

# Amy Heard:

Historical Threads



Robert M Gray

Work in Progress

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# Preface

Famous or notorious people leave tracks through history that are easy to follow. Their letters and writings are avidly preserved and they are much written about by others. The persistent biographer need only visit libraries and family or historical society collections to piece together the details of the person's life. Simply because the person was or is famous is usually sufficient motivation to make the effort to understand and describe their life, even if it has been done repeatedly before.



**Amy Heard in Washington DC**

have come into regular contact with remarkable contemporaries, people who have been

In contrast, people who do not have a profound impact on their contemporary general public can fade with time, leaving only a few family anecdotes and photographs for their grandchildren and great grandchildren. Occasionally, however, such non famous people do leave enough traces in the forms of journals, letters, and ephemera to permit a determined researcher to piece together bits of their life years later, but the motivation to do so is usually lacking unless the person lost in the past is of particular interest to the sleuth of the present. As an obvious example, the life of ancestors is often of strong interest to a descendant who never knew them and knows little about them. Such research can be of interest to more than just the family of an ancestor. The ancestor might typify an interesting time, class, or culture and their lives might by example provide an interesting excursion into an entire period. The ancestor might

written about and whose lives can be found in books and newspaper files. Often the result is stories of interest to a wider audience, especially to amateur or professional historians and genealogists who search the Web for names of interest and find them in unexpected places. The audience remains tiny, but a small collection correspondents can greatly enhance such projects.

Even if these reasons are only rationalizations, the process of doing detective work on the past, of being an amateur historian, can be challenging and fun on its own, regardless of the famous person or unknown ancestor selected as object for the search. It can be satisfying to figure out who some individual writing to an ancestor or mentioned in a letter was, to discover long little-known or forgotten gossip, to find the details of a scandal or romance only hinted at, to find the futures of the young people encountered, to resolve the apparent disappearance of an individual from the historical records, and to find romantic aspects to lives previously described in biographies as having had none. Reading century-old letters and journals for the can provide a window into the past, a vicarious adventure that is remote from the present, yet strangely familiar. Stumbling onto a record of a previously unknown (to the researcher) record of an encounter between a subject of interest and a contemporary author whose writings are accessible can resolve questions of the destiny of the subject. Discoveries like this to an academic applied mathematician like me can be as much fun as proving a theorem; that is, as turning a conjecture into a proven fact.

Following the death in 1982 of my father, Augustine Heard Gray, I found in his papers a letter addressed to his mother, Amy Heard Gray, from a V. Sackville-West in the British Legation in Washington DC. The letter was in French and Postmarked 31 October 1888 and the handwriting was so unlike any I had seen that I at first found it illegible. The letter hinted of an international scandal and a hasty departure of her family from the U.S., the letter caught my interest. Added to its interest was the mention of an exotic sounding home in England, *Knole*.

The first letter led to a search among my father's papers as well as the boxed collections of my cousin Arthur Meeker Gray for further letters of the period, with letters dating back to 7 May 1883 from Victoria West in the British Legation in Washington DC. In parallel I began to discover in both contemporary and recent books the identity of Ms. Sackville-West and the other people who populated the letters, which proved to be full of Washington gossip concerning the diplomats and politicians of the age. Amy proved to be a well-connected bystander to the political and diplomatic life in Washington D.C. at the end of the nineteenth century, with friends among the best known diplomats, politicians, and writers of the time. I also found that Knole was and still is an almost fairy tale estate in Kent in the United Kingdom which dates from the Elizabethan era and was the home of the Sackville-West family until becoming part of the National Trust of Great

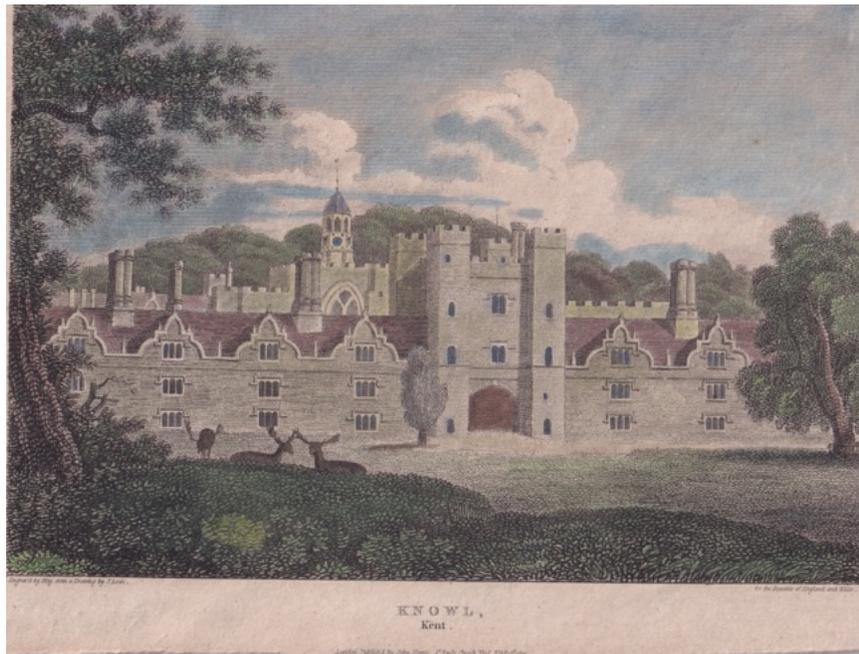


Figure 1: Knole in 1812

Britain. Fig. 1 shows Knole from an engraving of 1812<sup>1</sup>

To date I have found over two hundred letters written to Amy, mostly from the daughters of politicians and diplomats and her family during the 1880's and the 1890's, the period named the Gilded Age by Mark Twain [135]. These letters provide an intimate picture of close friendships of young women of the time and an insider's view of many of the personalities and events of diplomatic and political life in Washington, D.C. In addition to letters, Amy kept a daily journal, a notebook or daybook with brief entries describing visits, parties, dinners, receptions, and other Washington, D.C., social functions as well as vacations to Niagara Falls, Saratoga, and Bar Harbor. The notebooks for portions of 1881, 1882, and 1886 – her wedding year – survive.

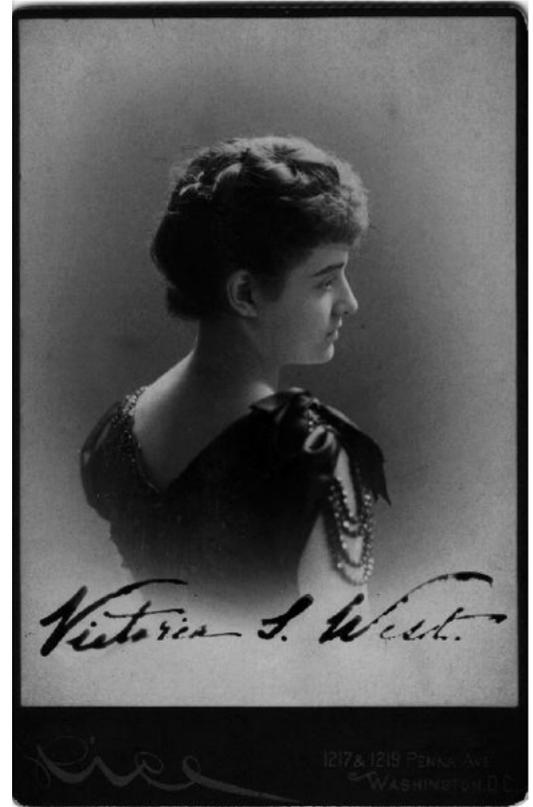
The early letters and the notebooks supplement the published letters of two of the most famous Washington D.C. women of the time: Mrs. Henry Adams [3] and Mrs. James G. Blaine [18], both of whom refer to many of Amy's correspondents and to Amy herself. Many of the people mentioned can also be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography* and several books devoted to that period including *Mrs. Jack* [132], *The Proper Bostonians* [9], *The Gentle Americans* [74], and *Lady Sackville* [8].

<sup>1</sup>Engraved by Hay from a drawing by J. Loch, in *The Beauties of England and Wales*, published by John Harris, London, February 1812.

Amy's most famous correspondent was the one who wrote the first letter I found: Victoria West, later to become Victoria Sackville-West and eventually Lady Sackville. Alsop's biography [8] provides a lively account of her life and times and it was my first source once I discovered Victoria's identity. Victoria was the mother of the writer V. Sackville-West (known as "Vita"). Vita was the mother of the writer Nigel Nicolson, who among other things wrote biographies of Napoleon and of Lord and Lady Curzon and Virginia Woolf. Nigel in turn was the father of Juliet Nicolson, who wrote *The Great Silence: Britain From the Shadow of the First World War to the Dawn of the Jazz Age* and *A House full of Daughters* and other books.

Lady Sackville's daughter, grandson, and granddaughter all described Victoria in books. Vita recounted her grandmother's early life in her book *Pepita* [120] while Nicolson's biography of his parents, *Portrait of a Marriage* (1966) [99] provides a brief account of his grandmother. Unfortunately the subsequent television production of *Portrait of a Marriage* provided a painfully inadequate and unsympathetic portrait of an elderly Victoria. In *A House Full of Daughters: A memoir of Seven Generations* [97] Juliet Nicolson recounts the lives of several generations of women in her family, including her grandmother Vita Sackville-West, and her great-grandmother Lady Sackville, the V. Sackville-West of my grandmother's letter. This chain of literary progeny and the notoriety of Victoria's and Vita's lives make discovering the family story a relatively easy task in comparison to tracking down some of the less well known names mentioned in the letters, some of which remain a mystery.

As I collected the material in the early 1980s, I began to copy, transcribe, and translate the journals and letters and document them in the now antique typesetting language *troff* developed at Bell Telephone Laboratories in the 1970s, which I had learned to typeset my heavily mathematical technical papers. This allowed me to share the letters with relatives. In April 1985 when the project was still young, I wrote to Lady Sackville's grandson Nigel Nicolson, who was then living in Sissinghurst Castle — made famous by his parents Vita Sackville-West and Harold Nicolson's long residence there and the gardens they created. I told him of the letters from his grandmother to mine — including copies of the letters



**Victoria Sackville West**



Figure 2: Grandsons of Amy and Victoria at Sissinghurst in 1985

I had acquired up to that time along with my transcriptions and translations. Knowing I was going to be in England in June for the IEEE International Conference on Information Theory, I asked if Lolly and I might visit him at Sissinghurst in July. In late May I received an invitation in return, along with the comments

Thank you for sending me your marvelous printings of the Amy Heard letters. How interesting they are, but snobbish, vain, immensely self-indulgent! A marvelous portrait of the age. From the family point of view, it's strange that neither Amalia or Victoria ever mention their mother or their brother.

I see that "Miss Leiter" comes in in 1888 as the belle of Washington. She later married Curzon and became Vicereine of India. I wrote her life.

Lolly and I visited Sissinghurst in July 1985, spending a wonderful afternoon chatting about Amy and Victoria and the late nineteenth century. Figure 2 shows we two grandsons of the friends Amy Heard and Victoria West in front of the gazebo at Sissinghurst where Nigel Nicolson did his writing, and the Sissinghurst Tower, where Vita Sackville-West wrote. Lolly and I also visited Knole, where I took the photo in Fig. 19.1.

