrass the South. (New York Times, Sept. 24, 1861)

“The steamship *Persia* has arrived with European dates to the 15th inst. The *Great Eastern* has put back to Liverpool in a damaged condition.” (Bangor

Daily Whig and Courier, Bangor, Maine, Sept. 24, 1861)

“My fears of foreign intervention are subsiding. The prestige of secession is evidently wearing off in Europe.” Letter from W. H. Seward to his wife.

“The Great Eastern.—Is She a Failure.

Communicated by one of the passengers on board the Great Eastern at the time of the late accident.

Is the ‘Great Eastern’ destined to revolutionize ocean voyaging as her sanguine projectors have anticipated? Or, is she fated to be ultimately moored in some river as a floating hospital and exhibited to our passing grandchildren as one of the most monstrous crazes of the nineteenth century? The disastrous voyage from which she has just returned will give weighty support to the latter view; but a narrative of the passage will probably be read, by those who are conversant with nautical affairs and sufficiently interested to give it attention consideration, as not being conclusive of ultimate failure.

After much confusion connected with the choice of berths at the agent’s office at Liverpool, and still more in getting our luggage on board, owing to the inconsistency of the actual arrangements with the notice on our tickets, to the crowd of porters allowed on board the steam tender, and to the absence of organization generally, we finally, at about three o’clock on Tuesday afternoon, 10th September, parted from our friends who accompanied us down the river to the Bell-buoy; the magnificent engines were set in motion, a high rate of speed was attained, and everything seemed propitious for a rapid and delightful voyage. About noon of the following day (about 21 hours from our start) we had made 304 miles, or upwards of 14½ knots per hour, placing us in the vicinity of Kinsale, and we found ourselves passing at a rapid pace the broad headlands and rocks which form the southern bulwarks of the Emerald Isle, near enough to enable us to distinguish very clearly, by the grand

surging of the waves against the rocks, that the motion of the sea was considerable, and very much greater than indicated by our steadiness of motion. In the neighborhood of Cape Clear we passed the ship 'Underwriter,' a large New York packet, pitching heavily, while the motion on board our ship was hardly perceptible. Our deck was like a sea-side esplanade on a holiday; ladies and gentlemen promenading, sitting chatting, reading, and laughing; children playing hide and seek around the deck, and even playing ball in one of the holds! On board any other ship afloat, nine-tenths of these women and children and two-thirds of the men would have been in the agony of sea-sickness. Our spirits rose. Even the poor fare at table, inadequacy of attendance, general want of organization under deck, and domineering incivility of the functionary who was responsible for the saloon bed-room and luggage departments, were accepted as minor evils, and compliments to the great ship were on every tongue. To one she was Versailles, to another the Crystal Palace, to all a city afloat, and the common determination was never to cross the Atlantic in any other ship while she should remain in the trade. Some remarked that she cannot remain in it, as she does not pay; but the ready answer to this was, let her once establish her character, let her be managed as she deserves, and peace be restored in America, and she could not accommodate the number of travelers whom she would tempt to leave their homes!

Such were our circumstances and the state of feeling on Wednesday night when we retired to rest. How great the change on the morrow! On Thursday morning the sea was rather higher, and there was a little motion—about enough to cause squeamishness in those who would be sick crossing the Mersey in a ferry boat or the Channel in a calm. In the afternoon the wind increased, and towards dinner time (four o'clock) it was blowing a gale. Our course was about W.N.W., and the wind appeared to be about W.S.W., and became fearfully violent. To ascertain its strength we mounted one of the ladders half way to the bridge between the paddles. We cannot say the storm was the most

violent that we have ever experienced. Certainly we have seen a much higher sea, and the rush of wind we experienced on this occasion may have been partly the deflection of a current from the side of the ship, or a concentration of its force into the angle formed by the paddle boxes and the ship's side; but we have certainly never found it so hard to hold on, and never so impossible to keep our eyes open while facing a storm. Still the ship behaved admirably, rolling considerably, but riding easily and 'laboring' but little. Probably three-fourths of the usual number of passengers presented themselves at the dinner tables, showing that there was little sea-sickness. But who shall describe the scenes which rapidly followed the dinner hour? All who have visited the 'Great Eastern' are familiar with the grand saloon and the ladies saloon, with their elaborate ornamentation. Here, as throughout the ship, much of the furniture was either not fastened at all or very slightly so. Tables, chairs, couches, everything were one after the other lifted out of their places and thrown violently against the room, till all got adrift, and then, interlaced in one great mass, the whole went sliding on, dashing, according to the violence of the lurch, from side to side. The smashing was fearful, the noise awful, and the scene beyond description. One of the magnificent mirrors was broken into fragments, which joined the melee, and as each new concussion dashed the fragments into yet smaller pieces, the noises became more and more alarming. And this was only a small sample of what was going on all over the ship. Precisely the same scene was being enacted in each of the dining saloons—the plates, dishes, &c., supplying the place of the broken glass. The same was going on in the pantries, where all the crockery and glass in the ship seemed to be let loose and supplying the place of footballs to all the fiends in hell. And the same again on a smaller scale in every sleeping cabin. And rising at intervals above these smaller and nearer noises, which we may consider the musketry of the action, the boom artillery was well supplied by two iron oil tanks weighing some tons each, and by the enormous chain cables in the forward hatches, all which had got loose and were falling

from side to side at each roll of the vessel, with the heavy thunder of cannon, dashing to atoms the frail barricades formed by the seamen's bunkers, and speedily clearing for themselves free scores to the hull of the ship. The iron walls were too strong for them. They hardly show an indentation!

While such scenes were being enacted below, what was passing outside? Perhaps the greatest violence of the gale was experienced between four and six o'clock. The Captain, a slightly built, nervously organized, and rather undersigned Scotchman, of apparently about 35 years of age, stood on the bridge and issued his orders with remarkable self-composure. The direction of the wind was across our course, but slightly ahead, placing us in the trough of the sea. Hence the rolling, which produced the scenes just described below. When it became evident to the Captain that this position was too distressing to the ship, he ordered the helm hard a-star-board to bring her head up in the wind. Had this been accomplished, there is little doubt that she would have ridden out the gale with trifling damage beyond that already sustained by the imperfectly fastened cabin furniture. But to the dismay of all, she did not answer the call, but dashed on in her course; and as the sea, lashed by the continued fury of the storm, now ran mountains high, at each roll of the leviathan it seemed she must at last fall on her broadside or go completely over. All this was bad enough, but it was but the beginning. Crash went the stairs to the engine-room, and the paddle-engines had to be stopped to clear away the debris. Then a jib was hoisted, but blown to ribbon by the first puff. A second sail was tried, but did not last an hour. Still we bore on in the trough of the sea rolling as violently as ever. The paddle-engines were again set in motion, when an extraordinary noise proceeded from one of them like the rumbling of near thunder. It ceased, and the groaning paddle-wheel had disappeared below the waves. We were not entirely dependent upon the screw, and the second paddle, finding its occupation gone, followed its mate. Once or twice huge waves mounted above the towering bulwarks and flooded the decks, but this was exceptional. Generally the

ship was dry. These monster waves played sad havoc with our boats. Some were carried off bodily, and others 'stove' in. It is said eight were put 'hors de combat.' Our cows were washed out of their houses. One died and the other had to be killed. Meantime, however, all on board were happily, till about midnight, in ignorance of the worst calamity of all which had befallen us as early as five o'clock that evening. The shaft of the rudder was broken right across, and this it was that accounted for the ship's refusal to answer the helm. The passengers were spared the knowledge of this till the following morning, when the gale had somewhat moderated, and most fortunately so, for the horrors of the night were already almost beyond endurance. But to add to this disastrous intelligence, a sad sight presented itself with daylight. A large portion of the passengers' luggage had, through the most culpable carelessness of the officer whose duty it was to take charge of it, been left scattered about the large cargo space on the lower deck by which we entered the ship, in the immediate vicinity of a quantity of loose iron bars, instead of being properly stowed in the room provided for the purpose. The greater part of this was smashed into atoms, and, mixed with salt water, rolled back and forward with the motion of the ship, till the whole was almost in a state of pulp. Thus many of the poorer passengers have lost all they were worth in the world.

Friday, Saturday, and Sunday were spent in efforts to construct a steering apparatus, either independently of, or in connection with, the old rudder. These were at last so far successful as to give the Captain a temporary and partial command of the ship—enough, while favoured with fine weather, to hold out prospects of our safely reaching Queenstown. The ship's head was set thitherward on Sunday evening, and we arrived off the harbour in the afternoon of Tuesday, where steamers shortly came alongside to render assistance or convey the passengers ashore. On the same afternoon a meeting of the passengers was held, where a series of resolutions was agreed to, expressing gratitude to Providence for our escape, high complimentary to Captain Walker for the

‘courage, energy, industry, nautical skill, and untiring perseverance’ which, under Providence, had been so instrumental in our preservation; also to the Captain of the brig Magnet, of Halifax, N.S., who had lain by us for nearly 24 hours, at a most critical period, from Saturday evening till the rudder was in working order on Sunday; also to the ‘extraordinary strength and perfection of construction of the ship.’ Coupled with these, other resolutions denounced in the strongest terms the state of the ship and her fittings, the want of adequate ballast, the absence of proper organization among the stewards, the defective stowage of the luggage, and a host of other grievances.

Never in the history of navigation was a ship more severely and completely tested, and from the experience of this voyage very definite conclusions may be arrived at as to the qualities and powers of the Great Eastern. In the first place, her steadiness is a myth. Never did a vessel roll more frightfully. But this was probably mainly due to the insufficiency of her ballast. In this respect, it is probable that any other steamer would have been worse if sent to sea so light. We have known most of the Collins’ line of steamers particularly—and their models are considered the most perfect afloat—roll nearly as badly in a light cross sea, without wind, occurring in the least few days of their passages, as the Great Eastern in this frightful gale; but their furniture, fittings, &c., being properly fastened, their rolling signified comparatively little. It is evident however, that the Great Eastern is not exempt from the rules of other ships in respect to rolling. It can only be avoided by ballasting her sufficiently. It is different, however, as regards her pitching. Of that we have had positively none; and as her rolling was slow and dignified, there was hardly any sea-sickness on board. We have seen more in crossing from Felkstone to Boulogne on a calm day than among our 400 passengers for the week we have been to sea. In this respect, then, we consider the principle of the ship a great success. Any one who would be sick on board of her would suffer in the same way crossing the Mersey on a windy day. Secondly, as to the strength and safety of her hull. In this respect

she is all that her advocates have ever represented. It is difficult to conceive of any circumstance short of a hurricane on a rocky lee shore which could seriously affect her hull. We feel that the public may dismiss from their thoughts the possibility of its wreck in the open sea. The machinery, too, is magnificent. The ponderous paddle-engines worked with the steadiness and patience of a London dray-horse, and seemed to be under as perfect control. And while the whole labour was thrown upon the screw-engine, it never failed. With it alone we were propelled at the rate of eight to nine knots, without, I presume, working up to a high pressure, which would have been considered unwise under the circumstances.

The deficiencies of the ship then, glaring as they have proved, were not in the primary essentials, but rather in the accessories. It is evident that the strength of the paddles was not in proportion to the size of the ship, while to make them safe they would probably be in more than proportion, for while the recoil of an ordinary ship from the blow of a wave saves her outworks in some degree from the violence of the concussion, the Great Eastern received the blow almost with the unflinching firmness of a rock. Attach a wheel to the cliffs of Achill or Rathlin, and of what strength would it required to be stand a western gale? The paddles of the Great Eastern are not much better placed. The same remarks apply to the rudder, and indeed to all the outworks of the ship to which the waves have access. But there is another requisite to the safety and success of the Great Eastern not less important, and upon this subject we must as a public duty be candid, and 'nothing extenuate nor set down aught in malice.' She needs the proprietorship or management of men who understand the business they have undertaken. It would require columns of our space to enumerate the examples which have been presented on every side, from the day we first called at the Company's office to take our state-room down to that of our leaving the ship, of the most utter ignorance of what has been done for years by other Companies to overcome the difficulties involved in carrying a large number of

people several thousand miles in an orderly and comfortable manner, though across a stormy ocean—ignorance which has often suggested to the mind the adventure of the hardware merchant, unfamiliar with the tropics, who sent a consignment of warming pans and skates to the West Indies, and was disappointed at the result of his venture. But in all this, let it be understood that we distinctly except Captain Walker, who had only joined the ship a few days before sailing, and who seems to me to deserve every word of the high compliment paid to him by the committee of passengers. No one knows so well as he now does what the Great Eastern can do, what she can bear, and what she requires. It is, therefore, to be hoped that whatever becomes of the Company, whoever may supply their place as owners of the ship, the policy of changing the master every voyage will not be continued.—*Economist.*” (The Constitution; or Cork Advertiser, Sept. 24, 1861)

September 25, 1861 (Wednesday)

“[Confidential.]
No. 95.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 25, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of September 7 (No. 39) has just been received. Your review of the correspondence between us and the British government since you entered upon your mission is quite satisfactory, and we have every reason to be content with the details as with the results.

The time which has elapsed since the insurgents made their first unnatural appeal to the sympathies and aid of foreign powers for the overthrow of our government has been sufficient to draw out all their strength and exhaust in some measure their passion. On the other hand, the strength of the Union manifests itself with constant augmentation. Every day brings two thousand men and some new ship-of-war into activity, and the insurrection, already, is finding itself obliged to provide for a long and merely defensive contest, desolating the States which should constitute the new confederacy, while the loyal States remain prosperous and happy.

I think that Great Britain will soon be able to see, what she has hitherto been unwilling to see, that, if she, like ourselves, seeks peace and prosperity on this continent, she can most effectually contribute to their restoration by manifesting her wishes for the success of this government in suppressing the insurrection as speedily as possible.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c.”

“No.97.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 25, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of September 6, No. 38,
has been received.

Our naval force is rapidly increasing, and the command of it has recently been reorganized. We are preparing for some vigorous demonstrations on the coast, to begin in about ten days and I trust, therefore, that we shall be able to defeat on this side the enterprises of the insurgents which we have been unable to prevent on the other.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c.,
&c.”

“The Great Eastern

On Saturday, after receiving the report of the Great Ship Company, which contained only a brief notification of this catastrophe, the officers of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade issued instructions, calling upon the owners and Commander of the vessel to forward, under the requirement of the Mercantile Marine Art, an official account of the casualty and amount of

damages occasioned, prior to directing a local inquiry into all the circumstances by Captain Robertson, the head of the Department, in conjunction with the Local Marine Board at Cork.

An official investigation is rendered all the more desirable in consequence of the conflicting and contradictory statements given by the passengers relative to the extent of the damage done, it now being asserted that neither the paddle-wheels nor boxes have been carried away, and that all the injury the paddle-wheels have sustained has been only the destruction of the float-boards and some distortion of the framework of the wheels. These paddle-wheels, it may be interesting to mention, are 58 feet in diameter, the weight of the centre box is about 16 tons, their diameter that of Astley's circus and the weight of each wheel 90 tons, the paddle-boxes and sponson beams together weighing 350 tons. There appears to be now no doubt that the post of the rudder, which in all weights nearly 30 tons, was broken. The rudder was connected with a dial before the men at the helm, communicating, by its index, that orders were obeyed, but, as a matter of course, on the rudder-post being broken, this could no longer be the case, seeing that the steering apparatus could no longer answer the helm, nor the helm the steering apparatus. Her paddle and screw engines combined, presented a resistance of more than 2,000 horse power to the gale, and the coal she had on board was some thousand tons; and on the calculation that she is capable of carrying 3,000 passengers, whereas on this occasion she had less than 1,000 and only a few thousand tons of goods, great doubts are entertained as to whether she was adequately ballasted. The screw propeller, which was the *dernier ressort* of the great vessel in her danger and disaster, is upwards of 37 tons, and the engine shaft, the height of the Duke of York's Column, weighs 153 tons. These data should be sufficient to indicate the colossal power opposed by the Great Eastern to the elements, and the more so when it is remembered that the breaking strain of the shrouds to her six masts is calculated at 300 tons, and that she had at her command 6,000 square yards of

canvas; but all those colossal powers and appliances would be comparatively of little avail in the absence of proper and seamanlike management.

The directors of the great ship are Captain Carneige, Mr. Daniel Gooch, Mr. W. F. Cooke, Mr. S. Baker, and Mr. W. Barker, and the cost of the entire undertaking has been £402,492 up to February last, when there was a balance of about £15,000 in hand.—*Morning Advertiser*.” (The Constitution, or Cork Advertiser, Sept. 25, 1861)

“The Great Eastern.

The gigantic specimen of naval architecture, as she now lies in Queenstown Harbour, will be open to the inspection of the public to-day, and during her stay in the harbour. Her interior fittings-up have been put to rights as far as possible within the short time since her arrival. The Hon. Capt. Carnegie and Mr. Searle are indefatigable in their exercise to make everything right with the passengers and to render them comfortable. Mr. Yates, Secretary of the Great Ship Company, left Queenstown for London yesterday, to lay the whole of the circumstances officially before the Directors. Captain Walker has been engaged during the last few days at the Customhouse in Cork, making the necessary arrangements preparatory to an inquiry which will be opened immediately before Captain Robinson, of the Board of Trade, assisted by the Local Marine Board, into the causes of the disaster which the ship met with. The remaining steerage passengers of the Great Eastern will be forwarded on Thursday from Queenstown to New York by the City of Washington, of the Inman line. The passengers generally express themselves very well satisfied with the arrangements made by Messrs Cummins, the local agents.

The Economist contains the following graphic description from a passenger on board:--

‘Is the Great Eastern destined to revolutionize ocean voyaging as her sanguine projectors have

anticipated? or, is she fated to be ultimately moored in some river as a floating hospital, and exhibited to our passing grandchildren as one of the most monstrous crazes of the nineteenth century? The disastrous voyage from which she has just returned will give weighty support to the latter view; but a narrative of the passage will probably be read, by those who are conversant with nautical affairs and sufficiently interested to give it attentive consideration, as not being conclusive of ultimate failure.’ After alluding to the confusion which prevailed on the departure of the ship, and describing her passage down channel, he says:--‘In the neighbourhood of Cape Clear we passed the ship Underwriter, a large New York packet, pitching heavily, while the motion on board our ship was hardly perceptible. Our deck was like a sea-side esplanade on a holiday; ladies and gentlemen promenading, sitting, chatting, reading, and laughing; children playing hide and seek round the deck, and even playing ball in one of the holds. On board any other ship afloat nine-tenths of these women and children and two-thirds of the men would have been in the agonies of sea sickness. Our spirits rose. Even the poor fare at table, inadequacy of attendance, general want of organization under deck, and domineering incivility of the functionary who was responsible for the saloon bedroom and luggage departments, were accepted as minor evils, and compliments to the great ship were on every tongue.’ The writer, evidently an experienced traveler by sea, does not venture to say ‘that the storm was the most violent we have ever experienced.’ The position of the ship he explains graphically—‘The direction of the wind was across our course, but slightly ahead, placing us in the trough of the sea. Hence the rolling which produced the scenes thus described below. When it became evident to the captain that this position was too distressing to the ship, he ordered the helm hard a-starboard to bring her head up in the wind. Had this been accomplished, there is little doubt that she would have ridden out the gale with trifling damage beyond that already sustained by the imperfectly fastened cabin furniture. But, to the dismay of all, she did not answer the call, but dashed on in her

course; and as the sea, lashed by the continued fury of the storm, now ran mountains high, at each roll of the ship it seemed she must at last fall on her broadside or go completely over. All this was bad enough, but it was but the beginning. Crash went the stairs to the engine-room and the paddle-engines had to be stopped to clear away the debris. Then a jib was hoisted, but blown to ribbons by the first puff. A second sail was tried, but did not last an hour. Still we bore on in the trough of the sea rolling violently as ever. The paddle engines were again set in motion, when an extraordinary noise proceeded from one of them like the rumbling of near thunder. It ceased, and the groaning paddle wheel had disappeared below the waves. We were now entirely dependent on the screw, and the second paddle, finding its occupation gone, followed its mate. Once or twice huge waves mounted above the towering bulwarks and flooded the decks, but this was exceptional. Generally the ship was dry. Never, in the history of navigation, was a ship more severely and completely tested, and from the experience of this voyage very definite conclusions may be arrived at as to the qualities and powers of the Great Eastern. In the first place, her steadiness is a myth. Never did a vessel roll more frightfully. But this was probably mainly due to the insufficiency of her ballast. In this respect, it is probable that any other steamer would have been worse if sent to sea so light. We have known most of the Collins' line of steamers particularly—and their models are considered the most perfect afloat—roll nearly as badly in a light cross sea, without wind, occurring in the last few days of their passages, as the Great Eastern in this frightful gale; but their furniture, fittings, &c., being properly fastened, their rolling signified comparatively little. It is evident, however, that the Great Eastern is not exempt from the rules of other ships in respect to rolling. It can only be avoided by ballasting her sufficiently. It is different, however, as regards her pitching. Of that we have had positively none. * * In respect to the strength and safety of her hull she is all that her directors have over represented. It is difficult to conceive of any circumstance short of a hurricane on a rocky lee shore which could possibly

affect her hull. The machinery, too, is magnificent.’ The writer then comes to the root of the evil from which the Great Eastern suffered. ‘The deficiencies of the ship, then, glaring as they have proved, were not in the primary essentials, but rather in the accessories. It is evident that the strength of the paddles was not in proportion to the size of the ship, while to make them safe they should probably be in more than proportion, for while the recoil of an ordinary ship from the blow of a wave saves her catwalks in some degree, from the violence of that concussion, the Great Eastern receives the blow almost with the unflinching firmness of a rock. Attach a wheel to the cliffs of Achill or Rethlin, and of what strength would it require to stand a western gale? The paddles of the Great Eastern are not much better placed. The same remarks apply to the rudder, and, indeed, to all the catwalks of the ship to which the waves have access. But there is another requisite to the safety and success of the Great Eastern not less important, and upon this subject we must, as a public duty, be candid, and nothing extenuate or set down ought in malice. She needs the proprietorship or management of men who understand the business they have undertaken.’ ‘No one knows so well as Captain Walker now does what the Great Eastern can do, what she can bear and what she requires. It is, therefore, to be hoped that whatever becomes of the company, whoever may supply their place as owners of the ship, the policy of changing the master every voyage will not be continued.’

The London Examiner makes some remarks on the disaster:--

‘The ship was making head against the storm when the accident happened to the boat which made it necessary to cut it away, and in order that it might drift clear of the wheel, the ship’s port side was exposed to the gale to make a lee for the boat to drive wide of the other side. The broadside once shown to the wind the vessel could never afterwards be brought head to wind, or near it. She had irrecoverably lost that advantageous position for the whole of the storm, and lay like a log helplessly

tumbling and rolling in the trough of the sea. The first account to which we have referred says that when the ship fell off the captain ordered the sails to be hoisted for the purpose of bringing her head up; but the effect would be the exact opposition, and if the head sails were indeed hoisted it was in the hope of wearing her, or bringing her round not to the wind but from the wind. The sails, however, were blown away; and it is probable that in so large a vessel, wanting head-wap, sails will no more stand against the fury of gale than they would if set upon an immovable body. The sails not being of a power to act on so immense a body, offer a dead resistance to the wind, and are tore to ribbons. One after another the paddlewheels of the Great Eastern were next carried away. No other vessel, it is said could have borne what she bore, but the question is, whether another vessel would have been placed in the same difficulty and danger. We cannot but think that one of Cunard's compact, handy ships, with all things in due proportion, the steering power equal to the length, would have weathered the storm which proved too much for the huge Great Eastern. Indeed, the Canada, homeward bound, was near the same place at the same time; and the little brig Magnet, of Nova Scotia, made good weather of it, and lay by the huge ship in her distress. It may be, however, that the Great Eastern was in the focus of the gale. But be that as it may, the question is whether so huge a body does not offer too much resistance to the wind and sea. A smaller vessel, while she presents a long surface, yields more.

The Courier remarks—

‘There is no doubt but that the rudder-post was broken. This large piece of metal, not ten inches in diameter, as has been stated, but twelve inches and this snapped like a twig before the force of the waves. This is a contingency which Capt. Harrison, the first commander of the ship, had, if not foreseen, at least provided against. Below the rudder-post, and upon the blade of the rudder itself, he had fixed shackles, to which 1 ½ inch cables were fixed, led up through the quarters of the ship, and triced ready for emergency. We have looked in vain through the

accounts which have been published of any resort being had to these chains. * * All the injury that the paddle wheels have sustained is little more than the destruction of floats and some twisting of the iron framework. A few hours would be sufficient to put the wheels in order. The disarrangement of the paddle wheels is due solely to one of the many causes of dispute or differences of opinion which have had so injurious an effect upon this remarkable ship. It was proposed that the float boards of these wheels should be some five inches greater than they are; but this would have tended to increase the friction and diminish the number of revolutions, and the suggestion was not adopted. Ultimately, however, the 'floats,' instead of being made wider or broader, were put on longer than was intended, and the consequence of this was, that she ends worked so close to the side of the ship that for a consideration portion, the space between them and the ship's side was not more than three inches. * * Since the death of Captain Harrison there has not been a commander who has had such opportunities of making himself acquainted with vessel. Captain Vine Hall took the ship over to America, brought her back to Milford, and there left her. On her next voyage to New York, it was announced that one of the directors, Captain Carnegie, R.N. would himself take the command. Representations were made by the underwriters and others as to entrusting the command of such a ship to an officer of the Royal Navy, and Capt. Thompson was appointed, vice Carnegie. He made a voyage out and home, and on his return resigned his commission. The next voyage, which was the trip to Canada, was made by Captain Kennedy, of the Montreal and Quebec line of steamers; but he followed the example of his predecessors, and was satisfied with the honour of having taken the big ship out, and having brought her safely home. Finally, two days before this last trip, an officer was appointed to the command who had no means of acquiring any knowledge of the ship. The directors have very naturally desired to make the ship pay, and they have striven to reduce the enormous working expenses to as low a figure as possible. Each succeeding commander has received a diminished rate of payment, until, as it is

stated, the rate of the present captain is but a trifle more than one fourth of that at which the services of Captain Harrison were engaged. The staff of officers on board has been proportionately reduced. As at first organized, there were fourteen officers on board, while the ship was despatched on her last voyage with a crew of 400 men, and only four officers. We cannot but think that the disaster which has befallen the great ship is one due rather to the want of practical knowledge of her peculiarities than to any inherent defects which she may possess.'

The Liverpool Chronicle observes:--

'The return of the Great Eastern to Cork, disabled and in the most melancholy plight, is one of those disasters against which no foresight could guard, for all steamer and sailing ship however well found, are liable to calamities of this kind; but speculation generalizes on such occasions, and it is now asserted that some ships are 'lucky' and others 'unlucky;' that one of the latter kind is to be avoided by all who know their own interest; and that the Royal Charter and Great Eastern were 'unlucky' before the commencement of their career—before they even made the acquaintance of salt water, and one of them was unlucky to the time of her final disappearance. It is useless to argue with a popular superstition of this nature. Nothing can put it down but a long course of uninterrupted prosperity, and this we hope the Great Eastern has still before her. The same remark was made about the Great Britain after her unhappy disaster in Dundrum Bay, but from that time to the present that vessel has been in every sense successful, and the old prejudice has now died out. Even the Royal Charter made a succession of highly favourable trips between the mishap that attended the first effort to launch her and her last appearance off the coast of North Wales. Nevertheless, it must have been a terrific storm which could inflict on the Great Eastern the loss of her paddle wheels, steering gear, and the other disasters that compelled her to put back, just as the storm which destroyed the Royal Charter was the most severe that had

occurred for a long series of years. The mishap will interfere seriously with career of prosperity on which the Great Eastern was just entering, and which promised the most encouraging pecuniary results to all concerned.' (The Cork Daily Herald, Sept. 25, 1861)

September 26, 1861 (Thursday)

“The steamships *Persia* and *Saxonia* arrived at this port yesterday, the former bringing the European mails to the 14th inst. The news by these arrivals has been previously telegraphed from Cape Race, but our London and Paris correspondence, and the copious extracts which we make from the English journals, will give our readers a more extended idea of the state of feeling in England and on the Continent, with reference to American affairs.”
New York Times Sept. 26, 1861.

“Additional From Europe.
Arrival of the *Persia* and the *Saxonia*.
The Accident to the Great Eastern.
Objects of the American Trouble.
Another Letter from the London Correspondent of the New York Times.
Cotton and the Blockade.
The American Passport System.

The Royal Mail Steamship, *Persia*, Capt. Jenkins, which left which Liverpool at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 14th, calling at Queenstown on the 15th inst., arrived here this morning.

* * *

The *Saxonia*, from Hamburgh and Southampton, leaving the latter port on the 10th, also reached this port yesterday morning.

The advices by both these arrivals had previously been received by telegraph from Cape Race.

* * *

The *Persia* makes the following report: On the 16th inst., at 10:50 A.M., lat. 51°19', long.

14°10', passed steamship *Great Eastern*, that sailed on the 10th from Liverpool from New-York, returning to port with loss of both side-wheels, all the boats except one on the port side, bulwarks stove, and ship rolling heavily; the rudder was also damaged." (New York Times, Sept. 26, 1861)

September 27, 1861

Lord Lyons wrote Earl Russell:

"Private

Washington
September 27th 1861

My dear Lord,

I don't think Mr. Seward has yet received from Mr. Adams your letters of the 9th September, respecting the affairs of Mr. Bunch, and Mr. Robert Mure.—I do not know what course he will take when they are before him.—That will depend very much upon what he believes to be the tone of Public Opinion at the moment.—I should think his _____ would not go farther than the withdrawal of Mr. Bunch's Exequatur, and if he gives me the chance I shall try and make him see the absurdity of that.—In three or four days the bankers are to declare whether they will take the second fifty million of the loan—and a serious proposal with England will hardly be allowed to show itself, at so critical a moment. At all events I think the Note refusing to remove Mr. Bunch exactly what is adapted to the state of things here—a calm, firm declaration from the Government of the United States accept it, our relations with them and with the South will at least be placed upon a definite basis which will, I hope, tend much to prevent petty questions.

If the contingency should arise which you mention in your private letter of the 13th, I shall not fail to act in exact conformity with the instructions you give me in it. In the mean time I shall keep those instructions very carefully to myself—For if they were known to some people here, they would very probably bring about the contingency.—I hope however for better things.

I am anxiously looking out for M. Moeller's return. He cannot I suppose be away many days longer. The French Consul, who carried on the negotiation in conjunction with Mr. Bunch, having come away from Charleston immediately afterwards our position is unlikely not exactly the same with that of France.

Yours very truly”

“The Great Eastern.

This has formed a fertile topic of remark and discussion in all circles of society in Liverpool since Tuesday afternoon, when a vague telegram intimating the arrival of the great ship off Cork, in a disable state, first reached the Exchange. Captain Walker, her commander, is generally reputed an able seaman, as well as an experienced and intrepid commander. By those to whom he is well known he is spoken of as an exceedingly clever man, and one full of resources in most emergencies, and sympathy for him in his present trying and unpleasant position is freely expressed. As to the ship herself, great difference of opinion exists. Many maintain that the extremely rough handling she has experienced from the wild Atlantic only proves more completely her great strength, and the general excellence of her construction. On the other hand there are not wanting those – and these parties whose judgment is worth something on such a subject – who maintain that as a sea boat she has proved a failure. The latter parties point to the extremely bad passage she made on her voyage to New York, when she was found to roll in a most alarming and dangerous manner, and they now refer to her present condition as a further illustration of her unsteadiness. They also refer in condemnatory terms to the unusual circumstances of a committee of directors having been engaged in regulating the reporting upon prior to sailing, as an evidence that she was not fairly put into the hands of the captain; and that, in short, she is too large and too complicated to be under easy control. While these conflicting opinions are freely bandied about, all

classes concur in expressing regret at the untoward accident, which has so seriously damaged her reputation, and gone far to destroy public confidence in her as a passenger ship, or even as a cargo ship. — *Liverpool Correspondent of the Glasgow Herald.*

The Great Eastern.—The *Observer* remarks that the breaking of the rudder post, though a piece of metal 12 inches in diameter, was ‘a contingency which Captain Harrison, the first commander of the ship, had, if not foreseen, at least provided against. Below the rudder post, and upon the blade of the rudder itself, he had fixed shackles, to which 1 ½ inch cables were fixed, led up through the quarters of the ship, and tried read for emergency. We have looked in vain through the accounts which have been published of any resort being had to these chains. On the contrary, it is stated that the captain gave up to an American engineer the task of fitting up a temporary arrangement of cables on to what remained of the rudder post, and that it was to the plan which he adopted that the safety of the vessel was due. If this precautionary arrangement existed when the ship met with the heavy gale it certainly did not seem to be known to the commander; for had it been, he would have had ready to his hand a means of keeping the ship in a state of command almost as complete as if no accident had happened to the rudder post. The managers of this great ship seem latterly to have lost sight of the important advice which was given to them by the late Mr. Brunel as to the care and caution which ought to be exercised in the selection of a commander. Since Capt. Harrison’s death there has been no commander who has had such opportunities as he has had of making himself acquainted with the vessel. Two days before this last trip an officer was appointed to the command who had no means of acquiring any knowledge of the ship. The directors have very naturally desired to make the ship pay, and they have striven to reduce the enormous working expenses to as low a figure as possible. Each succeeding commander has received a diminished rate of payment, until, as it is stated, the rate to the present captain is but a trifle more than

one-fourth of that at which the services of Captain Harrison were engaged. The staff of officers on board has been proportionately reduced. Perhaps no other ship would have lived, as the Great Eastern has done, in such a position and through such a gale; and probably no other vessel would have been brought into such a position of danger.' (*The Constitution; or, Cork Advertiser*, Sept. 27, 1861)

September 28, 1861 (Saturday)

“The Great Eastern.

On Saturday, after receiving the report of the Great Ship Company, which contained only a brief notification of the catastrophe, the officers of the marine department of the Board of Trade issued instructions calling upon the owners and commander of the vessel to forward, under the requirements of the Mercantile Marine Act, an official account of the casualty and amount of damage occasioned, prior to directing a local inquiry into all the circumstances by Capt. Robertson, the head of the department, in conjunction with the local marine board at Cork. An official investigation is rendered all the more desirable in consequence of the conflicting and contradictory statements given by the passengers relative to the extent of the damage done, it being now asserted that neither the paddle wheels nor boxes have been carried away, and that the only injury the paddle wheels have sustained has been the destruction of the floats, boards, and some distortion of the framework of the wheels. There, however, appears to be now no doubt that the post of the rudder, which in all weighs nearly 30 tons, was broken. The Observer remarks that the breaking of the rudder-post, though a piece of metal twelve inches in diameter, was a ‘contingency which Captain Harrison, the first commander of ship, had, if not foreseen, at least provided against. Below the rudder post, and upon the blade of the rudder itself, he had fixed shackles, to which 1½-inch chains were fixed, let up through the quarters of the ship, and triced ready for emergency. We have looked in vain through the accounts which have been published of any resort being had to these chains. On the contrary, it is stated that the captain gave up

to an American engineer the task of fitting up of a temporary arrangement of cables on to what remained of the rudder post, and that it was to the plan which he adopted that the safety of the vessel was due. If this precautionary arrangement existed when the ship met with the heavy gale, it certainly did not seem to be known to the commander, for had it been he would have had ready to his hands a means of keeping the ship in a state of command almost as complete as if no accident had happened to the rudder post. The managers of this great ship seem latterly to have lost sight of the important advice which was given to them by the late Mr. Brunel as to the care and caution which ought to be exercised in the selection of a commander. Since the death of Capt. Harrison there has not been a commander who has had such opportunities as he had had of making himself acquainted with the vessel. Two days before this last trip an officer was appointed to the command who had no means of acquiring any knowledge of the ship. The directors have very naturally desired to make the ship pay, and they have striven to reduce the enormous working expenses to as low a figure as possible. Each succeeding commander has received a diminished rate of payment, until, as it is state, the rate to the present captain is but a trifle more than one-fourth of that at which the services of Capt. Harrison were engaged. The staff of officers on board has been proportionately reduced. Perhaps no other ship would have lived, as the Great Eastern has done, in such a position and through such a gale; and probably no other vessel would have been brought into such a position of damage.”

(Warrington [Liverpool] Guardian, September 28, 1861)

James Thomson of 69 Wall Street, New York, wrote Seward the following note:

“SIR: Mr. Robert Mure, of Charleston, S.C., now confined in Fort Lafayette expresses his ignorance of the contents of the letters in his possession when he was arrested and states himself to be innocent of any complicity with treason to the United States Government. In his behalf I would

respectfully request an opportunity for him to give his deposition under oath upon the subject, to be added to such other evidence as may be obtained bearing upon his case, to be made the basis of an application to your Department for his release from imprisonment. To obtain the deposition of Mr. Mure I would respectfully ask either that a pass may be given to myself accompanied by some person competent to administer an oath or that some Government officer or other person may be appointed by the Department to examine Mr. Mure and reduce his deposition to writing.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant, ”

“The Disaster to the Great Eastern.

Through the courtesy of correspondents we are enabled to present our readers with two illustrations in connection with the breakdown of the Great Eastern in the recent gale.

Mr. Hayward, of Adam-street, a passenger in the big ship, has favoured us with a Sketch of the grand saloon (engraved on the first page) when the topsy-turvy rolling of the vessel was at its worst; and a scene in which the ludicrous is more mixed with the painful and dangerous it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to conceive. Indeed, many of the victims themselves, before the danger was well over, and while still smarting from their bruises, laughed heartily, we are told, at the comical positions in which they and their fellow-passengers had been placed. We have received from Mr. Hayward, along with his sketch, a lively account of the short but perilous voyage of the Great Eastern, which we regret not being able to insert. The crash in the saloon, which forms the subject of our Engraving, he thus describes:--‘While all this was coming to pass, as serious a disaster or even worse, perhaps, was occurring in the grand saloon, where ladies and children principally, who had not ventured into the dining-saloon, were congregated. From side to side they were being swayed to and fro, along with the settees and sofas, tables and

sideboards, sliding or rolling on the floor in an undistinguished mass. As the dining-room victims escaped the scene became worse. Some, being dashed against the iron balconies which gave way with the pressure, and falling on to the glass flooring at the sides, smashed it to atoms with fearful crashes. The iron columns became the temporary supports of clinging victims, and were loosened in their grasp, while three or four gentlemen were dashed with violence against the great mirror, and actually burst through it—the glass falling about them in slices, and inflicting cuts and bruises in all directions. The lower mirror was ‘stove in’ by a monster stove which had tumbled over at an early period, and was rushing about amongst us all with frightful rapidity; whilst the pianoforte was thrown down in the ladies’ saloon, and began to play an entirely new tune, and to dance to its own sweet music. The lowing of three poor cows on the deck added to the horrors of the time, till at last they were swept down altogether, and the chief part of their house and its contents precipitated through the skylights, one poor animal hanging its head down and inquiring in a mournful manner what all the row was about. At last, to our astonishment, a swan—*rara avis in saloonis*—came flying down, and added to the picturesque and ludicrous but at the same time really awful catastrophe. Eventually, when nearly all had been smashed which could be, and when some sort of security had been given to the errant furniture, &c., the rolling still continuing, the passengers were alarmed by the fearful noise of debris of the goods below, which, owing to the considerable rush of water which had fallen from the skylights and elsewhere, were careering in the vast halls below with mad delight. My Sketch gives but a poor idea of what took place, and every passenger and the captain himself acknowledge that it is anything but exaggerated. All this destruction and alarm continued day and night while we lay in the trough of the sea, and until we steamed off with a mended rudder. Let any one who has seen the towing sides of the Great Eastern understand that the top platform of the paddleboxes actually dipped the water on each side several times, and they will,

perhaps, have a slight notion of the extent of the slope of the saloon floor.' A letter appears in the Times by one of the passengers, signing himself 'P. deCorvin,' who 'thought it would be much better to die comfortably,' and who went to bed, tying his arm to the bedpost. He writes as follows:--'My cabin was close to the first dining-saloon, where a horrible noise was going on. Attracted by curiosity, I peeped through the windows of my neighbour's cabin, and saw the most curious sight I ever saw. Tables and chairs were dancing a hornpipe; the stove joined most heartily in the fun, and the dancers seemed determined to break down all the nicely-turned mahogany columns and banisters, which snapped like glass. It was a noise as if rocks were shifted to and fro by an angry surf. In the grand saloon the devastation was almost greater still. A marble slab joined a high-nosed gentleman in the enterprise of smashing the largest mirror: of course, nose and mirror had the worst of it. Only with danger of life could people cross one of these saloons.' The bearing of the gallant captain, steadfast and serene, the conduct of the crew, the noble behaviour of the ladies, and the cool energy and forethought of the chief passengers, form the sober side to this strange scene of mingled horror and humour.

The accompanying Illustration shows the condition of the Great Eastern as she was being towed towards Cork harbour on Tuesday week. It is from a sketch taken by Mr. Stopford about four miles outside the lighthouse. The whole of the ironwork of both paddle-wheels was carried away; the ship's boats at the larboard side were all gone, and those at the port side were hanging loosely about, whilst the ladder from the landing-place on the paddle-wheel was twisted in the extraordinary way represented in our engraving.

The Great Eastern continues to lie in Queenstown harbour, where she is likely to remain for some time. The Board of Trade have, it is understood, resolved to institute an official investigation into the disaster.

When the ship was returning on Monday week a meeting of passengers was held, among whom were several large shipowners, and resolutions were passed in reference to late events. The first was one expressive of their thanks to God for their safety; others condemned the directors and managers of the Great Ship Company for mismanagement; and another was in the form of a vote of thanks to Captain Walker for his conduct during the storm." (The Illustrated London News, Sept. 28, 1861).

"No. 52.J LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, September 28, 1861.

Sir: I am much gratified to perceive, by the terms of your despatch, No. 83, dated the 7th of this month, a substantial ratification of the position taken by me in regard to Lord Russell's note of the 19th of August, and to the declaration which he proposed to append to the convention concerning neutral rights. I find in it, too, a general coincidence in the argument presented by me in my reply to his lordship on the 23d of August a copy of which could not have reached the department down to the latest dates yet received. There are some views offered, however, in my note, which are not touched upon in that despatch. I am, therefore, not as yet fully certain whether, as a whole, it has met with the approbation of the President. For this reason I decided not to hold communication on the subject with Lord Russell, during the time of my late stay under his roof, but rather to wait until after the arrival of the next despatches from the department, which will probably bring a final review of the negotiation, as it appears, after an examination of all the papers that belong to it. I shall then be in a position to judge of the propriety of any further action which it may be advisable to pursue. His lordship informed me, on my taking leave of him, that he expected to return to London by the 14th of next month, after which I anticipate no delay, like the late one, in the transaction of important business.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington.”

“The Disaster to the Great Eastern.—Cork, Sept. 23,—The Great Eastern moved within the harbour yesterday morning, and is now moored in the Man-of-war Roads. A fatal accident occurred on board on Saturday morning. One of the quarter-masters was stationed with others at the wheel on the lower deck, which sometimes, owing to the state of the rudder gear, jerked violently. In one of those jerks one of the handles struck the quartermaster on the head with such force as to batter in his skull, and cause his instant death. After the anchor had been let go, the Great Eastern forged a head a little, and struck an American barque, the Samuel Moxley, which was lying at anchor near, with a pretty smart shock, damaging her towards the stern, and carrying away her davits and one of her anchors and chains. From communications received in town yesterday regarding the actual damage done to the Great Eastern, the result of a person inspection and survey by the officers of the Local Marine Board and the Directors of the Company, it appears that the boss of the paddle-wheel is gone, but that the paddle-boxes remain uninjured; the rudder head is broken off short, and the stern post, looked upon as the most serious damage, carried away. The internal fittings of the saloons and berths are found not to be damaged to one half the extent represented, and the rigging has not materially suffered. The passengers will either be provided with berths by other ships or have their passage money returned. Sept. 24.— Nearly all the passengers have now left the ship, the greater portion of the first-class having accepted the offer of the directors to refund the passage money; but the steerage passengers generally have accepted a proposition to be sent on by the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company’s vessel, the Norwegian, which leaves Liverpool of Thursday.” (Mitchell’s Maritime Register, Sept. 28, 1861)

“METROPOLITAN POLICE DISTRICT,
City and County of New York, 58:

Robert King being duly sworn doth depose and say as follows: I am a member of the Metropolitan police of New York attached to the detective force. Sergeant Young, of the detective force, and myself on or about the 21st of August last went to several hotels in search of John G. Guthrey and found him at Fifth Avenue Hotel and arrested him. We brought his baggage to the central police office where it was searched and the bonds found in his trunks. We also found some money upon him. On delivering him at the office I was dispatched to Ohio on business and had no further personal knowledge of the case. When arrested he asked me why he was arrested. I replied that you will find out at the office. He said, “I suppose it is because I am a Southern man or because my sympathies are with the South.” I left next day for Ohio.

ROBERT KING.

Sworn before me this 28th day of September,
1861. “

September 30, 1861

Lord Lyons wrote Earl Russell the following:

“My dear Lord,

I do not know whether or not Mr. Seward has yet received from Mr. Adams your Note of the 9th in answer to the demand for Mr. Bunch’s recall. I have not thought it advisable to put myself in the way of receiving an indiscreet declaration which might be made at the first moment, and be an obstacle to a more sensible course afterwards.—I doubt however any strong measures’ being taken.—A quarrel with us would be fatal to loans—and although the government will get the hundred and fifty millions from the Banks, the expenses are far outgrowing any of the means which have yet been devised for meeting them, and new and large loans must be voted, directly Congress meets in December.

* * *”

Seward wrote Lieut. Col. Martin Burke, at Fort Lafayette, New York, the following note:

“SIR: I have received a letter from Mr. D. C. Lowber, a prisoner confined at Fort Lafayette, asking permission for his niece, Miss Mary L. Schultz, to visit him which under existing circumstances I cannot with propriety grant. You will please communicate to Mr. Lowber the decision of the Department.

I am, sir, your very obedient servant,”

“The Great Eastern (s).—Liverpool, Sept. 28.—The ambiguous position of the Great Eastern affords pabulum for the quidnuncs. Nothing certain is known, except that at the first 80 per cent.—if not under compulsion 100 per cent.—was offered to cabin passengers who wished to proceed by the infinitely superior and safer Cunard line. The Cork papers imply that the unfortunate steerage passengers prefer to be forwarded by some steamer from Liverpool. We trust the Emigration Officers will sedulously do their duty, and without fear, favor, or affection apprise all unfortunate applicants of their exact legal rights in such a case.—Liverpool Mail. (“Mitchell’s Maritime Register, Sept. 30, 1861)

“Visit to the Great Eastern.

Queenstown on Saturday last presented a stirring and animated appearance. In consequence of the late tariff reducing the rate of admission to the Great Eastern from two and sixpence to a shilling, there was an immense influx of visitors during the day and the “Great Leviathan”—to slightly change the words of Shakespeare “earned _____ opinions of all sorts of men,” aye, and women too. At the first glance of the black hull looming in the distance with its six masts and the tracery of its spars and cordage _____ defined against the horizon, the impression was that of disappointment,

but as we glided, and separated only by a few yards, from this “mighty monster of the deep,” and floated within the gigantic shadows she projects over the glancing expanse—

‘Whose rippling _____ dance in the sunshine’

And are enabled to compare her vast proportions, resting immovably on the deep waters, with the river steamers that seem like ‘tiny shallows’ near, and the flotillas of lesser craft, shifting and _____ on the undulating surface, and thus we can form some approximate estimate of her enormous dimensions. Our railway steamer, the Albert, has not reached its ‘bourne,’ and the numerous passengers hurry to make their entrée on board the majestic steamer. By means of a wide and commodious gangway we enter one of the cargo spaces. There are six of these, and they are located both forward and aft of the saloons, having a capacity for storage amounting to one thousand tons each. The first one we passed through was filled with innumerable bales of soft goods and were assured that the damage they sustained was inconsiderable. These spaces are entered by large hatchways from the deck, and also by twenty side ports, each five feet square. Upon ascending the temporary stairs we find ourselves in another cargo space. There we are stopped by an unexpected barrier—namely, a mechanical contrivance; exceedingly resembling a turnstill, which continues immovable, if the visitor does not ‘shell out,’ but revolves upon its axis the moment that you lay down the splendid shilling.

Ascending another flight of steps, you find yourself on the main deck, and then you can take in with a glance the capacious dimensions of the vessel. About midships we see a flight of stairs, with the attractive announcement, the ‘Ladies’ Saloon, and we descend into the lower regions, to enter the ‘*penetralis vestoe.*’ Here the thetics to what we may term the naval domestic architecture seem to have been carefully consulted, and very tasteful and magnificent. The panels were decorated with exquisite landscapes or mythological designs,

among which Venus and Cupid are prominent figures, the decorative artist being we suppose of opinion that no more appropriate pictorial illustration could be furnished for the ‘Ladies’ saloon.”

After hearing and reading so much of the terrible disasters sustained by the ‘Great Eastern,’ we were rather surprised at finding everything in such perfect order. The splendid mirrors that opened up on every side, self-reflecting and self-multiplying at interminable vistas of the groups of admiring spectators, many of whom, young and beautiful, contributed the most graceful embellishment to the scene, presented no breach or fissure, suggestive of the ravages of this terrible tempests of which we have read such poetical descriptions—the furniture, tables, &c., presently a healthy and unimpaired constitution, with the exception of one broken mirror in the stateroom, there was not the slightest evidence of dilapidation. Either the accounts we have hitherto read in the newspapers must have been fearfully exaggerated, or the Great Eastern must possess within herself extraordinary powers of renovation. We next visited the engine-room. It is a small, arched, dome-like house—and after descending a spiral stair-case we gazed at the wonderful and ponderous machinery that gives vitality and movement to the titanic vessel. Here may be seen the heart and mighty arteries that through the agency of steam pulsing through innumerable iron veins communicate motion to the cyclopean structure of wood and iron. The combined screw engines work up to an indicated power of 4,500 horses, of 33,000 lbs., when working at forty five strokes a minute—the expansion value calling off one-third of the stroke. They are, however, made to work smoothly either at 40 strokes per minute, or a 55 strokes a minute, with the expansion of one-third of the stroke. In fact, the force of the steam-engines, is calculated at the tremendous pressure of 6,500 horse power. A little lower down is the ‘propeller shaft,’ intended to move the screw itself. It is 160 feet in length, and weights 60 tons; the after length of the shaft is 47 feet, and it weights 35 tons. The screw propeller is

24 feet in diameter, and 44 feet pitch, being the largest ever made.

The grand saloon is 62 feet long by 36 feet wide, and 12 feet high. The arrangements for ventilating and lighting the lower cabins from the skylight induced the necessity of railing off an open space on each side of the saloons. The open space or arcades on each side rest on light iron columns, and between them are ornamental iron balustrade of exquisite design and workmanship, the iron work being an imitation of oxidized silver, varied by gilding. We were informed that the mirrors, gilding, carpeting, and curtains for this apartment alone cost £8,000. The berths are arranged in three classes—those for parties of six and eight, and those are the largest rooms, those for parties of four, and the rest in the usual style of double cabins. Each room contains two beds, in ship fashion, one above the other, with comfortably stuffed sofas, toilet tables and every other necessary appurtenance. On the lower deck the berths even larger and more commodious than those in the upper. The kitchens, pantries, and sculleries are all on the same extensive scale, and fitted up with all the culinary requisites of first-rate hotels.

The boilers are immensely strong, and have been tested to double the pressure they are required to bear. Their weight, including pumps, engine, funnels, &c., is 212 tons, and thus are capable of containing 126 tons of water. Each has about 8,000 square feet of tube surface, exclusive of flue or furnace, and about 4,000 square feet of fire-bar surface. It is calculated that the united efforts of both screw and paddle engines will drive the immense vessel through the water at the rate of no less than 13,000 horse power. The screw engine boilers are in three distinct sets. Their weight is 362 tons, and their capacity for water 260 tons. The probable consumption of coal, when both engines are full work is estimated at 250 tons per diem.

The capabilities of accommodating passengers in this great vessel appear to be unlimited. Over two years ago, at the great banquet

held to commemorate the launch, Lord Stanley said—‘You know that she is calculated to carry a population of not much less than 10,000, including her crew—a population so large that I almost wonder the company have not applied to the House of Commons to have the Great Eastern included in the borough representation;’ which humorous observation as emanating from a distinguished nobleman, was, of course, received with great cheers and laughter.

After endeavouring to describe the general appearance of the vessel and some of the minute details, we approach a more important question. And this question is—and it is a question which the shareholders who have embarked such a large amount in the vessel ought seriously to consider—the Great Eastern has now found in the extremity of peril, refuge in our magnificent harbour. The civil war at present raging in America has put a stop to emigration in that quarter, and the current of immigration that now steadily set in for those regions. If the directors of the *Great Eastern* are ‘wise in their generation’ they will establish their headquarters in Cork Harbour—the capabilities of which they have now sufficiently tested—and render it the medium of conveying the vast stream of emigration that has now steadily turned itself in the direction of either Australia or Canada. Starting from Queenstown she would avoid all the dangers of the Channel navigation; be quite clear of the land in a few hours; and at the calculated rate of speed, have her passengers landed in Canada in six days, the Grand Trunk Railway taking her manufactured and other goods from the slip _____, distributing them through its connections in Canada and the far West. Thus either Milford Haven or Cork must be the port of destiny for the huge Leviathan is certain but when we remember the amount of risk saved in starting from Queenstown, we think it will more than counterbalance the claim of Milford as being nearer to London—and by arrangements with the Great Southern and Western Railway Company here, and a similar one with the Grand Trunk line in Canada, through fares could be established, and this line would then become the great thoroughfare

between the Old World and the New. When we remember that all the terrible disasters that occurred in the Channel navigation, and to emigrant vessels starting from Holyhead, Southampton, Galway, and other ports of departure, for the last two years, and that of the innumerable vessels that have sailed hence with emigrants for America and the North American Colonies for the last twenty years, not a single life was ever lost, not a single fatal casualty was ever recorded, the directors of the Great Eastern ought to take into their deep and serious consideration the propriety of making Queenstown the port of Transatlantic departure. About two years ago we put forward those views, and strenuously maintained the paramount claims of our harbour. Upon that occasion we received the able and talented aid of the *Morning Chronicles* and as the statement made and the argument advanced are true and forcible now as the day they were penned—nay, more forcible—because the feet of the Great Eastern being now securely stationed in our harbour supplied a more practical and pregnant commentary than a thousand articles, a short extract from our London cotemporary will form a most appropriate pendant to the foregoing descriptions and observations—

‘It is plain, then, that to get a passenger and goods traffic she must run between some port on this side and Quebec, thus getting the trade formerly carried on by the New York packet ships, and latterly by them and the various lines of steamers. It may be well first to decide on a British port, having an eye not only to our own, but the Continental trade with the United States and Canada. Three presented themselves—Holyhead, Milford Haven, and Queenstown (Cork). The first is nearest to our great seaport, Liverpool; Milford has the advance of cheap fuel; Cork in being clear of the dangers of the Channel (which proved so disastrous to the Taylour, Pomone, and other passenger ships), as being nearest to Nantes, Havre, and Bordeaux, by which the French and Continental traffic could be intercepted, and already having lines to London, Bristol, Liverpool, and Glasgow, by which goods can be conveyed as cheap from them as by rail to

either Milford or Holyhead.—This will be a gold apple to the winner. The reasons for choosing Quebec are that it has, by the Grand Trunk and its connections, communications with all parts of States and Canada,; by the St. Lawrence, steam and shipping with the great lakes and the South Western Railway; while New York, with trans-shipments, has 860 miles of canals by Buffalo, and 210 by Oswego, through which it gets its chief supplies, Quebec has only 69 miles canal to Buffalo, and 52 to Oswego, than by New York. By a system of through bills of lading from the cities of the west and our manufacturing towns, a great deal of the trade would be diverted to the Great Eastern from its present channel by New York, as passengers would be in Quebec in six days, and in St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Chicago in eight, and St. Paul (almost half-way to British Columbia) in nine days, while goods would be delivered at those cities under three weeks from England via Cork. Ships of 400 tons by elevators, would discharge their cargoes of grain in one day, while on this side, by the same facilities, they could be as easily unloaded. At Quebec the Great Eastern could lie along the depot between the rails on one side and the shipping on the other. Elevators of great power are ashore and afloat, so that in no port could there be more dispatch. In winter the St. Lawrence is open as high as Bei, to which the Grand Trunk is finished. A wooden wharf could be here extended out to deep water for the landing of goods and passengers.” (The Cork Daily Reporter, Sept. 30, 1861)

October 1, 1861

“Report of Captain James Walker, Master of the Great Eastern (S), of London, 13,434 tons register, from Liverpool for New York (merchandise and passengers):--

Left Liverpool Sept. 10, weather fine, wind moderate from the westward. Proceeded, and all went well till in lat. 50 26 N, long. 9 45 W, when the accident below stated occurred. On Thursday, Sept. 12, at 6:30 P.M., the weather being boisterous, and the wind SW, was struck by a heavy sea, carrying away the port paddle-wheel; stopped the paddle engines; midnight, fearful gale, with a terrific sea. Friday, 1 A.M., ship took a heavy sea

on board and shipped a large quantity of water. 2 A.M., washed four boats from port side and one on starboard side, starboard paddle-wheel carried away; sent hands to put on extra relieving tackles, and found rudder-head gone; commenced rigging a purchase to steer the ship by, ship during the time rolling fearfully. Sunday, 5 P.M., finished steering gear and turned ahead slow. Tuesday, A.M., made the Fastnet Rock; 9 30; stopped the engines off the Old Head of Kinsale to repair steering gear; 3 P.M. steering gear repaired. Friday, 8 50 A.M., came to an anchor at Queenstown Harbour, having for the two previous days made fruitless attempts to enter it, the rudder being unmanageable. The Port Admiral sent the steam tender Advice to render what assistance lay in his power.” (Shipping and Mercantile Gazette, Oct. 1, 1861)

October 2, 1861

Mure at Fort Lafayette wrote an unidentified person the following letter:

“MY DEAR SIR: The receipt of your note of 27th ultimo conveying a letter from Middleton was truly cheering and most gratefully appreciated by me. Poor fellow, he knows how innocent I am on any treason. I am glad you read his letter for it speaks for itself. Hearing Mr. Thomson has returned from Washington without reaching any satisfaction in my case is disappointing, but I have reconciled myself to whatever Mr. Seward has in store for me, satisfied of my own innocence and that the Government is acting oppressively and wrongfully with me. I inwardly feel this which nerves me to stand up against my present trials, hopeful that brighter and happier days will soon be restored to the country. I can never repay you for the untiring interest you have taken in my misfortune. I hope to see the end of all this and prove to you and others my innocence of the course the Government is pursuing with me.

