

*James Dunwoody Bulloch's central place in history rests on his Civil War era achievements as a secret agent of the Confederate States Navy in Europe. Captain Bulloch presents the full story of the life and times of this most remarkable man.*

## **CAPTAIN BULLOCH:**

**The Life of James Dunwoody Bulloch, Naval Agent of the Confederacy**

By Stephen Chapin Kinnaman

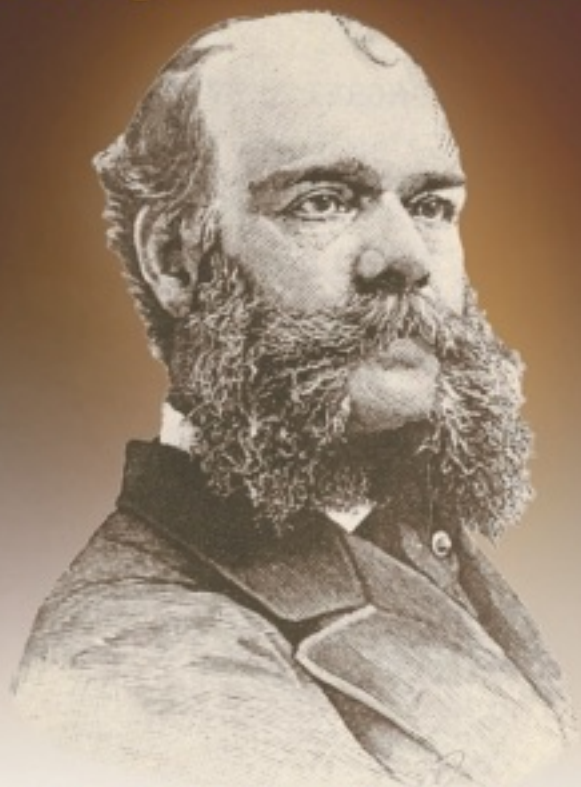
**Order the book from the publisher [Booklocker.com](http://Booklocker.com)**

<https://www.booklocker.com/p/books/11646.html?s=pdf>

**or from your favorite neighborhood  
or online bookstore.**

# Captain Bullock

The Life of James Dunwoody Bulloch  
Naval Agent of the Confederacy



Stephen Chapin Kinnaman

Copyright © 2013-2021 Stephen Chapin Kinnaman  
Chappell Hill, Texas

ISBN: 978-1-64719-471-0

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, recording or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the author.

Published by BookLocker.com, Inc., St. Petersburg, Florida.

Printed on acid-free paper.

BookLocker.com, Inc.  
2021

Second Edition

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	ix
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xi
INTRODUCTION	1

### BOOK ONE: *Son of Savannah*

1	<i>An Ancient and Honorable Family</i>	20
2	<i>Sentiment More Tender than Platonic</i>	34
3	<i>The Gentleman Who Was Judicially Robbed</i>	52

### BOOK TWO: *Life Afloat*

4	<i>I Have the Honour to Recommend Him</i>	74
5	<i>We Look Forward With Impatience to His Return</i>	91
6	<i>A Gallant Little Schooner</i>	111
7	<i>A Man of Science as Well as a Sailor</i>	133
8	<i>Everything is Perfectly Uncertain Connected With Him</i>	152
9	<i>This Is My Business; This I Do Not Consign</i>	168
10	<i>Tell Him and His Lady Heaps of Howdy for Me</i>	187

BOOK THREE: *War of the Rebellion*

11	<i>I Want You to Go to Europe. When Can You Start?</i>	232
12	<i>I Beg ... Command of the First Ship that Goes to Sea</i>	252
13	<i>Every Aspiration of My Heart is Bound Up in Her</i>	273
14	<i>Aide Toi et Dieu T'Aidera</i>	294
15	<i>I Predicted A Glorious Cruise for the Dashing Little Craft</i>	315
16	<i>If It Would Create Confusion ... Let Me Remain Here</i>	335
17	<i>Greater Pain ... Than I Ever Conceived It Possible to Feel</i>	357
18	<i>Far More Formidable Than Anything Yet Attempted</i>	380

BOOK FOUR: *Exile in England*

19	<i>I Have Become Greatly Attached to This Country</i>	404
20	<i>I Enjoy ... the Dear Old Fellow More Than I Can Tell</i>	423
21	<i>Abide In The Hope Which Springs Eternal</i>	440

EPILOGUE	455
END NOTES	467
BIBLIOGRAPHY	525
INDEX	547

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

### FAMILY TREE AND MAPS (pp. 5 to 17)

- No. 1 *Bulloch Family Tree*
- No. 2 *Georgia*
- No. 3 *City of Savannah*
- No. 4 *U. S. Eastern Seaboard*
- No. 5 *The Brazil Station*
- No. 6 *The Mediterranean Station*
- No. 7 *The Pacific Station*
- No. 8 *Mouth of Columbia River*
- No. 9 *The United Kingdom and France*
- No. 10 *Approaches to Liverpool*
- No. 11 *The Merseyside Area*

### IMAGES AND PAINTINGS (pp. 209 to 229)

- No. 1 *Major James Stephens Bulloch*
- No. 2 *1837 View of Savannah*
- No. 3 *Bulloch Hall*
- No. 4 *Sloop of War at Charlestown Navy Yard*
- No. 5 *The Steamship Black Warrior*
- No. 6 *Commander James Dunwoody Bulloch*
- No. 7 *No. 10 Rumford Place*

- No. 8 *Birkenhead Ironworks*
- No. 9 *C.S.S. Alabama*
- No. 10 *H.M.S. Scorpion and H.M.S. Wivern*
- No. 11 *C.S.S. Stonewall*
- No. 12 *The Bulloch Brothers*
- No. 13 *James Dunwoody Bulloch*
- No. 14 *Theodore Roosevelt*
- No. 15 *Hon. James Bulloch.*
- No. 16 *Lieut. James D. Bulloch*
- No. 17 *Stuart Elliott and Martha Louise Bulloch*

## CHAPTER 4

---

### *I Have the Honour to Recommend Him*

THE NAVY TO which James Dunwoody Bulloch now belonged was nearly indistinguishable from the Navy that had won considerable fame during the War of 1812, and only marginally different from the Continental Navy established at the birth of the United States. Frigates were the principal warships at the core of the Navy's cruising squadrons. The U.S.S. *Constitution*—'Old Ironsides'—was still in active service and would remain so for another twenty years. Every ship in the United States Navy of 1839 was a wooden sailing ship save one, the coastal steamer *Fulton II*, and she was used only for experimental gunnery trials. In November of that same year, Secretary of the Navy James K. Paulding submitted his Annual Report, which proposed funding for the manning and commissioning of one ship-of-the-line, six frigates, nineteen sloops-of-war, seven smaller vessels (brigs and schooners), and one steamer.<sup>1</sup> Setting the tone was President Martin van Buren, who suggested that United States needed "no navy at all, much less a steam navy." Secretary Paulding, a man who fancied himself a writer, responded to suggestions the Navy should exhibit more progressive thinking by exclaiming "I am being steamed to death!" Curious attitudes, indeed, from the leaders of a nation whose merchant marine then possessed over seven hundred steam-powered vessels.<sup>2</sup>

If the United States Navy was behind in its application of technology, the same could not be said about its traditions of service and



global scope of operations. Many of the same officers who made their names in the War of 1812 were still active: John Rodgers, Isaac Hull and Charles Morris to name a few. And the extent of the Navy's operations was truly world-wide, with six squadrons on simultaneous service in the Mediterranean, off the coast of Brazil, in the West Indies and Gulf of Mexico, throughout the Pacific Ocean, in the 'Indian and China Seas,' and off the coast of Africa. On top of this, Lieutenant Charles Wilkes' South Seas Exploring Expedition had just commenced its four year voyage of discovery, probing the expanses of the Pacific and Antarctic regions. The Navy was also an active participant in the Coast Survey, with its officers and ships investigating and charting the coasts and harbors of the United States.

The inspiration of its officer corps notwithstanding, officer training was another area where the Navy of this era needed a more progressive vision. Newly appointed midshipmen, such as James Dunwoody Bulloch, were immediately sent on board warships and were expected to learn their profession on the job. The largest ships carried chaplains, school masters and even professors who instructed the young middies, but for the most part it was a captain's mentoring—for better or worse—together with the midshipman's own native ability that trained the future officer. A lyceum at the Brooklyn Navy Yard to promote the education of young officers had been recently established, but it was just a library, lecture hall and a quiet room for self-directed study. The Navy's approach was in sharp contrast to the Army which since 1802 had been systematically educating its young cadets at the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. Recall the invitation James Stephens Bulloch had received two years before to attend cadet examinations at the Military Academy; in this area, the Navy lagged behind its land-based counterparts.

Officers of the Navy were beset by another problem, the lack of opportunity for advancement. During the long period of peace that followed the War of 1812, the size of the Navy remained more or less constant. As its core of senior officers continued in active service and without the stress of war to create new openings, the inevitable occurred: stagnation of promotions. Further exacerbating the situation was that during these years no higher rank than captain existed, a commodore being only the honorific title for a commander of a squadron. Many younger officers encountered long intervals

between active service afloat and were forced to develop alternate careers to remain solvent. Raphael Semmes, the future captain of *Alabama*, is a good example of this phenomenon; he practiced law when not at sea. Despite the bleak career outlook, a life of a naval officer still had strong appeal. The number of applicants far exceeded the midshipmen slots available and considerable patronage was required to obtain an appointment. In this light, James Stephens Bulloch's successful and timely efforts on behalf of his son come into sharper perspective.

In summary, the Navy to which James Dunwoody Bulloch had pledged his allegiance was a service widely admired at home and abroad for its emerging professionalism. It was also a service which, in little more than sixty years of existence, had created legendary traditions and a proud heritage. But it urgently needed reform in a number of key areas. The age of steam power was underway and would soon be followed by the introduction of the shell gun, iron shipbuilding, and in just twenty more years, armored warships. The Navy of the future could no longer remain the Navy of the past. To respond to these developments, it needed a well educated officer corps, one that was motivated to meet the demands that lay ahead. Sixteen year old James Dunwoody Bulloch was just beginning an active naval career that would embrace the entirety of this challenge.

\* \* \*

Things moved slowly at first for James Bulloch. Although he had accepted his midshipman's appointment in late June, it wasn't until 2 September 1839 that he again wrote the Navy stating that he was ready for "any service" and solicited orders. It is of note that his letter was addressed from Lebanon, Georgia. At that date the post office nearest Roswell was at Lebanon Mills, some one and a half miles distant. This indicates that following his appointment, young James had left Savannah and was able to spend time with his family in Roswell before embarking on his career in the Navy. It was well that he did for over four years would pass before he was home again.<sup>3</sup>

James Dunwoody Bulloch soon received orders from the Navy dated 13 September 1839, instructing him to report to Commodore Downes at Boston for duty on board the frigate *United States*. Downes was the commandant of the Charlestown Navy Yard which lay deep within Boston harbor. There *United States* was just completing a

major repair, preparing for sea under the command of Captain Lawrence Kearny. Now that James Bulloch had received orders for “actual service,” he could start drawing his pay of \$350 per year.<sup>4</sup> For Midshipman Bulloch it was a heritage-laden introduction to the United States Navy. Charlestown Navy Yard, within sight of Bunker Hill and across the Charles River from Boston and its Faneuil Hall—the cradle of American liberty—was one of the nation’s first six Navy yards, being established in 1800. It was also the site of New England’s first naval drydock.<sup>5</sup>

The venerable *United States* possessed an even richer history. One of the original six frigates authorized by the landmark 1794 bill ‘to provide Naval Armament,’ she was the first afloat, launched in Philadelphia on 10 May 1797. The 44 gun frigate distinguished herself during the War of 1812 when, under Captain Stephen Decatur, she captured the British frigate *Macedonian*.<sup>6</sup> *United States* later became widely known to American readers when one of her sailors, Herman Melville, published a harsh but highly descriptive account of a Pacific cruise of hers in a book titled *White-Jacket; or, The World in a Man-of-War*. She was a large ship, one of the Navy’s super-frigates which were designed to be fast enough to out sail anything they couldn’t beat. Her hull’s length between perpendiculars was 175 ft, with a beam of 43 ft 6 in and a draft of 23 ft. Her full load displacement was 2,200 tons, the same as a large World War II destroyer. And she was driven by sail power alone, setting a total thirty-six sails with a combined area of 42,720 square feet, or nearly an acre.<sup>7</sup> During time of war, her crew numbered almost 450 men, but on peacetime cruises she made do with a somewhat smaller compliment. A frigate of this era was one of the most complicated ‘machines’ man had yet devised, and every one of her officers and crew were needed to effectively maintain, sail and fight the ship.

On 26 September, Acting Midshipman Bulloch commenced duty on *United States*. Considering the times and distances, this date reflects a remarkably quick journey from frontier Roswell to distant Boston; perhaps he was lucky enough to catch a fast packet sailing direct from Savannah to Boston. It was now fall and presumably James Bulloch, having spent two years in nearby Hartford, was accustomed to New England’s cooler weather. After reporting to Captain Kearny for duty, Bulloch (now’s a good time to start calling him only by his surname) quickly settled into his new quarters.

Midshipmen on frigates were berthed in the ‘cockpit,’ a cramped space on the ship’s lower deck immediately forward of the officer’s ward room. It was below the gun deck and therefore without direct natural lighting. All of his clothing and possessions would have been crammed into a sea chest, which was stowed in the cockpit together with his fellow midshipmen’s sea chests, hammocks and other sundry possessions. When the ship ‘beat to quarters’ in anticipation of a battle, the cockpit was quickly transformed into the surgeon’s station, and all the midshipmen’s sea chests grouped together and covered with canvas to form an impromptu operating table. Midshipmen, being young males in their late teens, had a reputation for rowdy behavior, prank playing, and rough-housing. For a newcomer, it was a tough, uphill fight—sometimes quite literally—to win respect from the established denizens of the cockpit. A ship is a very small place and once on board, there was no escape or privacy; a young officer quickly learned to vigorously defend his honor, and to be equally vigorous in avoiding giving unnecessary offense.

A midshipman was expected to master the myriad academic disciplines necessary to competently sail a ship—navigation, mathematics, trigonometry, and astronomy. He needed to fully understand his ship’s log book entries, read sea charts, determine compass variation, plot a course, and master the skills required for dead reckoning a ship’s position. The fine points of naval etiquette were also part of his curriculum, such as signaling and saluting other ships, and greeting visiting dignitaries. Mastering the huge fund of naval customs, law of the sea and lore of the service was a discipline in itself; and then there was what the Navy calls its ‘lucky bag’ of facts and traditions, which every midshipman was expected to know by heart. On top of his academic burdens, an acting midshipman also had to master all the skills possessed by sailors. The rough and dirty business of reefing a sail, splicing a rope, and handling the great guns needed to be quickly learned. Midshipmen were often sent on special duties in the ship’s boats—filling water casks or boarding other ships—which provided a perfect training ground for the basics of seamanship. The many ship handling evolutions described in Darcy Lever’s *The Young Sea Officer’s Sheet Anchor* were a vital part of a midshipman’s training. He needed to know how to clear the hawse, unmoor the ship, get way on her, cat the anchor, set sails in the proper order, and to trim them to best effect using the ship’s nearly two miles of

running rigging. And then there were the repair and emergency drills—such as shifting a topmast, sending down spars, replacing shrouds, hoisting out a boat, and many other tasks—that were expected to be coolly performed when the ship was in combat.

A midshipman stood watches as appointed by the ship's first lieutenant. Midshipmen were typically detailed to superintend and assist various activities. For example, one was stationed in each of the ship's three tops when sails were being furled. They stood by to help clear the braces and bowlines when the ship was tacked, they mustered men to their stations, and they watched as the hands stowed their hammocks. They were slaves of the lieutenants and were tasked with running errands and performing jobs of all kinds, always with the utmost zeal and respect. However, given their unique place in ship's hierarchy, midshipmen were in a potentially tricky position: as the most junior of officers, they were subject to the orders and whims of all their senior officers, yet as officers themselves they in turn commanded the vast majority of the men on the ship—the enlisted sailors. Thus while a midshipman could be 'mast-headed'—sentenced to spend the night at the top of the main mast—by a lieutenant for his slack performance, a young midshipman could order the punishment of an able seaman old enough to be his father. Within the Navy's arcane hierarchy of rank, the fundamental elements governing human behavior were sorely tested: respect for others, competence, and above all, sound judgment. And together with their academic knowledge and practical skills, midshipmen were expected to always be gentlemen. The Navy's administration well understood the complex challenges incumbent on these young men. The *United States Naval Regulations* of 1818 gave instructions that "The commanding officers will consider the midshipmen as a class of officers, meriting in an especial degree their fostering care."<sup>8</sup> How much and of what quality of "fostering care" they received was, of course, entirely dependent on the ship's captain.

\* \* \*

Bulloch's service on the frigate *United States* was relatively short. In early 1840 the old frigate made a cruise down the east coast during which she touched at New York City. Her destination was Norfolk, Virginia, nearby the Gosport Navy Yard. Once safely anchored, the ship's officers and crew were then transferred to the newer and

larger frigate *Potomac* which was fitting out for service. The Gosport Navy Yard, now known as the Norfolk Naval Shipyard, was the oldest and largest such facility in the United States. An established shipyard since the days when Virginia was a colony, the Gosport Navy Yard had made history just seven years before when the 74 gun ship-of-the-line *Delaware* entered its new graving dock, the first ship so docked in the Western Hemisphere.<sup>9</sup> Bulloch would again visit the Gosport Navy Yard during his naval career, and before returning to his home in Georgia, he would serve on the mighty *Delaware*.

The records indicate Bulloch was formally transferred from *United States* to *Potomac* on 31 March 1840.<sup>10</sup> The first entry in *Potomac*'s log book for her upcoming cruise is dated 14 April 1840; her commanding officer was the familiar Lawrence Kearny, Esq. On 13 May it was recorded that all hands were called to up anchor.<sup>11</sup> *Potomac* was now underway to Rio de Janeiro where she would become the flagship of the Brazil Squadron. The first of the 'Gradual Increase' frigates authorized after the War of 1812, dimensionally *Potomac* was only slightly larger than *United States*, being 1 ft 6 in greater in breadth and two inches deeper in the hold. However she was arranged as a true double-banked ship, with two complete gun decks and approached the firepower of contemporary 74 gun ships-of-the-line. She could mount more than her rated forty-four guns, carrying at times a maximum of fifty-two guns. She was also a much newer ship than *United States*, having been commissioned fewer than nine years before. Her cruise to Brazil would be her third overseas deployment.<sup>12</sup>

The Brazil Squadron, sometimes called the South Atlantic Squadron, had been a U.S. Navy staple since 1826. It was established in response to a war between Brazil and Argentina, and continued its presence in those waters to protect American interests during the years of unrest that followed. In 1840 Brazil was relatively stable, being governed by a regency in the name of the future Emperor Dom Pedro II. However, affairs in the countries bordering the River Plate were another matter. Before and after the period of Bulloch's service in the Brazil Squadron, what is now modern Uruguay, together with Argentina, were embroiled in what became known as the 'Guerra Grande.' The French were enforcing a rigid blockade of the new Argentine government, all of which compelled the United States to

augment its forces in those waters. Thus the squadron exhibited a pattern of cruising between the principal ports—also the capitals of the three nations—namely Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, Montevideo in Uruguay, and Buenos Aires in Argentina. Rio de Janeiro was the squadron's anchorage of choice for several reasons. First, it is the closest of the three ports to the United States. Second, its strategic location astride the trade routes around South America and Africa meant that it was frequently visited by the ships of all nations sailing to and from the Pacific or Asia. And third, Rio de Janeiro was and still is one of the finest, most beautiful ports on the world, offering a secure, sheltered harbor with a mild, temperate climate the year around.