Although the Sackville-West saga provided the primary story of my project of over forty years, it was only the beginning of my research, discoveries, and writings about the world into which Amy was born and her voyage through it. In addition to the letters

from Victoria, many letters exist from other friends and from family. Victoria's sisters Amalia and Flora wrote often, as did Amy's sister H  l  ne Maxima Heard (nicknamed *Max*) who signed her letters variously as *B  b  *, *Max*, and *H  l  ne*. In December 1883



**Victoria, Flora, and Amalia  
and Mme Boumy in 1884**



**Max Heard in 1886**

Figure 3: The West Sisters & Max

Victoria's younger sisters Amalia (then 15) and Flora (then 17) arrived in Washington D.C. Amalia was to become an even closer friend of Amy's than her sister Victoria, referring to herself as Amy's "second B  b  ." While Amalia was later to become a bitter spinster, during this period she was bright, witty, and enthusiastic, though a hint of her future sadness shows up in her musing about men, marriage, and death. Although published accounts suggest she never had a serious relationship with a man, the letters imply a romantic, and ultimately tragic, liaison with a nephew of Juan Valera, the Spanish ambassador to Washington.

These letters typify letters among close women friends of the Victorian period: they are warm, affectionate, gossipy, and occasionally catty. All of the letters from the West sisters and Max are in French. The journals are in French, Spanish, and, only rarely,

English. Some of the ephemera and her correspondence with her brother John Heard, Jr., a mining engineer and writer of popular magazine articles mixing history, travel, adventure, and fiction, were in German.

The letters, journals, clippings, and photos became a hobby for me. I decided to try to transcribe the letters into digital form and to translate the letters in French (and a few in Spanish and German) into English, track down the identities and what information I could about the people writing the letters and mentioned in them, and put together a manuscript for myself and relatives using the letters and journal entries as an excuse to describe one aspect of Washington diplomatic and political life during the Gilded Age as seen by the daughters and wives of male politicians and diplomats of the time.

Along the way the original project focused on the West letters expanded to include letters from Korea during 1890-1892 from Amy's sister Max and their parents while Amy's father Augustine Heard, Jr., was U.S. Minister<sup>2</sup> and General Consul to Korea. These letters provide a story of American politics and diplomacy of the time and of the difficult adjustments facing an unprepared diplomatic family in a newly independent and struggling country. The manuscript thereby grew into two projects dealing with the West letters and the Korean letters.

The earliest version of the manuscripts that I can find in my computer archives are  $\LaTeX$  versions last edited in summer 1992 and used to create a postscript (.ps) file, which I had printed for family.  $\LaTeX$  was created in the early 1980s by Leslie Lamport as a collection of macros for Donald Knuth's  $\TeX$  document formatting/typesetting system. The portable document format (pdf) was introduced in 1993, and after that I switched to pdf and so far have stuck with it.

The World Wide Web was invented in 1989 by Tim Berners-Lee and in 1994 Ottfried Schwarzkopf (later Cheong) published the Hyperlatex Markup Language which provided a means of modifying  $\LaTeX$  files to produce HTML, the original WWW language. In the early 1990s I took advantage of my experience writing early Web pages in HTML for the Stanford University Electrical Engineering Department along with my experience typesetting my own technical books using  $\LaTeX$  to post versions of the two manuscripts *Amy Heard: Letters from the Gilded Age* and *Max & Max* in both HTML and pdf formats at <https://ee.stanford.edu/~gray/amy.html> I also provided links to supporting material. Those manuscripts were tweaked until around 2005 and a few additional minor changes were made until 2009. I then abandoned the project for a decade until summer 2019.

An advantage of writing books as part of my profession is the possession of the tools to try out a book for the fun of it, even if the potential audience comprises only a few friends and family members and, in my case, possibly the small collection of avid Lady Sackville groupies that I have met at Book Fairs, those interested in Korea at the end of

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<sup>2</sup>or Minister Plenipotentiary, the modern title would be *Ambassador*

the nineteenth century, and those interested in some of the topics regarding the people and places encountered in the history of Amy's ancestors, which provides context for Amy's life. Examples include Baltimore, Maryland, in the early nineteenth century, Havana and Matanzas, Cuba, in the first half of the nineteenth century, Boston and Ipswich, Massachusetts in the second half of the nineteenth century. I hoped that a few readers might enjoy peering back into the past as much as I did.

Indeed, one of the best parts about the Web was illustrated by the fact that with time, I began to receive email from people discovering the manuscripts while browsing with search engines, and the resulting correspondence was informative and mostly enjoyable and led to more sources and discoveries, including a cache of photos of Amy's family taken in the 1860s-70s found in an album in a Baltimore dump and an almost decomposed annotated family bible owned by Amy's grandmother Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck found at a barn sale in South Dakota. Both of these sources are described later and they border on the miraculous in that it is astonishing that they survived being abandoned and eventually came into my hands through pure chance and the Internet. They would have doubtless been lost were it not for the curiosity and efforts of those who found them. They were been a major motivation for me to reboot this project after over a decade of inactivity in order to incorporate these treasures into a form that might remain available longer than I will. Albeit the niche audience is small, but the attempt provided me with both joy and satisfaction — and it might succeed in spreading the stories and photos simply by its existence on the searchable Web. The photos provided new (to me) images of my ancestors and their relatives in childhood and young adulthood, as well as the names of several places in Europe, the West Indies, and Asia they had lived in. The bible provided significant information about Amy's relations and ancestors connected to the Matanzas region in Cuba<sup>3</sup> and its coffee and sugar plantations, and led to further Web searches to learn more about Cuban history in the nineteenth century. It also led to seeking solutions for many puzzling clues and fascinating characters, some with controversial and conflicting stories. Many puzzles arose, and a few have been resolved.

In summer 2019 I began a major reorganization of the material into a single book-sized manuscript combining the two previous manuscripts along with a few derivative essays and writing a more complete and unified description of the family context and the primary characters mentioned in the journals and letters along with several others who had a strong influence on those mentioned, including recently discovered information from Web archives regarding the Cuban players and their place in Cuban history. The reboot also provides an opportunity to include many corrections and suggestions I have received over the years along with many of the historical tidbits I have discovered during creative searching expeditions. I am often surprised by the discovery of new traces left

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<sup>3</sup>Nowadays Matanzas is a Province as well as a city, in the early nineteenth century it was a *jurisdicción* in Colonial Spain.

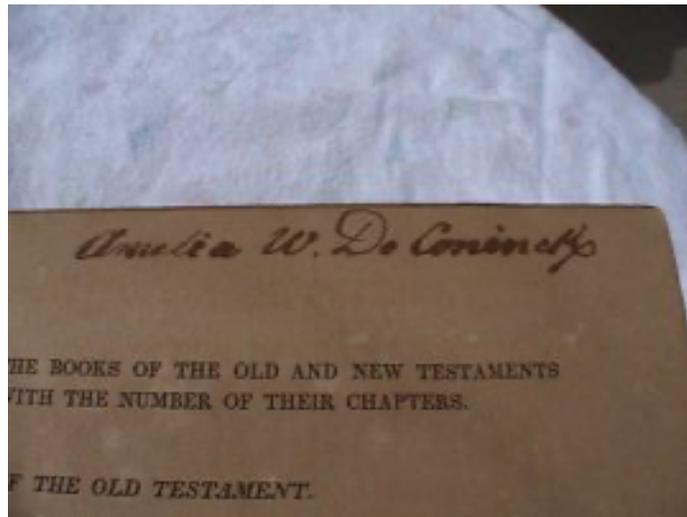
in obscure documents by the people encountered in the several stories recounted here. The new version was posted at [https://ee.stanford.edu/~gray/amy\\_heard.pdf](https://ee.stanford.edu/~gray/amy_heard.pdf) and was and will continue to be corrected and updated thereafter so long as possible. The original versions will remain at <https://ee.stanford.edu/~gray/amy.html> because they appear in many Web pages as citations, but I may add pointers in the main page to the new version. The new version will be in pdf only and updated as more letters are transcribed and incorporated.

## Principal Sources

In addition to the letters and journals, this work takes advantage of a few unique family sources.

**Gray Genealogy** My brother Steen (Augustine Heard Gray, Jr.) wrote *A Gray Genealogy (The Ancestors of RAdm. and Mrs. A.H. Gray)* [68] while a Caltech PhD student in the early 1960s. The book was copied and circulated among family members with a date of 24 January 1964 and it included information about the Taylors, De Conincks, Heards, and Grays who play a role in this book. Much of the background material is drawn from his research and the sources he cites.

**The De Coninck Bible** My grandmother Amy Heard Gray's grandmother Amelia W. De Coninck kept an annotated family bible which provides spellings and dates for the De Coninck and Taylor families. Many of the spellings, dates, and locations regarding these families differ from those published in other sources and Amelia's carry the most weight for me as they involve her intimate family. An example of the name confusion in other sources is Amelia's own name, which has often been reported as "Amalia." Her signatures in the bible are quite clearly "Amelia W. De Coninck." The first signature is dated 1833 in Havana.



The bible was found in damaged condition and purchased by Terry Joyner in Rapid City, South Dakota in 1990. Years later in 2005 Terry tracked me down on the Internet by searching on names hand written in the bible sections on births and deaths and generously gave the bible to me along with scans of key pages. Much of the bible was moldy and tattered and smelled really bad, but I was able to excise and preserve a few key pages with annotations and to scan a few additional pages. I have no idea how the bible ended up in South Dakota. Terry's email no longer works, but I believe she is a retired member of the U.S. Air Force. I am immensely grateful to her for the contribution to Taylor, De Coninck, and Heard family history.

The bible will be cited as [43] and some images will be included in this manuscript and I hope to make other pages available in high resolution in my Web pages.

This is a good place to point out that the confusion in the literature over the similar surnames *Amelia* and *Amalia* within genealogical data also occurs in place names considered in this book. Amy's great-grandfather Lemuel Taylor owned one or more coffee and later sugar plantations in the nineteenth century Cuba named *Santa Amalia* and *Santa Amelia* after two Roman Catholic Saints — as were many Cuban plantations at the time. The names and plantations were and are still often confused in public and private accounts, and one of the many puzzles tackled here is to sort out the two names based on what seem to be the most reliable sources, including successful postmarked letter addresses. Several times I have been suspicious that sources used in earlier incarnations of this manuscript have been in error about which of the two plantations were being considered. Even experts trip up on this one. One of the best books on early nineteenth century Cuba that I have found is *The Great African Slave Revolt of 1825: Cuba and the Fight for Freedom* by Maunel

Barcia [103], which was published as a hard copy edition by the Louisiana State University Press (along with an electronic Kindle version), but there is also an online pdf version available at ResearchGate, which shares the publication date but differs from the official version in several details. In the pdf version there is no index, but the text is searchable and both *Santa Amalia* and *Santa Amelia* appear in the text, three times each with reference to Lemuel Taylor's sugar plantation in Coliseo. In the hard copy book and the Kindle only *Santa Amalia* is used to name Taylor's plantation. Searching the Kindle version reveals no appearance of *Santa Amelia* and the hard copy *Santa Amelia* does not appear in the Index. This suggests that the author changed his mind. My guess is that he decided most of the mentions were correct for *Amalia* (hard copy) and not *Amelia* (pdf), with which I agreed for a long time. Not all mysteries in print can be completely resolved after 150 years. I asked Professor Barcia by email about the discrepancy, and he wrote in reply

To answer your questions, the coffee plantation's name was always a puzzle for me too. It was written down both ways in various documents (sometimes in the same document the name would vary). From the maps I saw, I think *Amelia* prevailed over *Amalia*, but again, not sure. Regarding the ownership, this is a very interesting bit of information. I haven't looked into the zone for years now (I started working on that book in 1997), so my memory fails me, but I think Taylor was really struggling with his debts at the time. Maybe turning to sugar saved him, as it did to some others, although the indications I had from the documents suggested otherwise.