They require me to take an oath before I can get out of here, without guaranteeing my person security in South Carolina, or the safety of my property there. Now as matters stand I hope soon to have protection worth having for I intend to return

to my own dear native land where I can secure myself by returning to my first allegiance, the home of my birth.

I have a letter from my son Robert. Poor lad, he is distressed about me but hopes I will soon be in Scotland. I observe the Liverpool cotton market is advancing. As I have no late letters, I do not know how my interest there stands but presume my friends have sold out some time ago which may be unfortunate, but I wait advances. When does your father return home? I suppose he is only on a business trip and may soon be home again. There have been 136 prisoners in this fort, but are now reduced to 106. We are too crowded for comfort, but I rejoice to say the most of the inmates are gentlemen and deserve another fate than mere confinement on suspicion. The President says no one is in here but on satisfactory evidence of treason. Alas, I feel this is not so, but we must all yield to the powers that be, be they for good or evil.

It is really wonderful my friends in Charleston could so well keep Mrs. Mure in ignorance of my arrest. I question if such a course is prudent. It in the end may be more severe upon her. I trust not, however. I have really nothing to write you from here.

Yours, faithfully,

ROBT. MURE.

p.s.—This must not be published”

“The Great Eastern.

The gigantic specimen of naval architecture, as she now lies in Queenstown Harbour, will be open to the inspection of the public to-day, and during her stay in the harbour. Her interior fittings-up have been put to rights as far as possible within the short time since her arrival. The Hon. Capt. Carnegie and Mr. Searle are indefatigable in their exercise to make everything right with the passengers and to render them comfortable. Mr. Yates, Secretary of the Great Ship Company, left Queenstown for

London yesterday, to lay the whole of the circumstances officially before the Directors. Captain Walker has been engaged during the last few days at the Customhouse in Cork, making the necessary arrangements preparatory to an inquiry which will be opened immediately before Captain Robinson, of the Board of Trade, assisted by the Local Marine Board, into the causes of the disaster which the ship met with. The remaining steerage passengers of the Great Eastern will be forwarded on Thursday from Queenstown to New York by the City of Washington, of the Inman line. The passengers generally express themselves very well satisfied with the arrangements made by Messrs Cummins, the local agents.

The Economist contains the following graphic description from a passenger on board:--

‘Is the Great Eastern destined to revolutionize ocean voyaging as her sanguine projectors have anticipated? or, is she fated to be ultimately moored in some river as a floating hospital, and exhibited to our passing grandchildren as one of the most monstrous crazes of the nineteenth century? The disastrous voyage from which she has just returned will give weighty support to the latter view; but a narrative of the passage will probably be read, by those who are conversant with nautical affairs and sufficiently interested to give it attentive consideration, as not being conclusive of ultimate failure.’ After alluding to the confusion which prevailed on the departure of the ship, and describing her passage down channel, he says:--‘In the neighbourhood of Cape Clear we passed the ship Underwriter, a large New York packet, pitching heavily, while the motion on board our ship was hardly perceptible. Our deck was like a sea-side esplanade on a holiday; ladies and gentlemen promenading, sitting, chatting, reading, and laughing; children playing hide and seek round the deck, and even playing ball in one of the holds. On board any other ship afloat nine-tenths of these women and children and two-thirds of the men would have been in the agonies of sea sickness. Our

spirits rose. Even the poor fare at table, inadequacy of attendance, general want of organization under deck, and domineering incivility of the functionary who was responsible for the saloon bedroom and luggage departments, were accepted as minor evils, and compliments to the great ship were on every tongue.' The writer, evidently an experienced traveler by sea, does not venture to say 'that the storm was the most violent we have ever experienced.' The position of the ship he explains graphically—'The direction of the wind was across our course, but slightly ahead, placing us in the trough of the sea. Hence the rolling which produced the scenes thus described below. When it became evident to the captain that this position was too distressing to the ship, he ordered the helm hard a-starboard to bring her head up in the wind. Had this been accomplished, there is little doubt that she would have ridden out the gale with trifling damage beyond that already sustained by the imperfectly fastened cabin furniture. But, to the dismay of all, she did not answer the call, but dashed on in her course; and as the sea, lashed by the continued fury of the storm, now ran mountains high, at each roll of the ship it seemed she must at last fall on her broadside or go completely over. All this was bad enough, but it was but the beginning. Crash went the stairs to the engine-room and the paddle-engines had to be stopped to clear away the debris. Then a jib was hoisted, but blown to ribbons by the first puff. A second sail was tried, but did not last an hour. Still we bore on in the trough of the sea rolling violently as ever. The paddle engines were again set in motion, when an extraordinary noise proceeded from one of them like the rumbling of near thunder. It ceased, and the groaning paddle wheel had disappeared below the waves. We were now entirely dependent on the screw, and the second paddle, finding its occupation gone, followed its mate. Once or twice huge waves mounted above the towering bulwarks and flooded the decks, but this was exceptional. Generally the ship was dry. Never, in the history of navigation, was a ship more severely and completely tested, and from the experience of this voyage very definite conclusions may be arrived at as to the qualities and

powers of the Great Eastern. In the first place, her steadiness is a myth. Never did a vessel roll more frightfully. But this was probably mainly due to the insufficiency of her ballast. In this respect, it is probable that any other steamer would have been worse if sent to sea so light. We have known most of the Collins' line of steamers particularly—and their models are considered the most perfect afloat—roll nearly as badly in a light cross sea, without wind, occurring in the last few days of their passages, as the Great Eastern in this frightful gale; but their furniture, fittings, &c., being properly fastened, their rolling signified comparatively little. It is evident, however, that the Great Eastern is not exempt from the rules of other ships in respect to rolling. It can only be avoided by ballasting her sufficiently. It is different, however, as regards her pitching. Of that we have had positively none. * * In respect to the strength and safety of her hull she is all that her directors have over represented. It is difficult to conceive of any circumstance short of a hurricane on a rocky lee shore which could possibly affect her hull. The machinery, too, is magnificent.' The writer then comes to the root of the evil from which the Great Eastern suffered. 'The deficiencies of the ship, then, glaring as they have proved, were not in the primary essentials, but rather in the accessories. It is evident that the strength of the paddles was not in proportion to the size of the ship, while to make them safe they should probably be in more than proportion, for while the recoil of an ordinary ship from the blow of a wave saves her catwalks in some degree, from the violence of that concussion, the Great Eastern receives the blow almost with the unflinching firmness of a rock. Attach a wheel to the cliffs of Achill or Rethlin, and of what strength would it require to stand a western gale? The paddles of the Great Eastern are not much better placed. The same remarks apply to the rudder, and, indeed, to all the catwalks of the ship to which the waves have access. But there is another requisite to the safety and success of the Great Eastern not less important, and upon this subject we must, as a public duty, be candid, and nothing extenuate or set down ought in malice. She needs the proprietorship or management of men who

under stand the business they have undertaken.' 'No one knows so well as Captain Walker now does what the Great Eastern can do, what she can bear and what she requires. It is, therefore, to be hoped that whatever becomes of the company, whoever may supply their place as owners of the ship, the policy of changing the master every voyage will not be continued.'

The London Examiner makes some remarks on the disaster:--

'The ship was making head against the storm when the accident happened to the boat which made it necessary to cut it away, and in order that it might drift clear of the wheel, the ship's port side was exposed to the gale to make a lee for the boat to drive wide of the other side. The broadside once shown to the wind the vessel could never afterwards be brought head to wind, or near it. She had irrecoverably lost that advantageous position for the whole of the storm, and lay like a log helplessly tumbling and rolling in the trough of the sea. The first account to which we have referred says that when the ship fell off the captain ordered the sails to be hoisted for the purpose of bringing her head up; but the effect would be the exact opposition, and if the head sails were indeed hoisted it was in the hope of wearing her, or bringing her round not to the wind but from the wind. The sails, however, were blown away; and it is probable that in so large a vessel, wanting head-warp, sails will no more stand against the fury of gale than they would if set upon an immovable body. The sails not being of a power to act on so immense a body, offer a dead resistance to the wind, and are tore to ribbons. One after another the paddlewheels of the Great Eastern were next carried away. No other vessel, it is said could have borne what she bore, but the question is, whether another vessel would have been placed in the same difficulty and danger. We cannot but think that one of Cunard's compact, handy ships, with all things in due proportion, the steering power equal to the length, would have weathered the storm which proved too much for the huge Great Eastern. Indeed, the Canada, homeward bound, was near the

same place at the same time; and the little brig Magnet, of Nova Scotia, made good weather of it, and lay by the huge ship in her distress. It may be, however, that the Great Eastern was in the focus of the gale. But be that as it may, the question is whether so huge a body does not offer too much resistance to the wind and sea. A smaller vessel, while she presents a long surface, yields more.

The Courier remarks—

‘There is no doubt but that the rudder-post was broken. This large piece of metal, not ten inches in diameter, as has been stated, but twelve inches and this snapped like a twig before the force of the waves. This is a contingency which Capt. Harrison, the first commander of the ship, had, if not foreseen, at least provided against. Below the rudder-post, and upon the blade of the rudder itself, he had fixed shackles, to which 1 ½ inch cables were fixed, led up through the quarters of the ship, and triced ready for emergency. We have looked in vain through the accounts which have been published of any resort being had to these chains. * * All the injury that the paddle wheels have sustained is little more than the destruction of floats and some twisting of the iron framework. A few hours would be sufficient to put the wheels in order. The disarrangement of the paddle wheels is due solely to one of the many causes of dispute or differences of opinion which have had so injurious an effect upon this remarkable ship. It was proposed that the float boards of these wheels should be some five inches greater than they are; but this would have tended to increase the friction and diminish the number of revolutions, and the suggestion was not adopted. Ultimately, however, the ‘floats,’ instead of being made wider or broader, were put on longer than was intended, and the consequence of this was, that she ends worked so close to the side of the ship that for a consideration portion, the space between them and the ship’s side was not more than three inches. * * Since the death of Captain Harrison there has not been a commander who has had such opportunities of making himself acquainted with vessel. Captain Vine Hall took the ship over to America, brought

her back to Milford, and there left her. On her next voyage to New York, it was announced that one of the directors, Captain Carnegie, R.N. would himself take the command. Representations were made by the underwriters and others as to entrusting the command of such a ship to an officer of the Royal Navy, and Capt. Thompson was appointed, vice Carnegie. He made a voyage out and home, and on his return resigned his commission. The next voyage, which was the trip to Canada, was made by Captain Kennedy, of the Montreal and Quebec line of steamers; but he followed the example of his predecessors, and was satisfied with the honour of having taken the big ship out, and having brought her safely home. Finally, two days before this last trip, an officer was appointed to the command who had no means of acquiring any knowledge of the ship. The directors have very naturally desired to make the ship pay, and they have striven to reduce the enormous working expenses to as low a figure as possible. Each succeeding commander has received a diminished rate of payment, until, as it is stated, the rate of the present captain is but a trifle more than one fourth of that at which the services of Captain Harrison were engaged. The staff of officers on board has been proportionately reduced. As at first organized, there were fourteen officers on board, while the ship was despatched on her last voyage with a crew of 400 men, and only four officers. We cannot but think that the disaster which has befallen the great ship is one due rather to the want of practical knowledge of her peculiarities than to any inherent defects which she may possess.'

The Liverpool Chronicle observes:--

'The return of the Great Eastern to Cork, disabled and in the most melancholy plight, is one of those disasters against which no foresight could guard, for all steamer and sailing ship however well found, are liable to calamities of this kind; but speculation generalizes on such occasions, and it is now asserted that some ships are 'lucky' and others 'unlucky;' that one of the latter kind is to be avoided by all who know their own interest; and

that the Royal Charter and Great Eastern were 'unlucky' before the commencement of their career—before they even made the acquaintance of salt water, and one of them was unlucky to the time of her final disappearance. It is useless to argue with a popular superstition of this nature. Nothing can put it down but a long course of uninterrupted prosperity, and this we hope the Great Eastern has still before her. The same remark was made about the Great Britain after her unhappy disaster in Dundrum Bay, but from that time to the present that vessel has been in every sense successful, and the old prejudice has now died out. Even the Royal Charter made a succession of highly favourable trips between the mishap that attended the first effort to launch her and her last appearance off the coast of North Wales. Nevertheless, it must have been a terrific storm which could inflict on the Great Eastern the loss of her paddle wheels, steering gear, and the other disasters that compelled her to put back, just as the storm which destroyed the Royal Charter was the most severe that had occurred for a long series of years. The mishap will interfere seriously with career of prosperity on which the Great Eastern was just entering, and which promised the most encouraging pecuniary results to all concerned.' (The Cork Daily Herald, Sept. 25, 1861)

October ?,1861

Mure, Fort Lafayette, to Messrs. Foster & Thomson, New York:

“GENTLEMEN: I wrote you a note on the 4th stating I had just then received your favor of 20th instant⁵³ setting forth the result of your (Mr. Thomson's) interview with Mr. Seward at Washington. The more I reflect on your letter the more I feel Mr. Bunch is too honorable to have complicated me in using his consular seal to cover treasonable matter to his Government. If the evidence of such be established then Mr. Bunch's exequatur should be promptly taken from him—in fact his Government should recall him and hold me harmless for his acts when I merely conveyed a sealed bag without the least knowledge of its

⁵³ Not found.

contents. I insist that my deposition be taken and if you have not power to get this done other counsel be called to your aid and I would suggest the name of the Hon. Edwin M. Stanton at Washington (later Attorney-General). Mr. Seward takes such grounds as are not likely to be sustained if properly and boldly set before him.

Touching what is set forth as a passport it was simply an open letter. The application of a "British merchant" was not improperly applied, for with the exception of myself and one other house in Charleston there are none of British birth and in that way the name of a British merchant has often been applied to me in Charleston. My business is confined to England mainly, but I myself placed no weight on Mr. Bunch's letter beyond instructions how to act in case any Government agent or official required my authority for carrying g the dispatches. I left Charleston as has been my custom for twenty years as an American citizen. I was arrested as a British subject and being such in one sense made no formal objection for proof of which but conferred with Mr. Archibald or his vice, Mr. Edwards, informing him upon all points as to my citizenship, &c.

As matters now stand I hold that Mr. Seward should give me every opportunity to establish my innocence by procuring such information from Charleston as to set at rest as to my knowledge of what was in the dispatch bag and that I traveled as an American citizen although bearing a letter from Mr. Bunch. I apprehend, however, such treatment to a loyal citizen will drive him hereafter to other and that to his mother allegiance. I had full assurance before leaving home I would have no difficulty in proceeding via New York to Liverpool, otherwise I never would have started although domestic matters in Scotland claimed my presence. Had I been acting any way against the Government by taking up arms, &c., there might have been grounds for confining me here, but as I did nothing against the Government but carry a dispatch bag and a few friendly letters which the powers at Washington thought proper to break open and publish, I contend

for the latter I am subject to no offense. The former is a matter that remains with Mr. Bunch.

It may now become a matter for the two Governments to settle. Meantime I may have to suffer my liberty and be otherwise subjected to dishonorable imputations, not to name what I am other ways losing in a domestic and pecuniary way from my long confinement, up to this time now nearly two months, which may be extended to an indefinite time. I urge you therefore to again write or see Mr. Seward and if need be employ the additional assistance of Edwin M. Stanton, who I know to have influence at Washington.

Very respectfully,
ROBT. MURE,
Of Charleston, S.C.

Let me hear from you soon either direct or through Mr. McGowan. The rules of this fort demand that no portion of this letter be published.

R. M.”

October 4, 1861

“The Great Eastern.

To the Editor of the Shipping and Mercantile Gazette.

Sir,--I would, with your kind permission, crave space for a few remarks on the great ship, and the late mishap which has befallen her, suggested by the perusal of some observations on the subject. With the remarks of the writer as to the desirability of less height in proportion to beam, I fully agree, and may remark that the behaviour of steamships constructed on that principle, whenever they have met with heavy weather, fully justifies his presumption. In witness, I would quote the Stanley, a broad, shallow iron steamer, drawing only two feet of water, which was constructed a year or so since by Mr. Scott Russell for the Indus. This little vessel was caught, on her voyage to Kurrachee, in one of those typhoons so well known on that coast, but rode it out splendidly, hardly rolling at all, and shipping no water, whilst numerous other vessels of large size were either totally lost or seriously damaged. Next I would notice the paddle steamship

Leo, belonging to the General Steam Company, which is termed a regular 'skimming dish,' as she floats on the water, ships little or no sea, and rolls very little. This ship, I believe, went through some very severe trials of weather whilst on the South American coast, and is always highly spoken of as a very easy, comfortable ship in heavy weather, as well as being very fast.

I would ask Naval Architects whether it makes any difference to the speed, midship sectional area being the same number of square feet, if the ship be, say 28 feet on the water line by 12 deep, or if she be 28 feet deep and 12 on the water line—that is, whether it would require more power to get the same speed from one or the other, and, if so, which? Provided it does not—and I do not at the present moment see why it should—what reason can there be for the universal construction of high narrow vessels instead of broad shallow ones? I do not, of course, desire to alter the length or the lines of the ship, but I must say I do not at the present moment recall any experiments to prove that my remarks are wrong, provided the area of immersed section be the same. I have no doubt that if the Great Eastern, with her same length, lines, and beam, went upon 16 feet draught instead of 23 or 26, she would prove much faster with the same power, and much easier, from having a less height out of the water and less dead weight leverage to make her roll.

As to the utter neglect of 'stowage,' &c., want of bins, and other matters of the internal convenience of the ship, I attribute this entirely to the meddling of the directors. Why, I would ask, should these gentry meddle with matters which, as 'Commercial men,' are quite out of their province? The destruction of property and the waste of money caused by unnecessarily having to put things to rights, seem to me to be rather heavy penalties to pay for a few moments' fleeting popularity—the patronage of the 'penny-a-lines.' It seems as though, in the insane desire exhibited by all connected with this unfortunate vessel, even from her commencement, to individually monopolise all

of the little amount of credit due to them, they would do so at the cost of ruining her character, and depreciating the value of their property in the eyes of the world, in which, whether desirous of doing it or not, they have succeeded admirably (*vide* Share List any day). Let us earnestly hope that the history of this ship will prove a warning to all future Companies, both to directors and shareholders, by causing them to refrain from meddling and interfering in matters which cannot in any way belong to them, inasmuch as those in whose hands such matters are placed should be the proper persons to carry them out. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam* should be learned and acted only all connected with such understandings.

I will now ask, what ship would have stood such a knocking about, from her cradle, as this one, and with so little injury? First look at her launch, and the twisting and shaking she underwent for nearly four months, without the slightest injury. Next, the furious explosion—enough to have utterly smashed an ordinary vessel, of whatever size she may have been. Here again, the hull was perfectly uninjured, and very little damage, in proportion, done to the internal arrangements. Now, we have a fair sea-way trial of the ship, under the most unfavourable circumstances, when there was no method of choosing ‘how you would have it,’ but when you literally had to ‘take it as it came,’ and that from the Thursday to the Sunday, through a gale stiffer than any one on board had ever met with on the Atlantic, presenting her whole broadside to the sea and wind, lying ‘like a log’ on the sea. Here again we find little damage done in proportion, and the hull perfectly free from strain or damage. True, her rudder-head broke, the wheels got knocked about, and there was a ‘considerable’ smash in the ‘crockery-shop’ and internal fittings, &c. But what of that? This latter would not have occurred had proper management been shown while the ship was getting ready for sea, and the failure of fittings does not prove the ship to be badly built. Let me ask, what ship—and especially if any one of those ‘magnificent ships constructed regardless of cost’ which have of late figured so prominently before

the public—would have stood one-tenth part of the knocking about this magnificent vessel went through even this last time? I am sure the answer will be—‘None.’ Then I will ask, why should those connected with her at present persist in a course of action which cannot fail to destroy the confidence of the public—those, remember, from whom alone they can hope to get any support or return upon their outlay in this magnificent ship—and thus render her useless? I pause for a reply. For myself, I have more confidence than ever in her, but have none in the capabilities of her present Managers to turn her to any profitable use; for although the ship speaks out nobly for her capabilities, safety, and other reliable properties, yet everything seems to be done to render her uncomfortable. When shall we see a change?

In concluding, I will venture to hope that, for the future, all that can be done to restore confidence in her will be carefully followed, instead of the course that has hitherto been tried and found wanting.

Your obedient servant.

London, Sept. 30, 1861 C.F.T.Y.” (Shipping and Mercantile Gazette, Oct. 4, 1861)

October 3, 1861

“QUEENSTOWN PETTY SESSIONS

At three o'clock, yesterday evening, before Mr. Tarrant and Captain Martin, Richard Wake, a sailor on board the Great Eastern, brought a charge against the commander, Captain Walker, of ill treatment. Mr. P. Barry appeared for Wake, and Mr. H. H. O'Bryen for the defendant. The particulars of the case were that, on Monday, Wake asked the chief mate for liberty to go on shore to see a magistrate, and he was refused it. The following day he repeated his request, and was then put in irons from eleven o'clock in the day until seven o'clock on Tuesday, and subsequently threatened to be put in irons again if he did not go about his business. He did not ask the Captain the liberty he required, because it was an understanding amongst the crew

that the Captain could only be communicated with through the officers. For the defence the chief mate, John M'Allister, stated that the complainant could, if he had chosen, have addressed the Captain. The magistrates considering the charge against Captain Walker was not maintained, dismissed it.

Afterwards the complainant swore informations against John M'Alister, chief mate, and Robert Hayes, boatswain, of the *Great Eastern*, for having, without justifiable cause, placed him in irons. The case will be heard on Monday next." (The Cork Examiner, Oct. 3, 1861)

October 5, 1861 (Saturday)

Great Eastern originally scheduled to leave New York for Liverpool.

"The Late Gale in the Atlantic.

(From *Mitchell's Steam-Shipping Journal*.)

As vessels arrive home we begin to understand the severity of the recent gale. It is very common for men to describe the latest storm as the most severe they have ever experienced, because the realities of former ones fade away from the memory, and present difficulties always appear greater than those surmounted. We, however, may take it for granted that it blew a very stiff breeze on the 12th of September, and that the ships that were out on that day in the circle of the storm felt its full force. The ship *Daniel Webster*, which was not many miles from the *Great Eastern*, was exposed to its violence, and the repairs that have to be made good tell their own tale. This fine large ship received damage to her rudder, but rode out the gale in safety. This rudder disaster seems to have been common to recent gales. Some of Her Majesty's ships, though well found and efficiently manned, did not escape the prevailing fatality. The *Aboukir's* rudder was sprung, and her port quarter-boats washed away. This is a proof that the line-of-battle ships rolled their gunwales in the water, or that the sea ran very high. The *Centurion*, also, lost the boats slung on the starboard quarter. The *Edgar*, another liner, following suit, had her quarter-boats carried away. Had either of these ships of war been freighted with passengers, we should have been deluged with the most doleful accounts of their

unseaworthiness, and unfitness to contend with an Atlantic gale. As they were manned by Seamen, we are not frightened by stories of water finding its way down the hatches, and spoiling we know not how many yards of silk, and crushing the steel of crinoline. The *Great Eastern* was in difficulty for two days, because her rudder-post was broken, but it did not prevent her from getting over it, though, from her excessive dimensions, and the necessity for fitting an exceedingly strong steering apparatus, there occurred sufficient delay to break the pianoforte, and tumble the cows down the skylight. Perhaps if we could have long yarns from affrighted sea-sick marines on board the line-of-battle ships, they would tell of awful hurricanes, how decks were swept, lower yards dipped in the waves, and boats stove—how shot rolled from the racks, how kids, monkeys, pannicans, and crockery danced about the decks, and many other very common incidents of bad weather at sea. Some such accounts are in circulation respecting the *Hero* and *Trafalgar*. They met with a gale off the Coast of Ireland, but, despite the tales of terrified horse-marines, they made a secure port, and dropped anchor in smooth water at Berehaven, with the loss of some gingerbread and spun yarn.

It is said that the requisite strength of the rudder-post of the *Great Eastern* had been miscalculated. As iron 10 inches in diameter is equal to timber of 8 feet 4 inches diameter, surely this ought to have stood the strain; but as perforating iron always weakens it, and the post broke off where the pin entered to keep on a nut, the disaster, in so far as the metal was concerned, is solved. The *Times* tells us that the fabricators of this sea giant seem to have given him a sufficient framework, backbone, ribs, and skin. They must now give him stronger arms, if any at all, or be content with the less speed and greater safety of a screw. How one screw would drive this ship at fourteen knots, we cannot see. The pitch of the screw is so large that it is scarcely covered when the ship is loaded. There is a limit to the diameter of the blades of a screw if it is to be submerged, and there is also a limit to the revolutions of a screw. Unless

the *Great Eastern* can be loaded so as to draw more water, it is not practicable to give her a larger propeller, and, therefore, if she is to displace more water, her steam power must be increased in a certain ration. The same writer goes on to say:-- 'The necessity of a keel, and of greater depth for the working of a sufficient screw, leads to the natural difficulty of want of harbours and moorage for a craft drawing, we will suppose, 35 feet of water.' We suppose this draught of 35 feet is what the writer would insist upon as the right proportion for the big ship. This means an addition to her depth in the water of 10 feet. Certainly she would be steadier if thus sunk, but she would turn out a slow vessel with her existing horse power. The writer condemns her paddle-wheels as being weak. There were heavier and stronger than any other steamer's, and we have yet to learn whether, had the best-built vessel in the world been in her position for forty-eight hours, her paddles would have lasted longer, or she could have steamed back into port equally unscathed as regards damage to hull. There might, the *Times* observes, be several pairs of paddles. Perhaps the writer is not ware that several sets of paddles give little, if any, increase of power, and that the foremost ones would do the work, whilst the after ones would run round in the fleeting water driven aft by the foremost paddles. Driving a second set of wheels would be akin to battling with the air. But the writer sees the correct thing, and strikes at the root at once. He finds that in the storm the paddles of the *Great Eastern* had not power enough to battle with the elements as a swimmer does with his arms! Here is a grand simile—a rotating wheel like the action of a man in the water, who strikes out with two arms right ahead and feathers his hands as they return. The *Times* understands the subject, for the writer has been to France:--'Everybody who has crossed to Boulogne knows the shocks a paddle may receive from a Channel wave, and how the whole power of the engines seems to be tried when, after the paddles have almost risen out of the water, they are immediately submerged. In this conflict with immense solid mountains of water, coming against the *Great Eastern* at a relative velocity of twelve or

fifteen miles an hour, the arms of the mighty swimmer had, as we have observed, only a third, if so much, of the power possessed by the *Persia*.' This wonderful science and nautical knowledge is picked up by passengers to Boulogne. 'The *Great Eastern* [this savaan states] had arms only a third of the power possessed by the *Persia*.' The horse power of the *Persia* is 900, that of the paddle engines of the *Great Eastern* 1,200; and if the power of the *Great Eastern* was not proportioned to her bulk, as the writer declares, she could not have been driven against a gale at a velocity of twelve or fifteen miles an hour, with a wind a-beam, nor could side seas strike her at that rate. In the teeth of a gale it seems that the *Great Eastern* ought to be brought up to cross the seas instead of presenting a broadside to them. This is her weak point. Hove to, or driving against a sea, she would make fine weather in a storm!" (The Shipping and Mercantile Gazette, Oct. 5, 1861)

"Report of Captain James Walker, Master of the Great Eastern (s), of London, 13,343 tons register, from Liverpool for New York (merchandise and passengers):--

Left Liverpool Sept. 10, weather fine, wind moderate from the westward. Proceeded, and all went well till in lat. 50 26 N, long. 9 45 W, when the accident below stated occurred. On Thursday, Sept. 12, at 6:30 P.M., the weather being boisterous, and the wind SW, was struck by a heavy sea, carrying away the port paddle-wheel; stopped the paddle engines; midnight, fearful gale, with a terrific sea. Friday, 1 A.M., ship took a heavy sea on board and shipped a large quantity of water. 2 A.M. washed four boats from port side and one on starboard side, starboard paddle-wheel carried away; sent hands to put on extra relieving tackles, and found rudder-head gone; commenced rigging a purchase to steer the ship by, ship during the time rolling fearfully. Sunday, 5 P.M., finished steering gear and turned ahead slow. Tuesday, A.M., made the Fastnet Rock; 9 30, stopped the engine off the Old Head of Kinsale to repair steering gear; 3 P.M., steering gear repairs. Friday 8 50 A.M., came to an

anchor at Queenstown Harbour, having for the two previous days made fruitless attempts to enter it, the rudder being unmanageable. The Port Admiral sent the steam tender Advice to render what assistance lay in his power.” (Mitchell’s Maritime Register, Oct. 5, 1861)

“Commission of the Confederate States of America, Paris, October 5, 1861.

Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, etc.

Sir: We have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt on the 1st instant of your dispatch No. 7, and dated July 29, 1861.

In a previous dispatch, the Commission had announced an intention to proceed to Paris for the purpose of opening negotiations with the French Government for the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States, but this has been postponed from various causes, chief among which was the hope of the receipt of a dispatch containing some instructions from the President upon points which we had submitted, as well as the daily expectations of receiving news of important military events before Washington.

We have been reliably informed that the British Ministry, since the date of Earl Russell’s last communication to the Commission, has been anxiously considering the question of recognition, and, while earnestly desired to acknowledge the independence of the Confederacy, yet hesitates to take the initiative.

We are also reliably informed that Great Britain, through its Minister here, has been urging the French Government to take the lead in recognizing the independence of the Confederacy, declaring its intention to follow in the same line of policy, but that the Emperor’s Cabinet at present declines to do so, while, at the same time, it would be willing to enter into a joint act of recognition.

For some strange reasons, most probably founded in the complications of European relations, England holds aloof from joint action in this matter. This subject, as we understand, has engaged the attention of the Cabinet in council here during the present week, since the Emperor's return to Paris. We learn that a majority of the Cabinet and the Emperor are favorably disposed to our cause. In the meantime, there is much distress among the laboring poor in England, and far more in France.

In England cotton ranges from 15 to 22 cents per pound, with not enough to last, if the usual amount is consumed, till the middle of December. Manufacturers are working but little more than half time, and paying diminished wages to laborers.

The grain crop too, in England, though of admirable quality, is not an average one, and a large amount will have to be brought. In France, the deficiency in the harvest is estimated to equal in value \$200,000,000. The commerce and manufacturing interests of this country are greatly depressed.

Government revenue is largely diminished on account of the stoppage of the Southern supply of tobacco. The immense number of poor laborers thus thrown out of employ are suffering very greatly, even thus early in the fall season.

Discontent among them is being manifested. We have heard of large numbers of them assembling in murmuring complaints not far from Paris, and that, on night before last, an attempt at insurrection was made and suppressed in one of the suburbs.

These unhappy facts are acting as stimulants to urge both England and France to an act of recognition, and we have brighter and better assured hopes of achieving it than we have had at any time before since our arrival in Europe. At the same time, there are very active and powerful influences at work against us in both of these countries. In

England the chief is the Exeter Hall interest, and in France the Orleanists and the Red Republicans.

The great drawback, however, and one which we possess no means of avoiding or neutralizing, is that telegrams from American newspaper accounts of events, North and South, are all written by Northern pens under the influence of a national mendacity which the world has never before witnessed.

The intense interest felt in the contest induces all persons to seek for the earliest information, and these accounts are read with avidity. When, a month or two after, some faint glimpses of the truth are obtained by those of us who are interested in learning it, that particular event has lost its interest to the community, and public journals never make corrections or allude to the falsity of previous accounts. It is true, a very great distrust is entertained, in London and Paris, of Northern bulletins; but to take advantage of that distrust, and achieve a benefit to the South from its noble exertions, the public need the true statement of facts upon which to rest. This unfortunately we do not obtain until long after the interest has passed to fresher occurrences. The accounts received here of the Hatteras affair, the statements made as to the disaffection of the people disclosed by it in North Carolina, the assertions of large numbers of troops being forced to leave Virginia to defend the Southern coasts from similar attacks, and the action of the Kentucky Legislature, have of late rather checked the belief that the South would undoubtedly achieve a triumph.

The results of the military operations in the neighborhood of Washington are looked to by Europeans with intense interest, as in a large degree decisive of the conflict. Undoubtedly a signal triumph of the Confederate Army over General McClellan, if known here, unshorn of its genuine character, will at once sway the balance of opinion in Europe, and in the Ministries of England and France, in favor of immediate recognition.

We have asked for an unofficial interview with the Emperor. Up to the closing of this dispatch we have received no reply to our request. The Emperor will leave Paris for Compiègne at 2 P.M. to-day to receive the King of Prussia, and will probably be absent a week. Our colleague, Mr. Mann, remains in London, but will join us in the event of an interview being accorded. He has written to us announcing the arrival in London on the 4th instant of Mr. Hotze, of the C. S. Army, with letters from the War Department to its agents under date of 6th September.

It may be proper to state that the opinion expressed by us, as to the effect of military success by the Confederate Arm, is based upon an interview held yesterday by Mr. Rost with the Minister or Marine and the Colonies.

It may be proper to state that all the dispatches of the States Department previous to No. 7 have been received.

We have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

W. L. Yancey,
P. A. Rost.

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

October 7, 1861 (Monday)

“Letter from on Board the Great Eastern.

The following letter written by one of our well known citizens, who has been abroad in Europe for the past three months, to his partner in this city, though not intended for publication, has sufficient interest in this locality, where the writer and Mr. Whiton are so well known, to justify its publication, for the gratification of their numerous friends who will be rejoiced to hear of their safety:

On Board the Great Eastern,
Queenstown, Ireland, Sept. 18th, 1861

My Dear Hawes:--As I had previously informed you was my intention, myself and Mr. Whiton took passage on the Great Eastern, bound from Liverpool to New York, and sailed from the former port on Tuesday the 10th inst.—leaving the offing at about 5 o'clock P.M.

We had about 400 passengers, of all classes, and these with the ship's crew of 360 men made altogether 760 souls on board. The ship had little freight and little ballast; and as a consequence she stood high and towering out of water as if to invite the perils we were unhappily destined to encounter in her. We had, however, fine weather, a smooth sea and a pleasant run until Thursday the 12th inst., at about 4 o'clock P.M., when, being well off the Irish coast on our way, a storm—not of great violence at first—broke upon us. No apprehensions were immediately felt for the safety of the vessel, but as the storm increased in severity and her huge proportions began to yield to the shock and gather motion, confidence in the boasted security of the vessel against the discomfort of sea-sickness and cognate evils speedily gave way to convictions too nauseating to need other demonstration that there was to be at least no exemption from the ordinary annoyances of a sea voyage. Not only so, but, the storm increasing, the work of destruction within and without soon became so frightful as to justify the most serious apprehensions for the safety of the vessel itself. By 5 o'clock P.M. the storm had increased greatly while the motion of the vessel had become so violent as to defeat all attempt at order within, but still, what was more important, some sort of order was yet preserved on deck. Soon afterwards, however, it was discovered that the vessel was not under command. On attempting to bring her out of the trough of the sea, in which she was in great danger of foundering, she did not obey her helm. This at the time was supposed to be all attributable to the extreme violence of the storm and her immense size; but speedily the alarming discovery was made that the *rudder* was gone, and that the vessel was drifting at the mercy of the elements! The rudder post, of wrought iron, ten inches in diameter, had broken below the arms by

which its action was controlled. Up to this time the vessel had been working her paddles and also her screw; but now the waves had not only taken away the rudder, but the side wheels as well—leaving not even the *remnant* of a wheel upon one side, and tearing up and destroying the heavy iron guards around both in the most frightful manner. This, of course, left us only the screw upon which to depend for motion, aside from the vessel's sails, with no power whatever left to govern or control that motion. All that could be done for the time was to allow the vessel to *drift*, remaining passive as we might be able as to consequences! It was a serious and trying time, that dark and gloomy Thursday night. Wildly drifting upon the ocean, helpless, almost hopeless, our immense vessel—the upper deck of which stood *forty feet* above her water line—was constantly rolling from one side to the other with a violence that put both life and limb in peril, each surge bringing the vessel upon its side with a crash that threatened to crush it to atoms, and its only safety for the time depending upon the contingency as to whether the water should come in upon her quarter. Fortunately the water did not come in, and though the vessel rolled so low and fearfully, she righted beautifully from each recurring shock.—While destruction on deck seemed complete as to everything except that the hull of the vessel remained staunch and uninjured, ruin below was far more frightful to the view though really less appalling to the reality. The violence of the motion of the vessel had torn the furniture, fixtures and ornamental work in the grand saloon, dining saloons, pantries, store-rooms, and indeed in every part of the vessel, from their places, and left everything free to move whithersoever it might be carried. Imagination would fail to picture the terrific scene everywhere exhibited below deck. Crockery, glass-ware, silver-ware, chandeliers, lamps, sofas, tables, chairs—indeed the entire contents of the grand saloon, the two great dining saloons and their pantries, with their fixtures, were mingled in indiscriminate confusion and were running and sliding from one side of the immense saloons to the other, pouring down the gang-ways through to the state rooms below, carrying away

railings, doors, and every other obstacle in their progress, with a force that soon made fragments of everything, and put everybody in peril who were not fortunate enough to barricade a corner in which to lash themselves fast. The crash and din of this general destruction, together with the constant breaking of windows and sky-lights and the falling of glass, added to the incessant plunging, rolling and crushing of the baggage and freights below, made the scene one of such awful terror that there was not needed a knowledge of the really greater dangers without to impress the mind with the most serious forebodings.

The storm continued until Friday afternoon the 13th, when it abated somewhat, though the sea continued very rough. During all this time the vessel was rolling with great violence and drifting away from the usual track of ships, so that we had little hope of soon falling in with any craft should we be so fortunate as to keep afloat. Happily we knew we were so far from land that we only had the present danger of foundering at sea before us. Our only chance of escape was in falling in with something that could take us off, or in rigging a rudder that should give us control of the motion of the ship; and neither of these chances seemed encouraging. For, as to the first, except in a smooth sea it would be impossible to transfer our passengers from our immense craft to another vessel, and as to the last, there seemed to be nobody on board of sufficient genius and capacity to rig a rudder—and thus we drifted, dejected and forlorn, until 8 o'clock P.M. of Saturday the 14th., when a small brig hove in sight, and answered our signals of distress by coming along side within speaking distance.

In answer to our request she promised to lay by us during the night, and render, if need be, such assistance as might be in her power. This promise she faithfully fulfilled as to lying by us, all honor and praise to her kind-hearted master, and fortunately there was nothing more she could do for us. Yet it was cheering to our sad hearts to have this little craft, not large enough to hold more than the

half of us, and which really would have been able to do little more than pick up some of our drowned and dead on our vessel going to pieces, in sight, though conscious that she could do little for us. It was the first sail we had seen during our troubles, as it was the only one we did see until we met the *Persia*, hereinafter mentioned. Many a man in our vessel would have given his all to have been put safely on board that little, uncomfortable billow tossed bark that night. *She had a rudder*; and she played around us so beautifully, contrasted with our own heavy, rolling, powerless, helpless condition, as to give home that *she* was safe for those who high fortune it might be to tread her little deck. But our captain would not listen to a suggestion for the attempted transfer of a person.

On Sunday, the 15th, the weather and sea being more favorable, an attempt was made to rig a rudder—the brig still standing by us. At about 5 o'clock P.M., the rudder was shipped and the experiment made to get steerage upon the vessel. This attempt, fortunately, was so far successful as to give control of the general direction of the ship at once, and the screw being put in motion we parted from the brig and made for the coast of Ireland, ascertained to be distant about three hundred miles. The night was a most uncomfortable one. The steering apparatus, extemporized and called a rudder, was not sure to be a success, and while it worked imperfectly the rolling motion of the vessel also continued as disagreeable as ever. Still passenger and crew all felt more hopeful, and Monday morning, the 16th, broke upon us surpassingly beautiful, with a more quiet but still heavy sea. Defects in our steering apparatus had been somewhat remedied, and now all seemed to have gathered hopeful assurance that we should safely make Queenstown harbor, whither the vessel had been headed. At 10 o'clock A.M., the steamship *Persia*, from Liverpool to New York, hove in sight. She had left Queenstown at five o'clock the evening before, and we were rejoiced to get into this near communication with the shore for which we had such longings. In addition to this it gave us great relief to know that she would take to America

intelligence of our safety that would quiet alarm likely to exist there by reason of our failure to reach New York at the time we were due. The Persia came near us and received intelligence of our disabled condition with assurance that we now felt confident of reaching port without assistance, and thereupon left us on her way to America, while we steamed slowly onward towards port. Our progress was necessarily slow, as we only had the aid of our screw, and even that could not be worked to its full power by reason of our imperfect steerage upon the vessel. Still we now felt measurably safe under the prospect of continued good weather, and Monday afternoon and night we spent comfortably on board our great wreck. On Tuesday the 17th, we succeeded in casting anchor outside Queenstown harbor at 7 o'clock in the evening. Thus terminates our week's adventure on board the Great Eastern.

It is due to the passengers to say that all have sustained themselves during the perilous incidents through which we have passed with great courage and firmness. The ladies particularly offered in their persons commendable examples of cool and courageous conduct. Only two accidents of a serious nature have occurred to any on board. One is the case of a cook who was badly scalded, and the other a deck hand who had several of his ribs broken in assisting to work the steering apparatus. The destruction of property on board the vessel is immense—as well that pertaining to the vessel itself as the property of passengers. Except the hull and machinery, which are uninjured, the vessel is a complete wreck; while the most of the heavy baggage and personal effects of the passengers are lost—ground to fragments, and even all trace of identity lost in many cases. Several ladies with three to five thousand dollar wardrobes already appear as claimants for damages.

Of the ship itself it only need be said that experience has now clearly demonstrated that she is too immensely large for safety, as it had previously done that she was for profit. As a structure, a piece of mechanism, the good and bad are strangely blended and commingled. She has a hull of

unequaled strength, as our safety through days of wild drifting, the sport of angry elements, shows. The great cause of complaint, however, at the recent disaster is found in the insufficient and improper preparations bestowed upon the vessel to fit her for the voyage. The storm we encountered was severe, yet it hardly deserves to be called a *gale*. We *should* have been prepared to encounter one of even greater severity. That we were not, is not so much due to the faulty construction of the vessel as to the criminal negligence and oversight of those having charge of the preparations of the vessel for the voyage. She had too little ballast as all agree—drawing full *ten feet* less water than she ought to have done. In addition to this, she was not officered and manned fortunately or ably. The officers and crew were not only strangers to each other—picked up for the present voyage and thrown together for the first time, but they were strangers to the ship, and when the storm came upon us no man seemed to know his plan or duty. But enough. Of details I had no purpose to speak. It will take long to fit up the ship and repair for another voyage, if this be ventured upon, which I much doubt. And when this is done, if done it is to be, a greater work will remain to be accomplished to do away with the impression that her recent disaster must create, that she is not the best choice among the ocean steamers of the day, and that her character for sea worthiness remains yet to be established.

I write from on board the vessel at the first moment without knowing whether the company are to procure passage for us in another vessel, refund our money, and leave us to seek passage by other ships, or deny us all relief. Whatever they may conclude to do I hope to find passage by an early steamer.

In the meanwhile I remain, yours, &c.,

H. S. Conger”

(Janesville Daily Gazette Oct. 7, 1861)

October 9, 1861 (Wednesday)

“The dispatches from our representatives in England and France, received by Capt. Schultz, I

believe, are unimportant. The reverberation of the letter transmitted to this Government by the Emperor of Russia is being felt in England. It seems to have given great offence to the English politicians, who regard it as inimical to their country, supposing it to indicate an alliance, offensive and defensive, between Russia and this Government. They say there has always been a lurking sympathy between the American people and the Emperor of Russia, and that both nations have natural antipathies to John Bull, though they have nothing else in common.” (New York Times Oct. 10, 1861)

“The screw-steamer *City of Washington*, which sailed from Liverpool at 1 P.M. on the 25th, and from Queenstown on the 26th ult., arriving at this Port yesterday morning.

The *City of Washington* has brought 603 bales of cotton on freight.

The *City of Washington* has also brought about sixty of the passengers of the *Great Eastern*, who were taken on board at Cork Harbor, where the *Great Eastern* was still moored on the 26 ult. Among them are Rev. Dr. Patton, wife and daughter, Montgomery Gills, Esq., bearer of dispatches, wife, daughters and servant, of New-York; Rev. Dr. Neville, of Newark; and Hamilton E. Towle, C.E., of Exeter, N.H., who constructed the temporary apparatus by which the *Great Eastern* was brought safely to port at Queenstown.

The *Great Eastern* underwent a regular inspection at Queenstown on the 23d, and it is said to have demonstrated that the damage she has sustained is not nearly so great as was at first reported. She goes to Milford to be repaired, and will as soon as completed resume her position between Liverpool and New-York.

The *City of Washington*'s news has been anticipated by the *Norwegian*, at Quebec; but the details that we able to obtain from our European files and correspondence are of great interest.”

(New York Times, Oct. 10, 1861)

“The Emperor and the Great Eastern.— Among the on dits current during the week is one which we think is worth while publishing. It has been stated that the Emperor of the French, with that vast amount of sagacity which so distinguishes him, has made overtures for the purchase of the Great Eastern. His Imperial Majesty is evidently impressed with the value of the great ship as a transport, and his confidence in her is in no way shaken by the mishap which lately occurred to her, and which was brought about by a chain of circumstances which could scarcely happen again.—*Naval and Military Gazette*.

The Great Eastern.—After receiving the report of the Great Ship Company, which contained only a brief notification of the catastrophe, the officers of the marine department of the Board of Trade issued instructions, calling upon the owners and commander of the vessel to forward, under the requirements of the Mercantile Marine Act, an official account of the casualty and amount of damages occasioned, prior to directing a local inquiry into all the circumstances by Captain Robertson, the head of the department, in conjunction with the Local Marine Board at Cork.” (Liverpool Telegraph, Oct. 9, 1861)

October 10, 1861 No. 66.]

“Department of State.
Washington, October 10, 1861.

Sir: Some unaccounted for obstruction of the mails has caused a delay in the receipt of your despatch of the 7th of September (No. 44) until this time.

As I expected, you very properly anticipated my instructions on the subject of the conditional execution of the treaty proposed by Mr. Thouvenel, and your proceedings in that respect are entirely approved.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

WILLIAM L. DAYTON, Esq., &c., &c., &c.”

“40 Albemarle Street;
London, Oct. 10, 1861.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:--

It is almost needless for me to assure you that I have at all times expressed my opinions and views in relation to “American Affairs”, as unreservedly to you as if I were a British subject or you a citizen of the Confederate States.

Shortly after my arrival in this metropolis I read the instructions to you under which I was to proceed upon my mission. Therein I was authorized to represent to the different governments to which I was accredited, that a re-construction of the Union was an “impossibility.” But for this explicit assurance, and my own confident belief on the subject, I would not have accepted the appointment of Commissioner. My conscience would have peremptorily forbidden me to ask for recognition of the Independence of my country, by a foreign government, had there been so much as the shadow of a doubt upon my mind that the Confederate States would indignantly resist any and every overture which might be made to them to return to the embraces of a union which they not only loathed but positively despised.

At the time of my leaving home the notion of coercion was no where seriously entertained in the North. Seward himself had said, in a speech in the Senate, only a few weeks before, that “the Union could not be maintained by force and that a Union of force was a despotism.” I was, therefore, encouraged to believe that upon my arrival here there would not be a lengthened delay in the opening, by Her Majesty’s Government, of diplomatic relations with the Government of the Confederate States, but, within twenty days after my arrival the War Proclamation of Lincoln appeared. In its presence the most that I could, then, reasonably expect was the recognition of

my country as a Belligerent. Nobly, justly, promptly did Her Majesty's Government accord to it that position. I can never cease to be grateful for the adoption of this rightful measure, -- a precedent which has been emulated by the Emperor of the French, the Queen of Spain, and other Continental Sovereigns. Thus, that which is as good as European Law, upon the subject, establishes the legality of the Flag of the Confederate States. -- Thanks! -- a Thousand Thanks! -- to Her Majesty's Government for its wise consideration in this regard, -- a manifestation of wisdom which commends the approval of disinterested enlightened civilization.

I have been too long in diplomatic employment (off and on for nearly twenty years) for my judgment to be influenced by impatient anxiety; but, it does seem to me that the time is now at hand when it would be eminently proper, in an inter-national sense, to say nothing of the important and manifold material interests of the British realm, for Her Majesty's Government to acknowledge the de facto existence of the Government of the Confederate States. This is demanded, emphatically demanded, in the great cause of humanity, Christianity, and civilization. Great Britain, it must be admitted, is pre-eminently at the head of that cause; and, therefore, in my opinion it is the more imperative upon her to act, if by action she can subserve its interests. -- France, Spain, and the other European Powers and States would have no alternative but to immediately follow her lead. It must be clear to every intelligent mind that the subjugation of the South by the North is not within the range of probability; and even were subjugation to occur all publicists agree that it is "more easy to conquer than to hold."

The acknowledgement of the Independence of the Confederate States by Great-Britain -- endorse as the measure assuredly would be by all well intentioned governments, and sustained by the good of every mind, -- would speedily occasion a cessation of hostilities on the part of the North, and prevent the further effusion of Anglo-Saxon blood. The Lincoln Administration would, perhaps, be well pleased with

such an excuse for terminating an inconsiderate and vicious war.

But I find myself at the end of my sheet. In a few days I shall take the liberty of providing you with some additional views with respect to the importance, to Great Britain, of an early recognition.

Believe me, my Dear Sir,

Yours Cordially and Faithfully,

A. Dudley Mann.”
(Emory University)

“Great Eastern SS
Milford Haven
10th October 1861

To the Chairman and Board
Directors Great Ship Company
London

Gentlemen,

In accordance with your letter of the 24th I proceed to report the principle events of the voyage of this ship from the date of her leaving Liverpool to her arrival in Milford Haven – referring you to the copy of the ship’s log for further details. On leaving the moorings at Liverpool and after discharging Pilot at 3.55 am on the 10th September, the engines were set on full speed the crew being employed in getting ship clear for sea, stowing away passengers’ luggage, securing stores and furniture. At 1.40 p.m. the following day Wednesday, the Fastnet Rock was abeam from which I took my departure. Towards midnight a long westerly swell set in ship rolling at times.

Thursday 4 am. Breeze and sea increasing at noon the ship rolled heavily at times from a long swell and cross sea. At 2 p.m. I put on the relieving tackles. Shortly after a boat getting unslung and

stove, stopped the Paddle Engines and cut the boat adrift which fell clear and again turned ahead. The gale increasing with a very heavy sea, causing the ship to roll very heavily. I hauled her up to the sea, but in about 10 minutes she fell off 4 or 5 points and could not get her to the wind again. I then set fore staysail and trysail to get her before the wind but the clew of the trysail was carried away and the fore staysail was split by the violence of the gale. From this time the ship became unmanageable constantly rolling sponsons under. I believe the Rudder shaft had parted at the moment when the ship first refused to keep to the wind between 4 and 5 o'clock. The fracture was not discovered till the next morning owing to the steady resistance offered by fourteen men at the relieving gear and the churning up of large fragments of iron 8 and 9 inches long in the fractured part of the rudder shaft which were held together by a screw nut 11 in deep and prevented the broken ends of the shaft from turning freely on each other. Neither the men at the helm, nor those at the reversing gear heard any noise or felt any jar which could lead to a suspicion that the rudder or shaft had parted. About 6.30 p.m. the Port Paddle wheel broke up and was carried away. About midnight the Gale was fearful and a tremendous sea – ship labouring and rolling heavily.

Friday 15th 1 am. The ship rolling fearfully – rolled a sea on board which washed away two boats and stoved two more on port quarter and one boat on starboard quarter and the hatches off upper decks letting a large quantity of water down into the aft cargo space where such of the passengers' luggage remained, which time and the storm had not allowed to be removed to the Baggage room, altho' I considered the after cargo space, where the baggage then was to be an appropriate safe receptacle for it, under all ordinary circumstances. The more so, as on the ship's previous voyage the said cargo space was fitted up with berths for the troops and occupied by them. The water shipped washing to and from must soon have dashed the luggage in this cargo space to pieces.

At 2 am the starboard Paddle wheel was carried away from the Base (Bass?) and hung upon the base for several hours causing great disturbance and threatening danger to the ship's side as the ship rolled till it was finally carried clear away at 7.30 am. About 6 am having sent the 3rd Officer below to see that the spare steering gear was clear on lower deck I found that the rudder shaft had parted within the bearing cap or screw nut and just below the spare tiller – the weather slightly moderating immediately commenced rigging a temporary rudder. About 1 p.m. the gale moderating fast with less sea I stopped and reversed lower engine to get her head round – no doubt at the time the rudder port was carried away which was seen by the ships carpenter to fall off a few minutes afterwards. I now found time to examine the state of the Passengers' luggage and found a portion of it damaged – that in the Baggage Room before storm began was well and safely stowed and uninjured. The temporary rudder being now ready I stopped screw and launched it which assisted considerably in bringing the ship's head to the wind. At midnight the ship hove to under the trysails. During the morning the ship had been drifting to west and during the afternoon Southwest.

Saturday 14th the ship continued rolling very heavily and carrying away some of the internal fixings at almost every roll, having lost with her paddle, the power of steadying in the trough of the sea. The crew were engaged all day at the rudder apparatus getting rudder chains fixed and otherwise fixing steering gear. At 8.30 p.m. hailed the brig 'Magnet' of Halifax and got her Captain to lay by us during the night and the following morning. By 5 p.m. on Sunday, the steering gear being finished turned screw ahead slowly and tried to charter the 'Magnet' at the request of the passengers and take her in tow. Her Captain agreed to accompany us but would not be towed it being nearly calm at 6 p.m. went ahead full speed, and before 8 p.m. lost sight of the 'Magnet'. On Monday 16th September the weather was fine and clear with smooth waters. At 11 am exchanged signals with the 'Persia' bound

west but would not venture to stop the ship to speak lest the temporary rudder should fail the propeller.

Tuesday 17th made the Fastnet Rock ship steering badly and at 9.30 am stopped engine off the Old Head of Kinsale to repair the steering gear and fired two signal guns which brought off the coastguard boat and at 11.00 am sent telegrams ashore by the same. At 4 p.m. the steering gear being repaired proceeded for Cork Harbour. At 5 p.m. secured the 'Robert Bruce' to attend the ship. At 7.30 p.m. anchored off Cork Harbour about midnight the breeze increased from SSW. At 9 am on

Wednesday 18th heave up and assisted by four tugs tried to cant ship's head for the harbour but the breeze was too strong. At noon the breeze was strong and squally and at 3.30 p.m. anchored again off the Harbour but the ship would not answer helm. Drifted down upon a fishing smack at anchor showing no lights. At 8.30 anchored in 17 fathoms. Thursday September 19th 8.30 Heave up and stood off shore and at 11.00 am it blowing strong with falling barometer deemed it advisable for the safety of ship and passengers to proceed to sea till the weather moderated. At 2 p.m. there was a bad gale from west with rising sea and towards midnight the wind veering to the N West and moderating, hauled the ship's head to the wind. The sea during the night ran very high, but the ship steering well the passengers passed the night til 2 o'clock in the morning in dancing and other amusements proving they had every confidence in the ship.

At 8.30 Friday morning September 20 came to anchor in Queenstown harbour. As you are doubtless acquainted with the circumstances connected with the landing of the Passengers through Mr Gates I will pass that by. Sat 21st 11.20 the ship 'Charles of Dartmouth' while getting under weigh drifted down upon us and did herself much damage. Sunday 22 The ship took a berth higher up the harbour.

Monday 23 Got up cargo to be surveyed from water. Tuesday and Wednesday passed without anything to note except that the ship was prepared to receive visitors and great efforts were made to

get the steering gear safe and trustworthy. Friday 27 a heavy gale from SSW when I deemed it advisable to get up steam in case of necessity. From Friday 27 September to Saturday 5 October all hands were busy in getting ship into order and ready for sea. At 4 p.m. on latter day in compliance with orders unmoored ship and proceeded slowly out of Harbour. At 5.30 p.m. the Pilot left the ship. At 7.10 p.m. Ballycotton Light bearing true north 5 and a half miles turned ahead full speed at 2.20 am on Sunday October 6 made the small light slowed the engines at 2.45 am.

4 am made St Annes Head at 6 am stopped engines and took Pilot with some of the directors of the Company on board who had come out on a steamer to meet us. At 8.20 let go port anchor and starboard anchor at 9.00 am mooring ship with 75 fathoms in both anchors the least water being 6 fathoms immediately opposite the Town of Milford.

The Great Eastern now has safely moored and has swung clear ever since. The crew were discharged on Monday 14th October and paid off on Tuesday. I enclose the list of officers, petty officers, engineers and sailors re-engaged whose services will be required for some little time.

I believe that the disasters which have happened to the ship are entirely and solely due to the breaking of the Rudder shaft at some very bad welding which I have no doubt was the cause of her falling off suddenly and not coming up to the wind, on Thursday 12 September about 5 p.m..

The loss, first of the Port Paddle and then the Starboard Paddle followed from the violence of the sea and heavy rolling and other misfortunes followed. The rolling became excessive when the Paddle wheels were gone and defied for some time every effort to secure those and furniture.

The damage done to ornamental ironwork and sailings in Grand and Ladies Saloons are repaired and these saloons bear hardly any traces of what they have gone through. The large pictures and Mirrors with the exception of one broken are uninjured. The Dining Saloons will also be set to rights by the Ships Joiners in a few days – all broken glasses in the skylights as well as the skylights themselves are repaired and the ship

generally will be shortly restored to good order with the exception of the Rudder, Rudder Post and Paddle Wheels. The Paddle boxes are undamaged but the woodwork about the sponsors has to be replaced.

Four boats have been washed away. Two boats slightly stove in and to be repaired on board.

The remainder of the boats uninjured.

Total – no cables or anchors lost, the iron stock of one anchor gone.

Although a considerable quantity of furniture much of which may be repaired on board there is sufficient in the ship for every department. I enclose copies of the passengers' stores, wines beers and spirits remaining which show that a considerable loss of sherry was sustained by the stanchion giving way.