In the course of her voyage to Brazil, *Potomac* crossed the equator and into the Southern Hemisphere. This would have marked Bulloch's first transit of that hallowed latitude; one wonders if Neptune's court received him and the ship's other 'pollywogs' with the traditional and humiliating ceremony of initiation. Two and a half months after her departure from Norfolk, *Potomac* sailed into Rio de Janeiro. Her log book, under the date of 4 July 1840, contains the following entry:

From 8 to Midnight ... At 11 came to with the Larboard anchor in 15 fathoms of water in the Harbor of Rio. At 11:40 Commodore Charles G. Ridgley, Commanding the station, visited the Ship and was saluted with 13 guns simultaneously with the salute the Broad Pendant was hoisted at the Main Mast head and hauled down on board the Sloop of War *Decatur*, which ship and the Brig of War *Enterprise* continued the salute with the same number of guns each.<sup>13</sup>

On 21 July, *Potomac* was again on the move. Her log reports that she "made sail got underway and stood out of the harbor under Royals." The sight of the huge frigate ghosting out of Rio's crowded harbor under a 200 ft high cloud of canvas must have been spectacular; it also exhibited the flawless seamanship of her officers and crew. It wasn't until the last day of September that she cast her anchor again, this time in the roadstead of Montevideo. During her stay, the Royal Navy's Admiral Sir William King visited the ship and was saluted with thirteen guns. These brief descriptions of *Potomac*'s first two port calls set the pattern for many more to come: frequent visits by

foreign dignitaries, all saluted copiously by gun fire. Acting Midshipman James Bulloch had now been a naval officer for over a year, and with each day was gaining more and more valuable experience. Considering the ports frequented by the Brazil Squadron, two of them in Spanish-speaking countries, his lessons in Spanish no doubt proved their value.

\* \* \*

On 18 January 1841, *Potomac* was again underway together with two other warships of the Brazil Squadron, the sloop-of-war *Decatur* and the brig *Enterprise*.<sup>14</sup> James Bulloch's original appointment in 1839 as an acting midshipman was conditional in that he was "to be warranted from date of appointment if recommended by his commanding officer after six months' actual service at sea." Receipt of a midshipman's warrant was the first step in Bulloch's career advancement in the Navy, and near the end of January he requested the commander he had served under since first reporting for duty, Lawrence Kearny, to write him a recommendation. Kearny complied and signed his name to the following letter, addressed to the secretary of the navy:

U.S. Ship Potomac  
At Sea, Coast of Brazil  
January 29<sup>th</sup> 1841

Sir:

Acting Midshipman James D. Bulloch, of this vessel, having served under my immediate orders for and during the present cruise, I have the satisfaction to state that during the time, his conduct has been that of a zealous, active and attentive young officer; and I have the honour to recommend him as one possessing those qualifications that entitle him to your consideration and favour on his applying for a Warrant.

I am, very respectfully  
Your Obt. Servant  
Lawrence Kearny  
Captain<sup>15</sup>

Kearny's letter is a model of brevity: its single sentence says an enormous amount. Bulloch himself wrote the next day to the secretary, forwarding Kearny's recommendation under cover of a letter of his own:



To  
The Honorable  
The Secretary of the Navy

Sir

I have the honor to inclose [sic] to you a letter from Captain Kearny, my commanding officer, recommending to your consideration my application for a warrant as Midshipman. I now make respectful application for a warrant & should it meet your approbation would be glad to receive one.

I am with great respect  
Your Obedient Servant  
James D. Bulloch  
Acting Midn U.S. Navy<sup>16</sup>

Together the two letters achieved their intended effect; “Jas. D. Bulloch” was recorded as being warranted as a midshipman on 8 April 1841.<sup>17</sup> This was an important step in Bulloch’s career advancement. He was no longer an ‘acting’ midshipman; he now had a warrant as an officer of the United States Navy. It was well that Bulloch obtained Kearny’s recommendation when he did, for by 2 February, *Potomac* was again in Rio de Janeiro. One week later Captain George W. Storer assumed command of the frigate; Kearny had been appointed commodore of the East Indies Squadron, hoisting his pennant on its flagship, the 38 gun frigate *Constellation*. The Navy, then as now, never keeps anyone in the same place for very long.

Midshipman Bulloch had his first brush with royalty during this same month. *Potomac*’s log entry of 18 February 1841 tells the story:

Dom Pedro Emperor of Brazil and his suite came alongside this ship where they were received by all the officers of the ship on the Quarter Deck. His Majesty stopped on board 15 minutes and left the ship at 3:20. Manned the yards and saluted him with 3 cheers and 21 guns.<sup>18</sup>

During the remainder of 1841, with the exception of a short, two week cruise in mid July, the U.S.S. *Potomac* remained at anchor for a full twelve months in Rio de Janeiro. It is no surprise that reports of anchor chain corrosion were recorded in July. It’s also of interest that the coronation of Brazil’s Emperor Dom Pedro II occurred during

*Potomac*'s brief cruise; perhaps her new captain thought it best that his ship put to sea lest his crew be tempted by the spirited celebrations.

Just because *Potomac* wasn't under sail and cruising, doesn't mean her men were idle. The ship's log book is replete with activities, among which were sending working parties ashore, clearing the ship's hawse (anchor cables becoming crossed), and towing other warships—foreign as well as U. S. Navy—in and out of Rio's harbor. American merchantmen touching at Rio de Janeiro were also routinely boarded by *Potomac*'s young midshipmen, their papers checked, and particulars of their voyages recorded. A sampling of her boarding parties' results from this period provides a marvelous snapshot of the worldwide reach of America's commerce:

Brig *Helen McLeod* 70 days from Philadelphia  
 Whale ship *Carrova* 81 days from New Zealand  
 Brig *Himmileah* of New York, 30 days from Loango, coast of Africa  
 Brig *Fabius* 59 days from Baltimore  
 Barque *J. S. Waln*, 60 days from Boston  
 Brig *Tweed* 70 days from Baltimore  
 Ship *Azelia* 62 days from New York  
 Ship *John N. Gosher* 36 days from Valparaiso  
 Ship *Sobiski* 64 days from Bucksport  
 Barque *Globe* 9 days from Pernambuco  
 Brig *Montezuma* 56 days from Baltimore  
 Barque *Brothers* 50 days from Norfolk  
 Barque *Baltimore* 38 days from Cadiz<sup>19</sup>

Sometime in this period Bulloch would have received a letter from home bringing sad news: the death of his young half-brother, Charles Irvine Bulloch. The boy's life was tragically short, just two years and nine months.<sup>20</sup> Bulloch had known Charles Irvine for only the briefest time, last seeing his brother during his final visit to Roswell before leaving for naval service. It must have tugged at Bulloch's heart to read of a death in the family, being so far away and unable to offer condolences or openly mourn.

Near the end of *Potomac*'s long port stay, Commodore Ridgley, who had commanded the Brazil Squadron since its departure from Norfolk in spring of 1840, relinquished his command for reasons of ill health. He sailed in the homeward bound frigate *Constitution*—

‘Old Ironsides’ herself—departing Rio de Janeiro on 15 September 1842. In his absence, *Potomac*’s Captain Storer was temporarily in command of the squadron.

Midshipman James Bulloch had now been in active naval service for two years, virtually all of it at sea. How time flies! One wonders about the details of his life during these years: how he kept his clothes in order, what he read, if he was ill or injured, how often he wrote or received letters, and his relations with his fellow officers. Was he happy in his decision to become a naval officer? And what did he look like? Aside from his cryptic passport description, it would be nearly twenty more years until a photograph of James Dunwoody Bulloch was taken which has survived. It shows an unremarkable man of medium height and build, with lanky dark hair already receding. His chin is shaved but the remainder of his face is covered by whiskers in the popular ‘mutton chop’ style of the day. He exhibits a broad forehead and a mouth which is strongly reminiscent of Theodore Roosevelt’s. His expression is one of studied intensity and thoughtful contemplation.

\* \* \*

The Brazil Squadron’s new commodore, Charles Morris, arrived in Rio de Janeiro on 12 December 1841 on board the U.S.S. *Delaware*, which came to smartly that afternoon on *Potomac*’s larboard quarter. Both flagship and commodore bespoke a more muscular American presence in South Atlantic waters. Charles Morris, now one of the Navy’s senior and most revered captains, had served as the executive officer of the U.S.S. *Constitution* during her famous defeat of the British frigate *Guerriere*. Severely wounded in that action, Morris continued in active service, becoming a Board of Navy commissioner in 1823.<sup>21</sup> *Delaware* was one of the Navy’s very few ships-of-the-line in active commission. Rated at 74 guns, this battleship was pierced for 102 guns and could throw a broadside of over 1,700 pounds. She was huge by any measure: length 196 ft 3 in, breadth 53 ft, depth of hold 21 ft 8 in, and a displacement of 2,633 tons. Her main mast towered 230 ft above her waterline; from the extremity of her jib boom to her ringtail boom, she stretched over 380 ft. Her crew numbered more than 800 and she was the equal to nearly any other warship then in existence.<sup>22</sup>

Four days after hosting a mid-January visit from the newly crowned emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro II, *Delaware* made Signal 18, the order for the squadron to get underway. *Potomac*, together with the other ships of the squadron, stood out of Rio under full sail. Just two days later, in the dark of morning of 20 January 1842, *Potomac* barely avoided a catastrophe. Her deck log paints the picture:

From midnight till 4. Light variable breezes and cloudy. At 3:15 discovered a sail on the lee bow, luffed all we could to let her pass to leeward of us, she being by the wind on the Stbd tack. Finding she did not keep off and was closing fast, put our helm hard down and braced aback the head yards. Hailed the ship to put her helm down and heave aback. When we were head to wind she struck us on the Larb'd bow—tearing our fore sail, breaking our hammock rail and carrying away the Larb'd lower booms. She then dropped astern.<sup>23</sup>

In a flash encounter, *Potomac* had collided with an unidentified ship. The seamanship described above is breath taking; luffing up all sails, then bracing aback a 44 gun frigate's head yards, all with no warning. Her fore yard was 84 ft long and, with its sails and gear, weighed nearly five tons. One wonders if Bulloch was on deck when it occurred; together with all the ship's officers, he surely would have been within minutes.

Ten days later, *Potomac* came to anchor off Montevideo, Uruguay, in 4 ¼ fathoms of water. On 10 March 1842, *Potomac*'s log book records that "Midm J. D. Bulloch left this ship to join the *Decatur*," ending Bulloch's nearly two years continuous service on the frigate.<sup>24</sup> And on that same date, *Decatur*'s log book documents that "Midm. J. D. Bulloch reported for duty."<sup>25</sup> Commodore Morris' squadron was currently composed of five other ships, reflecting recent reinforcements. In addition to the 74 gun *Delaware*, the 44 gun frigate *Potomac*, the brig *Enterprise* and three sloops-of-war were attached: *Concord*, *Marion*, and *Decatur*. The latter two ships were both new sisters on their first cruises and were, for the U. S. Navy, curiously small warships of their type. Designated as '3<sup>rd</sup> Class Sloops-of-War,' they carried no more than sixteen guns. Despite their compact dimensions—length (between perpendiculars) 117 ft 7 in, breadth 32 ft, and depth 15 ft—these little 566 ton ships were quite popular

with their crews.<sup>26</sup> They were reported to sail very well and were stiff in a strong wind, two endearing properties to a seaman.<sup>27</sup>

\* \* \*

There is no doubt about a sailor's favorite ship; it's the one he recalls with fiery pride, assuring all who listen that "this was a smart ship." Bulloch's memoirs mention many vessels he was associated with during the Civil War, but he harkens back to only one U. S. Navy warship on which he served—*Decatur*.<sup>28</sup> His glowing accounts of the seamanship and training exhibited by her crew were used as a basis of comparison in a lament about the decline of such skills in late Victorian era navies. It's not difficult to see why Bulloch was so fond of *Decatur*. After service in two large frigates, *Decatur* was a much smaller, more intimate warship, one which would have given a young midshipman the welcomed opportunity of initiative. Her crew numbered about 150 men, a third of size of a frigate's. No longer just one of many midshipmen, Bulloch now had the chance to stand out and make his mark. It was on *Decatur* that Bulloch's name first appears in the log book of a U.S. Navy man-of-war, meaning that he was an officer of the watch, a significant step up in authority and responsibility. He also served under a first lieutenant, John H. Marshall, who Bulloch described as "unsurpassed in his day as an executive officer."<sup>29</sup> High praise, indeed, for a senior officer from a lowly midshipman who was not twenty years old. As for captains, it was Bulloch's fortune to sail on a warship soon to be commanded by an officer who would become the U.S. Navy's first rear admiral, first vice admiral, and first full admiral, and who won lasting fame at the Battle of Mobile Bay for his inspiring order, "Damn the torpedoes! Go ahead ... full speed!" His name was David G. Farragut.

When Bulloch first reported for duty on *Decatur*, her captain was Commander Henry M. Ogden. The day after his arrival she unmoored and left the squadron, sailing across the Rio de la Plata estuary. Two days later, she anchored in the Roads of Buenos Aires (it was always spelled 'Buenos Ayres' with a 'y'). The shallowness of the roads explains why the little sloop-of-war was repeatedly sent on this detached duty; the bigger frigate and battleship would have risked grounding in such water depths. *Decatur* remained off Buenos Aires until May, when she touched at Montevideo before rejoining the squadron in Rio de Janeiro. Here Henry Ogden

resigned his command for reasons of health, and was replaced by Commander David Farragut. Following exercises with the squadron in mid June which included sail handling drills—more on that later—the sloop-of-war returned to Montevideo. There Commodore Morris boarded. With *Decatur* now flying his broad pennant she took him to Buenos Aires. It was during this harbor stay, on 19 July 1842, that Bulloch began making entries into the ship's deck log. The smooth log copy spelled his name "J. D. Bullock" (as it was in almost all subsequent entries) with a final 'k;' he usually signed only his initials "JDB" into the rough log. *Decatur* patiently waited on the commodore until 31 August, when he returned in company with the U.S. consul in Rio, Amory Edwards, Esq. The sloop-of-war then hastily departed—again, more on that later. *Decatur* sailed back to Buenos Aires, and made a final call at Montevideo in December, where she began preparations to return to the United States.<sup>30</sup>

Bulloch's memoirs contain colorful descriptions of activities on board *Decatur* corresponding to the ship's deck log entries, for both the previously mentioned sail handling drills and hasty departure from Buenos Aires, which are reproduced below:

Once, while cruising with a squadron of five other ships, off Cape Frio (the late Commodore Morris being in command), the flagship made signal to 'shift main topmasts.' The squadron, all sailing ships, was standing by the wind in two columns with top-gallant sails set, and the spare main-topmasts were lashed in cranes outside and abreast of the main-chains, and in tidy ships like the *Decatur* were covered with canvas laced tightly round the spar and painted black. The *Decatur* had her spare spar aloft and on end, rigging all set up, and the main top-gallant sail set again, in fifty-two minutes from the time the signal was hauled down on board the flagship. The times of performing all evolutions were entered in the log-books, and I took notes of them in my journal.

The foregoing may be considered fancy performances, when everything was ready, or at least in expectation; but the smart, well-trained crew of the *Decatur* were equal to any emergency. On one notable occasion the ship was lying off Buenos Ayres. She was moored for the winter gales with seventy-five fathoms of chain on the port bower, and one hundred and five on the starboard, the latter backed by the stream anchor. The top-gallant masts, top-gallant and royal rigging were on the deck, the topmasts were housed, the

topsail-yards were down from aloft, and the lower yards were lashed across the rails. While in this condition, the captain received orders very unexpectedly to proceed without delay to Montevideo, and in two hours and forty-two minutes the ship was standing down the river La Plata, under top-gallant sails, jib and spanker, with both bower-anchors fished and the stream-anchor in the fore-hatch.<sup>31</sup>

Bulloch's pride in *Decatur* shows very clearly in the above passages. He was also correct about entering the sail drill times in the ships' log books. While the entries for the drill Bulloch described above weren't found, the results of squadron drills held on 24 January 1842 were graphically presented in neatly drawn tables covering two pages of *Decatur's* deck log, listing in detail the step-by-step progress of each of the squadron's five ships.<sup>32</sup> During these drills, *Decatur* shifted (or replaced) her fore topsail and mizzen topsail in 49 minutes—second best of the squadron—and shifted her main topmast in 2 hours and 45 minutes, rather longer than the 52 minutes of the drill Bulloch remembered.

\* \* \*

In mid-summer 1842 Bulloch received mail from home that must have surely raised his spirits and caused him a pang of homesickness. He can be imagined opening the envelope and unfolding the enclosed pages. In a letter probably written by his father, he would have read the joyous news of the birth of a baby boy. Irvine Stephens Bulloch was born on 18 May 1842, the fourth and last child of Martha and James Bulloch. It's perhaps appropriate that Bulloch learned of Irvine's birth while he was afloat on a man-of-war, for while separated in age by nineteen years, the two half-brothers would share both a love of the navy and commingled future lives that would have been impossible to foresee at the time.

By early December, *Decatur's* service in the Brazil Squadron was complete and she was preparing to return to the United States. In company with most of *Decatur's* officers and men, Bulloch should have been looking forward to returning home and getting some well deserved leave. He had now been in active service for over three years. But that's not what happened: at his own request, he was transferred to *Delaware*, which would soon be departing the Brazil Station for a cruise in the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>33</sup> The log books of

both ships confirm the transfer, the second in a row Bulloch made off Montevideo. On 6 December 1842, *Decatur*'s log notes "Mid Almand, J. Maury & J. Bulloch were detached from this ship and made orders to the *Delaware*," and on that same date *Delaware*'s log records "The following officers reported for duty aboard this ship: ... Mids. J. D. Bulloch, J. Allmand and J. Maury."<sup>34</sup> What was behind Bulloch's decision? At this remove it's difficult to know with certainty, but the lure was obvious: a triple opportunity to serve on the most powerful ship in the U.S. Navy, under a famous commodore, while cruising on Navy's the most popular station. Rather than returning home, nineteen year old Midshipman James Bulloch chose to sail on a voyage that would take him through the Pillars of Hercules and into the wine-dark sea.



## CHAPTER 9

---

### *This Is My Business; This I Do Not Consign*

**J**AMES BULLOCH ALLOWED himself no time for grieving. As the record shows, he hastily returned to sea, exhibiting a relentless almost dogged single-mindedness in doing so. Perhaps it was James Bulloch's way of relieving himself of accumulated sorrow. It might be that he felt he'd shed enough tears on the voyage home from Mobile, with Lizzie's coffin always there to remind him of his loss. If his last voyage in *Black Warrior* had been mired in personal tragedy, his next voyage would unleash a collision of nations that even the cool and calculating Captain Bulloch must have found intimidating. Little could he guess when he took *Black Warrior* out of New York harbor later that February, on what should have been another routine voyage, that he would run squarely into the *real politik* of America's 'Manifest Destiny.'

In the years following the Mexican War, the United States exhibited a form of schizophrenia in its attitude toward expansion of its national boundaries. On one side, those who praised the outcome of the Mexican War were disappointed because more territory wasn't gained; yet a considerable number of Americans were embarrassed by their country's overt aggression and bellicose treatment of a peaceful neighbor. The increasingly emotional national debate about the future of slavery worked into every aspect of how to organize the newly conquered land. The Compromise of 1850 was thought to have stilled such arguments, but it was not to be so. Only weeks

before Lizzie Bulloch's death, Illinois Senator Stephen Douglas introduced divisive new legislation, amplifying rather than smoothing the nation's sectional differences. Less than five months later, the Kansas-Nebraska bill would be enacted into law, bringing with it 'Bleeding Kansas' and John Brown's terrorism. The Southern states felt increasingly defensive in the face of relentless abolitionist 'free soil' agitation, and eagerly grasped at opportunities to bring new slave holding states into the Union. The focus of their greatest ambitions was Cuba.