The bottom line is that even with access to primary sources, uncertainty remains.

This name issue will be discussed in some detail in this manuscript as I have found it to be a fascinating puzzle which has only been partially resolved. As noted in the excellent book on the history of the sugar industry in the Matanzas region of Cuba by Esteban Ballester, *El azúcar en Matanzas y sus dueños en La Habana: Apuntes iconografía* (2007) [15], the *Santa Amalia* estate once owned by Taylor and his heirs from around 1820 to 1904 was known by many names, including *Santa Amalia* (which Ballester considers the original name), *Santa Amelia*, *La Amelia*, and *Victoria de Juaguey*.

**The Baltimore Junkyard Photographs** In 2004 Annamarie Gosnell and her son William Rostek of Baltimore rescued from a Baltimore dump a photograph album containing several of the photos of sisters Amy and Max Heard and their mother Jane De Coninck Heard that appear in these pages. There are also a few labeled photographs and one identifiable one from comparisons with other portraits of the McKim family members of Baltimore. There remain many unidentified photographs from the

album. I suspect that they include Amy's grandmother – Jane's mother Amelia W. De Coninck, since Augustine and Jane were married at Jane's mother's house in Baltimore in 1858, at a time when Baltimore was one of the major locations in the explosive development of photography. Sadly it is difficult to trace details on extant photographs because vast records of the pioneering photographers of the city were lost in the great Baltimore fire of February 1904. I also suspect the photos depict the "Taylor cousins" Amy refers to in her Journal, since Amelia W. De Coninck was born Amelia Williams Taylor in Baltimore, the daughter of Lemuel Taylor who lived for many years in Baltimore. These photos are all posted on my website at [https://ee.stanford.edu/~gray/Baltimore\\_Heard/](https://ee.stanford.edu/~gray/Baltimore_Heard/).

**Extracts** A small notebook of over 100 pages of quotations of poems, aphorisms, and observations handwritten by Amy and dated May 1876 at 12 Vernon Terrace, Brighton, near London, in the United Kingdom.

**Ephemera** A few invitations and announcements found in Amy's correspondence involve some of the celebrities she knew, including Lady Sackville and Sarah Bernhardt. Of particular interest is a 1909 formal death notice for "Madame Veuve Philippe Parrot née Mary Wieland," a cousin of Amy's, which names many of Amy's relatives and helped detail her familial connections with her correspondents. Mary Wieland's daughter, Marie or Mary Parrot, was a childhood friend of Amy's in Paris who was born in 1861, the year following Amy's birth in Boston. This clue led to the identification of Philippe Parrot artist who painted the 1863 portrait of Augustine Heard, Jr., that hangs in the Ipswich Museum – a story which is told in the chapter on the Heards.

A few key sources are collected and discussed in some detail Appendix A, including many hard-to-find documents, books, and maps, both hard copies and on-line. Many more references are gathered with some notes in the references at the end of the book. Particularly challenging to access were classical histories, geographies, and maps of colonial Cuba.

I admit up front that there are inaccuracies in my earlier writings, which further research has allowed me to correct. I have not chosen to correct minor errors in those earlier works themselves, however, because they have been cited and I prefer not to change them. I will add warnings to the main Web page <https://ee.stanford.edu/~gray/amy.html> pointing out that all significant errors I have found on my own or have been reported to me are corrected in this new expanded version.

## 0.1 Notes on Names

Three languages — English, French, and Spanish — arise in the journals, letters, and other sources in this book, which often means different but equivalent names are used for the same person. For example, John, Jean, and Juan; Jane, Jeanne, and Juana; Joseph and Jose Francis, François, Francisco. Usually one version will be chosen and stuck to, but occasional other versions will be used for context.

Names of ships and plantations are sometimes italicized and sometimes not. I have been of mixed mind on which style to use, but with age have preferred the italicized versions for emphasis. Use in this book is not consistent. A picky point with boat names is weather or not to use an article, for example, do you say “passengers on the ship *Augustine Heard*” or simply “passengers on ship *Augustine Heard*?”. Here I find the nautical literature prefers the latter, so I tend to not add the article. Once again, however, I am not consistent.

As a final comment, there is considerable redundancy in this book. Definitions of abbreviations, description of relationships, and dates are often repeated. This is both to aid to my failing memory and to avoid assuming that a reader interested in a particular person, place, or event will have read earlier relevant portions of the book

## Acknowledgements

Immeasurable thanks are due to my brother Steen for the family genealogy he wrote described in the above list of sources. Steen died at home in Florence, Oregon, on 28 October 2019, so it is natural to dedicate this book to him both as the source of much of the initial material and inspiration and as a namesake of both Amy’s father, my great-grandfather Augustine Heard, Jr., and our father Rear Admiral Augustine Heard Gray (1888-1982), Amy’s younger son.

Thanks to my late cousins Arthur (Art) Meeker Gray and Joan Gray for their reminiscences of Amy Heard and for many of the letters presented here. Their brother Horace Gray provided Heard genealogical material their father had collected. Thanks also to my cousin Horace’s children Hod, who provide photographs and memories, and Suzy and Kathe, who provided further letters to Amy.

Thanks to Pat Tyler, who for many years was board member and President of the Ipswich Historical Society, Curator at the Ipswich (Massachusetts) Museum, and the Town Historian of Ipswich. She was also the primary expert on the history of the Heard family and a wonderful friend.

Thanks to Peter Alexander von Schimpff, the grandson of my grandmother’s sister Helen Maxima “Max” Heard, who provided photos of Max Heard as an adult and a photo of the marriage of Max Heard with Max von Brandt, Peter’s grandfather.

Thanks to Annamarie Gosnell and her son William Rostek of Baltimore for having

rescued from a Baltimore dump several of the photos of Amy, Jane, and Max Heard that appear in these pages.

Thanks to Terry Joyner of Spokane, Washington, for her wonderful gift of my grandmother's grandmother Amelia Williams Taylor De Coninck's family bible, which provided many correct spellings and dates regarding her family that other sources (including me in my earlier manuscripts) had incorrectly reported.

Thanks also to Lance Humphries of Baltimore for providing information and scans of many documents relating to Lemuel Taylor's time in Baltimore, including critical hints of his future in Cuba. His suggestions for searching the Maryland historical archives proved invaluable. Thanks also are due to his friend Ed Pappenfus, who led the creation of the digital archives of Maryland history and whose articles are quoted here. Of notable value is the archive of scanned court documents detailing the insolvency process of Lemuel Taylor leading up to his moving to Cuba and lasting for decades beyond his departure. Thanks Tom High and *Back Bay Houses* ([backbayhouses.org](http://backbayhouses.org)), a website that provides a "genealogy" of the houses in Back Bay Boston, providing histories of the houses and occupants along with links to numerous websites providing access to relevant documentation. I discovered the site when searching for houses relating to Amy and her circle of friends and relations and have discovered many new connections and historical facts from the site.

I am indebted to many individuals who have provided me with information, articles, and photographs after they chanced on my Website and contacted me. In particular I gratefully acknowledge the many historical tidbits and photos provided by Robert Neff, who has written many articles on Korean history in the second half of the nineteenth century from the western viewpoint as well as a book [95] on the subject; John Shufelt, who is writing a book on General LeGendre and who kindly brought to my attention the work of Harold Joyce Noble (1903-1953) and provided me a copy of his own notes on Noble's papers; Jean Brown, who provided me with information on Clarence Greathouse and his mother Elizabeth; Hartmut Walravens, who wrote a book on Max Scipio Von Brandt, Amy's brother in law; Allan Stacey, who wrote articles on Amy's brother John Heard, Jr.; and Marie Dean, who is a descendant of Jean Chartrand, a neighbor of Lemuel Taylor's, who fulfilled a dream I have had by making a pilgrimage to the land of her ancestor's with a professional historian as guide and who shared her slides and photos with me. Such new contacts as these have added to the fun of editing these letters and exploring their contents.

It has been said that an advantage of advanced age is getting to meet lots of new people (along with being able to hide your own Easter eggs). A few of the genuinely new acquaintances in recent years who have helped with this growing history project are: Penny P. West — with whom I share a great-great-grandparent, Tom Larkin — the Augustine Heard Fellow at the University of Bristol, and Katherine Chaison — Curator at the Ipswich (Massachusetts) Museum. All have been helpful in recent discoveries.

I will close with an expression gratitude to Lolly whose love and support has nurtured

this work-in-progress and me for decades.

Robert M Gray  
Grandson of Amy Heard Gray  
Rockport, Cape Ann, Massachusetts  
Winter 2024

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction: 1860 Birth in Boston

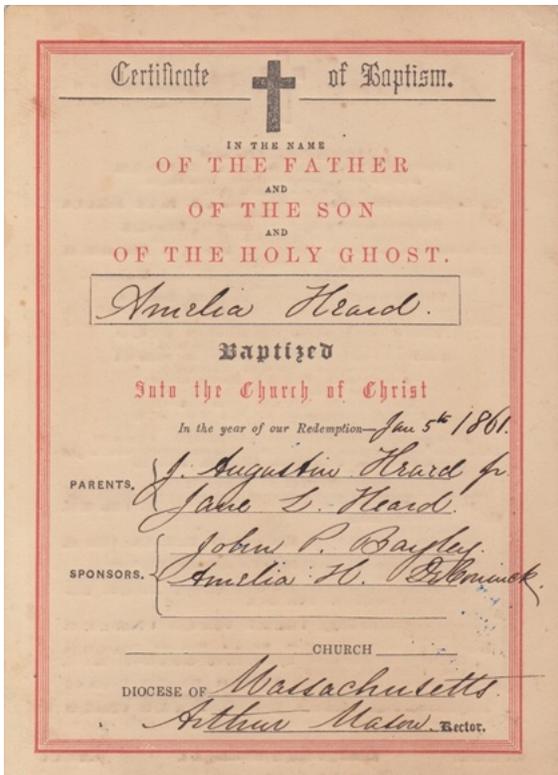


Figure 1.1: 1861 Christening

Coninck in Baltimore when she married Augustine. Augustine Heard, Jr., came from a family of marine merchants, shipowners (including revolutionary privateers or *Letters of Marques*), and ship captains from Ipswich and Boston, Massachusetts. He was born Augustine Heard, but he was usually called Augustine Heard, Jr., Augustine Heard Jr,

Amy Heard was born on 7 October 1860 in Boston, Massachusetts, the month before the election of President Abraham Lincoln and the year before the outbreak of the American Civil War. She was christened *Amelia* after her maternal grandmother Amelia Williams (Taylor) De Coninck (5/22/1806-4/1868), but Amy never used the name except on legal documents. The name *Amelia* is an English variant of the name *Amalia*, a name of German origin. The two names are often confused for each other — as will be seen often in this book. *Amelia* is definitely the more common in English speaking countries. The Episcopal baptismal certificate of Figure 1.1 provides a brief introduction to several of the people and places in her life and ancestry.