All the cabins and companions on deck are now in good order and are being cleaned and repainted where needed. The hull of the ship and the engines and boilers are sound as when leaving Liverpool; not a rivet has started throughout the ship, every door swings easy upon its hinges, the rigging masts and funnels are neither moved or strained.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant

James Walker

Commander

October 12, 1861 (Saturday)

“THE ACCIDENT TO THE "GREAT EASTERN."

Mr. Howard Paul, one of the passengers on board of the *Persia*, furnishes us with the following items concerning the Leviathan :

The steamship *Persia*, which left Liverpool on Saturday, September 11, met the *Great Eastern* on Monday, September 16, at eleven o'clock A.M., two hundred and twelve miles from Queenstown. On approaching her the passengers of the *Persia* observed that she was rolling very much, but had no idea of her condition, which a nearer view afforded. It was found that she had lost both of her paddle-wheels ; the whole of the boats (with the exception of two) on her port side were stove in or disabled;

and, the rudder-head being carried away, she was steering for home with the rudder-chains. Large ropes were stretched from bulwark to bulwark for the passengers to cling to, and the rolling was so fearful that one moment the great ship revealed the whole of her decks at a most distressing angle, and the next the bilge was plainly visible. On discovering the plight of the vessel Captain Judkins hoisted a signal—"Do you require aid?" which was only replied to by a large board being displayed on the paddle-box ; but the characters thereon being so small the writing could not be deciphered. The *Great Eastern* still kept on her course, working with her screw, and for twenty minutes the *Persia* followed her in order to get an answer to her signal. The passengers of the *Great Eastern* were scattered over the decks (there were reported to be about four hundred on board of her), all of whom seemed straining anxiously forward to catch a view of the *Persia*. The ladies waved their handkerchiefs, the men their hats, and, notwithstanding the extraordinary roll of the vessel, the utmost enthusiasm seemed to be manifested by her passengers. Up to this time no answer had been given to the signal of the *Persia*, and as she dipped her ensign and turned her head away, another board written on was elevated from the paddle-box of the *Great Eastern*, with no better result. Even with the aid of the glasses of the officers the characters could not be distinguished. During this time the *Great Eastern* had not slackened her pace, and when the *Persia* got some distance from her she hoisted the signal "Come within hail;" but as Captain Judkins justly said, he had followed her for half an hour, asked her if she required aid, and receiving no reply in the usual manner, he could lose no further time by again putting back." (Harper's Week, Oct. 12, 1861)

Nashville leaves Charleston with \$2 million and number of unrelated personnel and heads for Bermuda. Commanding is Lt. Pegram and on board is Lt. Col. Peyton, with ex-Senators Slidell and Mason.

“The steamer Bohemian has arrived, with European dates to the 20th ult: Napoleon had refused to allow his officers to join the U.S. army. The Great Eastern had reached port. A large number of her passengers received fractures in consequence of the tremendous rolling of the ship. The London Times continues its disparagement of the Union cause.” (Dawson’s Daily Times and Union, Fort Wayne, Indiana, October 12, 1861)

“A Correspondent, whose letter will be found in another part of our impression, makes some comments on the *Great Eastern’s* rudder. He conceives that the accident to the rudder-post was solely owing to the great breadth of the rudder, and he thereupon comes to the conclusion that, instead of twelve feet, it should be but six feet, or one-half. In the account of the ship’s passage, round from Portland to Holyhead, published in this journal on the 11th October, 1859, we gave full particulars of the rudder and steering gear, and pointed out what a strain would, at time, be brought on this guiding appendage; but we differ with our Correspondent as to his theory on the diminished size giving equal power over the ship. In all the published communications there is a general agreement on the fact that, before the accident to the wheel, Captain Walker evdeavoured to bring her up to the wind, but failed to do so, even with the aid of canvas, in consequence of the excessive beam-pressure; and although the rudder was so very broad she refused to answer her helm. It is, therefore, not reasonable to suppose that if she could not be steered by a broad rudder, she would have been brought to by a small one. The fault was not in the rudder. It was the wind she held on her broadside. Perhaps our Correspondent is not aware that, in theory and practice, the actual strain on the wheel or tiller is the same whether the rudder is broad or narrow. With a broad rudder a slighter angle is exposed than with a lesser one. The angle of resistance is proportioned

to the breadth, and if a full turn is required on a rudder of six feet, only half a turn is necessary with one of twelve feet. With a six-foot rudder the helm would be hard up, when the twelve-foot rudder would be half over. If the great breadth failed to bring the *Great Eastern* up, the lesser one would have still less effect, if that were possible. The real question is to be solved by experience, and in this case it is evident that an ordinary rudder would be powerless over such an immense hull.

The *Great Eastern* is 692 feet long, and a rudder that will turn this ship's head in any required direction needs to have a strong resisting hold on the water. Had her paddle-wheels been so fitted as to back one astern whilst the other went a-head, the rudder might have been reduced; and even with her existing wheels, the strain would not have been so extraordinary whilst they were efficient. But from the Master's official report we find that on the Thursday evening, at half-past 6, the port paddle-wheel was carried away, and the following morning, at 2 o'clock, the starboard one was disabled. After the destruction of the paddles the side power was lost, and then a disproportioned strain was thrown on the steering gear. Directly the second paddle was carried away the iron post of the rudder-head went. When this latter disaster took place, contrivances were resorted to in order to make the rudder still available. And here the want of foresight on the part of the managers is made apparent. Had there been a cross bar to the outer end of the rudder, with chains brought in-board, and worked by preventive tackles between decks during the storm, much of the strain would have been taken off the head of the post. But the ship went to sea unprepared to meet with bad weather. Nothing seems to have been secured, not even the cabin furniture, and, therefore, to look for precautions against the rudder being wrenched off and lost altogether seems unreasonable. The seas were left to do their worst. When she left port, things were stowed on board as though she was bound on a river excursion, and it is this culpable mismanagement from the beginning that has told so disastrously on the prospects of the Shareholders.

The Directors were fully warned, at the onset, to look to the security of the rudder. In the *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette* report of her trial trip round to Holyhead is the following passage:-- 'Eight men were at the wheel, and when the ship was altering her course they appeared to have enough to do; but when she was steering a straight course, their task seemed to be an easy one, and four only were then retained. When the sails were brailed up, eight men were again put to the wheel, and from the great breadth of the rudder—twelve feet—and the mere chance of a sea striking it from abeam, this number was, on full consideration, deemed requisite. Once, when several turns were given to the wheel, and the order "Steady" came from the Captain forward, the moment the men began to put the helm amidships, the wheel flew round by itself, and took command of the wheel-house. There may be times when it will be desirable to place four more hands on, and another wheel, to be manned in bad weather, would give so much additional leverage.' Here were distinctly pointed out the chances of the rudder being struck with a beam sea, and we cannot understand why no means were devised to save it in the event of the supports going.

There is another difficulty we formerly glanced at, and that is the lowering her boats in a sea. As the *Great Eastern* rises out of the water like a line-of-battleship, she will roll as badly as they do; and we have seen that in the late gales our fine liners lost their boats. We have doubted whether the *Great Eastern's* boats could be safely lowered in a heavy sea and beam wind, and we would recommend this point to those who may have the future management. Had the mast gone by the board, and stove in the ship's side, when she was rolling so fearfully, there would have been an ingress of water and a rush to the boats. Usually, when a ship is unmanageable and wallows in the trough of the seas, she loses her masts. Fortunate, perhaps, was it that the *Great Eastern's* tremendous masts did not fall over her side. Of all ships in the world there is none better adapted for launching a

stage from her decks—an appliance recommended in the early career of the ship. A stage made with centre ‘ways’ and air cases, on wheels, would not take up much room, for it might be used as deck seats. On this stage the boats might be launched clear over the stern or quarter; and even if it failed to accomplish this, the stage, or stages, would support a large number of persons in the water. The *Great Eastern*, however, is still sound in hull and machinery, and the managers should provide in time for casualties. (The Shipping and Mercantile Gazette, Oct. 12, 1861)

“Charleston, S.C., October 12, 1861.

Hon. R. M. T. Hunter.

Our friends left here last night at 1 o’clock, a fast steamer, good officers, and very dark night with heavy rain. The guard boat reported that they crossed the bar about 2 o’clock, and that they could neither have been seen nor heard by the fleet. A strong northwest wind helped them, and the fleet this morning seems not to have changed position at all. As soon as we hear further I will telegraph. The steamer ought to be back in about a week, and nothing said until her return.

Communicate to Mrs. Mason.

Wm. Henry Trescott.”

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

“(40 Albermarle Street)

London, October 12, 1861.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:

The Telegram from New York, of the 1st, inst., will have informed you of the evacuation of _____’s Hill by our troops. This, I have good

reasons for believing, was a well devised stratagem. I am now, every minute, expecting intelligence from New York to the 3rd. It may be that tidings will arrive, of the long contemplated battle at Washington. If we are victorious we will have fairly won our Independence. Such, I am encouraged to believe, will be the estimate placed upon our success by the nations of the earth.

In the event of our occupation of Washington I am at a loss to perceive in view of that policy in reference to Mexico, upon what principle Great Britain, France, and Spain could continue diplomatic relations with the Lincoln government. Each of those Powers suspended intercourse with the Constitutional government of Juarez, because it was an itinerant government and acknowledged the government of Zuloaga, a palpable usurpation, for the reason that it was in the possession of the established capitol of the so-called Republic. The Constitution of the United States, and a law made in furtherance thereof, places the Capitol at Washington. If then the Lincoln government should become a wanderer how could Great-Britain continue diplomatic relations with Mr. Adams?

But I am quite persuaded that Her Majesty's Government would be most amply justified in acknowledging the Independence of the Confederate States, without additional evidence of their capacity to maintain that Independence. It appears to my mind that those States have forwarded convincing proof to the world, that they have definitively extricated their necks from the yoke of bondage which the North had proposed for them. The notion of their subjugation is too absurd to be entertained by a will informed rational being. The chances are a hundred to one, that the Southern Confederacy will be a durable, prosperous, and respected country, while the present United States will be divided, and subdivided until they are reduced to a mere fragmentary _____.

In my last I took occasion to express to you my conscientious belief that I asserted it to be the

duty of Great-Britain, as the head of civilized nations, to recognize my country. I do solemnly believe that it is her interest to do so. Can she afford to do without that country, for a lengthened period, as a customer for the products of her industry? I assure you that I do not exaggerate when I state, that when peace shall be returned we shall consume of your manufacturers, under our merely nominal tariff, at least forty millions of pounds annually. We are the most natural commercial ally that you have in the world. Your interests and our interests are identical.

While our instructions were in the course of preparation, at Montgomery, the question was raised in official circles whether the Commissioners had not better proceed to France first? I took my stand at once in favor of Great-Britain, and my wishes were acquiesced on. I have not left here for a day since I arrived, nor will I as long as I perceive that there is any thing left undone to accomplish the important objects which brought me hither.

I may say to you, that we have “Full Powers” to conclude a most liberal treaty with Lord Russell.

The nation that is the first to take us by the hand, and formally welcome us to the great family of Powers and States, will have cause to live in the affections of my countrymen. I shall be bowed down with a Cord of sorrow if Great-Britain should not be that nation.—The recurring cry in the late Union , of “our recent ally,” (France) was always hurtful to the harmonious intercourse between Great Britain and the United States. – It is perfectly natural that the latter should take its lead of the former on the matter of our recognition.

Thus you will have seen, My Dear Mr. Gregory, that I write to you with as little reserve as I would write to one of my own most trusted countrymen.

You, of course, have read the leader of The times of this morning, upon the Orleanist Princes. It is a clef d'oeuvre – in its way.

Believe me, _____ A. Dudley Mann.” (Emory University)

October 14, 1861 (Monday)

Lord Lyons writes to Earl Russell a “private and confidential” letter regarding a conversation between himself and Mr. Seward.

“Mr. Seward had the day before yesterday a long confidential conversation with me respecting your two Notes of the 9th – The one on the seizure of Mr. Bunch’s Bag of Despatches; The other on the demand for Mr. Bunch’s removal.

Mr. Seward gave me to understand that his desire was to find some mode of escaping the necessity of treating the communication of Her Majesty’s Government with the Government of the Confederate States concerning Maritime Rights as an unfriendly Act. He said that he wished to consult me privately and unofficially on this point.

He dwelt a great deal on a private letter, which he had received from Mr. Mottley, and which he said convinced him that, notwithstanding the language of the English Press, neither Her Majesty’s Ministers nor the principal Members of the Liberal Party were unfriendly to the United States or had any desire to embarrass them in their operations against the South. This unfortunate affair of Mr. Bunch had, however, Mr. Seward went on to say, brought about the exact state of things, which he had desired to avoid. Here was a plain official declaration to the United States Minster in London, not only that Her Majesty’s Government recognized the Rebels as Belligerents, but that they had entered into communication with the Rebel Government. It was extremely difficult, nay impossible, for the United States to acquiesce in communications of

this kind between Foreign Governments and the Rebels.

He appeared to me to be really testing his ingenuity to find the means of avoiding on the one hand a quarrel with us, and, on the other unpopularity with the violent Party here, and the reproach of having pusillanimously retreated from the high position he originally took up. He seemed to have hit upon two expedients to get out of the difficulty. The one was to take the communications of England with the South as things long gone by, as having taken place, before this more recent declarations of the policy of the United States. This, he said, he might be able to do, since Mr. Mottley had learned from you that the instructions, on which Mr. Bunch had acted were given so long ago as the month of May.

Mr. Seward's second expedient was to represent himself as waiting for explanations, which seemed to be promised by the last phrase in one of your notes of the 9th of September, stating your intention to address any further communication to me. He was, he said, above all things, anxious to gain time. In two months the whole business with the South would probably be finished. At any rate in two months, the North would have possession of a Cotton Port and would open it for exportation; and this would very materially change the views of the European Powers.

I said to Mr. Seward that England and France had openly declared their recognition of the South as a Belligerent; and that it would be impossible to carry on the diplomatic business between those Powers and the United States, on the false hypothesis, that the United States Government had not cognizance of this. The fact and its natural consequences must be accepted as the only basis which remained for sincere and satisfactory relations. – I then pointed out to Mr. Seward that the communication which had taken place with the Southern Government had been confined to a matter, which related exclusively to the exercise of Belligerent Rights – No subject whatever had been

introduced, except the mode in which the Belligerent Rights of the South were to be exercised at sea towards neutrals. The communication had also been carried on in the most unofficial and least ostentatious manner possible. No Agent of the British or French Government had communicated on the subject with the Southern Authorities in writing – nor even directly by word of mouth. The Declaration of the Southern Congress, which had been the result, did not contain the smallest allusion to any previous negotiations with Foreign Powers. A consideration of these facts might, I thought, go far to relieve Mr. Seward from his embarrassment in treating the question.

With respect to the date of the instructions to enter into this negotiation with the South, I said that of course they were given simultaneously with those to negotiate on the same subject with this Government. Mr. Seward would remember that the date of the despatch to me on the subject was the 18th of May. He would also recollect that in the dispatch from M. Thouvenel to M. Mercier on the same subject it was expressly stated that a communication with the Southern Government was to take place. He had, indeed, refused to receive officially copies of those despatches from M. Mercier and me, but he had had the originals for some time in his possession. He might, I thought, act with perfect confidence on the persuasions that both the English and French Instructions for the South as well as the North were dated in May last. He asked me to lend him my despatch again. This I promised him to do, and I have sent it to him. It struck me at the moment that it would only annoy him for me to remind him that you had sent a copy of it officially to Mr. Adams with your note of the 28th of August.

With regard to Mr. Seward's inference from your note of the 9th September, that you intended to make further explanations through me, I thought it only fair to point out to Mr. Seward that the note of that date in which you said that you should address any further communication to me related exclusively to his seizure of the Despatch Bag; and

that upon that subject you were in a position rather to ask for explanations than to give them. I did not however think it necessary to dwell upon this, as my object was to assist not to thwart Mr. Seward's endeavours to meet the question amicably with us.

Towards the end of the conversation he asked me with some anxiety whether I had already received any instructions to make a communication to him on the matters, of which we were talking on my answering in the negative, he begged that of any such instructions should arise, I would speak to him privately and confidentially before making any official communication; and he repeated that it was all important to gain time. I of course readily entered into all his proposals that we should keep up a confidential intercourse with a view to making out official communications as conducive as possible to the maintenance of goodwill between the two Countries.

I am inclined to think that Mr. Seward is really again led away by his sanguine disposition, and has again fixed a definite period (it seems to be two months this time) for the restoration of the Union, or at least for the subjugation of the South.

It is true that the next two months will try Southern Resolution hard. The Blockade by land and sea has not only deprived the Planters of common luxuries (tea and coffee for instance) for themselves – but puts them to great straits about providing necessaries, such as Pork, winter clothing and above all shoes for the Negroes – The expeditions against various points of the Coast, if they have no more serious results, will keep the people in constant alarm. There is no doubt that the North will make great efforts to seize a cotton post. It is thought that they might collect trade on Sh__ Island, and set out thence to capture New Orleans itself, with a very fair chance of success. If the spirit of the South be anything like what it is represented, it will take a great deal more than this to bring it to submission. But that I think has hardly yet been tried. – The two great Armies near this place seem equally unwilling to fight. The Northern Army

continues to advance very slowly over the ground, which the Southern Army abandons. The movements are just like those which preceded Bull's Run. Accidents or pressure from the North, where people are again getting impatient, may however bring on a battle.

I think France ought to take or make an opportunity of announcing as explicitly as we have done to the United States Government that she regards the South as Belligerents, and that she negotiated with the Southern Government in concert with us. Mr. Seward will not, if he can help it, give M. Mercier an opportunity to do this; and M. Mercier will hardly I think seek one. Not that he desires to shrink from the responsibility, but that he thinks we are slack about American affairs, and would like to put us in a position which would oblige us to be more energetic – and to fall into his plans for recognizing the South, opening the Ports &c.

I took care to make it clear to Mr. Seward that he had no ground of complaint against Mr. Bunch personally – and especially that his suspicions about the contents of the Bag were entirely unfounded. This I am anxious about, lest the withdrawal of Mr. Bunch's Exequatur should be thrown as a sop to public opinion –

I was also in hopes that Mr. Seward might not think it proper to let Mr. Robert Mure out of prison – although I did not make any allusion to this unfortunate victim.

Mr. William Mure, the Consul at New Orleans (who is no relations of the other) is here. He has given me an explanation of the Certificate, which I think perfectly satisfactory – I am sorry to say he is too unwell to put his refutation of Mr. Seward's accusation into writing for this post.

Yours Sincerely”

“No. 59.] Paris, October 14, 1861.

Sir: After a careful examination of your despatch (No. 36) in reference to an accession by the United States to the declaration of the congress of Paris, I have thought it best to submit a copy of the same to Mr. Thouvenel, to be read.

As your despatch recapitulates the points made by Mr. Thouvenel in the conversation with me and reported by me to the government, it was perhaps due to him that he should see if he has been correctly reported. Upon one side, it was equally important that, in a matter of so much interest, the view taken by our government should not be misstated nor misunderstood. It seems to me now that the case stands, upon the whole correspondence, as well for the government of the United States as could be desired.

With much respect, your obedient servant,
WM. L. DAYTON.

His Excellency WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, &c., &c.”

October 15, 1861

Seward wrote to Lieut. Col. Martin Burke, Fort Lafayette, N.Y.:

“SIR: Let Robert Mure, a prisoner confined at Fort Lafayette, be released on engaging upon his honor that he will neither enter any of the States in insurrection against the authority of the United States Government nor hold any correspondence whatever with persons residing in those States without permission from the Secretary of State. And also that he will not do any act hostile or injurious to the United States during he present insurrection. I transmit this order to Robert Murray, esq., U.S. marshal, who has been instructed by this Department to cause a police examination to be made in some cases of the person and baggage of prisoners discharged from custody to the end that no correspondence or other improper papers be conveyed by them to persons outside the fort.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,”

October 16, 1861

“London, Oct. 16, 1861.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:--

Your very obliging letter of the 14th has just arrived.

There is, unhappily, no foundation whatever, for the rumor that “France is about to recognize the Confederate States.” She will not budge an inch in that direction until Great-Britain takes the initiative. You know how constantly I have entertained this belief, from the first. I have just received a _____ comes from Mr. Yancey, written yesterday afternoon.

In my next to you, which I shall send in a few days, I shall take up the question of the Blockade on its connection with the “Cotton Supply.”

I cordially approve of your suggestions, but I think it better yet a while to press them for the consideration by the government. I am coming more to the breaking of the blockade than anything else. Before sixty days expire, if I read correctly the signs of the times, the British Public will be clamorous for such a procedure.

In view of this I think it better not to embarrass the Ministry with respect to the Consuls.

Believe me, My Good Friend,

Yours Faithfully,

A. Dudley Mann.

W. H. Gregory Esq.
M.P.

The Persia, due on Saturday morning cannot fail to bring soul-stirring intelligence.”
(Emory University)

October 17, 1861

Mure signed the following statement:

“I, Robert Mure, do hereby engage on my honor not to enter any of the States in insurrection against the authority of the United States Government nor hold any correspondence whatever with persons residing in those States without permission from the Secretary of State; and also that I will do no act hostile or injurious to the United States during the present insurrection.”

October 19, 1861 (Saturday)

“The Great Eastern.—More Capital Required.—A meeting of the shareholders holding not less than 1,000 shares each in the Great Ship Company was held on Friday, Oct. 11th, for the purpose of conferring with the Directors on the present state of the company’s financial affairs. Mr. Baker who occupied the chair, stated that the frequent changes which had been made in the captains of the great ship had arisen entirely from unavoidable circumstances. The accident which had occurred was one which was in no respect due on the part of Captain Walker, and he possessed the entire confidence of the Board. The accident had occurred at a time when the prospects of the ship were looking very favorable. The previous voyages had resulted in profit to the company, a sum of nearly £10,000 had been netted by conveying troops to Quebec, and it was anticipated that the receipts for passengers and cargo, from the present voyage, which had been brought to so unfortunate a close, would have yielded £15,000. The Directors had begun to see their way ahead, and were satisfied that a very remunerative trade might have been opened up between Liverpool and New York with the great ship. The cost of the repairs would be from £8,000 to £10,000. A return of 80 per cent of the passage money had given satisfaction to almost the whole of the passengers. There were some claims still undecided with reference to the luggage, and there were some questions still unsettled between the Directors and the shippers and owners of the cargo. In the present position of affairs, it would be necessary to raise a further sum of £20,000.—Mr. Scott Russell expressed his readiness to assist the enterprise in its present difficulties, and his

unabated confidence in the ultimate success of the ship as a great commercial undertaking. From all that he had been able to learn of the conduct of Captain Walker, he was of opinion that no blame was attributable to him in respect to the management of the ship.—After some discussion, it was arranged that a meeting of shareholders should be called for an early day, for the purpose of authorising the proposed increase of capital.” (Warrington [Liverpool] Guardian, October 19, 1861)

October 21, 1861

“Department of State.
Washington, October 21, 1861.

Sir: Your despatch of September 30 (No. 55) has been received. I thank you for your diligence in transmitting the papers concerning our blockade, which it contains. The blockade is already very effective, quite as much so as any nation ever established. Proceedings are now on foot which will remove the premature objections of the French consul to which you allude.

I am your obedient servant,
William H. Seward.

Wm. L. Dayton, Esq., &c., &c.”

October 22, 1861

Mann wrote to Gregory

“40 Albemarle Street;

London, Oct. 22, 1861.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:--

You have, doubtless, been informed of the arrival at Richmond of your friends, Sir James Ferguson and the Hon. Mr. Burke. They visited that city on the 2nd instant. The New York Herald, of the 8th, contains the enclosed notice of the former.

How disgraceful to the country from whence it emanates!

You will have read, several days ago, the letter of Russell to The Times, dated Washington, Oct. 4, according to which, “the compulsory retirement” of Commodore Stringham, of Hatteras renown, had determined upon by the Lincoln Administration, because it was “considered that he did not carry out his instructions, and that owing to his neglect the Confederates had received £300,000 worth of arms, clothing, ordinance, and stores, in a vessel which weekly ran the blockade at Savannah.”

Article IV of the Treaty of Paris stipulates that, -- “Blockades in order to be binding must be effective: That is to say maintained by “a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.” This is positive European Law upon the subject of Blockades. Although we committed to it, the government of Lincoln professes to sanction the validity; but, notwithstanding such action, that government knowingly ‘and willfully, obviously disregards the obligations which it imposes. So far from maintaining “a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the” Confederate States, the Navy Department at Washington admits that one of the principal ports of those States was entered with entire impunity by a British steamer, freighted with articles contraband of war. As truthfully as did _____ Earl Derby assert in the House of Lords, on my last visit, that ten such Navies as that of the United States would not effectively Blockade the Coast of the Confederate States. This occurred, too, before the secession of Virginia and North Carolina. There is scarcely so much as the shadow of a compliance on the part of the so-called “government of the United States,” with the requirements of the Treaty of Paris, for a “binding” Blockade of the Coast of the Confederate States. Therefore, the Proclamation of Lincoln declaring the existence of the Blockade is not entitled to the slightest consideration by the Powers and States of Europe. It is a fraud attempted to be practised upon the credibility of the nations of the earth, and to their infinite injury. While the owners

of ninety nine ships are deterred by it one ship bids it utter defiance.

Paper Blockades have had their day. The world since became too wise to submit to the wrongs which they inflicted. Nor do I believe that the covenants of the Treaty of Paris will for a lengthened period, tolerate the inter-national abuses which so palpably manifest themselves adjacent to and on the waters of the Confederate States.

Great-Britain and France would not employ "The Warrior" and "La Glorie" more honorably, or more profitably, than by putting them in commission to secure the unharmed ingress and egress of their merchantmen, deriving intercourse with the harbors of the Confederate States. I am much mistaken if such a procedure would not be cordially endorsed by enlightened civilization, everywhere. It would, perhaps, even be hailed with joy by the more considerate men of Yankeedom. I really think so. It would most likely be availed of an irresistible excuse, for terminating a war in which he begins to perceive that there is neither interest, nor, that which he cares infinitely less for, however.

Whenever you may hear to the contrary depend upon it, the planters will not send their cotton to the sea-board while the quasi Blockade continues. They are admonished more strongly than ever not to do so in view of the North Expeditions which are preparing in New-York. At the latest dates from New-Orleans there were only 10,000 bales in that port, and those of the old crop against 155,000 at the same time last year. This amount, in the event of an attempt to evade the city, may be advantageously used in the construct of breast works.

You will see by Russell's letter in this morning's Times, that McClellan is beginning to realize the difficulty of his position.

Cordially and Faithfully Your Friend

A. Dudley Mann

W. H. Gregory Esq.
M. P.”
(Emory University)

October 23, 1861

Seward wrote to Adams:

“SIR: I recur once more to your dispatch of September 14. On the 3d of that month you addressed a note to Earl Russell in which you informed him by my direction that from the contents of the many letters found in the possession of Mr. Robert Mure, bearer of dispatches to the Government of Great Britain but detained at New York as an agent of the enemies of the United States, the following statement is made of the action of Mr. Bunch in Charleston:

Mr. Bunch on oath of secrecy communicated to me also that the first step to recognition was taken; that he and Mr. Belligny together sent Mr. Trescot to Richmond yesterday to ask Jeff. Davis, President, to ____ the treaty of _____ to _____ the neutral flag covering neutral goods to be respected. This is the first step of direct treating with out Government. So prepare for active business by 1st of January.

You submitted this information to Her Majesty’s Government with a request on the part of the President of the United States that if it should be found to be correct Mr. Bunch might be at once removed from his office. And you further added by my direction that the President would cheerfully accord an exequatur to any person who might be appointed to succeed Mr. Bunch who would faithfully perform his functions without injury to the rights and interests of the United States.

There is appended to your dispatch now before me the written answer of the Earl Russell to your note thus recited. His lordship answers that he will without hesitation state to Mr. Adams that in pursuance of an agreement between the British and French Governments Mr. Bunch was instructed to

communicate to the persons exercising authority in the so-called Confederate States the desire of those Governments that the second, third and fourth articles of the declaration of Paris should be observed by those States in the prosecution of the hostilities in which they were engaged. His lordship then asked you to observe that the commerce of Great Britain and France is deeply interested in the maintenance of the articles providing that the flag covers the goods and that the goods of a neutral taken on board a belligerent ship are not liable to confiscation.

Earl Russell thereupon proceeds to say that Mr. Bunch in what he has done has acted in obedience to the instructions of his Government, who accepts the responsibility of his proceedings so far as they are known to the foreign department and who cannot therefore remove him from his office for having obeyed their instructions. But his lordship adds that when it is stated in a letter from some person not named that the first step to the recognition of the Southern States by Great Britain has been taken he (Earl Russell) begs to decline all responsibility for such statement, and he remarks on this branch of the subject that Her Majesty's Government have already recognized the belligerent character of the Southern States and they will continue to consider them as belligerents, but that Her Majesty's Government have not recognized and are not prepared to recognize the so-called Confederate States as a separate and independent State.

You are instructed to reply to this note of Her Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs:

First. That Mr. Majesty's Government having avowed that Mr. Bunch acted under their instructions so far as his conduct is known to the foreign department, and that Government having avowed their responsibility for his proceedings in that extent, it is admitted that so far as that portion of the subject is concerned the matter is to be settled directly with Her Majesty's Government.

Second. That a law of the United States forbids any person not specially appointed or duly authorized or recognized by the President, whether citizen or denizen, privileged or unprivileged, from counseling, advising, aiding or assisting in any political correspondence with the Government of any foreign State whatever with an intent to influence the measures of any foreign Government of or any officer or agent thereof in relation to any dispute or controversies with the United States or to defeat the measures of the Government. The proceeding of Mr. Bunch was clearly and distinctly in violation of this positive law.

Third. This Government finds no sufficient justification or excuse for the proceeding of Mr. Bunch thus shown to be in violation of the law of the United States in the consideration that Great Britain was deeply interested in the maintenance of the articles which provide that the flag covers the goods and that the goods of a neutral taken on board a belligerent ship are not liable to confiscation.

It is enough to say on this subject that in our view the proper agents of the British Government to make known that interest here are the diplomatic not the consular agents of Her Majesty, and that the only authority in this country to which any diplomatic communication whatever can be made is the government of the United States itself.

Still less can the United States admit that communication by Mr. Bunch while exercising consular privileges with which he was clothed by the consent of the United States with insurgents in arms against the Federal Government is justified by the declaration of the British ministry that they have already recognized the belligerent character of the insurgents and that they will continue to consider them as belligerents. It is indeed understood to be true that Her Majesty's Government have heretofore issued a royal proclamation which they interpret as declaring that they recognize the insurgents as a belligerent. But it is also true that this Government has with equal decision and with equal resolution

announced to the British Government that any such declaration made by the British Government would not be accepted as modifying in the least degree the rights or powers of this Government or the obligations due to them by Great Britain as a friendly nation.

Still adhering to this position the Government of the United States will continue to pursue as it has heretofore done the counsels of prudence and will not suffer itself to be disturbed by excitement. It must revoke the exequatur of the consul, who has not only been the bearer of communications between the insurgents and a foreign Government in violation of our laws but has abused equally the confidence of the two Governments by reporting without the authority of his own Government and in violation of their own policy as well as of our national rights that the proceeding in which he was engaged was in the nature of a treaty with the insurgents and the first step toward a recognition by Great Britain of their sovereignty. Moreover the conduct of the person in question even while this correspondence has been going on as well as before it commenced has been that not of a friend to this Government of even or a neutral but of a partisan of faction and disunion.

In reviewing this subject it would be unjust to Her Majesty's minister residing here as well as to Her Majesty's Government to omit to say that that minister has in all his proceedings carefully respected the sovereignty and the rights of the United States, and that the arrangements which have been made by him with the approval of this Government for communication between the British Government and its consuls through the national vessels of Great Britain entering blockaded ports without carrying passengers or private letters seems to forbid any necessity for a recurrence of such proceeding as those which have brought about these explanations.

You will inform Earl Russell that the exequatur of Mr. Bunch has been withdrawn because his services as consul are not agreeable to

this Government, and that the consular privileges thus taken from him will be cheerfully allowed to any successor whom Her Majesty's Government may appoint against whom no grave personal objections shall exist. It is a source of satisfaction to the President to reflect that the proceedings which I have been considering occurred some time ago and that the part of it which was most calculated to offend and to which exception is more especially taken finds no support in the communication of Earl Russell.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,"

“The Africa Off Cape Race.
Memorial of the French Chamber of
Commerce to the Emperor.
He Is Asked To Recognize The Southern
Confederacy And Raise The Blockade.
The Markets Generally Unchanged.

St. John's, N.F., Tuesday, Oct. 22.

The Royal Mail steamship *Africa*, which left Liverpool on Saturday, the 12th inst., and Queenstown the afternoon of the 13th, passed Cape Race at 9:30 last evening. The news yacht of the New-York Associated Press boarded the *Africa*, and obtain the following news dispatch;

The advices by the *Africa* are up to Sunday afternoon, the 13th inst., and are consequently two days later than those received by the *Etna* at New-York, and by the *North Briton* at Farther Point.

The steamship *New-York*, from New-York, arrived at Liverpool on the 10th, and the *Kangaroo* on the 11th inst.

The last steamer took the news that the French Chambers of Commerce were memorializing the Emperor to recognize the Southern Confederacy. The *Daily News* says the

accounts are from trustworthy sources. The *Paris Express* is confident in the belief that the Emperor contemplates the recognition, the want of cotton being severely felt.

The *London Shipping Gazette*, on the same subject, says that France and England must act strictly together, and argues that their recognition would carry with it an amount of weight and moral influence which would set up the Southern Confederacy conclusively.

A private meeting of the Great Ship Company had been held, preliminary to a public meeting.

* * *”

(New York Times, Oct. 23, 1861)

October 28, 1861 (Monday)

“From the New York Tribune.

Attempted Escape from Fort LaFayette.

Between one and two o'clock on Sunday [October 27th] morning, as a sentinel in the darkness and storm, was pacing his lonely round outside the walls of Fort Lafayette, heard the shutter of a casement unfastening, and, upon cautious examination discovered that casement No. 5 had been opened. Soon after a rope was thrown out, various articles lowered in succession, followed by a man. As he touched the earth, the sentinel presented his bayonet and made him surrender. The man proved to be James Lowber, the rebel bearer of dispatches, who was recently followed by the detectives from the house of his brother-in-law, Mr. Alexander Shultz, at Peeksville, to Crestline, Ohio, where they arrested him. It will be remembered that previous to his being taken he had forwarded his dispatches to their destination, and he himself came near eluding the officers. The sentry, upon seizing his prisoner, found that he had lowered a wash tub,

a life-preserver, and his valise – the latter packed full of valuables.

Lowber begged hard to be permitted to ascend the rope again into his apartment and attempted to bribe his captor by the offer of his gold watch and \$37.50 in gold coin, which he had tied up in a bladder, if he would allow him to do so. Of course his proposal was not accepted, but instead, the sentry marched his prisoner into the fort and roused the officer of the guard. Lieutenant Wood, commander of the fort, was immediately apprised of the attempted escape, who ordered the long roll to be beaten. This brought the garrison to the parade. All the prisoners of the fort were then brought out and the roll called to ascertain if any were missing. All, however, answered to their names.

It appears that Mr. Lowber occupied casemate No. 5, in company with fifteen others, only six of whom, as far as could be gathered, were aware of the premeditated escape, and these say they attempted to dissuade him from his purpose. Lowber states that the gold was brought to him on a draft by the wife of one of the prisoners; but, how he came possessed of the wash tub, the rope and the life-preserver, is a mystery. The key with which the prisoner unlocked the padlock of the casement shutter, he says he made himself.

It is supposed that he intended to place his valise in the tub, and supported by his life-preserver, to have pushed off from the fort with his novel craft, either for the shore or for some vessel in the vicinity. It seems probably that an arrangement had been made to board a vessel, as three were hovering about in suspicious proximity – one of which, a bark, had approached so near, that the sentry had ordered her off. As soon as the prisoners had gone to their lodgings, and Lowber had been double-ironed, Lieut. Wood, with a file of soldiers, entered his cutter and rowed out to the vessels, which proved to be a bark, a brig and a schooner. These he captured, and anchored alongside the revenue cutter Bibb. The Lieutenant states that the officers of the Bibb treated him very uncivilly,

apparently not well pleased that he had disturbed them at such an unwarrantable hour. Yesterday the vessels were missing from the Bibb, but it had been ascertained what had become of them. Yesterday, at the urgent request of Lowber and his friends, the handcuffs were removed, his legs remaining manacled. So far from expressing regret at the attempt at escape, he is rather boastful of it, and declares himself to be a most ardent secessionist.” (Janesville Daily Gazette, Nov. 4, 1861 repeating an article with minor variations from New York Tribune, Oct. 28, 1861).

Letter to Hunter from

“No. 9. Paris, October 28, 1861.
Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, Secretary of State, etc.

Sir: On the 26th instant we had an informal interview, according to our request, with M. Thouvenel, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Thouvenel informed us that the French Government watched with lively interest the contest between the two American Governments, and that there was an agreement between England and France to communicate to each other all facts and propositions which come to the knowledge of either, and when they did act to act together; that their Minister in America had informed their respective Governments that at present the temper and disposition of the people of the two belligerent powers were such that action at this time was not politic; that when they did act, they desired to do so at such a time and in such a way as to produce peace if possible. He assured us that an important military success might determine the period for their action. Also that the two Governments were in hopes that their action when taken would receive the sanction of Spain, Prussia, and other powers, and thus give to it great moral weight.

As to the blockade, he said that the admirals of the English and French Navies on the American coast were in close observance of it, and had communicated to their Governments that, although

the blockade was not such as to seal up the ports hermetically, it was yet not so ineffective as to authorize a protest against it. He further informed us that England and France had entered into an arrangement, which would soon be made effective, by which a vessel of war would be sent into Southern ports at regular periods, to carry communications to their Consuls. While there were no words used by M. Thouvenel to bear such actual meaning, yet we were impressed by the Minister with the belief that the French Government entertained profound sympathy for the cause of the South, and expected that events would transpire, within no distant period, which would cause it to recognize the Confederate States.

We have information of an unofficial character, but upon which we rely, that the Emperor and his Ministry will support England in any action which that Government may deem it to be its duty or interest to take in the premises.

There is undoubtedly a most intimate and cordial understanding between England and France on this question. We understand that Captain Semmes and the 'Sumter' have arrived in an English port. We have up to this moment no news of the 'Nashville' and of the two Commissioners who the New York papers inform us left the port of Charleston on the 12th instant.

Mr. Yancey will return to London on the 31st instant.

W.L. Yancey,
P.A. Rost,
A. Dudley Mann."

(A Compilation of the Message and Papers of the Confederacy)

October 29, 1861 (Tuesday)

"No. 2. Department of State,
Richmond, October 29, 1861.

Hon. James M. Mason, etc.

Sir: The attention of this Government has been recently drawn to the case of two British vessels laden with naval stores at the port of Wilmington, North Carolina, which were forbidden to proceed to sea by the military authorities at that port.

To avoid any misapprehension of the motives of this action on the part of this Government, and to enable you to explain the matter fully in case you are required to do so, I think it is proper to put you in possession of all the facts. When it was ascertained that the British vessels 'Bruce' and 'Napier' were taking on board cargoes of naval stores (contraband of war) and proposed to clear from the port of Wilmington, the Secretary of the Treasury directed the collector of that port to allow these ships to complete their cargo, and clear as they desired, unless there was good reason to believe, as many of the inhabitants supposed, that their neutral papers were intended as covers for unlawful trade with the enemy. Under this authority, it appears, these two vessels, laden with full cargoes of naval stores, were proceeding to sea, when the general commanding at Wilmington, believing that they would certainly be captured, and their cargoes fall into the hands of the enemy to be used in the war now being waged against us, and acting under instructions from the War Department, issued an order for their detention, until he should be satisfied that they could proceed with a reasonable prospect of escape from the enemy's cruisers. This order for the detention of the vessels was accompanied by an offer to their owners that if they should be unwilling to suffer this delay, the Government of the Confederate States, in the exercise of its right of preemption in regard to the cargoes (being contraband of war), would pay the compensation proper in such cases according to the law of nations.

It is true that the 'Bruce' and 'Napier' entered Wilmington without molestation from any blockading vessel, and it is said without any notice that any blockade existed; and it may be said,

therefore, that, having entered a port when no blockading force was in sight, they have a right to go to sea with their cargoes without hindrance from the enemy. That they have such a right is undoubted; but we know the rights of neutrals and the usages of nations have not been recently respected by the Government of the United States. The 'Hiawatha,' with a cargo owned by British subjects, cleared from the port of Richmond, having, it is confidently asserted, never received any notice of a blockade. Yet she was seized, and has been condemned by a U.S. prize court. Admonished by this and other examples, this Government was clearly justified in supposing that the enemy's authorities would not suffer the 'Bruce' and 'Napier' to proceed to sea without hindrance, particularly when it was known that these vessels contained articles of which they stand in urgent need for warlike purposes.

You will observe from the foregoing detail that this Government has treated the cases of the 'Bruce' and 'Napier' with all possible indulgence consistent with our own security, and that its action cannot be justly considered the least derogation of that protection which it owes to the legitimate trade of neutrals within its ports. It is the earnest desire of this Government to promote and encourage, by all the means in its possession, the most intimate and liberal commercial intercourse with neutral powers. It is a source of deep regret that those powers have not availed themselves of their legal right to trade in every port of the Confederate States, since it cannot be contended that at any time the blockade declared by the Government of the United States has been efficient or binding on nations. While this Government is indisposed to complain of the course pursued by the Governments of the great European powers since the commencement of the war between the Confederate States and the United States, it cannot be denied that the effect of the neutrality observed by those powers has proved of far more disadvantage to the Confederate States than to the enemy. While the strict letter of the Declaration of Paris in relation to privateers has been enforced against us to our manifest prejudice,

the terms of that agreement, have not been enforced as against our enemy, although abundant evidence has been offered that no part in the Confederate States has ever been efficiently blockaded. Thus neutrality has been strained to its utmost limits as against the Confederate States; while clear legal rights have not been asserted as against our enemies, where their assertion would have been to our advantage.

I have observed that the impression prevails to some extent in England that this Government has prohibited the exportation of cotton by sea to neutral and friendly nations. It would be well that you should take means to correct this error. The laws of the Confederate States warrant no such prohibition, and further proof of this is afforded by the recent departure from Savannah of the steamship 'Bermuda,' lade with cotton and bound for Liverpool.

Congress has alone prohibited the exportation of cotton for the use of the enemy or through the enemy's territory.

I am, sir, etc.,

Wm. M. Browne, Assistant Secretary."
(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

October 30, 1861 (Wednesday)

"Nashville" arrives at Dockyard in Bermuda.

D. C. Lowber at Fort Lafayette, New York, wrote Hon. Thurlow Weed the following note:

"DEAR SIR: Personally we are strangers but I have known you by reputation since my boyhood and you may have heard my name mentioned by my brother-in-law, Capt. A. H. Schultz. I am sadly in need of a friend in my extremity, and stranger as I am to you I thus boldly force myself on your notice and ask your assistance.

Over nine weeks ago I was arrested under very suspicious circumstances at Crestline. I was

supposed to be a bearer of dispatches to the Confederate Government. My baggage was taken possession of by the superintendent of police in New York and after a thorough overhauling nothing was found to incriminate me, but it was said that I had ample time to dispose of my dispatches before my arrest.

Permit me to state to you 'the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.' On the 6th of July I left my home in New Orleans to make a flying trip to Europe partly for the benefit of my health and partly to have a personal interview with my business correspondents in Liverpool and Glasgow. My whole stay in England and France was but eight days, and here let me assert that I neither carried over nor brought back any writing or any verbal message to or from any person directly or indirectly connected with the Confederate Government except a private letter from the Hon. P. A. Rost to Pierre Soulé which Judge Rost, who is an old friend of mine, told me contained some instructions in relation to a legal suit Mr. Soulé had in charge for him. Further than this I never belonged to a military company, I never held a public office and I cannot recollect that I have attended a political meeting in twenty-five years. Still I would not convey to you the idea that I am not decided in my political opinions. If that is a crime worthy of punishment by imprisonment there is not sufficient prison room in the States to hold those equally culpable as myself.

Please bear in mind that when I came North there was no restriction on Southern travelers but it was held out that quiet persons not interfering with public matters could go and come at their leisure. And even when the passport system was adopted it was not to be operative on citizens (private citizens) of seceded States returning from Europe until they had time to hear of the new regulation. Had I been conscious of being in the act of committing any offense against the Federal Government I would not have unhesitatingly paid the friendly visit I did to my relatives at Fishkill Landing knowing how widely we differed in our political views. Had that

visit not have been made I would not probably have been arrested.

As I have said before it is now over nine weeks that I have been incarcerated here, shut out from intercourse with all those who make life dear to me. Driven to desperation by the seeming neglect of those who I thought would unasked by me endeavor to effect my release I recently attempted to escape and was caught in the act.⁵⁴The penalty—

⁵⁴ “Between one and two o’clock on Sunday morning, as a sentinel, in the darkness and storm, was pacing his lonely round outside the walls of Fort Lafayette, he heard the shutter of a casement unfastening, and, upon cautious examination, discovered that casement No. 5 had been opened. Soon after a rope was thrown out, various articles lowered in succession, followed by a man. The rope was just long enough to enable the fugitive to reach the ground. As he touched the earth, the sentinel presented his bayonet, and bade him surrender. The man proved to be Jas.(sic) Lowber, the rebel bearer of dispatches who was recently followed by the detectives from the house of his brother-in-law, Mr. Alexander Shultz (sic), at Peeksville, to Crestline, Ohio, where they arrested him. It will be remembered that previous to his being taken he had forwarded his dispatches to their destination, and he himself came near eluding the officers. The sentry, upon seizing his prisoner, found that he had lowered a large new wash tub, a life-preserver, and his valise – the latter packed full of valuables. Lowber begged hard to be permitted to ascend the rope again into his apartment and attempted to bribe his captor by the offer of his old watch and \$47.50 in gold coin, which he had tied up in a bladder, if he would allow him to do so. Of course his proposal was not accepted, but, instead, the sentry marched his prisoner into the fort and roused the officer of the guard. Lieut. Wood, the commander of the fort, was immediately apprised of the attempted escape, and ordered the long roll to be beaten. This brought the garrison to the parade. All the prisoners of the fort were then brought out and the roll called to ascertain if any were missing. All, however, answered to their names. It appears that Mr. Lowber occupied casemate No. 5, in company with fifteen others, only six of whom as far as could be gathered, were aware of the premeditated escape, and these say they attempted to dissuade him from his purpose. Lowber states that the gold was brought to him on a draught by the wife of one of the prisoners; but how he came possessed of the wash tub, the rope, and the life-preserver, is a mystery. The key with which the prisoner unlocked the padlock of the casement shutter, he says he made himself. It is supposed that he intended to place his valise in the tub, and supported by his life-preservers, to have pushed off from the fort with his novel craft, either for the shore or for some vessel in the vicinity. It seems probably that an arrangement had been made to board a vessel, as three were hovering about in suspicious proximity – one of which, a bark, had approached so near, that the sentry had ordered her off. As soon as the prisoners had gone to their lodgings, and Lowber had been double-ironed, Lieut. Wood, with a file of soldiers, entered his cutter and rowed out to the vessels, which proved to be a bark, a brig and a schooner. These he captured, and anchored alongside the revenue cutter Bibb. The Lieutenant states that the officers of the Bibb treated him very uncivilly, apparently not well pleased that he had disturbed them at such an unwarrantable hour. Yesterday the vessels were missing from the Bibb, but it had been ascertained what had become of them. Yesterday, at the urgent request of Lowber and his friends, the handcuffs were removed, his legs remaining manacled. So far from expressing regret at the attempt at escape he is rather boastful of it, and declares himself to be a most ardent secessionist. (New York newspaper, October 28, 1861).

The subject of Lowber’s attempted escape was the subject of some mirth in the Northern press. In the November 9, 1861, Vanity Fair, had two passages: The first, entitled “As to Lowber,” stated:

Apropos of the attempt escape from Fort Lafayette last week the World naively remarks:

‘How Lowber obtained the means by which he hoped to escape is yet a mystery. On Saturday a woman had been allowed to pass late the fort on pretense of seeing her husband, and it is supposed she may have furnished them.’

double irons and a four by six foot cell—I was perfectly aware of before making the attempt. I was faithfully but not harshly imposed and of that I have not one word of complaint to make. But I conceive there was nothing particularly atrocious in my endeavor to free myself surreptitiously. At least twenty officers and men confined as prisoners of war at Richmond have evaded the vigilance of their keepers and on their arrival at Washington have been patted on the back as good and enterprising fellows. It may be said that I can be released if I establish all the foregoing acts on taking the oath of allegiance, but the question arises is it right to require me to take that oath when it is well known it will work the immediate confiscation of my property for the benefit of the Confederate Government and that you are not now in a position to protect that property for me? In regard to giving my parole not to visit or to correspond with a seceded State that I will do and will honorably keep the promise until released from it. May I beg of you the favor to call the attention of him who has the power to open the gates of my prison to this my case? If there are any other explanations I can make they will be promptly given as the days here seem like weeks and I confess to a great anxiety to get out.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,”

October 31, 1861

“We stated on Tuesday that the State Prisoners at Fort Lafayette would be removed to Fort Warren, in Boston Harbor. The order was carried into effect yesterday. The prisoners were taken to Governor’s Island in a tug boat, and then placed on board the ‘State of Maine’ with a guard of

The ‘means of escape’ here referred to are thus enumerated:

- A long rope;
- A life preserver;
- A large new wash-tub.

We can account for the rope and the life preserver. They might have been smuggled in by ‘the woman.’ But candor compels us to state that the large new wash-tub ‘gits’ us. Perhaps, however, ‘the woman’ concealed that in her reticule.

Later, Vanity Fair in a note captioned “Why Lowber didn’t get away from Fort Lafayette,” states “Because the Watch there is so arranged that it can’t have any ‘Escape Movement.’”

200 soldiers. There are in all 108 prisoners, and the only one among them in irons is Mr. D.C. Lowber, who was so nearly successful in organizing a wash-tub expedition the other day with the view of sailing to the land of Dixie. Fort Warren is aid to be a safer place than Fort Lafayette.” (*Brooklyn Eagle*, Oct. 31, 1861)

October 1861 (circa)

Undated letter from A. Dudley Mann to Wm. H. Gregory

“Private.

My colleagues are in Paris. I never was so much over-worked.

A battle upon the Potomac is certain. I expect a victory.

At any rate we shall soon hear important news.

In my next I shall speak of the material considerations to be urged in favor of our recognition.

We have despatches from Mr. Hunter. He was in fine spirits when he wrote.

Fremont is low down in the public opinion. His integrity, in the way of disbursements, is vehemently assailed.

If he has to retreat from St. Louis before Price and McCulloch⁵⁵ his retreat will be into eternal disgrace. – Kentucky (the Indian name for Dark and Bloody Ground.) is in the midst of a terrific civil strife. I am almost certain that our friends will carry her against the North, -- that they will be victorious.

⁵⁵ It is believed that this is a reference to Confederate Generals Sterling Price and Ben McCulloch.

The capture of Lexington⁵⁶ has cast deeper gloom over New-York and Boston than the retreat at Bull Run – according to the mercantile letters received here.

I cut out and sent the article to which you called my attention in the “Mail” to Mr. Hunter.

Can you venture to send the accompanying to Mr. L____d?⁵⁷

Pray let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Ever as Every

A. D. M.”

(Emory University)

November 5, 1861

Mary Lowber Schultz of New York wrote the following to Seward:

“DEAR SIR: Allow me to call your attention to the inclosed letter* from Mr. D. C. Lowber, now a prisoner in Fort Warren; also to a paper handed me last evening by Charles Todd. Of nearly all the statements in it I hold confirmatory letters from Mr. and Mrs. Lowber and Mr. Neill and other residents of New Orleans dated from October, 1860, to April 1861, which I will forward if desired. Particularly is it well known that Mr. Lowber make himself to some degree obnoxious in New Orleans by his strong defense of the Union and his condemnation of the precipitate action of the South against an untried Administration, and an unhesitating and continued remonstrance against the existence of a vigilance committee. From my own experience I can say that his house was the only one in New Orleans in which I ever heard abolitionism fairly allowed an utterance. In a conversation with Miss Frémont, then visiting at his house in New Orleans

⁵⁶ It is believed that this is a reference to the first battle of Lexington, Missouri, on September 13 to September 20, 1861.

⁵⁷ The author ventures an educated guess that the individual referred to is John Laird, M.P.

in May, 1860, I remember his distinctly avowed disgust at the demagogues who wished by secession to plunge the country into civil war, for which he believed they had not one unfriendly act of Government to show as excuse. At the time that he broke a friendship of fifteen years' standing and turned Mr. Thomas Heard from his house for his offensive utterance of secession sentiments (December 24) the feeling against him was so strong that both he and Mr. Neill were repeatedly threatened by the vigilance committee, and I most sincerely believe that he left New Orleans with the simple and sole purpose of visiting his grandchildren and establishing business relations in Glasgow. Also I think it can be proved that whatever letters or papers he carried on his return not one found its way South. All his existing letters and papers are now in possession of the Government. Four or five Union men well known as such are willing in consideration of these statements and his tried truth to give bail for his honorable adherence to his parole. Or should bail be refused they will hold themselves responsible for his word. As we are the only relatives in the North with whom he would care to spend an hour I think it is almost unnecessary to pledge ourselves for his good faith. You must know that no aid or comfort to the enemy would go from our house.

I have been induced to write thus from the belief forced upon me that Mr. Lowber's health is being seriously affected and his constitution undermined by the inactivity of prison life and by the conviction that if released on parole on harm could result to the cause nearest and dearest to me. The disease from which he suffers is peculiarly fostered by confinement and from my knowledge of the family tendency I have been seriously alarmed lately lest it terminate in some form on insanity. Except my parents he is my dearest relative and I could not entertain this belief without longing to save him from such a fate. But for this conviction my perfect trust in the Administration would have forbid my uttering one word on the subject.

Respectfully,"

Enclosed with the letter from Mary Lowber Schultz was the following declaration of Chas. A Todd of New York, dated Monday, November 4th:

“I hereby declare that having been a resident of New Orleans during the last winter, and being a frequent visitor at the house of Mr. Daniel C. Lowber, I was enabled to know his feelings on the political questions before the country. From the frequent conversations I held with him during the winter I knew him to be a Union man, and it was only upon the actual secession of his State that he felt that loyalty to his home should cause him to favor the acts of the South, but I know he took no active part in politics, and I never knew him to attend any of the political meetings—in fact, he was a remarkably quiet and private citizen. In confirmation of the above I would state that both Mr. and Mrs. Lowber considered me an abolitionist and still I was always welcome at their house; also that I know he turned a boarder out of his house on account of his secession talk, about January last. Against Mr. H. M. Neill was complained of to the vigilance committee and proscribed on account of his Northern feelings, and Mr. Lowber took the most active and determined part in his defense and prevented any action being taken against him. As regards his trip to Europe I can testify that during the winter and spring I frequently heard Mr. Lowber speak of his intention of going to Europe during the ensuing summer, partly on account of his hearing which was getting to be very bad; also to arrange for credits and direct shipments of iron pipe from the iron manufacturers of Glasgow. I would certainly be surprising if the rebel leaders employed in a clandestine mission a man so very deaf as he was and so very outspoken on every subject.

I learn from Mr. Lowber that the close confinement and want of exercise is affecting his health. I may add that I am a native of this city and a loyal citizen of the United States.

Chas. M. Todd”

November 7, 1861

“The State Prisoners.

A List of the Detenus, with the Dates of Incarceration and Other Information in Regard to Each.

We published a few days ago an imperfect list of the State prisoners who have been confined at Fort Lafayette, since the employment of that post as a place of detention. The catalogue we have now the means to make more complete, with some additional information in regard to each prisoner.

* * *

Robert Mure, Charleston, S.C., arrived Aug. 14,

* * *

D.C. Lowber, New-Orleans, La., arrived Aug. 25.”

D.C. Lowber received at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor.

November 9, 1861

“A Tale of a Tub.

One of the prisoners confined in Fort Lafayette, Lowber by name, attempted to escape lately by embarking in a wash-tub. What means of propulsion he meant to employ we are not informed; but, considering the description of the craft selected by him for his conveyance, it is reasonable to suppose that he calculated upon being washed ashore.”

* * *

“Why Lowber didn’t get away from Fort Lafayette. Because the Watch there is so arranged that it can’t have any ‘Escape Movements.’” (*Vanity Fair*, Nov. 9, 1861)

Wm. M. Neill, of No. 8 Hanover Street, New York⁵⁸, wrote Seward:

⁵⁸ I am operating under the premise that D. C. Lowber’s daughter was married to one Henry Neill [the name under which Lowber would pick up documents – see Mary Lowber Schultz’s letter of ____] and that William M. Neill was Henry’s brother.

“DEAR SIR: At the request of the friends of Mr. Daniel C. Lowber, now a prisoner in Fort Warren, I beg to state what I know of his proceedings in Europe. The first I saw or knew of him there was on his arrival at Holywood, near Belfast, Ireland, where he came quite unexpectedly to me or my brother on a visit to my brother and to see his grandchildren, my brother’s children. He staid there only one night and invited my brother to accompany him to Glasgow to introduce him to the manufacturers of gas and water pipes with a view to arrangements for business on the termination of the war. My brother could not go but requested me to accompany him which I readily consented to, as I had business of my own in Glasgow and Edinburgh. I accordingly at Glasgow introduced him to our agent, Mr. John Kincaid, who took him to the largest manufacturer in that line, I not accompanying them. I also called with Mr. Lowber on a firm in the same line (McLaren & Co.) with whom he had previously done business in pipes. These calls occupied the forenoon and we parted at about 4 P.m. of the day we reached Glasgow, he to go on to London and I to go to Edinburgh on my own affairs. I have not seen him since nor heard from him except a few lines received from Liverpool before he sailed for America acknowledging the receipt of his watch which I had forwarded to him and referring in sufficiently boastful terms to the battle of Bull Run.

While at Holywood and on board the steamer for Glasgow he talked very freely, defending slavery against our abolition sentiments and expressing the most entire confidence in the success of the rebellion and the restoration of peace within ninety days. He also mentioned to me that Mr. Rost, or Judge Rost as he called him, was an old friend of his and he intended to call on him at Paris and learn what prospect there was of the Confederate Government being recognized by the Emperor. I asked him to let me know the result and inquired if he intended to call on the commissioner in London. He seemed in doubt, saying that he did not know him personally.