The strategic importance of Cuba, the 'Pearl of the Antilles,' had long been understood by Americans. But now Cuba was coveted for a different reason: if it could be incorporated into the United States, the South would automatically gain a rich, slaveholding state. Its admission to the Union would balance the seemingly unstoppable creation of new states from which slavery had been banned. But how to accomplish this object? In the year 1854 Cuba was Spain's most valuable and, apart from Puerto Rico, its only remaining colony of significance in the Western Hemisphere. Despite Spain's dramatic decline from its former imperial glory, it clung tenaciously to Cuba. In August of 1853, the month after James Bulloch took command of *Black Warrior*, President Franklin Pierce's new minister to Spain, the controversial Pierre Soulé, sailed for Europe. Although his instructions from Secretary of State Marcy explicitly directed him not to tamper with Spain's sovereignty over Cuba, his actions suggested otherwise. Eventually he was empowered to enter into negotiations for the purchase of Cuba, but for the moment the hope was Cuba would "release itself" from Spanish control.<sup>1</sup>

The euphemism "release itself" was shorthand for armed takeover of the island by privately financed gangs of filibusters. The theory was that following the introduction of willing American freedom fighters—filibusters—the island's repressed inhabitants would proclaim their independence from Spanish tyranny and demand to be admitted to the Union. If it could happen in Texas, why not in Cuba? In fact, such an attempt had already been made twice by the same man, the Venezuelan-born Narcisco López. His first invasion in 1850 ended when the local populace showed itself unwilling to support the invaders, and López and his men fled Cuba. His second attempt the following year also ended in failure. This time López's luck ran out. He was executed together with his followers, one of

whom was the nephew of the United States' attorney general. But the filibusters' momentum was far from spent. In the summer of 1853, ex-Mississippi Governor John Quitman was publicly advertising his well-financed intentions to 'free' Cuba, with the apparent tacit approval of the American government.<sup>2</sup>

In the face of this overt American aggression toward Cuba, it is not surprising that the Spanish authorities responded in kind. For many years the Spanish had acted with their singular Iberian mentality to control the acts of hostile foreigners. Cuba, being one of the remaining magnets for the importation of African slaves, was subject to widespread illegal slaving activities, creating its own set of enforcement issues. It had also long been notorious for piracy along its heavily indented coast. Add to that the explosive mixture of filibustering and national aggression, and the result was inevitable. A later compilation of "Violations of the Rights of American Citizens by Spanish Authorities" ran to a total of 380 printed pages, and among other headings, lists the names of well known steamers such as *Ohio*, *Falcon*, and *Crescent City*.<sup>3</sup> The later complaint arose because Spanish authorities in Havana refused to allow this American ship to enter port, all because her purser had written derogatory comments about the island's captain-general. A certain amount of justified paranoia affected the Spanish authorities. And into this combustible environment, the Spanish dispatched a new and reliably energetic governor, the Marqués de la Pezuela. Arriving on the island in late 1853, Pezuela had already alarmed Americans by his 'Africanization' policies, all of which formed a 'poison pill' for prospective filibusters and their supporters. Port officials in particular were particularly vigilant for any infraction of Spanish sovereignty or honor. It was into this highly charged atmosphere that a grieving Captain Bulloch sailed.

\* \* \*

Soon after daylight on the morning of 28 February 1854, Captain Bulloch guided *Black Warrior* past Havana's Morro Castle and came to anchor inside Havana Bay. Three days before she had sailed from Mobile and was now on her way back to New York. *Black Warrior* had entered this same port over thirty times before, her last dozen calls under Bulloch's command. It should have been just another routine entry, a brief pause of up to six hours to land passengers, top

off with coal, and take on necessary supplies. On this voyage, however, *Black Warrior* was running behind schedule. In anticipation of an earlier arrival, her agents in Havana, Charles Tyng & Co., had already submitted documents to the port's collector of customs, and had 'cleared' her out for the next, New York leg of her voyage. Shortly after anchoring, in accordance with the usual port procedure, *Black Warrior* was boarded by Revenue Inspector Jaime de Santiago. An English translation of the port regulations were placed in Bulloch's hands, and the inspector began his rounds, his vigilance heightened by the recent rumors of filibusters. He quickly discovered the ship's hold crammed with nine hundred and sixty-one bales of cotton. When confronted with the undeclared cargo—*Black Warrior's* manifest described her in ballast and carrying only ship's stores—Captain Bulloch protested that as the cotton wasn't intended for discharge in Cuba, but was in transit to New York, there was no need to declare it for entry in Havana. Inspector Santiago replied 'no,' the port regulations clearly called for such goods to be declared in transit, as stipulated by the documents in the good captain's hands. These same regulations allowed Captain Bulloch or his agent to amend the manifest within twelve hours of entry, but in the meantime, the inspector insisted he must debark and report this irregularity to the collector of customs, Joaquin Roca.<sup>4</sup>

What had begun as a misunderstanding regarding arcane customs regulations now swiftly escalated out of control. Accounts from both sides vary about exactly what happened over the next few hours. Word spread ashore that 'contraband' had been discovered aboard *Black Warrior*. At about noon the ship's agent, Charles Tyng, sent his clerk for *Black Warrior's* clearance pass; the clerk quickly returned with the unexpected news that the ship was under suspicion. A second inspection was carried out by order of the collector, which confirmed what Inspector Santiago had found: a substantial, undocumented cargo was on board. Agent Tyng hurried to the collector of customs' office, angry that he and *Black Warrior* had been subjected to capricious and frivolous interpretations of the port's customs regulations. In the face of Tyng's refusal to correct *Black Warrior's* manifest or to post bond for surety of the ship and cargo, Collector Roca ordered the immediate seizure of *Black Warrior* and the arrest of Captain Bulloch. Now confronted with the gravity of events, Tyng and Bulloch rushed to the American consulate, and

there hastily related the turn of events to Acting Consul William H. Robertson. Robertson, who was thoroughly disliked by the Spanish authorities in Havana, urged Tyng to return to the collector's office and politely reframe the agent's rationale for documenting *Black Warrior* as he had. And Captain Bulloch was told to immediately repair to the governor's palace, and there explain that neither he nor his agent had any intention of consciously defrauding the customs of revenues, and if there was any misunderstanding, it was from their ignorance of the customs regulations. But the die was now cast. At four in the afternoon, *Black Warrior* was boarded by customs officials, all her officers, crew, and passengers ordered to debark, and the work begun to remove her cargo to a warehouse. Much of the later American protest would center on the fact that *Black Warrior's* seizure occurred before the expiration of the twelve hour period allowed by the port's regulations for amending errant ships' manifests. Captain Bulloch was informed he was under arrest and ordered not to leave Havana.<sup>5</sup>

\* \* \*

In light of historical perspective, the most direct explanation of the calamity that had just overtaken James Dunwoody Bulloch was that he and *Black Warrior* had been swept up by the flood of increasing tensions between the United States and Spain. Heightened Spanish sensitivity towards any American transgression, big or small, played a large part, and it's not a coincidence that the 'Black Warrior Affair' occurred soon after the arrival of the new and more punctilious governor, Pezuela. However, a number of other, less highlighted circumstances were connected with *Black Warrior's* seizure.

First, the seizure occurred only nineteen days after James Bulloch had buried his wife. That Bulloch was still in grief and probably very emotional cannot be doubted. Examining the pace of the day's events, the cool steadiness which had up till this date characterized Bulloch's thoughts and actions seem to be singularly absent on the 28<sup>th</sup>. This was especially true when agent Charles Tyng's behavior is considered. An agent acts on behalf of the owner and the ship's captain who, by law, bears sole responsibility for all things pertaining to his vessel. The captain is the final authority, not the agent. That Bulloch didn't intervene to override the agent's stubborn refusal to accede to the collector of custom's request to correct the manifest is

a puzzle. Perhaps he wasn't present at the moment of confrontation, or maybe he, too, became hostage to emotional indignation. Whatever the case, a cooler head might well have averted the seizure.

Second, Spanish claims that *Black Warrior* had evaded payment of customs house tonnage dues and other port charges were not new. The issue had arisen on at least two previous occasions. On 17 February 1853—a year before *Black Warrior*'s seizure—Charles Tyng & Co. remitted under protest \$3,372.50 to Havana's customs house for accrued tonnage dues and other port charges. And on 10 December 1853, another unexpected demand was received from Havana's customs officials for \$2,197.76 of unpaid charges. The conflict between *Black Warrior*'s agents and Havana's customs authorities arose because of their differing interpretations regarding the application of port regulations to *Black Warrior*'s brief stops in Havana. In August, 1852, when Livingston, Crocheron & Co. first considered establishing their mail service to Mobile via Havana, they had expressly requested that Havana's customs officials exempt their vessels from the port's 'tonnage dues and other port charges.' They asked to be accorded the same privileges given to Britain's Royal Mail Steam Packet Company and America's 'Law' line (the United States Mail Steamship Company, owners of *Georgia*). The request was apparently granted, but later rescinded, the effect of which was to place *Black Warrior* into the same category as an ordinary merchant ship and subject to the full range of port charges. One can't help but think that *Black Warrior*'s owners presented an easier target for Spanish aggression because while their service was governed by a federal mail contract, it wasn't in the same league as the other two nationally subsidized mail lines.<sup>6</sup>

Third, speculation has continued to this day that *Black Warrior*'s "Young American intriguing captain, James D. Bulloch," was a front man or a conspirator in a plot to destabilize Cuba.<sup>7</sup> Whatever Bulloch's attitudes were toward filibustering and the desirability of Cuba entering the Union as a slave state, his ship was most certainly not carrying munitions or contraband of war in support of a nascent insurrection. The Spanish had possession of *Black Warrior* for over two weeks, during which they ransacked the steamer, looting significant quantities of ship's stores. If any suspicious contraband had been on board, it would have been found and its discovery widely trumpeted. Further, if Bulloch had truly been guilty of any

such belligerent behavior, he never would have been allowed to again visit Havana much less to command ships that entered that port. Yet the record shows that for the next seven years, Captain Bulloch continued to regularly touch at Havana until the outbreak of the Civil War closed the Southern mail routes.

\* \* \*

In the tense days following *Black Warrior's* seizure, Consul Robertson vigorously protested to Governor Pezuela, and hurriedly forwarded dispatches to Secretary of State Marcy. For their part, the Spanish authorities directed their hostility more at Robertson than toward Bulloch or his hapless ship. Articles in Havana's official paper, *Diario de la Marina*, ruthlessly attacked the consul and threw insults at the president of the United States. The presence of two U.S. warships in harbor, the U.S.S. *Fulton* and *Albany*, did little to check the heated exchanges between governor and consul, although *Fulton* provided accommodation for *Black Warrior's* passengers and crew.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, Bulloch, his officers and crew tensely bided their time. Several days after the seizure, Agent Tyng and Captain Bulloch again visited the governor, this time adopting a more conciliatory approach. According to Spanish accounts, they "confessed their fault, attributing it to their ignorance," and asked that duties no higher than those normally levied on goods 'in transit' be demanded for the ship's release. The governor denied their request, saying the matter was now the subject of judicial proceedings.<sup>9</sup> He eventually granted *Black Warrior's* officers and crew permission to return to the United States, but ordered Bulloch to remain in Havana pending the outcome of the proceedings.<sup>10</sup>

James Bulloch must have been deeply anguished as well as angry at having been caught up in such a public conflict. Whether or not he believed resistance to the Spanish authorities' 'ridiculous formalities' was justified, as a maritime professional it must have been highly embarrassing to have had his ship seized and for him to be under arrest. The sudden chain of events might have had one positive effect—temporarily displacing his mourning for Lizzie. Perhaps he was oddly thankful that *Black Warrior's* seizure didn't happen during his last voyage home, when his wife's body had been on board.

Finally by 14 March, with no end in sight, Bulloch applied for permission for him, his officers and crew to depart from Havana. Two

days later the Spanish judicial system unexpectedly rendered a verdict: “in the spirit of benevolence” and upon payment of a fine of \$6,000, *Black Warrior* would be released from custody. Agent Tyng paid the fine under protest and Captain Bulloch formally took possession of the steamer on 20 March 1854. Once on board he found her in a “filthy condition, in the greatest disorder, and ... that many articles belonging to her [were] missing.”<sup>11</sup> Bulloch ordered his purser to inventory the missing stores and equipment, and briskly set about readying *Black Warrior* for sea.

\* \* \*

It took Captain Bulloch nearly four days to prepare *Black Warrior* to sail. During this strained period an incident occurred which demonstrated that Bulloch, while momentarily checked, had not lost his pride. While in custody of the Spanish authorities, immediate responsibility for the security of *Black Warrior* was vested in the inspector of the port, Don Ramos Marin. It seems Don Ramos was more of the character of a “horse-marine” and knew no more of legal decorum “than could be digested with a good dinner.” Upon hearing that Captain Bulloch had formally protested the theft of his ship’s stores and equipment, and had submitted a list of the missing items through agent Tyng to Havana’s collector of customs, Don Ramos became perfectly enraged. Entering Charles Tyng’s counting house, foaming with anger, Don Ramos threatened all with curses, profanity, and boastful promises to “break their heads.” Soon thereafter Bulloch visited Tyng’s offices and was told of Don Ramos’ hostile reaction, to which he curtly replied, “This is my business; this I do not consign.”

After penning a brief note to Don Ramos in which he stated that he, not Tyng, was responsible for protesting the missing stores, Bulloch left Tyng’s in pursuit of Don Ramos. He finally ran the fire-eater to ground at the popular (and still extant) dining establishment, Dominica. “Captain Bulloch, in his cool, quiet, gentlemanly way, approached the corpulent lion,” and informed Don Ramos that he was solely responsible for the protest note. If any “head breaking” were to occur, to him alone belonged the consequences. Bulloch continued that if Don Ramos had any “peculiar difficulty in the way,” upon *Black Warrior*’s sailing from Havana the next day, Bulloch would make her “clean decks at his disposal ... and ... across the



ship he would relieve his wounded honor.” Bulloch’s overt challenge to Don Ramos in Dominica’s crowded restaurant was quickly backed up by a fellow sea captain’s offer to stand as the gallant colonel’s second. Cornered and publicly humiliated, Don Ramos blinked. Sputtering that it was only Tyng he was after and not Bulloch, Don Ramos offered his regrets.<sup>12</sup>

That Bulloch offered to challenge a prominent customs official to a duel just days after his own release from arrest shows courage if not pluck. He was unbowed by the hollow threat of Spanish authority and refused to allow his honor to be blemished. *The New York Times* article which tells the tale of Bulloch’s brinksmanship also claims that Bulloch considered declining custody of his steamer on the terms handed down by Spain, but feared the authorities would view his continued protest as “contumacious resistance of the supreme authority of the land,” or of his being willfully disobedient.<sup>13</sup> Bulloch’s behavior during the denouement of the ‘Black Warrior Affair’ seems fully in character. His stout resistance to bullying was balanced by a cautious acceptance of reality. The experience gained during this widely publicized international incident would stand Bulloch well in the years to come, especially during his activities in the ‘secret service’ of the Confederate States.

After three weeks of close-packed excitement, the likes of which most people fail to experience in a lifetime, Captain Bulloch gratefully departed Havana. Late on Friday, 24 March, *Black Warrior* weighed anchor and steamed past the Morro Castle, and out to the freedom of the high seas. The joy of the open ocean was quickly tempered by strong northerly gales and heavy head seas, but Neptune’s wrath was at least a familiar foe. On Wednesday, 29 March 1854, *Black Warrior* nosed her way into New York harbor. James Bulloch was home at last.

\* \* \*

A cautiously joyous arrival it must have been. At a personal level, James Dunwoody Bulloch would have been heartened by the warm embrace of Sister Mittie and Brother Thee, now married and newly settled into their home at 28 East 20<sup>th</sup> Street. There he could truly relax and share all that had happened to him. But it had been a turbulent three months for each of them: first Mittie and Thee’s wedding followed by Lizzie’s death, then *Black Warrior*’s seizure and

finally her release. But now they were together again and could take pleasure in each other's company. The Roosevelt's cozy brownstone would be the closest thing to a home the wandering Captain Bulloch would know for years to come. Exactly where the widower James Bulloch made his 'home' when not at sea during the next few years is subject to some speculation; however later correspondence between Mittie, Thee and others gives the firm impression that he was a guest of the Roosevelts as often as he desired.

Bulloch must have been surprised to read the newspaper accounts of the public reaction to the 'Black Warrior Affair.' During the period of his detention in Havana, Cuban authorities had banned the entry of foreign papers in an effort to downplay the incident's seriousness.<sup>14</sup> Now Bulloch learned that on first hearing of the incident, President Franklin Pierce had exclaimed, "Good, good. Here is a fine bit of political capital!"<sup>15</sup> Pierce later declared the steamer's seizure was a "wanton injury" and demanded "immediate indemnity." Attorney General Caleb Cushing had proposed a blockade of Cuba, and Louisiana's Senator John Slidell not so subtly suggested the temporary suspension of the nation's neutrality laws. John Quitman, actively organizing a Cuban filibustering expedition, must have perked up at this later idea, but he hesitated to act and so failed to take advantage of this ready-made window of opportunity.

Bellicose national support for the acquisition of Cuba through filibustering soon faded, and was displaced by growing sentiment that the better way to achieve the same end was through purchase. Secretary of State Marcy had already sent instructions to the American minister in Spain, authorizing him to offer as much as \$130 million for Cuba. This policy shift was due in part to the sectional divisiveness unleashed during the legislation of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which was signed into law on 31 May 1854. Any acquisition of Cuba carried a pro-slavery taint; it was now clear that a nakedly violent invasion of the island would meet with howls of Northern opposition. It was also no coincidence that a day after the Kansas-Nebraska bill passed into law, the Pierce administration proclaimed that any violations of the nation's neutrality laws would be prosecuted, thereby throwing a block across the ambitions of John Quitman and his junta.

However, the machinations of Franklin Pierce's minister to Spain, Pierre Soulé were still a force to be reckoned with. On the pretext of soliciting a "full and free interchange of views" on the Cuban

question from fellow American ministers to the United Kingdom and France, Soulé organized a meeting in Ostend, Belgium in October, 1854. The three statesmen produced a document, later known as the ‘Ostend Manifesto,’ which outlined the rationale for the American purchase of Cuba. Beyond that, it also stated that should Spain refuse to sell Cuba, the United States would be “justified in wresting it from Spain if we possess the power.” Once this so-called manifesto was made public—which happened soon after its receipt in Washington—America’s noble aspirations of ‘Manifest Destiny’ were discredited by their link to pro-slavery aggression.

Despite the waning national pressure to annex Cuba, the threat of filibusters was still far from spent, as William Walker’s exploits in Nicaragua would soon demonstrate. Heeding the sound and fury, and with the luxury of perspective, the Spanish government in Madrid internally debated the issues surrounding Pezuela’s seizure of *Black Warrior*. The precedent of permitting the other mail lines to not manifest cargo in transit was recognized, as was the fact that Collector Roca had acted before the obligatory twelve hour period for correcting manifests had expired. In spring of 1855, a year after the seizure, Spain agreed to pay the owners of *Black Warrior* a \$53,000 indemnity. The American arguments had belatedly triumphed.<sup>16</sup> News of the settlement must have put a wry smile on Captain Bulloch’s face. Not only had *Black Warrior*’s owners been made whole financially, but the difficult decisions forced upon him in Havana had been vindicated.

Although American designs on Cuba had temporarily abated, and would soon be eclipsed by the Civil War, they never really left the national consciousness. Fifty-four years after the ‘Black Warrior Affair,’ they again burst into the headlines under the mantra of ‘Remember the Maine.’ The result was the Spanish American War of 1898. At that time one of the nation’s most ardent war hawks was the U.S. assistant secretary of the navy. He was James Dunwoody Bulloch’s nephew, Theodore Roosevelt.<sup>17</sup>

\* \* \*

During the remainder of 1854, James Bulloch got on with his life. He continued in the service of Livingston, Crocheron & Co.’s New York and Alabama Steamship Company, still commanding *Black Warrior*. During this year the company’s southern terminus was

changed from Mobile, Alabama, to New Orleans, Louisiana, thereby establishing the first exclusive line from New York to the Crescent City.<sup>18</sup> A glance at a map will make clear the reasons for the shift: New Orleans, now the nation's second largest port, was the gateway to the vast Mississippi River system and all the territory it served. As *Black Warrior's* new route still featured stops in Havana, both going and coming, Captain Bulloch was again dealing with Havana's ever-vigilant customs officials twice a month. One wishes he had recorded his recollections of *Black Warrior's* first post-seizure port call.

Later that year, a career-changing decision loomed: if James Bulloch had forgotten about the Navy, the Navy had not forgotten about him. On 12 September 1854, fourteen months after he had been granted a furlough of one year, or leave of absence for such time as the Department might think proper, the Navy wrote to Lieutenant James Bulloch, ordering him to report for duty on 1 October on board the U.S.S. *John Adams*. Bulloch was now unmarried and his personal difficulties from Lizzie's illness were behind him. But he had now tasted the excitement of command of a large steamer, and had done so for over a year. The prospect of stepping back to serve, at the Navy's beck and call, as a lieutenant on a sailing sloop-of-war would have had little appeal. Writing from New York on 3 October 1854, James Bulloch tendered his resignation from the Navy. Two days later his resignation was formally accepted. The proven competence of "Lieutenant Bulloch" ensured *The New York Times'* front page coverage of the event.<sup>19</sup> The journey young James Dunwoody Bulloch had begun fifteen years before had now come to an end. He was no longer an active officer in the United States Navy. It must have been a bitter-sweet moment for Bulloch. But he had started something bigger, something even more fulfilling. He was now commanding a mail steamer, and as the record will show, over the next seven years Bulloch became one of the most experienced and popular captains sailing the U.S. eastern seaboard.