Amy was the second child of Augustine Heard Jr. (12/7/1827-12/12/1905) of Ipswich, Massachusetts, and Jane Leep (De Coninck) Heard<sup>1</sup> (5/11/1832-6/19/1899) who was born in Havana Cuba, but was living with her widowed mother Amelia W. De

<sup>1</sup>“Leep” is sometimes misspelled as “Leap” or “Leaps.”



**Augustine Heard Jr**



**Jane Leep (De Coninck) Heard  
1861 Boston**

or Augustine Heard II to distinguish him from his famous uncle and namesake Augustine Heard (3/30/1785-9/14/1868), a sea captain, supercargo, marine merchant [139], and founder in 1840 of the the China trading firm Augustine Heard and Company [87]. In hopes of avoiding confusion, in these pages Amy's father's name will either include the "Jr" or "II" or be shortened to his nickname *Gus*. Both AH2 and AH Jr. will be used for simplicity when the density of the full name gets annoying.

Jane's ancestral origins lie in Ostend, in what is now Belgium, and Baltimore, Maryland. When Jane's father, François or Francis De Coninck of Ostend moved to Cuba, Ostend and the rest of West Flanders were part of Napoleonic France. Jane's mother, Amelia Williams (Taylor) De Coninck, was the younger daughter of Lemuel Taylor, a Baltimore merchant and ship owner who following bankruptcy during the financial panic of 1819 moved with his family to Cuba and became a slave-owning farmer and planter.

Both Gus and Jane were descended from merchants, maritime traders, and ship owners, including owners of American privateers during the revolution and the War of 1812. The same was true of the ancestors of Amy's future Husband, Russell Gray of Boston, Mass.

Jane lived mostly in Cuba until the middle of the nineteenth century, when she moved to Baltimore, the birthplace of her mother. Her departure from Cuba at age 17 left her widowed mother Amelia and her youngest sister Mary Taylor De Coninck behind, but the the family would be reunited in Baltimore around 1855.

The original photos of Augustine and Jane shown were taken in 1861 by John A. Whipple at his Photographic & Daguerriotype Rooms at No. 96 Washington St., Boston.<sup>2</sup>



Figure 1.2: Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck in 1861, Boston

The Certificate of Baptism includes the signature of Jane's younger sister, Amelia Henrietta De Coninck, as a Sponsor, which is equivalent to a godmother in the Episcopal Church. Amelia H. had been living and traveling with Gus and Jane since before the birth of their first son, John Heard, Jr.,<sup>3</sup> in Paris. Jane's mother, Amelia Williams (Taylor) De Coninck, also attended the baptism and chose to have her photo taken at the Whipple studio<sup>4</sup>. The photo of Amelia W. De Coninck shown in Figure 1.2 along with a Daguerriotype of the same image are the only images I have of Jane's mother Amelia W. De Coninck. Amelia W. was born on 22 May 1806, so in early 1861 at the birth of her granddaughter she was 54 years old. She was born in Baltimore Maryland to Lemuel and Mary Taylor, but around 1820 Lemuel fled creditors and lawsuits to go to the Spanish colony of Cuba, where Amy's mother Jane was born and grew up. They lived in Havana and on the Santa Amalia Estate next to the village of Coliseo, not far from the city

of Matanzas, which then was the capital of the *Jurisdicción* de Matanzas and is now the capital of the *Province* of Matanzas of the nation of Cuba.

The minister officiating at the baptism who signed off at the bottom of the certificate was also a relative by marriage. Arthur Mason was the Rector of St. Andrew's Church, an Episcopal Church in Chelsea, Massachusetts, just outside of Boston. He was married to Amelia C. Taylor, one of the seven daughters of Alexander Taylor, the brother of Amelia

<sup>2</sup>Historic New England has his 1860 brochure online.

<sup>3</sup>Named after his uncle, Gus's brother John.

<sup>4</sup>The back of the photo names the studio and address.

W. De Coninck. In other words, Mason was married to a first cousin of Amy's mother Jane. Everyone mentioned so far on the baptismal certificate was family.

The remaining name on the Certificate of Baptism, the Sponsor or godfather John P. Bayley, stumped me for many years. Only during the COVID-19 pandemic did I find time to track him down as I had not noticed his name in most of the stories, journals, and letters making up this book. More of the story will be told when describing the Cuban plantations neighboring Lemuel Taylor's Santa Amalia Estate, but a few details here provide early context. John Prince Bayley was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1818 and in 1845 he married Jeannette Chartrand, born in 1823, a daughter of Juan Matias Chartrand, the owner of the Laberinto (Labyrinth) Cafetal<sup>5</sup>, later named the Ingenio<sup>6</sup> Ariadne in Limonar, Cuba. The following announcement appeared in the reports of recent marriages in the Monday 17 November 1845 issue of the *Boston Evening Transcript*<sup>7</sup>:

At the Labyrinth, Limonar, Cuba, 20th Oct, by Rev Mr Navano. Mr John P. Bayley of Matanzas, to Jeannette, eldest daughter of John Chartrand Esq, of the Labyrinth.

Limonar is near to Coliseo, where the Santa Amalia Estate was located. The Santa Amalia estate in 1845 was owned by the heirs to Lemuel Taylor, specifically his son Alexander Taylor and daughter Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck. Limonar and Coliseo were so close that a "padre from Limonar" performed the marriage of Amelia Taylor to Francis De Coninck at Santa Amalia in 1831. So John P. Bayley and Amelia W. De Coninck had been neighbors in Cuba and Bayley likely knew Amelia and her daughter Jane. It will be told later that Bayley also was godfather to Amy's second cousin Mary Parrot, the granddaughter of Amelia De Coninck's older sister Mary West (Taylor) Wieland, who had left Cuba for France by 1834. Bayley had been a friend of the Taylor sisters for close to three decades when he was godfather to their grandchildren.

Both Juan Chartrand and Lemuel were active participants in the African Slave Revolt in Matanzas in 1825 and its aftermath [103], and both were visited by traveling authors writing about the Matanzas area in the first half of the 19th century, including Abiel Abbot and Fredrika Bremer. Several traces of connections between the Chartrand and Taylor families survive in the literature.

According to the records of the Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts, John Prince Bayley was born in Boston on 19 November 1818 and died at age 62 in Nice, France. His first wife, Jeannette Chartrand, died on 29 June 1867 in Cambridge, Mass., and is also buried at Mount Auburn. It seems likely that Jeannette attended Amy's baptism with her husband. Bayley was also also godfather to Amy's second cousin Mary Parrot, the daughter of Jane's cousin Mary (Wieland) Parrot.

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<sup>5</sup>coffee plantation

<sup>6</sup>sugar plantation

<sup>7</sup>Found via search through [geneabank.com](http://geneabank.com)

Juan Chartrand has a story as rich as Lemuel Taylor's. There is also a dark side to both Taylor and Chartrand, as both were fervent supporters of the institution of slavery, as were most of their fellow colonialists of European and North American descent in Spanish colonial Cuba.

Gus and Jane were married on 29 April 1858 at the Baltimore, Maryland, home of Jane's mother Amelia W. DeConinck. After their marriage, Gus brought Jane with him to Paris, where he was the European agent of Augustine Heard & Company. Amy's older brother John was born in Paris on 4 May 1859, his name following a tradition of the family naming the first born son *John* after the founder of the family in Ipswich, Massachusetts. John was usually referred to as John Heard, Jr., the "Jr" used to distinguish him from his uncle, — Gus's brother John Heard, often called John Heard III. John became a mining engineer and a successful writer of fiction and travel books. The family was visiting Boston in 1860. When Amy was born Gus's parents George Washington Heard and Elizabeth Farley Heard had residences in both Boston and Ipswich.

From 1860 to 1886, Amy and her family traveled and lived in many places, including Boston, Paris (where they were based during the 1860s), Hong Kong (1867-1871, where Amy's sister Max was born), Biarritz (in 1877), France, London and Brighton (in 1876), Bar Harbor, Maine and Newport Rhode Island (several summers), Washington, DC, (1881-2), and New York City. Amy's younger brother Augustine Heard, was born at Vevey, Switzerland, on 17 December 1861, but died six months later. Her brother Augustine Albert Heard was born in Paris, 12 June 1866, and her sister Helen Maxima Heard, known as *Max* for much of her life, was born at Hong Kong, 11 May 1868, during Gus's return to Augustine Heard & Co headquarters as the financial situation of the company had begun its final decline. Max would become, along with the West sisters, one of Amy's primary correspondents, signing her letters *Bébé*, *Helène*, or *Max*.

When war broke out in Europe in 1870, the family moved to New York City and Gus began visiting friends and connections in Washington D.C. seeking a diplomatic position which would take advantage of his China experience. He hoped to become U.S. Minister to China, but that was not to be. The family moved to Washington with a house at 1777 Massachusetts Avenue in 1881 so that Gus could most of his time to his pursuit of a diplomatic post. During her time in Washington, D.C., Amy was an active participant in the political and diplomatic social scene and she often traveled to visit friends and relations, sometimes spending entire summers apart from her parents.

In 1886 Amy married Russell Gray of Boston in Washington D.C. Russell was ten years her senior and was also a descendent of a maritime merchant family. Amy's Heard grandparents and Russell's Gray grandparents had been friends and colleagues in politics and business. Following her marriage Amy moved to 39 Marlborough Street in Boston, where she would remain except for occasional travel until her death in 1949, 20 years after Russell's death. During her traveling and after her move to Boston she carried on an active correspondence with friends and family. The letters she received and their context make

up the majority of this work.

After Amy's 1886 departure, her parents and Max remained in Washington (with frequent travel) until 1890, when Gus was appointed the U.S. Minister Plenipotentiary (the equivalent of a modern Ambassador) and General Consul to Korea. Amy's sister Max and their mother Jane moved to Seoul with Gus for his four year stint, a story which is told here through Max's letters to Amy in Chapter 15.

Amy's journals and letters form a window into the late nineteenth century, and reveal many formerly hidden connections among the family and friends.

## The Game Begins

The first story I found through Amy's letters was the *Murchison Affair*, which may have cost an American president — Grover Cleveland — his reelection and resulted in the British Minister, Lionel Sackville-West, being recalled and a break in relations between the U.S. and Great Britain. As the *San Diego Union and Daily Bee*<sup>8</sup> headline put it:

**Sackville “Sacked.”**  
Minister West Must Return to  
Old England

The life of Lionel Sackville-West's illegitimate daughter Victoria Josephine West is well illustrated during her Washington days. She later was given her fathers family name of Sackville-West and even later married her cousin, also named Lionel, and became Lady Sackville, Victoria was the mother of the writer Vita Sackville-West<sup>9</sup>. Both the mother Victoria and the daughter Vita were famous and notorious and both had fascinating lives and powerful personalities. The focus here is on Victoria, although Vita will enter the story on occasion.

Much less well known is Victoria's younger sister, Amalia, who in these pages is more real than in any books I have found.