As soon as I heard of his arrest which I did in Liverpool from Captain Schultz I informed the latter that from what I had seen of him and the entire tone of his conversation I was satisfied he had no official or other connection with the Confederate Government, for if he had I felt certain he would have been proud of it and told me or my brother of it, while on the contrary he stated positively that he was only going to call on Rost as an old Louisiana friend and to satisfy his curiosity as to the chance of recognition. I thought it possible, however, that Rost might have asked him to carry a letter for him and if so it was likely enough that he may have thoughtlessly consented to do so. But if so I know nothing of it, and I may remark that at the time it was a very natural mistake and one I should readily have fallen into myself as it had hardly been declared illegal.

I have no doubt from Mr. Lowber's character that if released upon his parole he will rigidly keep it and I should readily join in giving bail for him. I am aware that he last winter interfered effectually with the vigilance committee of New Orleans in behalf of my brother who had been proscribed by them as an abolitionist and but for Mr. Lowber's advocacy he would probably have been notified to leave the State to the destruction of an extensive and valuable business. Such acts on behalf of men with Northern ideas ought surely to be considered unless there is something serious against him of which I know nothing.

I remain, with great respect, your obedient servant,

WM. M. Neill.

As for my own trustworthiness and my principles I can refer to the following whom you will not suspect of too great regard for the South: Charles L. Brace, by brother-in-law; H. J. Raymond, of the New York Times; C. A. Dana, Tribune; Wendell Phillips, W. C. Bryant, Evening Post; W. Lloyd Garrison, Fred. L. Olmsted, Charles G. Loring, H.

Ward Beecher, &c., all of whom are my intimate personal friends.”

Julius Bing of Philadelphia, wrote the following letter to Seward:

“SIR: On my way to New York I met here an old and highly valued friend of mine, William M. Neill, esq., from England, and I have herewith the honor of introducing him to you. Mr. Neill has resided for a considerable time in New York, where his sympathies with liberal ideas and with intellectual and artistic interests have endeared him to a wide circle including some of our most distinguished citizens.

Mr. Neill who holds a high position in the commercial world as the chief partner of a cotton exporting firm is now again in this country particularly for the purpose of studying the nature of our present contest in its bearings upon the cotton interests of Great Britain. Mr. Neill visits Washington for a short time in the pursuit of these investigations and also in that of matters of a more private character. I beg to state that I have known Mr. Neill for a considerable time and that any statement of his is entitled to the most implicit faith in his veracity and integrity.

I have the honor to remain, dear sir, yours, very respectfully,”

Lowber wrote an individual identified only as “Hamilton,” but from the context of the letter we have determined that it is addressed to his brother-in-law, Alexander Hamilton Schultz:

“DEAR HAMILTON: As the break of day is now apparent to all except those who are fattening and battenning on this unholy war I stoop to ask a favor of a political enemy, personal friend though he be. I have now been imprisoned so long that it is absolutely necessary on account of my business affairs that I should go to England before I return home and I want you to see President Lincoln and ask for permission and passport to embark on the

steamer that leaves Boston on the 8th. If it is obtained you must also pay my passage on sea as I am entirely out of money. In Liverpool I can obtain what further funds I need. I would prefer that this application should not be mentioned, even in the family, as some of the family are in such intimate companionship with J. A. Kennedy that the first thing we will know will be an account of it in the Tribune, and for a humble private individual my name has been in the papers as often as I care to have it. It is well that you and I have not corresponded since your return from England. The bitter thoughts that this war has created in my heart would have found utterance in bitter words, and the corner stone of something more than an apparent estrangement might have been laid. As it is, the same old love that has filled my heart for you and yours for the last thirty-two years [Ed. Note - Approximately 1829] still wells up in it with undiminished force.

Understand me, in asking for my release and passport I do not wish to leave Fort Warren until the day before the steamer sails, so that I can go immediately on board.

Give my love to the old enemy and her inimical scions and believe me, every truly yours,

D. C. Lowber.

Much as I wish to get to England I can take no oath of allegiance to the United States Government, but I will give my parole not to return to the country during the continuance of the war and not to aid, comfort or correspond with the Southern States until peace is made. If you think it worth while you can hand this letter to President Lincoln.”

Adams wrote to Seward:

“SIR: I have to acknowledge the reception of the missing dispatch of the 23d of October from the Department, which relates as I had conjectured to the case of Mr. Bunch, the British consul at Charleston. In conformity with the instructions

therein contained I have addressed a note to Lord Russell on the subject, a copy of which I have the honor to transmit herewith.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,”

“Employment for the Great Eastern.
(From Mitchell’s Steam-Shipping Journal)

The great unfortunate lies in a crippled state at Milford Haven, and, judging from the low state of the Company’s exchequer, it will be some months before she is put in a fit state to breast the elements again. Even when she is repaired, fresh difficulties will arise. Among her shareholders, there are those who persistently hold to the belief that as she was designed for long voyages, to distant seas she should be sent. Taking all things into consideration, perhaps the best arrangement would be, to try the experiment of a trip to the antipodes. The *Great Britain* lay a long time rusting before she fell into the practical hands of Messrs. Gibbs and Bright, of Liverpool. These gentlemen have turned her to a good and useful purpose. In the Australian trade she is a favourite, and commands high fares and quick dispatch. If the same firm, or any other house of spirited enterprise, owned the *Great Eastern*, she would probably be turned to profitable account. The advice we would offer to the Great Ship Company is, to take the paddle-boxes off the vessel, unship her wheels, and fit her out for a voyage to Melbourne and Sydney. The paddle-engines might be allowed to remain in her as ballast, till experience as gained as to her performance under sail and screw for a long sea voyage. All that would be needed in the way of refitment might be accomplished at a small expenditure. Her rudder-head and stern-post need securing. This done, she might be advertised for Australia. On the passage from Queenstown to Milford Haven, she is reported to have averaged ten and a-half knots under steam alone, when driven by the screw engine. By crossing her square yards again, and availing herself of the S.E. trade winds, she would certainly make the run to Melbourne in

50 days. She has, or had, on board, 5,000 tons of coal, and another 2,500 tons ought to supply the furnaces with full steaming fuel for the entire passage outwards, while the Tasmanian fields are now available for coaling homewards, The *Great Britain* uses her engines only when there is not sufficient wind to drive her along, and the same economy is open to the *Great Eastern*.

There is room for a magnificent passenger ship like this in the Australian trade. The Peninsular and Oriental Company charge passengers to Melbourne, or Sydney, 150*l.* in a general cabin, and 370*l.* to a married couple in a state room with two beds. By the overland route there is a change at Alexandria, then a journey across Egypt to Suez, a re-embarkation at the latter Port, and another transshipment at Ceylon. All these changes are accomplished with disagreeable inconveniences to families, and the direct route is preferred in consequence by many. Again, at certain seasons of the year the Indian passengers crowd the ships, and, however well managed the Company's ships may be, there are hundreds who would be glad to go out in the roomy cabins of the *Great Eastern*, if they were certain that she would be properly appointed, and sail at the advertised time. The Great Ship Company could afford to convey chief cabin passengers at about 70 guineas per head, second cabin at 40 guineas, and steerage at 18 to 20 guineas. At these prices, if timely notice were given, the ship's berths would, in all probability, be secured. Suppose 900 persons were to take passage—and she could accommodate four times that number if all her space between decks were fitted—the passage-money would be about 40,000*l.* Deduct for provisioning, wages, coal, and incidental expenses, there would be a good margin left for profit. This is independent of freight and homeward earnings. If the present Board of Directors fail to work her at an advantage, she may yet fall into the hands of those who may better understand what to do with her. She was designed to be an Eastern ship, and her carrying capacity is adapted to large and low freights. She could clear out Melbourne and Sydney of all the wool offering, and would

command any gold for shipment thence to England. Besides these, if she timed her departure a fortnight after the dispatch of the mail boats, she would probably be trusted with a large mail.

Had the *Great Eastern* been more deeply laden in the gale that fractured her rudder-post, she would have presented less broadside above the water, her rudder would have been deeper immersed, and the presumption is that we should not have had to chronicle her return to port as a lame duck. The ship has never yet had an opportunity to prove her capabilities. With a cargo proportionate to her tonnage, her screw propeller would be better covered at all times, her rudder would be less exposed to the shock of the waves, and the ship would be driven in keeping with her designer's intentions. In the professional world it is the prevailing belief that she has been mismanaged by amateurs, and that a practical Nautical head has been wanted from the first. No deference has been paid to the advice of competent men, the management having been confined to making her a show ship. It seems a pity that so noble a specimen of naval construction should be suffered to lie idle for months, depreciating in value, when by a vigorous move she might be contributing to the comfort of hundreds of voyagers, and expanding the trade between the mother country and the Australian Colonies. By the time she had made a couple of voyages to Australia, there might be a dock large enough to receive her if the Bristol venture goes a-head. Bristol might then become her Port of arrival and departure. The new line of the Bristol and South Wales Union Railway Company, of twelve miles in length, from Bristol to Portakewet, connecting the Avon with the Welsh coalfields, which was commenced two or three years ago, is approaching completion. Coal may then be had at 10s. 6d. per ton at the Bristol Docks. With these advantages, coupled with abolition of all Dues or Port Charges already made on shipments outwards, the *Great Eastern* may yet find a safe rendezvous in one of the first-class Ports of the West of England." (The Shipping and Mercantile Gazette, Nov. 9, 1861)

“The Great Ship Company.

A special general meeting of the shareholders and directors of the Great Ship Company was held yesterday, at the London Tavern, as briefly reported in the *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette* of last evening, for the purpose of determining on what course should be taken in regard to the Great Eastern, owing to the damage done to her in the recent gale. Mr. R. R. Baker occupied the chair.

The Secretary read a report, which stated that the 35,000*l* had been raised by the mortgage of the ship in the manner agreed to at the last meeting, and that on the 12th June last their ship was engaged to carry 6,000 troops and 2,000 horses to Quebec, which was done in a most satisfactory manner and yielded a satisfactory profit. It was determined again to send the vessel to New York, and on the 11th September, during the terrific gale, her rudder-post was broken, and she was thrown into the trough of the sea, and she was now at Milford Haven awaiting repairs. It would require 25,000*l* to repair her and to provide the necessary means for her being sent to sea. This 25,000*l* it was proposed to raise by debentures bearing interest at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum. The report concluded with an expression of confidence on the part of the directors in the seaworthiness and in the ultimate commercial success of the enterprise.

Reports from Mr. Brereton and Mr. Penn, the engineers who have examined the ship, were also read, stating the injuries that have been done to the ship—namely, the rudder had broken, and the paddle-wheels were carried away.

The Chairman said that among the trials mankind was subject to, possibly there was none so difficult to contend with as the one which arose when, after insuperable difficulties, they just achieved an object, and were then again overcome by some new disaster. Such was their position at this moment; but it was the custom of men in this

country when met by difficulties to surmount them, and not to succumb. He trusted, therefore, on this occasion that they would put their shoulders to the wheel and do the little that was necessary to send the ship to sea. They all knew that a great variety of reports—he might almost say charges—had been made. It was said that they had omitted many things, and they had not taken the precautions which were ordinarily taken, and that it was owing to a want of due regulation on the part of the directors that much of the disaster and the confusion had taken place. The directors carefully abstained from making any public, he might even add private, allusion to those charges; they felt that a day must come when they could, and that before the shareholders; that time had now arrived, and he did hope that no shareholder would consider he was doing more than his duty, if he had any doubts, in setting those doubts set at rest. The charges amounted to this—that the board had not that supervision, either in port for providing the ship with the necessary outfit, or on board for the purpose of providing the ease and comfort necessary on the voyage. That they thought and believed at the present moment that they had done all that careful men could do to provide for every emergency, was the fact. They had got a Ship's Husband of great repute, highly recommended and much trusted by the Underwriters, who was instructed to put everything that was necessary for the ship's use on board. He believe that was done. As to the other question, the regulation in the ship with regard to the passengers and their luggage, they appointed a man of high character as the Purser; he was strongly recommended to them, and was placed in supreme command (under the Captain of course) below in regard to everything that concerned the passengers and their luggage. So far then as these two charges were concerned, they had made very provision thoughtful men could make. He passed now to the charges, or rather expressions of doubt. In respect to the ship; they were the more important, for they could change their directors, but not their ship. It did seem almost superfluous, after the trials which had been endured by the ship, to make any observation as to it. If it were possible for

tests to be applied to her, they had certainly been applied to the fullest extent. No doubt everything which occurred to this ship if it was not exaggerated, was made so much of before the public that it created a sensation, which was not the case with other vessels. God forbid that he should cast the least reflection upon the Cunard or Inman's lines; he looked on them as great national institutions and a public advantage, but they were not without accidents; and within three months two of their ships had to put back owing to the damage they sustained; but this was nothing in disparagement of the ships; the accidents could not be controlled. He only mentioned this, because whatever happened to their ship became, as it were, public property, and was animadverted on in a manner to give it more than ordinary importance. It had been said that this vessel was not able to contend with the ordinary winter weather in the Atlantic, that she would be only a summer ship. He denied the proposition. He believed if ever there was a ship well calculated for a winter ship, and to contend with the storms in the Atlantic, the Great Eastern had proved by her existence at this time that she is the ship. Compare her with what they were accustomed to look on as the finest ships in the world—those of her Majesty's Navy—and they would find that the result was satisfactory to their ship. He had read an account in an Irish paper of how the Trafalgar suffered in the very same gale in which the Great Eastern suffered her damage. [The Chairman then read several extracts from newspapers, detailing the effects of the gale upon various ships, and continued.] In this particular gale they were not singular. It was true that other vessels passed near the Great Eastern, but they were without the circle of the hurricane, and, therefore, were not affected by it to the same extent. He now came to the main question. Taking all these things into consideration; taking the Great Eastern as a ship and nothing more but as a wonderful ship, was it to become a commercial property for their advantage or not? It was for them to decide who had an interest in her. He believed she would become a profitable ship. It was indeed proved by what she had recently done. If they thought she would

become profitable they would subscribe; if they thought not it would be unwise to do so, but he could not believe that the proprietors of this vessel would allow her now to fall into other hands, which would be the result if they withheld the necessary funds; but even, if she went out of their possession, she was not so saleable in her present condition for anything like her value as she would when repaired. Whether the ship should pass into other hands was a question of policy. He could understand the gentlemen with preference shares saying ‘Sell the ship,’ for they would get the value of those shares, and he did not here speak without his book. They had been offered 150,000*l* for the ship, but they had not negotiated, and did not intend, unless they were driven to it; they even declined to consider the offer; but it showed at least that those who now advanced the requisite money ran no risk. This was no question of shareholding: the mortgages on the ship would be 60,000*l*, and they were now offered 150,000*l* for her; there was a good remunerative interest, and the ship liable for principal and interest. He could not conceive under such circumstances that the original proprietors would allow any change in their property for the sake of so small a sum. He should finish his observations as he had commenced, by expressing a hope that any gentleman present desiring information would ask for it, and he promised them they should have all that he could give them—(hear, hear). He moved the adoption of the report.

Captain Halstead perfectly agreed with what had fallen from the chairman; but there was one point which must suggest itself to every naval man. If he ever considered himself fit to take charge of such a ship as the Great Eastern, the last thing that would have occurred to his mind would be the probability of getting into the trough of the sea. Here was some 20,000 tons, capable of going at 14 knots an hour, thrown suddenly into the trough of the sea. He could not understand how it happened. The explanations of Mr. Brereton and Mr. Penn were satisfactory that the immediate cause was the breaking of the rudder; but what he wished to arrive at was whether the ship fell off into the trough of

the sea through the breaking of the rudder-head or whether the rudder-head was broken in consequence of the ship getting into the trough of the sea. Had any other ship got in her position it could not have lasted one-tenth of the time she did. But this vessel was never intended to be crossing a duck-pond to America, and he should be glad to see her running, as she was intended to do, between England and India. He might quote the opinion of Mr. Penn. He said he saw no reason in the world why she should not make that passage in 40 days. He should like to have the question with which he started answered, and he thought a thorough investigation into all the circumstances should take place.

The Chairman referred to the report, and said that he believed the rudder-head broke at the time the ship fell off. It was the intention of the directors to investigate the circumstances under which the accident occurred to the fullest extent.

Captain Halstead said the report spoke of the paddles being stopped. Now, it was well known that when they were in motion they were comparatively strong; when stopped, they were the frailest things possible to resist the effect of the storm. It certainly seemed strange to him that they were stopped.

A Shareholder asked was it true the Captain only went on board for the first time the night before the vessel started?

The Chairman said it was not true.

Mr. Prowse wished to know if there had been any inquiry made up to the present time by the directors; if not, he thought there should have been, and a report laid before the shareholders. He thought the paddles should not have been stopped, but that way should have been kept on the ship.

The Chairman explained that way was always kept on by the screw being at work. As to the investigation, there had been no further inquiry than that by Mr. Penn and Mr. Brereton, the directors having deemed it advisable to delay that

until the ship was on the gridiron—then a full investigation would be made.

Mr. Geo. Taylor addressed the meeting at some length. He condemned the practice of changing the Captain so often. In this instance he believed the vessel was mismanaged, and that the Captain was to blame for the occurrence. He believed he was a man of little or no experience, and was taken because he came cheap. He believed under Captain Harrison, Captain Hall, or Captain Thompson, the accident would not have occurred. He also complained that there were generally too many heads in the ship. At one time Mr. Bold went to overlook the Captain, and at another Captain Carnegie did so. He thought an investigation necessary, and the directors were unfit for their office if they did not hold one. If the company would get one master mind to manage its affairs there would be some prospect of success.

Captain Carnegie, in reply, said with regard to Mr. Taylor's estimate of his abilities, he would not condescend to notice it. If he had not been fitted for the duty he would not have been entrusted with her Majesty's ships. He laid down the command not without pain. He had never quarreled with Mr. Thompson, who succeeded him. He certainly did go on the second voyage in the ship, not to overlook the Commander, but simply to accompany a distinguished Officer the French government sent over to go a voyage in her, and report the results of his observations.

The Rev. Mr. Nicholson thought that the speech of Mr. Taylor was prejudging the matter. The reason why Captain Carnegie left the ship was simply because he found that the gentleman to follow him in the command would be in the position of Mr. Russell's bailiff. He thought the proprietors, of the original shares should come forward and save their property. The original shareholders should each give a percentage on their shares. If they did not the ship must be sold for 150,000*l*. The first 100,000*l* would go to pay off the preference shares and the mortgage. Out of the

50,000*l* left for original shareholders they would not get 1*s* a share.

A Shareholder thought that that statement should have come from the chair, and also that they should have made some inquiry as to the disaster. He wished to know if any part of the 25,000*l* would go to pay interest on the mortgages.

The Chairman: There are funds in hand for that.

Mr. Bold, in reply to Mr. Taylor's remarks, said he had never interfered in the command of the ship in any way when it was under Mr. Hall's command. He thought Capt. Walker had been most unjustly attacked. That gentleman had been nine years in the Cunard service; left twice to command other steamers, and had had command of several of the largest steamers, and made the best voyages. He received the same pay as the Captains in Inman's line, and was in every respect a first-class man. He concluded by expressing his opinion that the Great Eastern was a magnificent property. He never saw a ship in such a state after a gale. Not a bolt had started, and every door opened and shut as it did before the occurrence. Had the voyage been prosperous and satisfactorily completed, she would have brought back as much freight and as many passengers as she could carry. He hoped their vessel would be kept on the American line.

The Chairman: As to the inquiry, he trusted they would leave it to the directors to decide as to the time the inquiry should take place. It would be made, and the report would be placed before the shareholders. As to the Captain being inexperienced, and engaged because he was cheap, it was quite untrue. The fact was the directors paid Captain Harrison 1,800*l* a year, and other officers in proportion, and the expenses were such as no vessel could bear; they therefore determined to pay the officers the same as they received on other lines of steamers. Captain Walker was a man of much experience and high reputation; he had been

employed in various ships on the Cunard line, and came from the Adriatic to the Great Eastern.

Mr. Tutill asked the earnings and expenses of the ship; he thought it would give confidence in the ship if the shareholders knew them. He did, and on the strength of it had increased interest in her 50 per cent.

Mr. Pyfinch suggested that if Mr. Walker was continued in the command of the ship it was hardly likely to increase the confidence in her.

Captain Halstead suggested that the inquiry should not be made by the directors. He thought it would be well to appeal to the Board of Trade to make the inquiry.

Mr. Scott Russell said perhaps no one had a deeper interest in the ascertainment of the culpability or non-culpability of the Captain and Officers than he had; nevertheless he thought the inquiry should be made by the directors. He had every confidence in them, and that they would make the inquiry in a satisfactory manner. He believed they had good reason for delaying the inquiry. He thought the time had almost come when the ship should be put on the station for which she was intended. There was a rapidly increasing trade being developed in the East. They knew that they could not now go to Australia in less than 60 days, and this ship could do it in 40. If she were once put on the proper station for which was designed, if she was only half full of freight and passengers, she would pay more than other steam-ship proprietary received. It was satisfactory that not a single rivet or bolt had started, although the ship was in the trough of the sea for three days and three nights. But if an ordinary vessel got once into the trough of the sea, she went down and no more was heard of her. The rudder, when placed in such circumstances in an ordinary ship, would not only ring the head, it would tear away the stern of the ship with it, but in the Great Eastern the rudder was never torn away at all in the gale. It was now proposed to strengthen the rudder post, so as to withstand the sea in case of

an accident such as had occurred; the result would be in such circumstances, that the rudder would go altogether instead of the post only parting. Again, it was proposed to strengthen the paddles and the drums, so that the sea would not carry them away. That might be done; but what would be the result? Instead of the paddles being broken off, the shaft would be run out, the engine-tops would be rung out, and the side of the ship would be rung out. The result would be, instead of losing their paddles, they would lose their ship. He thought it was desirable that they should endeavour to keep one Captain in the ship, and also that they should retain the same board of directors, as their experience was of the greatest value.

The report was adopted.

The Chairman then moved a resolution that the sum of 25,000*l* be raised on a mortgage upon the ship, stores, &c., in shares of not less than 20*l*.

The resolution was put and carried; and the proceedings closed by a vote of thanks to the chairmain and the board of directors. (*The Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*, Nov. 9, 1861)

“Great Ship Company Meeting.

A special meeting of the proprietors of this Company was held yesterday at the, to receive a report from the Board of Directors and on general business of the Company. Mr. R. Baker presided.

Mr. Yates, the secretary, read the report, which briefly entered into a history of the affairs of the Company, the working of the ship since the 30 May last, and the accident which happened to her on the 12th September, through a defective welding in the rudder-post. The cost of her repairs would amount to 8,000*l*, for which the assets of the company would suffice. Twenty-five thousand pounds would be required to equip her for another voyage, and to provide working capital, and the directors proposed to raise that amount by issuing debentures bearing interest at 10 per cent. on a

second mortgage. Of the 25,000*l* proposed to be raised, 15,800*l* had been taken up. The report of Mr. Brereton and Mr. Reeve, engineers, as to the condition of the ship, were also read.

The Chairman said that they had arrived at the very point of success, when their ship met with this disaster; but as it was the character of their countrymen to surmount difficulties, he trusted that they would put their shoulders to the wheel, and assist in extricating the ship from the position in which she was now placed. The board believed that they had done all that careful men could do. He then adverted to the circumstances attending the accident, and complained of the exaggerated statements which had gone forth, and which were calculated to raise doubts as to the characters of the ship where they ought not to exist – (hear, hear). Their ship had proved herself to be a superior vessel to weather the winter sea in the Atlantic, and they had no reason to anticipate that she would meet with any disaster more than any other ship. She had commenced to be a source of profit to the shareholders, and it would be for them to consider whether she should again. He retained his confidence in the ultimate success of the ship. After some further remarks as to the state of the ship and the prospects of the Company, he moved the adoption of the report.

Several shareholders then addressed the meeting, and suggested that an inquiry should be instituted into the cause and nature of the accident.

Mr. Bold spoke of the satisfactory condition of the Great Eastern, notwithstanding the trials she had been put to.

The Chairman defended the Board and the appointment of Capt. Walker.

The report was adopted, and a resolution raising 25,000*l*. (“Mitchell’s Maritime Register, Nov. 9, 1861)

“Mr. Adams made an excellent speech at the Lord Mayor’s banquet, Guildhall, on Saturday night, in which he was judiciously silent on the state of our own troubles. This has provoked the ire of The Times and other London Journals, & nearly all of them jeer at him this morning. The best thing about his speech is that he managed to say nothing, but he said it remarkably well.

At the same time Yancey and Mann dined with the Fishmonger’s Company at their hall near London Bridge. The former made a speech that was at times applauded. He had the impudence to reflect upon the North for its censorship of the press, and with much effrontery talked of the freedom of speech and of the press at the South. This was cheered: and yet this fellow Yancey is, and has been for years, the prime advocate for re-opening the Slave Trade, and has helped to hound his poor besotted dupes at the South on more than one occasion on to lynching Northern men & driving them from Alabama because they were *suspected* of abolitionism. There is not one of those who applauded him that would be permitted to live in the South.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

November 12, 1861

“The Probable Duration of the American War.

The following is an extract from a circular issued by the well-known house of Neill Brothers. It is dated New York, Oct. 26:--

‘In inquiring into the probable duration of the war, the main questions to be considered are, firstly, the nature of the issue or issues between North and South. Are they slight and superficial, or essential and profound? It is not necessary to go to any lengthened argument to establish the position that they are the deepest and most irreconcilable which can divide two peoples. One section has gone to war for separate independence and the maintenance of the system of slavery, with the right to its extension, and at the same time to establish free trade and unrestricted Commerce with all the world. The other party has gone to war to preserve the unity and integrity of a great country, willing

enough (except a small portion) to tolerate slavery, but determined not to let it continue supreme in the government as it has been of late, and not to let it aid the wealth and prosperity of the South alone. And while they assume this ground, and expect in it the sympathy of the anti-slavery and commercial nations of Europe, they adopt a narrow, prohibitive, commercial system, altogether ignoring the world's commercial education for the past 20 years. It is manifest that upon the union with the South the power of the North and its commercial prosperity mainly depend. The cotton, rice, tobacco, and sugar crops of the South are five-sixths of the whole exports of the country, and constitute the chief payment to Europe for the foreign imports of the whole country, and are consequently the source, not only of Trade and Commerce, but also of revenue, as the sole revenue is derived from the duties on imports. The cutting off the North from this trade, while destroying domestic property, would force the government to direct taxation, at a time when the people, always adverse to it, would be more than ever so; therefore the North cannot give up the conflict till convinced of its utter hopelessness. Every new loan is a further pledge that the war must continue till success or destruction result. The South is of course impelled by similar motives, and, if conquered, all they have spent is lost; and moreover they would be saddled with an enormous debt incurred for their own subjugation. It is easy to see that, both in their views of human freedom and freedom of trade, the differences of the North and South are radical, and not to be reconciled. We have, therefore, looked in vain here, among the more intelligent men to all parties, for any disposition to let the South go. They consider it geographically, as well as morally impossible, and prefer the alternative of a war of extermination. If there be a disposition for peace, it is not permitted to show itself; and if such be the case at the North, it is equally true at the South, who have added to their other reasons for preserving in the contest, the desperation that it gives to the Anglo-Saxon race to feel that their country is invaded, with a view to their conquest and suppression. It may safely be

assumed, therefore, that they will also fight to the very extremity of their resources.

‘Next comes the question of the ability of either section to maintain a protracted contest. We have found no reason whatever to doubt this ability on either side. Information from the South is partial and incomplete; and it is only as regards the North that we can speak from immediate observation. Financially, the North has no doubt the advantage, but in many other respects the South has it—above all, that she is fighting on the defensive, and in a country easy of defence and most difficult to invade. Nearly all the necessaries of life are produced within the limits of the Confederate States. On the whole, it is pretty evident that the power of resistance possessed by the South is vastly greater than they get credit for; and it is difficult to form any opinion as to which side will tire of the war the soonest. The present sufferings of the South may be much greater, but the North is laying up for herself a weight of debt and taxation which will spread the penalty over lengthened years, and probably carry it down to generations yet unborn.’

Employment for the Great Eastern.

(From *Mitchell's Steam Shipping Journal*.)

The great unfortunate lies in a crippled state at Milford Haven, and, judging from the low state of the Company's exchequer, it will be some months before she is put in a fit state to breast the elements again. Even when she is repaired, fresh difficulties will arise. Among her shareholders, there are those who persistently hold to the belief that as she was designed for long voyages, to distant seas she should be sent. Taking all things into consideration, perhaps the best arrangement would be, to try the experiment of a trip to the antipodes. The Great Britain lay a long time rusting before she fell into the practical hands of Messrs. Gibbs and Bright, of Liverpool. These gentlemen have turned her to a good and useful purpose. In the Australian trade she is a favorite, and commands high fares and quick dispatch. If the same firm, or any other house of spirited enterprise, owned the Great Eastern, she

would probably be turned to profitable account. The advice we would offer to the Great Ship Company is, to take the paddle-boxes off the vessel, unship her wheels, and fit her out for a voyage to Melbourne and Sydney. The paddle-engines might be allowed to remain in her as ballast, till experience was gained as to her performances under sail and screw for a long sea voyage. All that would be needed in the way of refitment might be accomplished at a small expenditure. Her rudder-head and stern-post need securing. This done, she might be advertised for Australia. On the passage from Queenstown to Milford Haven, she is reported to have averaged ten and a-half knots under steam alone, when driven by the screw engines. By crossing her square yards again, and availing herself of the S.E. trade winds, she would certainly make the run to Melbourne in 50 days. She has, or had, on board, 5,000 tons of coal, and another 2,500 tons ought to supply the furnaces with full steaming fuel for the entire passage outwards, while the Tasmanian fields are now available for coaling homewards. The Great Britain uses her engines only when there is not sufficient wind to drive her along, and the same economy is open to the Great Eastern.

There is room for a magnificent passenger ship like this in the Australian trade. The Peninsular and Oriental Company charge passengers to Melbourne, or Sydney, £150 in a general cabin, and £376 to a married couple in a state room with two beds. By the overland route there is a change at Alexandria, then a journey across Egypt to Suez, a re-embarkation at the latter Port, and another transshipment at Ceylon. All these changes are accompanied with disagreeable inconveniences to families, and the direct route is preferred in consequence by many. Again at certain seasons of the year the Indian passengers crowd the ships, and, however well managed the Company's ships may be, there are hundred who would be glad to go out in the roomy cabins of the Great Eastern, if the were certain that she would be properly appointed, and sail at the advertised time. The Great Ship Company could afford to convey chief cabin passengers at about 70 guineas per head, second cabin at 40

guineas, and steerage at 18 to 20 guineas. At these prices, if timely notice were given, the ship's berths would, in all probability, be secured. Suppose 900 persons were to take passage—and she could accommodate four times that number if all her space between decks were fitted—the passage-money would be about £40,000. Deduct for provisioning, wages, coal, and incidental expenses, there would be a good margin left for profit. This is independent of freight and homeward earnings. If the present Board of Directors fail to work her at an advantage, she may yet fall into the hands of those who may better understand what to do with her. She was designed to be an Eastern ship, and her carrying capacity is adapted to large and low freights. She could clear out Melbourne and Sydney of all the wool offerings and would command any gold for shipment thence to England. Besides these, if she time her departure a fortnight after dispatch of the mail boats she would probably be trusted with a large mail.” (Liverpool Telegraph, Nov. 12, 1861)

November 15, 1861

“Foreign Office, November 15, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 14th instant, which confirms the statements you made to me orally on Wednesday last.

I have only to add that, believing the cause of the stoppage of Mr. Bunch's bag to have been a bona fide suspicion on the part of the United States government that the bag might contain dispatches from the so-styled Confederate States, I did not think it necessary to address Lord Lyons further on the subject.

With respect to your remarks on the subject of correspondence of British subjects in the southern States, the inconveniences consequent upon the present state of things are so great that her Majesty's government are obliged, seriously, to consider whether means may not be found, compatible with the vigorous prosecution of the war, by which those inconveniences may be remedied, at least in part.

Her Majesty's government are, accordingly, occupied in devising measures which, when matured, may afford some hope of redress for the injuries sustained by British subjects in consequence of the present state of things. They measures to be proposed will be communicated, as soon as they are matured, to the Secretary of State of the United States by Lord Lyons.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, sir, your most obedient, humble servant.

Russell.

Charles Francis Adams, Esq., &c., &c., &c."

November 18, 1861

"Great Eastern.
To the Editor of the Shipping and Mercantile Gazette,

Sir,—Will you allow me space for a few remarks on a subject of great interest, and which is being much canvassed by practical men—viz., the Great Eastern's rudder.

I observe, by the report of the meeting of the Great Ship Company, the cost of repairing the rudder is included amongst other estimated expenses necessary to fit her for sea again. But as nothing is said about any provision for additional means of steerage, I infer it is not the present intention of the Company to profit by the bitter experience of the past. I would, however, advise them to pause, if they think of pursuing such a course of mistaken economy, and reconsider the matter. It is one of vital importance, and upon which their future success greatly depends, for they may rest assured public confidence in the ship will not be regained unless every available means be adopted calculated to prevent the recurrence of an accident that might terminate very different to the late one. Every day ship news brings proof of the liability of ordinary-sized rudders being lost or damaged. We have now before us the record of the

total loss, owing to the breakage of the rudder, of the fine steamship *Waterwitch*, and the narrow escape of her Crew. Is it, therefore, reasonable to expect immunity for that of the *Great Eastern*? On the contrary, it is admitted by all that its enormous dimensions render it peculiarly liable to damage. It is to the desirability of reducing the size of this rudder, and by so doing lessen its liability to damage, I would direct especial attention. It appears that the rudder is not larger than is required for all purposes, although one half its size would be sufficient for ordinary navigation. To meet this state of things, I would suggest that the rudder be reduced to the minimum size for common use, and have an auxiliary to compensate for such reduction, to be sufficient of itself for navigating the ship in case of accident to the main one. By this arrangement it will be seen the most important objections, increased means of steerage, lessened liability of the main rudder to damage, and the provision of a reserve in such an event, will be attained.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
Plymouth, Nov. 14, 1861. Practical.”
(Shipping and Mercantile Gazette, Nov. 18, 1861)

“ Richmond, November 18, 1861.

The Congress of the Confederate States.

. . . In conducting this war we have sought no aid and proposed no alliances offensive and defensive abroad. We have asked for a recognized place in the great family of nations, but in doing so we have demanded nothing for which we did not offer a fair equivalent. The advantages of intercourse are mutual amongst nations, and in seeking to establish diplomatic relations we were only endeavoring to place that intercourse under the regulation of public law. Perhaps we had the right, if we had chose to exercise it, to ask to know whether the principle that ‘blockades to be binding must be effectual,’ so solemnly announced by the great powers of Europe at Paris, is to be generally enforced or applied only to particular parties. When the Confederate States,

at your last session, became a party to the declaration reaffirming this principle of international law, which has been recognized so long by publicists and governments, we certainly supposed that it was to be universally enforced. The customary law of nations is made up of their practice rather than their declarations; and if such declarations are only to be enforced in particular instances at the pleasure of those who make them, then the commerce of the world, so far from being placed under the regulation of a general law, will become subject to the caprice of those who execute or suspend it at will. If such is to be the course of nations in regard to this law, it is plain that it will thus become a rule for the weak and not for the strong. . . . ”

Jeff'n Davis

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

November 19, 1861

“ [U.S. Flagship Minnesota.]
[Hampton Roads, Virginia,] November 19,
1861.

Sir: I beg to send to the Department this printing copy of my instructions to officers engaged on blockading service.

Most respectfully,

L. M. Goldsborough,
Flag-Officer.

[Secretary of the Navy.]

[Enclosure.]

September 28, 1861.

All officers commanding vessels employed on blockading service belonging to the squadron under my command are to be governed by the following general directions in the discharge of their duties:

1st. Duly notify neutrals of the declaration of the blockade and give to it otherwise all the publicity in your power.

2d. The blockade must be strict and absolute, and only public armed vessels of foreign powers are to be permitted to enter the ports which are placed in a state of blockade.

3d. Protect our commerce from the depredations of privateers and, as a matter of course, capture them and all other vessels of the enemy whenever you can do so without being seduced away from your station.

4th. A lawful maritime blockade requires the actual presence of an adequate force stationed at the entrance of the port sufficiently near to prevent communication. The only exception to this rule arises out of the occasional temporary absence of the blockading vessels produced by accident, as in the case of a storm, which does not suspend the legal operation of a blockade, and to take advantage of such an accidental absence is a fraudulent attempt to break the blockade and will justify the application of penalties.

5th. A neutral or foreign vessel proceeding toward the entrance of a blockaded port is not to be captured or detained if she shall not have received previously from one of the blockading squadron a special notification of the existence of the blockade. This notification must be inserted in writing on the register and muster roll of the neutral vessel by the cruiser which meets her, and it should contain the announcement, together with the statements of the day, and the longitude and latitude in which it was made.

6th. Until the ports are closed by proclamation (that is, declared to be no longer ports of entry) the warning just mentioned is to be continued to vessels instead of capturing at once, as will be the case when they come to be closed.

7th. Vessels leaving guarded insurgent ports without legal clearances are to be seized and sent in for adjudication. If it be claimed that there is not an effective blockade, and therefore that they are entitled to depart, still they must not disregard our municipal laws and the requirements of the National Government.

8th. On the coast of North Carolina, more particularly, there is an extensive scheme of deliberately concerted measures to evade our vigilance and disregard our laws. The must be broken up, and every effort is to be made to accomplish the purpose effectually.

9th. Vessels with contraband goods on board approaching any of the blockaded ports, or vessels that may have cleared for any of those ports, or be found, with a due warning on their papers, hovering about any of them, are all to be seized and sent in for adjudication.⁵⁹

L. M. Goldsborough,
Flag-Officer.”

“A week ago we were congratulating ourselves on the restoration of good feeling between the two Govts. When lo! to-day, we get Despatch N. 109, which instructs Mr. Adams to inform Her Majesty’s Gov’t that the President has seen fit to revoke the Exequator of Mr. Robt. Bunch, the British Consul at Charleston, for having attempted a negotiation with the Rebels on the last three article of the Paris Declaration, while holding an authority from the U.S. This, as before shewn, he did under instructions from his own Govt. who have acted throughout this war with the basest duplicity, and Bunch’s dismissal is a severe rebuke of themselves. The Censure is deserved. Palmerston, while professing peach and friendship, has been disgracefully conspiring with the rebels against our Govt. through Bunch and other like tools, and now when caught at his dishonest work assumes the responsibility with his usual impudence. Mr. Adams

⁵⁹ This (the 9th) paragraph was not in the original copy, but was added October 11, 1861. See p. 307.—
Compilers. [Original footnote]

must remodel the Despatch, as its language is tart in the extreme.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

November 20, 1861

“No. 13. Department of State,
Richmond, November 20, 1861.

Hon. W. L. Yancey, P.A. Rost, Hon. A. Dudley Mann, etc.

Gentlemen: The Commissioners, John Slidell and Hon. James M. Mason, with their Secretaries, Hon. George Eustis and James Macfarland, appointed by the President in pursuance of a resolution of Congress, adopted at its last session, embarked at the neutral Spanish port of Havana, on a British mail steamer, on the 7th instant en route for England, and on the following day were forcibly arrested by Captain Wilkes, of the U.S. Ship ‘San Jacinto,’ taken from the deck of the British vessel, and conveyed as prisoners in the ‘San Jacinto’ to New York, where they are now. Their families and baggage were allowed, as we are informed, to proceed on their voyage.

It is difficult to see how the Government of the United States can attempt to justify this flagrant violation of the laws and rights of nations and the gross insult to the flag of Great Britain, which she has always justly considered to be a sufficient protection to all who place themselves beneath it, whether on a British deck or on British soil.

It is only our duty to state the fact, fully persuaded that the British Government, whose proud boast it has been to maintain inviolate the right of asylum wherever their jurisdiction extends, will take the proper steps to avenge the insult thus audaciously offered to their country by the United States. I inclose you (marked A) the official information received at this Department relative to the arrest.

I remain, etc.,

R.M.T. Hunter.”

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

November 21, 1861

Adams wrote to Russell:

“MY LORD: The undersigned, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States, has the honor to inform the Right Hon. Earl Russell, Her Majesty’s principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, that he has now just received the answer of his Government to the note addressed by his lordship to the undersigned on the 8th of September last touching certain representations made by him under instructions from his government of the conduct of Mr. Robert Bunch, Her Majesty’s consul at Charleston, and he now proceeds to submit the substance of the same to his lordship’s consideration.

And first it is a source of satisfaction to the undersigned to be able to say that the President finds that that part of Mr. Bunch’s proceedings which was most calculated to offend the United States and to which exception was more especially taken has no support in the communication of his lordship to which it is now proposed to reply. If it be true that Mr. Bunch made any assurances direct or implied to the insurgents in the United States of a disposition on the part of Her Majesty’s Government to recognize them as a State it is now clear that he acted utterly without authority. Whatever is the responsibility which may be supposed to attach to Mr. Bunch for such an act there is no disposition left to assign the smallest share of it to the source to which he is indebted for his official position.

But though there is great cause for gratification in this view of his lordship’s note the undersigned is constrained to admit that in another the President has received it with somewhat less satisfaction. It would appear that Her Majesty’s Government has avowed that Mr. Bunch did act under instructions so far as his conduct was known to the foreign department and that that action went to the extent of communicating to the persons exercising authority

in the so-called Confederate State the desire of Her Majesty's Government that the second, third, and fourth articles of the declaration of Paris should be observed by the States in the prosecution of the hostilities in which they were engaged. The undersigned regrets to be obliged to submit to his lordship's consideration the fact that Mr. Bunch received from the Government of the United States a recognition exclusively confined to the performance of consular duties and that in proceeding to execute others which very nearly approach if they do not absolutely belong to those of diplomatic agents only he seems to them to have transcended the just limits of any authority which they had ever consented to vest in him.

Well aware of the great difficulties necessarily in the way of an intimate acquaintance with the laws of a foreign State the undersigned will not pretend to claim of Her Majesty's Government that it should be familiar with those of the United States; but it becomes his duty to point out the fact that Mr. Bunch in accepting the post which he did under Her Majesty's authority voluntarily made himself amenable at least during the period of his residence to the authority of those laws. When therefore he received a direction from the foreign department to do an act which was not known by it to be a violation of one of those laws but which he was bound to know to be such his duty clearly should have been instead of proceeding at once in contravention of the law to apprise his Government of the position he was placed in and to await their decision after a full consideration of the question involved. The statute to which allusion is made forbids under a heavy penalty any person not specifically appointed or duly authorized or recognized by the President, whether citizen or denizen, privileged or unprivileged, from counseling, advising, aiding or assisting in any political correspondence with the Government of any foreign State whatever with an intent to influence the measures of any foreign Government or of any officer or agent thereof in relation to any disputes or controversies with the United States or to defeat the measures of their Government.

Neither is the undersigned so fortunate as to see in this proceeding of Mr. Bunch thus shown to be on his part a wanton violation of the law of the United States a sufficient justification or excuse in the consideration that Great Britain is deeply interested in the maintenance of the articles which provide that the flag covers the goods, and that the goods of a neutral taken on board a belligerent ship are not liable to confiscation. It is enough to say on this subject that in the view of nearly all civilized nations the proper agents to make known such wishes are the diplomatic, not the consular agents of a Government, and that the only authority in the United States to which any diplomatic communication whatever can be made is the Government of the United States itself. The undersigned is too confident of the soundness of the principles which have ever actuated the Government of Great Britain in all its relations with foreign countries not to affirm that it would never give countenance for a single moment to the application of any other doctrine than this to the management of its own affairs.

Least of all with the undersigned be permitted to admit that communication by Mr. Bunch while exercising consular privileges granted him with the consent of the United States with insurgents endeavoring to overthrow the Government can be justified by the declaration of Her Majesty's ministers that they have already recognized the belligerent character of those insurgents and will continue so to consider them. It is indeed true that Her Majesty's proclamation has been issued for the regulation of all her own subjects and that it has been interpreted by her Government as recognizing the insurgents as a belligerent. But it is equally true that the Government of the United States declines to accept any such interpretation as modifying in the least degree its own rights and powers or the obligations of all friendly nations toward it.

Still adhering to this position the undersigned is instructed to announce as a result of

the most calm and impartial deliberation upon the question thus submitted for its decision the necessity which his Government feels itself under to revoke the exequatur of Mr. Bunch. Neither has this step been taken without the pressure of a strong conviction that independently of the facts already alleged his person conduct even down to the time this correspondence has been going on as well as before it commenced has been that not of a friend to the Government nor even of a neutral but of a partisan of faction and disunion.

In conclusion it is with much pleasure that the undersigned has it in his power to convey to Earl Russell the sense entertained by the President of the action of Her Majesty's representative at Washington. It is felt to be due to him as well as to his Government to say that in all his proceedings he has carefully respected the sovereignty and the rights of the United States, and that the arrangements which have been made by him with the entire approval of the Government for establishing a communication between his Government and its consuls through the national vessels of Great Britain entering blockaded ports without carrying passengers or private letters bid fair to preclude all necessity for a recurrence of such proceedings as those which have necessitated this painful correspondence.

Having thus performed the duty imposed upon him of announcing that the exequatur of Mr. Bunch has been withdrawn because his services are no longer agreeable to the Government of the United States the undersigned is further instructed to say that the consular privileges thus taken from him will be cheerfully allowed to any successor whom Her Majesty may be pleased to appoint against whom no grave personal objections are known to exist.

The Undersigned has the honor to renew to Earl Russell the assurances of the highest consideration with which he is his lordship's most obedient servant,"

November 22, 1861

“The steamship Asia has arrived, with European advices to the 10th inst. The Directors of the Great Eastern company have resolved to raise £25,000 to equip her for sea.” (Dawson’s Daily Times and Union, Fort Wayne, Indiana, Nov. 22, 1861)

“London, November 27, 1861.
Right Honorable Earl Russell.

The undersigned have the honor to submit to Her Britannic Majesty’s Government the following facts: On the 7th of November James M. Mason, John Slidell, James Macfarland, and George Eustis, citizens of the Confederate States of America, embarked on board of H. B. M. Royal mail steam packet ‘Trent,’ then in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, as passengers for Southampton, England.

On the 8th instant, when in the Bahama Channel off the Paradon Grande lighthouse, the ‘Trent’ was brought to by the firing of two guns, said to have been shotted, from a U. S. man-of-war, the ‘San Jacinto,’ which vessel sent an officer and armed boat’s crew on board of the ‘Trent,’ and, after some preliminary acts, the officer demanded that the four passengers named above should be delivered up to him. The captain of the ‘Trent’ refused to comply with this order, and the citizens of the Confederate States above named claimed the protection of the British flag. The U. S. officer then proceeded to arrest those gentlemen by the aid of his armed crew, under circumstances of aggravating violence, and carried them as prisoners from the ‘Trent’ to the ‘San Jacinto.’

The undersigned believe that this proceeding is in violation of international law, and not justifiable under any treaty between the Government of Her Britannic Majesty and that of the United States. If it shall be insisted upon that these citizens were coming to England in the capacity of ambassadors, it is a sufficient reply that they were not recognized as such by the Government of the United States, nor by that of Her Majesty. The former Government looks upon them simply as rebellious citizens; the latter, as citizens

of a belligerent power. No charge of their being bearers of dispatches was made by the U. S. officer; and it made, if it is confidently believed it would not justify their forcible seizure under the circumstances.

It may be conceded that these gentlemen had been commissioned by the President of the Confederate States to proceed to Europe and use their best endeavors to form friendly relations with the neutral European powers, but under such supposition the undersigned insist that they were not liable to seizure upon the deck of a neutral, in the manner in which they were seized, for these reasons:

First, that such a procedure can be sustained only upon the principle that neutral States are not justifiable in entertaining propositions for the recognition of and commercial intercourse with belligerent powers; secondly, that these persons were proceeding from a neutral to a neutral port in a neutral vessel.

It may be conceded that ambassadors proceeding from an enemy's port to a neutral port are liable to seizure under a neutral flag, but the undersigned have been unable to find a principle of international law, or a precedent, which justifies such a procedure when the ambassador is proceeding from one neutral port to another. In fact, a high American authority lays it down as incontrovertible that a neutral vessel may convey unmolested an ambassador of the enemy or dispatches of the enemy to and from his own and any other neutral government. ('Introduction to the Study of International Law,' page 408; on the relations between belligerents and neutrals, Theodore D. Woolsey, Yale College, Boston, 1860.) Mr. Wheaton seems to sustain this view, for, after laying down the general principle 'that the fraudulent carrying of dispatches will also subject the neutral vessel in which they are transported to capture and confiscation,' he further says: 'But carrying the dispatches of an ambassador or other public ministers of the enemy resident in a neutral

territory is an exception to the reasoning on which the above general rule is founded.’

The author says the neutral country has a right to preserve its relations with the enemy, and you are not at liberty to conclude that any communication between them can partake in any degree of the nature of hostility against you. Most assuredly, then, bearers of such dispatches, or the ambassadors themselves, are not liable to seizure on a neutral vessel when proceeding from one neutral country to another.

The undersigned submit also this further view of the case. Granting that the persons seized were liable to seizure, it is submitted that the question of liability is a judicial question.

For the decision of all such questions admiralty courts were established, and in those courts only, where both parties can be heard, could they be determined. The only proper course was a seizure of the ‘Trent,’ with her cargo and passengers, and the submission of the whole matter to a judicial tribunal.

The undersigned, therefore, feel it to be their duty to protest against this act of illegal violence done by the Government of the United States to citizens of the Confederate States on board of an English vessel, by which they have been torn from their families and committed to a loathsome prison. They feel it to be their duty to lay the facts before the Government of Her Britannic Majesty and to claim for their imprisoned countrymen the full benefit of that protection to which every private person who seeks shelter under the British flag and demears himself according to British law has heretofore ever been held to be entitled.

The undersigned, therefore, confidently hope that Her Majesty’s Government will cause those citizens of the Confederate States who have been so illegally taken from the deck of a British vessel to be restored to the position which they enjoyed under the protection of the British flag

when seized, or to the port whither they were bound, and to which Her Majesty's Royal Mail Steam Packet Company engaged to take them, after having received the usual compensation.

The undersigned have the honor to assure your Lordship of their very high consideration.

W.L. Yancey,
P.A. Rost,
A Dudley Mann.

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

“Legation of the United States,
London, November 22, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit a copy of a note of Lord Russell, dated the 15th of this month, in reply to mine addressed to him on the day previous, on the subject of the intercepted bag of Mr. Bunch, a copy of which was sent forward with my dispatch to the department, No. 71, dated the 14th instant.

I have taken no special notice of the closing observations, for the reason, 1st, that his lordship transfers the discussion to Washington; and 2d, that in another note addressed to him, under instructions, on the case of Mr. Bunch, allusion is incidentally made to the subject as having been already arranged between Lord Lyons and yourself.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

Charles Francis Adams.

Hon. William H. Seward,
Secretary of State.”

“Some of the Southampton people have been openly sympathizing with these pirates,⁶⁰ & Perkins, the Mayor, who is J. R. Croskey's son-in-law, has lunch on board. This is shameful.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

⁶⁰ Moran is referred to the “Nashville,” a Confederate vessel which had just seized and burned the “Harvey Birch,” an American merchantman. The Nashville was docked in Southampton.

November 23, 1861

“The Great Eastern.—This vessel is now lying safely moored at Milford Haven, where she has satisfactorily ridden out the recent terrific gales. She is discharging her coals into vessels alongside, to hasten the completion of which relays of men are at work day and night so that she may be placed on her gridiron at Nayland (prepared for her purposely when she was last here) with all possible dispatch. Every necessary preparation is being made for speedily effecting her repairs, to expedite which even the resources of the adjacent Royal Dockyard are readily afforded. (Mitchell’s Maritime Register, Nov. 23, 1861)

“Hamilton E. Towle, Esq. —The Boston *Post* informs us that Hamilton E. Towle, the Civil Engineer, who rendered such valuable aid in saving the *Great Eastern*, is about to make this City his headquarters. We desire to welcome him and express our belief that he will have no occasion to regret coming among us. At such a time as this, however, men of a scientific and practical turn of mind, like Mr. Towle, should be in the employ of the Government, especially while skill to plan and ability to execute has so much to do with our national success. We are informed by a gentleman who was a passenger on the big ship that, so far, the proprietors have in no way recognized the services of Mr. Towle.” (New York Times, Nov. 23, 1861)

November 26, 1861

“Foreign Office,
November 26, 1861.

The undersigned, her Majesty’s principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, has received with much concern the note which Mr. Adams, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States at this court, addressed to him on the 21st instant, in which he announces, as the result of what Mr. Adams states to have been the calm and impartial deliberation by the United States government upon the question submitted for its decision, the necessity which that government feels itself under to revoke the exequatur of Mr. Robert Bunch, her Majesty’s consul at Charleston.

In discussing this matter, the undersigned will put aside the allegations of the unknown letter-writer concerning Mr. Bunch's supposed conversation, referred to in a former communication of Mr. Adams; for it may now be affirmed that those allegations, unsupported as they are by any proof, were entirely unfounded.

Neither will the undersigned take any notice of the charge made against Mr. Bunch, that his conduct has been that of a partisan of faction and disunion, because that charge is equally unsupported by any proof whatever, and is equally unfounded.

The withdrawal of Mr. Bunch's exequatur does not, however, appear to rest upon these unfounded allegations, nor on these groundless charges. It is said to rest upon a law of the United States, of which it is said her Majesty's government might personally have been ignorant, but which Mr. Bunch was bound to have brought to their notice.

This law, as Mr. Adams affirms, 'forbids, under a heavy penalty, any person not specially appointed or duly authorized or recognized by the President, whether citizen or denizen, privileged or unprivileged, from counseling, advising, aiding, or assisting in any political correspondence with the government of any foreign state whatever, with an intent to influence the measures of any foreign government, or of any officer or agent thereof, in relation to any disputes or controversies which the United States, or to defeat the measures of their government.'

Taking Mr. Adams's description of this statute as full and accurate, the undersigned has to remark that the statute seems to have been enacted for the purpose of preventing citizens or denizens of the United States from aiding or counseling foreign governments with regard to their disputes with the United States.

If this be so, Mr. Bunch having no mission or instruction to aid or counsel a foreign state at enmity with the United States, and not having done so, could have no reason to suppose that a statute made alio intuitu could be so construed as to apply to his execution of the instructions he had received from her Majesty's government, and therefore there could be no reason why he should have brought to the notice of her Majesty's government an United States statute, which had no bearing whatever upon anything which he was instructed to do.

November 27, 1861

“We have received a long note from Earl Russell, dated yesterday, in reply to Mr. Adams' letter of last Friday, announcing the revocation of Mr. Bunch's Exequatur. It is to me a hostile document. His Lordship defends Bunch, and boastfully states that his negotiations with the rebels on the last three articles of the Paris Declaration were authorized, and that Her Majesty's Gov't will continue to make such like communications to both the State Gov'ts & Central Govt. of the South whenever it sees fit to do so, & it will not regard such proceedings with the rebels as inconsistent with its obligations as a friendly power to the Federal Govt. This is an affront these people would not have dared commit, were we not in a crippled state. It seems to me that Lord Palmerston has deliberately determined to force us into a war with England, and I believe this has been his purpose from the beginning. All his movements point to that end. With a malicious wickedness his worst enemy could hardly think of charging him with, he has been playing into the hands of the rebels from the first: and with the aid of the Times he has been disseminating falsehoods about our enmity to England, until he has succeeded in making the people of these realms believe that enormous lie that we are doing all we can to involve them in a war. He is a foe to freedom: and if he succeeds in his satanic object of hostilities between the Federal Gov't & Great Britain he will deserve the execrations of mankind. His hatred of us is a boyish passion, strengthened by accumulated years. As he was Secretary at War in 1812 he feels that his life and name will not be free from tarnish unless he can

expunge us from the earth, and to do so he must be quick. Age will soon lead him to the grave, and he must glut his ire before he goes. In case he succeeds in this mad scheme, he will have the whole English people with him, and they will religiously believe his monstrous imposition that we picked the quarrel. He is one of their idols, and being a Lord, all he has to do is put adroitly forth a shameful misrepresentation, bearing the semblance of truth, and with the back of The Times, it will take such firm hold of the public mind that ages will eradicate it in case of war.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

November 29, 1861

“[Extract.]

Legation of the United States,
London, November 29, 1861.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith the copy of a note addressed by Earl Russell to me on the 26th instant, in reply to mine on the subject of the revocation of Mr. Bunch’s exequatur. I likewise subjoin a copy of my note addressed to him in answer. I have confined myself almost entirely to those portions in which his lordship calls my positions into question, and have left his declarations of future intentions to be dealt with by the government, if it be deemed worth while to continue the discussion. Other matters are so constantly occurring of a more imperative nature as to render this of very secondary consequence.

* * *

I have the honor be, sir, your obedient
servant,

Charles Francis Adams.

Hon. William H. Seward,
Secretary of State.”

November 30, 1861

“ London, November 30, 1861.
Right Honorable Earl Russell.

The undersigned have been instructed by the President of the Confederate States to communicate to Her Britannic Majesty's Government copies of the list of vessels which have arrived at and departed from the various ports of the Confederate States since the proclamation of a blockade of those ports, up to the 20th of August last, by which it will be seen that up to that date more than 400 vessels have arrived and departed unmolested. Since the date of these reports other and more important violations of the blockade are known to have occurred.

The undersigned will instance a few of the most prominent and well known.

The British steamer 'Bermuda' went into the Confederate port of Savannah from Falmouth, England, on the 28th of September, and left that port for Havana on the 1st instant.

The Confederate ship 'Helen' left Charleston on the 2d of November, and arrived at Liverpool on the 25th instant. The C. S. steamer 'Theodora' left Charleston on or about the 1st of October, put to sea, and returned on the same day. The same steamer left Charleston on the 11th of October for Havana, proceeded to the port, took in cargo, and entered the port of Savannah about the 20th of the same month. Three ships with cargoes arrived from Havana in the Confederate port of Savannah about October 24th. On the 26th of October the C.S. steamer 'Nashville' left Charleston, and arrived at Southampton on the 21st instant.