James Bulloch threw himself into his chosen profession with zeal and an appetite for hard work. These characteristics of Bulloch, as with many of his other traits, would resurface in the future, particularly during the Civil War years. But for the moment it is impressive to simply view his record. New York Customs House archives for the year 1855 document a relentless series of foreign clearances in the

name of Captain Bulloch, all to the familiar port of Havana, the first stop on his ship's New Orleans liner route. His surname was almost invariably spelled with a final 'k', in both the customs records and newspaper notices of 'Marine Intelligence.' During the eight month period of April through November 1855, Captain Bulloch cleared the steamer *Black Warrior* out of New York City seven times, leaving port regularly on either the 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> of each month. Only one month in this period, August, fails to record a clearance. What is truly astonishing is that he kept up this punishing routine for so long. Intensive examination of New York Customs House and *The New York Times* archives documents more than seventy foreign clearances by Captain Bulloch—all but one to Havana—during the period of June 1853 through April 1861. Over this span of almost eight years, Bulloch was in command of five different ships, and averaged nine departures per year. If we assume a number of Bulloch's clearances remained invisible to this researcher—and I have no doubt they did—this average climbs even further. Considering virtually all these voyages involved two stops in Havana, coming and going to either Mobile or New Orleans, we can calculate that Captain Bulloch sailed into and out of Havana's harbor at least 140 times! He must have known the waters of that fabled port like the back of his hand.<sup>20</sup>

\* \* \*

What was a typical voyage of Bulloch's like? It's possible to piece together a fairly complete picture of one of his round trips through customs house records, *The New York Times* articles, and Richard Henry Dana's delightful book, *To Cuba and Back, A Vacation Voyage*. This latter source documents a voyage made by Dana to Cuba in early 1859 on the steamer *Cahawba*, the ship Bulloch commanded the longest. *Cahawba* was operated by the owners of *Black Warrior*, Livingston, Crocheron & Co., as were the other two ships Bulloch captained prior to the Civil War, *Bienville* and *De Soto*. All four mail steamers plied the New York-Havana-New Orleans route. *Cahawba* was *Black Warrior*'s newer running mate and closely resembled her, although she was slightly larger at length 250 ft 3 in, breadth 37 ft, depth 26 ft 4 in and 1,643 register tons. She, too, was a wooden-hulled, side wheel steamer, fitted with three (later two) masts and a full set of sails. When new she could probably steam at 12 knots, but her more usual service speed was closer to 9 knots.

By the late 1850s the steamers' New York terminus was on the North (or Hudson) River side of lower Manhattan, at Pier 27 which was at the foot of Robinson Street. Neither Pier 27 nor Robinson Street exist today, but they were located just north of Vesey Street and south of the entrance to the Holland Tunnel. During his entire antebellum career as a mail steamer captain, Bulloch was employed by one of the bluest of the New York blue bloods, Herman Tong Livingston, the principal partner of Livingston, Crocheron & Co. Herman Livingston was a sixth generation American descendent of the 'ancient and noble' Scottish family of that same name, which figured so prominently in New York and American history, and whose relative, Chancellor Robert Livingston, was associated with Robert Fulton's pioneering *North River Steam Boat*.<sup>21</sup> Richard C. Crocheron, the firm's second partner, was one of a prominent family from Staten Island with long-standing business interests in Alabama.<sup>22</sup> Livingston, Crocheron & Co.'s offices, on 12 Park Place, were just west of Broadway, opposite the present location of New York's city hall.

The company's steamers' schedules were advertised in New York's papers, and they would typically be available to "receive freight" four days before sailing. The hour of sailing was punctiliously adhered to, in much the same way modern aircraft are scheduled, as Dana explains:

Captain Bulloch is sure to sail on the hour; and at the hour he is on the paddle-box, the fasts are loosed, the warp run out, the crew pull in on the warp ... and the head swings off. No word is spoken, but all is done by signs; or, if a word is necessary, a low clear tone conveys it to the listener. There is no tearing and rending escape of steam, deafening and distracting all, and giving a kind of terror to a peaceful scene; but our ship swings off, gathers way, and enters upon her voyage, in a quiet like that of a bank or counting-room, almost under a spell of silence.<sup>23</sup>

Bulloch's "cool, quiet, gentlemanly way" surfaced before in Havana, during his confrontation with the "horse marine" Don Ramos Marin, and it will appear again in Dana's narrative. Preparation and calm execution were the hallmarks of Bulloch's command style.

Once off the dock, Bulloch's steamer—let's choose *Cahawba* for this voyage—would quickly pass through New York's Upper Bay,

with Brooklyn Heights to port, Staten Island to starboard, on through the Narrows and out past Sandy Hook and on to the high seas beyond. The 1850s were the golden era of American marine enterprise, the manifestation of which would have been plainly visible to all her passengers. The same New York Customs House archives which document Bulloch's foreign clearances also record the names of such famous American steamers as *George Law* (later *Central America*), *Fulton*, *Star of the West*, *Arago* and *Quaker City*. The British transatlantic liners *Great Western* and *British Queen* are also listed, as are the magnificent China clipper *Sea Witch* and the famous Liverpool packet *Dreadnaught*. New York's harbor of that era was a kaleidoscope of activity, its busy waters filled with watercraft of all kind, pulsing with excitement and always in motion.

By the first night at sea, *Cahawba* would be well offshore, beginning her 1,150 nautical mile run south to Havana. This segment of the voyage would take five to six days at an average speed of 9 knots, depending on weather and the steamer's direction. As her course between New York and Havana made three crossings of the north flowing Gulf Stream, returns to New York were always faster. Her heading south knuckled more westerly after Cape Hatteras was cleared, usually within sight of its light house, and was then set on a beeline to the Straits of Florida. The ship's passengers settled into their own routine which, by necessity, meshed with the ship's. Coffee was available to early risers, breakfast was served at eight, lunch at noon, dinner at three, and tea at seven. All lights were extinguished at ten. On Sundays, Captain Bulloch was in the habit of reading the divine service, but eventually gave it up. Most of the route's passengers were either Roman Catholic or of different denominations and he had received little encouragement to continue the practice.<sup>24</sup>

The number of passengers would vary greatly between voyages and the season. One example of a May arrival in New York listed over 150 passengers by name: men, women and children, bearing a rich variety of surnames. Yet another New York arrival, this one in January, listed only a dozen passengers.<sup>25</sup> Newspaper listings of passengers from this period usually didn't call out those travelling in steerage by name, so the total number of passengers during these two sample voyages could easily have been higher. The customs house records indicate crew sizes ('vessel navigated with \_\_ men') which

also varied considerably, with as few as 26 and as many as 80.<sup>26</sup> The steamers' officers were all Navy men like their captain, which served to maintain the consistency and order of the ships' operation.

Dana gave another picture of Captain Bulloch's command style during *Cahawba's* southern passage:

I hardly believed that her commander could—that any commander could—fully come up to all the praise that had been bestowed on him; but I think he weathers it all. The rule of quietness prevails, almost to the point of an English dinner-party. No order is given unless it be necessary, and none louder than is necessary for it to be heard. The reports are made in low voices, and the passengers are to see and hear as little as possible of the discipline of the ship.<sup>27</sup>

Fulsome praise, indeed, for both the man and his methods. Captain Bulloch was surprisingly approachable while walking the decks of his steamer. On their first night out, Dana provided a very human portrait of thirty-five year old James Dunwoody Bulloch:

By night, I walk deck for a couple of hours with the young captain. After due inquiries about his family in Georgia, and due remembrance of those of his mother's line whom we loved, and the public honored, before the grave or the sea closed over them, the fascinating topic of the navy, the frigates and line-of-battle ships and little sloops, the storms, the wrecks, and the sea-fights, fill up the time. He loves the navy still, and has left it with regret; but the navy does not love her sons as they love her. On the quarter-deck at fifteen, the first in rank of his year, favored by his commanders, with service in the best vessels, making the great cruise under Morris, taking part in the actions of the Naval Brigade ashore in California, serving on the Coast Survey, a man of science as well as a sailor—yet what is there before him, or those like him, in our navy?<sup>28</sup>

Dana ended his discourse with his previously quoted remarks addressing the dim career prospects of aging Navy officers. What a wonderful picture from a very observant writer, one who was able to capture a scene with a minimum of words.

Once within the Straits of Florida, a choke point of maritime traffic, more and more ships would be encountered, requiring the lookouts'



increased vigilance. At the meridian of Matanzas, the hilly, fertile coast of Cuba would come into view, and was followed westward until Havana was reached. Havana's port regulations allowed only the daylight entry of shipping, a morning or sunset gun being fired to indicate the harbor was respectively opened or closed for the day. The first hint that the steamer was nearly there was the sighting of the buff colored, angular battlements of Morro Castle, the fort Spain had built to protect Havana. A tall lighthouse stood just before it, and flags and signals flew from its heights. The harbor of Havana, while providing a snug and protected shelter, is surprisingly compact. Ships entering passed through a deep and narrow channel between the Morro and the Punta Castles, and beyond it opened the inner bay, which during these years was choked with merchantmen and men-of-war from all the great maritime nations, each in their separate anchorages. Once the ship was anchored within, she was instantly swarmed with boats, hawking fruit and plying for custom. And finally, under the blood red and gold flag of Spain, immaculate in their white uniforms and straw hats, cigars in mouth, the port officials arrived.<sup>29</sup>

If possible, mail steamers entered and departed Havana on the same day. With no cargo to discharge, the ships' principal activities focused on debarking and embarking passengers, and possibly topping off their bunkers with coal. It must have been a busy, tiring day for the ships' officers, charged with navigating the ship into the harbor, anchoring, and then seeing to all the formalities of health officials, customs officers, passenger agents, as well as their myriad ship husbandry duties. Runs ashore to sign papers and receive clearances were part of their routine, with the opportunity of a quick meal or a chance to shop. Finally, when all was done and under the pressure of beating the evening gun, the ship would prepare to depart. We again turn to Dana for a workmanlike picture of how Captain Bulloch extricated his steamer from a very crowded anchorage under the gaze of many watchful spectators:

The harbor is very full of vessels, and the room for swinging is small. A British mail-steamer, and a Spanish man-of-war, and several merchantmen, are close upon us. Captain Bulloch takes his second mate aft, and they have a conference, as quietly as if they were arranging a funeral. He is explaining to them his plan for running the warps and swinging the ship, and telling him

beforehand what he is to do in this case, and what in that, and how to understand his signs, so that no orders, or as few as possible, need be given at the time of action. The engine moves, the warp is hauled upon, the anchor is tripped, and dropped again, and tripped again, the ship takes the right sheer, clear of everything, and goes handsomely out of the harbor, the star[s] and stripes at her peak, with a waving of hats from friends on the Punta wharf.<sup>30</sup>

Dana's sharp eye yields another fine example of Bulloch's careful preparation, and cool, precise execution. No wonder Bulloch was so popular with his passengers: he ran his ship in such a way as to give all on board the utmost confidence that they were in safe hands.

Soon enough the big steamer was out into the open waters of the Gulf of Mexico. With her funnel pouring forth black coal smoke, her great walking beam see-sawing up and down fifteen times each minute, her huge side wheels churning the sea into twin wakes of foam, she was on her way to her next and final destination. During Bulloch's first year in the service of Livingston, Crocheron & Co., when he commanded *Black Warrior*, the steamship line's southern terminus was Mobile, Alabama, some 510 nautical miles from Havana. Assuming a late afternoon departure from Havana, a steamer would have arrived at the entrance of Mobile Bay on the morning after her third night at sea. Owing to the shallowness of the bay, steamers the size of *Black Warrior* or *Cahawba* could not sail directly to Mobile's docks, but instead would anchor in either the Lower Fleet, just inside the entrance, or if their draft allowed, the Upper Fleet halfway up the bay. There passengers would board a smaller steamer for the final distance to Mobile. The southern terminus in Alabama accounts for the choice of these two ships' names: Black Warrior is one of Alabama's great rivers, and Cahawba was the location of Alabama's first state capital and the one-time home of Richard C. Crocheron, the second of the steamship line's owning partners.

When the southern terminus was changed to New Orleans in late 1854, the logistics changed, but only slightly. Under good conditions, a steamer like *Cahawba* could make the Balize (near modern Pilottown), the Mississippi delta pilot station at the head of passes, in just 48 hours.<sup>31</sup> Another twelve hours was required to navigate the

tortuous bends of the muddy Mississippi, until New Orleans came into sight. There she would tie up along the river bank's levee, within walking distance of the French Quarter, the second leg of her voyage complete. Passengers would debark, and the steamer began her preparations for a return to Havana, and finally New York.

Looking back at the last few pages' voyage itinerary and timing, we can see how *Cahawba* and her running mates could maintain a regular monthly schedule on the New York-Havana-New Orleans route. Rounding up steaming times to full days, a complete round trip voyage could be described as follows:

New York to Havana:	6 days
Layover in Havana	1 day
Havana to New Orleans	3 days
New Orleans turnaround	4 days
New Orleans to Havana	3 days
Layover in Havana	1 day
Havana to New York	5 days
New York turnaround	7 days
Total Round Trip Time	30 days

Keeping a schedule like this must have been taxing on the ship's officers, especially her captain. Every day at sea and at all hours, he would be on call, always alert to the steamer's safe navigation. During stormy weather, when approaching key navigational way points, and at every harbor entry or departure, he would have taken the deck and assumed personal control of the ship. He was fully responsible for all that happened. There was little relief while in port. Every day something was always there to claim his attention: passengers to greet, cargo to load, bunkers to fill, maintenance to check, repairs to make, officers and crew to manage ... the list was endless. And at each port of entry—four times a month—he would be treating with port officials of both the United States and Spain, submitting passenger and cargo manifests, swearing to their veracity, signing documents which only the captain could sign. That James Dunwoody Bulloch kept up a schedule like this, so consistently and for so many years, all without a mishap, injury or loss, speaks volumes about his stamina, skill as a mariner, and his mastery of everything around him.

## CHAPTER 11

---

### *I Want You to Go to Europe. When Can You Start?*

**T**HE CITY OF Charleston, birthplace of secession, was in the first months of 1861 the stage for a slow motion explosion. Shortly after South Carolina seceded from the Union, the U.S. federal troops assigned to Charleston's defense had abandoned the harbor's land-based batteries in favor of the much more easily defended island fortress of Fort Sumter. An uneasy stalemate ensued. The Southerners were incensed that the federal forces had not withdrawn from what was now, in their view, a sovereign nation, and the North was reluctant in the extreme to haul down their flag in the face of an unrecognized rebellion. In January, the steamer *Star of the West* attempted to bring relief supplies to the beleaguered federal troops, but was chased off by artillery fire. Abraham Lincoln took the oath of office as president of the United States on 4 March, and things went downhill quickly. Rumors that a U.S. Navy fleet was on its way to relieve Fort Sumter finally tipped the balance. Early on the morning of 12 April 1861, Confederate gunners under General Beauregard opened fire on the massive brick fortress, thereby beginning the bitterest war the United States would ever know.<sup>1</sup>

The electrifying news reached James Dunwoody Bulloch in New Orleans. *Bienville* was within a day of sailing. Once all doubt had been removed over just what had happened—the opening of hostilities between the North and South—Bulloch acted with swift resolution. He formally offered his services to the government of the

Confederate States of America. Bulloch's offer was tendered through a letter written to Judah P. Benjamin, the newly appointed attorney-general of the Confederate States. Benjamin, who until two months before had been one of Louisiana's United States senators, was likely the best known to Bulloch of the newly established Confederate government's cabinet, and therefore the safest of hands into which he was willing to place his fate. In his letter, Bulloch explained that he must first discharge his captain's responsibilities and return *Bienville* to her owners in New York; then he would be ready for any service. It was a life-changing moment for James Dunwoody Bulloch. Every detail of that day was forever remembered. To paraphrase his memoirs, he was conscious that a great crisis had arisen and he was ready to meet it.<sup>2</sup>

The emotion of the day was intensified later that afternoon when *Bienville* received a visit from Louisiana's self-styled 'Board of War.' Bulloch was familiar with the Board and their members, having previously informally discussed with them his ideas on how to most effectively prevent hostile warships from passing the forts guarding the mouth of the Mississippi. But now the Board wished to seize *Bienville* for Confederate service; if Captain Bulloch would name a price, it would be immediately paid. Bulloch unhesitatingly replied that he had no authority or inclination to make such a sale, to which the Board replied that if their offer wasn't accepted, force might be necessary. The unwanted conflict between Bulloch's loyalty to the South and his integrity as a ship's captain was, to him, "inexpressibly painful."

Bulloch's situation was angst-laden for other reasons. As a shareholder in the New York and New Orleans Steam Ship Co., Bulloch was a part owner of *Bienville*.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, as a man who had already committed to 'going South,' Bulloch could have curried his new masters' favor by agreeing to 'sell' his ship. But considerations of his reputation and immediate, heart-felt responsibilities as the ship's captain won the day. He would take her back to New York.

After the Board members withdrew, Bulloch quietly made preparations to "skedaddle" from New Orleans. It must have been a very uneasy evening for him, especially after a day of such extraordinary excitement. Welcome news arrived at 10 pm that night. Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederate States, had telegraphed his answer to the Board's query regarding seizure of the ship: "Do not

detain the *Bienville*; we do not wish to interfere with private property.” A rush of joy must have pulsed through Captain Bulloch. The conflict was resolved; he was free to go. At eight the following morning, keeping to her advertised schedule despite the previous day’s upheavals, *Bienville* sailed from New Orleans.<sup>4</sup> James Dunwoody Bulloch was returning his command to her owners. He was also beginning a personal journey to a new nation where he would soon face his own uncertain future.

\* \* \*

Late in the evening of 22 April 1861, *Bienville* eased into her familiar North River berth. In the eight days since she had sailed, everything had changed. Fort Sumter’s fall had abruptly ended all hope of a peaceful Southern secession. It was now war: Lincoln had called up 75,000 volunteer soldiers, the federal arsenal at Harper’s Ferry had been abandoned and burned, the Norfolk Navy Yard—the largest in the country—had also been evacuated and torched, and rioting mobs had attacked U.S. troops in Baltimore creating an atmosphere of national panic. At sea, Jefferson Davis had proclaimed the legitimacy of Southern privateers, and in sharp response the U.S. government had declared a blockade of Southern ports. By this last act, the Lincoln administration had unwittingly accorded the Confederate States *de facto* belligerent status, something it would strenuously argue against in the world court during the years to come.

Once *Bienville* was tied up, she was boarded by one of Livingston, Crocheron & Co.’s managing directors, who promptly brought Bulloch up to date. He also informed Bulloch that *Bienville* had been chartered by the U.S. government to transport a Rhode Island regiment to reinforce Washington, D.C. Bulloch quietly told the director that he could not go on that voyage, and was relieved that he wasn’t pressed for an explanation.<sup>5</sup> Soon enough, his captain’s duties were complete and Bulloch could turn his attention to personal affairs. Heavy were the thoughts on his mind.

\* \* \*

By making the decision to ‘go South,’ James Bulloch turned his back on most if not all of former life. He terminated a profitable profession—commanding U.S. mail steamers—at which he had excelled for nearly a decade. The economic consequences to his family

would, in time, be profound. And by pledging his allegiance to the Confederacy, he risked fracturing his family's new-found cohesion around the nucleus of the Roosevelts. Perhaps Bulloch believed, like so many others at the time, that a war between the North and South would not be long and he would soon return to his peace time occupation albeit under a new flag. But for now he had the present reality to face.

It must have been a wrenching homecoming, one with little joy. While Harriot knew that her husband would eventually volunteer his services to the South, the finality of his action was now upon them. Increasing their anxiety was the fact that Harriot was now eight months pregnant. War and families seldom mix, and considerable anxiety over their futures must have laced the atmosphere. Casting his thoughts further afield, Thee Roosevelt's Unionist sentiments were something Bulloch was keenly aware of, and he would have had no wish to trouble the Roosevelt family with his provocative new commitment. He could confide in his Southern-born step-mother, Martha Bulloch, and her children. But discretion in all things was now very necessary for James Bulloch. It was a new and dangerous terrain he had entered; he was now an outsider in a changing landscape.

Early the next morning Bulloch called at Livingston, Crocheron & Co.'s office. He had yet heard nothing from Judah Benjamin, and without positive direction he was in an increasingly uncomfortable position. He had offered his services in writing, and communications between North and South were on the verge of rupture. To his great relief, a letter from Benjamin awaited him:

Department of Justice, C.S.A.  
Montgomery, Alabama

The Secretary of the Navy desires you to come to Montgomery without delay.