Some of the most famous diplomats and politicians of the time appear, including the Spanish novelist, poet, and diplomat Juan Valera. When he announced his impending departure from Washington, Catharine Bayard, the daughter of the US Secretary of State, committed suicide. The attraction of this 60 year old renaissance man to young women in their twenties is apparent in the letters. The story of the affair and Amy's friendship with the Sackville-Wests is told in Chapter 13.

The second of the major stories told in Amy's letters is that of her sister, mother, and father's time in Seoul, Korea during Gus's service as U.S. Minister to the Court of King Kojong. Korea was then officially newly independent of China, but China viewed her as

<sup>8</sup>Vol. XXXIV, No. 6430, 31 October 1888

<sup>9</sup>Vita's actual name was Victoria, but she never used it.

a “vassle state” while the Western nations tried to encourage her to act independently. In the midst of all of this Japan was preparing an invasion and annexation of Korea, which occurred after Gus’s departure, and the occupation lasted until the end of World War II. While in Korea Gus’s daughter Max wrote Amy regularly, describing the difficulties of life in Seoul. The mail was picked up and received roughly every ten days, so that many of the letters show the stress of last minute writing to catch the mail before it left. Her father wrote the state department often and he is quoted often in *Balance of Intrigue: International Rivalry in Korea and Manchuria 1884–1899*, by G. A. Lensen [85].

Kojong proved to be weak and passive, but kind and courteous and deeply religious. In contrast, his wife, Queen Min Myongsong, had a strong personality and assisted her husband in escaping the influence of the Taewongun. She, too, would cause great controversy during her career and would finally die at the hands of Japanese assassins. Her family, the Min, exerted strong influence in the Korean government during Heard’s tenure.

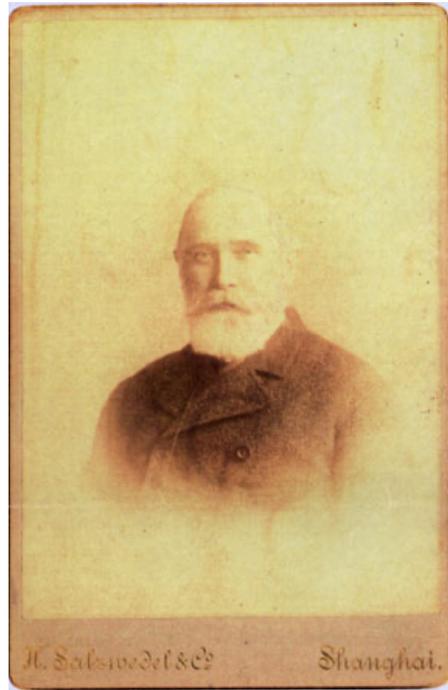
Max’s letters describe ordinary life among the European diplomatic community, as well as visits to meet the royal family and a tour of China. During this time Max Heard met Max von Brandt. Her romance with Max August Scipio von Brandt, the German minister to China, is described in some detail.<sup>10</sup> Brandt had been German Minister to Japan before moving to China.

Brandt was 32 years Max Heard’s senior, but in the letters he is transformed from an elegant importunate old man to a gentle and passionate lover as time progresses. They married in Seoul against the Kaiser’s wishes, so Brandt was sacked and recalled to Germany, whither Max went with him. In a long letter in May 1893 from the Oldenburg in the Malacca straits, Max describes her marriage in detail and lists her wedding presents. After Max & Max returned to Germany, Brandt wrote books and the two became something of a local nobility. They had one child, Elizabeth, who later married Alexander von Shimpff, a journalist and reservist in the German Army. He was called up and sent to Africa with Rommel, where he was eventually captured and sent to a POW camp in Virginia. I met his son, Peter Alexander von Shimpff in Frankfurt in 1997. The photos of Max and Max and of their wedding came from him. Unfortunately I speak no German and he spoke neither English nor French, so our brief conversation was sadly limited. The bond of having grandmothers who were sisters felt strong and we exchanged copies of letters and photographs as we struggled to communicate.

Context for the principal stories and documents is provided in Part I, which collects information about Amy’s most interesting ancestors and collaterals, which in turn provides insight into her correspondents and many of the names and events appearing in

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<sup>10</sup>I am informed by Professor Hans-Alexander Kneider of the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Korea that von Brandt’s first name was indeed simply Max and not Maximillian as claimed by Lensen [85]. Kneider provided numerous German bibliographical and historical works to support his claim, which I find convincing.



**Max von Brandt**



**Max Heard  
in Weimar in 1908**



**Max, Max, and Elizabeth (age 15)  
in Weimar, 1913**

her journals and letters. The stories begin with two of her great-grandfathers: Lemuel Taylor of Baltimore, Maryland, and Cuba, and John Heard, of Ipswich, Massachusetts, and their descendants. While there is incidental genealogical information in Part I, the focus is on the stories and connections of the more interesting individuals. No attempt is made at a complete genealogy, although earlier ancestors are mentioned where known and available relevant genealogical sources are cited. *Caveat Emptor* as these sources are often inconsistent, so there are occasional discussions of my choices as to the likely most accurate. Researching Amy's ancestors and cousins led me to many gems in obscure on-line resources, mostly scans of old documents and long out-of-print booklets, reports, and other documents. Given the difficulty of travel due to age and a pandemic, these public-domain online files have been true treasures as windows into hidden niches of long ago — as well as sanity preservers.

Next to my grandmother Amy herself, I find her great grandfather Lemuel Taylor of Baltimore, Maryland, and Matanzas Province, Cuba, to be one of the most complex and interesting characters I have encountered in my side career as an amateur historian, so I spend perhaps an inordinate amount of time and prose on him and his offspring. Much of the information comes from the World Wide Web and one book, but I think that there is more gathered here about him than in any other single source. This research also provides an interesting observation — a few of the sources I list cite early Web versions of my own writings on Amy, which gives me the satisfaction of knowing that my own playing in these fields has proved useful to new writings by a few others, which in turn have further educated me. The flip side, of course, is that many of my early mistakes involving names of people and places have propagated and returned to haunt me. In my 81st year I still seek, find, and fix typos while I revise or incorporate new discoveries and I wonder how the goofs have survived so long.

**Part I**  
**People and Places**

## Chapter 2

# Lemuel Taylor in Baltimore

We begin with the ancestors of Amy's mother Jane Leep (De Coninck) Heard — specifically with Jane's maternal grandfather Lemuel Taylor, his life and years in Baltimore, his daughter Amelia Williams Taylor — Amy's grandmother — and other family members. Lemuel is perhaps the most colorful and complex of Amy's ancestors.

This chapter concludes with the emigration of Lemuel and his family from Baltimore to what is now the Province of Matanzas in the Island of Cuba around 1821 following the U.S. Financial Crisis of 1819 and Lemuel's financial ruin. Their early life in Cuba will be considered in Chapter 3.

Stories of varying length and detail about Lemuel Taylor can be found in scattered books, articles, and public documents on his business, military, and political activities in Baltimore. He owned or co-owned many ships active in international trade, including armed privateers or Letters of Marque in Baltimore during the War of 1812. He was one of the organizers in March 1810 of the Franklin Bank of Baltimore at No. 15 South Street and in February 1812 he was a founder and member of the controlling board of the *Baltimore House of Industry*, a "House of Refuge for the care of deserving females and needy children and young street vagrants." Co-founders included many prominent Baltimore names that will become familiar in the sequel: James A. Buchanan, James H. McCulloh, and James Biays. He was an active supporter of the declaration of war against Great Britain and for preparations for the defense of Baltimore. He was as an officer in the Maryland Militia in the battle of Baltimore, specifically serving as an adjutant at the Battle of North Point. In 1815 he was a leader in the construction of a monument to George Washington in what became Mount Vernon Place in Baltimore.

This introduction makes Lemuel Taylor sound like an upstanding pillar of the community, but most of the articles written about him and his business partners focus on his tangled legal and financial problems, his involvement in political and financial scandals, and drawn out court cases that lasted for years after his flight to Cuba and went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. Recent articles dealing with his legal issues and court

cases include [140] and [145]. Early details of his career are drawn from old histories of Baltimore such as [123] and other sources that will be cited.

There is no definitive biography of Lemuel Taylor, so his story is given extra space in these pages in order to collect excerpts from disparate writings in a single place and to provide information on his life with his wife Mary and his children in Baltimore and, in the following chapter, in Cuba. Previously unpublished information on both his Baltimore and Cuba lives draw on over a thousand documents dealing with his insolvency from the Maryland archives.

## 2.1 Origins

Lemuel Taylor<sup>1</sup> was born on 19 November 1769 in Somerset County, Eastern Shore, Maryland [43]. His parents are not known. In May 1806 Lemuel married Mary Wheatley Williams, who was born on 12 April 1767, also in Somerset County, Maryland. More is known of her ancestry. For example, Mary's parents were Thomas Williams (1738–1802) and Mary Wheatley (died 1804). Thomas was descended from three consecutive fathers of the same name, the first one having come from England to Somerset County in 1663). [68] Usually in this work we will stick to the epoch following the mid eighteenth century, but occasionally earlier ancestors and events will be mentioned when it adds context.

## 2.2 Baltimore

According to Lance Humphries [76], Lemuel and Mary arrived in Baltimore at the close of the eighteenth century, first appearing in the City Directory for 1800-1 living at 66 Hanover St.

In 1800 the City of Baltimore was young, having been incorporated only three years earlier from the merging of Baltimore Town with Fells Point. It had a population of 26,114<sup>2</sup> and it was one of the principal cities of the new Republic as a major merchant and entrepreneurial center, flour-milling, shipping, and trade with the Caribbean, Europe, Britain, and American Atlantic coastal towns.

Through his roughly two decades in Baltimore Lemuel would occupy several residences and conduct business in several locations. Notably, he had a mansion built on East (later Fayette) Street during 1808-9, and lived there with his family until his worsening financial situation in 1819-20 forced him to give it up. His rectangular property forms a block bounded by Calvert St. on the west, Belvidere St. on the east, New Church St. (Lexington) on the north. The First Presbyterian Church on East St. was to the east of his

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<sup>1</sup>The name Lemuel means "Devoted To God" and is of Hebrew origin.

<sup>2</sup>*History of Baltimore City and County* (1881) [123]

house. He also shared ownership of a prime waterfront location for maritime business at Lots 64-65 at Fells Point.

On arrival in Baltimore, Taylor quickly became an active participant in business affairs — primarily maritime trade — and with time expanded his involvement to military, political, and public service affairs in Baltimore.

### 2.2.1 Children of Lemuel and Mary Taylor

Lemuel and Mary's children were all born in Baltimore early in the nineteenth century.

Their first child Mary West Taylor was born in 1802.

Their only son, Alexander, was born on 18 September 1804 according to the De Coninck Bible [43], but the Hamlin Family Genealogy [10] gives the birth date as 15 September 1810. The Gray genealogy [68] agrees with the the De Coninck Bible that Alexander was born in 1804. The situation is further confused by the entry for Alexander Taylor in the *Charles R. Hale Collection, Vital Records, 1640-1955, Connecticut*, which gives a date of death agreeing with the De Coninck Bible [43] (2 August 1848), but lists his age the day he died as 42 and 1806 as “Birth Day (Estimated).”