It was declared by the five great European powers at the Conference of Paris that 'blockades to be binding must be effective'—that is, maintained by a force really sufficient to prevent access to the enemy's coast—a principle long before sanctioned by leading publicists and now acknowledged by all civilized nations. When their resolutions were communicated to the Government of the United States, though it rejected that relating to privateers without a required modification, the principle in

regard to blockades was unequivocally admitted by it.

On the 13th of August last, the Government of the Confederate States acknowledged the same principle in its fullest extent by a declaration of Congress. The undersigned confidently believe that the annexed list of vessels which have arrived at and cleared from the ports of the Confederate States, since the proclamation of the blockade of their coast by the Government of the United States, is conclusive evidence that this blockade has not been effective, and therefore not binding.

May not the Government of the Confederate States then fairly suggest that the five great powers owe it to their own consistency, to the rule of conduct formally laid down for their guidance, and to the commercial world so deeply interested to make good their declaration so solemnly and publicly made?

Propositions of such gravity and emanating from sources so high may fairly be considered as affecting the general business relation of human society, and as controlling in a great degree the calculations and arrangements of nations so far as they are concerned in the rules thus laid down. Men have a right to presume that a law thus proclaimed will be universally maintained by those who have the power to do so, and who have taken it upon themselves to watch over its execution.

Nor will any suppose that particular States or cases would be exempted from its operation under the influence of partiality or favor. If, therefore, we can prove the blockade to have been ineffectual, we perhaps have a right to expect that the nations assenting to this declaration of the Conference of Paris will not consider it to be binding. We are fortified in this expectation not only by their own declarations but by the nature of the interests affected by the blockade. So far, at least, it has been proved that the only certain and sufficient source of cotton supply has been found in the Confederate States. It is probable that there are

more people without than within the Confederate States who derive their means of living from the various uses which are made of this important staple. A war, therefore, which shuts up this great source of supply from the general uses of mankind is directed as much against those who transport and manufacture cotton as against those who produce the raw material. Innocent parties, who are thus affected, may well insist that a right whose exercise operates so unfavorably on them shall be used only within the strictest limits of public law. Would I not be more in consonance with the spirit of the age to insist that, among the many efficient means of waging war, this one should be excepted in deference to the general interests of mankind, so many of whom depend for their means of living upon a ready and easy access to the greatest and cheapest cotton market in the world? If for the general benefit of commerce some of its great routes have been neutralized so as to be unaffected by the chances of war, might not another interest of a greater and more worldwide importance claim at least so much consideration as to demand the benefit of every presumption in favor to its protection against all the chances of war save those which arise under the strictest rules of public law?

This is a question of almost as much interest to the world at large as it is to the Confederate States. No belligerent can claim the right thus to injure innocent parties by such a blockade, except to the extent that it can be shown to furnish the legitimate, or perhaps we might go still farther and say the necessary, means to prosecute the war successfully. If it has become obvious, as would now seem to be the case, that no blockade which they can maintain will enable the United States to subdue the Confederate States of America, upon what plea can its further continuance be justified to third parties who are so deeply interested in a ready and easy access to the cheapest and most abundant sources of cotton supply? Perhaps we had the right to expect, inasmuch as by the proclamation of Her Britannic Majesty neutrality had been declared as between the belligerents, that one of the parties would not have been allowed to close the ports of

the other by a mere proclamation of blockade without an adequate force to sustain it.

The undersigned submit to Her Majesty's Government that a real neutrality calls for a rigid observance of international and municipal law, in their application to both belligerents, and that a relaxation of the principles of public law in favor of one of the parties violating them can be nothing more nor less than an injury done to that extent to the other side. Any considerations of sympathy for the embarrassed condition of the United States, if allowed to relax the application of those laws, must be justly considered as so much aid and comfort given to them at the expense of the Confederate States, and the undersigned cannot for a moment believe that such a policy will influence Her Majesty's Government.

The undersigned have forborne to press these great questions upon the attention of Her Majesty's Government with that assiduity which, perhaps, the cause of the Confederate States would have been justified, knowing the great interest of Her Majesty's Government in the preservation of friendly relations with both the belligerent powers. They cannot but think that the facts connected with this blockade, and the great interests of the neutral commerce of the world, imperatively demand that Her Majesty's Government should take decisive action in declaring the blockade ineffective. These views are affirmed as much in the general interest of mankind as in the Confederate States, who do not ask for assistance to enable them to maintain their independence against any power which has yet assailed them.

The undersigned have been further instructed by their Government to communicate to that of Her Britannic Majesty a copy of resolutions adopted by the Congress of the Confederate States August 13, 1861. It is annexed, marked B.

The undersigned have the honor to assure his Lordship of their very high consideration.

W. L. Yancey,
P.A. Rost.
A. Dudley Mann.

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

“ London, November 30, 1861.
Hon. R.M.T. Hunter, etc.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your dispatch No. 10 of date 23d September, 1861, informing me that the President had kindly consented to accede to my request, and to recall me from the post I have filled as one of the Commissioners to England and other European powers.

The President was so kind as to express the hope ‘that if anything has occurred to change your determination, he desires you shall continue in the diplomatic service of the Government.’ The seizure of the Hon. James M. Mason by the U.S. man-of-war, the ‘San Jacinto,’ would leave the Confederate Government without a representative in England, were I to accept the President’s permission to resign my post (on the presumption that the directions of the President to Messrs. Rost and Mann were conformed to), and under the circumstances of such universal gravity and importance given to the relations of the Government of the Confederate States to that of Great Britain, I have conceived it to be an important duty imposed upon me to lay aside all private considerations and to remain as Commissioner in Europe until the Government shall advise otherwise.

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

W. L. Yancey.”

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

December 1861
December 2, 1861

“London, 40 Albemarle Street, December 2, 1861.
Robert M. T. Hunter, Secretary of State.

My Dear Sir: Your instructions dated September 23 were received on the 28th instant [ultimo]. At the present there is a probability that our recognition by Her Britannic Majesty's Government will not be much longer delayed.

I congratulate you with all my heart upon the indications which so strikingly manifest themselves for a speedy termination of the noble sacrifices of our country for the attainment of its independence.

Great Britain is in downright earnestness in her purpose to humiliate by disgraceful concessions, or to punish severely by force, the so-called United States for the flagrant violation of the integrity of her flag upon the high seas. Her 'voice' will not be found in her 'sword.'

By never losing sight for a moment of the object for which I was appointed, and not quitting here for a day since my arrival, I have succeeded in opening channels of communication with the most important personages of the realm.

An hour after the Cabinet decided upon its line of action with respect to the outrage committed by the 'San Jacinto,' I was furnished full particulars. What a noble statesman Lord Palmerston! His heart is as young as it was forty years ago.

I suggested the importance of putting the new and invincible iron-plated steamer 'Warrior' in commission, and of dispatching her to Annapolis Roads with a special Minister to Washington. This, in my opinion, would have secured the immediate restoration of our captured countrymen to the freedom which they enjoyed under the British flag, and thus insured their early arrival in London and Paris. It would also have so humiliated the North that her position would have been very equivocal as relates to respectability in the family of nations. With all her brazenfacedness, she could not have elevated her head again for a half century.

As soon as Mr. Mason or his successor, if he shall not be surrendered, arrives, I shall repair to Madrid, and afterwards proceed to Brussels. For this renewed manifestation of confidence in me by the President, and the agreeable manner in which you have communicated it, I cannot adequately express my thanks. I cannot close this hurried note without expressing to you my unqualified admiration of the peculiarly proper bearing of Mrs. Slidell, her daughter, and Mrs. Eustis under the distressing separation from their husbands and father. Truly may it be said, as concerns these ladies, that 'woman's hour is the hour of adversity.' I never was so proud before of my countrywomen in a foreign land. There is not a British heart that does not sympathize with them.

Yours, with faithful consideration,

A. Dudley Mann.

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

"Commission of the Confederate States of America,
London, December 2, 1861.

Hon. R.M.T. Hunter, etc.

Sir: We have the honor to acknowledge receipt, on the 27th ultimo, of dispatches Nos. 8 and 9, of date the 24th of August, as also of dispatch No. 10, dated 23d September 1861.

It is our painful duty to communicate to you that on the 8th of November, ultimo, Messrs. John Slidell, James M. Mason, James E. Macfarland, and George Eustis were forcibly taken by the U.S. man-of-war 'San Jacinto' from Her Britannic Majesty's royal mail steam packet 'Trent,' while on her passage from Havana, Cuba, to the island of St. Thomas, when in the Bahama passage off the Paradon Grande lighthouse. The facts, as far as we have been able to learn them (and we believe them to be entirely reliable), are as follows: On the 7th of November Messrs. Slidell and Mason, with their suite, embarked on board the 'Trent,' in the harbor

of Havana, as passengers for Southampton, England. On the morning of the 8th of November, when in the narrowest part of the Bahama passage, off the Paradon Grade lighthouse, the 'San Jacinto' was seen lying to in the passage. When the 'Trent' came within half a mile or less, the 'San Jacinto' ran up the U.S. flag, and simultaneously fired a round shot across the bow of the 'Trent,' immediately afterwards firing a shell which exploded within 100 yards of that vessel. The captain of the 'Trent' then displayed the British flag, and, being within hailing distance, demanded to know what was wanted. The reply from the officer of the 'San Jacinto' was that he wished to send a boat alongside.

The 'Trent' was then brought to, and Lieutenant Fairfax, with an armed boat's crew from the 'San Jacinto,' boarded her. He demanded of the captain a list of passengers. This was refused. The lieutenant then said that the captain of the 'San Jacinto' was informed that Messrs. Mason, Slidell, Macfarland, and Eustis were on board, and that he was instructed to seize them. These gentlemen at once avowed their presence, but claimed the protection of the British flag. The U.S. officer replied that, unless they were surrendered to him, he should take possession of the ship, which he accordingly did; and after a solemn protest by the admiralty officer on board the 'Trent' against the whole proceeding, those gentlemen were seized at the point of the bayonet. Lieutenant Fairfax further said that he was instructed to lay the ship alongside the 'San Jacinto.' The captain of the 'Trent' replied that he was going to quarter-deck, adding, 'If you want me, you will find me there,' and at once proceeded to the quarter-deck. Lieutenant Fairfax left the 'Trent,' however, without further enforcing his order, carrying with him Messrs. Slidell, Mason, Macfarland, and Eustis as prisoners, and the 'Trent' then proceeded upon her voyage. All the papers, letters, and dispatches under charge of Messrs. Slidell and Mason were brought to us on the 27th instant [ultimo], immediately after the arrival of the West India mail packet at Southampton, by Mr. Hankel, of Charleston.

Under these peculiar circumstances, the members of the Commission, after consultation, taking into consideration the great interests of the Confederate States, have severally come to the conclusion that it is the duty of each to remain near this Government and that of France until further advised by the President. In consequence we have addressed to Her Britannic Majesty's Government a solemn remonstrance against the outrage perpetrated by the United States in their forcibly seizing the persons of citizens of the Confederate States on board an English vessel at sea.

We have also, in obedience to instructions of the President to the Hon. James M. Mason, communicated to Her Britannic Majesty's Government a copy of the list of vessels which had arrived at, and cleared from, the Confederate ports, from the date of the proclamation of the blockade to the 20th of August, 1861, and also a copy of the resolutions of Congress of the 13th of August, 1861, touching the declaration of the Conference of Paris. We annex copies of both of these notes.

We also send with this dispatch, for the information of the Department, certain editorials of the London journals, indicating the state of public opinion upon the seizure of Messrs. Slidell and Mason and their secretaries. The editorial from the *Morning Post* is understood to be inspired by Lord Palmerston; that from the *Times* of the 29th is understood to be from the Foreign Office. Having carefully read the different papers, we find that there is but one daily journal in London that entertains the opinion that the act of the 'San Jacinto' is justifiable—that is, the *Morning Star*, the supposed organ of Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden, and used as one by Mr. Adams.

It is believed in well-informed circles, and in fact we may say that it has been communicated to us by persons connected with high official personages in the Government, that the Cabinet, in council on the 20th ultimo, determined, upon a report of the law officers of the Crown, that the act

of the commander of the 'San Jacinto' was illegal, and that a demand should be made on the Government of the United States for apology, and the restitution of Messrs. Slidell, Mason, Macfarland, and Eustis.

We have also received information in the same manner that the blockade is considered to be ineffective, entirely so, by the members of the Cabinet. After a further consideration of the question, we have not as yet deemed it advisable to again formally press the recognition of the Confederate States upon the Government of Great Britain at this moment, but will await a favorable opportunity to do so. At this time we think it would meet with rejection, at least before the answer of the Government of the United States to the demand which the British Government has made for apology and restitution shall be received.

The Confederate steamer 'Nashville' arrived at Southampton on the 21st ultimo, slightly injured in her wheelhouse and deck by adverse storms experienced in her passage.

We learn from Lieutenant Pegram that on the 19th ultimo, in seventy fathoms water, she captured and burned the ship 'Harvey Birch,' of 1,500 tons burthen, owned in New York, and in ballast from Havre. She was valued at \$125,000. Her officers and crew were taken to Southampton and landed there.

It is understood that the 'Nashville' will be allowed to repair. The U.S. armed steamship 'James Adger' has been in the waters of England of rthe last few weeks. It was asserted that she came to seek for the 'Nashville.' She was allowed to repair damages sustained on her and to coal. Since then she has been hovering about the coast. We understand that, in reply to a demand as to her object by an officer of the admiralty, the commander avowed that he was instructed to seize Messrs. Mason and Slidell wherever he could find them at sea, and that he expected to take them out of the West India mail packet. We were further

informed that the U.S. officer was then advised that such an act would be considered as an insult to the British flag. We have been advised that the opinion of the Emperor of the French and that of his Ministry is that the affair of the 'Trent' is a great outrage upon the British flag.

We have inclosed extracts from various Paris journals all taking the same view.

We are, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

W.L. Yancey,
P.A. Rost,
A. Dudley Mann.

(A Compilation of the Message and Papers of the Confederacy)

December 7, 1861

“Foreign Office, December 7, 1861.

Lord Russell presents his compliments to Mr. Yancey, Mr. Rost, and Mr. Mann.

He had the honor to receive their letter of the 27th and 30th November, but, in the present state of affairs, he must decline to enter into any official communication with them.”

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

“It seems to me that the policy of Great Britain throughout our present difficulties has been the permanent disruption of the Union. Her Majesty's Gov't has acted with the greatest duplicity ever since the earliest acts of the rebels. And its conduct in carrying on negotiations with Jeff. Davis, thro' its Consul Bunch, at Charleston, to induce the traitors to accept the last three points in the Paris Declaration, giving them a license to privateers, is one of the most flagrant pieces of bad faith ever practiced by a civilised Government. This it must be borne in mind has been done by Gt. Britain with a band of traitors in rebellion against our Govt., by one of her Consuls holding an Exequator from the President, while that very Gt.

B., was professing neutrality, and while under treaties of friendship with the U.S. Lord Russell I has replied to Mr. Adams' last letter on the revocation of Bunch's Exeq. and says Her Majesty's Gov't not only think Mr. Bunch's course 'legitimate but praiseworthy.' If our hands were not tied at home this impertinence would not pass unpunished. The whole transaction was only revealed by accident. Its secrecy suggests to me that other affairs of the same kind are in progress. The declaring of the rebels to be belligerents, this affair of Bunch, and the shelter given to the pirates Sumter & Nashville have all been so much encouragement to the rebels, and have buoyed them up. Great Britain would have recognised them long ago had she been prepared for war with us; and I believe, from what I have been cognizant of, that she has used the interim, since last May, in preparing for such a result. This Trent business may be gotten over, but, unless Providence mercifully interposes, she will drag us into a war before a year passes. She means to break up the Union, and will take the side of Slavery to effect that end. It is evident to me that Lord Russell is not 'a man of parts' but a mere tricky politician." (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

December 20, 1861

"Commission of the Confederate States of America,
London, December 20, 1861.

Hon. R.M.T. Hunter, etc.

Sir: I transmit herewith a copy of dispatch No. 10, the original having been sent on the 2d instant by Mr. Evans, of Charleston, and duplicate copies of the notes addressed by the Commission to Lord Russell on the 27th and 30th ultimo, in regard to the seizure of Messrs. Mason and Slidell and the blockade of our coast. Lord Russell's reply of the 7th instant is also appended.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully,
your obedient servant,

Walker Fearn."

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

December 26, 1861

“160 Fulton St.
New York City

Dec 26, 1861

My dear old Teacher

New Years is coming + I had long since decided not to forget you on the occasion & as I don't believe in being late I will attend to this matter at once hoping my mite will be before you in season for the reunion & “festival” And may you all have a time, as of old, in in [sic] the old school room at the Walnuts. I can readily imagine the agreeable sensation which will be produced by the arrival of the nimble mail carrier at the door & now all the bright eyes will watch for the first motion of the door knob & lose sight of all else but the mail bag as it is hurriedly delivered over to you, the Post Master General, & your corps of assistants. How well it would be if we could reverse the order of things and have only our War general and ever so many generals masters of post offices & mail bags wouldn't it? But at present generals of all kinds are necessary so we must be content to abide them & more than that heartily thank them for all they may do to sustain the most glorious & free republic [sic] & government that ever existed. Before I made my digression I took good care to get the mailbag where it would not lack attention & may I think run on, any sort of a rigmarole that I can return to lay before you. Trusting to your charity, as I used to do of olden times when I knowingly overstepped the bounds of the law of Moses ___ to us wicked mortals, there is given to whispering in school, possibly eating half a nut meat, or taking a bite from a delicious apple smuggled into our hand by some kind but also mischievous [sic] neighbor than is an indescribable satisfaction in knowing that the attempt to do it was no failure. + this sort of thing grows up with us & takes some useful shape in later days – so that after all we are only old boys & girls. Though I must say that so far as my observation

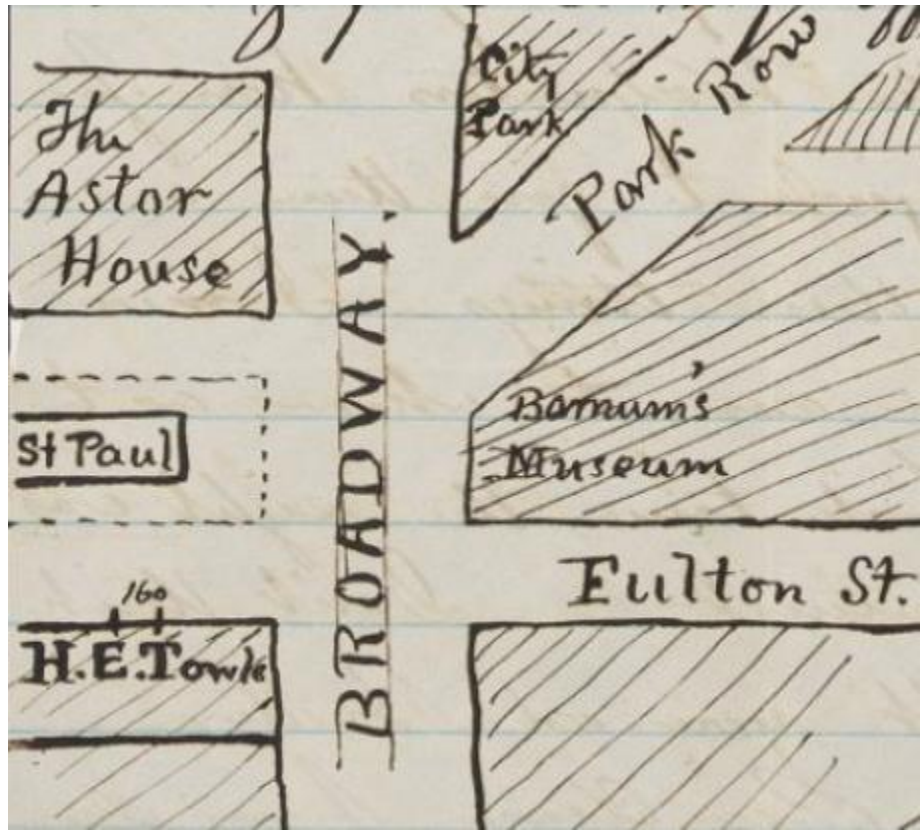
goes the “older boy” part gets more than its full share of exercise.

Going back to say a word of our country – for I cannot let this chance slip to express how I feel in the matter -- From all I can learn + have seen since I pushed out from Lee-Wadley’s I am more more + more convinced that I had rather live in the United States & have war all the time than to live in under & be a subject of any continental government in Europe __ Imagine for a moment a farmer’s raising 100 bushels or barrels of produce & the tax gatherers taking 75 of them. __ Compulsion to fight battles in what you know to be an unjust war – ordered to please the fancy of your sovereign __ for a whim mainly.

After having been born in New England such things do not make a man believe in them.

But enough of this __ I’d [sic] talk of something else now __ first tell you how I can look out of my window directly across Fulton Street to the old St. Pauls of New York __ then a little diagonally past the end of it across Broadway grazing Barnum’s and all along up Park Row seeing the ends of the signs of the “Evening Post,” “The World” Explorers” [sic] & “The New York Times” then as the way is clear, on still further way up into Chatham Street _ when “old close” an bought & sold by worthy shylocks of 1861 + will be probably by those of 1862 & other years to come after. By only turning my eyes I catch at once the busy throng crowding Broadway in front of Barnums [sic] curiosity shop __ I wish I had all the Walnuters here for a little while just to give them a peep at all these things __ I mean the unfledged ones to whom, as to see for the first times, the sight was one of great interest __ Don’t think I would except you or Brother Jonathan or Ben Chase, from whom at this moment I have just rec’ a most welcome letter, _ for on the contrary I would “shut up shop” at once so far as business goes could I have such a pleasure for an hour or two __ __ And in this commotion let me invite you and all through you when you do come to find me out __ as the English say __ Everybody will

remember Robert Fulton __ Broadway is most easily forgotten by a stranger __ At the South west comes of these two thoroughfares is my office__



As marking comes easier than any other way describing I have filled the corner at the left by a little plan of the neighborhood of 160. Fulton St. __ what he that runs may need __ But I observe that I have not thanked you for your very kind letter of the 16th and the little clip in it from your paper __ which I must acknowledge to you quietly in no small measure gratifies me __ For all to extend to me a welcome hand at home in the country and farther away in the large cities & for all to say “welcome” as the first word of what I hope may be a pleasant acquaintance is more than I ever dreamed of when engaged at my favorite amusement with the jack knife “recesses” & “noons” I under the shades of the walnuts __ As I move along your letter again for the half dozenth time __ you ask if the number of your papers containing something, which I judge would be interesting to me, has fallen under my eyes __ I must say no, but I wish we might if it could so happen without trouble to you __ in fact all

your pen is interesting to me always and to make sense of it in future I wish you would put my name on your subscribers [sic] books.

(Sending me your publishers receipted bill for a year for which I enclose what I believe is the price two dollars __ Your kindness in offering it I fully appreciate, but I believe I should be doing more nearly right to stand upon the same footing that others do & pay the printers __ at any rate keep the money for some useful purpose _ perhaps to get some trifle for your own use as a “New Year’s.”)

I am very sorry I cannot be with you at the festival __ if at Exeter I should be sure to be there or if at Boston __ but from New York, you will excuse me, if I do not come __ I remember so well the poetic tussle Tom Hall had of olden times & should such a thing again happen as a favor from the muse __

I hope for a chance to see. A copy of the old song is preserved at Exeter & when I go there we all gather around the fire and have a pleasant evening over it __ Annie’s enjoying it as much as if she had been there with us __ They found it impossible to come + join me before Christmas but by New Years [sic] I have perfected plans to have them here.

I have made already a long story but before I close I must tell you that I have just received from the Committee approval by the passengers aboard the Great Eastern a most elegant & finely finished watch (costing about \$250.) the interior of the case bearing the following inscription, done in rare style

Presented
to
Hamilton E. Fowle C. E.
By the
passengers on board the steamship
Great Eastern
September 12th, 1861
William Patton D.D.
Montgomery Gibbs.
Committee.

All of which embellished [sic] fills pretty completely the available space. ___ (owing to the illness & absence of the gentleman having the matter in charge no formal presentation ___ or correspondence has yet transpired. should such occur you shall be informed)

I beg, dear Moses, that you will shake by the hand all my old friends & slice off to them a good fair portion of my Happy New Year wishes. Much regretting that I cannot be at the jubilee of 1862

I remain ___ Yours as ever

Hamilton E. Towle” (Letter from Hamilton E. Towle to Moses Austin Cartland. Harvard University, Houghton Library)

December 30, 1861

D. C. Lowber of Fort Warren wrote His Excellency Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States:

“SIR: I was arrested on the 23d of August, and by order of the Secretary of State was committed to Fort Lafayette and thence transferred to this place. Over four months have now elapsed and I have heard of no charges against me, but I presume I am detained as a citizen of Louisiana. As it is not probable I shall ever be brought to trial and the further imprisonment of a humble private individual like myself can be of no benefit to the United States Government I respectfully ask permission and a passport to embark for England under a pledge that I will not return to America until the present disturbances are over, nor aid, comfort or hold correspondence with any person in the seceded States.

Your obedient servant,”

“There is great cause of anxiety with us now. I got down to the Legation early yesterday and remained there until about 2 o’clock, when I went down to see Mr. Thurlow Weed at Edwards’ Hotel. Geo. Peabody came in soon after me, and told us the Africa had arrived with news that the Europa

had been detained until the 20th by Ld. Lyons. He had met Dudley Mann in the street who was exultant and was sure war was inevitable, & Mann had the news as early as half past one.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1861)

January 1862

January 1862 ?

“Shoddy Officials and Appointments by Proxy.

That the inside track to the Executive Chambers at Albany is like the path of true love, that never did run smooth, is a stubborn fact; but the manner in which the respected and honorable head of the high-contracting family of Morgan does things is not generally known. Mr. Alexander H. Shultz, the gentleman who ‘didn’t see’ the Marshalship, and whom we’ve known to shed tears enough to turn a small saw-mill, when disappointed in getting an office—is one of the Governor’s especial friends, and one of his Weed, Seward & Co. appointments, having held the office of Harbor Master nine years before his present term, and boasting that he never did a year’s work in his district during the whole time. He has now taken up a new phase in the Shoddy contract business, and gone into the ferry-running speculation near the Federal Capital, through the influence of Mr. Secretary Seward. But here our shoddy Governor was at fault. ‘Poor Shultz!’ couldn’t afford to lose either the contract or the Harbor Mastership, so he cried again, and was reluctantly compelled to resign the latter office to take up the ferry. But the Governor couldn’t see this, and allowed Shultz, in consideration of his past services, to negotiate with one or two persons who he thought might be willing to accept the unexpired term of this office for the ‘honer’ and the ‘pickings.’ The best bargain Shultz could make was with Mr. Peter Crary, a steamboat owner, to whom Shultz had sold a monopoly of towage in his district. His excellency therefore granted to Crary the commission, just three days before the legislature met, thereby making the proceeding possible, and Mr. Crary is now working the district, while ‘poor Shultz’ receives the pay and runs another machine on the Potomac. Mr. Crary, in consideration of his

commission, is still carrying out Shultz's plan of allowing no vessels to have berths unless he controls the towage. But the fun doesn't stop here. Crary is now promised a new appointment, on the same plan of Shultz to appoint and Morgan to certify. He is hurrying on the engines, at Newburgh, and the hulls, at a New York shipyard, of two new propellers for his new monopoly. Shultz endorses the movement, while Crary knocks at the Executive door, begging not to be left out in the cold till he gets a new overcoat completed. This will just take a new term of two years to make the lining comfortable, and unless the Governor gets honest and feels the pricks of conscience very speedily, he will probably get it, despite the proposed amendment to the new Harbor Master Law, which makes owners of steam tow-boats ineligible to the office." (undated newspaper article in the papers of Edwin Morgan, New York Public Library)

January 7, 1862

Seward wrote Col. Justin Dimick, Fort Warren, Boston:

"COLONEL: You will please release D. C. Lowber, a prisoner confined at Fort Warren, Boston, on his complying with the following conditions, namely: That he will engage upon oath that he will leave the United States within the period of fifteen days from the day of his release and go directly to the Kingdom of Great Britain; that he will remain in that Kingdom until the cessation of the present hostilities between the Government of the United States and the persons in insurrection against its authority; that he will not correspond with or be engaged in any correspondence hostile or injurious to the government of the United States with persons residing in the insurrectionary States during the present hostilities without permission from the Secretary of State; and further, that he will do no act hostile or injurious to the Government of the United States.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,"

Seward wrote Kennedy as follows:

“SIR: Colonel Dimick has been directed to release Mr. D. C. Lowber upon condition among others that he will leave the United States, and you will therefore permit him to embark without a passport.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,”

January 10, 1862

While at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, Lowber signed the following statement:

“I, D. C. Lowber, prisoner confined at Fort Warren, do solemnly swear that I will leave the United States within the period of fifteen days from this date and go directly to the Kingdom of Great Britain; that I will remain in that Kingdom until the cessation of the present hostilities between the Government of the United States and the persons in insurrection against its authority; that I will not correspond or be engaged in any correspondence hostile or injurious to the Government of the United States with person residing in the insurrectionary States during the present hostilities without permission from the Secretary of State; and further, that I will do no act hostile or injurious to the Government of the United States. So help me God.

D. C. Lowber

Sworn before me January 10, 1862.

J. Dimick

Colonel First Arty. And Brevet
Colonel, Comdg. Fort Warren.”

January 18, 1862

“ London, January 18, 1862.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Richmond.

My Dear Mr. President: In endeavoring to keep you faithfully advised of all that is transpiring in Europe with reference to American affairs, I have incurred a large amount of risk. I console myself

with the belief that all the letters which I have addressed to you reached their destination. I have employed every channel of communication which I conceived to be available. The signal triumph of the government over the Government at Washington, amounting to a disgraceful humiliation, will cause it to observe for a short time a more vigorous neutrality here and between the South and North. It will act upon the principle that it is well to pursue a coward who runs for his life, exclaiming at the top of his voice, 'Mercy, mercy, mercy!' But a great movement has been reported, the accomplishment of which I regard as positively certain, that will frustrate overwhelmingly the designs of the Lincolnites. Louis Napoleon sustained Lord Palmerston by his moral aid in the affair of the 'Trent.' The latter in his turn will sustain the former in his matter of raising the blockade of our ports. As the Yankees yielded unconditional in the one instance, they are quite as likely to yield in the other. I have the best of reason for assuring you that there is a contract understanding upon the subject, and that all the powers and States of Europe will cordially become parties to it. But for the capture and surrender of Messrs. Mason, Slidell, Macfarland, and Eustis, Great Britain would have taken the initiative instead of France, as I from time to time informed you would be the case. Already an urgent remonstrance has been sent to Washington against the sinking of the stone-freighted ships in Charleston harbor. In all circles this diabolical proceeding is denounced as an outlawry upon the national law. Indeed, the manifestation is as universal as it is unqualified, in condemnation of it. In defense of our hearthstones we may still have to endure severe trials and sorrows, but when peace shall again smile upon our happy homes we will then behold us with unsullied honor, the essence of all that is noble and daring on earth, and all that is worth living for to virtuous humanity. The indecency of the North, tidings of that event last Monday, has dispirited the most clamorous advocate in this metropolis. They perceive that she is now hopelessly ruined financially as well as morally. Well does the New York Board of Commerce remark that she has arrived at the

beginning of the end. I can say nothing more with regard to her than that the 'Nashville' is still in the docks of Southampton. The 'Missouri' is evidently awaiting her movements. Each has been notified that she was not to proceed to sea within twenty-four hours of the departure of the other. Never was any navy adorned by a more gallant, discreet, or exemplary commander than Captain Pegram. As my countryman, I am proud of him, both as a gentleman and an officer. He is a general favorite in Old England. The Times of last Saturday contained a forcible attack upon Messrs. Slidell and Mason, which has very much exasperated our friends. I confess I do not participate in this sensitiveness. The article was positively cruel, but it has been succeeded day after day by piercingly excruciating onslaughts upon the Lincoln concern. The journal occasionally strikes at our country, but it seems to do so expressly for the purpose of enabling itself to strike more effectively at our detested and detestable enemy. I shall never lose my temper with it while it thus acts. In its relations to us I may like it to the sun, which, while its scorching rays blacken the cheeks of the fair damsel, also matures the joyous harvest. Our captured countrymen are daily expected. Their arrival will perhaps not be delayed beyond the 21st or 22d. I trust your health continues good. The Northern press has ceased to report it as bad. May our friends on the field and elsewhere continue as hopeful as ever of the glorious future which awaits the sacrifices which they have made! I am sure that we have seen the last of the darkest days. Bright skies are looming up in the near distance.

As every, your faithfully,

A. Dudley Mann.

The 'Sumter' is still at Cadiz. (A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

January 22, 1862

"We learn that D.C. Lowber, the notorious bearer of dispatches from Jeff. Davis to England, who was arrested in Ohio, having made good his escape from the house of his brother-in-law, Capt. A. H. Schultz, at Fishkill, was then brought here and imprisoned in

Fort Lafayette, whence he tried to get free by navigating a tub across the Narrows, was, on Friday, the 10th inst., released without taking the oath of allegiance, and sailed for England the next day in the steamer Etna. We learn that Mr. Lowber, even after his release, manifested the bitterest hostility to the cause of the Republic, calling down curses upon the country and its Government. The reason urged for releasing him without taking the oath of allegiance, we understand, was that if he took the oath his property in Louisiana would be confiscated.” (New York Daily Herald, Jan. 22, 1862)

January 27, 1862

“Commission of the Confederate States of America,
London, January 27, 1862.

Hon. R.M.T. Hunter, etc.

Sir: An unnumbered dispatch dated 9th of November, 1861, was received by us on the 16th instant, through the British post office postmarked Liverpool.

It was to inform us of a victory of the Confederate troops at Belmont, and inclosed a copy of the telegram of General Polk announcing the fact. It was gratifying to receive this official contradiction of the Northern account of that battle, even at this late date.

If the Commission could also have received from the Department an additional schedule of arrivals and departures up to the date of dispatch No. 12, of October 23, which left Charleston in the ‘Nashville’ on the 26th of that month, and a still additional schedule made up to the 9th of November, the date of the last dispatch, the influence of such facts, when communicated to the Government and public here, would have been far greater even than that of the facts as to the arrivals and departures up to the 20th of August last, for the Governments of the European powers will be more apt to act upon the present than the past condition of the blockade. Not a day passes that does not bring to us influential active personages inquiring for

facts as to the blockade with which to swell the pressure being made upon the government, and the Commission are compelled to meet such by replying that they expect to be prepared to furnish to their friends all needful information when Parliament meets, on the 6th of February. We trust that by the West India mail steamer, due on the 29th instant, the fullest information will be received here from the State Department on that vital point.

We have had no interview or communication with Earl Russell since our note to him of the 30th November last, copies of which have been communicated to you.

By reference to Mr. Adam's dispatch to Mr. Seward, dated the 14th of June last, it would appear that Mr. Adams complained that the Confederate Commissioners had been allowed to have interviews with Earl Russell, and that his Lordship replied that it had been the custom both in France and here to receive such persons unofficially for a long time back: Poles, Hungarians, Italians, etc., had been allowed interviews to hear what they had to say. But this did not imply recognition in their case any more than in ours. He added that he had seen the gentlemen some time ago, and once some time since; *he had no expectation of seeing them any more.*

Vide London Times, December 3, 1861.

We conceive that this concession to the demand of Mr. Adams, and the refusal to see us personally, was a violation of that neutrality which this Government has proclaimed to be the rule by which it would be guided, and that receiving written communications from the Commission, even if in full accordance with, and no violation of, Earl Russell's agreement with Mr. Adams, was not an adequate substitute for personal interviews in which there is a mutual interchange and suggestion of ideas, and by which the Commission could better ascertain the real tone and temper of the Government, and be thus guided in their approaches.

The members of the Commission differed in their views as to the policy of a reply to the note of Earl Russell of December 7. After the publication of Mr. Adams's note to Mr. Seward of the 14th of June last, Mr. Yancey thought that the dignity of the Government was involved, and required a moderate yet firm and dignified protest against the conduct of Earl Russell in refusing personal interviews, and in virtually denying even written communications. Mr. Rost and Mr. Mann did not attach the same importance to this, and no reply was made.

The public journals and all circles in society show the great and permanent consideration which is being given to the American question. It is believed to occupy the attention of this and of the French Government. The prevailing and doubtless correct impression here is that these two Governments have remonstrated in strong terms and also protested against the sinking of the stone fleet in the main channel at Charleston, and that they will directly interfere in some way. Some indications are that the interference will go to the extent of a demand for an armistice, and that the differences of boundary between the North and South should be settled by these powers.

What form, however, intervention will assume we have no information of, but we believe that it will take place in a short time. The whole question will be brought forward in Parliament at an early day, and will doubtless give rise to a heated discussion.

We regret to inform you that Messrs. Mason and Slidell, with their secretaries, have not been heard of since they left Provincetown on the 2d instant, in the British corvette 'Rinaldo.' It is understood that the 'Rinaldo's' orders were to proceed to Halifax, and up to the 14th instant nothing had been heard of her there.

The West India mail steamer from Havana via Saint Thomas is due at Southampton on the 29th instant, and we have some hopes of the arrival of

these gentlemen by that route. The vessel by which we send this dispatch will leave on to-morrow, too early to convey any information as to the arrival of the West India mail packet.

We remain, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

W.L. Yancey,
A. Dudley Mann.”

(A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

“ London, January 27, 1862.
Hon. R.M.T. Hunter, Secretary of State.

Dear Sir: Lieutenant Fauntleroy sails in the morning on command of the ‘Economist.’ I wish the ship could be delayed two days in order to convey the news of the West India mail steamer due at Southampton on 28th or 29th instant. We feel great anxiety as to the safety of Messrs. Mason and Slidell, who have not been heard of since the 2d instant. If they arrive, as we hope they may do, by the West India mail steamer, I shall leave in all probability on the 1st of February by another one of our chartered steamers for Nassau. John E. Ward, Esq., of Georgia, will be with me, and I should be glad if the Government would send the ‘Theodora’ over for us. There is another probability, and that is that if the chartered vessel should be delayed I will go by the return West India mail packet, and arrive at Havana about the 24th February. In either event I should desire some early and speedy conveyance from Havana to the Confederate States. A state of blockade, and the great desire of the enemy to seize one so conspicuous as I have been in the cause of Southern independence, induce me to suggest to you that it might well be considered national duty to assist me in reaching one of our ports in safety.

Colonel Mann is still here, and Judge Rost in Paris. The public mind here and in France is fully engaged with American troubles, and I have some reason to think that France and England will unite in an armed intervention. The blockade seems to be

generally admitted to be a proper one; and had the State Departemnt, instead of sending us dispatches contained only (on the 23d October) an announcement of the battle at Leesburg, and on the 9th November only General Polk's telegrams, sent full returns per our customhouse of the vessels breaking the blockade, we should have had it in our power to have broken it here also.

Considering that there is but one mission for the Department to attend to, I must think, in the interests of our endangered country, that there has been negligence and indifference displayed by it in keeping this Commission informed upon the main point upon which it requested information.

If Mason and Slidell do not arrive on the 29th instant, I shall be most disagreeably placed between a sense of what is the duty I owe to the Confederacy and the duty I owe to my State. If my States would exercise a generous forbearance, I might remain another month. As yet I have hardly made up my mind as to what I shall do.

Yours very truly,

W.L. Yancey (A
Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the
Confederacy)

February 1862

February 1, 1862

“ London, February 1, 1862.
Hon. Jefferson Davis, Richmond.

My Dear Mr. President: The inclosed was written at the time of its date, and sent to my Liverpool correspondent for transmission through Kentucky, as other of my letters were transmitted to you, but he concluded that it was too much of a risk for his friend at Louisville to undertake to forward it from there, and returned it. I can confidently assure you that all the powers and States of Europe will manifest their decided dissatisfaction to the Lincoln Government at the worse than barbarous act of Lincoln in sinking the stone fleet in Charleston

harbor. Lord Russell has written two strong remonstrances to Washington upon the subject, the first in December, and second last week. Adams and Dayton promised Great Britain and France decisive victories over us by the 15th of February. They have delayed any definite movement with respect to the raising of the blockade. Unless we are unfortunate in some great engagement, the measure cannot be delayed much longer. Mr. Mason arrived on the 29th [ultimo]. Of course my duties here have been terminated, but as Parliament is about to meet I think I can render valuable services, and therefore shall not proceed to the Continent for some time. I believe I shall negotiate with Belgium the first treaty ever concluded by the Confederate States. I have already the outlines of one proposed which I am sure will meet with your approval as well as that of the coordinate branch of the treaty-making powers. Mr. Yancey is anxious to take his seat in the Senate at the opening, on the 22d proximo.

Respectfully, your friend,

A. Dudley Mann.

P.S.—I open this to inclose the accompanying [memorandum], which has just been placed in my hands. I regard it as authentic.

A.D.M.

INCLOSURE.

Confidential Memorandum.

London, January 31, 1862.

About ten days ago the English Foreign Office submitted the two following questions to the maritime powers of Europe:

1st. Is the sinking of the 'stone fleet' in the main channel of Charleston harbor contrary to public law and an outrage on civilization?

2d. Is the blockade 'effective,' or has it ever been so? Is it now binding on neutral powers?

Since Monday last (27th instant) answers in the shape of memorials (in the case of France and Prussia drawn up by the law officers of the crown) have been received from France, who emphatically pronounces the destruction of the harbor to be an act of *vindictive* vandalism, and a gross violation of the law of nature and of nations, no belligerent having any right to destroy such a harbor to the permanent injury of mankind.

In answer to the second question, France pronounces the blockade to be ineffective and illegal, and concludes that 'neutral powers ought no longer to respect it.' Prussia arrives at the same conclusion as France upon both questions, but admits extenuating circumstances as regards the destruction of the harbor. The Prussian jurist goes into a hair-splitting disquisition, recognizing the right of a power *possessing and holding a fort of its own* to ruin it forever, *if that be necessary for self defense*, but denies the right of an *aggressor* to do so. Thus the Russians were justified in burning Moscow in 1812; the invading French in doing so would have committed a heinous crime against humanity. Prussia winds up by declaring the sinking of the stone fleet to be a crime and an outrage on civilization.

Sardinia agrees with France on both questions, but her condemnation both of the blockade and the stone fleet is in even stronger terms. Austria declares the 'blockade altogether illegal,' and has instructed Mr. Hulsemann to present her views to the Washington Government. She coincides with the other before-mentioned powers in condemning the sinking of the stone fleet. Spain's reply is incomplete. She declares blockade to be altogether ineffective, but, not being in possession of all the facts connected with the stone fleet, cannot yet express a decided opinion on that subject. Her final opinion is expected daily, and no doubt whatever is entertained at the Foreign Office

that it will be in harmony with that of the other powers consulted.

Russia has not yet replied to these questions, but in a recent communication she has emphatically declared the blockade to be ineffective and contrary to the principles adopted at the Conference of Paris in 1856.

Sweden and Holland have not yet replied. Their answers are expected daily.” (A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

February 8, 1862

“Yancey and Mann’s dispatch to Lord Russell pleading for the recognition of the rebels has been made public, and for flat impudence is remarkable, even when we consider the authors of it. Yancey claims the sympathy of Great Britain for the South on the ground that the North are not sincere in their advocacy of the abolition of slavery, and that the present is not a question of servitude, but of taxation. If a man were to argue in that way at the South, and assert the views were Yancey’s, he would be hanged sans ceremonie.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1862)

February 15, 1862

Earl Russell accepts the effectiveness of the blockade retroactive to August 15, 1861.

Early February 1862

“The permanent government of the Confederate States was organized on the 22d day of February, in a season on reverses to our arms and at a dark hour in our national fortunes.

All hopes of foreign interference were positively at an end. On the meeting of the British Parliament in the early part of February, Earl Russell had declared that the blockade of the American ports had been effective from the 15th of August, in the face of the facts that the dispatches of Mr. Bunch, the English consul at Charleston, said that it was not so; and that authentic accounts and letters of merchants showed that any ships, leaving for the South, could be insured by a premium of seven and a-half to fifteen per cent. England had accepted the Treaty of Paris, and yet did not hesitate

to violate the principles that had been definitely consecrated by article four of that treaty, by declaring the Federal blockade effective, for no other reason than that 'considerable prudence was necessary in the American question,' In the House of Commons, Mr. Gregory asserted that the non-observation of the Treat of Paris was a deception for the Confederate States, and an ambushade for the interests of commerce throughout the world." (Edward A. Pollard, *The First Year of the War* (Richmond, Va. Jan. 1863))

February 28, 1862

"The Great Eastern's Mishaps.

(From *Mitchell's Steam-Shipping Journal*)

Captain Walker, late Commander of the *Great Eastern*, recently gave an account, before a Liverpool audience, of the disasters of the big ship, which might as well have been undelivered. But Captain Walker has a professional reputation, and some public explanation was demanded from him. He gave a description of the gale, and its results on the ship and equipment. Having received charge of the vessel only the day before sailing, he could not have been expected to possess a perfect acquaintance with everything on board. His description of the series of accidents adds a little to our previous knowledge of events, and from it we learn that, notwithstanding experience gathered from pervious gales, the furniture and gear of the ship were not secured against mischief from the rolling of the vessel. He explains how the boat forward of the paddle-wheels was blown out of the slings, and cut adrift to free the floats. Next, that some heavy pieces of iron were suffered to frolic about, smash through a compartment, and fall into the machinery. To save the engines, they were stopped suddenly; and in a sale of wind, with a beam sea, this must have strained the wheels. Between decks forward was a spare bitt, about 30 cwt. of iron, totally unsecured, which, when the ship got full swing, rolled about, smashing in the side of the ship; and to stop the freaks of this lump of iron sails were thrown down to act as drags. The sails of the *Great Eastern* are comparatively new, and they

were not likely to be improved by the inglorious use to which they were applied. But it was better to damage the sails than to knock port-holes out of the hull. Captain Walker claims the credit for himself and Engineers of planning and fixing the temporary rudder gear, and speaks very disparagingly of the efforts and ingenuity of Mr. Towle, C.E. The passengers, in their letter as published, awarded the merit of invention to Mr. Towle, and this agrees with information furnished to us by disinterested persons. No doubt Captain Walker and the Crew aided by advice and labour in the successful accomplishment of the difficult task set them, and praise is due to the Officers and men for bringing the vessel safely into port. Why Captain Walker has been superseded we are at a loss to understand. The constant changing of Masters has something to do with the vessel's misfortunes. No Officer is retained long enough to become acquainted with the management of the ship at sea, and the whole of her equipment. She has hitherto been sent to sea as if she could defy the elements, and would never roll. If she leaves port again under a new Master, and fresh casualties are recorded from the same negligence, public confidence will be completely destroyed. She is spoken of as an unlucky ship, and this sort of reputation is fatal to the prosperity of the shareholders.

The attempt to place her on the gridiron at Milford Haven was attended with loss of life. A boat from Her Majesty's ship *Blenheim* was in attendance to run out hawsers. This boat was in towards the stern quarter when a hawser was thrown to the Crew. It is supposed that the slack of the hawser was drifted under the screw, for the rope fouled the fans, and a revolution of the propeller drew the boat on to the screw. Thirteen of the men, seeing their imminent danger, threw themselves into the water; the remaining four failed to escape in time, and the boat was rapidly sucked in the maelstrom formed by the screw's revolutions. All hope seemed to have abandoned them, when one of the fans threw the boat up, and then drew it in between the screw and the vessel. The accident was so unexpected and so sudden that it was impossible

even to cut the rope before the boat was sucked in upon the screw. The four men were speedily rescued from their dangerous position, and the screw was then gently moved, in order, if possible, to let the boat down uninjured. The first rise of the fan, however, smashed her in atoms, and the pieces of her wreck were whirled about in all directions by the rapidly incoming tide. Meanwhile the situation of the men in the water was most perilous. They had flung themselves out of the boat into the very rush of the tide, which was coming up with racehorse speed, and in a moment or two they were carried some hundred yards from the scene of the accident, and were widely scattered over the water. A Seaman standing on the quarter-deck of the *Great Eastern*, seeing one of the men struggling in the water, took a rope and sprang overboard. He seized the sinking man by the hair of the head, and held him above water till a boat came and took them both in. Another man, named Harry Rees, succeeded in rescuing two of the men; and altogether eleven were brought safely to the shore. The other two were drowned. The wind being high, the strain on the hawsers parted them before the mooring chains could be secured. The *Great Eastern* was thus adrift on the tide, and it appears that she ran foul of the *Blenheim*, carrying away the bowsprit, jibboom, and foreyard of Her Majesty's ship, beside doing other damage. Having been brought up with her own anchors, she was safely laid on the shore the following day. From the report of the Board of Directors, it appears that to repair her stern-post, a coffer-dam has been constructed to enclose the rudder. This is quite a novelty in its way, and demonstrates in a remarkable manner the mistake of building vessels of such a deep draught of water, when there are no graving docks to receive them for the work of repair. An examination of the hull is highly satisfactory, inasmuch as no injury to plates, or to the form of the vessel, is manifest. The necessary repairs are approaching the finish, and it is a question whether she can be floated the next spring tides, or not before April. When afloat again she is to be dispatched to New York. It is a great drawback on the finances of the Company that no dependence can be placed on her coming off the

gridiron in the spring tides of March. The Directors cannot engage freight or passengers until it is quite certain that there will be water enough to free her. The Commercial success of this monster is dependent on a series of unavoidable difficulties springing from her error in build. Her rolling arises from being too high out of the water. In mentioning the loss of her boat in the gale, Captain Walker speaks of the boat being elevated forty feet out of the sea, when the ship was drawing but twenty-seven feet of water. A narrow vessel, with such proportions, would capsize; and were it not for the *Great Eastern's* breadth of beam, she would be exposed to the same danger. Had she been built 200 feet longer, and twenty feet less in height, she would have drawn about seven feet less water, have presented a long, low (comparatively to other dimensions) hull to the action of the wind, would have cost no more in building, her area of mid-section would have been near upon 600 square feet less, and with the same engine power she could have driven at a speed of twenty knots per hour. This is practical knowledge gained by the *Great Eastern's* behavior at sea. We shall soon have steamboats without masts, and were it not for the towering hull of the *Great Eastern* she ought not to carry any contrivance for wind propulsion. Sails, years hence, will be banished from Transatlantic steamers. Lord Clarence Paget informed the House of Commons that the Admiralty intended to build a ship, by experiment, to carry six cupolas on deck, with two of Armstrong's 100 pounders in each. This ship is to be 2,529 tons, 240 feet in length, with a draught of water of twenty feet. They are to depend entirely upon steam-power, and to serve for coast defenses. This innovation will condemn masts and yards, and, despite nautical fears, the mast of the *Great Eastern* ought to be reduced in number and size, for they are only serviceable in a heavy gale of wind or hurricane, and then the chances are the canvas will be blown from the bolt ropes. But the *Great Eastern* has been too badly managed to allow her a fair trial. As she is to be tested again, we hope to have it in our power to chronicle before Christmas that she has been run regularly, and replenished the empty coffers of the Company's

exchequer.” (The Shipping and Mercantile Gazette, Feb. 28, 1862)

“Before Justice Barnard without a jury.

The People ex rel Willis Patten vs. Alexander H. Shultz. -- This was a controversy between Patten and Shultz as to the right to the office of Harbor Master. The relator claimed to have been appointed in February 1857, and to have continued in the discharge of his duties until February 1860, when the defendant was appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate, and took possession of the relator's office.

The act under which these officers are appointed provides that nine of the Harbor-masters shall reside in New-York, and two of them in Brooklyn. The relator claims that when the defendant was appointed he resided in Fishkill, and has continued to reside at that place, and that he, therefore, never was qualified to hold the office.

The defendant claimed that the statute as to residence was merely discretionary, and, therefore, immaterial, this being a State, and not a County office. It also appeared that the defendant had resigned his office about six weeks since, and another person had been appointed in his place.

Decision reserved.

John H. White and W.P. Angel for relator; A. Oakey Hall and A.J. Vanderpoel for defendant.” (New York Times Feb. 28, 1862)

March 1862
March 1, 1862

“The Great Ship Company (Limited)

The half-yearly meeting of proprietors was held yesterday, at the London Tavern; Mr. W. Barber in the chair, as briefly reported in our impression of last Wednesday.

The report, an abstract of which has already appeared in our columns, was taken as read.

The Chairman, in moving its adoption, adverted in terms of regret to the retirement of Mr. Samuel Baker from the chair, adding that the board still had the advantage of his advice and assistance. He had himself accepted the office of chairman with great reluctance, but having done so, he should devote his time and attention to the ship, with every confidence that the time was near at hand when she would realize their most sanguine expectations— (hear, hear). The report explained all that had occurred in reference to her since the last meeting. She had been placed upon the gridiron at Milford Haven for repair, the repair had been executed, and it had been expected that she would have been got off to-morrow. It was now, however, found that she could not be got off the gridiron till the next springs, which would be about 15th March, and by the middle of April it was hoped she would be fully equipped and ready for sea. At the last special meeting the directors were authorized to raise 25,000*l* on a second mortgage. They had only succeeded in obtaining 18,330*l*, but as the remainder was necessary for the completion of the work of preparation, he hoped the shareholders would come forward, and for their own interest provide the money. The officer who had been selected to take the command was a man of great experience, and in every way, he believed, adapted for the post. It was intended to send the ship, in the first instance, on a short voyage, with the view of re-establishing public confidence; probably it would be to New York. Whether she would sail from Milford or Liverpool would depend upon circumstances, as freight, &c.

Mr. Gooch seconded the motion.

Mr. W. Hawes asked if, by adopting the report, the shareholders would bind themselves to the ship being sent to New York.

The Chairman: No; the directors would not feel themselves bound to send her to New York,

though it is our present impression that she shall do so. That, however, will be open for discussion.

A Shareholder thought it undesirable that the ship should be confined to the American trade. They wanted security and the re-establishment of public confidence. He agreed that for these objects it would be best to send her, at least for some time, upon short voyages; but he suggested that there would be less danger and more of profit, or at least as much, if she were to make a series of voyages to Naples, Brest, Constantinople, or other ports on this side of the Atlantic or in the Mediterranean, where she might be exhibited to advantage. He proposed, as an amendment, that the directors should consider whether in the ensuing year it would not be well to employ the ship in voyages to some of the European ports.

Mr. Hayward took exception to the words in the report, the 'special account need no comment.' He thought the special account did require comment, as it had arisen entirely from the damage she sustained on her last voyage, and it was right they should know how far that damage might have been avoided. He was one of the passengers on board the ship on the occasion, and he was so satisfied with her that he would go to any part of the world in her—(hear)—but not if she were sent to sea in so deficient a state of equipment as she was when he was in her. He considered that the continual change of the ship's officers was one of the great faults in the management, and was calculated to destroy public confidence in the ship. He had intended to take a voyage in her this year across the Atlantic, but should hesitate to do so under a Captain who had never sailed in her before, and who, whatever his ability and experience, could know nothing about the working of such a vessel. In the investigation which had taken place, he thought, judging by the results as contained in the answers quoted in the report, that the real question was brought under consideration—that was in what state she was sent to sea. It was said she was in an efficient state. That he denied. Had she been so the furniture and crockeryware would not have been

broken to pieces, and the company put to great expense in replacing them; nor would his life and the lives of the other passengers have been placed in danger. This was a matter of some importance, seeing that it involved an outlay of something like 25,000*l*—(No, no). Yes, in the special account it was put down at 22,000*l*; and there was 2,000*l* still in dispute, which, from what he knew of the circumstances, he believed the company would have to pay. The report of the committee exonerated Captain Walker from blame. Why, then, have another Captain?

The Chairman: Captain Walker has resigned.

Mr. Hayward thought the shareholders should be informed under what circumstances that resignation took place.

Mr. Prouse passed some criticisms upon what he alleged to be the inefficient manner in which the ship was sent to sea on her last voyage, especially in respect to her rudder gear, and contended that it would have been more satisfactory had the inquiry been conducted by persons who had had nothing to do with the appointment of the Captain.

A Shareholder, with some little knowledge of the sea, said it was not prudent to allow the vessel to go sea without her sails bent. The destruction to the furniture and crockery arose from the fact that the ship having lost the power the rudder should have over her became unmanageable, the more so from the immense broadside she offered to the wind, it being very difficult to get such a vessel with her head to the wind. He regretted the board had attempted to set aside the award of the arbitrators in Mr. Scott Russell's favor, and thus added largely to the law costs previously incurred. He had every confidence in the ship, and considered her behavior in the gale in which she met with the accident ought to establish her in public confidence, for he believed that no other ship

that ever floated would have lived under similar circumstances.

Mr. Taylor held that Captain Walker's want of knowledge was the cause of the accident, but he thought the directors should satisfy the public that the accident was one that could not occur again, except from gross mismanagement on the part of her Commander, whoever he might be. He doubted the wisdom of employing her in the European trade, and thought it would be well to continue her for the present in the Transatlantic trade.

The Secretary (Mr. Yates), in reply to a question, stated that the amount still required to providing the necessary stores, coals, &c., necessary for the working of the ship, was the balance of 6,815*l* mentioned in the report.

The Chairman added that the amount stated in the report (25,000*l*) was quite sufficient to equip the ship and fit her for sea. As to the employment of the ship, the directors would be glad to receive suggestions of the shareholders; but his own opinion was that it would be best to employ her in the trade to New York, which afforded good prospects, and which, as subjecting her to all the vicissitudes of the Atlantic, would be most likely to re-establish her in public confidence. In reply to the objection that the ship had been sent to sea without her sails, he reminded the objector that she had two steam appliances, in which respect she different from ordinary steamers. He personally knew nothing of the circumstances under which the award in favor of Mr. Scott Russell was disputed.

In answer to a question from a Shareholder,

Mr. Levinson (the solicitor) said that the 4,000*l* appearing in the account for law costs included a variety of moneys which had passed through his hands, and which were not law costs at all. It also included the law costs in America.

Mr. Malins asked the reasons for the appointment of the present captain, and what were his qualifications?

The Chairman replied that Captain Paton was well known in Liverpool and highly esteemed there, and had had great experience as a Commander, both in steam and sailing ships. He was also a man of gentlemanly bearing and commercial knowledge.

The report was then adopted.

Mr. Taylor moved that the directors make arrangements for bringing the ship round to London for a month during the Great Exhibition, suggesting that that would be the best way of making her known, especially to foreigners.

Mr. Hult seconded this.