Yours, etc.,  
J. P. Benjamin<sup>6</sup>

So there it was! Bulloch had been summoned "without delay" to the provisional capital of the Confederacy, there to meet with the secretary of the Confederate States Navy, former Florida United States

Senator Stephen R. Mallory. His next step was now clear. But Bulloch knew he must act with extreme caution; his memoirs assert that if he had departed hastily, he would have likely been arrested. As a public personality and known Southern sympathizer, Captain Bulloch's loyalties would have been in doubt from the day he returned to New York. Furthermore, given the near certainty of an extended period away from home and family, he needed to wind up major elements of his business and personal affairs, and prepare his family for the future. There is good evidence that Bulloch used this period to hastily transfer ownership of his property to "other parties," all to avoid confiscation by the U.S. government.<sup>7</sup> His final days in New York and New Jersey must have felt as though he were walking on eggs; as he later wrote, his "compulsory sojourn there ... was not agreeable."<sup>8</sup>

\* \* \*

"In the early days of May" James Dunwoody Bulloch started on his journey to both Montgomery and a new phase of his life. Knowing his dates of arrival at the Confederate capital and backing out his itinerary, we can calculate that he began his trip on 1 May, or at the latest, 2 May 1861. His memoir vividly describes a Kafkaesque travelogue replete with subterfuge and intrigue as he passed through a nation in the throes of disintegration. At a spiritual level Bulloch had embarked on a personal odyssey, one which mirrored his turbulent journey South, as he left the safety of his old life and hurried on to embrace a new nation.

By train he first went to Philadelphia, where he spent the night, perhaps with Susan and Hilborne West. The next day he again took to the rails, for distant Cincinnati, Ohio, by way of Pittsburg, spending at least one if not two nights on the move. At Cincinnati he then boarded a river boat, where he was forced to pass through a military check point. He sailed to Louisville, Kentucky, where he caught the first train to Nashville, Tennessee, arriving mid-day on 5 May. Bulloch was now in a Southern city where it was safe for him to communicate. He telegraphed Judah Benjamin in Montgomery to advise of his imminent arrival. As events will show, he may have also sent another telegram regarding future travel plans—more on that later. He also paused to visit Tennessee's state secession convention, which was in progress. There he was asked by one of the delegates, General



Barrow, to please inform President Davis that Tennessee could be expected to soon secede.<sup>9</sup> Bulloch made the final leg of his journey by rail through Chattanooga and Atlanta, finally arriving in Montgomery, Alabama, shortly before midnight of 7 May 1861. After his long and exhausting journey, Bulloch found that no one seemed to think or care about sleeping; all were excited by the prospect of war.<sup>10</sup>

Although weary and travel worn, early the next morning Bulloch reported to his new Southern masters. At the time of his visit, the provisional government of the Confederate States was located in the state of Alabama's handsome, white capitol building, which although greatly enlarged is still extant. It wouldn't be until the end of May that the decision was made to move the Confederacy's capital to Virginia's state capital, Richmond, in recognition of that newly seceded state's prominence. President Jefferson Davis and his vice president, Alexander Stephens, were served by a cabinet of six men, one of whom was Attorney-General Judah Benjamin, the object of Bulloch's first visit. Other cabinet positions included the postmaster general and the secretaries of state, war, treasury, and the navy.<sup>11</sup> Stephen R. Mallory, the holder of the last named post, had during his tenure as United States senator from Florida, chaired the Committee on Naval Affairs and so was well equipped for the huge task that lay ahead. His long immersion in the details of the U. S. Navy's administration had likely brought him an awareness of Bulloch's career and capabilities; perhaps they had met in the years before the War.<sup>12</sup> Mallory would be one of the very few cabinet members to hold his office during the entire life of the Confederacy.<sup>13</sup>

What résumé did James Dunwoody Bulloch bring with him? In May of 1861, he was a thirty-seven year old steamship captain with an unexcelled reputation for his service on the demanding United States mail steamer routes. He was a retired U.S. Navy lieutenant who had served his country well for over fifteen years, nearly all of them on arduous active duty, where he had gained experience with every class of warship in the Navy's inventory. He had proved his mettle under the stress of shipwreck and foreign seizure, and through it all remained popular with both his crew and passengers. Beyond that, he had superintended the construction of a pair of fine steamers, he had first-hand experience with diplomatic protocol, and he was intimately familiar with banking procedures and customs documents. Bulloch was as comfortable in a court of law as on the quarterdeck,

and was a man of science who also knew how business was transacted. He had amply proven his personal integrity, zeal and intelligence. And so important in that century, he was a gentleman of the highest class, who could comfortably fit into any imaginable social, political or international setting.<sup>14</sup>

Bulloch quickly found Judah Benjamin in the busy capitol building. The attorney-general offered greetings then briskly led him to the Navy Department. There he was introduced to Secretary of the Navy Stephen R. Mallory:

“Mr. Secretary,” said Benjamin, “here is Captain Bulloch.”

“I am glad to see you: I want you to go to Europe,” responded Mallory, looking at Bulloch. “When can you start?”

Bulloch replied, “I have no impedimenta, and can start as soon as you explain what I am to do.”<sup>15</sup>

Bulloch dryly explained in his memoirs that Mallory’s request “took him aback.” He tells us that during the weeks since he had formally volunteered for service with the South—from New Orleans, it will be remembered—he had formed the idea that, because of his unique experience with that city and its river approaches, he would be assigned to its defense. New Orleans was then the largest city in the Confederacy, and Bulloch’s assertion was entirely plausible. But he had now been suddenly ordered to go on an entirely different and unsuspected mission.<sup>16</sup> Was it really a surprise?

There is good evidence that James Bulloch knew he would be sent to Europe as a Confederate agent before he arrived in Montgomery. On the first day Bulloch reached a ‘safe’ Southern telegraph office—5 May in Nashville—U.S. Treasury Agent Hollis White alerted officials in Washington D.C. to a “suspected visit of Capt. J. D. Bulloch to England.” White, who served as a railroad agent at the communications crossroads of Niagara Falls, New York, might have spotted a telegram sent by Bulloch to arrange passage to England via Canada.<sup>17</sup> But why would Bulloch, writing more than twenty years after the event, hide the fact that he knew about his European assignment before his first meeting with Secretary Mallory? In hindsight, Bulloch’s prior contacts with Southern officials must have been more extensive than those he admitted—informal discussions with Louisiana’s ‘Board of War.’ It is not beyond the realm of possibility that Bulloch conceived of and proposed

he be sent on his European mission well before he arrived in Montgomery. Writing for posterity and keen to preserve his and his family's reputation—the Roosevelts' in particular—one can conjecture that Bulloch consciously chose to minimize the extent of his communications with secessionists before Fort Sumter was fired upon and hostilities had commenced. 'Going South' when the guns rang out had an undeniably patriotic appeal. And for James Bulloch, consideration of family trumped all; for everyone's sake his memoirs would attempt to place his actions in the best possible light.<sup>18</sup>

\* \* \*

Secretary Mallory began by outlining the condition of the Navy Department. Very few of the naval officers who had resigned from the U.S. Navy had yet reported for duty in Montgomery. His department, like everything else about the Confederacy, was starting from scratch, improvising its way through each day's crisis. As for warships, only one suitable merchant steamer had been found in New Orleans, and Commander Raphael Semmes had been sent to prepare her for sea (she would soon make headlines as the C.S.S. *Sumter*). Mallory then turned to the strategic picture.<sup>19</sup> Although the Confederate States of America was an enormous country, rich in land and resources, it was overwhelmingly rural. It was served by an underdeveloped infrastructure, possessed few manufacturing plants, and had but a handful of shipyards or machine shops, and those were of limited capacity. Of a merchant marine it had none, nor did it have the seamen or trades to support one. And its economy was based on a single crop, cotton, which had been traditionally exported to England and France. Now a war loomed with a significantly more populous and industrially developed foe, one which had declared its intention to blockade Southern ports. *La guerre de course*, or making war on an enemy's commerce, had always been the underdog's favorite strategy; indeed the United States had unhesitatingly resorted to commerce raiding during its two wars with Britain. Given the great peril that now faced the South, Mallory informed Bulloch that it was his intention to follow a similar path. For each Confederate cruiser unleashed upon the high seas, the North would be compelled to dispatch a disproportionate number of warships in pursuit, thereby materially weakening the blockade. It was a win-win tactic. But first, observed Mallory, the South needed suitable

cruisers. As none were available in the South, they must of necessity and as quickly as possible be bought or built in Europe. That was to be Bulloch's job.<sup>20</sup>

Their conversation soon focused on the characteristics of such cruisers. Given the secretary's former U.S. Senate committee service and his abiding interest in the latest international naval developments, he certainly had his own opinions. Mallory was an early and enthusiastic supporter of rifled ordnance, and had keenly followed the halting steps taken by Europe's navies toward developing ironclads. While this latter point had no application to cruisers, it would soon reappear when Mallory pressed the Confederacy to convert the burned-out hulk of the U.S. Steam Frigate *Merrimack* into an armored ram, the C.S.S. *Virginia*. Winding up their far-ranging interview, Mallory asked that Bulloch return to his hotel, and there review the entire subject of their conversation, making such notes as might be necessary to fix the main points in his mind. He was instructed to return to the secretary's office the next day.

One can only imagine the train of thought that coursed through Bulloch's head: his orders to go to Europe had now been explicitly detailed, he was to buy or build cruisers, and he was to do it all as quickly as possible. What a tremendous responsibility! Bulloch no doubt hastened back to his hotel and began scribbling. The next morning, he repaired to Mallory's office. There the two men reviewed Bulloch's notes and Mallory "enlarged upon various subjects." Then Mallory digressed into a discussion of the international and diplomatic aspects of Bulloch's mission. Mallory's view was that the Confederacy could soon expect to receive *de facto* ('in fact' or informal) recognition from the European powers, in accordance with existing international law governing belligerents. However *de jure* ('by right' or formal) recognition would not be forthcoming until the Confederacy had proven its independence by force of arms. That led to some words about the laws governing neutrality. Bulloch was urged to quickly become familiar with Britain's Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819, and if it should be issued, the Queen's Proclamation of Neutrality. Mallory's foresight was flawless, and reflected knowledge gained from his first occupation as a lawyer specializing in admiralty law. These two instruments between them—the Foreign Enlistment Act and Neutrality Proclamation—would circumscribe Bulloch's every future action in the United Kingdom.<sup>21</sup>

Their discussion then moved to the vital issue of finances, and how Bulloch was to obtain funds in England. He was instructed to make use of Messrs. Fraser, Trenholm & Co., of Liverpool, who would be the bankers or “depositories” of the Confederate States of America in the United Kingdom. Although Bulloch had had no dealings with Fraser, Trenholm & Co.’s Liverpool office, he would have been familiar with its American roots. The Liverpool office was the British face of the Charleston, South Carolina bank and trading house, John Fraser & Co., and its New York City branch, Trenholm Brothers. All three banks—Charleston, New York and Liverpool—were joined by an interlocking directorate. George A. Trenholm—who would in time become the Confederacy’s secretary of treasury—ran the Charleston office; James T. Welsman managed the New York office; and Charles K. Prioleau, a native of South Carolina who would in two years’ time be naturalized as a British subject, was in charge of the Liverpool office.<sup>22</sup> Bulloch was urged to promptly present himself to Fraser, Trenholm & Co.’s counting house. Their assistance would be indispensable if Bulloch was to timely fulfill his orders to purchase cruisers and naval supplies.

Immediately after his arrival in the United Kingdom, Bulloch was also instructed to make contact with the two Confederate commissioners who in March had been dispatched to London, Georgian William Yancey and Dudley Mann of Virginia. He was to acquaint them with his assignment and obtain their appraisal of Her Majesty’s government’s latest diplomatic developments. Bulloch was told he could assume wide discretionary powers within the limits of his written orders, which would be forwarded to him at the first opportunity. Finally, he was requested to start as soon as possible. Bulloch did so, leaving Montgomery on that night’s train. His destination: Liverpool, England.

\* \* \*

Mallory’s written orders, dated the day of Bulloch’s departure from Montgomery, didn’t reach Bulloch for another seven weeks.<sup>23</sup> These orders were the result of collaboration between Bulloch and Mallory; recall the notes Bulloch was asked to write and which were “expanded upon” during their second day’s discussion. His orders also confirm that Bulloch was sent to England solely in the capacity of a civilian naval agent—they were addressed to James D. Bulloch,

Esq. In later correspondence, Mallory accorded Bulloch the title Captain, but only as an honorific applicable to a ship's master rather than the naval rank. But what really stands out are the detail and scope of Bulloch's orders. They are nothing less than breathtaking.

Bulloch was ordered to purchase or build six propeller-driven steam cruisers. However time was of the essence. If no suitable vessels were readily available, he was authorized to have them built. Bulloch was instructed to purchase the vessels through the agency of an "established English commercial house," largely for convenience but also to shield their Confederate origins. He was to insist on their delivery to Southern ports under the British flag, using Confederate bonds for payment. The steamers should be no larger than necessary to be efficient cruisers, partly in deference to shallow Southern harbors but also because greater numbers of ships could then be afforded. Each cruiser should be equipped with at least one large rifled pivot gun, and supplied with navy stores and provisions, "liquor excepted," for a six month cruise. In addition to the cruisers, Mallory appended a detailed list of cutlasses, pistols, revolvers, navy carbines, all complete with ammunition and accoutrement, as well as clothing—pants, jumpers, jackets, shoes, socks, underwear, handkerchiefs, bunting, etc.—for two thousand marines and two thousand sailors. Near the end of this wish list, Mallory asked Bulloch to send the requested arms and ammunition to the South on a fast steamer, and suggested it might be necessary for Bulloch to "embark on her yourself, to your judgment."<sup>24</sup> The South's new naval agent would indeed be a very busy man.

Bulloch began his long journey by retracing his path north until he reached Louisville, Kentucky. Before crossing the Ohio River he destroyed all written notes from his Montgomery meetings. He then travelled by rail to Detroit and crossed the river into Canada. At Windsor, he caught the Grand Trunk Railway to Montreal. In all likelihood, Bulloch paused in Montreal long enough to communicate with his wife Harriot—perhaps anonymously by telegraph or by a secure letter—advising of his safety. He would have been concerned about Harriot's imminent delivery, and for good reason. On 17 May 1861, Harriot Bulloch gave birth to their third child, a boy who was given the names Henry Dunwoody.<sup>25</sup> Four long months would pass before Bulloch would be able to cradle his newborn son in his arms.

Also unbeknownst to James Bulloch, in far away Savannah, Georgia, his mentor, close friend and family confidant passed away at age sixty-one. Just weeks after Robert Hutchison signed his last will and testament on 26 April 1861, "He, with everything to make life pleasant, died without a friend or relative to smooth his dying pillow."<sup>26</sup> Robert Hutchison was laid to rest in Shockoe Hill Cemetery, joining his two former wives, not far from Lizzie Caskie Bulloch's grave. That Hutchison was a rich man was well known, but his will made clear just how wealthy he really was. To the Bulloch family he was particularly generous, with James Dunwoody Bulloch being the first of the named inheritors. Hutchison left \$30,000 in bonds and most of his household possessions to James Bulloch and cash bequests to other family members as follows: \$5,000 to Daniel Stuart Elliott, \$5,000 to Martha Bulloch, and \$1,000 to each of Martha's four living children. Furthermore, Hutchison nominated nine close friends and relatives to act as guardians of his two surviving daughters, Nannie C. and Esther L. Hutchison, and another group of six trusted individuals to act as executors of the estate he bequeathed to them. Bulloch was named as both a guardian and executor.<sup>27</sup> More will be heard about James Bulloch fulfilling his duties to Nannie Hutchison. The Bullochs had lost a loyal friend who, even from beyond the grave, remained ever faithful. There's a compelling story waiting to be written about the life of Robert Hutchison.

But if Bulloch paused in Montreal, it was only briefly, for in mid May he took passage via Quebec to Liverpool on the Allen Line steamer, *North American*. His voyage gave Bulloch first-hand experience of a recent product of the British shipbuilding industry: *North American* was a Clyde-built iron-hulled, 1715 ton screw steamer capable of ten knots. Within her 283 ft long hull, she could carry 75 first class and 350 third class passengers.<sup>28</sup> She was longer than the biggest ship he had ever sailed on, the mail steamer *Georgia*, and Bulloch would have found her striking in comparison with the wooden side wheel steamers of his previous experience. In essence, the technology she embodied was the rationale for Bulloch's journey to Great Britain.

\* \* \*

On Tuesday, 4 June 1861, less than a month after his meetings with Secretary Mallory, James Bulloch arrived in the port of Liverpool.<sup>29</sup>

It was the first time he had ever been in Liverpool, or for that matter, Great Britain. As a maritime professional, he must have been in awe at the vibrant activity he would have viewed on the River Mersey. Large iron steamers, tall sailing vessels, schooner-rigged coasters and bustling tugs filled its half mile-wide tidal stream, and darting between them swift paddle ferries churned across its waters. That same June day, Isambard Kingdom Brunel's masterpiece, the goliath steamer *Great Eastern*, was also recorded as having arrived at Liverpool. One wonders at Bulloch's reaction to seeing this huge iron ship—the biggest in the world—equipped with five funnels, six masts and powered by both side wheels and a propeller. If *North American* was impressive, *Great Eastern* was the epitome of Britain's maritime supremacy. Lining the Mersey's eastern bank were no less than six linear miles of enclosed stone wet docks and half tidal basins—the 'floating dock' system—backed by a maze of warehouses and industrial infrastructure, all of which covered more than 200 acres. Standing on its more pastoral west bank was the new fast growing town of Birkenhead. Overlooking this busy port scene, occupying "the most splendid setting of any English city" was the great metropolis of Liverpool.<sup>30</sup> Sprawled over the slopes of several sandstone hills, its close-packed mass of buildings, spires and chimneys filled the horizon. In 1861 Liverpool boasted a population of 443,938, who inhabited 37,041 houses, and lived among one another at the unimaginable density of 66,000 persons per square mile.<sup>31</sup> The Georgia-born James Bulloch could never have guessed that the city which lay before him would be his home for the rest of his life.

Bulloch debarked too late that day to call on the offices of the "established English commercial house" described in his orders, but he knocked on their door early the next morning. Messrs. Fraser, Trenholm & Co.'s counting house was located at No. 10 Rumford Place, in the heart of downtown Liverpool, just blocks up Chapel Street from the River Mersey. The building still stands and is in active use today (circa 2011), proudly bearing plaques testifying to its former Confederate connections.<sup>32</sup> Although Bulloch arrived unannounced and without written credentials of any sort, he was warmly received by the bank's resident partner, Charles Kuhn Prioleau.<sup>33</sup> Here Bulloch's good family name and its long standing association with Southern banking was no doubt of inestimable value. The son of factor and merchant James Stephens Bulloch quickly



grasped that Fraser, Trenholm & Co. was more than just the English branch of a Southern bank, they were entrepreneurs in their own right with active financial interests in shipping and other commercial enterprises. In turn, Charles Prioleau instantly recognized the benefits of close cooperation with the newly arrived naval agent. He unhesitatingly assured Bulloch of Fraser, Trenholm & Co.'s financial support, and authorized him to "give out such orders as were of pressing importance." As no funds or advice of remittances on behalf of Bulloch's mission had yet arrived, Prioleau's offer must have been very welcome indeed.

During his first morning at Fraser, Trenholm & Co. or soon thereafter, James Bulloch met Captain (later Major) Caleb Huse of the Confederate States Army. Huse like Bulloch had been recently dispatched to England with orders to purchase a wide range of munitions, arms and supplies for the Army, and ordnance for the Navy. During the months to come, Bulloch and Huse would find themselves working, travelling and living together in close company. In a few short hours, James Bulloch had made the acquaintance of two men of rare quality, energy and integrity.<sup>34</sup>

Having first established this most important connection with the Confederacy's appointed financial agents, Bulloch promptly focused on making his diplomatic introductions. Taking the afternoon train to London, the next day he paid a visit to the two Confederate commissioners residing in the British capital, the Hon. William Yancey and Dudley Mann. Once again, despite his lack of credentials, James Bulloch was cordially received, and soon the three men were deep into a discussion of Confederate affairs. Throughout the Civil War, the South's greatest ambition was to gain *de jure* recognition by any of the European powers. Such recognition, with exchange of ambassadors and all the practical advantages it bestowed, was the major goal of Yancey and Mann's mission to Britain. Given the stakes involved, Bulloch must have been disappointed to hear that the two commissioners had been allowed only an unofficial 'interview' with Lord John Russell, Her Majesty's government's secretary of state for foreign affairs. Bulloch's discussion with the two commissioners likely ranged over many subjects, but probably focused most intensely on the Queen's recently issued Proclamation of Neutrality. First published on 14 May 1861, Bulloch certainly would have learned of the Queen's Proclamation during his brief meeting with Prioleau, but now he was apprised of its full scope and arcane

details. It would profoundly impact the newly arrived Confederate naval agent's every future action.