The 9/18/1804 date in the bible is most likely correct for several reasons:

- the source is his sister,
- the date is consistent with his vital card for his internment at Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, which gives 4 August 1848 as his date of internment and 54 as his age (Green-Wood Interment number 4703, Lot 1815), and
- Two passenger lists reporting his age are consistent with this date. At the time of the travel described Alexander was living in the Jurisdicción of Matanzas in the Departamento Occidental of Cuba, essentially what would become the Province of Matanzas in 1878-9<sup>3</sup> and the passenger lists refer to the Port of Matanzas in the capital city of the Jurisdicción. The first list is for the arrival in New York City from Matanzas, Cuba of Alexander Taylor, merchant, on the Brig *Atlas* on 26 July 1831. His age is given as 26, which matches the bible birthdate.<sup>4</sup> The second list is for the arrival of Alexander Taylor, merchant, in Philadelphia<sup>5</sup> from Matanzas, Cuba,

<sup>3</sup>The government structure of Cuba is discussed in Appendix C.

<sup>4</sup>Source Citation Year: 1831; Arrival: New York, New York, USA; Microfilm Serial: M237, 1820-1897; Line: 1; List Number: 213 Source Information Ancestry.com. New York, U.S., Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820-1957 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010.

<sup>5</sup>Philadelphia would be a better port for an eventual connection to Baltimore, where Alexander had friends and probably relations. New York made more sense for trips to Connecticut, where Alexander's wife had family.

of Alexander Taylor, merchant, on the Ship *Isabella*. His age is given as 28, which is again consistent.<sup>6</sup>

I have found no supporting evidence for the other reported birth dates, although the Hamlin genealogy is often cited in many family trees, blogs, and genealogies — in my view propagating an error.

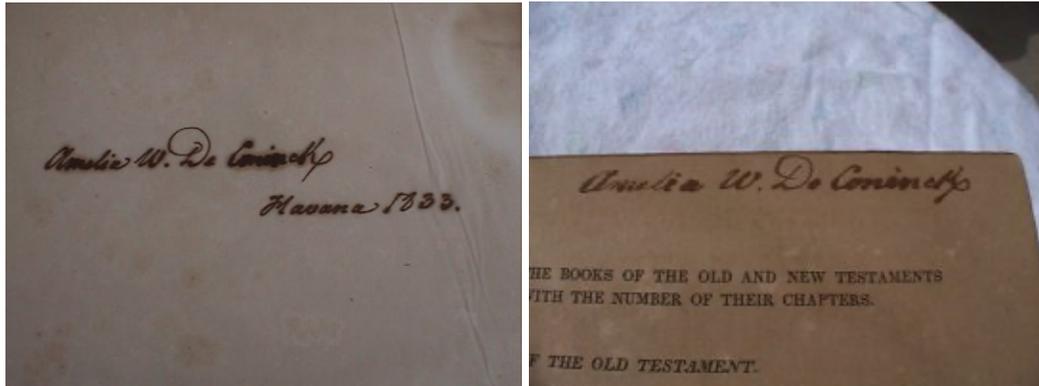
Lemuel and Mary's youngest daughter Amelia Williams Taylor, Amy's maternal grandmother and namesake, was born on 22 May 1806.

There is some confusion in the literature about the spelling of the younger Taylor daughter's first name *Amelia*. In some sources it is given as *Amalia* instead of *Amelia*, so it is worth sorting this out before proceeding. I admit that some of the confusion is my fault as I believed for many years that *Amalia* was the correct name based on family sources and my mistake seems to have propagated to a few articles and genealogies on the Web. My earlier belief that the first name of the second daughter of Lemuel and Mary W. Taylor was *Amalia*. was based on the name given in the Gray genealogy written by my brother Augustine (Steen) Heard Gray Jr. (1964) [68], which in turn was based on previous family genealogies possessed by our father Rear Adm. Augustine Heard Gray, USN — Amy Heard Gray's younger son — and on genealogical notes of the Heard family in the possession of (and mostly written by or copied by) our Uncle Horace — Amy's elder son, and 3) a few works cited by Steen in his book. During the past several decades I have encountered convincing (more accurately, overwhelming) evidence that her name was actually *Amelia*:

1. The De Coninck Bible [43] with its annotations begun in 1831 shortly after her marriage is signed twice by her and she names herself in the third person in several of the entries. All are clearly *Amelia* and not *Amalia*.

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<sup>6</sup>Source Citation The National Archives at Washington, D.C.; Washington, D.C.; Series Title: Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Record Group Title: Records of the United States Customs Service, 1745-1997; Record Group Number: 36; Series: M425; Source Information Ancestry.com. Pennsylvania, U.S., Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists, 1800-1962 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2006. Original data: Selected Passenger and Crew Lists and Manifests. The National Archives at Washington, D.C.



2. Amelia's name appears in the *Baltimore Directory* three times (1863, 1865, 1867) between her return from Cuba and her death in 1868.
3. She is named as *Amelia* in Baltimore and New York newspaper articles — including her death announcement in 1868 in the *New York Herald* of 30 April 1868,
4. She is named in several passenger lists as *Amelia* and never as *Amalia* (in all such lists that I was able to find).
5. Amelia W. De Coninck named one of her daughters Amelia Henrietta De Coninck, and Amelia W. De Coninck's daughter Jane named her own daughter — my grandmother Amy — Amelia. The name *Amalia* has not occurred in either the Heard family trees or in what little I know about the De Coninck family tree.
6. In 1861 Amelia signed her granddaughter Amy Heard's *Certificate of Baptism* as sponsor as "Amelia W. DeConinck" (see Figure 1.1).

As a side observation, the Amelia/Amalia confusion arises in a complete different context in the name of the primary Cuban estate owned by Lemuel Taylor. More later.

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It will come in handy to summarize the progeny of a few couples for later reference. Table 2.1 listing Mary and Lemuel's children is the first example. The additional details are filled in later. The three branches of Taylor descendants remain in contact through the end of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, appearing in Amy's journals and letters as the "Taylor cousins," "Aunt Louisa," "Tante Parrot," and "Aunt Mary." Each child of Lemuel and Mary Taylor and their descendants will be considered in more depth in the chapters on Cuba, the De Conincks, the Heards, and S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia and in the letters and journals and accompanying notes. These families and the Grays all had patriarchs in the maritime trade of the 18th century.

| Name            | Born      | Died       | Married    | Spouse                                      |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|------------|---|
| Mary West       | 1802      | after 1860 | 6/16/1828  | John Conrad Wieland (?- 7/20/1835)          |
| Alexander       | 9/18/1804 | 8/2/1848   | 10/15/1834 | Maria Louisa Webster (10/17/1814–1899)      |
| Amelia Williams | 5/22/1806 | 4/26/1868  | 6/13/1831  | Francis De Coninck ( 10/20/1893– 6/29/1847) |

Table 2.1: Children of Mary and Lemuel Taylor (all born in Baltimore)

### 2.2.2 War and Maritime Trade

Soon after the founding of the First French Republic in 1792, hostilities broke out between Great Britain and France, including their allies and colonies. The resulting military and political conflicts created almost continuous instability and chaos in international trade as antagonistic nations attempted to impose their will on international commerce and restrict the movement of arms, agricultural products, clothing, and other supplies to their enemies. In the late 18th century Atlantic U.S. ports had active trading interests with French colonies such as Saint Domingue (the eastern third of the Island of Hispaniola) and Spanish colonies such as Santo Domingo (the remainder of Hispaniola) and Cuba. Spain had signed an alliance with France in 1799 and Britain was at war with France, so Britain did not always respect U.S. neutrality trading with Caribbean colonies, but sometimes it made exceptions in order to take advantage of U.S. neutrality to help get much needed funds and supplies to its own colonial troops. U.S. traders had been officially forbidden at British ports following independence. The situation was further aggravated when the slave rebellion in Saint Domingue in 1791 turned into a successful war of independence leading to the establishment of the Republic of Haiti in 1804. During the war there was a mass exodus of French colonialists — including planters, merchants, and military — and their families and slaves to Santo Domingo and Cuba and a diminishing of Spanish control of its remote colonies.

This complex situation provided opportunities to brash young merchants in ports such as Baltimore and its rivals for significant profits accompanied by dangerous risks in the often shady or illegal trading and outright smuggling. During the early years of the conflicts the U.S. declared itself neutral, but merchants still faced seizure and confiscation of ships and goods from both belligerent governments and from their letters of marque or privateers — private armed ships authorized by their governments to take as prizes ships conducting trade in conflict with the laws of their governments, including the cargo.

While many U.S. trading operations failed because of their inability to keep up with the changing rules and political situations, others made fortunes by capitalizing on opportunities by secret agreements, cultivating personal connections with foreign government officials, subterfuge, false documents, illegal behavior, and arming their ships against privateers. British pressure would eventually result in the U.S. joining the Napoleonic wars by declaring war on Great Britain in 1812 (without officially supporting its enemy France).

Before actually joining the Napoleonic wars in 1812, however, fortunes were made in the early years of hostilities until the Treaty of Amiens brought a short period of peace in Europe from March 1802 to May 1803, after which hostilities again ignited when Britain declared war on France.

One of the canniest, best connected, and eventually richest of the Baltimore maritime merchants was Robert Oliver, who had a profound influence on Lemuel Taylor's life in both Baltimore and later in Cuba.

### 2.2.3 Robert Oliver

Like Lemuel Taylor, many historical articles have been written about Robert Oliver or about events in which he took part. Unlike Lemuel, there is a published partial biography of Oliver which deals with his active business life: *Robert Oliver, Merchant of Baltimore, 1783-1819* (1956) by Stuart Weems Bruchey [29]. The title dates refer to Oliver's business activities, not to his lifetime. He died in 1934, long after Lemuel Taylor's emigration to Cuba. The book is unfortunately hard to find outside of library stacks, there being no online versions or copies for sale in any format. Happily, some of the content of Bruchey's book has been described and enhanced in published reviews of the book and in several articles in historical magazines and in academic dissertations. Google Books provides search-only access via "snippets" which yield a little text from pages for a few of the search hits. These teasers often do not even include the words searched, but often they provide valuable clues which motivate tracking down a copy in a library. This section originated from on these sources and eventually benefitted from my borrowing Bruchey's book itself from the Boston University Library during a lull in the pandemic in autumn 2021.

Robert Oliver was born in Northern Ireland in 1783 and immigrated to Baltimore in 1783 at the end of the American revolutionary war. Poor on arrival, he began his commercial life as a small-scale commission merchant and became a millionaire by the time he retired from active trading in 1809, but his investments and real estate holdings continued to expand until his death in 1834. In 1827 Oliver was part of the founding group of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Oliver along with Alex Brown, Robert Gilmore, and James Patterson were considered the big four merchants of Baltimore "who by 1819 stood above all the rest in wealth, prestige, and influence [12]. He died a very wealthy man with large holdings in stocks and international real estate, including in Cuba [91]. His Baltimore mansion was turned into the Green Mount Cemetery, one of the early U.S. garden park cemeteries in the style of Mount Auburn in Boston and Green-Wood of New York City. Several of Lemuel Taylor's descendants are buried there, including Amy Heard's grandmother Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck and two of her children: Amelia Henrietta (De Coninck) Pelletier and Francis Alexander De Coninck.