Mr. Pyefinch, though agreeing with the proposal, thought it better to leave the matter to the discretion of the directors, and moved an amendment that the board be requested to take the matter into consideration. They had received for exhibiting her before 41,000*l*, and on her return from New York in June London would be full of visitors to the Exhibition, and seeing that she netted 21,000*l* in six weeks at New York, she might be expected to make much more here. The arrangement might include return tickets for New York and back, which in this exceptional year would be likely to realize a large return. He thought she ought not to be anchored lower down the river than Woowich.

Mr. Taylor altered his amendment to meet the objection of the last speaker.

The Rev. Mr. Nicholson thought it better to leave the matter as a suggestion to the directors.

Mr. W. Hawes considered the ship had been made a raree show long enough, and that it was quite time to come to some conclusion as to what

her ultimate permanent trading destination should be. The three voyages the ship had made, or rather two and a half, had resulted in a loss of 13,000*l*. Nor had they had any reason for supposing that future voyages to America would be more profitable. The great danger to large vessels was near shore, not in long voyages, and he held, therefore, that they ought to employ her in the India, China, or Australian trade, for which she was peculiarly fitted. Supposing she could make her 14 knots an hour, she would reach India in about the same time as the overland mail, and the low price at which she could carry passengers as compared with the overland route, and the great saving in time as compared with ordinary steamships, would bring her a full complement of passengers and freight on every voyage. He would send her out freighted with coals, and she would be sure to come back full of passengers.

Mr. M'Rea said a suggestion had been made to the directors to that effect, and a proposal submitted for finding the money.

Mr. Jackson said if the ship were again brought round to the Thames he would sell out his stock, for he never should forget the danger she ran in getting out of the Thames. He did not agree with the proposal of employing her in the Indian trade, but believed she would earn most money in the trade between America and this country. She, however, never would pay until she was permanently placed upon some station. She would lose by the first voyage no doubt, and perhaps by the second and third; but she would soon establish herself in public favor, and then the comfort she offered, as compared with all other ships, would bring passengers to her as fast as they could accommodate them. He hoped she would be put upon the trade to New York.

Mr. M'Kean said the suggestion made by Mr. Hawes had been before the board for the last two months. He was prepared to guarantee the funds for taking the ship to Bombay and back.

In reply to questions.

The Chairman stated that the offer made by Mr. M’Kean was the advance of a loan bearing 10 per cent. interest.—(A Voice: ‘Very liberal.’ Laughter). He added that in conversation with the passengers after the last voyage at Queenstown, he did not meet with one who did not express his willingness to go out in the ship again. The Captain who brought her from Quebec said she was the safest, the most comfortable, and the most easily-handled ship he had ever sailed in.

Ultimately Mr. Taylor withdrew his motion.

The election of directors to fill vacancies then took place, and the proceedings terminated.” (The Shipping and Mercantile Gazette, March 1, 1862)

March 20, 1862

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote Frederick Seward:

“20 March

My Dear Sir

I submitted the substance of the enclosed proposition to Hon Secy Welles (who seemingly approved of the measure) but he says it properly belongs to the Genl Govt & not to a single department and advised me to put it in that channel – What do you think of it?

Very truly yours,

Alexr Hamilton Schultz

Hon F. W. Seward”

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote Abraham Lincoln:

“Washington City, D.C.
Tuesday 20th March 1862

Mr. President

I respectfully propose to rid the ocean of the rebel pirate steamer Sumter, and in order to avoid any possible conflict of jurisdiction with either the English or Spanish Government, I will do it in this wise.

I will go to England and arrange with the extensive shipping house, Messrs. Richardson Spence & Co, who have at all times upwards of twenty-five ships at sea, for the purchase of the Sumter, and when that shall be effected, she shall be manned by a crew of my selection, to the officers of whom I will give instructions to allow her to be captured at a designated point upon the ocean, on our coast.

The price of the Sumter is understood to be Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. I shall only require a letter of credit for twenty five hundred or three thousand dollars for the necessary travelling and incidental expenses and this sum will be the only hazard which the Government will incur, to obtain what, in my judgment, is so great a desideration for the protection of the commerce of the United States.

I have the honor to be
Your obdt servant

Alex Hamilton Schultz

To the President of the United States”

May 1862

May 6, 1862

“THE NEW SLAVE-TRADE TREATY.
The Seward-Lyons treaty, for the suppression of the African Slave-trade, will be sent out to England by special messenger in Wednesday's steamer from New-York.

The treaty is beautifully engrossed, sealed with a solid sliver seal about four inches in diameter, and

inclosed in a rosewood case. It was sent to New-York, to-night, in care of Mr. BAKER, of the State Department, and in New-York, will be delivered to Capt. A.H. SHULTZ, who has been selected as the special messenger to bear it to England. This honor was offered to HOLLIS WHITE, Esq., of Buffalo, who had to decline it. There is general pleasure here that Capt. SHULTZ has received this compliment from his Government.” (New York Times, May 6, 1862)

May 7, 1862

Great Eastern leaves Milford Haven, England, for New York. Trip takes 10 days, 3 hours.

May 10, 1862

“From dispatches of consul at Liverpool, dated May 10:

The steamer Adela has arrived at this port. She is commanded by Captain Walker, late of the Great Eastern, has been purchased for the South, and is one of the expedition of thirty steamers referred to in previous dispatches. She is only 175 tons burden, and very swift. On her voyage from Belfast to this port she made 17 knots per hour, and they say she was not put down to her full speed; that when she is she will run 19 knots. She is to be got ready and dispatched as soon as possible. * * *” (Letter from the Secretary of the Navy to flag-offices commanding blockading squadrons, transmitting dispatches from U.S. counsuls at London and Liverpool, regarding vessels preparing to run the blockade.)

May 17, 1862

“Capt. Schultz has arrived at Liverpool with the ratified Treaty for the further suppression of the slave trade, and Ld. Russell writes to-day that he will have great pleasure in exchanging the ratifications, having received Her Majesty’s authority to do so.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1862)

“25, Rue Royale;
Brussels, May 17, 1862.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:

As the only, constant and ardent friend of my country I fear that the surrender of New-Orleans has caused you to despond, perhaps to despair, of the establishment of its independence. I freely confess that the event has occasioned me much anguish of heart; but I console myself with the belief, that it has been permitted in order that good may proceed from evil. A doubt has not yet entered my mind as concerns the final result. My faith is unshaken. With May commences the extreme severity of the Sun's rays in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. In those rays we have an invincible ally. At first they are enervating, indeed prostrating, to all who are unaccustomed. Then through their influence vegetable decomposition commences. Anon the atmosphere becomes so impure that for a stranger to inhale it freely, is to swallow the poison which operates fatally. –The invaders find, no where, any fraternizing Union spirit, -- such as they confidently expected. Therefore, by this time they cannot fail to perceive a melancholy termination to their fondly cherished hopes. – If we hold our own at Yorktown and Corinth the occupation at New-Orleans by them will be to us, in its ulterior consequences, definitive victory; for if they are forced to abandon it by Yellow Fever, or otherwise, the circumstance would, of itself, cause them to desperately lay down their arms.

Before you receive this you will be the possessor of four days later intelligence from New-York. It can scarcely fail to be important. I await it with intense solicitude. The two great _____ battles must have been fought early in this month.

Of course it is impossible to make any progress in negotiations with foreign governments in the face of reverses which we have experienced – I may say, entre vous et moi that I have had a long and most agreeable interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. King Leopold is slowly convalescing. He is not yet, however, in a condition to attend to business connected with the State. But the lamentable destitution of his subjects at Ghent

and elsewhere – occasioned by a want of cotton – gives him, it is understood, serious concern. The operators of the cotton mills have been sustained for several weeks exclusively by charity. No one can see the end of the distress, or the evils which may be attendant upon it. – England, if I read correctly the signs of the times, is steadily drifting into a crisis the like of which perhaps she has never been submitted to. The wailings of the operators for bread are the most appalling sound that ever greeted a statesman’s ears. May that sound not become too terrific for the well-being of a country which I love most to my own! The gravity of the subject is such as to commend the consideration of it, in all its _____, by the foremost statesmen “of all the world.” If he will act promptly for the amelioration of suffering humanity, I will guarantee that all Western Europe will cordially co-operate with him. Believe me with cordial and faithful regards, Ever as every, A. Dudley Mann

17th.

P.S.—You will have read before this reaches you the glorious news contained in the New-York Telegrams of the 8th inst.

I am sure your government ought to recognize us immediately and send a first grade mission to Richmond. By all odds you should be selected for the post if you consent to accept. I am confident that your presence in that official capacity in the Confederate States would exercise a most salutary influence in behalf of British interests in those States. I have not been prompted to say this from my partiality for you, strong as that partiality is.—You are known throughout my country as its European friend par excellence. Take the subject into consideration.

Please acknowledge the receipt of this before you leave Baden Baden in order that my mind may be at ease with regard to its safety.”

A. D. M.”
(Emory University)

May 20, 1862

“Capt. Schultz arrived with the Treaty yesterday and I went down to the Foreign Office to collate it with Mr. Bergne at 2 o’clock to-day. After this, we went into Lord Russell’s room, there the ratification were exchanged by his Lordship and Mr. Adams.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1862)

May 28, 1862

“*State of Georgia*-a side wheel steamer built at Philadelphia in 1851 by Vaughn & Lynn-was purchased by the Navy at Philadelphia on 25 September 1861 from Philadelphia and Savannah Steamship Co.; and was commissioned at the Philadelphia Navy Yard on 20 November 1861, Comdr. James F. Armstrong in command.

The side wheel steamer joined the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron at Hampton Roads on 26 November; and sailed the next day for blockade station off Beaufort, N.C.; and arrived there on the 28th. On 22 May off Wilmington, N.C., she helped *Mount Vernon* and *Victoria* capture steamer *Constitution* of Albany, N.Y., and sent her to port for adjudication for trading with the enemy. Six days later, she and *Victoria* captured steamer *Nassau*-the former notorious blockade runner *Gordon*-near Fort Casswell, N.C. The prize- which had been carrying Enfield rifles, ammunition, and military stores for the Southern Army-was sent to New York for action by the prize court.”
(www.history.navy.mil)

“On May 28 the ‘famous’ Captain Walker lost the *Gordon* loaded with Enfield rifles, clothing, and ammunition and Captain Maffit’s daughter Florie. Although the *Nassau* (*Gordon*) had tons of powder on board, Florie kept watching the shellfire, begging the captain not to surrender. She said that her father would prefer to have her blown up rather than have the ship fall into Yankee hands. The Federal Captain George Walker who captured the *Nassau* had been Florie’s father’s old shipmate and

he took her to New York where he used his influence to get her returned to her family. Captain James Walker lost another ship, the *Adela* on July 7.” (Nepveux, George A. Trenholm – Financial Genius of the Confederacy)

“May 28, 1862,--At 8 a.m., it being very foggy, I weighed anchor to patrol. At 8:30 saw a steamer close in under the land, within 1¼ miles distant from us, running at full speed for Fort Caswell. I immediately started to cut her off and before I could make a signal the U.S.S. *State of Georgia* fired a gun at her. At this time we fired a Parrot rifle 30-pounder shell at her. She still kept on. I fired another shell, which passed over her deck but did not strike her. I fired another shell which struck close to her bows. She then hove to. At this moment a boat filled with men left her. I directed a shell to be fired at the boat. It passed over. I ordered another, which struck the breach in their midst (for they had landed), and killed one man and wounded another. The rest fled into the woods. We boarded the steamer, which proved to be the rebel steamer *Gordon*, alias *Nassau*, from Nassau for Wilmington, the famous Captain Walker, of the *Fanny Lewis*, commanding. On boarding found her loaded with Enfield rifles, ammunition, clothing, medicines, etc., for the rebel Army. We took possession of her, put a prize crew on board of twenty four officers and men, well armed, and sent her to New York for adjudication.

* * *

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. D. Warren,
Acting Master, Commanding.

L. M. Goldsborough,
Flag Office, North Atlantic Blockading
Squadron.”

June 1862
June 10, 1862

Document found in Turner-Baker papers
“United States Telegraph Office

Received June 10, 1862
From New York
To W H Seward
Secy State

Daniel Lowber whom you paroled from Ft Warren on condition of his going to and remaining in Great Britain was captured on one of the vessels running the blockade and brought to this port by the store-ship relief—He has been passed over to my custody. Will lay the case before the War Department and obtain me instruction what disposition I should make of him.

Jo A Kennedy
Supt.”

Document found in Turner-Baker papers
“Dept. of State
June 10, 1862

Secretary of State,

Submits a despatch received from the Suptd of Police, New York, saying that he has received into his custody Lowber who was released on parole in January 5 has now been captured on a blockading vessel.

Enclose copy of parole given by Lowber. Thinks him not worth imprisoning. Would discharge him & publish his parole, as the severest punishment.

Dpres-375 EB.—June 19th 1862”

June 11, 1862

Document found in Turner-Baker papers
“Washington June 11, 1862

My dear Secretary:

I send you a copy of Lowber's parole. He is not worth imprisoning. I would discharge him and publish his parole, showing the value of a rebel's oath, as the severest punishment that could be inflicted upon him.

Faithfully yours,
William H Seward"

June 27, 1862

Letter from John A. Kennedy, Superintendent of the Metropolitan Police of New York to Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War

"Superintendent of the Metropolitan Police,
413 Broome Street, corner of Elm.

New York, June 27th, 1862

Hon. Edwin M. Stanton,
Secretary of War,
Sir,

Presuming that in the multitude of your engagements you have overlooked the performance of the promise you made me, in our interview of 17th inst. to send me an order disposing of the prisoner Lowber, I take the liberty to remind you of it. And also to say that the manner in which I am obliged to detain him, affords him opportunity to escape.

You will recollect that you coincided with me that the best disposition of him would be to transfer him to the surveillance of General Butler at New Orleans.

Very Respectfully
Yours &c

John A. Kennedy
Supert"

June 30, 1862

Letter from C.P. Wolcott, Assistant Secretary of War, to John A. Kennedy, Superintendent of Metropolitan Police:

"War Department

Washington City, D.C.
June 30th, 1862

Your note of the 27th inst., relative to the case of D. C. Lowber, has been received.

The Secretary of War, concurring in your suggestions, directs me to instruct you to send Lowber to New Orleans, to be placed under the surveillance of Genl. Butler, who should be notified by you of Lowber's antecedents.

Very Resptly—
Your Obed Servt.
C.P. Wolcott
Asst Secretary of War.

John A. Kennedy, Esq.
Supt. Metropolitan Police.
413 Broom St.
New York City.”

July 1862
July 2, 1862

Letter from C.P. Wolcott, Assistant Secretary of War, to D. D. Tompkins

“July 2nd 1862.

Col. D. D. Tompkins
No. 6 State Street
New York City

Upon the application of John A Kennedy, Superintendent of Police, you will grant transportation to New Orleans, to D. C. Lowber, a prisoner, and to such officer, as under the direction of Mr. Kennedy may have him in charge.

By order of
C.P. Wolcott.
Assist Secretary of War”

Letter from C.P. Wolcott, Assistant Secretary of War, to John A. Kennedy

“July 2nd 1862.

John A. Kennedy
Superintendent of Police.
New York City.

Col. Tompkins has been directed to furnish transportation to Lowber and to the officer in charge of him.

C.P. Wolcott
Asst Sectry of War”

Telegram from John A. Kennedy to C.P. Wolcott

“New York—2nd Rec 2.45 pm

C.P. Wolcott.
Asst Secretary of War

Col Tompkins of Quarter Master's Dept. declines giving passage on the Steamer to sail tomorrow to Lowber and my officer in charge of him unless he received direct orders from the War Dept to do so. You will oblige by sending the required order by Telegraph.

John A. Kennedy.
Supt.”

July 3, 1862

“Office of the Superintendent of the
Metropolitan Police
New York July 3, 1862

Major General
Benjn F. Butler

Sir, Pursuant to the suggestion contained in the Order from the War department, a copy of which accompanies this, it is proper for me to notify you that David C. Lowber, therein referred to, is a native of a Northern State; but has many years been

a resident of the States of Alabama & Louisiana. Recently he has been conducting a mercantile business at New Orleans, where his family resides. He has extensive family connections in this State, and also by marriage, has others in Great Britain.

In the latter part of June 1861 he left New Orleans for Europe, by way of the West and New York, and timed his arrival here so as to reach the Steamer for Liverpool on the morning of her sailing, about the 9th of July; a friend having secured his passage, under an assumed name. After his departure information was received, that he had avowed himself as in sympathy with the Rebellion, had given out intimations that he was the bearer of important papers in the interest of the Rebels.

Information was also received that while absent, he visited the leading secessionists in England; but on the appearance of making arrangement with commercial houses there to open direct trade to New Orleans so soon as Southern Independence would be acknowledged. Meanwhile I was advised that Lowber had taken passage on a certain steamer for New York, direct; and that he would bear despatches from the Rebel agents abroad to their principals at home. While engaged in watching for the arrival of the Steamer indicated, on August 21st, I received information by telegraph that he was then at the house of a relative, near Fishkill NY. Officers were immediately despatched to that locality for his arrest; but confederates apprised him of their approach, on apprehending he was pursued, he took alarm and fled by private conveyance across the country to the Harlem Rail Road, and so effected his escape for the time. Before leaving the house he was at, he burnt and destroyed several packages in large envelopes, supposed to contain whatever of value has been entrusted to him.

Officers were sent out in every direction, and he was intercepted at Crestline, Ohio. It is proper to explain that after having secured passage on the New York steamer from Liverpool, he changed it to a Quebeck Steamer, too late for me to

be made aware of it in time. But after thus escaping the probability of arrest, he was fool hardy enough to make a family visit within my reach; when escape South was open to him, had he continued directly through the Western States, instead of making a detour down the Hudson River.

He was brought back to New York on August 20th, and by order of the Secretary of State was placed in Fort Lafayette: Afterwards, with others, he was transferred to Fort Warren; where he remained until January 9th 1862, when he was released in parole of honor that he would “forthwith” proceed to to [sic] the Kingdom of Great Britain, and remain there until the close of hostilities between the United States and the Insurrectionary States, or until he should be released therefrom by the Secretary of State.” He peremptorily declined to take the oath of allegiance,. On his release under this parole he was brought to N. York, and on the 10th of January I placed him on board of the Steamer Etna for Liverpool, and saw her sail with him on deck.

After remaining within the British Realm until April 26th last, he sailed on the Steamer Combria from Liverpool for Nassau, N.P. in violation of his parole given Jany 9th, 1862; He afterward sailed from Nassau on the same Steamer with the design of breaking the blockade but the Steamer was captured off Charleston S.C. on May 20th. After the Capture the conduct of Lowber was such as to make it necessary to separate him from his fellow prisoners; he was then transferred to the store ship Relief, and by her brought to this port, and delivered into my custody on the 10th day of June. The War Department now instruct me to deliver him to you.

I am very Respectfully
Yours etc.
John A. Kennedy
Supert.”

(Letter dated July 3, 1862, from John A. Kennedy to Benjamin F. Butler)

July 13, 1862

“Headquarters Department of the Gulf.
New Orleans, July 13, 1862.

Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

Sir: Will you have the kindness to send me a certified copy of the parole given by Daniel C. Lowber, of New Orleans, who was released from Warren, with instructions how to dispose of him. He now seems to think that he has been sent down here for the purpose of visiting his wife and is quite indignant that I do not send him home to his family.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
your obedient servant,

Benj. F. Butler,
Major-General, Commanding.”

July 14, 1862

“My dear Mr. Bigelow,

I expect to be in Paris on Thursday or Friday of this week & shall be very glad to see you & Mrs. Bigelow if she be in town. Will you send me your address to the Hotel de Bade Rue de Italiens where we expect to arrive on Thursday morning.

Having no pass port & being too much hurried to procure one from Mr. Adams before starting, I shall be very glad if you will provide me with one.

Very truly yours,

Mary Lowber Schultz,

London, July 14th, 1862.

P.S.

Lest I should not have time to call going through Paris, please send the pass port to the above address, & let me know will Mrs. Bigelow probably be in town on my return a month later.”

(Letter to John Bigelow received from Union College)

July 15, 1862

“Gen’l R. B. Campbell, our late Consul here, died near Ealing on Friday last. He abused the trust reposed in him & tried to destroy the Gov’t from which he had been receiving his support for 20 years. At the very time he was taking his pay as Consul here he was aiding Dudley Mann to divide the Union. And yet, if Mr. Lincoln had retained him in office he would have been a professed loyalist.”

(Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1862)

August 21, 1862

“25 Rue Royale;
Brussels, Aug. 21, 1862.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:--

After the receipt of your last kind favor I made my arrangements to visit London, and I started for the metropolis on the 16th, intending to reach there on the 18th, so as to be present at the debate on Mr. Lindsey’s motion. When I arrived in Paris, Mr. Slidell was at Vichy, and as it was important that I should see him I awaited his return, which did not occur until the morning of the 19th. As the result of the debate the evening before clearly indicated that we had nothing to hope for in the matter of immediate recognition, and as I understood that you were to quit London the day after the debate, I concluded to postpone my visit until the latter part of next month. I wanted to have an interview with you before the adjournment; and I regret that there is so remote a prospect on our meeting again.

May I inquire, what are your plans for the recess? When is it likely that you will be in London or Paris?

It is now evident to my mind that the South will have to fight her way to recognition. Lord Palmerston is not yet prepared to take the initiative, and Louis Napoleon never seriously contemplated such a procedure. If my hopes do not utterly deceive me, and heretofore they have not, the war will be terminated before the meeting of Parliament, or assume a mere quasi character. The Yankees have failed in that which they least expected, -- in troops. The so called patriotism of the North seems to have well nigh exhausted itself. The resort to conscription was a desperate measure. It will be attended with fatal consequences. With respect to volunteers I believe that not so many as 50,000 men will be forthcoming.

As the earliest and most constant friend of my country in Great-Britain, I know you enjoy the victories which we have won, since I separated with you, almost as much as though you were a Virginian. I think that Mr. Bright, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Forster must now begin to regard the consolidation of our independence a fait accompli.

I trust your health is quite good, and that I shall in a short time have the pleasure of hearing from you.

Believe me
Yours Most Faithfully
A. Dudley Mann

W. H. Gregory Esq.
M.P.”
(Emory University)

September 12, 1862

“25 Rue Royale;
Brussels, Sept. 12, 1862.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:

Yours of yesterday has just arrived. The address of Mr. Slidell is, as well as I recollect, 25 Avenue d'Antin, Champs Elysées.

Thrilling intelligence can scarcely fail to arrive by the steamer expected today at Queenstown. – I indulge the hope that it will be eminently favorable. There is good reason for believing that Washington was in extreme danger of an attack on the 30th ult.—our troops are said to advanced within a few miles of it.

It must be very distressing to so noble a humanitarian as Earl Shaftsbury, to read the accounts which arrive from New-York. There never was a more demon like meeting, of a public nature, or cult than that which assembled in New-York on the 27th ult. You have, of course, read the resolutions which were adopted, nem. con.

No statesman that ever lived understood his duties better, or was more resolute and fearless in the performance of them, than Lord Palmerston. I trust he will find it in the interest of the Government which he is at the head of to recognize us at the first Cabinet meeting after the return of Her Majesty the Queen. The Continental Governments would hail with joy such a procedure and emulate it without delay. Rigid Neutrality, it seems to me, demands it, in order to check the scheme of Seward for filling the vacant ranks of the North with Europeans. Ever as ever. A. Dudley Mann”
(Emory University

September 15, 1862

“Brussels, 25 Rue Royale, Sept. 15, 1862.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:--

I lost not a moment in replying to your esteemed favor of yesterday. At the out-set I will remark, that ever since I had the pleasure of making your acquaintance I have given you my confidence as unreservedly as I ever gave it to my most cherished friends at home. In a word I have no concealment, whatever, as relates to my opinions and views upon public subjects, from yourself.

Convincing proofs, to my mind, have been furnished that all the slave-holding States, contained in the late Union, will at an early day be embraced within the boundaries of the Confederate States. – apart from the institution of negro slavery there is perfect identity of interest between those States. That identity cannot fail to be durably consolidated by the revenue laws which the Confederate States will enact. I am in favor of a duty not exceeding fifteen percent on all foreign articles. I would make the products of the fields of Ohio pay just as much, ad valorem, at our custom-houses as I would the looms of Lancashire. In our system of imports I desire entire uniformity. I am opposed alike to free costs and protection costs. I am also opposed to export duties. Now, I believe an import duty of fifteen per cent. will be sufficient to raise an ample amount for all the requirements of the government, including the interest upon the debt created by the war. This is a new approximation to “Free Trade,” but still it would necessarily afford large incidental advantages to the grain growers of Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Western Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and North-Carolina. Thus the resources of those agricultural States would be rapidly developed, and remunerating prices obtained for their products. Consequently, the inter-state slave trade would necessarily, if not altogether, cease. It would be as profitable to grow corn as it would be to grow cotton, except in the districts in which the plant is peculiarly adapted, and, therefore, there would neither be purchasers nor sellers of negroes. In the mountainous regions the soil would continue to be tilled exclusively by white laborers. Many years ago there was a county in Kentucky containing eight hundred inhabitants, in which there were only four slaves and not a solitary free negro! Well, that county is now an almost unanimous secession county! There is not perhaps within its limits one white person who would consent to set down at table with a negro, whether free or in bondage.

In all sincerity I must frankly state to you, My Dear Mr. Gregory, that I see no prospect of elevating the condition of the black man while the

whole civilized world is socially arrayed against him. Amalgamation, were such a thing within the range of possibility, would eventuate his disappearance from the earth's surface – and under positively cruel circumstances. The intermarrying of mulattos would speedily cause their extinction. The white blood and the negro blood will not commingle for a lengthened time. One exhausts the other, reciprocally – cause the destruction of the reproductive organs or so impairing them as to render their offspring valueless, physically and intellectually. The most noble ambition of a just minded Caucasian is to perpetuate and improve his race. Is there one such to be found who could be tempted to undertake to do so by inter-marrying with a negress?

The fact cannot be disguised that the relation of the two races is, _____. that of entire equality. Sumners himself, destitute as he is of enabling traits of character, is not prepared to advocate the making of it so. The notion of companionship of a negress has perhaps never entered his infatuated brain. To enable you to form some idea of how much the negro is loathed in Yankeedom you will, I know, pardon me for the following illustration. A woman of debauched reputation in New-York, with considerable money, located herself in a thriving town of New-England. She had not been there long before she found a calculating Yankee suitor. He offered his hand which was readily accepted. His family, which had become acquainted with the business of her character, endeavored to persuade him from solemnizing the nuptials, but he continued resolute in his purpose. Just before the event was to occur they sent their church Deacon to make a last appeal to him. "John," asked he "do you know the woman well whom you are about to marry?" "Well," he answered, "I guess I do." "Do you know that she is destitute of chastity?" "Yes, I guess I do, but I can stand that." "Do you know that she has two children?" "Yes, I guess I do but I can stand that." "Do you know that one of them has a negro father?" "The D__l you say! I'll be eternally d____d if I can stand that." – This exemplifies Northern sentiment, -- without respect to sex, class

or condition – as concerns unconquerable hostility to negro blood. There are but few civilized individuals any where who do not cordially share it. In all my travel and observation I never was informed of a case, wherein a white man was disposed to take to his bosom a woman who had been polluted by a black man. In social intercourse the two races seem to be natural enemies, nor is the purest philanthropist or the noblest humanitarian yet ready to take the first effect step for the eradication of this enmity in his own breast. He knows and feels that it is inseparable from his nature. He knows and feels that he would commit an enormous moral wrong were he to bestow his daughter in wedlock upon an African, however enlarged the attainments and accomplishments of that African. I can imagine a Desdemona loving a Moor for the dangers he had passed but I cannot imagine a father who would have been less reluctant to the union of his daughter with a Moor (who was a very different being to a Negro), than was Brabantio.

I am quite ready to go as far as he who is inclined to go farthest to practically better the condition of the African slave. I ardently desire the largest amount of well-being, consistent with his nature, for him. I think I may safely say that nine out every ten of my countrymen are animated by the same wish. The legislation of each of the Confederate States comes steadily at that object. Laws are a force for the severe punishment of cruel masters. I can venture to assure you that from year to year there will be more and more rigor in this regard. The fiery ordeal through which the South has been passing has established accurately the fidelity, yes devotion, of the slave to his master. This will be gratefully remembered.

You delicately enquire whether means may not be devised “whereby the intelligent and industrious Negro may be able to elevate and educate himself, and, eventually, if he has the good fortune to accumulate money, be able to purchase his freedom.” I answer that there are considerable obstacles in the way of the consummation of such a measure. It rarely ever occurs that an intelligent and

industrious negro wishes his freedom. When he contrasts his condition with that of the poor white laborer he consoles himself with the belief that he has abundant reason to be content. He has no food or raiment to provide, no physician's bill or taxes to pay. All his little extra earnings are his own, with which he purchases, what he considers, luxuries for his family. "Why should I want to be free? – why should I want to quit the endeared home of my childhood and manhood?" he asks, "when I can enjoy no political rights any where within the limits of the old Union, nor social equality any where within the confines of civilization. The Supreme Court of the United States decided that I could not be a citizen of those States, and Lincoln now tells the colored population of the North that it can no longer remain there within the white population: That the negro race is a hated race: And that the best thing it can do is to migrate to the pestilential swamps of Central America!"

An uncle of mine, a devout Presbyterian, owned a family of sixteen negroes, most of whom could read and write, and were industrious and well disposed. Their future in life gave him much concern as he advanced in years, and he resolved to send them, at his own cost, to Liberia, which was then represented to be a prosperous Colony. When, however, he made known to him his purpose, not one of their number would consent to go. They preferred slavery at home to freedom abroad. Shortly before his death he emancipated them and made some provision for each in his will, but they all turned out badly. – This occurred in Kentucky, where laborers were always in request. – There are thousands of instances similar to that which I have narrated. The tendency of the civilized negro, when thrown upon his own resources, is decidedly in the direction of retrogradation. This seems to be the law of his race. Slavery existed in the mildest possible form in Washington. From the founding of that metropolis to the division of the Union I believe that I speak considerably within bounds, when I state that, from time to time, three-fourths of all the slaves who ever entered it were liberated by their masters – most of them well instructed family

servants. The number of free negroes in the District of Columbia (chiefly in Washington) – is something like 10,000, and taken in the aggregate I will undertake to say that a more unprovident population does not exist in Christendom. There such services as they are capable of performing were always in demand at liberal wages; but, with few exceptions, no pecuniary temptation could induce them to work. They chose rather to live in idleness and destitution. There were just in the same condition of those of their race who swarmed in London in 1786, and who became so baneful to the community that they were seized as vagrants and sent to Sierra Leone.

It is now precisely three hundred years since Sir John Hawkins inaugurated under the British flag the slave trade in the Western Hemisphere. His first expedition to procure negroes in the Coast of Africa for the West-Indies occurred in October 1562. Since then millions after millions have been taken from their native land and sold into bondage, whether for evil or for good, as concerns the government of the Universal God, alone, in the plenitude of his wisdom, is capable of determining. Cannibals of the most voracious kind they must have become long, long ago but for their transportation to other shores. – This would, perhaps, have been the preventive resorted to for all over multiplication of population. I shrink with horror from the contemplation of the condition of the African race three hundred years hence. In a third of that time it is estimated that the natural increase of those of it who are at present owned in the Confederate States will number something like one hundred millions. – But I will draw the curtain over the future, consoling myself with the belief that the present is performing its destined mission, and that, in the language of Lord Bacon, “Time has been and is the great innovator.”

You may regard it as certain that the African Slave Trade will never be tolerated in the Confederate States. It is exclusively prohibited by their Constitution. I scarcely need add that the Central government can exercise no authority whatever over the slaves in any of the States. All

regulations relating to the improvement of their condition, or otherwise, must proceed from the State in which the slaves live.

Believe me, My Dear Sir,
Gratefully and Faithfully Yours,

A. Dudley Mann.

W. H. Gregory Esq. M.P.
etc. etc. etc.”
(Emory University)

October 15, 1862

“156 Broadway
New York, Oct 15, 1862

My dear friend Moses __

I must tell you that I really possess a conscience otherwise you will believe it is lost __ reasoning that if it still remained you would have heard from me __ even if only a brief answer to your very kind letter _ and “first rate notice” __ for both, an [sic] all of your many kindnesses I again thank you. __ Really I feel that I have given you ample cause to think me wicked __ and first ask you to grant pardon for past offences __ in future I will try to do better & trust to your charity for forgiveness for such errors & failures as I may make __ __ __ __ __

The Journal comes regularly & by it I keep track of you __ I only have to look & “C” where you are & what you are thinking about.

The “__ bit of Criticism” in your issue of today particularly please me __ the invention __ described in brackets __ is worthy of Emerson __ if it is yours, you deserve a fortune for it __ but my dear Moses __ as I am a little in the contriving line, and as I like to see things of the machines sh work without clogging in any way let me suggest that you have due regard for your health, and devise an excavator, (more particularly for the use of the “100

members of Congress”) to clear away the mass of rubbish which will accumulate __ which otherwise would certainly produce suffocation & cause your arrest for a high crime with malice aforethought.__

If you are unequal to this latter task, pray be cautious how you recommend the “Word-Winnower” __ it may be sell for you to drop the project altogether. __

Private The Great Ship Co. smart terribly under my libel & wish now to settle it __ but the offer they make is one which cannot be entertained at this stage of the proceeding __ though if they had done, offered done the half, of what they now propose, originally, it would have been as much as I ever had reason to expect, or desired __

The Company have directed Mrs. Howland & Aspinwall to propose to me as an offset to my withdrawal of the claim “a letter of acknowledgement + a testimonial” intimating, at the same time, that I ought to pay the expenses they have incurred in the matter __

Such an offer is trivial after I have been to so much trouble & expense to bring them to their senses __ no small amount of the work is done __ and I desire most earnestly to bring out the facts in evidence before the public __ the world __ It will bear it & John Bull shall smart for his bull-headedness__ My friends in London urge me to hold my “grip” __ & say a London Court would give me a verdict __ __

They little thought originally that the ship would be molested __ but they see now __ still only half an eye is open __ or they would by all means keep the case from coming to trial __

Mrs. H. & A. are very fair themselves, but while they act without discretion it is the Company after all with whom I deal__

Mrs. H. & A. say, admit freely to me, that had it been their ship they should have sought me

out & done “the handsome thing” by me ___ and that, with the action they in such case would have taken, I should have been perfectly satisfied ___ but they are Agents only now & the case is different ___ ___ A funny incident happened some six weeks ago when just after the last accident or disaster occurred, she as you are perhaps aware tried to push over a sunken rock off Montauk Point & in so doing opened a hole in her bottom over 80 ft. long & 15 ft. wide! The peculiar construction of the vessel saved her (it is double _ one ship inside of another, bound together ___ the outside one was cut & injury enough done to the inner shell to cause her to lie in this port till the present time for repairs ___ with no certain prospect of success of the plan now being tried ___ indeed it is said to be “quite the reverse.”

Well ___ the papers the morning after her arrival or day following contained a paragraph stating that a hole so & so had been cut & that the Capt_ & officers were at a loss how to perform the necessary repairs ___ I cooked up a scheme & newspaper in hand went to the office of the Agents & offered to undertake the job & give bonds for the fulfillment of all I might undertake ___ ___ The Captain was present (not the Capt. when I was a passenger) & I was answered that the Comp. would not justify them in treating with me while I hold such a hostile attitude to them ___ to which I replied and that if I would “withdraw my claim they would treat with me” ___ to which I replied that I thought I showed my a kindly feeling by offering to assist them in their dilemma ___ But as I would not “withdraw” ___ I failed to have the pleasure to help them in a second scrape ___ & now comes by a return mail from England, their little offer to settle ___ ___ I say “no my dear Irving we have not done with thee yet” and can you not say I am right?

For them to get off (expresses it exactly) now by yielding under a pressure, ^ (for) just what they should really have done voluntarily at first, is no part of a just or reasonable basis for the abandonment of the claim ___ Enough Gt. E— ___ I may yet have a chance to assist her in some way!

The matter of the proposition to settle and my refusal is all a second han (?)& must remain so

for the present ___ till after the trial which, I cannot say when will take place, ___ I have hastily given you a long story ___ you have done so much for me in your paper Great Eastern-wise ___ but as I do not wish to prejudice opinion or do anything to affect the case before trial I must beg you to consider the part of this letter below the word "Private" The rest too of course as only to be for your own eye or to talk about ___ & not for the types___

I have changed my office again and am to be found at 156 Broadway ___ The world treats me well & I hope to grow & flourish extensively in time___

May I ask you to change the address of my Jour. to my present office ___ With kind regards to all ___ I remain

As ever ___ truly
Your old schoolboy
Hamilton E. Towle

P.S.

I met E.P. Breed recently he spoke kindly of you & said he was about starting for N.H. ___

H.

Annie sends love & says she hears Moses is going to be married? ___”(Letter from Hamilton E. Towle to Moses Austin Cartland. Harvard University, Houghton Library)

November 11, 1862

“Strictly Confidential.

40 Albermarle Street;
London, Nov. 11, 1862

My Dear Mr. Gregory:

After my return from the North of Europe I immediately proceeded from Brussels to Paris where I sojourned three days and then continued on to this metropolis. I wish indeed that you were here at this momentous period.

King Leopold in the goodness of his large heart addressed about the 15th of ~~November~~ October Autograph Letters to several of the more powerful European sovereigns urging the recognition of the Confederate States, and such other measures as would be best calculated to terminate hostilities. In this sense Louis Napoleon, about ten days ago, sent off Notes to Russia and Great-Britain requesting their co-operation to endeavor to influence the Belligerents to agree to an armistice of some months – the Ports of the South to be open to his commerce and navigation of the world during that period. Lord Palmerston summoned the British Cabinet several days ago to meet at Cambridge House at 3 o'clock this afternoon to deliberate upon the subject. I can scarcely doubt that the decision will be favorable – The acceptance of such a proposition by the Belligerents would be equivalent to a definitive termination of the war. – Every Power and State on the Continent ardently desires such a result. I speak with a full knowledge of their wishes in this regard.

The elections in the North, as far as they have occurred are all in the interests of Peace. If New-York has chosen Seymour the term of the Lincoln concern will be utterly finished. There will, in that case, be a good working majority in the next Congress – if another Northern Congress assembles at Washington.

Your kind Letter from Baden-Baden was duly received. I am indebted to Mr. Mason for your present address.

I have seen many of our old and valued friends, -- among others Mr. Ashley – I have quite as many visitors as ever, and the number who surround me at present must be my excuse for this hurried Note, which I have not time to run my eye over.

Ever, My Dear Sir,
Yours Most Cordially,
A. Dudley Mann

W.H. Gregory Esq.
(Emory University)

November 28, 1862

“25 Rue Royale.
Brussels, Nov. 28, 1862.

Confidential.

Many thanks, My Dear Mr. Gregory, for your very kind and interesting Letter of the 6th inst; which I was delighted to find, among many others, upon my arrival here three days ago. You doubtless received mine, in due course, from London.

On the 12th Lord Palmerston favored me with an interview. It was of about 65 (sixty-five) minutes duration. From the commencement to the end there was no cessation in the conversation. We set directly opposite each other, almost toe to toe – looking at one another steadily in the eye. I never addressed a more attentive listener. I never answered a more earnest enquirer. His manner throughout was cordial. Indeed I might say that it was extremely kind. What a wonderful man! His intellect is as radiant, his powers of thought as unimpaired as though he were in the meridian of his life. I could scarcely realize the fact that I was in the presence of a personage who was Minister of War when I was but barely four years old.

His Lordship made no allusion whatever to the subject of slavery in the Confederate States except a mention of the wicked Proclamation of Lincoln. I have carefully prepared a sketch of all that passed between us, which I will peruse to you when we next meet.

All our friends are dissatisfied with the non-acceptance by the British government of the proposal of the Emperor of the French. I do not share their feelings. I believe the best thing has occurred that could have occurred in this regard. The notes of Earl Russell and Prince Gortzchakoff⁶¹

⁶¹ An apparent reference to Prince Gorchakov, sometimes Gortchakoff.

will have quite as good an influence upon the North as the Note of Drouyn de L'Huys. They alike manifest an earnest solicitude for Peace. If Devils similar to those which cause the swine to leap from the mountain into the sea and cut their own throats had not entered the Seward Administration this solicitude would not be disregarded.

The first question that Lord Palmerston addressed to me was, in substance, what immediate benefit do you believe the Confederate States would receive from Recognition? This of all others was the one which I wished him to ask, and I responded to it at considerable length – observing, at the outset, that in my candid opinion no European measure could be so effective as occurring an early termination of hostilities.

Earl Russell had fully consented when he was here on the 5th of September to favor Recognition and he returned to London on the 20th of that month prepared to act with as good an undivided Cabinet upon the subject – the only dissidents being the Duke of Argyll and Sir Cornwall Lewis. A circumstance occurred, however, which I cannot relate, during the final days of October to postpone this decision. – On the 15th of that month King Leopold wrote his Autographed Letter to Louis Napoleon, expecting him to Recognize or take some other different step to bring the war to an end. I now indulge the hope that King Leopold – who from his age, his long and successful reign, and his high char= (sic) as a statesman, above guile and above reproach -- is justly regarded as Le Doyen des Souverains de L'Europe, will take the initiative with the _____ section of the European family of nations beforehand. I am now ardently engaged in endeavoring to effect such a consideration

Poor Cobden is absolutely going stark mad. See his letter in yesterday's Daily News. He has been gradually becoming wild ever since the repeal of the Corn Laws. In those days I knew him well – and esteemed him. It is a sorrowful sight to see a public man living too long for his fame.

It is not in my nature to conceal any thing of importance from so good a friend as yourself and one who enjoys my unbounded confidence. How I should enjoy a long conversation with you at this time.

You have answered my obligations by enclosing your Photograph, which I shall carefully [cut off line]

A. Dudley Mann”
(Emory University)

December 9, 1862

“25 Rue Royale;
Brussels, Dec. 9, 1862.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:--

Your of the 4th arrived on the 7th. I derived a large amount of pleasure from its contents.

Thus I trust will get into your hands before you start to Athens. Will you stop in Paris before you return to London? If so, if you will inform me in advance, I will meet you there. I always stay that the “Grand Hotel.”

The Letters of Mr. Lawley are, indeed, very interesting – decidedly the best which have appeared in The Times, from America, since the commencement of the war.

I fear we have been put back by the proposal of Louis Napoleon. I believed from the first that this would be the case. The Democratic party cannot espouse it. – Were it to do so it would assume a downright hostile attitude to the prosecution of the war. This is not its purpose at present. That which I think it really wishes is out-and-out, unconditional, Recognition of the Confederate States by the governments of Europe. such a procedure would enable the Wood’s and the Seymour’s and their co-adjutors, to openly advocate peace, upon the

principle that the South had established its Independence to the satisfaction of the European family; that, therefore, such Independence must be regarded as a fait accompli; and that the North had no alternative but submit to it, and make the most out of it which she could in contracting favorable commercial treaties and otherwise.

I shall hope and trust that after a short time elapses our Independence will be acknowledged by King Leopold, with the implied, or expressed, understanding that such acknowledgement, proceeding from the Le Doyen des Souverains, shall be observed as European Law upon the subject.

It the mean time the situation of Western Europe is becoming alarmingly grave. The wisest statesmen cannot foresee the end. Cotton may be grown in the East and elsewhere but not in time to stay the devouring jaws of famine or save the State from danger. To harvest idleness is to engender crime.

I believe there never was more judicious statesmanship displayed than was displayed on your motion for Recognition, and I wish, with all my heart, that your great country may not have cause to grieve, as she never grieved before, that it was not adopted nem con. Had such been the case how different would have been the condition of Lancashire. A hopeful future would now be looming up instead of an immediate impenetrable gloom to face by the sacrifice of millions.

The postponement of Recognition by your government was occasioned, as I understand, by angry controversy between Earl Russell and Seward in relation to the Alabama. Adams was very furious and it was apprehended that Lord Lyons would not be received by Lincoln if intelligence went out, in advance of him, that the Confederate States were recognized. The channel of negotiation between the two countries would have been closed while a serious question was pending.

The last news from Virginia is unimportant. Burnside had not crossed the Rappahannock. I am much mistaken if he succeeds better than did McClellan. Our people are in excellent spirits. I have a letter from Charleston of the 6th October, from one of the most accomplished of Southern ladies which abounds with the most hopeful expressions. Most Cordially Yours A Dudley Mann”
(Emory University)

December 15, 1862

Document found in Turner-Baker papers

“Department of State
Washington, 15th December, 1862

To

Major L. C. Turner
Associate Judge Advocate

Major:

I enclose a letter to me from Gardner Brewer of Boston, and its accompaniment relative to Mr. Robert Mure. I see no objection to a compliance with the request in behalf of Mr. Mure, upon the condition specified. If you concur in this I will thank you for your answer and to return Mr. Brewer’s letter.

I am, Major,
Your very obedient servant.

William H Seward”

December 16, 1862

Document found in Turner-Baker papers

“War Dept
Dec 16. 1862

Mr Robert Mure (late British consul at Charleston South Carolina but now in Liverpool, England on his parole not to visit the Southern States, of the United States) has permission, hereby, to visit his family in

Charleston South Carolina after giving his parole before the U.S. Consul at Liverpool, not to engage in any hostile acts against the Government of the United States, and that he will give no aid or comfort to the Rebels.

By order of the Secretary of War,

L.C. Turner
Judge Advocate”

Document found in Turner-Baker papers

“Department of State

Washington, 16 Dec 1862

To Gardner Brewer, Esquire,
Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir:

I duly received your letter of the 11th instant, respecting Mr. Robert Mure, and having referred the subject to the Associate Judge Advocate of the Army I now have the pleasure to enclose a permit for Mr. Mure to visit Charleston, which I will thank you to forward to that gentlemen.

I am, very truly yours,
William H. Seward”

Document found in Turner-Baker papers

“War Department

Washington City

December 16, 1862

Mr. Robert Mure (late British Consul at Charleston, South Carolina but now in Liverpool England on his parole not to visit the Southern States of the United States) has permission hereby to go to his family in Charleston South Carolina, upon giving his parole upon honor before the U.S. Consul at Liverpool, not

to engage in any hostile acts against the Government of the United States, and that he will give no aid or comfort to the Rebels.

L. C. Turner
Judge Advocate”

Document found in Turner-Baker papers

“War Depart

Dec 16, 1862

Hon
William H Seward
Sec of State

Sir

I have the honor to tender you permit for Mr Mure to go to Charleston as suggested in _____ of date of Saturday.

I have the honor &c
Very respectfully
L.C.T
ja

December 23, 1862

“Hdqrs. Department of the Gulf,
New Orleans, December 23, 1862.

General Orders,
No. 115.

Upon consultation with Maj. Gen. B. F. Butler and with this concurrence and advice the commanding general directs as follows:

First. The following named persons will be released from arrest immediately upon the receipt of this order at the posts at which they are confined and upon their giving parole not to commit any act of hostility to the United States or render any aid or

comfort to the enemies of the United States during
the existing war:

* * *

Fort Pickens.--. . . D. C. Lowber,”

January 11, 1863

“25 Rue Royale;
Brussels, Jan. 11, 1863.

My Dear Sir:--

Your last interesting Letter arrived in due course. I am always delighted when I hear from you.

To-morrow we shall have the “Allocution” of the Emperor of the French. I adhere to the belief that he will touch very lightly upon American affairs. In his inconsiderate undertaking to better the condition of Mexico he fears to offend, however slightly, the Lincoln Administration. He wants supplies from New-York for his Navy in the Gulf and his army in the Coudevilles.⁶² From the first I never made any calculation upon him for even moral assistance.

I may say to you in confidence that I have good reasons for believing that the King of the Belgians has renewed his appeals to many of the Potentates of Europe to unite in the Acknowledgement of the Independence of the Confederate States. He will have a strong hold upon those Protecting Powers if he succeeds in advising his nephew, the ___-King of Portugal to accept the Throne of Greece.

I have late and important Letters from Richmond. The Blockade of Charleston and other ports is far less effective than it ever was before. There is scarcely a day that it is not frequently evaded. The demoralization and disorganization of the Federal army of the Potomac progresses with

⁶² This is believed to be a reference to Ciudad Valles, a city in Mexico.

wonderful rapidity. The _____ multiply that there will be but little more left of it by the middle of March than a mere skeleton. In fact every where disaffection among the Northern troops is palpably manifesting itself. 500 threw down their arms at Newton, N.C., a few days ago, alleging that they were Democrats and would not fight Abolition battles.

Success makes heroes: defeat creates mutiny. We have now a veteran army of 100,000 men. If the war continues you may depend upon it that with half that number, with the prestige which we enjoy for invincibility, we may enter and overrun the Northern border States before mid-summer. By that time I believe the Lincoln Administration will be unable to muster an army of 100,000 efficient men!

I sincerely wish to see hostilities terminated in the interests of humanity, but we have now more to gain than to lose potentially and materially by their continuance. We are but just beginning to get into a condition that will enable us to chastise our demon-like enemy as he deserves.

To so good a friend as yourself I cannot conceal my chagrin that the British Ministry should have been driven from its purpose by any worthy consideration, to Recognize the Confederate States in October. When Mr. Adams intimated to Earl Russell, in view of the speech of Mr. Gladstone, that he might soon be on his way home I can but believe that he trifled with the Sovereignty of your great country. You have of course read the correspondence in that connection.

I suppose, as the meeting is now so near at hand, that you have abandoned your contemplated visit to the East. I indulge the hope that I shall have the pleasure of seeing you at an early day. In the mean time believe me my Dear Sir Gregory, Yours with all my heart. A. Dudley Mann”
(Emory University)

January 12, 1863

“Richmond, January 12, 1863.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the
Confederate States.

* * *

But it is especially in relation to the so-called blockade of our coast that the policy of European powers has been so shaped as to cause the greatest injury to the Confederacy and to confer signal advantages on the United States. The importance of this subject requires some development. Prior to the year 1856 the principles regulating this subject were to be gathered from the writings of eminent publicists, the decisions of admiralty courts, international treaties, and the usages of nations. The uncertainty and doubt which prevailed in reference to the true rules of maritime law in time of war, resulting from the discordant and often conflicting principles announced from such varied and independent sources, had become a grievous evil to mankind. Whether a blockade was allowable against a port not invested by land as well as by sea; whether a blockade was valid by sea if the investing fleet was merely sufficient to render ingress to the blockaded port ‘evidently dangerous,’ or whether it was further required for its legality that it should be sufficient ‘really to prevent access,’ and numerous other similar questions had remained doubtful and undecided.

Animated by the highly honorable desire to put an end ‘to differences of opinion between neutrals and belligerents, which may occasion serious difficulties and even conflicts’ (I quote the official language), the five great powers of Europe, together with Sardinia and Turkey, adopted in 1856 the following ‘solemn declaration’ of principles:

1. Privateering is, and remains, abolished.
2. The neutral flag covers enemy’s goods with the exception of contraband of war.

3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag.

4. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

Not only did this solemn declaration announce to the world the principles to which the signing powers agreed to conform in future wars, but it contained a clause to which those powers gave immediate effect, and which provided that the States not parties to the Congress of Paris should be invited to accede to the declaration. Under this invitation every independent State in Europe yielded its assent—at least, no instance is known to me of refusal; and the United States, while declining to assent to the proposition which prohibited privateering, declared that the three remaining principles were in entire accordance with their own views of international law. No instance is known in history of the adoption of rules of public law under circumstances of like solemnity, with like unanimity, and pledging the faith of nations with a sanctity so peculiar.

When, therefore, this Confederacy was formed, and when neutral powers, while deferring action on its demand for admission into the family of nations, recognized it as a belligerent power, Great Britain and France made informal proposals about the same time that their own rights as neutrals should be guaranteed by our acceding as belligerents to the declaration of principles made by the Congress of Paris. The request was addressed to our sense of justice, and therefore met immediate favorable response in the resolutions of the Provisional Congress of the 13th of August, 1861, by which all the principles announced by the Congress of Paris were adopted as the guide of our conduct during the war, with the sole exception of that relative to privateering. As the right to make use of privateers was one in which neutral nations

had, as to the present war, no interest; as it was a right which the United States had refused to abandon, and which they remained at liberty to employ against us; as it was a right of which we were already in actual enjoyment, and which we could not be expected to renounce *flagrante bello* against an adversary possessing an overwhelming superiority of naval forces, it was reserved with entire confidence that neutral nations could not fail to perceive that just reason existed for the reservation. Nor was this confidence misplaced, for the official documents published by the British Government, usually called ‘Blue Books,’ contained the expression of the satisfaction of that Government with the conduct of the officials who conducted successfully the delicate business confided to their charge.

Those solemn declarations of principle—this implied agreement between the Confederacy and the two powers just named—have been suffered to remain inoperative against the menaces and outrages on neutral rights committed by the United States with unceasing and progressive arrogance during the whole period of the war. Neutral Europe remained passive when the United States, with a naval force insufficient to blockade effectively the coast of a single State, proclaimed a paper blockade of thousands of miles of coast, extending from the capes of the Chesapeake to those of Florida, and encircling the Gulf of Mexico from Key West to the mouth of the Rio Grande. Compared with this monstrous pretension of the United States, the blockade known in history under the names of the Berlin and Milan decrees and the British orders in council, in the years 1806 and 1807, sink into insignificance. Yet those blockades were justified by the powers that declared them on the sole ground that they were retaliatory; yet those blockades have since been condemned by the publicists of those very powers as violations of international law; yet those blockades evoked angry remonstrances from neutral powers, among which the United States were the most conspicuous; yet those blockades became the chief cause of the war between Great Britain and the United States in 1812; yet those

blockades were one of the principal motives that led to the declaration of the Congress of Paris, in 1856, in the fond hope of imposing an enduring check on the very abuse of maritime power which is now renewed by the United States in 1861 and 1862, under circumstances and with features of aggravated wrong without precedent in history.

The records of our State Department contain the evidence of the repeated and formal remonstrances made by this Government to neutral powers against the recognition of this blockade. It has been shown by evidence not capable of contradiction, and which has been furnished in part by the officials of neutral nations, that the few ports of this Confederacy, before which any naval forces at all have been stationed, have been invested so inefficiently that hundreds of entries have been effected into them since the declaration of the blockade; that our enemies have themselves admitted the inefficiency of their blockade in the most forcible manner by repeated official complaints of the sale to us of goods contraband of war, a sale which could not possibly affect their interests if their pretended blockade was sufficient 'really to prevent access to our coast,' that they have gone farther and have alleged their inability to render their paper blockade effective as the excuse for the odious barbarity of destroying the entrance to one of our harbours by sinking vessels loaded with stone in the channel; that our commerce with foreign nations has been intercepted, not by effective investment of our ports, nor by the seizure of ships in the attempt to enter them, but by the capture on the high seas of neutral vessels by the cruisers of our enemies whenever supposed to be bound to any point on our extensive coast, without inquiry whether a single blockading vessel was to be found at such point; that blockading vessels have left the ports at which they were stationed for distant expeditions, have been absent for many days, and have returned without notice either of the cessation or renewal of the blockade; in a word, that every prescription of maritime law and every right of neutral nations to trade with a belligerent, under the sanction of principles heretofore universally

respected, have been systematically and persistently violated by the United States. Neutral Europe has received our remonstrances and has submitted in almost unbroken silence to all the wrongs that the United States have chosen to inflict on its commerce. The Cabinet of Great Britain, however, has not confined itself to such implied acquiescence in these breaches of international law as results from simple inaction, but has, in a published dispatch of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, assumed to make a change in the principle enunciated by the Congress of Paris, to which the faith of the British Government was considered to be pledged; a change too important and too prejudicial to the interests of the Confederacy to be overlooked, and against which I have directed solemn protest to be made, after a vain attempt to obtain satisfactory explanations from the British Government. In a published dispatch from Her Majesty's Foreign Office to her Minister at Washington, under the date of 11th of February, 1862, occurs the following passage:

Her Majesty's Government, however, are of opinion that, assuming that the blockade was duly notified, and also that a number of ships are stationed and remain at the entrance of a port sufficient really to prevent access to it, or to create an evident danger on entering it or leaving it, and that these ships do not voluntarily permit ingress or egress, the fact that various ships may have successfully escaped through it (as in the particular instance here referred to) will not of itself prevent the blockade from being an effectual one by international law.

The words which I have italicized are an addition made by the British Government of its own authority to a principle the exact terms of which were settled with deliberation by the common consent of civilized nations and by implied convention with this Government, as already explained, and their effect is clearly to reopen to the prejudice of the Confederacy one of the very disputed questions on the law of blockade which the Congress of Paris professed to settle. The

importance of this change is readily illustrated by taking one of our ports as an example. There is 'evident danger' in entering the port of Wilmington from the presence of a blockading force, and by this test the blockade is effective. 'Access is not really prevented' by the blockading fleet to the same port, for steamers are continually arriving and departing, so that tried by this test the blockade is ineffective and invalid. The justice of our complaint on this point is so manifest as to leave little room for doubt that further reflection will induce the British Government to give us such assurances as will efface the painful impressions that would result from its language if left unexplained.

From the foregoing remarks you will perceive that during nearly two years of struggle, in which every energy of our country has been evoked for maintaining its very existence, the neutral nations of Europe have pursued a policy which, nominally impartial, has been practically most favorable to our enemies and most detrimental to us. The exercise of the neutral right of refusing entry into their ports to prizes taken by both belligerents was eminently hurtful to the Confederacy. It was sternly asserted and maintained. The exercise of the neutral right of commerce with a belligerent whose ports are not blockaded by fleets sufficiently really to prevent access to them would have been eminently hurtful to the United States. It was complacently abandoned. The duty of neutral States to receive with cordiality and recognize with respect any new confederation that independent States may think proper to form was too clear to admit of denial, but its postponement was eminently beneficial to the United States and detrimental to the Confederacy. It was postponed.

In this review of our relations with the neutral nations of Europe it has been my purpose to point out distinctly that this Government has no complaint to make that those nations declared their neutrality. It could neither expect nor desire more. The complaint is that the neutrality has been rather nominal than real, and that recognized neutral rights

have been alternately asserted and waived in such manner as to bear with great severity on us, and to confer signal advantages on our enemy.