\* \* \*

The purpose of the Queen's Proclamation was to declare Great Britain's neutrality in response to the hostilities that were beginning to envelop the North American continent, and to define the legal boundaries of Her Majesty's subjects' participation in the affairs of the two belligerents. Its first and most far reaching effect was to grant *de facto* recognition to "certain States styling themselves as the Confederate States of America," thereby acknowledging their belligerent status. This recognition was of vital importance to the South, and enabled it to obtain supplies, including contraband of war, under conditions that applied equally to both belligerents. The North greeted the Proclamation with anger which was exacerbated by the embarrassing coincidence that it was officially made public on the same day Lincoln's new minister to Her Majesty's government, Charles Francis Adams, arrived to take up his duties in London.<sup>35</sup> But it was the specific conditions imposed on both Northern and Southern belligerents that were of primary interest to naval agent Bulloch. Clarified over time by specific Admiralty orders, Britain's neutrality placed numerous restrictions on belligerent warships' use of her ports:

- A warship's crew could not be reinforced.
- The recruitment of British subjects was prohibited.
- The arming or equipping of a warship in British ports or waters was prohibited.
- No greater alterations or repairs were allowed other than those to ensure the warship's seaworthiness.
- Delivery of commissions to warships was prohibited.
- A warship's armament could not be changed or increased.
- No ordnance or 'contraband of war' could be taken on board a warship.
- A quantity of coal could be taken on board only sufficient to reach the closest port of the warship's country
- Once coaled, a warship would not be allowed to enter another British port for three months, except by special permission.

The Queen's Proclamation, which was soon followed by similar proclamations from France and other European powers, ensured that

the Confederate “flag was tolerated only, not recognized.”<sup>36</sup> Bulloch realized that the proclamations would also, far more than he could have wished, define the characteristics of the cruisers he had been ordered to procure. With the coal hungry, simple expansion steam engines of the period, it was pointless to commission ships which relied solely on steam propulsion, ones whose empty bunkers would quickly render them helpless by the proclamations’ strict provisions. The caveats regarding alterations and repair were just as threatening. While these restrictions would be an annoyance to Northern warships, they would quickly demobilize Southern cruisers whose home ports were already attracting Union blockading squadrons. Bulloch summed up the challenge he faced: “The necessities of the case, then, dictated the type of Confederate ship ...” he must buy or build; his cruisers must be “especially designed to meet those requirements.”<sup>37</sup> Now cognizant of the full effects of British neutrality, Bulloch took his leave of the Confederate commissioners, encouraged by their support and enthusiasm, but sobered by his mission’s new and increasingly complex dimensions.

Only days after Bulloch first arrived in Liverpool, he received a big shock—his identity as a Southern naval agent had been exposed. A recently delivered New York paper had published half a column of intercepted Confederate telegrams, some of which described Bulloch’s assigned service, the amount of money furnished to him, and the names of his bankers “as minutely detailed as if the particulars had been furnished direct from ... the pages of my instructions.”<sup>38</sup> And all this happened before Bulloch had received either his orders or his funds! It was a brutal introduction to the efficiency of Northern spies. The same surveillance network that intercepted Bulloch’s orders had also sized him up as “the most dangerous man the South has here and fully up to his business.”<sup>39</sup> Although Bulloch couldn’t have known about the Yankees assessment of his abilities, one thing was certain—he must exercise the utmost discretion in everything he did.

\* \* \*

It seems James Bulloch lived an itinerant life during his first days and months in England, a conclusion based on Bulloch’s memoirs, letters found in the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of Rebellion* and other available sources. He

relentlessly pursued his naval mission. Bulloch didn't rest a day after his arduous journey from Montgomery, and once he had arrived in England he looked for convenience rather than luxury in his accommodations. While in Liverpool he is believed to have stayed at the Queen's Hotel and later Mrs. Danley's at No. 6 Oxford Street, Mount Pleasant.<sup>40</sup> Both were probably recommended by Charles Prioleau and were within 'strolling' distance of 10 Rumford Place. When carrying out his duties in London, he also used modest hotels. Later, he was to share a London apartment with Caleb Huse and other Confederate operatives. Soon after arriving in Liverpool, he must have written to his wife, Harriot, asking her and the children to join him, which they did at the end of September 1861. And from the very beginning, Bulloch made use of the premises of Fraser, Trenholm & Co.—no doubt with their whole-hearted encouragement—as the center of his activities, turning their Liverpool office into the unofficial headquarters of the Confederate Navy in England. It was an arrangement that would endure for four long years.

In the larger scale of things, it is also clear early on that James Bulloch decided to base himself in Liverpool. His orders only required that he "proceed to England" with no further geographic directive. He could have chosen to operate out of Britain's capital city, London, where of necessity he performed much of his work, or he might have established himself on the River Clyde, which was then at the leading edge of marine technology. But he chose Liverpool. Why?

The answer can be summed up in two words, 'cotton' and 'location.' Together they defined an interconnected nineteenth century reality. As a boy raised in Savannah, young James Dunwoody Bulloch would have had an early consciousness of the connection between cotton, the South's most valuable crop, and the English port of Liverpool. The newspapers' 'marine intelligence' sections were filled with notices of packets departing to or arriving from Liverpool. Savannah's first iron steamer, *John Randolph*, was a product of Liverpool, which was also the destination of the city's namesake steamer, the first to cross the Atlantic. It was no coincidence that Liverpool's mercantile exchange was just two blocks away from Fraser, Trenholm & Co.'s offices, or that the county of Lancashire, of which Liverpool was the main port, was the center of England's dynamic and fast growing textile industry. Westward facing Liverpool, with access to the Atlantic through the Irish Sea, was ideally

situated for trade to America and the West Indies. Internally it was linked by rail with the entire United Kingdom, and by steamship lines to all of Europe's major ports. Shipyards it had aplenty, including John Laird's brash, new Birkenhead Iron Works just across the Mersey, and a handful of renowned builders dotting its own shores. Home to numerous shipping firms, the Merseyside's marine infrastructure was mature and productive. Finally, there was the intangible element of sympathy for the Confederacy. As Britain's own foreign secretary, Lord John Russell, later acidly observed, Liverpool was "a port specially addicted to Southern proclivities, foreign slave trade, and domestic bribery."<sup>41</sup> Of all the United Kingdom's major cities, Liverpool was the most supportive of the South and its quest for independence. Yes, James Bulloch had chosen well his base of operations. And in return, Liverpool would prove to be a willing partner to both him and the Confederacy.

\* \* \*

Bulloch quickly got to work. The Confederate commissioners had handed him offers and proposals for ships which had been forwarded to them. He also examined English shipping lists and making use of his own considerable experience, inspected candidate vessels. Mallory's instructions to Bulloch had sketched out the broad contours of the cruisers he was to procure, but as with so many things, the devil was in the details. Just what specifications should apply? How did the proclamations of neutrality affect his choices? What features were essential to the success of a Confederate cruiser?

The "six steam propellers" that Bulloch was tasked to obtain were intended for service "against the enemy's commerce." As cruisers intended to prey on American merchant ships, they would need to be able to keep the sea for extended periods of time; his orders had stipulated that they should carry navy stores and provisions for a six-month cruise. Further, both Mallory and Bulloch recognized that ships cast in the role of commerce raiders need not be large; indeed big ships would be a handicap. Not only would they be more expensive to build, but they would require larger crews, more coal, and greater upkeep, all of which would squeeze the Confederacy's limited financial resources. Another factor implicit in Bulloch's orders was that a commerce raider's success depended on her ability to avoid enemy warships. The South could only field a limited number of cruisers while the North could be

expected to seek them with the many ships of its rapidly expanding Navy. And finally, the proclamations of neutrality issued by all the principal European powers combined with the North's declared intention to blockade Southern ports, meant any such commerce raider must be as self-sufficient as technology would allow. Combining these disparate design features required Confederate cruisers to be of modest size and armament, capable of keeping the seas for long periods, powered by both sail and steam, and ruggedly reliable in all the world's climes.

So now that Bulloch had identified his cruisers' principal service characteristics, how could they be implemented in practice? His experience in the U.S. Navy was solely on sailing ships, which provided a good but incomplete answer. Many of his years afloat had been spent on sloops-of-war: *Decatur* and a series of sloops converted into store ships. Such ships were fast, well canvassed cruisers, but lacked range, and most importantly, steam machinery. If Bulloch then turned to his years as a mail steamer captain, again he found a helpful although flawed solution. The side wheeled steamers he had captained were splendidly adapted for the United States coastal routes, but were of strictly limited range, had vulnerable machinery, and when their fuel was exhausted, they performed poorly under sail. Bulloch needed something altogether different than any ship he had sailed on before. It was his genius to both recognize this fact and see the way forward.

Bulloch's cruisers must be fast and handy under both sail and steam. This was a notoriously difficult combination to achieve. A good, balanced design of both rigging and machinery would go a long way toward meeting this goal, but something else was needed. The technology of the day offered a solution: a lifting screw propeller. Long used by naval steamers, the Griffiths pattern lifting screw allowed a ship's propeller—once its engines had been stopped—to be disconnected from its drive shaft and hoisted clear of the water. The operation took all of fifteen minutes. To the modern mind, a lifting screw would seem an unwanted complication, but removing a propeller's drag dramatically improved a ship's sailing qualities. So any Confederate cruiser would need to carry a tall, powerful sail plan, and be propelled by a steam plant equipped with a lifting screw. The steam machinery would also allow a cruiser to be fitted with another device that was just coming into common use: a

condensing apparatus. A ship so equipped could distill fresh water from salt water and avoid the vexing necessity of frequently making landfall simply to replenish her water casks, a valuable capability for a commerce raider seeking anonymity. As for size, the cruiser would need a hold large enough to carry ample provisions for six months of cruising, and be of sufficient strength to mount a handful of powerful guns. The final choice facing Bulloch was whether to construct such cruisers of wood or iron. Iron was fast becoming the shipbuilding material of choice; throughout Great Britain, it had largely supplanted wood. During his journey across the Atlantic and in his few days in England, Bulloch had already been witness to that. However, the terms of the neutrality proclamations demanded otherwise. A cruiser built of iron could be maintained or repaired in only the advanced facilities of those very same powers that had restricted Confederate flagged warships' access to their shipyards. A wooden hull, on the other hand, would allow repairs to be made using the limited facilities found in Southern ports or even by the ship's crew. So wood it was.<sup>42</sup>

Now that Bulloch had his cruisers' specification clear in his mind, his next task was to find one ... or better yet, six. Warships with the characteristics similar to those he had identified existed in the world's navies of that era. They were of the classes known as steam sloops, corvettes, gunboats or dispatch vessels. The U.S. Navy possessed a number of new steam sloops of the *Wyoming*, *Mohican*, and *Iroquois* classes, which well matched his requirements, but not all were fitted with lifting screws.<sup>43</sup> And the Royal Navy maintained numerous gunboats of the *Britomart* class, among others, which although small, came close to what Bulloch needed, as well as more robust corvettes of the *Camellion* class.<sup>44</sup> Finally, he had to decide how to proceed. Could he purchase existing ships, or should he start building them? Now back in Liverpool, it was time for James Bulloch to get to work.

## INDEX

**NOTE:** Officers' ranks or diplomatic assignments described herein are as presented within this book and may not fully reflect that officer's previous or ultimate rank or that diplomat's previous or subsequent service.

- Adams, Charles Francis (U.S. minister to Britain), 246, 264-5, 283, 297, 301-4, 307-9, 315, 321-2, 338, 349, 357-8, 360, 372, 384, 409, 425
- Adelphi Hotel, Liverpool, 414, 456-7
- Adriatic*, 434
- Adventure*, 385, 389
- Agrippina*, 295, 305-6, 311, 317, 322, 326
- Ajax*, 385, 393, 400, 460
- Alabama*, C.S.S., *see also* No. 290 and *Enrica*: 1, 21, 220, 221, 259, 262, 299, 302, 306, 311-2, 320, 322, 325, 327-9, 335, 337-8, 341-3, 347, 373-5, 379, 408-9, 413-5, 423, 426, 432, 448, 456, 460, 465; analysis of design, 249-51, 259-60; construction, 259, 291; launching, 291-2; manning, 318, 327; sailing, 318-9; claims, 408-9, 413-5, 417-8, 423-8, 527
- Alexandra*, 337, 348-9, 352-3, 358, 405
- American Civil War, 196, 198, 277, 282, 333-4, 340, 399-400, 404, 424
- American Civil War Heritage Trail, 465
- American Civil War Round Table, United Kingdom (ACWRTUK), 212, 464
- amnesty proclamations, 401, 413-4
- Anderson, Edward C. (major then colonel, CSA), 260-2, 265-9, 271, 276-7, 295, 309
- Anderson, Edward Maffitt (midshipman, CSN), 295
- Andrew Low, 267
- Andrews, William (midshipman, CSN), 336
- Anfield Cemetery, 421, 451
- Annie Childs*, 279-80
- Antietam, battle of, 334
- Appomattox, surrender at, 396, 399, 462
- Argentina, 80-1, 92, 433
- Arman, Lucien (French ship-builder), 344-6, 348, 350, 354-5, 358, 362, 365-6, 369-76, 378, 380, 460
- Arman contracts, 344, 346, 349, 352, 357, 367
- Arman corvettes (clipper corvettes), 344, 346, 353-5, 362, 365, 370, 372, 381, 460



- Arman ironclads, 350, 354-5, 362, 372-4, 386, 460
- Armstrong, John Richardson, 414
- Armstrong, Richard F. (lieutenant, CSN), 20
- Armstrong gun, 381, 390
- Asylum for Orphan Boys, Liverpool, 446
- Atherton, William, 310-11
- Australian and New Zealand Army Corp (ANZAC), 457
- Australian Imperial Force (AIF), 457-8
- Azores Is., 270, 280, 294, 312, 317, 319, 322, 324, 329, 388
- Bache, Alexander Dallas, 137, 140, 143, 145, 154
- Bahama*, 285, 322-3, 325-7
- Baillie (captain, RN), 120-1
- Baldernock, Stirlingshire, 23
- Ballach, Donald, 23
- Bank of Darien, 57, 66, 70
- Barron, Samuel (lieutenant, USN then captain, CSN), 91, 103, 364, 370, 372-3, 382, 387-8, 390, 392-5, 397
- Barrow, George W, 237
- Bell-Cox, Rev. J, 453
- Belle Isle, France, 373, 391
- belligerent rights, 234, 246, 257, 359, 399, 427
- Benjamin, Judah (C.S.A. attorney general), 233, 235-8
- Bermuda*, 262, 264-5, 273
- Bienville*, 180, 197, 204-6, 232-4
- Bigelow, John (U.S. consul general in Paris), 266, 362
- Birkenhead Iron Works (Lairds), 210, 220, 249, 257-60, 291-2, 294, 296-7, 300, 304, 307, 310, 313, 329, 351, 353, 361, 371, 377, 414, 433
- Black Warrior*, 161-4, 168, 170-3, 175-6, 178, 180, 185, 188, 197, 201, 210, 217
- Black Warrior affair or incident, 172, 176-8, 206, 459
- Blakely rifled guns, 255, 260-1, 305
- Blockade runners, 283-4, 365, 376, 382, 385, 389, 391, 393-4, 428, 460-1
- Bond, George, 313, 319-20
- Booth, John Wilkes, 399
- Bravay, Adrien, 350, 366
- Bravay and Co., 350-1, 355, 366, 370-2
- Bravay contract or agreement, 350-1, 379
- Brazil, 75, 80-3, 86, 92, 106, 385, 391, 425, 429, 432-5
- Brazil Squadron or Station, 5, 11, 60, 80, 82, 84-5, 89, 92-3, 101-2, 115, 433
- Breckinridge, John, 202-3
- British Admiralty, 246, 329, 363, 400
- British government, 269, 271, 283, 302-4, 307, 309, 320, 334, 338, 342, 349, 358, 370-1, 377, 399-400
- Britomart* class gunboats, 251
- Brooklyn (New York) Navy Yard, 75, 111-2, 132, 154
- Bruce, King Robert, 27
- Buchanan, James (U.S.A. president), 193, 196
- Buenos Aires (Ayres), 81, 87-8
- Bulloch and Robertson, 411, 431-2
- Bulloch, Anne, 28
- Bulloch, Anne Ferguson, 25

- Bulloch, Anne Graham, 25
- Bulloch, Anne Irvine, 27-8, 120
- Bulloch, Archibald, 25-7, 29
- Bulloch, Archibald Stobo, 30, 38, 40
- Bulloch, Charles Irvine, 69, 84, 131
- Bulloch, Elizabeth (Lizzie)  
 Euphemia Caskie, 134, 143, 138, 143, 146-8, 150-1, 153, 156-63, 165-7, 169, 174, 188, 275
- Bulloch, Ella Sears, 415-7, 421, 429, 431, 437, 443, 446
- Bulloch Hall, 69, 105, 107, 134-6, 143, 146, 159, 162, 189, 195, 209, 215 418, 430, 459, 465
- Bulloch, Harriot (Hattie) Cross Foster, 190, 194-5, 197, 199-200, 235, 242, 248, 266, 281-2, 292, 323, 330, 342-3, 339, 369, 384, 395, 412, 415-6, 419-21, 433, 439, 441-6, 450-1, 456
- Bulloch, Henry (Dunnie) Dunwoody, 242, 266, 281, 336, 369, 395, 407, 415, 420-1, 446, 451, 453
- Bulloch, Hester (Hettie)  
 Amarinthia Elliott, 20, 36-7, 40-2, 45, 48-9
- Bulloch, Irvine Stephens (master, CSN): early life, 89, 106, 135, 146, 187, 189, 195; career CSN, 275, 278, 281, 322-3, 343, 360, 369, 375, 382-3, 387, 390, 400, 406, 428; post war life, 211, 224, 407-9, 411, 415-7, 429-31, 437, 443, 445; Liverpool business, 409, 432, 452; marriage, 421; death, 451-2
- Bulloch, James (grandfather of James Dunwoody Bulloch), 27-9, 42
- Bulloch, James (great-great grandfather of James Dunwoody Bulloch), 23-7, 31
- Bulloch, James Dunwoody (lieutenant, USN, then commander, CSN): birth, 20-1, 69; childhood, 41-52; education, 52-4, 57-8, 60; first marriage, 143, 146-8, 150-1; second marriage, 190-2; career USN, 70-1, 76-7, 80, 82-3, 85, 87-90, 103-4, 106-7, 109-119, 122-132, 137-45, 148-150, 152-1, 164, 459; career steamship captain, 153-4, 156-7, 161-2, 170-1, 178-86, 189, 194, 197-9, 206, 233-4, 460; career CSN, 210, 218, 235, 237-42, 245, 247-9, 252, 260-2, 274-9, 324-5, 331-3; 343-5, 362-5, 368, 373-7, 388-9, 398, 400-1, 460-2; ships, procurement of: *Fingal*, 266-7; *Florida*, 252-5; *Alabama*, 257-9; Laird rams, 301, 328, 336-7, 350-1; *Shenandoah*, 380-1; *Stonewall*, 353-6, 386-9; *Ajax*, 381; ships, dispatch of: *Fingal*, 268-70; *Florida*, 280-5; *Alabama*, 295-6, 301-20; *Shenandoah*, 383-6; *Stonewall*, 390-2, 393-5; *Ajax*, 393; on naval strategy: 286-8, 461-2; post war life, 211-2, 224-5, 227, 404-5, 407-9, 411-7, 418-21, 428-38, 440-53; Liverpool business, 409, 411-2, 429, 432-5, 443; UK Naturalization, 414-5; death, 452-3, 455
- Bulloch, James Dunwoody, Jr., 194, 196, 212, 228, 397, 395, 405, 407, 415, 430, 435, 441, 444-5, 447