Oliver had a major influence on Taylor, who was over a decade younger. Their relationship seems to have begun with their common involvement in Baltimore's maritime

trade. From 1785 to 1797 Oliver worked in partnership with Hugh Thompson as commission merchants while investing in insurance and shipping, gaining significant profits following the outbreak of war in Europe in 1793 by taking advantage of the official neutrality of the U.S. Opportunities arose in the West Indies where Britain and France, unable to supply their colonies, opened ports which had been closed to American shipping since the American Revolution. Oliver cultivated connections with officials in Spain, which was allied with France until France turned on its ally and Napoleon placed his brother on the Spanish throne, adding to the chaos and confusion in the colonies. Amazingly, Oliver successfully traded with both sides during these turbulent years.

Threading their way between French and English shipping regulations with luck, bribery, false papers, and occasional seizures, Oliver & Thompson specialized in importing coffee from Saint-Domingue and then shipping it to Europe for large profits. In 1796 Robert Oliver joined his younger brother John in partnership. A third brother Thomas was involved to a lesser extent. For the following decade and beyond, the name of Robert Oliver & Brothers appeared widely Caribbean and South and Central American Trade. John Oliver died in 1823.

The Quasi-War with France and depression in the United States were slow years, but the Oliver brothers did better than most. A striking example of Oliver's intricate maneuvering is provided by the following story. In the years 1801 to 1803 while most Baltimore merchants were suffering the "disasters of peace" of the Treaty of Amiens, Oliver won a contract to supply cash for a British paymaster and purchasing agent in Martinique and Barbados. For a 5 percent commission, Oliver procured gold mostly by redeeming notes of banks on the U.S. East Coast, had it melted down and minted into Spanish colonial coins in Baltimore, and then shipped it secretly on his own neutral ships. Further profits resulted from chartering vessels, providing insurance, negotiating bills of exchange, and arranging return cargoes of sugar. Oliver grew rich as other firms failed.

The general economic expansion returned with the end of the brief peace of the Treaty of Amiens and the renewed outbreak of war in 1803.

The Oliver brothers did far more than simply improve trade by taking advantage of the troubles of the local colonial powers. From mid-1806 through 1808, Oliver worked with his Philadelphia brother-in-law John Craig, who was in favor with the Spanish court, to obtain as neutrals a Spanish monopoly license to trade with the port of Vera Cruz. The Spanish king owed a vast tribute to Napoleon. An agreement between Napoleon and the King enabled the French banker Ouvrard, acting with other European financial interests — including Baring Brothers' Bank, Hope & Co., and David Parish — to monopolize all commerce with the Spanish American colonies and to remove the Spanish gold and silver stored in Mexico and transfer it to France. The story of the complex maneuvers involved in the successful scheme is detailed in [29], pp. 271-318, and sketched in the published reviews. The key point for our story was that these organizers implemented the plan with the help of well connected merchants with access to large fleets flying the flags of neutral

countries, specifically the United States. The dominant player among these merchants was Robert Oliver. Ouvrard arranged for a Dutch loan, secured by the Spanish treasure stores of gold and silver in Vera Cruz. The Olivers then transported American goods to Vera Cruz which were “sold” in exchange for the treasure which was then transported in the Oliver’s neutral American ships back to Baltimore, where money was advanced to several Baltimore merchants to handle the consignment of goods to Antwerp, to pay off the Dutch loan. These merchants included the leading Baltimore maritime merchants of the time:<sup>7</sup>

Most of the drafts and checks were drawn in favor of Baltimore men, for example, Smith & Buchanan, Lemuel Taylor, John Donnel, Mark Pringle, and Isaac McKim. These and other local merchants constituted what Parish was fond of referring to as Oliver’s “troops.”

Several of Oliver’s troops played a significant role in Lemuel’s life. The McKim family, in particular the descendant childless Isaac’s brother William Duncan McKim (1779-1834), continued connected to three generations of Lemuel’s descendants.

By 1808, after eighteen months, the Olivers had made \$775,000 in the Spanish gold transformation, with which sum they were content to retire from active trade the following year. Robert Oliver, however, did not retire from business entirely, as he was active until his death increasing his fortune in investments in stocks and international real estate. Presumably his mignons, including Smith, Buchanan, and Taylor also made out well.<sup>8</sup> Notably the papers of David Parish include correspondence with Oliver, Taylor, and Barings<sup>9</sup>.

### 2.2.4 Samuel Smith, James A. Buchanan, and Isaac McKim

The career of Robert Oliver has led us to the early fortunes of Lemuel Taylor and connected Lemuel to three other important personages in Lemuel’s life: Samuel Smith (1752-1839), James A. Buchanan (1744 - 1821), and Isaac McKim (1775-1838). While Oliver disappears from the story for the time being, Taylor, Smith, Buchanan, and McKim will continue their rise as maritime merchants and other endeavors. The four men will own ships

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<sup>7</sup>[29], p.278. See also *Commerce Is the Mainspring 1802-1821*, <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/ecp/26/037/html/olson04.html>

<sup>8</sup>The Hope–Barings Contract: Finance and Trade Between Europe and the Americas, 1805–1808, ADRIAN J. PEARCE, *The English Historical Review*, DECEMBER 2009, Vol. 124, No. 511 (DECEMBER 2009), pp. 1324-1352, Oxford University Press, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25639851>; *The American Career of David Parish*, Philip G. Walters and Raymond Walters, Jr. *The Journal of Economic History*, Nov., 1944, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Nov., 1944), pp. 149-166, Cambridge University Press on behalf of the Economic History Association, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2113881>.

<sup>9</sup>Letter books, 1802 Nov. 2-1808 Jan. 16, 1811 Jul. 24-1816 Jun. 27, New York Historical Society Library, listed in WorldCat

together, serve on professional and charitable boards and committees together as well as in the military in the war of 1812 in the defense of Baltimore:

**Samuel Smith** as a Major General in the U.S. Army and Commander-in-Chief in the defense of Baltimore in 1814;

**Isaac McKim** was a Major of the 27th Regiment Maryland Militia and Aide-de-camp to General Samuel Smith;

**James A. Buchanan** as a Colonel in the Maryland militia; and

**Lemuel Taylor** as Adjutant to Lt. Colonel James Biays, commander of the fifth Regiment of Maryland Cavalry Militia.

. Oliver and McKim will be extremely successful and die rich. McKim will also succeed as a politician, serving in the Maryland senate, and the U.S. congress. Both will also be founders in 1827 of the Baltimore & Ohio, the first publicly chartered commercial railroad in the United States, which will eventually play a key role in the Union victory in the Civil War and the subsequent opening of the midWest and West.<sup>10</sup> McKim also achieved fame with his design of *McKim*, named after his wife, an improved bigger and faster Baltimore Clipper that set records for speed from its launching in 1833.

Smith, Buchanan, and Taylor were bankrupt before 1820. Buchanan died ruined in 1821, but Smith will recover and eventually become a U.S. Senator and then member of the House of Representatives. Lemuel's fate will be recounted, but he lived at least through 1851 and probably not much longer.

Through Oliver's connections Lemuel encountered the Baring Brothers Bank, a connection that will resurface in Cuba.

As a hint of Lemuel's post-Baltimore future, it is worth noting that Oliver was involved in Caribbean trade before the end of the 18th century, and that Baltimore in general, and the firm of Smith & Buchanan in particular, were deeply involved with trade and investments in Cuba [32]. As another hint of things to come, McKim in the 1820s was reported in the newspapers as importing opium from Smyrna for sale to other Baltimore merchants in the China trade. Lemuel's granddaughter Jane Leep De Coninck would marry in 1858 an American merchant Augustine Heard, Jr., who was a partner in Augustine Heard & Co., a company heavily involved in the India - China opium trade.

As a final note on Oliver's troops: Although Isaac and Ann Hollins McKim had no children, his brother William Duncan McKim (1779-1834) and his wife Susan Haslett McKim (1779-1876) had many, the most important off whom for the story of the descendants of Lemuel Taylor was William McKim (11/21/1808 - 1879). Like Lemuel, the younger William would be a Director of the Franklin Bank of Baltimore. Like his uncle Isaac,

<sup>10</sup>See, e.g., <https://www.boliveson.org>

William would be a Director of Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. William would achieve prominence as a banker and merchant in Baltimore. Isaac's nephew William McKim was two years younger than Lemuel's daughter Amelia, so it is plausible that they met as children. When Lemuel and his family left Baltimore for Cuba in 1821 Amelia was about 13 and William about 11. As will be seen later, what is certain is that William McKim had known Augustine Heard Jr. for some time before Augustine married Amelia's daughter Jane in Baltimore in April 1858, and William is the only inhabitant of Baltimore for whom this statement is true.

### 2.2.5 1806: The Ship *Warren*

The primary immediate cause for the financial ruin of Lemuel Taylor along with many others, including Samuel Smith and James A. Buchanan, was the 1819 Financial Crisis caused in part by the collapse of the second National Bank of the United States. But the seeds of Lemuel's perpetual financial and financial problems were sown much earlier when in 1806 Taylor, Smith, and Buchanan outfitted and sent the ship *Warren* ostensibly to the northwest of the United States and Canton for trade, but in fact gave secret orders to the supercargo for illegal secret trade with the Spanish colonies without informing either captain or the crew. When informed of secret orders, Captain Andrew Sterett committed suicide and command was given to the First Mate, Samuel Evans. Evans was a U. S. Naval officer on furlough for a temporary position with the Merchant Marine on the *Warren*. He died in 1824 serving as commander of the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

On arrival in Havana the ship was confiscated and the crew languished in Spanish prisons for from many months to four years and the ship and its cargo were condemned and sold. In 1810 the officers and crew of *Warren* sued the owners for recovery of their wages from the time of their departure until the time of their return as they had not been party to the illegal arrangements made by the owners, the supercargo, and Spanish authorities. The proceedings were delayed without decision pending action by Spain. The case would be reopened in Maryland Circuit court in 1819, a fateful year for Lemuel Taylor.

In 1815 Spain did approve reimbursement for the seized ship and cargo, but did not successfully act on the decision because the cargo, ship, and funds involved were seized in Chile, which by that time was an independent nation, no longer a colony. The royal government of Spain took no further action until forced to do so as part of the "Florida Treaty" or Treaty of Adams-Onis of 1819 regarding the ceding of Florida to the United States by Spain. By this time, however, all of the Baltimore owners including Lemuel Taylor were insolvent and had assigned any future income from their claims on Spain to others, in Lemuel's case, the assignment was to Robert Oliver [137].

The long and complicated story is well told in Zerhusen's 2014 JD dissertation *Shepard v. Taylor, 5 Peters 675 (1831): Deception on the High Seas and the Quest for Lost Wages*

(2014) [145] and in the Supreme Court record *James Sheppard and Others, Appellants vs. Lemuel Taylor and Others* (January 1831). [137]

### 2.2.6 1807: The Peninsular War and Jefferson's Embargo

Following the financial successes of Lemuel Taylor and his fellow agents of the Oliver Brothers, the Baltimore economy and the national economy took a hit with Jefferson's imposition of an embargo in 1807 against all American trade with Great Britain and France following attacks by each on American vessels trading with the other, both by national navies and by privateers. Of course trade continued, but once again it was dangerous but potentially profitable, and the overall effect was a deep depression of American trade. New England and the Federalists generally opposed Jefferson's embargo and even considered the possibility of seceding from the Union and siding with Great Britain, while Jefferson supported the French. Some New England merchants like William "Old Billy" Gray of Salem and some Baltimore merchants like Samuel Smith supported the embargo, ostensibly for the patriotic reasons of supporting Jefferson's government. But their detractors pointed out that they still made significant profits through secret deals with foreign powers and were able to avoid the hardships of the embargo suffered by less privileged and well-connected competitors [34].