I have hitherto refrained from calling to your attention this condition of our relations with foreign powers for various reasons. The chief of these was the fear that a statement of our just grounds of complaint against a course of policy so injurious to our interests might be misconstrued into an appeal for aid. Unequal as we were in mere numbers and available resources to our enemies, we were conscious of powers of resistance, in relation to which Europe was incredulous, and our remonstrances were therefore peculiarly liable to be misunderstood. Proudly self-reliant, the Confederacy, knowing full well the character of the contest into which it was forced, with full trust in the superior qualities of its population, and superior valor of its soldiers, and superior skill of its generals, and above all in the justice of its cause, felt no need to appeal for the maintenance of its rights to other earthly aids, and it began and has continued this struggle with the calm confidence ever inspired in those who, with consciousness of right, can invoke the Divine blessing on their cause. This confidence has been so assured that we have never yielded to despondency under defeat, nor do we feel undue elation at the present brighter prospect of successful issue to our contest. It is, therefore, because our just grounds of complaint can no longer be misinterpreted that I lay them clearly before you. It seems to me now proper to give you the information, and although no immediate results may be attained, it is well that truth should be preserved and recorded. It is well that those who are to follow us should understand the full nature and character of the tremendous conflict in which the blood of our people has been poured out like water, and in which they have resisted, unaided, the shock of hosts which would have sufficed to overthrow many of the powers which, by their hesitation in according our rights as an independent nation, imply doubt of our ability to maintain our national existence. It may be, too, that if in future times unfriendly discussions not now anticipated shall

unfortunately arise between this Confederacy and some European power, the recollection of our forbearance under the grievances which I have enumerated may be evoked with happy influence in preventing any serious disturbance of peaceful relations.

It would not be proper to close my remarks on the subject of our foreign relations without adverting to the fact that the correspondence between the Cabinets of France, Great Britain, and Russia, recently published, indicate a gratifying advance in the appreciation by those Governments of the true interest of mankind as involved in the war on this continent. It is to the enlightened ruler of the French nation that the public feeling of Europe is indebted for the first official exhibition of its sympathy for the sufferings endured by this people with so much heroism, of its horror at the awful carnage with which the progress of the war has been marked, and of its desire for a speedy peace. The clear and direct intimation contained in the language of the French note, that our ability to maintain our independence has been fully established, was not controverted by the answer of either of the Cabinets to which it was addressed. It is indeed difficult to conceive a just ground for a longer delay on this subject after reading the following statement of facts contained in the letter emanating from the Minister of His Imperial Majesty:

There has been established, from the very beginning of this war, an equilibrium of forces between the belligerents, which has since been almost constant maintained, and after the spilling of so much blood they are to-day in this respect in a situation which has not sensibly changed. Nothing authorizes the prevision that more decisive military operations will shortly occur. According to the last advices received in Europe, the two armies were, on the contrary, in a condition which permitted neither to hope within a short delay advantages sufficiently marked to turn the balance definitively and to accelerate the conclusion of peace.

As this Government has never professed the intention of conquering the United States, but has simply asserted its ability to defend itself against being conquered by that power, we may safely conclude that the claims of this Confederacy to its just place in the family of nations cannot long be withheld, after so frank and formal an admission of its capacity to cope on equal terms with its aggressive foes, and to maintain itself against their attempts to obtain decisive results by arms.

* * *

Jefferson Davis.” (Compilation of Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

January 16, 1863

Document found in Turner-Baker papers

“This is to certify that on the 16th day of January eighteen hundred and sixty three personally appeared before the subscriber Thomas H Dudley United States Consul for Liverpool &c in Great Britain, the within named Robert Mure and did solemnly promise upon his sacred honor as a man, that in going to Charleston in South Carolina and returning therefrom and during the time he should continue or remain there or in any of the southern states and during the continuance of the Rebellion in the United States, that he would not engage in any hostile act or acts against the Government of the United States or give any information, assistance, aid, or comfort to the Rebels, or Insurgents, or those in Rebellion against the Government of the United States or any of them, or do any act or thing prejudicial to the Government of the United States.

Thomas H Dudley
U.S. Consul

I Robert Mure acknowledge that I gave my parole of honor before the United States Consul at Liverpool as stated and set out in the above certificate.

Dated January 16th, 1863

Robert Mure”

Document found in Turner-Baker papers

“Liverpool.

George Warren a citizen of the United States residing at Liverpool in England being duly sworn oath depose and say that he is personally acquainted with Robert Mure the person named in the annexed permit and that he was present at the Consulate and saw the said Mure give his parole of honor before the United States Consul, and that he knew it was the same person mentioned in and for whom said permit or pass is entered and that he the said Warren received the annexed permit or pass from the United States in due course of mail for said Mure and that he believes the same to be genuine.

Sworn & subscribed to before
Me at Liverpool the 16th
Day of January 1863

Geo Warren

Thomas H Dudley
U.S. Consul”

Document found in Turner-Baker papers

“Department of State,
Washington, 16th Feb. 1863

Major L. C. Turner,
Associate Judge Advocate,

Major,

I transmit, herewith a copy of a letter of the 13th instant from Gardner Brewer Esq of Boston, with the papers which accompanied it, relative to a

pass for Mr. Robert Mure who desires to proceed to Charleston, South Carolina.

I am, Major,
Your obedient servant,

William H. Seward”

January 24, 1863

“The French Iron-clad, ‘Normandie.’

La Normandie is here, the first iron-clad frigate that has ever been in these waters, and I have been on board of her to admire her great strength and make a note of all I might see. She came from the Bay of Sacrificios in four days, which is excellent time, and proves her to be a good sea-going vessel. Her shape is elliptical, being sharply pointed at either end. She is not at all what might be considered handsome, but quite otherwise in appearance. She carries eight guns on her upper and twenty-eight on her lower deck, each of which is shaped like a columbiad, though I should think none of them were of larger caliber than sixty-eight pounders. Each of her six decks is heavily plated on the under part, and considered bomb-proof. During her stay at Vera Cruz her crew suffered terribly from yellow fever. She went there with six hundred and fifty seamen and came away with only three hundred—leaving three hundred and fifty in their graves or in hospital. Her loss in officers was eight, including her captain,—M. de Russell—one of the most distinguished men in the navy of France. He had discharged important commissions in the Red Sea and other parts of the world; and, when the steamship Great Eastern was making such a ‘noise,’ he was sent to witness her trial trip, of which he made a minute and luminous report.—*Letter from Cuba.*” (The Scientific American, Jan. 24, 1863)

February 13, 1863

“Boston, Feb 13th 1863

Hon Wm H Seward,
Secretary of State,

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I have received from George Warren Esq. of Liverpool, the enclosed certified copy of the parole given by Mr Robert Mure. It was Mr. M's intention to leave for the United States about the first of February, the permission you so kindly granted him being 'so unexpected, that he could not sooner prepare to leave,' and he has requested me to forward this paper to you, that his pass may be prepared and in readiness for him on his arrival at Washington, that he may proceed on his journey without delay.

Very respectfully
Your obedient servant
[Signed] Gardner Brewer"

February 17, 1863

"Department of State
Washington, 17th February 1863.

Gardner Brewer Esq
Boston, Massachusetts.

Sir:

Your letter of the 13th instant with accompaniments, relative to a pass for Mr. Robert Mure has been received. In reply I have to inform you that a copy of your letter has been transmitted with the enclosures to Associate Judge Advocate Turner whose province it is to attend to such matters.

I am Sir,
Your obedient servant,
William H Seward"

February 18, 1863

"War Department
Washington City D.C.
Feby 18th 1863

Hon

William H Seward
Secy of State.

Sir:

I have the honor by direction of the Secy of War, to ask you if Mr. Robt Mure (late British Consul at Charleston) is the same person who was detained in carrying of a mail.

Mr. Mure is the person I am issuing a pass, as per your letter of the 16th inst.

I have the honor to be Sir
very respectfully

L. C. Turner
J.A.”

February 19, 1863

“Department of State.
Washington, 19th Feb., 1863.

To Major L. C. Turner,
Judge Advocate.

Major:

Your letter of yesterday has been received. For reply, I have to state that Mr. Robert Mure is the person who was detected in carrying a mail. In recommending, however, that he should be allowed to proceed to Charleston, for a peculiar purpose, and upon a special condition, I was well aware of his previous delinquency. As that recommendation was adopted, and Mr. Mure has been informed thereof, it may be a matter for consideration whether the faith of the Government is not pledged to allow him to proceed to Charleston upon the terms required.

I am, Major,
Your very obedient servant.

William H Seward”

March 29, 1863

“25 Rue Royale;,
Brussels, March 29, 1863.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:--

I read with interest and profitable instruction your excellent speech upon Continental affairs in the House of Commons.

I infer from that which I have seen in the Parliamentary Reports that Galway is to become a prominent Trans-Atlantic steam ship station. I congratulate you for the attainment of such a result.

From what I pick up here and there, derived from sources entitled to consideration, I am disposed to believe that the soi-disant United States seriously meditate a war with Great Britain. The Democrats, as a party, are ever more favorable to the inauguration of hostilities than the Republicans. Thus a war may be sprung upon you as suddenly and as unscrupulously as it was sprung upon the Confederate States. The North West has always wanted Canada and will fight resolutely for its acquisition. The clamor for 54° 40' on the Oregon partition, proceeded from that quarter and would have urged the President to accept no other line but for the counteracting influence of the South. New-York and Pennsylvania share the sentiments of the North-West with respect to Canada.

I was prepared for just such a speech from Lord Palmerston as that which he delivered on Friday. As a statesman he is in my estimation immeasurably “the foremost man of all the world.”

Please to retain the paper which I enclosed to you until we meet, which I hope will occur immediately after the termination of the Holy-days.

I could not be in better spirits than I am with respect to the future of the Confederate States. I feel as confident of _____ as I do of the Mississippi. I enjoy an absolute belief that we have no more serious disasters to experience.

Believe me, My Dear Mr. Gregory,

Always Yours Cordially,

A. Dudley Mann.”
(Emory University)

April 3, 1863

“New York 3 April 63

L. C. Turner Esq.
Judge Advocate
Washington D.C.
Dear Sir,

As the Secty of State handed you over the Duplicate of my Parole, and at your request I rendered up the Original with the accompanying correspondence touching the same, you will at once see the justice, and reasonableness of my now respectfully asking either the Original or duplicate returned to me here to care of my friends _____ Bankers Wall Street New York as a protection to myself as I am now situated. An early reply with oblige.

Yours respectfully

Robert Mure”

June 20, 1863

Eleanor Knickerbocker, widow of Luke S. Schultz, of Rhinebeck, New York, and mother of A.H. Schultz, in Matteawan (now Beacon), New York, dies. (Deaths, Marriages, and Much Miscellaneous from Rhinebeck, New York, Newspapers)

June 22, 1863

“3 Rue de' Avlou;
Brussels, June 22, 1863.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:--

Since the receipt of your last kind and interesting Letter I have been steadily endeavoring, from week to week, to depart from London. I have, however, been prevented from accomplishing my purpose by engagements, connected with my mission, which I could not with propriety disregard. The chances now are that I shall not be enabled to see you before the adjournment of Parliament.

Mr. Roebuck's motion, like those its similar predecessors, must, according to my belief, utterly fail in the House. I freely confess to you, that I am entirely indifferent to its success in the interests of my struggling country, in the interests of enlightened humanity, in the interests of the well being of Western Europe I long and ardently desired, that you government should recognize the fact of the independent existence of the Confederate States. I wished, indeed, with all my heart, that Great-Britain might be the very first nation of the earth to unconditionally acknowledge that fact. But for reasons, satisfactory to herself, she steadfastly declined to accord to us that justice to which, I most conscientiously believe, we were entitled when you originally introduced your motion upon the subject. It is not for me to criticize her policy, since it has found so ready a justification in the leaders, themselves, of the Opposition. A government that is amply justified at home can well afford to be disregarding of censure abroad. I am satisfied that Lord Palmerston has been perfectly well-intentioned, and I am equally satisfied that he has been hindered by embarrassments to which his power, large as it is, was unequal. Lord Derby was a "Lion on his path", to say nothing of the obstacles in his own official household or in the abolition section of his political family.

I console myself with the reflection, in the matter of the enormous wrongs to which the Confederate States have been subjected, that what Heaven has permitted it perhaps ordained for the consummation of a benign attainment. I believe that the hearts of our enemies were "hardened," and

adventitious governmental aid from abroad withheld from us, in order that we might humiliate those hearts as hearts were never humiliated before. I am, in fact, quite confident that this is the course of speedy recognition. I consider that we are already as good as masters of the situation. If I am not deceived by my apparently reasonable hopes, I seem by country moving onward to that eminence which will entitle her, at a day not remote, to be regarded as the Power, par excellence, of the Western Hemisphere. Depend upon it, before her army goes into winter quarters she will conquer as honorable a Peace as ever ratified by a Belligerent. In all coming time she will be esteemed as the nation of Cavaliers which overpowered three times the number of Yankees and foreign intervention.

You may be sure that I read with interest all you speak and write. You must have been a very hard-worker since you returned to England.

May I ask you to enclose me the article which my ___ wrote – or rather the manuscript? Do not pre-pay its postage.

Pardon me, nor consider me vain-glorious, I pray you, for expressing my opinions and views so freely to you. I religiously entertain them and I cannot, without dissembling, withdraw them from one who was his first good friend in Great-Britain's Parliament to my country and whom I much admire personally.

P.S. I have respectfully expressed my belief to you that Louis Napoleon never was animated by good intentions toward the Confederate States. – his long cherished Mexican policy precluded the possibility of his cordially working for their triumphant success. My confidence in King Leopold remains as implicit as ever.

The journals of this morning contain the _____. The Yankees will soon be more vociferous, if possible, for Peace than they ever were for war.

There is a remote probability that I will be enabled to get over before your body breaks up.

A.D.M.

[attached article]

‘—On rapporte qu’un philanthrope américain, M. Jewel, est venue de son pays pour soumettre au roi Léopold un Mémoire sur la guerre des Etats-Unis et supplier S M. de s’efforcer de mettre un terme à cette sanglante et stérile querelle en offrant sa médiation aux parties belligérantes.’”
(Emory University)

July 8, 1863

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote
[unknown]:

“Girard House Phila July 8th

My Dear Sir

Some three weeks ago, I found a couple of boxes of choice cigars at a store in Broadway, took one for myself & ordered the other sent to the Secretary with the Express Cos receipt in an envelope which I addressed.

Stepping in there yesterday the clerk handed me the enclosed receipt – instead of having forwarded it as I directed – I fear the Govt has not received the box, if so, please send a messenger with this & get it -

Faithfully & Truly Yours,,

A H Schultz”

July 29, 1863

Henry M. Neill, of Manchester, England, married to Mary L. Schultz, oldest daughter of Alexander H. Schultz of Fishkill in Christ Church,
_____, New York, by Rev. F. C. Ewer
(Arthur C.M. Kelly, transcriber, *Deaths, Marriages,*

and Much Miscellaneous from Rhinebeck, New York, Newspapers Vol. 2, 51 Marriages)

July 18, 1863

“War Department
Washington City, D.C.

July 18th 1863

Hon
William H Seward
Secy of State

Sir:

I have the honor, by direction of the Secy of War, to ask you if Mr. Robert Mure (late British Consul at Charleston) is the same person who was detained in carrying a mail.

Mr. Mure is the person issuing a pass, as per earlier letter of the 16th inst.

I have the honor to be Sir
very respectfully

L. C. Turner
J.A.”

November 13, 1863

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote
Frederick Seward:

“Philadelphia Nov 13 1863

My Dear Sir

I am the Managing Owner of a new & very beautiful side wheel steamer boat, 140 feet long & 22 feet beam, now building at Wilmington Delaware – She is to be launched in about a week. She will be very fast & very handsome. My wife and daughters have named her – and offer to furnish, and make her a full suit of colors if they are gratified.

But I dare not promise them the name without the consent of “the modest little State

Department” We are all residing for the winter at this House where I will be please to receive a line from you – I trust however it will not be prohibitory.

Sincerely yours,

A H Schultz
Girard House
Phila

Hon F. W. Seward
Washington
DC”

November 14, 1863

Frederick Seward wrote Alexander Hamilton Schultz:

“Washington, Novbr 14, 1863

My dear Captain

I have received your kind note of the 13th in regard to your new steamer. You do not tell me what the name is that Mrs. Schultz and your daughters propose to give her, but as you say, it need the consent of the State Department, I guess the name to be that of my father.

I have shown your note to him, and he desires me to say that he not only consents, but very gratefully appreciates the compliment, and heartily thanks you all.

Yours very truly,

F. W. Seward

Capt. A. H. Schultz
Girard House,
Philadelphia”

December 3, 1863

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote Frederick William Seward:

“Girard House Phila

Dec. 3rd 1863

Hon. F. W. Seward – Assistant Secretary of
State

Allow me to introduce to you my personal
friend, Mr. Theophilus C. Callicot, of Kings
County, N.Y. Mr. C. was the speaker of the
Assembly at Albany last year, and I desire to ask for
him a cordial welcome at Washington, and as many
of your offices as you can bestow.

Yours very truly,

A. H. Schultz”

December 7, 1863

“Richmond, Va., December 7, 1863

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the
Confederate States:

* * *

I regret to inform you that there has been no
improvement in the state of our relations with
foreign countries since my message in January last.
On the contrary, there has been a still greater
divergence in the conduct of European nations from
that practical impartiality which alone deserves the
name of neutrality, and their action in some cases
has assumed a character positively unfriendly.

You have heretofore been informed that by
common understanding that initiative in all action
touching the contest on this continent had been left
by foreign powers to the two great maritime nations
of Western Europe, and that the Governments of
these two nations had agreed to take no measures
without previous concert. The result of these
arrangement has, therefore, placed it in the power of
either France or England to obstruct at pleasure the
recognition to which the Confederacy is justly
entitled, or even to prolong the continuance of
hostilities on this side of the Atlantic, if the policy
of either could be promoted by the postponement of
peace. Each, too, thus became possessed of great

influence in so shaping the general exercise of neutral rights in Europe as to render them subservient to the purpose of aiding one of the belligerents to the detriment of the other. I referred at your last session to some of the leading points in the course pursued by professed neutrals which betrayed a partisan leaning to the side of our enemies, but events have since occurred which induce me to renew the subject in greater detail than was then deemed necessary. In calling to your attention the action of those Governments, I shall refer to the documents appended to President Lincoln's messages, and to their own correspondence, as disclosing the true nature of their policy and the motives which guided it. To this course no exception can be taken, inasmuch as our attention has been invited to those sources of information by their official publication.

In May, 1861, the Government of Her Britannic Majesty informed our enemies that it had not 'allowed any other than an intermediate position on the part of the Southern States,' and assured them 'that the sympathies of this country [Great Britain] were rather with the North than with the South.'

On the 1st day of June, 1861, the British government interdicted the use of its ports 'to armed ships and privateers, both of the United States and the so-called Confederate States,' with their prizes. The Secretary of State of the United States fully appreciated the character and motive of this interdiction when he observed to Lord Lyons, who communicated it, 'that this measure and that of the same character which had been adopted by France would probably prove a deathblow to Southern privateering.'

On the 12th of June, 1861, the United States Minister in London informed Her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs that the fact of his having held interviews with the Commissioners of this Government had given 'great dissatisfaction,' and that a protraction of this relation would be viewed by the United States 'as hostile in spirit, and

to require some corresponding action accordingly.’ In response to this intimation Her Majesty’s Secretary assured the Minister that ‘he had no expectation of seeing them any more.’

By proclamation issued on the 19th and 27th of April, 1861, President Lincoln proclaimed the blockade of the entire coast of the Confederacy, extending from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, embracing, according to the returns of the United States Coast Survey, a coast line of 3,549 statute miles, on which the number of rivers, bays, harbors, inlets, sounds, and passes in 189. The navy possessed by the United States for enforcing this blockade was stated in the reports communicated by President Lincoln to the Congress of the United States to consist of twenty-four vessels of all classes in commission, of which half were in distant seas. The absurdity of the pretension of such a blockade in face of the authoritative declaration of the maritime rights of neutrals made at Paris in 1856 was so glaring that the attempt was regarded as an experiment on the forbearance of neutral powers which they would promptly resist. This conclusion was justified by the facts that the Governments of France and Great Britain determined that it was necessary for their interests to obtain from both belligerents ‘securities concerning the proper treatment of neutrals.’ In the instructions which ‘confided the negotiation on this matter’ to the British Consul in Charleston, he was informed that ‘the most perfect accord on this question exists between Her Majesty’s Government and the Government of the Emperor of the French,’ and these instruction were accompanied by a copy of the dispatch of the British Foreign Office of the 18th May, 186, stating that there was no difference of opinion between Great Britain and the United States as to the validity of the principles enunciated in the fourth article of the declaration of Paris in reference to blockades. Your predecessors of the Provisional Congress had, therefore, no difficulty in proclaiming, nor I in approving, the resolutions which abandoned in favor of Great Britain and France our right to capture enemy’s property when covered by the flags of those powers. The

'securities' desired by these Governments were understood by us to be required from both belligerents. Neutrals were exposed on our part to the exercise of the belligerent right of capturing their vessels when conveying the property of our enemies. They were exposed on the part of the United States to interruption in their unquestioned right of trading with us by the declaration of the paper blockade above referred to. We had no reason to doubt the good faith of the proposal made to us, nor to suspect that we were to be the only parties bound by its acceptance. It is true that the instructions of the neutral powers informed their agents that it was 'essential under present circumstances that they should act with great caution in order to avoid raising the question of the recognition of the new Confederation,' and that the understanding on the subject did not assume, for that reason, the shape of a formal convention. But it was not deemed just by us to decline the arrangement on this ground, as little more than ninety days had then elapsed since the arrival of our Commissioners in Europe, and neutral nations were fairly entitled to a reasonable delay in acting on a subject of so much importance, and which from their point of view presented difficulties that we, perhaps, did not fully appreciate. Certain it is that the action of this Government on the occasion and its faithful performance of its own engagements have been such as to entitle it to expect on the part of those who sought in their own interests a mutual understanding the most scrupulous adherence to their own promises. I feel constrained to inform you that in this expectation we have been disappointed, and that not only have the governments which entered into these arrangements yielded to the prohibition against commerce with us which has been dictated by the United States in defiance of the law of nations, but that this concession of their neutral rights to our detriment has on more than one occasion been claimed in intercourse with our enemies as an evidence of friendly feeling toward them. A few extracts from the correspondence of Her Majesty's Chief Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will suffice to show marked encouragement to the United States to persevere in its paper

blockade, and unmistakable intimations that Her Majesty's Government would not contest its validity.

On the 21st of May, 1861, Earl Russell pointed out to the United States Minister in London that 'the blockade might no doubt be made effective, considering the small number of harbors on the Southern coast, even though the extent of 3,000 miles were comprehended in terms of that blockade.' On the 14th of January, 1862, Her Majesty's Minister in Washington communicated to his Government that, in extenuation of the barbarous attempt to destroy the port of Charleston by sinking a stone fleet in the harbor, Mr. Seward had explained 'that the Government of the United States had last spring, with a navy very little prepared for so extensive an operation, undertaken to blockade upward of 3,000 miles of coast. The Secretary of the Navy had reported that he could stop up the "large holes" by means of his ships, but that he could not stop up the "small ones." It had been found necessary, therefore, to close some of the numerous small inlets by sinking vessels in the channel.'

On the 6th of May, 1862, so far from claiming the rights of British subjects as neutrals to trade with us as belligerents, and to disregard the blockade on the ground of this explicit confession by our enemy of his inability to render it effective, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs claimed credit with the United States for friendly action in respecting it. His Lordship stated that 'the United States Government, on the allegation of a rebellion pervading from nine to eleven States of the Union, have now for more than twelve months endeavored to maintain a blockade of 3,000 miles of coast. This blockade, kept up irregularly, but when enforced, enforced severely, has seriously injured the trade and manufactures of the United Kingdom. Thousands are now obliged to resort to the poor rates for subsistence, owing to this blockade. Yet Her Majesty's Government have never sought to take advantage of the obvious imperfections of this blockade in order to declare it

ineffective. They have, to the loss and detriment of the British nation, scrupulously observed the duties of Great Britain toward a friendly State.’

Again, on the 22d of September, 1862, the same noble earl asserted that the United States were ‘very far indeed’ from being in ‘a condition to ask other nations to assume that every port of the coasts of the so-styled Confederate States is effectively blockaded.’

When, in view of these facts, of the obligation of the British nation to adhere to the pledge made by their Government at Paris in 1856, and renewed to this Confederacy in 1861, and of these repeated and explicit avowals of the imperfection, irregularity, and inefficiency of the pretended blockade of our coast, I directed our commissioner at London to call upon the British Government to redeem its promise and to withhold its moral aid and sanction from the flagrant violation of public law committed by our enemies, we were informed that Her Majesty’s Government could not regard the blockade of the Southern ports as having been otherwise than ‘practically effective’ in February, 1862, and that ‘the manner in which it has since been enforced gives to neutral governments no excuse for asserting that the blockade has not been efficiently maintained.’ We were further informed, when we insisted that by the terms of our agreement no blockade was to be considered effective unless ‘sufficient really to prevent access to our coast,’ ‘that the declaration of Paris was, in truth, directed against blockades not sustained by actual force, or sustained by a notoriously inadequate force, such as the occasional appearance of a man-of-war in the offing, or the like.’

It was impossible that this mode of construing an agreement so as to make its terms mean almost the reverse of what they plainly conveyed could be considered otherwise than as a notification of the refusal of the British Government to remain bound by its agreement or longer to respect those articles of the declaration of Paris

which had been repeatedly denounced by British statesmen and had been characterized by Earl Russell as 'very imprudent' and 'most unsatisfactory.'

If any doubt remained of the motives by which the British ministry have been actuated in their conduct, it would be completely dissipated by the distinct avowals and explanations contained in the published speech recently made by Her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs. In commenting on the remonstrances of this Government against the countenance given to an ineffective blockade, the following language is used:

It is said we have, contrary to the declaration of Paris, contrary to international law, permitted the blockade of 3,000 miles of American coast. It is quite true we did so, and the presumable cause of complaint is quite true, that although the blockade is kept up by a sufficient number of ships, yet these ships were sent into the U.S. Navy in a hurry, and are ill-fitted for the purpose, and did not keep up so completely and effectively as was required, an effective blockade.

This unequivocal confession of violation, both of agreement with us and of international law, is defended on grounds the validity of which we submit with confidence to the candid judgment of mankind.

These grounds are thus stated:

Still, looking at the law of nations, it was a blockade we, as a great belligerent power in former times, should have acknowledged. We ourselves had a blockade of upward of 2,000 miles, and it did seem to me that we were bound in justice to the Federal States of America to acknowledge that blockade. But there was another reason which weighed with me. Our people were suffering severely for the want of that material which was the main staff of their industry, and it was a question of self-interest whether we should not break the

blockade. But in my opinion the men of England would have been forever infamous if, for the sake of their own interest, they had violated the law of nations and made war, in conjunction with these slaveholding States of America, against the Federal States.

In the second of these reasons our rights are not involved, although it may be permitted to observe that the conduct of governments has not heretofore to my knowledge been guided by the principle that it is infamous to assert their rights whenever the invasion of those rights creates severe suffering among their people and injuriously affects great interests. But the intimation that relations with these States would be discreditable because they are slaveholding would probably have been omitted if the official personage who has published it to the world had remembered that these States were, when colonies, made slaveholding by the direct exercise of the power of Great Britain, who dependencies they were, and whose interests in the slave trade were then supposed to require that her colonies should be made slaveholding.

But the other ground stated is of a very grave character. It asserts that a violation of the law of nations by Great Britain in 1807, when that Government declared a paper blockade of 2,000 miles of coast (a violation then defended by her courts and jurists on the sole ground that her action as retaliatory), affords a justification for a similar outrage on neutral rights by the United States in 1861, for which no palliation can be suggested; and that Great Britain 'is bound, in justice to the Federal States,' to make return for the war waged against her by the United States in resistance of her illegal blockade of 1807, by an acquiescence in the Federal illegal blockade of 1861. The most alarming feature in this statement is its admission of a just claim on the part of the United States to require of Great Britain during this war a disregard of her recognized principles of modern public law and of her own compacts, whenever any questionable conduct of Great Britain, 'in former times,' can be cited as a precedent. It is not inconsistent with respect and

admiration for the great people whose Government have given us this warning, to suggest that their history, like that of mankind in general, offers exceptional instances of indefensible conduct 'in former times,' and we may well deny the morality of violating recent engagements through deference to the evil precedents of the past.

After defending, in the manner just stated, the course of the British Government on the subject of the blockade, Her Majesty's Foreign Secretary takes care to leave no doubt of the further purpose of the British Government to prevent our purchase of vessels in Great Britain, while supplying our enemies with rifles and other munitions of war, and states the intention to apply to Parliament for the furtherance of this design. He gives to the United States the assurance that he will do in their favor not only 'everything that the law of nations requires, everything that the present foreign enlistment act requires,' but that he will ask the sanction of Parliament 'to further measures that Her Majesty's ministers may still add.' This language is so unmistakably an official exposition of the policy adopted by the British Government in relation to our affairs that the duty imposed on me by the Constitution of giving you, from time to time, 'information of the state of the Confederacy,' would not have been performed if I had failed to place it distinctly before you.

I refer you for fuller details on this whole subject to the correspondence of the State Department which accompanies this message. The facts which I have briefly narrated are, I trust, sufficient to enable you to appreciate the true nature of the neutrality professed in this war. It is not in my power to apprise you to what extent the Government of France shares the views so unreservedly avowed by that of Great Britain, no published correspondence of the French Government on the subject having been received. No public protest nor opposition, however, has been made by His Imperial Majesty against the prohibition to trade with us imposed on French citizens by the paper blockade of the United States,

although I have reason to believe that an unsuccessful attempt was made on his part to secure the assent of the British Government to a course of action more consonant with the dictates of public law and with the demands of justice toward us.

* * *

For nearly three years this Government has exercised unquestioned jurisdiction over many millions of willing and united people. It has met and defeated vast armies of invaders, who have in vain sought its subversion. Supported by the confidence and affection of its citizens, the Confederacy has lacked no element which distinguishes an independent nation according to the principles of public law. Its legislative, executive, and judicial Departments, each in its sphere, have performed their appropriate functions with a regularity as undisturbed as in a time of profound peace, and the whole energies of the people have been developed in the organization of vast armies, while their rights and liberties have rested secure under the protection of courts of justice. This Confederacy is either independent or it is a dependency of the United States; for no other earthly power claims the right to govern it. Without one historic fact on which the pretension can rest, without one line or word of treaty or covenant which can give color to title, the United States have asserted, and the British Government has chosen to concede, that these sovereign States are dependencies of the Government which is administered at Washington. Great Britain has accordingly entertained with that Government the closest and most intimate relations, while refusing, on its demands, ordinary amicable intercourse with us, and has, under arrangements made with the other nations of Europe, not only denied our just claim of admission into the family of nations, but interposed a passive though effectual bar to the knowledge of our rights by other powers. So soon as it had become apparent by the declarations of the British Ministers in the debates of the British Parliament in July last that Her Majesty's Government was determined to persist indefinitely in a course of policy which under

professions of neutrality had become subservient to the designs of our enemy, I felt it my duty to recall the Commissioner formerly accredited to that Court, and the correspondence on the subject is submitted to you.

It is due to you and to our country that this full statement should be made of the just grounds which exist for dissatisfaction with the conduct of the British Government. I am well aware that we are unfortunately without adequate remedy for the injustice under which we have suffered at the hands of a powerful nation, at a juncture when our entire resources are absorbed in the defense of our lives, liberties, and independence, against an enemy possessed of greatly superior numbers and material resources. Claiming no favor, desiring no aid, conscious of our own ability to defend our own rights against the utmost efforts of an infuriate foe, we had thought it not extravagant to expect that assistance would be withheld from our enemies, and that the conduct of foreign nations would be marked by a genuine impartiality between the belligerents. It was not supposed that a professed neutrality would be so conducted as to justify the Foreign Secretary of the British nation in explaining, in correspondence with our enemies, how 'the impartial observance of neutral obligations by Her Majesty's Government has thus been exceedingly advantageous to the cause of the more powerful of the two contending parties.' The British Government may deem this war a favorable occasion for establishing, by the temporary sacrifice of their neutral rights, a precedent which will justify the future exercise of those extreme belligerent pretensions that their naval power renders so formidable. The opportunity for obtaining the tacit assent of European governments to a line of conduct which ignores the obligations of the declaration of Paris, and treat that instrument rather as a theoretical exposition of principle than a binding agreement, may be considered by the British ministry as justifying them in seeking a great advantage for their own country at the expense of ours. But we cannot permit, without protest, the assertion that international law or morals regard as

‘impartial neutrality’ the conduct avowed to be ‘exceedingly advantageous’ to one of the belligerents.

I have stated that we are without adequate remedy against the injustice under which we suffer. There are but two measures that seem applicable to the present condition of our relations with neutral powers. One is to imitate the wrong of which we complain, to retaliate by the declaration of a paper blockade of the coast of the United States, and to capture all neutral vessels trading with their ports that our cruisers can intercept on the high seas. This measure I cannot recommend. It is true that in so doing we should but follow the precedents set by Great Britain and France in the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the British orders in council at the beginning of the present century. But it must be remembered that we ourselves protested against those very measures as signal violations of the law of nations, and declared the attempts to excuse them on the ground of their being retaliatory utterly insufficient. Those blockades are now quoted by writers on public law as a standing reproach on the good name of the nations who were betrayed by temporary exasperation into wrongdoing, and ought to be regarded rather as errors to be avoided than as examples to be followed.

The other measure is not open to this objection. The second article of the declaration of Paris, which provides ‘that the neutral flag covers enemy’s goods, with the exception of contraband of war,’ was a new concession by belligerents in favor of neutrals, and not simply the enunciation of an acknowledged preëxisting rule like the fourth article, which referred to blockades. To this concession we bound ourselves by the convention with Great Britain and France, which took the shape of the resolutions adopted by your predecessors on the 13th of August, 1861. The consideration tendered us for that concession has been withheld. We have therefore the undeniable right to refuse longer to remain bound by a compact which the other party refuses to fulfill. But we should not forget that war is but temporary, and that we desire

that peace shall be permanent. The future policy of this Confederacy must ever be to uphold neutral rights to their full extent. The principles of the declaration of Paris commend themselves to our judgment as more just, more humane, and more consonant with modern civilization than those belligerent pretension which great naval powers have heretofore sought to introduce into the maritime code. To forego our undeniable right to the exercise of those pretensions is a policy higher, worthier of us and our cause, than to revoke our adherence to principles that we approve. Let our hope for redress rest rather on a returning sense of justice which cannot fail to awaken a great people to the consciousness that the war in which we are engaged ought rather to be made a reason for forbearance of advantage than an occasion for the unfriendly conduct of which we make just complaint.” (A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy)

1864

“Great Eastern, Steamer. This steamer was built at London and launched in the year 1859. She is estimated at 20,000 tons burthen, and is propelled by paddles on her sides and a screw at her stern. Her hull is made of iron: her masts are iron cylinders, and her main shrouds are composed of iron wire. Her length is 680 feet, and the breadth of beam 62 ½ feet.

This great ship, after leaving the Mersey, England, about 4 o’clock in the afternoon of Tuesday the 10th of September, bound to New York, proceeded all well until the afternoon of the following Thursday, by which time she was about 280 miles westward of Cape Clear. Then she was met by a fresh breeze, which speedily swelled into a hurricane of most destructive violence, yet seemingly but partial in its range.

At this time one of the forward boats broke from one of her davits, and hung suspended from the other. Efforts were made to secure the boat, but these proved unavailing, the captain ordered it to be cut away, at the same time directing the paddles to be stopped and the helm to be put down, to bring

the ship up in the wind, in order that the boat might drift clear of the wheel. The vessel did not answer her helm, but the boat fortunately went clear. The captain then directed several of the head sails to be hoisted for the purpose of bringing her head up, but they had hardly been set when they were blown to ribbons. Very shortly after that a terrific noise was heard in the engine-room, and on looking down, several large sheets of lead were seen knocking about with great violence from side to side. Just then a heavy sea struck the ship as she was lurching, and almost immediately after a grating noise was heard in the paddles. On examination, it was found that there were bent from their true position, and were scraping against the sides of the vessel. They, however, still continued to revolve, but the captain, fearing that they would tear holes in the sides of the ship, ordered them to be stopped, and trusted entirely to the screw to get the vessel on. During the whole of the remainder of the day the gale blew fearfully, the sea running mountains high, and the ship, not being able to head to, rolling frightfully. Things thus continued until the following morning, when it was found that the paddles had been broken clean away. It was at the same time discovered that the top of the rudder-post, a piece of iron 10 inches in diameter, had been smashed. The ship now lay quite helpless, like a log on the water, and tossing and rolling in the most alarming manner. On many occasions her decks were at an angle of 45 degrees. Crockery and culinary utensils went crashing about in all directions, chairs and tables were broken to pieces, chandeliers and mirrors were smashed to fragments, and the whole interior of the vessel presented one scene of utter confusion. Six of her boats were swept away, and two of those remaining were stove so as to be rendered completely useless. On Friday an attempt was made to turn the ship's head by the well known device of throwing overboard a heavy spar with a hawser attached to each end, the two hawsers being brought up on the opposite sides of the vessel. This was found to be entirely useless. On Saturday, after a thorough examination of the working parts of the rudder and the fracture of the post, Mr. Hamilton E. Towle, a civil engineer of Boston, Mass., a passenger,

suggested a plan for working the rudder and controlling the vessel.

The rudder of the Great Eastern weighs 30 tons, and instead of being attached to the ship in the ordinary way, by pintles, it is supported by a collar resting upon friction rollers, the lower end being stepped in a shoe which extends backwards from the bottom of the vessel. The arrangement is represented in the accompanying engravings, a being the rudder post of wrought iron, 10 inches in diameter, and c the supporting collar. This collar is of cast iron, and consists of a central sleeve fitting upon the rudder-post; a flat bottom plate, with a groove for the rollers, and six radiating flanges, 2 inches in thickness. It is 18 inches in height, of conical form, pretty closely resembling in shape a church bell. This conical collar is keyed to the rudder stern and secured by a massive nut, 15 inches in diameter and 12 inches in length, which is screwed on the post above the collar. It was just above this nut that the rudder stern was broken, the fracture extending downward into the nut. The idea occurred to Mr. Towle, that a large chain-cable might be wrapped around the collar and connected with pulleys, and in this way the rudder might be controlled. The objection to this plan was the small size of the collar, (2 feet 9 inches in diameter at the base and 15 inches at the top,) giving a very short lever to resist the tremendous power of the waves against the broad rudder. This difficulty he proposed to overcome by wrapping successive coils of cable around the collar until he had obtained a diameter sufficient to give him the leverage required. He examined the collar to see if the cable could be secured to it, and fortunately found holes some 3 inches in diameter through the bottom plate—a hole between each pair of the radial flanges. The plan formed was to place one end of each alternate link of a heavy cable between each pair of the radial flanges of the collar, and secure the link in place by lashing it with a smaller chain passed repeatedly through the holes and around the flange and link. He measured the several parts and then went down into the hold and measured the largest cable. The tiller was 18 feet long, and the chain provided to

operate it was ½ the size of the main cable, required a drum 4 feet in diameter, in order to give a length of lever proportioned to the strength of the cable. A drawing of the plan was prepared and submitted to the officers of the ship, and although opposed by the engineer, he was authorized by Capt. Walker to proceed with his efforts.

It was 5 o'clock in the evening when his operations commenced, the awful scenes on board the wallowing ship having continued for more than two days and nights. The first step was to screw back the nut to its place, which the engineer had attempted to remove for the purpose of securing the lower tiller to the rudder-post in its place. There was a wrench on board fitted to the nut, having projections entering holes drilled in the periphery of the nut. In conformity with all the proportions of the great ship, so massive was this wrench that, in order to handle it, it had to be slung by ropes from a timber overhead. Mr. Towle had the wrench swung in a proper position, with its outer end firmly lashed in lace, and then as the rudder was turning the proper way the wrench was pushed into its hold on the nut, when the onward turning of the rudder screwed the post up through the nut. As the rudder started to turn back in the opposite direction the wrench was removed. By three hours' labor in this matter the nut was screwed back to its place, the last turn carry away the lashing, and sending the wrench rattling along the iron deck. Meanwhile, Capt. Walker had accomplished the great task of moving the massive cable back to the stern. A hole was cut in the upper deck, the cable passed down, and then commenced the difficult labor of winding it upon the collar.

Besides the rolling of the ship, the rudder was constantly beaten by the waves, turning the collar back and forth with resistless power, and thrashing the massive cable about the iron deck. The chain, too, was enormously heavy, each link weighing some 60 pounds. But the strength, courage, and devotion of the men, overcame all obstacles. The first coil around the collar was secured by lashings of smaller chains, these being passed through the

holes in the bottom plate and around the flanges till the holes were filled with the chains. The second coil was secured in the same thorough manner to the first, and the third to the second, till a mass of chain, about 4 feet in diameter, was bound around the rudder. The ends of the cable were now carried around the two stout posts or bits, *bb*, figs. 1 and 2, which were provided for holding the stern cable in mooring the ship, and connected with tackle for taking up the slack, while smaller chains attached to the two parts of the cable leading from the rudder-post were connected through the tackle, *dd*, with the steering gear of the lower tiller.

At 3 A.M., Mr. Towle informed the engineer that he was ready to steer the ship, and requested that steam might be put on, and the screw turned. But all of the next day was lost in waiting for the engineer to test another plan of his own. This was a failure and all the labor was lost. It was then 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and the captain was again requested to Mr. Towle to order a few turns at least to be given to the screw. The order was given, and the great ship moved off, again under the perfect control of her commander's will. She swept around in a graceful circle, and then took up her course for Queenstown.

The paddle wheels were destroyed by the waves, the vessel was propelled by the screw alone, but she moved steadily on her course, and made nine knots an hour. During the voyage the steering apparatus required constant attention, great care being needed, especially to take up the slack in the main cable. If this became loose, a sudden turn of the rudder would snap off the smaller chain connected with the steering tackle, as if it were a piece of pack thread. The vessel arrived off Queenstown on Tuesday afternoon at 4 o'clock. On the arrival of the vessel, a meeting of the passengers was held, and resolutions passed complimentary to Mr. Towle, to whom also a good watch was presented." (The American Annual Cyclopædia and Register of Important Events of the year 1861. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1864)

February 15, 1864

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote William Henry Seward the following:

“Girard House
Phila Feb 15th

Dear Sir

The maiden trip of the “William H Seward” was made, as you will perceive by the enclosed, on Saturday – and she proved herself worthy of her distinguished name – the Press were not invited at all, as it was deemed politic not to make a display of any kind, but one of the fraternity came on board – I wish had omitted my name

Truly Yours

A H Schultz”

March 4, 1864

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote Frederick William Seward the following:

“Girard House
Philadelphia
March 4th 1864

My Dear Sir

I have been so busily engaged in purchasing and rebuilding prize steam ships, in the Port, and in building new steam boats that I have not had time to visit Washington for nearly a year – but will be there with my new & beautiful steam boat “Wm H. Seward” in the course of next week.

After a brief visit there, she will return & take her position at Fortress Monroe and I will have sufficient leisure to visit Europe again – You will remember that I was compelled by our Resident Ministers at Paris & London on my last trip there to return immediately with dispatches & the Slave Treaty by request of Her Majesty’s Government, and that you were kind enough to intimate that I should have another opportunity to go across the Atlantic and complete my visit –

My Daughter Mary (now Mrs Henry M Neill) will return from Italy to London on or about the 20th of April – there to be confined – some of our family ought to be there, and it has occurred to me that I may be of sufficient service to our Government to justify the State Department in sending me out from the 10th to 15th April – will you please assist me in consummating this for I really must go – and want no one to know it except the department & my immediate family-

Very truly yours
Your Obedient Servant

A H Schultz

Hon F. W. Seward
Washington”

May 5, 1864

“A. L. Derby, of New York; Capt. Schultz, Rev. Dr. Patton, and Dr. Airey, an English quack doctor, with an American diploma, were here to-day.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1864)

August 10, 1864

“Astor House
New York

New York Aug10, 1864

My Dear Sir

This will be handed to you by my particular friend (in all the relations of life! except Hood) Mr. Archibald Getty of Philadelphia. Mr. G visits Europe to meet his family who have been in Germany & at Vichy for the last year & a half. It is only _____ for me to say that Mr. Getty is one of the most prominent shipping merchants in Phila N.Y. & Boston and that he is the only gentleman I have taken the liberty of calling your Especial attention by a Letter of Introduction. Please tell Mrs. B. that I almost daily pass “the Squirrels” but never without a sigh for the wanderers.

Truly yours,

A H Schultz”

(Letter to John Bigelow received from Union College)

September 10, 1864

“Today’s Times announces the failure of Crosskey for £100,000! I am astonished he hung on so long. What will now become of his interesting and beautiful family of girls.” (Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1864)

October 11, 1864

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote Thurlow Weed the following, which was ultimately found in the papers of William Henry Seward:

“Girard House
Phila Oct 10th pm

Dear Sir

I have just seen “Co__ Mandell” who has been through 30 Counties in this State & just returned – He whispered to me that “Lincoln was President Sure” - & that this State would prove it tomorrow

But he does not want to be quoted.

Truly yours,

A H Schultz”

November 26, 1864

“JUDGMENT AGAINST THE “GREAT EASTERN” IN FAVOR OF MR. TOWLE

It will be remembered that the Great Eastern steamship, in September 1861, when two days out from Liverpool on her way to New York, met a violent gale, in the midst of which her rudder post twisted off, leaving her at the mercy of the waves, and that after floundering in the trough of the sea for two days, a steering apparatus was devised by one of the passengers, Mr. Hamilton E. Towle, an American civil engineer, by which the great ship

was rescued from her perilous situation. A narrative of the affair with an illustration of the apparatus was published on page 263, Vol. 5, Scientific American. The owners of the Great Eastern refusing to recognize in any way Mr. Towle's services, he commenced an action for salvage in the United States District Court, and attached the ship while she was in this harbor. The case was decided on the 12th inst., in favor of Mr. Towle. The decision rendered by Judge Shipman was an elaborate discussion of the law of salvage, concluding as follows:-

“The authorities cited show that the officers and crew, pilots and passengers all may become salvors when they perform services to the ship, in distress beyond the line of their duty. The duties of passengers are much more circumscribed than those of sailors or pilots; and it would seem that all the law imposes upon them is to assist in the ordinary manual labor of working and pumping the ship, under the direction of those in command of her. If they assume extraordinary responsibilities, and devise original and independent means by which the ship is saved, after her officers have proved themselves powerless, I see no reason, and know of no authority that prohibit them from being considered as salvors. I think it follows, from the principles laid down by the authorities,

“1. That a passenger on board ship can render salvage service to that ship when in distress at sea.

“2. That in order to do this he need not be first personally disconnected from the ship; but

“3. That these services, in order to constitute him a salvor, must be of an extraordinary character and beyond the line of his duty, and not mere ordinary services, such as pumping and aiding in working the ship by usual and well-known means.

“That the services of the libellant in the present case were of an unusual character cannot be

denied. After the officers of the ship had exhausted their means of getting control of the rudder, he devised, and with the aid of a large number of men put under his directions by the captain, executed a plan which, in the judgment of this court, was the efficient means of rescuing this great vessel from peril. The whole work of accomplishing this result was entrusted to him and to his directions. If it is said that he got his main idea of the plan he carried out, from witnessing an experiment of the engineer, which, I doubt, still the effort of that officer had entirely failed and was an abandoned experiment. The merit of the libellant in overcoming the obstacles which had proved insurmountable to the engineer is, in my judgment, enhanced rather than diminished by the unsuccessful effort of the latter. That the service rendered by the libellant was a very difficult one, is proved by the fact that the able and accomplished officers of this ship had failed to accomplish the result which he finally secured. They had spent two days of fruitless effort, though stimulated by motives as powerful as can be addressed to the minds of men. It required no little moral courage for this libellant to interpose the unscrewing of the nut on the rudder-shaft, and then assume the responsibility of a new and different experiment, which would consume precious time, and might thus produce appalling consequences. Had he failed, the consequences to him would have been injurious and humiliating. The whole circumstances of the case are so extraordinary as to leave no doubt in my mind that the services which he performed were wholly beyond his duty as a passenger, and therefore entitle him to salvage compensation.

“In fixing the amount of compensation, it must be considered that, though the service was one of conspicuous merit and the amount of property saved large, yet the personal danger encountered by the libellant was not very great; and the only things contributed by him were personal skill and labor. He supplied no materials and risked no property, though his labors were protracted and exhausting. On the other hand, he rescued the ship from great peril by his own ingenuity, courage and skill. That

the peril of the ship was great, and her position critical in the judgment of her commander, is evident from the fact that he entrusted to this stranger a work upon the success of which her salvation depended, and which for nearly two days had utterly baffled him and his engineers. The case is so novel a one, in all its leading features, that little light can be derived from precedents to guide me in fixing the amount to be awarded; but I have concluded, on the whole, to allow fifteen thousand dollars. Let a decree be entered for the libellant for that amount, plus costs.”

As the agents of the ship were obliged to give bonds before she was allowed to leave the harbor, Mr. Towle will probably have no difficulty in collecting his \$15,000.” (*Scientific American*, Nov. 26, 1864, Vol. XI – No. 22, page 34)

March 3, 1865

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote William Henry Seward the following:

“Girard House
Phila March 3d/65

My Dear Sir

Immediately after receiving your note of yesterday I called upon the Consigners of the “I.W. Harvis” and learned that she left _____ on the 28th January & at this time of the year the usual passage is 60 days – but they hope she will arrive before the 28th of March

I will with great pleasure attend to having the casks, and the _____ promptly landed, passed through the Customs House, and immediately forward them by Adams Express

Truly Your obt Servant

A H Schultz”

March 22, 1865

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote George Ellis Baker the following, which was located in the papers of William Henry Seward:

“Girard House
Phila March 22

My Dear Baker

The vessel arrived this morning, but will not commence unloading until Monday. The articles for the Governor will be promptly sent you may be assured.

Her early arrival was quite unexpected by Mr Scattergood. All well.

Truly yours,

A H Schultz”

April 5, 1865

William Henry Seward injured in carriage accident.

Alexander Hamilton Schultz sent a telegram from Philadelphia to Frederick William Seward:

“To F. W. Seward
Asst Secy State Department

What can I do. Command me by Telegraph.

A H Schultz
Girard”

April 10, 1865

Frederick William Seward wrote Alexander Hamilton Schultz the following:

My Dear Sir

I have received the telegram from New York advising me that you have sent a box of choice cigars to my father – for which I thank you heartily in his name. You will _____ pleasure today in knowing that the critical period is now believed to have passed, and _____ all respects a decided

improvement – although his injuries are still very
_____ & _____ likely to be _____

Yours very truly

F W S

Capt. Alex H Schultz
Girard House
Philadelphia”

April 11, 1865

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote
Frederick William Seward the following:

“Girard House
Phila April 22th PM

My Dear Sir

I was excessively frightened by the Tribune
in two places or paragraphs _____terating the
dangerous condition of the Secy. On my arrival here
however this evening I was much relieved by your
kind note of yesterday – I have selected this evening
half dozen boxes Guava _____ - two small boxes
fine figs = I dozen bananas, & all the grapes I could
find in the confectionary store & will send them in a
package by Adams Express Co tomorrow - &
anything else that you may think of. That will be
light, but pleasant and nutritious, please advise me
early by telegraph of any other delicacy that I may
add to the box

To relieve the apprehensions of my family
from the sufferings I underwent this morning I have
just mailed them yours of yesterday

Truly yours,

A H Schultz

F.W. Seward Esq”

April 13, 1865

Frederick William Seward writes Alexander Hamilton Schultz the following:

“My dear Sir

We are under many obligations to you for your kind efforts to alleviate the suffering & hasten the recovery of my father. I am glad to be able to relay that his condition appears to be gradually improving from day to day, though he has still suffers much pain.

Very truly yours,

F. W. S.

Capt. A. H. Schultz
Girard House
Philadelphia”

August 20, 1865

Alexander Hamilton Schultz wrote Frederick William Seward the following:

“Phila Aug 20th 1865

My Dear Sir

I saw by the papers of Friday morning that the Secy had arrived at Cape May. In less than an hour I was in the down train on my way to the Cape = at Phila – Just as I was leaving in the _____ Boat Saturday morning I saw Mr Cattell who told me that you had all gone home & of course I returned to my Hotel the Girard House, & will tomorrow return to my residence at “Fishkill Landing” I have not been well of late being troubled with a disease of some kind in the heart but it will I trust soon pass away – if not, I must go to the sea again – I was so much provoked by a paragraph in the Evening Post last week, that I wrote the enclosed rejoinder it was immediately copied in the Newburgh & Pokeepsie papers – and suppose it will run the rounds of the Country press – on my way through N.Y. on Friday I stopped to see Mr Weed & found him in Queer Company, closely closeted with Major _____ Butler

Very truly yours

A H Schultz

Hon F W Seward”

September 24, 1865

Margaret Evans, wife of Captain Alexander H. Schultz formerly of this town died in Fishkill of congestive fever. (Much Misc. from Rhinbeck, New York Newspapers 1846-1899, Vol. 1, Deaths)

October 1, 1865

Found in the papers of William Henry Seward the following printed document with handwritten notation:

“Died.

At Highland Grove, Fishkill on the Hudson, N.Y., October 1st, 1865, Mrs. ALEXANDER H. SCHULTZ.

The relatives and friends of the family are invited to attend the funeral on Wednesday morning, at 8 o'clock, from her late residence.

My Dear Sir

The above notice will tell you more than my pen could at this time of my great & irreplaceable loss.

Truly yours

A H Schultz”

October 3, 1865

“Schultz.—At Highland Grove, Fishkill on the Hudson, on Sunday, October 1, Margaret, wife of A. H. Schultz.

The funeral will take place from her late residence, on Wednesday morning, at eight o'clock.” (New York Herald, Oct. 3, 1865)

“DEATH OF MRS. SHULTZ.

MARGARET EVANS, wife of Capt. ALEXANDER H. SHULTZ, died at Fishkill on Sunday night, of congestive fever. Though for many years in delicate health, the deceased lady had a few days of illness so serious as to occasion apprehension. The blow, therefore, fell as suddenly as heavily upon a bereaved and afflicted family. Mrs. SHULTZ, as a wife and mother, was beloved and honored as the best of wives and mothers ought to be beloved and honored. Her household was bound together by the ties of affection. Indeed, Mrs. SHULTZ was more than an ordinary mother, for she was, in the broadest sense, the mother of orphans, nurturing, cherishing and loving them as she did her own children. Two daughters, arriving from England but a few days since, had the satisfaction, by their presence and attentions, of solacing the last hours of a dying parent.” (New York Times, Oct. 3, 1865)

October 24, 1865

“Neill—On Sunday, October 22, Hamilton, infant son of Henry M. Neill, and grandson of Alexander H. Schultz.

Funeral this (Tuesday) after, at two o’clock, from the family residence, at Fishkill Landing.” (New York Herald, Oct. 24, 1865)

December 7, 1865

Donations to the Orphans Homestead:

“Subscribers from Matteawan:

* * *

I.M. Schultz	5.00
Harriet Schultz	5.00”

(The Fishkill Standard, Dec. 7, 1865)

December 16, 1865

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes to Frederick William Seward:

“Highland Grove,
Fishkill on the Hudson.
New York.

Decr 16th 1865

My Dear Sir

In order to bridge over a space of time, and to while away a couple of months – or more if necessary, I want to go to England, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany & Switzerland, or almost anywhere else where I may be sufficiently useful to justify the department in paying my expenses and a remuneration commensurate with the service I may render, and that will not exceed the extra expenses of an American gentleman travelling in Europe – I wanted to go to India, but the remnant of my family will only consent to an European voyage under your protection = the unexpected death of my wife on Sunday Oct 1st, my grandson on Sunday Oct 15th and my youngest brother (our adopted son) at Baltimore Sunday on the 29th of that ill fated month seems to coerce me to seek the ease and _____ a sea voyage only can give. I will await as early an answer as you can send me by letter here, or telegraph to “Girard House Philadelphia until 19th inst as I shall return from there that day.

I can leave for Europe at any time in January

–

With many thanks – for your life long friendship, I am truly your obedient servant

A. H. Schultz

Hon F. W. Seward
Washington”

March 1, 1866

“We are gratified to hear from a friend just returned from Philadelphia, that our neighbor Capt. Schultz has so far recovered from his late illness, as to leave his room and house, in which he has been confined since December last. We hope he will soon return to his home here.” (The Fishkill Standard, March 1, 1866)

April 12, 1866

“To let: the residence of Capt. A. H. Schultz, Fishkill Landing, for one year, from the first of

May. Apply on the premises.” (The Fishkill Standard, April 12, 1866)

May 31, 1866

“Secretary Seward sent a letter dated April 17, 1866, thanking Commodore Vanderbilt for the generous gift of the steamer Vanderbilt during the late war, and forwarding the gold medal authorized by Congress, saying that the Commodore could not fail to cherish the proud consciousness of having rendered his country a signal service at a critical period on its history. – Philadelphia Press. . . . The simple truth is, that after our Government concluded that it could no longer afford to pay \$2,000 a day for the Vanderbilt, she having earned back her original cost, the Commodore made a great flourish of his generosity, and it was soon reported that his patriotism was at such a fever heat, that he made the Government a present of his magnificent namesake! –TRUXTON.” (The Fishkill Standard, May 31, 1866)

June 28, 1866

“Lost somewhere in Matteawan, on Sunday afternoon last, June 24th, a roll of bank bills, consisting of a \$500 bill on the Western National Bank, six \$10 National Bank Bills, and some smaller ones, in all about \$567. A \$50 reward will be bpaid to the finder by leaving the same at the Standard office, or with Geo. W. Evans, Matteawan.” (The Fishkill Standard, June 28, 1866)

July 17, 1866

Alexander Hamilton Schultz writes to Frederick William Seward:

“Girard House
Phila July 17, 1866

My Dear Sir

The enclosed letter just received from Mr. Farrell will tell its own story – I remit it to you with the single remark that we were wrecked together on the Great Eastern & became warm friends = My acquaintance however with Capt Slaght has been much longer and I would not impair his strength – I leave for Cape May this morning for a day or two, & wish I could see you there.