- Bulloch, James Stephens, 29-30, 32, 34-8, 40-50, 54-70, 75-6, 105, 131, 136, 146-7, 209, 213, 244, 409
- Bulloch, Jane, 35
- Bulloch, John Elliott, 40-1
- Bulloch, John Irvine, 22, 28
- Bulloch, Joseph Gaston Baillie, 23, 28, 33, 35, 57, 276
- Bulloch, Mary DeVeaux, 26
- Bulloch, Mary Jones, 27
- Bulloch, Martha Louise (Loulie), 212, 229, 395, 407, 416, 444, 450-2, 455, 457-8
- Bulloch, Martha Stewart Elliott, 34-7, 46-7, 49-50, 54, 56, 58, 65-6, 68, 105, 131, 135-6, 143, 146, 150, 159, 162, 189, 193, 195, 200, 235, 243, 282, 323, 330-1, 342, 369, 395, 386, 420, 448
- Bulloch, Stuart Elliott, 212, 229, 342-3, 395, 407, 416, 420, 429-30, 441, 444, 449, 457-8
- Bulloch, William Bellinger, 30, 38, 45, 203
- Bulloch's silver ewer, 198-200, 456, 460
- Butcher, Matthew J., 296, 304, 306, 310-13, 317, 326, 389
- Byrne, A. E., 267, 269, 313
- Cadiz, Spain, 21, 84, 93-4, 303
- Cahawba*, 166, 180-2, 185-6, 189-92, 194, 197-9, 456
- Cairns, Sir Hugh, 352
- Calais, France, 367, 391
- California, 113, 123-7, 130, 141, 154, 157, 183, 459
- Camp, George, 143
- Carter, Robert R. (lieutenant, USN and CSN), 125, 365, 372, 382, 390-1
- Carter, William F. (lieutenant, CSN), 378
- The Case of Great Britain*, 408
- The Case of the United States*, 408
- Caskie, James, 151
- Caskie, John, 147, 150-1, 167
- Caskie, Martha Jane Norvell, 147, 151
- Charles Tyng & Co., 171-6
- Charleston, South Carolina, 22, 24, 30, 35, 57, 67-8, 143, 205, 232, 241, 279
- Charlestown (Boston) Navy Yard, 76-7, 112, 209, 216
- Chase, Salmon (U.S.A. treasury secretary), 206
- Chasseloup-Laubat (French minister of marine), 352, 365, 373
- Chatard, Frederick (lieutenant, USN), 129
- Cheops*, *also see* Arman ironclads, 374
- Cherbourg, France, 366, 374-5
- City of Richmond*, 391-2
- Clifton farm, 70, 136, 146, 418
- Coast Survey, *see* United States Coast Survey
- Coles, Cowper (captain, RN), 287, 329
- Collier, Robert P., 308
- Colonial Park Cemetery, Savannah, 27
- Columbia bar, 6, 14, 119-20
- Columbia River, 6, 14, 117-21, 123
- Compromise of 1850, 64, 142, 168, 201
- Confederate Research Club, Portsmouth, 212, 464

- Confederate States Navy, 1, 6, 20, 98, 128, 139, 210-1, 235, 239, 245, 248, 260-1, 267, 270, 278-9, 283, 288, 290, 296, 299, 311, 322, 324, 332, 340-1, 345, 364, 368, 373, 376, 381-2, 390-2, 394-6, 398, 400, 438, 449, 459, 460
- Confederate States of America, 203, 205, 233, 239, 241, 246, 400, 406, 412, 464
- consumption (tuberculosis), 45, 158, 166
- Constitution*, U.S.S., 74, 84-5, 115
- Coquette*, 364, 380, 460-1
- Corbett, Peter, 381, 389
- Corps Législatif, 344
- cotton, 25, 31-3, 38, 54, 66, 70, 239, 248, 289, 321, 333, 341, 365, 408-9, 411, 431
- Court of Exchequer, 349, 371
- Cowles, Anna (Bamie) Roosevelt, 187, 220, 419-20, 424, 429, 437, 445, 450-1, 463
- Cowles, William Sheffield (lieutenant-commander, USN), 451
- Craven, T. Augustus (captain, USN), 303, 315, 321-2
- Crenshaw, William, 391, 393
- Crocheron, Richard C., 181, 185
- Cross, Edwin (lieutenant, USA), 190, 281, 369
- Cross, Louise Von Schaumburg, 190, 395
- Cross, Osborne (general, USA), 190
- Cuba, 156, 158, 161-3, 165-6, 169-71, 173, 177-8, 180, 184, 194, 204, 335, 395
- Cuddy, Thomas (gunner, CSN), 393
- Dana, Richard Henry, 123, 125-8, 137, 152, 165-6, 180-1, 183-5, 190, 199
- Darien colony, 23-5
- Darien, Georgia, 27, 31, 57, 66
- Dawson, John Tempest, 442
- Dawson, Nannie Caskie Hutchison, 148, 151, 243, 275, 412, 418, 429, 441-3, 463
- Davidson, Hunter (lieutenant, CSN), 391
- Davis, Jefferson (C.S.A. president), 205, 233-4, 237, 333, 399, 412-3, 434, 436, 438, 441, 462
- Davis, Jefferson, Jr., 412, 418
- Davis, William (Billy), 412, 417-8
- Dayton, William (U.S. minister to France), 361-2, 365
- De Leon, Edwin, 289
- Decatur*, U.S.S., 81-2, 86-91, 110, 112, 120, 149, 209, 216, 250, 383
- Delaware*, U.S.S., 6, 80, 85-6, 89, 90-104, 107, 114, 156, 364
- Democratic party, 196, 201-3
- Derby, Earls of, 416
- De Soto*, 180, 197, 199, 201
- Dobbin, James C. (U.S.A. navy secretary), 160
- Dom Pedro II, (Brazilian emperor), 80, 83, 86, 433
- Don Ramos Marin, 175-6, 181
- Donald, 'Lord of the Isles,' 23
- Douglas, Stephen (U.S.A. senator), 169, 201-2
- Downes (commodore, USN), 76
- Dred Scott case, 193, 201

- Drouyn de Lhuys, Edouard (French foreign minister), 334, 365, 367, 370
- Dubigeon & Fils, 346-7
- Dudley, Thomas Haines (U.S. consul in Liverpool), 282-3, 289, 297, 303-4, 307-8, 315, 357, 360-1, 408-10, 412
- Duguid, James A., 284
- Dunwody, Dr. James, 28
- Dunwody, Esther, 28
- Dunwody, Jane Bulloch, 28, 105
- Dunwody, John, 28, 35, 46, 49, 66, 105
- Edwards, Samuel Price (collector of customs in Liverpool), 303-4, 320-1, 358
- Elliott, Constance (Connie) Hearn Blake, 458
- Elliott, Daniel Stewart (Stuart), 52, 56-8, 106, 135, 139, 146, 165, 187, 189, 243, 281, 330, 343, 369, 429
- Elliott, Esther Dunwody, 35, 42
- Elliott, Georgia Amanda, 46, 52, 56-7, 105, 129, 138
- Elliott, James (Jim) Stuart, 458-9
- Elliott, John (U.S.A. senator), 21, 29, 35-7, 40-1, 45-6, 48, 50, 56, 203, 276
- Elliott, Lucy Sorrel, 330, 429
- El Monassir*, see No. 295, Laird rams
- El Tousson*, see also No. 294 and Laird rams, 353, 357, 364, 371
- Elswick Works, 385, 390
- Enrica*, see also No. 290 and C.S.S. *Alabama*, 53, 210, 292, 294-5, 300, 302, 304, 306-8, 310-14, 316, 317-22, 326
- Enterprise*, 385, 389
- Enterprise*, U.S.S., 21, 81-2, 86, 103
- Ericsson, John, 329
- Erie*, U.S.S., 111-5, 125-6, 133, 365
- Erlanger & Co., 337, 356
- Erlanger, Emile, 356, 362
- Erlanger loan, 343-5, 347, 351, 354, 356, 368, 376
- Eustis, George, 375
- Fairfax, Donald (master, USN), 141
- Farragut, David G. (admiral, USN), 87-8, 144, 383
- Fawcett, Preston & Co. (Fawcetts), 55, 253-6, 259-61, 275, 284, 313, 352, 359
- Fayal Is., Azores, 280, 322
- Ferdinand II, King of Naples, 100
- Ferrol, Spain, 211, 394-5
- filibusters, 162, 169-71, 178, 189
- Fingal*, 267, 269-77, 279, 282, 284, 295, 299, 301, 322, 437, 476-7
- First National Bank of the United States, 37
- Florida*, C.S.S., see also *Oreto*: 1, 198, 255, 302, 306, 323, 335, 337, 341, 347, 359-60, 366, 373, 385, 391, 426, 460; analysis of design, 249-51, 254-5; construction, 278, 280, 335-6; manning, 285; sailing, 285
- Foreign Enlistment Act 1819 (British), 240, 256-7, 283-4, 287, 306-8, 315, 320-1, 328, 338, 342, 347-9, 372, 381, 424, 461
- Foreign Enlistment Act 1870 (British), 425

- Forrest, Douglas French (assistant paymaster, CSN), 397
- Forster, William, 348
- Fort Fisher, 387-8, 393-4, 396
- Fort Pulaski, 268, 271
- Fort Sumter, 232, 239, 263, 291
- Fort Vancouver, 120-1, 123-4
- Founders Cemetery, Roswell, 129, 131, 136
- France: neutrality proclamation, 340; neutrality policy, 340, 350, 356, 365, 367, 370, 372-4; foreign policy, 339, 345-6, 366; intervention in Mexico, 339, 366
- Fraser, Trenholm & Co., 210, 241, 244-5, 248, 252-4, 259-60, 262, 265-6, 269-70, 278-9, 281, 285, 297, 309, 323, 331, 336-7, 348-9, 352, 358, 368, 374, 377, 396, 398, 408-11, 414, 465
- Freemantle, George (coxswain, CSN), 270-1, 279, 322
- Fulton*, U.S.S., 74, 174
- Gallatin*, U.S.S., 139-41, 145, 149, 154
- Garibaldi, Giuseppe, 91, 255
- Geneva Arbitration Tribunal, 425-8
- Genoa, Italy, 95-6
- George Law*, 182
- Georgia, 5, 8, 20-1, 25-32, 35, 37-42, 45, 50, 53-4, 56-7, 59, 64-9, 76, 106, 129, 133-4, 139, 143, 146, 155, 164, 183, 205-7, 243, 268, 282, 330-1, 384, 399, 418, 428, 453, 462, 465
- Georgia*, 153-7, 160-2, 173, 243
- Georgia*, C.S.S., 366-7, 373
- Gettysburg, battle of, 357
- Gibbs, Montgomery (U.S. consul in Paris), 409
- Gibraltar, 92-4, 101, 104, 280, 283, 288, 290, 295, 323, 328, 336
- Gladstone, William (British chancellor of the exchequer), 333-4, 413, 427
- Gosport (Norfolk) Navy Yard, 79-80, 107, 234
- Gracie, Anna Louisa Bulloch, 54, 56-7, 106, 142-3, 159, 164, 187, 189, 195, 282, 330-1, 343, 369, 418, 420, 434, 436, 440, 448, 463
- Gracie, James K., 420, 433, 436, 443, 448, 457, 463
- Grand Southern Bazaar, 384
- Grand Trunk Railway, 242
- Grant, Ulysses S., (U.S.A. president), 413
- Great Britain: neutrality proclamation, 240, 245-6, 249, 263, 284, 321; neutrality policy, 240, 246-7, 286, 288, 333-4, 336, 341, 347-8, 352; neutrality laws, 288; foreign policy, 333, 340, 348-9, 351-2, 357, 360; government, 269, 271, 283, 286, 302-4, 307, 309, 320, 334, 338, 342, 347-9, 352, 358, 360, 370-1, 377, 399, 400
- Great Western*, 182
- Green, Charles, 267
- Green-Wood Cemetery, Brooklyn, 387, 420, 440
- Greene, Catherine, 25
- Green, Nathaniel (general), 25
- Greenhow, Rose, 370
- Griffiths pattern lifting screw, 250, 259
- Gulf Stream, 132, 137, 182

- Halsey, Stephen P. (major, CSA), 445 150-1, 158, 188, 193, 243, 412, 442, 463
- Hamilton, John R. (lieutenant, CSN), 291-2, 295, 337, 349, 352
- Hampton Roads, battle of, 287
- Harding, Sir John, 308, 310
- Hartford, Connecticut, 54, 56-7, 59-61, 65-6, 77, 138, 193
- Hartford Academy, 54, 58, 60, 65
- Harvard University, 438
- Hatteras*, U.S.S., 341, 343, 426
- Havana, Cuba, 5, 156, 161-2, 164-6, 170-82, 184-6, 188-9, 191, 194, 199, 204-6, 296, 318, 382, 395, 400
- Hercules* (tug), 313-19, 393
- Hercules*, 385
- Hore, (captain, RN), 363
- Hobson, Charles, 393, 397, 407
- Holyhead, Anglesey, 269-70, 280, 282
- Holmes' Hole, Martha's Vineyard, 150
- Honolulu, Hawaii, 117-20, 133, 141
- Howison, Neil (lieutenant, USN), 116-7, 119-25
- Hudson's Bay Company, 120, 123
- Hull, Frederick S., 256, 306-7, 309, 409, 421
- Huse, Caleb (captain then major, CSA), 245, 248, 255, 260-2, 264-5, 267, 295, 331, 387
- Hutchison, Corinne Louisa Elliott, 36, 46, 50, 52, 56, 59, 68, 147, 276
- Hutchison, Mary Edmonia Caskie, 129, 134, 136, 138, 146-8, 150-1, 158, 188
- Hutchison, Robert, 47, 50, 59-60, 68-9, 129, 134-6, 138, 145-8, Inglefield (captain, RN), 363-4
- international law, 240, 274, 425, 428
- Iroquois*, U.S.S., 251
- Irvine, Anne Elizabeth Baillie, 27
- Irvine, Dr. John, 27-8
- Jackson, Nancy, 56, 60-2, 65
- Jackson, Nancy, case of, 62, 64-5, 193
- Java*, 419-420
- Jay, William, 38, 41
- John Adams*, U.S.S., 179
- John Fraser & Co., 241, 279
- John Laird Sons & Co. (Lairds), *see* Birkenhead Iron Works
- John Randolph*, 55, 68, 248, 258
- Johnson, Andrew (U.S.A. president), 413
- Johnson-Clarendon Covenant, 414-5, 417
- Johnson, Reverdy (U.S.A. minister to Britain), 414
- Jollet et Babin (French shipyard), 346-7
- Jones, Bob, 465
- Jones, Charles Colcock, 49
- Jones, Rev. J. Herbert, 407, 444, 453
- Jones, Noble, 27
- Jones, Noble Wymberly, 27
- Jones, Quiggin & Co., 377
- Kansas-Nebraska bill, 169, 177
- Karnak*, 296
- Karrakatta Cemetery, Perth, 458
- Kearny, Lawrence (captain then commodore, USN), 77, 80,

- 82-3, 153  
*Kearsarge*, U.S.S., 375  
 Kell, John McIntosh (passed midshipman, USN, then lieutenant, CSN), 139  
 King, Catherine Evelyn, 165  
 King, Roswell, 57, 66, 69  
 King, Thomas Butler, 155
- La Paz, Baja California, 127-9  
 Lafayette, Marquis de, 45  
 Lafone, Henry, 382  
 Laird, John, 55, 258, 348, 432-3  
 Laird, John, Jr., 258, 313  
 Laird, William, Jr., 259, 313  
 Laird built ships: gunboats, 258; ironclads, 433; cruisers, 258; blockade runners, 377  
 Laird contracts, 259, 261-2, 301  
 Laird rams, 211, 222, 301, 306, 325, 328-31, 336, 338, 341, 344-5, 347-50, 355, 360-1, 364, 370-2, 376, 378, 381, 460  
 Lamar, Gazaway Bugg, 55, 68, 258  
 Lancashire, England, 248, 289  
*Laurel*, 382-5  
 Laurel View Plantation, 21, 36-7, 41, 45  
 Lawrence & Foulks, 197  
 Lecompton, Kansas (constitution), 196, 201  
 Lee, Robert E. (general, CSA), 276-7, 334, 462  
 Leghorn (Livorno), Italy, 96-100  
*Lelia*, 393, 397  
*Lexington*, U.S.S., 128-32  
 Liberty County, 21, 27, 29, 41, 49  
 Lincoln, Abraham (U.S.A. president), 197, 202-3, 205, 232, 234, 334, 378, 399  
 Lisbon, Portugal, 94, 395  
 Liverpool, England, 6, 31, 39, 55, 182, 199-200, 210-11, 241, 243-4, 247-9, 253, 262, 267, 278-87, 290, 305, 310, 312-6, 318, 320-2, 324-5, 349-50, 353, 358-61, 363-4, 382, 384, 393, 400, 404, 406, 409-12, 414-5, 419-22, 431-5, 441, 444, 446-8, 452, 456-7, 459, 465  
 Liverpool Rifle Volunteer Brigade, 441, 444  
 Livingston, Herman Tong, 181  
 Livingston, Crocheron & Co., 161, 173, 178, 180-1, 185, 197, 199, 204, 234-5  
 Loch Lomond, 23  
 Lodge, Henry Cabot (U.S.A. senator), 446  
 London, England, 26, 241, 245-6, 248, 261-2, 264-5, 267, 288, 290, 297, 302-5, 308-9, 315, 328, 334, 337, 347, 351, 357, 359, 364, 383-4, 391-2, 397, 409, 414, 444, 449, 451, 458  
 Low, Andrew, 267-8  
 Low, John (lieutenant, CSN), 269, 279, 284-5, 295, 305, 310, 378, 452-3; career CSN, 275, 393, 400; family, 268
- Maffitt, Eugene Anderson (midshipman, CSN), 279, 295  
 Maffitt, John Newland (lieutenant, USN then commander, CSN), 138, 140, 143-4, 149, 154, 204, 283-5, 302, 306, 323, 328, 335, 359, 361  
 Maguire, Matthew, 289, 291, 297  
 Mallory, Stephen R. (C.S.A. navy secretary), 236-43, 249, 255, 261, 265-6, 269, 273-9, 283,



- 287, 290, 297-300, 302, 306,  
320, 324-6, 328, 330-3, 336,  
338, 341-2, 344-5, 351, 353,  
355, 359, 363-5, 368, 370,  
372-5, 377-9, 381, 384, 388-9,  
393, 398, 449, 461
- Manassas, battle of, 276, 286
- Mann, Dudley (C.S.A.  
commissioner in London, then  
Belgium) 241, 245, 267, 375
- Mars, James, 61
- Marseilles, France, 94-5
- Marshall, John H. (lieutenant,  
USN), 87
- Martin, Patrick C., 378, 399
- Mason, James (C.S.A.  
commissioner in London), 274,  
277, 309, 328, 336, 340, 344,  
370, 372, 387, 400
- Maua, Baron de (Ireneu  
Evangelista de Sousa), 432-3
- Maum Charlotte, 61
- Maury, Matthew Fontaine  
(commander, CSN), 337, 354,  
367-8, 526
- Maximilian (Mexican emperor), 339
- Maxwell, Jessie Hart Bulloch, 199,  
200, 212, 281, 395, 407, 415,  
437, 444-5, 451-2, 456, 458
- Maxwell, Maxwell Hyslop, 444-6,  
448, 451-2, 456
- Mazatlán, Mexico, 115, 124
- Mazeline, 346-7
- McBlair, Charles (lieutenant, USN  
and CSN), 140, 149-50
- McDonald, Donald Balloch, 23
- McKinley, William (U.S.A.  
president), 451
- McNair, Angus, 270-1, 279, 295
- McRae, Colin (C.S.A. treasury  
agent), 347, 351, 376, 389, 396,  
461
- McQueen, Alexander, 305, 311,  
317
- McWhir, Rev. William, 29, 53
- Mediterranean Squadron or  
Station, 6, 12, 75, 93-4, 97, 101-  
2, 116
- Mediterranean Sea, 89, 92-5, 97,  
107, 156, 285, 364
- Mellish, George, 352
- Melville, Herman, 77
- Mensing, Adolf (commander,  
German Navy), 438-9
- Merrimack*, U.S.S., 128, 240, 287
- Merseyside, 6, 17, 252, 282, 286,  
290-1, 297, 303, 314, 317, 320,  
361, 363, 377, 382, 404, 465
- Mexico, 113, 128, 154, 339-40,  
366, 382
- Mexican War, 60, 64, 113-5, 117-8,  
124, 127, 134, 137-8, 142, 152,  
154, 168, 190, 201, 365, 416,  
446, 459
- Midway, Georgia, 27-9, 34, 53, 57
- Midway Congregational Church,  
28-9, 35, 37, 46, 49
- Midshipmen's duties, 78-9
- Miller, Thomas, 254, 314
- Miller, William Cowley, 253, 284,  
314, 393
- Minna*, 305
- Miss Oakes' Boarding House,  
57-8, 60
- Mississippi River, 5, 31, 179, 185,  
191, 233, 353-5, 357, 388, 393
- Missouri*, U.S.S., 101
- Mrs. Danley's (boarding house),  
248, 266
- Mitchell, Margaret, 165
- Mobile, Alabama, 161, 164, 166,  
168, 170, 173, 179-80, 185, 335,  
341, 359, 383
- Modeste*, H.M.S., 120-1