Truly yours,

A. H. Schultz

Hon. F. W. Seward”

[Enclosure]

“Balt Md. July 14th/66

My very dear Friend

It is my intention to spend from Monday to Thursday at Washington City. My address there care of “New York Times Office 14th__” – & will call at Ebbitt Huse while there, in hopes that the weather will admit of your presence as it will gratify me exceedingly there, and then, to commune and ‘Loud Think’ with you. In relation to the Glasgow or Halifax Consulship, my reflection thereon, impresses me with the belief that I could benefit myself and serve the Country with credit, satisfaction and reputation, if I am honored with the position. I will now recapitulate my endorsements which are at my command, to place before the Honble Sec of State.

1st From N.Y. where my house & business identifications have been from 1840 to 1861.

2nd From Maryland - as in this City with my marriage identifications with the daughter of the late Comm^e Daniels, I have at my command Senator Johnson & the friends of Mr Seward & the administration in this City and State.

3rd I have the Missouri Delegation at and now at Washington, both from the Senate and the House.

4th I have the favor & endorsement of the Press – of which I am an honorary member.

5th The Banks, Bankers, Merchants & representatives men of Washington City – which has been my home for four years past. And 5th and

last, tho not least, as the friend nay almost the adopted child, of the late venerated Bishop Hughes, holding the confidential position to him of Treasurer of St Stephens Church of N.Y. for four years – I have at my command the endorst of the Hierarchy of the Church at N.Y. N. Jersey Maryland. Bishop Wood of Phila and all of the clergy at Washington Georgetown ___ and there are no better friends of the Honible Sec of State & the Conservation principals of which he is the representative than these gentlemen – in addition to all there may valued friend Senator Doolittle & ___ Randall & their friends – are my warm endorsements.

As a merchant at N.Y. for 15 years, my business gave me large & various experiences in the British & European trade having in pursuance thereto crossed the Atlantic 12 times within the last 15 years; the trade of Glasgow Liverpool London, Manchester & Belfast are as familiar to me as that of N.Y. – and myself & family are not strangers to the Dept of State. My wife’s uncle, was Consul at Cork from 1834 to 1848 – up to his death – his name John Murphy, a native of this City and my own Brother – in – law, and former partner in business – John Higgins – was Consul at Cork & Belfast during Mr Pierce & Mr Buchanan’s administration – and resigned of his own free will. Their record is first class in the Department – and Mr Hunter knows me, and all of my family well and favorably.

If all this – would give me hope of the honor of Mr Seward’s confidence I would wait on him with my credentials, and all I ask of you, is to save me from the deceiving of myself – in any effort that might prove futile.

My record at the White House is on file there and I have been assured by Mr Cooper, Sec of the President is entirely satisfactory to the Executive. Write me or telegraph me if you’re coming to Washington – “care of NY Times Office” any day up to Thursday next.

And believe me
Sincerely & Truly yours,

Jos. Farrell

Capt. Schultz
Phila

Excuse my calligraphy Thermometer 94.”

October 19, 1866

“Evans.—On Wednesday, October 17,
Lemuel G. Evans, in the 57th year of his age.

The relatives and friends of the family are respectfully invited to attend the funeral, from the residence of his father-in-law, James B. Oakley, Esq., No. 526 Hudson street, on Saturday afternoon, at one o'clock.” (New York Herald, Oct. 19, 1866)

April 30, 1867

Alexr H Schultz, aged 63, died April 30, 1867, cause of death “debility.” Attending physician, Samuel Davis. Occupation, boat captain. Born New York. Residing at 1859 Merian Street, 20th Ward. Buried May 3, 1867, in New York (Registration of Deaths in the City of Philadelphia p. 113); But see, Alexander H. Schultz died April 30, 1867 in Philadelphia, buried family vault in Rhinebeck Methodist cemetery (Much Misc. from Rhinebeck, New York Newspapers, 1846-1899 – Vol. 1, Deaths)

May 2, 1867

“Obituary.
Alexander H. Schultz.

Capt. Alexander H. Schultz, a native of Rhinebeck, Dutchess County, N.Y., died on Tuesday last in Philadelphia after a protracted illness. Capt. Schultz was the architect of his own fortune. Early in life he left his home and went to reside in Utica, and thence move to Rochester and subsequently to Buffalo. He was first engaged in the steam passenger business and then became interested in canal packet boats. For fifteen years he was captain of a steamboat plying between New Brunswick, Amboy and this City. Subsequently, he ran for Alderman of the Fifth Ward, was successful and held the office for several years. Gov. Seward, of whom he was a warm personal friend, conferred

on him the office of Harbor Master, for the duties of which he was peculiarly well adapted.

Of a warm and impulsive nature the death of his wife greatly affected his health and spirits, and no doubt hastened his own end. He leaves several children and a large number of friends to deplore his loss.

For the last four years of his life Capt. Schultz acted as confidential agent for the Government and residing during great part of that time abroad.” (New York Times, May 2, 1867)

“Schultz.—At his residence, in Philadelphia, on Tuesday, April 30, A. H. Schultz, for many years a resident of this city.” (New York Herald, May 2, 1867)

May 4, 1867

“We record the decease of Alexander H. Schultz, who died in Philadelphia on Tuesday. Until a few months since, he had long been a resident of this vicinity, and enjoyed the friendship of all who knew him. His letters, under the nom de plume of “TRUXTON,” which have so pleased our readers, were discontinued recently on account of his failing eyesight. Capt. Schultz was a native of Rhinebeck, first engaged in the state passenger business and then he became interested in canal packet boats. For fifteen years, he was captain of a steamboat plying between New Brunswick, Amboy, and New York city. He was an Alderman for several years, and appointed Harbour Master. During the last four years of his life, Capt. Schultz acted as a confidential agent for the government, and resided during that time, a great deal aboard.”

● * *

Died in Philadelphia, April 30th, Alexander H. Schultz, in the 63rd year of his age. The remains were taken to Rhinebeck for interment.” (The Fishkill Standard, May 4, 1867)

March 24, 1868

“17 Bulevard de la Madeleine

Paris, March 24, 1868.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:

My son conveys this to you. About seven years ago I had the pleasure of introducing him to your acquaintance, which he subsequently led the honor to renew at Brussels.

I received your affectionate letter of July, and duly acknowledged it in one which I addressed to you introducing _____ Derby, the son-in-law of Gen. Preston of Carolina, but you were not in London during his stay there and he brought it back.

There are but few persons on earth whom I am so anxious to have a conversation with as yourself. My deep interest in you, a gratitude for the past, can never cease.

The times are more strangely eventful on the other side of the Atlantic than ever. A break up of the un-reconstructed Union, at a day not distant, is enevitable. I clearly foresee, at last, such a result. The good of civilization requires it. If the “Infernals” were to succeed in establishing negro supremacy in the South the reaction upon your system and every other system which comes at public order, would be too powerful for successful resistance. Universal Suffrage in the British realm would be the off-shoot of such supremacy. Mr. Bright, perhaps, desires such a consummation. “Behold,” he might say, “the late ignorant and illiterate slave in America has more liberty than the worthy, free-born, white men, in Great-Britain.” What a theme for introducing agitation!

The South will, doubtless, find a verdict against President Johnson. There will be no armed resistance to his removal. The “Infernals” with Gen. Grant as their Chief, will succeed in all probability with the votes of the negro controlled Southern States, in overturning a majority of the Electoral College. If the Conservatives have a majority of the Electors of the States at present represented in

Congress, as I think they will, they will oppose, *vi et armis*, the installation on the 4th of March of Gen. Grant. A civil war will then inevitably course on the Northern States, and those of the West will drop out of the Union, one after another. The Southern States, headed by Kentucky and Maryland, will affirmatively re-unite, and establish their independence.

I have a confident belief that there now is hastening when your countrymen will applaud your sagacity for urging the recognition of the Confederate States seven years ago. – I have been studiously silent, since our overthrow, but certainly observant.

A word more – *inter nos*. Lord Stanley has but to resolute. I trust, in the matter of our recognition as a Belligerent, as well as in the case of the Alabama, he will yield nothing that affects the dignity of England, and that is not strictly right. He should not suffer himself to be hastened, by any display, of an attempt at pressure by Mr. Seward. Delay will favor him.

Pardon, I pray you, My Dear Mr. Gregory, the hurried glance at public affairs written just as my son is leaving. May I venture to congratulate you, upon the cultivity of an item, which I observed recently, _____ among the fashionable notices?

Believe me always Yours Cordially
Ambrose Dudley Mann.
(Emory University)

June 28, 1868

“17 Boulevard de la Madeline,
Paris, June 28, 1868.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:--

I know you too well to suppose that you will be annoyed at the request which I am about to make of you.

Four of the noblest Southern female hearts are now in London:-- Miss Harper, Miss Horsey, and Miss Carroll of Maryland, and Miss Mason of Virginia. These ladies are endowed to me by the strongest ties of gratitude, for their untiring devotion, throughout the war, to the bleeding heroes of our lost cause. There is a sublimity in contemplating such soothing deeds as they performed, from time to time, -- yea, from hour to hour -- during the terrible conflict. They were little less than ministering angels, to the wounded and distressed. In addition to this they enjoy the very highest consideration for their perfect worth of character and enlarged general intelligence, in every circle, at home and aboard, in which they move. -- I may remark that they have been upon the Continent for the last twelve months.

Now for the favor I have to ask: These ladies delicately intimated to me their wish, to see, during their short sojourn in your metropolis, Parliament in session. Can you arrange for a suitable opportunity, to indulge their credible and very natural curiosity? If the number be too large, perhaps Sir James Ferguson, Mr. Burch-Osbourne, and Mr. Thompson Hankey -- who were so kind and obliging to me in by-gone years,-- will assist you. -- Their address is Crowley's "York Hotel," Albermarle Street, -- directly opposite my old lodings.

Thanking you in advance for your attentions, believe me, my Dear Mr. Gregory,

Your Faithful and Dutiful Friend,
Ambrose Dudley Mann.

W. H. Gregory Esq.
M.P.
etc. etc. etc.

Pray remember your promise when you come to Paris."
(Emory University)

1869

“Cobh (Queenstown) Maritime Site
St Colman’s Cathedral

The cathedral is the principal church of the Diocese of Cloyne (Roman Catholic denomination; present Bishop is Dr Magee). The cathedral is named after St Colman (522-604) who is the patron of the Diocese. It was built over the period 1868-1919. The architecture is in the French Gothic style and the architects were Pugin, Ashlin and Coleman. The carillon and clock were installed in 1916. The carillon now consists of 49 bells and covers a range of 4 octaves. The statute on the roof of the south transept (facing towards the harbour) is that of Our Lady, Star of the Sea and was erected by grateful passengers of the Great Eastern who survived a terrible storm in September 1861 – the Great Eastern took refuge in the outer harbour on route from Liverpool to New York.”

www.iol.ie/~noelray/cobh/Colman.html

1872

“Neill Brothers & Co. cotton, 134 Pearl”
(Boyd’s New York State Directory 1872)

“American Consulate – Thomas H. Dudley, consul;
Henry Wilding, vice consul; Edward Dudley,
deputy consul; 69 Tower buildings; Water street W”
(The Commercial Directory and Shippers’ Guide.
1872. Fourth Edition)

February 5, 1873

Mary Catherine Lowber dies in Liverpool, Sub-District of Mount Pleasant in the County of Lancaster, England. Her address was 34 Canning Street, she was a 62 year old female, wife of Daniel Lowber, Iron Merchant. Her cause of death was pneumonia. Her death was reported by Martha Colsille (sp), “in attendance” at 34 Canning Street.

October 2, 1879

Daniel C. Lowber dies, aged 69 years. His son-in-law is Henry M. Neill, his sister Mrs. S. G. Evans, Tremont New York (New York Post, Oct. 3, 1879)

June 1, 1880

Census is taken in the City of New Orleans, in the County of Orleans. Residing at 90 North Carondelet Street, is Henry M. Neill, white male aged 50, a cotton merchant, born in Ireland, with both parents born in Ireland; Mary L. Neill, white female aged 42, his wife, whose occupation was keeping house, who was born in New York, whose father was born in New York and whose mother was born in Wales; William Neill, a white male aged 22, a son, _____, born in Alabama, whose father was born in Ireland and mother born in New York; James W. Neill, a white male aged 21, son, _____ born in Alabama, whose father was born in Ireland and mother born in New York; Henry H. Neill, a white male aged 22, a son, at school, born in Louisiana, whose father was born in Ireland and mother born in New York; Harriet Schultz, a white female, aged 38, a sister-in-law, at home, born in New York, whose father was born in New York and mother born in Wales; Henry Thompson, a black male, aged 35, a servant, born in Mississippi, whose father was born in Kentucky and whose mother was born in Kentucky; Margaret Raymond, a black female, aged 25, a servant, born in Louisiana, whose parents were born in the South; and Katherine _____, a white female, aged 25, a servant, born in Ireland and whose father and mother were born in Ireland. (New Orleans Census, Roll 463 Book 1, Page 414 from myfamily.com)

August 28, 1880

Lewis Gale, former mail agent of Rhinebeck & Connecticut Railroad, now of Harlem Railroad, married to Mrs. Maggie Traver, daughter of Captain Schultz of Rhinebeck, New York, by Rev. J. Buxton, Methodist Church pastor (Deaths, Marriage and Much Misc. from Rhinebeck, New York Newspapers 1846-1899 – Vol. 2, Marriages)

September 5, 1881

“Deaths.

* * *

On the 2d Sept., at Hillside, Belvedere-road, Upper Norwood, Hamilton Ela Towle, C.E., of New York, aged 48 years.” (London *Times*, Sept. 5, 1881)

December 13, 1889

“Expatriated and Forgotten.

From the Philadelphia Ledger Dec. 6.

There died the other day in Paris, in his ninetieth year, and with mental faculties unimpaired, an American of the name of Ambrose Dudley Mann. The great mass of his country men will, no doubt, recall with difficulty the man or the name, while those of the present generation will probably recall neither, however indistinctly. Yet Col. A. Dudley Mann was once a very prominent figure in American politics. He was a warm, close friend not only of Andrew Jackson, but of Henry Clay. During President Pierce’s Administration he was Assistant Secretary of State, and is credited with having organized the present Consular Service. Between 1829 and 1859, it is stated, ‘he was variously engaged in the foreign service negotiating many important treaties and commending himself to the Department of State as a man to be trusted with large and difficult transactions.’ Col Mann was a Virginian, and was among the first of those summoned to Montgomery to assist Jefferson Davis with his counsel. He was appointed by the Confederate President chief of that commission of which Rust of Louisiana and Yancey of Alabama were originally members, and of which Mason and Slidell subsequently became members. Its mission was to represent the Confederacy abroad, and, if possible, to induce the foreign powers to recognize it. Col. Mann was appointed Commissioner in the first year of the war, and then taking up his residence in Europe, he never returned to his native country, preferring to live in voluntary exile after the failure of the South to maintain the Confederacy. Col. Mann’s original prominence was due to his great abilities, and, had he not made the mistake of going ‘out of the Union,’ his subsequent career might probably have been even more brilliant and useful than was that of his earlier years, as the opportunities for usefulness were largely increased by conditions growing out of the war.” (New York Times, Dec. 13, 1889)

July 29, 1890

Marriage of Alice Baldwin Odgen, daughter of Frederic Odgen of New York City to Henry

Harmon Neill, son of Henry M of New Orleans and
grandson of late Alex. A Schultz of New York.

June 25, 1892

'Tenafly, New Jersey

Mr. William H. Tillinghast⁶³

Dear Sir;

Mr. Hamilton Ela Towle was born at Lee, N.H., 24 June 1833 and died at Upper Norwood, London, England at half past twelve in the night of Friday 2d 1881. He was the elder of the two sons of Col. Gardner Towle of Lew and Exeter, N.H. by his second wife Hannah Duncan Ela, daughter of Joseph Ela of Portsmouth (Daltie, Richard and Alfred Ela of Harvard was his nephews) and his wife Sarah Emerson of Haverhill, Mass. He was ninth in descent from J_____ Edward Gilman through his daughter Mary and John F_____ from Tristram Coffin; ninth from Edmund Greenleaf; ninth from _____ of Salem; ninth of Richard Harston of Salem; ninth from John Bland; ninth from Lucy, sister of Gov. John Winthrop; eight from Emmanuel Dowing eight from Maurice Hobbs of Newbury; eight from Francis _____ of Hampton; from William Goodline, John Whipple, John Tarrow, Ezekiel _____ of Rowley; from Thomas Whittier and from George _____ of Newbury, _____ from Alexander Gordon of Exeter, &c, &c.

On the 23 May 1854 Mr. Towle married Annie Frances Higgin of Cambridge, a graduate of the Cambridge High School and a very charming and beautiful young lady, daughter of Ira _____ Higgin and Sophia Smith Jewett of Stratham, N.H., a descendant of Gov. Thomas Dudley Gov. Simon Bradstreet, Gov Thomas Higg in _____ his son Thomas who married Sarah, sister of Gov Wallis Barefoot, &c, &c.

They have three children, ___ Adelaide Ela Towle, wife of Maurice Lindsay of Tenafly, N.J.

⁶³A post card was in the Harvard University file with a printed address to "William H. Tillinghast, Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass."

whose children are Edith Lindsay, born 5 Oct. 1880; Gertrude Ela Lindsay born 10 Aug. 1882, and Maurice Hamilton Tillinghast, born 18 Sep. 1886 at Rye, N.H.

ii Edith Hamilton Towle, born in Pola Austria married in London, Eng. Frederick ____ (Geo, Leo?) of the Prussian army, no children.

iii. _____ Annie ____ Towle, born at Bonn, Prussia 25 June 1871.

Mr. Towle was first employed at the Portsmouth Navy Yard by Mr. J. Q. Dow, engineer charge of the construction of the Floating Dry Dock Basin and Railway, and subsequently at Pensacola on a similar work. While at the latter place he realized the need of a scientific education and returned home to obtain it. Under a private tutor he fitted himself for the Harvard Scientific School which he entered in 1853 and from which he graduated two years later.

In March 1855, he obtained an appointment as assistant engineer under L. _____ and Blont of the U.S. Engineers at Fort Montgomery, Rouse's Point, N.Y. and proceeded therein to enter his duties.

On the 3rd January 1857, Mr. Towle, his wife and baby sailed from N.Y. on the Collins steamship "Baltic" on route for Pola, Italy where he had accepted the position of engineer in chief in the construction of a dry dock, basin and railway for the Austrian government, having previously resigned his position at Rouses' Point.

After a frightful storm during which the _____ plate of the engine was broken and the captain had a consultation with the officers on the advisability of putting back to N.Y., they landed safely at _____ on the 17th and on the 4th _____ arrived in Pola where they remained until June 1860. Just before leaving, during a trial of the works (for which he had personally made all the designs and calculations) Mr. Towle was struck in the knee by a careless workman who was using the head of an ax

to drive a nail. For some time he could not take a step and he was obliged to go for treatment to the hot _____ baths at Aba_____ near Padua. I do not think he knee was ever quite as strong again though he did not limp at all. After visiting Trieste, Venice, _____, Laybac, Vienna, Cologne, Prague, Gratz, Paris, London, St. Petersburg, Moscow, &c. Mr. Towle and his family sailed for America on the "Arago" 14 Nov. 1860 and after a disagreeable voyage reached N.Y. on the 28th.

In May 1861 Mr. Towle went again to England and France and in September he booked his return passage on the "Great Eastern", after being there a few days out a fearful storm arose, and the vessel was soon in a disabled, wrecked condition, with broken rudders, in the trough of the sea, far out from the track of trans-Atlantic ships. For three days the passengers were in momentary expectation of going to the bottom. A "drag" or spar moved from the stern was of no avail in assisting to steer the vessel, when he suggested a device that was ultimately successful in causing the ship to answer her helm. Two 15 fathom lengths of the great chain cable were dragged aft; one end of each of these chains was made to take a turn around one of a pair of bollards that the other ends were similarly secured to the rudder-post; this by slacking out a link on one side, and landing in on the ___ sufficient play was given to the rudder to keep the vessel fairly on her course. The ship was put about and entered Cork Harbor in safety - nine days after leaving Liverpool. For this device, Mr. Towle's fellow passengers presented him with a gold _____, the inside of which had the form of an American eagle, and the Life-Saving Benevolent Association of New York awarded a gold medal and an address.

From 1861 until his death Mr. Towle was in practice on his own account as a civil engineer during which time he laid out and constructed a _____ terminal railroad for the "Ti_____ Iron Mines" of New York and arranged a plan for working the mines, and designed and superintended the construction of an entirely new plant, consisting

of _____, steam engines, narrow-gauge track, ore wagons, &c. he likewise superintended the construction of the Mineola & Glen Cove branch on the "Long Island Railroad Co. N.Y." He was consulting engineer to the "New York Billing & Packing Co." and was frequently engaged in examining and repairing broken devices, machines, Mr. Towle invented and constructed many machines appertaining to the arts; among others a loom for weaving heavy fabrics, for the manufacture of which a company was started known as the "United States Loom Company" of which he was the manager.

He was elected an "Associate of the English Institution of Civil Engineers" on the 5th of March 1872, having previously received a "Telford Pr _____" for his account of the works at Pola which he had presented to the Institution.

In December 1874, he Towle went to South America in the interests of the Colombian Government to examine and report upon the ___ of the Magdalena river. In 1877 his health broke down and by the advice of his physicians he made a prolonged ___ in Europe. Returning to New York in October 1878, he was soon after again compelled to cross the Atlantic. From this time he gradually grew weaker, and died on the 2nd of September 1881, at the residence of his son-in-law, Mr. Maurice Lindsay of Upper Norwood, near London, England.

Mr. Towle's predominant qualities were great innovative facility, quick, ready ability to provide for sudden emergencies, and simplicity and thoroughness in the _____ adopted for united them.

I find that I owe you many apologies for not having answered your letter sooner. I was busy in _____ the _____ when I arrived and I have had a thousand interruptions _____. I beg you will excuse the delay and this very long and rambling letter. I felt that I have written many things that are not suitable for your purpose and possibly left out

something you may desire to know, in the latter case, please inform me and I will try to answer at once.

I am Mr. Towle's eldest daughter and as my mother and I live together we could doubtless answer any questions that you care to ask.

Very sincerely

Adelaide E. Towle Lindsay

Mrs. Maurice Lindsay
Tenafly, New Jersey
17th Sep. '92"

[Editor's Note: Harvard University records disclose that Hamilton Ela Towle entered the Lawrence Scientific School in March 1854. Other documents in the Harvard University files indicate that he attended Harvard from 1852 to 1855. He is described as a member of the class of 1855. On the registration rolls, there is a reference to his father "Gardner Towle" and a note "Engineering." On the registry there is also a note, "man saved the Great Eastern."]

November 7, 1899

"The Fall of a Prophet of Evil.

The fall of a prophet, under any circumstances, is a matter of note, but when the prophet is an agent of evil, his fall becomes not only an occasion of comment, but of rejoicing.

Such a prophet was Henry M. Neill, of New Orleans, whose oracles have brought disaster into so many homes, and whose scope of malicious survey covered an empire of territory. With the yield of cotton production on one continent, and of its extensive manufacture upon another, where actual buyer and seller could never meet to compare notes, what an opportunity was presented to the middleman! On the one side there were the owners of from \$300,000,000 to \$500,000,000 of raw

material; on the other the mill owners with a custom calling for \$1,500,000,000 to \$2,000,000,000 worth of manufactured goods; between them the adroit man, without capital, whose only stock in trade was gall and cheek, who made his profit by playing first to the one and then to the other, and ending up by playing both.

To assail such a man as here described was no easy task. Through confidential approaches he had made himself to appear abroad as a person of affairs, with superior opportunities for knowledge, and even at home the importance which hedges around a man who has the foreign markets at his finger tips was not to be overlooked. To even whisper against such a man, or to doubt his resources, was to run current to the great commercial market, which, after all, stands upon so many weak legs.

The appearance of Henry M. Neill in the cotton transactions of the south differed from that of the corn and wheat operators of the north and west. Hutchison, Keene and Leiter for brief periods reigned as kings of speculation, but it was to their credit that even while they were cornering the food products of the world, they played kings in their own game, and pocketed the proceeds. Even the wheat and corn growers had reason to thank them, because under their manipulations prices went up and farmers of Kansas and Iowa were enabled to begin a career of mortgage raising. With Mr. Neill, however, it was different. He was content with playing the ignoble role of Judas to the southern farmers in favor of foreign spinners. A commercial Judas, one who furnishes secret information, and what has now proven to be false information, is at once both a false prophet and a baffled leader.

In the pursuit of their business, spinners, as well as men in other lines, have the right to seek all legitimate information which will assist them in the carrying on of their concerns. They have the right to ascertain the facts, but not to clothe Falsehood in the garb of Fact, and make a fraudulent use of a situation which they have called into play for the

moment. The part of Mr. Neill was not to secure ascertained facts, but to make the largest possible use of empty probabilities, under fear of which the producer would be forced to part with his holding at less than its value. The difference between the price which would have obtained with the actual facts, and the price which did obtain under the created conditions, is the amount out of which the poor farmers of the south have been deliberately and consciencelessly robbed.

But even if the conditions declared by Mr. Neill had been true, he was engaged in a bad business, had in proportion to the strength of those seeking the farmer's little profits and to the weakness of the victim of such base commercial methods. Under the most favorable light in which Mr. Neill can be considered, he was playing the part of a commercial Judas, who undertook to deliver the hard-working producers into the hands of sharp men, who were as expert with trading conditions as the farmer was ignorant of them.

The condition of the cotton market during the past three years had produced a crisis in the south. There were more people in the world to wear cotton as well as to eat wheat, yet the wheat area was increasing at good profit, and in their weakness the southern farmers were talking of curtailing their acreage, with no promise of better prices even then. The disastrous effects of the fall of 1898 drove our people into food crops. Every man knew that he had reduced his own cotton acreage. He could ride over other states and find that there the acreage had been reduced also. The United States agricultural bureau had ascertained the actual acreage to be at a figure which, in the absence of every drawback, an impossible condition, could produce not over 9,500,000 bales. But as droughts and local conditions may always be depended upon to cut off 2,000,000 bales of a possible crop, there was no good ground for looking for one larger than 8,500,000. August was reaching its middle, and cotton quotations were pointing to the disastrous prices of the year before. Wheat had been up for three years; corn had kept pace; cotton mills were

stocked with future orders at prices in keeping with the general market.

But lint cotton was still trailing in the mud!

The reason began to appear when Neill's circular of August 12th was made public. Though it bore that date, it had been for weeks doing its secret work. With the long arm of the assassin, this man had reached across into England and Germany, and with a backward movement, had inserted the knife into the vital interests of the country in which he lived. An estimate of 12,000,000 bales was enough to depress the market, to make the spinner sit back in his easy chair, satisfied that December cotton would seek him at about 4 cents, and to create consternation in every humble home in the cotton belt. This, then, was the secret hand which had been doing the work. It was an evidence of what one man with a purpose may do against unsuspecting millions!

—

A halt had to be called in this damnable work of ruining the agricultural interests of a whole people. Why should any man, no matter how strong his surroundings, be permitted to sit in a back room and play havoc with the prospects of an honest, hard-working people? It was somewhat of a leap in the dark which The Constitution undertook—a righteous one, but having its peril—when it determined to strip the mask from the face of the commercial Judas who sat in New Orleans as a demon of destruction. The estimate of Mr. George W. Truitt, of Georgia, that the crop would be 2,500,000 less than fixed by Mr. Neill, was made the basis of the movement, and 8 cents a pound was declared to be the figure which should rule. The spinner could pay 8 cents and still make a royal profit out of his business, and 8 cent, therefore, was the price which should be insisted upon. Unfortunately for our people, there was an obstacle in the way of a fully successful campaign. They were in debt, and had September bills to meet. Their merchants were likewise in debt, and had bills in

turn, so that the squeezing process was general. Under the influence of Neill's prophecy, the market ruled low in September, and under obligation of honor our farmers had to meet their engagements. If this condition had not existed, the cotton could have been held on the farms, and if it had been so held the spinners of England and Germany would have been crying aloud for the product at almost any price. But even as it was there was substantial gain made, and the price went up 2 cents a pound. Neill wriggled, and estimated and squirmed, but the men whom he had misled were in the ditch, and it was entirely too busy a Sunday to try to pull them out.

The campaign for higher prices went on merrily. A last effort upon the part of our commercial Judas to recoup the losses of some of his friends, who had stuck to him too long, was made when he made a revised estimate, and put the yield at 11,000,000 bales. The clown had played around the ring too long, and cries of derision was all that met his ears. Liverpool had been bitten, and the prophet was, for all time, a fallen idol. The farmers had had their first practical lesson in selling their own cotton and they liked the game too well to give up in one year.

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Even if the price of cotton had not budged from its August promise, the result, and an unexpected one, paid the full value of the revolution. When commercial buyers in Atlanta, for instance, could not get cotton at even 7 cents from Griffin, because the local mills there were paying 7 1-2, there was a great big exclamation of surprise. From every center in which a mill existed came the same story. The southern cotton mills, for the first time, had become an open and recognized factor in the market. These mills sell in the same world market as do their competitors of Lancashire; and they must have cotton to spin as well as the mills of that place. If Lancashire can pay 7 cents for cotton and transport it across the ocean, with half a dozen handlings, the local mills can pay 7 1-2 cents to keep it at home, and still meet their Lancashire

friends at Hong Kong. A very simple lesson it was, and the more wonderful for its very simplicity. If Lancashire wants cotton on the ground floor hereafter, the only way in which to get it is to locate somewhere between Virginia and Texas. Otherwise the railroads and shipping companies will eat up all their profits. There were bankers, too, like Mr. George Speer, of LaGrange, who invited the farmers to his bank as the best medium through which to settle up with their merchants, and thus hold their cotton back for a more favorable season. The merchants themselves, to the extent of their ability, joined in. For once, it was not the farmer's cause, but the cause of all, and the enemy in New Orleans was regarded as the common foe, whose presence was a menace to the happiness and the prosperity of the whole people.

The southern miller, of course, will want his cotton within prices which will enable him to make reasonable profit. The advantage of his presence, aside from those incidental to an enlargement of our industrial resources, is that being on the spot, he cannot be misled. If the crop is short, he knows it from his own surroundings, and will divide his advantages with those with whom he trades. If it is overly large, he will still do the best he can for us, and that is all our people ask. They call for no exemption from the visitations of Providence or of adverse business; they will meet every emergency with a cheerful face—but they strenuously object to being bunkoed.

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All lessons are useless unless well taken to heart. The story of how one irresponsible man could so surround himself with mystery and importance as to become able to wreck crops of \$300,000,000 in value, while those whom he wrecks are weak in their confusion, is one which points to its counter lesson—that we must attend to our own business ourselves. Too long has there been want of homogeneity among our business men. As Mr. Bryan designates the term “business men,” it includes every man whose hand or brain coins one

dollar of value. The southern farmer, merchant and banker are one in interest. The farmer raises the cotton, the merchant sells it, the banker exchanges the money for the two. The manufacturer then comes in and trebles or quintuples the value of the raw material. The success of the one is the success of all, and hence all should work together.

The agents of conspiracy are already at work, and we must be in better fix to meet them than we have been. Neill is hereafter a thoroughly discredited prophet, but others are ready to take his place. The work of resistance must begin on each farm, by a resolution to limit all debts to the lowest point, and even then, not to engage repayment for September and October. In this essential matter the country merchants can do patriotic service, as well as enhance their own business, by giving such a direction to credits that when the crop of 1900 will be ready for market, the spinner must be the man to hustle, not the farmer.

Unity between all business interests in the south!

No September sales of cotton!

Let these be the watchwords, and we can afford to forget that Mr. Neill ever lived.” (Atlanta Constitution, Nov. 7, 1899)

June 13, 1900

Census report for the Sixth Precinct of New Orleans City, Orleans Parish. Living at 1240 Sixth Street, is Henry M Neill, the head of the household, a white male born November 1828, in Ireland, aged 71 years, married 35 years, whose father was born in Ireland, and mother was born in Ireland, who immigrated into the United States in 1847, who lived here 52 years, and was an alien; who listed his occupation as “merchant cotton” and who owned the home subject to a mortgage. Also at the same address was Mary L. Neill, his wife, a white female, born October 1837, in New York, aged 62 years, married 35 years, whose father was born in New York, and mother was born in Wales; Harriet Schultz, his sister in law, a white female born April

1840, single, aged 60 years, whose father was born in New York, and mother was born in Wales; Mary B. Dewar, a nurse, a white female born December 1856, 43 years old, single, born in Louisiana, whose father was born in Scotland and mother was born in Mass.

April 8, 1901

“Be it Remembered, That on this day to-wit: the Eighth of April in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and one and the One Hundred and 25 year of the independence of the United States of America, before me Quitman Kohnke, M.D., Chairman Board of Health and Ex-Officio Recorder of Births, Deaths and Marriages, in and for the Parish of Orleans, personally appeared Henry Tharp a _____, native of City residing at _____ who hereby declares that Mary L Schultz lawful wife of Henry M. Neill (white) a native of New York, aged 66 years departed this life, Yesterday (7 April 1901) at No 1240 Sixth corner _____ St. in the City.

Cause of Death Heat Disease Brachycardia
Certificate of Dr. Gayle Aiken

Deceased was a resident of this city for 35 years
Birth place of _____ New York

Thus done at New Orleans, in the presence of the aforesaid H Tharp as also in that of Messrs. P H _____ and J _____ both of this City witnesses, by me requested so to be, who have hereunto set their hands, together with me, after reading hereof, this day month and year first above written.”
(Orleans Parish vol. 124 page 727)

“DIED.

NEILL – On Sunday evening, April 7, 1901, at 6 o’clock, MARY L. SCHULTZ NEILL, wife of Henry M. Neill.

Friends are invited to attend the funeral service, on Tuesday Morning at 10 o’clock, at her late residence, No. 1240 Sixth street.

Internment private.” (New Orleans Times Democrat, April 8, 1901)

April 14, 1901

“Mrs. Henry M. Neill.

In the death at sunset on last Easter Sunday of Mrs. Henry M. Neill, the spirit of one of the loveliest, gentlest, noblest women of New Orleans passed peacefully into rest. For thirty-five years Mrs. Neill had lived in this city, and during all that time she had exercised, in her gentle womanly sphere a potent influence for good. Her brilliant intellect made her an inspiration to all that was highest and best to those near her, and her loyal and tender heart proved a refuge of comfort to those whom she honored with her friendship. Her varied culture and artistic talents found perfect expression in the beautiful home she has now left desolate. Within its walls she passed a life of noble purpose and unselfish work which has uplifted and enriched the whole community. By her gracious spirit the lives of those who knew and loved her were illuminated with sweetness and happiness – with ‘the little, nameless, unremembered acts of kindness and of love.’ To her and to all who came within the charmed circle of her spirit and her mind nothing could have been more grateful than that the Angel of Death, when calling her, should have knocked on the anniversary of the Divine resurrection with irradiates all human life and sorrow. With the fading light of an earthly day her bright spirit passed to greet the light of some celestial morning.” (New Orleans Times Democrat, April 14, 1901)

“NEILL, MARY L. SCHULTZ (Mrs. Henry M. Neill)

Born NY ca. 1835, died N.O. Apr. 7, 1901.

Painter, active N.O. 1881-83.

Studied: with HENRIETTE WINANT (1883)

Exhibited: SOUTHERN ART UNION (1882).

Awarded: exhibition of Miss Winant’s pupils, Southern Art Union, honorable mention for oil painting (1883).

Memberships/positions: Southern Art Union (1881).

Moved to N.O. ca 1866. She later began a book club and upon her death the club's members established a medal for watercolor in her name given to NEWCOMB COLLEGE art students. References: *D. Pic.*, May 10, 1882, May 8, 1883; *Demo.*, May 12, 1881; *T. Demo.*, April 8, 14, 1901; N.O. Death Certificate (1901), 124-727, NOPL, University Archives, TU." (Encyclopædia of New Orleans Artists 1718-1918; The Historic New Orleans Collection)

September 14, 1906

"Be it Remembered, That on this day to-wit: the Fourteenth of September in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and six and the One Hundred and 31st year of the independence of the United States of America, before me W. T. O'Reilly, M.D., Chairman Board of Health and Ex-Officio Recorder of Births, Deaths and Marriages, in and for the Parish of Orleans, personally appeared Henry Tharp a _____, native of City residing at _____ who hereby declares that Henry Montgomery Neill (white) a native of Belfast, Ireland, aged 77 years, 10 months, departed this life, on the twelfth inst. (12 Sept. 1906) at 1240 Sixth Street,.

Cause of Death Killed by Electric car
Certificate of Dr. Gayle Aiken

Deceased was a widower, about 50 years in city.
Cotton merchant. Birth place of party. Ireland.

Thus done at New Orleans, in the presence of the aforesaid H Tharp as also in that of Messrs. P H _____ and E. M. Irwin both of this City witnesses, by me requested so to be, who have hereunto set their hands, together with me, after reading hereof, this day month and year first above written."

September 13, 1906

"DIED.

* * *

NEILL—On Wednesday, Sept. 12, 1906, at 5:45 p.m., HENRY M. NEILL, aged 78 years.

Due notice of the funeral will be given.” (New Orleans Daily Picayune)

September 14, 1906

“DIED.

* * *

NEILL.—On Wednesday, Sept. 12, 1906, at 5:45 p.m., HENRYM. NEILL, aged 78 years.

Funeral from his late residence, No. 1240 Sixth Street, This (Friday) Afternoon at 3:30 o’clock.

Interment private.” (New Orleans Daily Picayune)

July 20, 1909

“Henry Harmon Neill.

Henry Harmon Neill, real estate editor of the Evening Mail since 1894, died yesterday at his home, 215 Tompkins Avenue, St. George, S.I., of liver trouble after an eight months’ illness. He was born at Matlock, Derbyshire, England, in 1864, and was graduated from the Columbia Law School and School of Political Science in 1886, being admitted to the bar in the same year. He is survived by a son, Henry Harmon Neill. His father, H. M. Neill of New Orleans, had a National reputation as a cotton expert.” (New York Times, July 20, 1909)

June 24, 1928

“An Echo of Webster’s Thunder
Revealing How the Silver-Tongued Statesman’s
Scorn for Austria’s Attitude Toward Kossuth
Reverberated Across the Ocean—His Scorching
Letter Comes to Light in Vienna Archives

The article that follows is based upon documents discovered in the Hapsburg secret archives at Vienna by the Austrian historian and archivist, Dr. Otto Ernst.

By T. R. Ybarra

Exactly eighty years ago, in 1848, a series of republican uprisings threatened, for a time, the very existence of the proud monarchical Governments that had ruled the European Continent for centuries. These uprisings aroused enthusiastic sympathy

among the people of the United States, not so far removed then from the days of the American Revolution as we are from the days of 1848.

As a result of this sympathy, which was both lively and outspoken, the attention of more than one reactionary European Government was malevolently focused on the impudent upstart nation across the ocean that dared to cheer so lustily for European republicanism; and one at least of the diplomatic agents of monarchical Europe in America dared to employ methods in dealing with the Americans which were far more appropriate to the Old World, with its atmosphere of Machiavellian intrigue, than to the fresher air of democratic America.

There was Baron Hülsemann, Austrian envoy to the United States. For a quarter of a century he represented the Austrian Emperor at Washington and throughout that long period he sent to the Government at Vienna dispatches which show conclusively how utterly Hülsemann was steeped in the reactionary ideas of the Old World and how signally he failed to comprehend and elucidate to his Government that New World in which he lived so long.

A mass of these dispatches has just been discovered, after three-quarters of a century of oblivion, in the vast Hapsburg secret archives at Vienna, by Dr. Otto Ernst, who for several years has been conducting a systematic investigation among the millions of documents hidden in that unparalleled collection of historical treasures.

They include hitherto unknown communications from Hülsemann to Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, the Austrian Foreign Minister, concerning the American attitude of sympathy toward the Kossuth rebellion in Hungary and the unscrupulous acts to which the Austrian envoy resorted in the discharge of what he conceived to be his duties.

The upshot of it all was a formal protest from Austria, delivered by Hülsemann in the early Autumn of 1850 to Daniel Webster, Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Fillmore—who had just succeeded to the Presidency following the death during his Presidential term of President Taylor—and a reply from Webster, replete with the resounding grandiloquence for which he was famous, that was calculated to leave no doubt in the mind of Austria of the American statesman's firm resolve not to tolerate any Austrian attempt to interfere with the rights of the United States as a liberal-minded and independent nation.

This letter from Webster has also been discovered by Dr. Ernst in the Vienna secret archives. He found the original, just as Webster wrote it nearly eighty years ago, with the signature of the stern old New Englander appended below his sonorous paragraphs.

The Kossuth rebellion in Hungary against the Imperial Austrian Government was among the most serious of all the movements engendered by the wave of republicanism that swept Europe in 1848. Only after months of fighting did the Austrians, aided by Russian troops, vanquish Kossuth and drive him into exile on Turkish soil. While the fighting was in progress, President Zachary Taylor of the United States, desiring to obtain accurate news of the progress of the rebellion, dispatched a special envoy, Dudley Mann, to Austria with instructions to send reports to Washington. While he was investigating the situation—unknown to the Austrian Government—American was outspokenly sympathetic to Kossuth, to such an extent that Baron Hülsemann became convinced that plots were being hatched there, with the connivance of the American Government, to provide armed aid to the Hungarians.

Hülsemann also connected the British Minister at Washington with these plots, since there was also considerable sympathy for the rebels throughout Britain, and the Austrian envoy, true to his Machiavellian nature, deemed that the British

Government, in secretly abetting Kossuth against Austria, would merely be conforming to its old policy of seeking to prevent the great powers of the European Continent from becoming too strong.

Impelled by these beliefs, Hülsemann proceeded to send to his Government the remarkable series of dispatches which have just been unearthed in Vienna by Dr. Ernst.

First the Austrian envoy got wind—as he thought—of the shipment of some arms from New York to Europe for the Hungarian rebels and of the contemplated departure of a regular military expedition from American soil to aid Kossuth. In a state of wild excitement, Hülsemann wrote in cipher to Prince Schwarzenberg, the Austrian Foreign Minister, under date of Feb. 3, 1850:

‘I am told there is a project on foot to send a few Americans, and to enroll some Irish and English under the guise of Americans, and land them on the shore of the Adriatic. It is alleged that they are to be sent to Cuba.’

A little later he wrote:

‘One thousand one hundred pistols will be placed aboard a small vessel and conveyed to the brig Bertha, which will leave New York before the end of the month for Hamburg. * * * They are marked “A. L. D., No. 2” in a triangle; they will be sent from Hamburg to Amsterdam, where they will be placed in boxes, covered with thick cloths, and sent to Strasbourg, Munich and via Passau to Linz.’

Hülsemann added that a young man named Coburn of Worcester, Mass., 20 years of age and a veteran of the Mexican War, was busy collecting a band of American adventurers to help Kossuth. Coburn, he wrote, was to be the captain of this band; they intended to ‘increase their numbers by the addition of Englishmen and Irishmen, who, however, would all pose as Americans, since it is supposed they will thus make a greater impression.’

‘They claim to 2,200,’ continued Hülsemann. ‘They are to rendezvous at Passau. They are armed with revolvers. * * *’

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Next he informs Vienna of revelations made to him by an individual whom he frankly calls ‘the spy’—the Austrian exponent of secret diplomacy had no false delicacy as to describing the means he employed to attain his ends. This individual informed him that he had been told that the Secretary of the Navy of the United States was fully cognizant of the plot to help Kossuth.

‘He is an American,’ wrote Hülsemann, alluding to his spy, and he added:

‘I have no confidence in this Government. I shall allow the arms to go, but I think I shall cause the men to be arrested.’

Under date of March 2, 1850, Hülsemann wrote from Washington to Prince Schwarzenberg at Vienna:

‘The Bertha has sailed. * * * There is a plan to bring about the flight of Kossuth and to cause his secret return to Hungary and to send money and men from the United States and England; there are certain persons on the Irish coast who expect to be employed in this.’ As a postscript he adds: ‘The arms were not embarked on the Bertha.’ He then contributes this startling bit of information:

‘There is a scheme to place aboard an English frigate the men from here who are to go to the Bay of Naples, and the Government of the United States will secretly help in this.’

The Government at Vienna proved itself less gullible and more sensible than its excitable envoy at Washington. Prince Schwarzenberg, pouring over Hülsemann’s sensational yarns, could make neither head nor tail of them and frankly told the Baron as much. First he talked about projected landings of

Americans on the Adriatic coast, complained Schwarzenberg; then he switched to tales about shipments of arms to Hamburg and gatherings of American adventurers at Passau for an invasion of Hungary under the command of the individual called Coburn.

The Austrian Foreign Minister ridiculed the idea of American and British official connivance in these plots; he called them 'too foolish to win the support of any Government.' And why should men be recruited in Ireland to free Kossuth and get him back into Hungary, inquired Schwarzenberg—and why the sudden jump away from Hamburg and Ireland to the tale about the Bay of Naples?

'I fear that your credulity has been imposed upon,' Schwarzenberg informs Hülsemann in conclusion, 'and that some adventurer, banking on your loyalty, has sold you false information. Continue, nevertheless, to keep your eye on these intrigues.'

Baron Hülsemann continued on his career of bogey-hunting. To his already large list of villains in the melodrama he was constructing to shock the Vienna Government he now added the British Minister at Washington, Lord Bulwer. After announcing to Schwarzenberg the mysterious news that 'the men will gather at Chagres in New Granada (in the vicinity of Panama) to be shipped thence to the Mediterranean in time to have them arrive simultaneously with the freeing of Kossuth,' the Austrian envoy writes:

'The Minister of England is very active and imprudent. I hope he will get himself into trouble; if so, I shall take advantage of the opportunity to kick up a rumpus. * * * I consider it so important to denounce the Minister's intrigues that I have promised \$500 to the spy if he succeeds in getting the Minister dismissed the country by the President or recalled by the English Government. My name will not appear in any way in the affair.'

The sudden introduction of Lord Bulwer into the Hülsemann international melodrama failed to impress Prince Schwarzenberg to any great extent; nevertheless, he informed the envoy at Washington that he had warned the Austrian Ministry of the Interior and Austria's agents in Italy that there might be something brewing.

Hülsemann, meanwhile, started arrangements for getting an article published in a Philadelphia newspaper denouncing Lord Bulwer—all quite secretly and in a way not to compromise the Austrian Government—through 'the spy,' in fact. He then contributed more details about the alleged shipments of arms, which he now informed Schwarzenberg, were to be sent from New York on the German steamship Post.

Since the captain, he added, would surely make a false declaration about his cargo to the authorities at Hamburg, his port of destination, the arms might be confiscated, if the Austrian Government took the needed steps. In a later dispatch Hülsemann gave the names of two firms, one in Hamburg, the other in Amsterdam, to which, according to him, the arms were consigned.

'The first-named firm knows what the barrels contain, second does not,' he added.

Eventually the whole matter of the shipment of arms vanished into thin air, likewise the accusations against Lord Bulwer. The article denouncing the latter was not published; and, finally, Hülsemann was obliged to confess to Prince Schwarzenberg that possibly some of the statements he made in his dispatches were without basis. Far from being discouraged, however, he went off with redoubled zeal on a new tack.

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The instructions from President Taylor to Dudley Mann, the special American envoy sent to report on the progress of the Kossuth rebellion, were suddenly made public in Washington. Baron

Hülsemann deemed them distinctly hostile to the Austrian Government, especially in conjunction with the general attitude of the Americans toward the Hungarian rebels, which was shared by Secretary of State Clayton and other prominent Americans. Hülsemann decided that the moment had come for a strong Austrian protest to the United States. Prince Schwarzenberg authorized him to go ahead and present the protest.

While dispatches were going back and forth between Washington and Vienna, President Zachary Taylor died. He was succeeded in the American Presidency by Millard Fillmore, and Daniel Webster became Secretary of State instead of Clayton.

The Austrian diplomat promptly concluded that the new Administration, if confronted with a vigorous protest, would disavow the acts of Taylor and Clayton and knuckle down to Austria. So he sent to Webster, in September, 1850, a communication objecting to the American action in sending Dudley Mann to report on the Hungarian rebellion. The tone of this note was far from conciliatory; in fact, it sounded in spots like a veritable ultimatum.

But Hülsemann had completely misjudged Daniel Webster. The new Secretary of State replied to him with a letter couched in terms so vigorous and defiant that one may well imagine it must almost have scorched the Austrian Minister's hands as he held it before his eyes.

In Webster's missive there was no disavowal of President Taylor or Secretary Clayton; no apologies for their having entrusted Dudley Mann with his European mission. In fact, the American orator made the letter a pretext for a glorification of American republicanism, at the expense of European monarchical principles, that would have done credit to the most patriotic Fourth of July speech.

‘The Government and people of the United States,’ he wrote, ‘like other intelligent Governments and communities, take a lively interest in the movements and events of this remarkable age, in whatever part of the world they may be exhibited. But the interest taken by the United States in those events has not proceeded from any disposition to depart from that neutrality toward foreign powers which is among the deepest principles and the most cherished traditions of the Union.

‘It has been the necessary effect of the unexampled character of the events themselves which could not fail to arrest the attention of the contemporary world; as they will doubtless fill a memorable page in history. But the undersigned goes further and freely admits that in proportion as these extraordinary events appeared to have their origin in those great ideas of responsible and popular government on which the American Constitutions themselves are wholly founded, they could not but command the warm sympathy of the people of this country.’ Moreover, continues Webster, the monarchical Governments of Europe had felt no scruples in the past in making clear their opinion of the principles upon which Governments like that of the United States were based. The monarchs of Europe, Webster informed the Austrian envoy, ‘have, in their manifestoes and declarations, denounced the popular ideas of the age in terms so comprehensive as of necessity to include the United States and their forms of government.

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It is well known that one of the leading principles announced by the allied sovereigns after the restoration of the Bourbons is that all popular or constitutional rights are holden not otherwise than as grants and indulgences from crowned heads. * * * And his late Austrian Majesty Francis II is reported to have declared in an address to the Hungarian Diet in 1820 that ‘the whole world had become foolish and, leaving their ancient laws, was in search of imaginary Constitutions.’

‘These declarations amount to nothing less than a denial of the lawfulness of the origin of the Government of the United States, since it is certain that that Government was established in consequence of a change which did not proceed from thrones or the permission of crowned heads. But the Government of the United States heard these denunciations of its fundamental principles without remonstrance or the disturbance of its equanimity.’

Caught in the surge and swell of his rolling sentences, Daniel Webster could not refrain at this point from indulging in a flight of rhetoric savoring strongly of the grand outbursts before Congress and elsewhere which had made him celebrated as an orator.

‘The power of this Republic at the present moment,’ he informed Austria, ‘is spread over a region, one of the richest and most fertile on the globe, and of an extent in comparison with which the possessions of the House of Hapsburg are but as a patch on the earth’s surface; its population, already 25,000,000, will exceed that of the Austrian Empire within the period during which, it may be hoped, that Mr. Hülsemann may yet remain in the honorable discharge of his duties to his Government; its navigation and commerce are hardly exceeded by the oldest and most commercial nations; its maritime means and its maritime power may be seen by Austria herself in all seas where she has ports, as well as it may be seen, also, in all other quarters of the globe; life, liberty, property and all personal rights are amply secured to all citizens and protected by just and stable laws; and credit, public and private, is as well established as in any Government of Continental Europe.’

Having got that off his mind, Webster gets down to cases again. Vigorously defending the right of President Taylor to seek accurate information about the Kossuth rebellion in Hungary by dispatching an envoy to Europe, the American Secretary of State at the same time insists upon the

care with which the President and the American Government had throughout observed the laws of neutrality. The United States might even with perfect propriety, he said, have recognized the revolutionary Government of Hungary without infringing those laws; as a matter of fact, it had done nothing of the sort, largely owing to the nature of the confidential reports sent home by Dudley Mann, President Taylor's special agent. And here Webster takes violent exception to the epithet 'spy' applied by Hülsemann to Mann.

'A spy,' he bluntly informs the Austrian, 'is a person sent by one belligerent to gain secret information of the forces and defenses of the other, to be used for hostile purposes. According to practice, he may use deception, under the penalty of being lawfully hanged if detected. To give this odious name and character to a confidential agent of a neutral power, bearing the commission of his country, and sent for a purpose fully warranted by the law of nations, is not only to abuse language but also to confound all just ideas. * * *

Had the Imperial Government of Austria subjected Mr. Mann to the treatment of a spy, it would have placed itself without the pale of civilized nations and the Cabinet of Vienna may be assured that if it had carried, or attempted to carry, any such lawless purpose into effect, in the case of an authorized agent of this Government, the spirit of the people of this country would have demanded immediate hostilities, to be waged by the utmost exertion of the power of the Republic, military and naval.'

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Taking up the objections of the Austrian Envoy to the appellation 'hero' bestowed upon Kossuth by President Taylor in his instructions to Mr. Mann, Webster again adroitly draws from Austrian history an example strengthening his case.

'Mr. Hülsemann will bear in mind,' he writes, 'that the Government of the United States

cannot justly be expected, in a confidential communication to its own agent, to withhold from an individual an epithet of distinction, of which a great part of the world thinks him worthy, merely on the ground that his own Government regards him as a rebel. * * *

‘In the year 1777 the War of the American Revolution was raging all over the United States. * * * Germany was at that time at peace with England, and yet an agent of that Congress which was looked upon by England in no other light than that of a body in open rebellion was not only received with great respect by the Ambassador of the Empress-Queen at Paris * * * but resided in Vienna for a considerable period; not, indeed, officially acknowledged, but treated with courtesy and respect. * * *

‘Neither Mr. Hülsemann nor the Cabinet of Vienna, it is presumed, will undertake to say that anything said or done by this Government in regard to the recent war between Austria and Hungary is not borne out, and much more than borne out, by this example of the Imperial Court. It is believed that the Emperor Joseph II habitually spoke in terms of respect and admiration of the character of Washington, as he is known to have done of that of Franklin; and he deemed it no infraction of neutrality to inform himself of the progress of the Revolutionary struggle in America nor to express his deep sense of the merits and the talents of those illustrious men who were leading their country to independence and renown.’

Baron Hülsemann had gone so far, in his protest, to state that ‘if the Government of the United States were to think it proper to take an indirect part in the political movements of Europe, American policy would be exposed to acts of retaliation and to certain inconveniences which would not fail to affect the commerce and the industry of the two hemispheres.’ This veiled threat had no effect upon the doughty Daniel.

‘As to this hypothetical retaliation,’ he replied, ‘the Government and the people of the United States are quite willing to take their chances. * * * It would be idle, now, to discuss with Mr. Hülsemann those acts of retaliation which he imagines might possibly take place at some indefinite time hereafter. These questions will be discussed when they arise, and Mr. Hülsemann and the Cabinet at Vienna may rest assured that, in the meantime, while performing with strict and exact fidelity in all their neutral duties, nothing will deter either the Government or the people of the United States from exercising, at their own discretion, the rights belonging to them as an independent nation and of forming and expressing their own opinions, freely and at all times, upon the great political events which may transpire among the civilized nations of the earth.’

Baron Hülsemann was completely cowed by that eloquent Websterian blast. It apparently shot all his arguments to pieces, robbed him of all his confidence and aggressiveness. In tone strangely at variance with that of previous communications, he wrote to Prince Schwarzenberg, on the very day on which Webster’s letter is dated—in other words, immediately after its receipt:

‘I consider the affair ended. I shall not return to it unless I receive further instructions from your Highness.’” (New York Times, June 24, 1928)

Undated

“Thursday Afternoon.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:

I accept of your obliging offer as you will see by the direction of the enclosed.

Send it, I pray you, under cover, to your friend in Charleston by the Cunard Steamer of Saturday – in the way you so kindly proposed. It is

important that it should reach its destination speedily.

The country for which you so nobly raised your voice is proving itself worth of the regard which you manifested in its behalf. The news to-day from there is indeed cheering.

The New-York Herald is full of yourself. The next arrival in New-York will contain your excellent letter.

The signs of the times indicate that the hour of triumph for the South is now at hand.

Cordially Your Friend

A. Dudley Mann

Mr. Gregory, M.P.”
(Emory University)

“Private.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:

Yours of last night and this morning have been gratefully received.

Since the Proclamation of Lincoln I have not been so hopeful of the triumph of our cause as I am at this moment.

Clay’s letter to the Times is not less ferocious than that of Seward to Dayton. They were both inspired by the weakened Washington administration – the former, like the latter, in the State Department. The one will shock the senses of rational civilization quite so much as the other. – Our destiny is secure in the embecile counsels of our desperate adversaries.

Do not, I pray you, despair for a moment. A brilliant victory awaits you. It is already more than

half gained. Like an unwilling witness the London Press do us much more good on the small amount that they say in our behalf than in the large amount they say against us. Oh! That Friday fortnight had arrived.

Believe me, my Dear Mr. Gregory,

Your Friend with all my Heart,

A. Dudley Mann.

Thursday 1 P.M.”
(Emory University)

“Sunday Morning, Sept 10.

My Dear Mr. Gregory:--

The Cunarder which arrived at Queenstown yesterday brings the most glorious intelligence ever conveyed across the Atlantic in behalf of the Confederate States.

You know how constantly anxious I have been that Great Britain should take the initiative, in the matter of our formal acknowledgement as an independent power. If she will now act she will carry all Europe along with her, and thus terminate the war in sixty days. I wish her, with all my heart, to stand in an enduring relation to the Confederate States. Let her take this step and she will find in the South the best commercial ally she ever had. I will see that she gets full credit for the measure.

The North wants such a pretext for terminating hostilities as this would afford her.

In great haste,

Ever Yours

A. Dudley Mann.

(the following is written on this letter in different handwriting – much of the writing is illegible):

Per Lincoln

If he could preserve the Union without freeing the slaves he would leave them in slavery, if he cd preserve the Union by freeing them he wd do so. If freeing some & leaving others in slavery he wd also do so.

It may be said Union versus Constitution which expressly prohibits interference with slavery – but an American problem wd be perfectly justified in modifying the terms of connection among the different States.

Abolitionists in America shown the most unrelenting/unreasonable (?) hatred to abolition England – Mr. _____ subscribed to such indivs (sic.) Wendell Phillips – H Bueber (sp?) in prayers at Seminary -- Cassius Clay de ___ on _____.

Mr. Seward to Paisley Reformers – My being informed am delighted with Northern doings.

_____ Martial law, _____ have that New York, _____ harbours debt of two billions a year, tax farmers (?) at every door, with your _____ on by helping if life, fee _____ A Govt Contractor B _____ but of horrible offending, bloody civil war swallowing up everyone of Thousands the _____ of Reforms. Peace.

”

(Emory University)

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