- Moelfre Bay, Anglesey, 313, 316-9, 321
- Mohican*, U.S.S., 251
- Monitor*, U.S.S., 128, 287, 329
- Monroe, James, 21, 39
- Monterey, California, 124-9
- Montevideo, 6, 81, 86-91, 103
- Montgomery, Alabama, 205, 235-9, 241-2, 247, 274, 302, 323, 415
- Morgan (commodore, USN), 93
- Morgan, Edward, 313, 316, 321
- Morris*, U.S.S., 139-40, 149
- Morris, Charles (commodore, USN), 6, 75, 85-6, 88, 93-4, 100-4, 183
- Morris, Charles M. (lieutenant, CSN), 393, 397
- Morristown, New Jersey, 201
- Morse, Freeman (U.S. consul in London), 409-10
- Moumar, 'Daddy' Luke, 195
- Mulberry Grove Plantation, 25
- Nantucket, Massachusetts, 138-40, 149
- Naples, Italy, 100-1
- Napoleon III, Louis (French emperor), 334, 339-40, 350-1, 354-5, 366-7, 369-70, 374, 376, 419
- Nashville*, C.S.S., 275, 278, 280-1, 303
- Nashville, Tennessee, 236, 238
- Nassau, Bahamas, 283-5, 297-8, 302, 305, 307, 322-3, 328, 335-6, 395, 408
- Nautical College, Liverpool, 448
- Naval School (Philadelphia Naval Asylum), 106-10
- naval, marine and shipbuilding technology, 54, 74, 101, 105, 243, 248, 250, 287, 330, 339, 461
- The Naval War of 1812*, 211, 437-8
- New Orleans, Louisiana, 179-80, 185-6, 189-91, 194, 197, 199, 204-6, 232-4, 238-9, 294, 353
- New York and Alabama Steam Ship Co., 161, 164, 178
- New York and New Orleans Steam Ship Co., 233, 433
- New York City, 21-2, 31, 45-7, 55-6, 59, 65, 79, 84, 92, 103, 111, 132-4, 153-7, 159-66, 170-1, 179-82, 186-7, 189, 192, 194, 197-201, 204-7, 233, 236, 241, 247, 281-2, 331, 369, 386, 411, 415, 419-21, 428, 434-5, 437, 440, 443, 445, 447, 460
- Niagara*, U.S.S. 388, 394-5
- Nieuwe-Diep (Den Helder), Netherlands, 391
- North, James (lieutenant then commander, CSN), 260-1, 269, 278, 280, 283-4, 288, 290, 298, 300-2, 313, 336, 343, 362, 368, 375, 377-8, 393
- North American*, 243-4
- North Channel, 316-9
- No. 290, *see also Enrica and C.S.S. Alabama*, 260, 262, 278, 286, 289, 291-2, 297, 303-4, 307, 315, 320-1
- No. 294, *see also El Tousson and Laird rams*, 211, 301, 328, 353, 371
- No. 295, *see also El Monassir and Laird rams*, 211, 301, 328
- Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 247, 265, 268, 383, 398, 449, 456
- Ogden, Henry M. (lieutenant, USN), 87

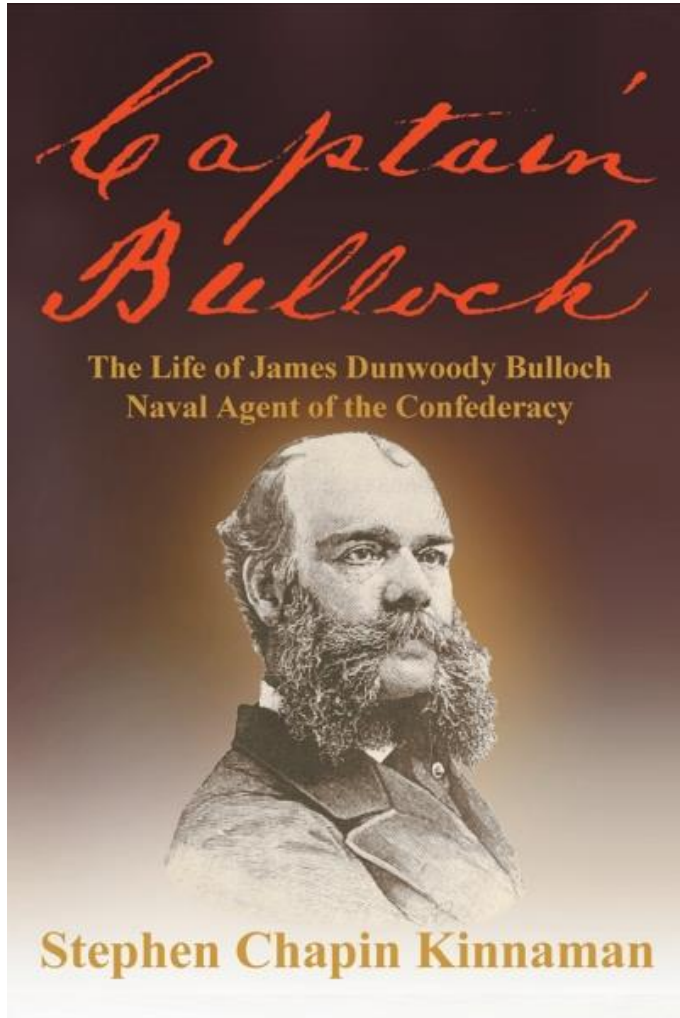
- Oglethorpe, James (British general), 25, 30
- Oregon Country, 114, 117, 119-20, 125, 154
- Oregon Treaty, 119
- Oreto*, see also C.S.S. *Florida*, 255-6, 280, 283-7, 289, 295, 297-8, 328, 335, 337
- Orizaba*, 189
- Ostend Manifesto, 178
- Pacific Squadron or Station, 6, 13, 112, 114-7, 119, 123-4, 126, 128
- Page, Thomas J. (captain, CSN), 391-5
- Palmer, Sir Roundell, 310
- Palmerston, Lord Henry (British prime minister), 263, 248
- Panama Canal, 24, 155
- Panama route, 154-5, 189
- Paris, France, 95, 261-2, 266, 334, 337, 341, 345, 347, 350-1, 354-6, 359-64, 369-70, 374-5, 387, 389, 394, 409, 419, 424, 429, 447
- Pasha of Egypt, 362
- Passmore, William, 304, 314
- Paulding, James K. (U.S.A. navy secretary), 74
- Pegram, Robert B (lieutenant CSN), 278, 280, 283
- Pennsylvania*, U.S.S., 107
- Perrin, Eugene Henry, 414
- Persia*, 266
- Perth, Western Australia, 458-9
- Pezuela, Marqués de la, 170, 172, 174
- Plaquemine, Louisiana, 191, 200
- Planter's Bank, 41
- Philomel*, H.M.S., 253
- Polish Insurrection, 366
- Pon Pon Plantation, 25
- Port Mahon, Minorca, 93-4, 101-2, 104, 118
- Porter, Annette Cross, 190, 397, 439
- Porter, David Dixon (admiral, USN), 143-4, 154, 156-7
- Porter, Grosvenor (captain), 439
- Potomac*, U.S.S., 80-4, 86, 104, 154
- Praya, Azores, 270, 294, 311, 317, 326-7
- prefabricated ironclads, 288, 461
- Princeton*, U.S.S., 104
- Princeton University, 49, 106, 136
- Prioleau, Charles Kuhn, 241, 244-5, 248, 252, 261-2, 264-5, 267, 269, 291, 349, 384, 408-9
- Puggard, Rudolph, 389
- Pulaski*, 67
- Queen's Hotel, 248, 262, 266
- Queenstown, Ireland, 280, 316, 321
- Quitman, John (general, USA), 170, 177
- Rappahannock*, C.S.S., 367, 373, 391
- Rawlinson, Roy, 465
- Rendel, George, 385
- Republic*, 435
- Republican party, 196, 201, 203, 413, 446
- Richmond, Virginia, 129, 134, 138, 146-8, 150, 157, 159, 167, 237, 262, 265, 273-5, 332, 344, 347, 385, 390, 398, 449, 461
- Ridgley (commodore, USN), 81, 84
- Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 5, 80-1, 83, 85-8, 92, 103, 114, 118, 132
- Rising Sun*, 24

- River Mersey, 210, 244, 249, 253, 257, 262, 280-1, 285, 291, 300, 312-3, 315-6, 320, 325, 353, 361, 364, 406, 462
- River Plate, 80
- Rivière, Henri Arnous de, 356, 386, 389-91
- Robertson, Moses P., 375, 377-8, 397, 408-9, 411-2, 421, 431-2
- Robinson, Corinne (Conie)  
Roosevelt, 416, 429, 434, 448, 450
- Rogers, Moses (captain), 39
- Roosevelt, Alice Lee, 435-7, 440
- Roosevelt, Cornelius Van Schaack, 159, 428
- Roosevelt, C. V. S., Jr., 164-5
- Roosevelt, Edith Carow, 444
- Roosevelt, Elliott (Ellie) Bulloch, 200, 429, 433, 477, 450, 463
- Roosevelt, Laura H., 438
- Roosevelt, Martha (Mittie) Bulloch, 26, 52, 58, 64, 106, 130, 135, 142, 146, 157, 159-65, 176-7, 187-9, 191-2, 194-5, 200, 282, 330-1, 343, 411, 415-6, 418, 428-30, 433-4, 436, 440, 443, 465
- Roosevelt, Theodore (Teedie), Jr., 1, 24, 27, 65, 85, 178, 195-6, 211, 226, 416-7, 428-9, 431, 435-40, 444-7, 449, 451-2, 455, 463, 465
- Roosevelt, Theodore (Thee), Sr., 130, 157-65, 176-7, 187-8, 191-2, 194-5, 200, 235, 282, 330-1, 411, 415-6, 419-21, 428-9, 433, 435, 443, 447, 463
- Rost, Pierre (C.S.A. commissioner in Paris, Spain), 261
- Roswell Presbyterian Church, 105
- Rouher, Eugene (French minister of state), 345
- Rowcliffe, Gregory, 414
- Royal Hotel, 406
- Royal Navy, 93, 117, 251, 253-4, 258, 270, 287, 364, 367, 371, 406, 453
- Rumford Place, No. 10, 210, 219, 244, 248, 297, 323, 412, 465
- Russell, Lord John (British foreign secretary), 245, 249, 263, 265, 303, 307-8, 310-11, 315, 320, 333, 338, 348-9, 358, 360-1, 364, 366, 371, 399
- Russia*, 421
- S. Isaac Campbell & Co., 421
- Sacramento*, U.S.S., 395
- St. Agnes Church, 444-5
- St. Edward's School, 430
- St. Helena Sound, 143, 154
- St. Thomas' School, 446, 453
- San José del Cabo, Baja California, 127-9
- San Francisco, California, 123-4, 127, 129
- Sandwich Islands (Hawaii), 117-8
- Saranac*, U.S.S., 141
- Savannah, Georgia, 5, 9, 20-2, 25-32, 34, 37-50, 53-57, 59, 63, 65-70, 76, 133-4, 136, 144, 147-8, 209, 214, 243, 248, 258, 265, 267-8, 270-1, 273-7, 279, 281-2, 301, 330, 409, 461
- Savannah*, 39, 47
- Scorpion*, H.M.S., *also see* Laird rams, No. 294 *and El Toussan*, 211, 222, 371
- Scotia*, 415
- Scotland, 20, 23-4, 27, 33, 35, 151, 316, 319

- ‘Scottish Sea Monster,’ 329  
*Sea King*, also see C.S.S.  
*Shenandoah*, 380-84  
 Sears, Hattie, 417  
 Sears, Henry B., 415-6, 431  
*The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe, or how the Confederate Cruisers were Equipped* (Bulloch’s ‘memoirs’), 2, 52, 87-8, 110, 197, 203, 233, 236, 238-9, 247, 253-5, 266, 274-6, 290, 294, 300, 306-7, 309, 321, 324, 326, 335-6, 339, 358, 381, 396, 408-9, 421, 426, 432-3, 437-8, 460  
 Sellar, John A., 414  
 Semmes, Raphael (commander, USN then captain, CSN): career USN, 76, 207; commanding *Sumter*, 239, 280, 283, 287-90, 292, 296; commanding *Alabama*, 76, 298-304, 306-7, 312, 317, 320, 322-27, 331, 337, 349, 374-5, 405, 465  
 Seward, William H. (U.S. secretary of state), 202, 282, 289, 297, 349, 361, 399, 410  
*Shark*, U.S.S., 6, 115-22, 124, 139, 149  
*Shenandoah*, C.S.S., also see *Sea King*: 1, 380, 383-5, 389-90, 396, 400, 404, 406-7, 426, 452, 460, 462; origins, 380-3; description, 380; manning, 383, 452; cruise, 382-5, 389-90, 396, 400, 404, 406-7, 426, 462  
 Shockoe Hill Cemetery, Richmond, 167, 243, 275  
 Sinclair, Arthur (commander, CSN), 393  
 Sinclair, George T. (Terry) (lieutenant, CSN), 276, 301, 313, 368, 393  
 Sinclair, Hamilton & Co., 264, 295  
 S. Isaac Campbell & Co., 261  
 Slidell, John (U.S.A. senator, later C.S.A. commissioner in Paris), 193, 274, 277, 334, 340-1, 344-5, 350, 352, 354-5, 362, 364-5, 367, 369-70, 372, 374, 387  
 Sloat, John (commodore, USN), 115, 117, 124  
 Smithdown Road (Toxteth Park) Cemetery, Liverpool, 6, 451-3  
 Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), 465  
 Soulé, Pierre (U.S.A. minister to Spain), 169, 177-8  
 Southampton, England, 278, 303, 309, 315-6, 375  
 Spence, James, 414  
 Spezia, Italy, 96  
*Sphinx*, also see Arman ironclads, *Staerkodder* and C.S.S. *Stonewall*, 372, 386  
 Spring Hill Cemetery, Lynchburg, 445  
 Squarey, Andrew, 304, 308  
 State Bank of Georgia, 38, 41  
*Staerkodder*, also see Arman ironclads, *Sphinx* and C.S.S. *Stonewall*, 386  
 Stephens, William, 29  
 Stern, Philip Van Doren, 460  
 Stevens, Anna Maria Christie, 119, 133-5, 142  
 Stevens, Thomas Holdup, Jr. (master, USN), 119, 133-4, 141-3  
 Stewart, Daniel (general), 35-6, 46

- Stobo, Rev. Archibald, 23-4, 457  
 Stobo, Jean, 23-4, 462  
 Stockton, Robert (commodore, USN), 113, 124  
 Storer (captain, USN), 83  
*Stonewall*, C.S.S., *also see* Arman ironclads, *Sphinx and Staerkodder*, 211, 223, 386, 392-6, 400, 460; origins, 386-92; manning, 390-1; sailing, 392, 394; cruise, 395-6, 400  
 Sumner, Charles (U.S.A. senator), 417  
*Sumter*, C.S.S.; 239, 280, 283, 287, 290-1, 298-9, 323, 328, 336-7, 406  
 Sunbury Academy, 29, 53  
 Sunbury on the Medway, 21, 27-9, 37, 41, 53, 57  
 Swartwout, Samuel (lieutenant, USN), 149
- Tallahassee*, C.S.S., 377  
 Tattnall, Josiah (captain, CSN), 283  
 Taylor, Richard (paymaster, CSN), 397, 439  
 Telfair, Mary, 49-50  
 Temperance Society, 46  
 Terceira, Is., Azores, 270, 294, 311, 322, 326  
 Tessier, Eugene, 262, 285, 325, 358, 372, 374-5, 386-7, 391, 394  
*Teutonic*, 447  
 Thomson's shipyard, 349  
*To Cuba and Back: A Vacation Voyage*, 165, 180  
 Toulon, France, 95  
 Trémont (Pesterman), 361-2, 365  
 Trenholm, George A. (C.S.A. secretary of treasury), 241  
 Trenholm Brothers, 241  
*Trent* affair, 274-5, 288  
 Turner, Charles C. (lieutenant, USN), 103, 112, 125-6  
*Tuscarora*, U.S.S., 303, 314-6, 318-21  
*Two Years Before the Mast*, 123  
 Tybee Island, Georgia, 26, 39, 275
- United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), 464  
 United States Coast Survey, 75, 111, 120, 137-41, 143-5, 149-50, 152-4, 183, 283, 459  
 United States Military Academy, 59, 75, 109, 190  
 United States Naval Academy, 109, 319, 401  
 United States Naval School (at Philadelphia), 106-10  
 United States Navy, 2, 21, 67, 70, 74-8, 80, 82-7, 90, 92, 98, 100-3, 105-19, 124-7, 131, 137-42, 145, 149, 152-5, 160, 164, 179, 183, 195, 206-7, 209, 232, 239, 251, 291, 301, 303, 387, 419, 449, 451, 459  
 United States of America, 21, 25, 31, 33, 55, 62, 65, 70, 74-5, 80-1, 107, 113-6, 118-20, 137, 142, 154, 168-9, 172, 178, 193, 201, 232, 239, 264, 307, 339, 341, 358, 366, 398-401, 404, 408-10, 413, 417-20, 423, 425-7, 441  
*United States*, U.S.S., 76-7, 79-80  
 Uruguay, 80-1, 86, 92, 433
- Valparaiso, Chile, 84, 114, 129-31, 383  
 Vice-Admiralty Court, Nassau, Bahamas, 323, 328

- Vicksburg, surrender of, 357  
 Victoria, Queen, 455  
*Virginia*, C.S.S., 128, 240  
 Voruz, J., 346-7, 358, 362, 373-4  
 Voruz Papers, 363, 366
- Wachusett*, U.S.S., 385  
 Waddell, James I. (lieutenant, CSN), 382-4, 400, 406  
 Walker, Norman, 429  
 Walker, General William, 189  
 Waller, Richard P. (major, CSA), 408  
*Warren*, U.S.S., 126-9  
 Warren Ward, Savannah, 42-3  
 Washington, D.C., 21, 37, 45, 101, 104, 107, 119, 141, 145, 150, 152-3, 178, 206, 234, 238, 277, 289, 355, 399, 404, 423  
 Washington, Treaty of, 424, 425-7  
*Washington*, U.S.S., 149-50  
 Washington Ward, Savannah, 5, 37, 40-2, 45  
 Waterloo, England, 6, 281, 323-4, 330, 342, 358, 386, 393, 397, 405, 407, 412, 414, 416, 418, 429, 431, 445  
 Welles, Gideon (U.S.A. secretary of the navy), 321  
 Welsman, James T., 241, 292  
 West Hartlepool, England, 265  
 West, Hilborne, 130, 136, 146, 140, 159, 189, 195, 236  
 West, Susan (Susy) Ann Elliott, 46, 52, 56-7, 96, 101, 105, 130, 133, 135-6, 146, 150, 159, 189, 195, 200, 236, 323, 330, 342, 369, 443, 448  
 White, Hollis, 238  
 Whitney, Charles A., 189  
 Whitney, Eli, 35  
 Whittle, William C. (lieutenant, CSN), 275, 382-3  
 Wilkes, Charles (captain, USN), 75, 274, 277  
 Wilding, Henry (U.S. vice consul in Liverpool), 282, 354  
 William C. Miller & Sons (Millers), 252-4, 256, 283, 337, 359, 393  
 Williams, Jerry, 464  
 Wilmington, North Carolina, 279, 381, 385, 387-90, 393, 461  
*Wivern*, H.M.S., *see also* Laird rams, No. 295 *and El Monassir*, 211, 222, 371  
 Woolwich Royal Arsenal, 261  
 Worden, John L. (rear admiral, USN), 128  
 Wormsloe Plantation, 27-8  
 Wright, Richard, 381
- Yale University, 36, 56-7, 108  
 Yancey, William L. (C.S.A. commissioner in London), 241, 245, 267  
 Yonge, Clarence R. (assistant paymaster, CSN), 278-9, 295, 311-2, 349, 358  
 Yonge, Christina Bulloch, 26  
 Yonge, Henry, 26
- Zastro, Madam Micheline de, 405, 420



*James Dunwoody Bulloch's central place in history rests on his Civil War era achievements as a secret agent of the Confederate States Navy in Europe. Captain Bulloch presents the full story of the life and times of this most remarkable man.*

## **CAPTAIN BULLOCH:**

**The Life of James Dunwoody Bulloch, Naval Agent of the Confederacy**

By Stephen Chapin Kinnaman

**Order the book from the publisher [Booklocker.com](http://Booklocker.com)**

<https://www.booklocker.com/p/books/11646.html?s=pdf>

**or from your favorite neighborhood  
or online bookstore.**