Popular opinion eventually turned on the British, largely because of the forced conscription of sailors of British origin captured on American vessels violating the British blockade and because of the perceived interference by the British in American foreign policy.

In 1807, Napoleon invaded Portugal through Spain —his supposed ally — and then turned on Spain and installed his brother Joseph as King of Spain. This betrayal of an ally cost him dearly as the resulting Peninsular War fighting Britain, Portugal, and anti-French Spaniards required time, troops, and treasure. It also added further chaos to Spain's crumbling colonial empire in the Americas.

### 2.2.7 Corneille Souchay and Antonio de Frias

A German immigrant arrived in Baltimore in 1804 who would have an impact on Lemuel Taylor's life and a connection with Robert Oliver years later in Cuba. Corneille Souchay<sup>11</sup> was born 21 October 1784 in Hanau Germany (near Frankfurt) of Huguenot parents. His last name is also written *Sochay*, *Sausse*, and *Suchay*. He gained commercial experience and education in the ancient house of von Kapff in Bremen. He emigrated to Baltimore in 1804, where he he was centered until he moved on to Havana, Cuba, in 1807, where he became known as Don Cornelio Souchay.

<sup>11</sup>The name *Corneille* is the French variation of the name Cornelius and its meaning is *horn player or maker*.

During 1807 Souchay became a clerk in the Havana merchant house of Antonio de Frias, who in addition to his merchant banking activities was one of the most notorious slave traders in Cuba [59]. Antonio de Frias was a leader of Cuban maritime trade for and is mentioned in Pezuela's 1863 *Diccionario geografico, estadistico, historico de la Isla de Cuba* [106] in a history of Casa-Blanca (now Casablanca),<sup>12</sup> a neighborhood or pueblo on the right bank of the bay Havana crowned by the La Cabaña fortress (Fortaleza de San Carlos de la Cabaña) that developed into a major maritime center as part of the Regla municipality within the city of Havana. In the mid 18th century before the British invasion of Havana, the area consisted of a small hamlet housing workshops and warehouses related to maritime trade, but a major fire later destroyed most of the area. Reconstruction began in earnest in 1795 to replace the structures, and a wealthy neighbor Don José Triscomia helped by building a dock and related facilities for repairing and building ships after building his farm house. The history relates how other speculators of the same class then imitated Triscomia's example, "among them Don Antonio Frias, Don José Travieso and Don Juan Samá." within a few years the banks of the river were covered with maritime construction, including a vast warehouse and watercourse for the Royal Navy. To this day there is a major naval shipyard. Frias, then, was well established and well known to Cuban history well before Lemuel's arrival. He was also a correspondent of Robert Oliver by 1819,<sup>13</sup> shortly before Oliver appears in Lemuel Taylor's insolvency process as a creditor.

Souchay became an anonymous partner with the firm in 1814, eventually being said to own 25% of the company. As associates changed, the company was variously known as la casa commercial de Antonio de Frías y Gutiérrez de Padilla; Frias, Gutierrez, Morland y Compañia; Frias, Morland y Compañia; and, simply, Antonio de Frias & Co. Both Souchay and de Frias are named in Lemuel's insolvency papers as co-owners with Lemuel of a Cuban coffee plantation purchased in 1820 during a visit to Cuba by Lemuel, as detailed in Section 2.7.

Perhaps coincidentally, in 1807 Lemuel Taylor purchased property in Cuba as a silent investor, since at that time foreigners could not buy property directly in Cuba. He reveals this fact in his insolvency papers in 1821, but he provides no details of who his Cuban partners were nor the nature of the land. I suspect they were Antonio de Frias & Co. because he will later purchase land with them in 1820, after Spain loosens its rules for foreign investment.

In 1813 Souchay took steps to establish his own coffee plantation and initiated purchase of 16.2 caballerias  
 indexcaballeriafootnoteA caballería was a unit of measurement within the Spanish empire used for royal land grants. While the measurement varied, it was generally about

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<sup>12</sup>on pp. 343-344

<sup>13</sup>[29], footnote 156, p. 360

194 acres. from the widow doña Maria Bosmeniel of the Municipio de Artemisa within Cayajabos, west of Havana [19]. This land combined with future additions would become the famous coffee plantation or cafetal *Angerona*, of which more later. Souchay remained an unnamed partner of the Frias companies until 1825. When Frias died, Souchay served as the executor of his estate and liquidator to pay off Frias' debts.

Souchay's life with an emphasis on Angerona has been considered in many publications, both scholarly and popular. Perhaps the most scholarly are the works by Guenther Roth [117][118], a Max Weber scholar who has written both articles derived from his Weber research (the Souchay family was related to the Webers) and popular articles in English, Spanish, and Portuguese including "Angerona: Facts and Fictions about Cornelio Souchay and Ursula Lambert's Cuban Coffee Plantation." Souchay's history is also described in Norman [80] and in "En el límite de la ley: la demanda de Ursula Lambert" by Luz Mena, *Boletín Archivo Nacional de la República de Cuba, Sistema Nacional de Archivos*, Numero 15 (2007). Souchay was the subject of a romanticized novel *El Romance de Angerona* by Leonardo Padura (1987) and a film based on the novel, *Roble de Olor* (2003) by Rigoberto López, dealing with Souchay's long partnership with a free Haitian woman of color, Ursula Lambert, who emigrated to Cuba with the French colonialists during the Haitian revolution. Souchay was credited with founding (and managing with Lambert's help) what grew into the second largest cafetal in Western Cuba, Angerona in Artemisa.

Roth states that Souchay continued to work with Friás until 1825 and later served as liquidator for Frias' estate when Friás died leaving Friás and Company deeply in debt. This included selling the 1/6 interest of Souchay and the 1/6 interest of the widow of Antonio Friás together with other Frias heirs of the cafetal Santa Amelia of Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos to Robert Oliver of Baltimore in 1830. "Santa" is often abbreviated to Sta. or S<sup>ta</sup> in the Spanish literature and the plantation name sometimes written in English as Saint Amelia or St. Amelia. The details are cited as coming from Bouchet's Archive articles[19], mentioning the inclusion in the estate of "95 negros esclavos de ambos sexos, de todas las edades y nacionalidades."

Roth does not name the owner or owners of the remaining 1/3 of Santa Amelia, but it will later be argued that it was Lemuel Taylor — who is not mentioned in Roth's work. Roth does state that the money received from the sale, 18,030 pesos, was precisely the sum required to pay off Friás & Company's debts. which suggests that possibly the buyer — Roberto Oliver — was the man owed the money or that he was one of the other owners or both creditor and part owner. Regardless, these details will prove important later.

## 2.2.8 French Claims

In 1810 Lemuel Taylor and his partners along with other U.S. maritime traders lost many ships and cargoes to seizure by the French. As the United States was officially neutral at this time he filed claims with the U.S. Government against the French Government,

some of which years later would result in remuneration to the estate he left in trust with Robert Oliver. A list of claims was published by the U.S. Government as part of a report to conference, which indicates the amount of money Taylor lost to such seizures and the number of ships he co-owned.<sup>14</sup> The figure including Taylor's claims is shown in Figure 2.1. The Fawn claim would eventually prove successful, long after Taylor had left

CLAIMS ON FRANCE—Continued.

| Name of claimant.   | Name of the Government on which the claim is made. | Date of the act complained of. | Nature of the act. | Name of the vessel captured or injured. | Amount of loss sustained, and value of property captured, and where.   | Subjected or not to legal adjudication; where and when. | Remarks to explain or elucidate the general nature of the claim.  |
|---|--|--------------------------------|--------------------|---|--|---|---|
| 25. Thomas Tenant and Rowell Colt, trustees of Lemuel Taylor. | France   | Not stated.                    | Bills protested    |   | 226,992 francs, at 18½ cents per franc, equal to \$45,543 25.  |   | This claim is for bills drawn by the Colonial Prefect of St. Domingo on the Paymaster General of Marines at Paris, and protested.   |
| 26. Thomas Tenant and Rowell Colt, trustees of Lemuel Taylor. | do   | 1809                           | Capture            | Brig Ohio                               | \$50,000. Place of capture not stated.   | No legal adjudication.                                  | The amount claimed is for three-fifths of the brig captured, in 1809, by a French privateer, carried into a port near Tunis, and property taken without condemnation.   |
| 27. Thomas Tenant and Rowell Colt, trustees of Lemuel Taylor. | do   | January, 1810.                 | Seizure            | Brig Two Friends                        | Value of cargo, 465,000 francs, equal, at 18½ cents per franc, to \$86,812 50<br>Value of vessel..... 10,000 00<br>Amount..... 100,812 50  | No legal adjudication.                                  | The cargo of this brig was seized by the French at Amsterdam, January, 1810, and taken by the French authorities, in conformity to the treaty signed between France and Holland, at Paris, 16th March, 1810.  |
| 28. Thomas Tenant and Rowell Colt, trustees of Lemuel Taylor. | do   | 1810                           | Capture            | Ship Foughey                            | Seizure at Amsterdam.<br>\$25,000. See last column.  | Condemnation at Paris. Date not stated.                 | This vessel was bound for Tunningen in 1810. She was captured near Sylt by a small French privateer, sent into Haerlem, and claimed for owners by the Danish Government, but finally condemned at Paris. The claim is for seven-eighths of the ship, worth \$20,000, and nine-tenths of the cargo, sold for upwards of \$250,000. |
| 29. Thomas Tenant and Rowell Colt, trustees of Lemuel Taylor. | do   | 1810                           | Seizure            | Schooner Fawn and schooner Fowhey       | The estimated value of the schooner Fawn and two cargoes is..... \$50,000 00<br>Claimant's interest in the schooner Fowhey is..... 7,000 00<br>Amount of loss, &c..... 57,000 00 | Not stated.   | The schooner Fawn, and her two cargoes, and the schooner Fowhey, were seized under the decree of 23d of March, 1810.  |
| 30. Thomas Tenant and Rowell Colt, trustees of Lemuel Taylor. | do   | Not stated.                    | Seizure            | Schooner Kite                           | Seizure made at St. Sebastian.<br>\$10,000. Seizure made at Naples   | Condemnation at Naples. Date not stated.                | This vessel was seized at Naples and condemned. The amount claimed is the claimant's interest, being one-third, in the schooner.  |
| 31. James Cook  | do   | Dec. 26, 1809.                 | Confiscation       | Schooner Hettie                         | Amount of invoice and insurance..... \$1,962 27<br>Amount of sales at St. Sebastian and Bayonne..... 5,476 80<br>Confiscation at St. Sebastian.                                  | No legal adjudication.                                  | Papers, protests, &c., with heirs of William Gray, James Cook, and others, and copies with the Secretary of the Commissioners under the Florida treaty.   |
| 32. James Cook  | do   | Not stated.                    | Confiscation       | Little Dromo                            | Amount of invoice and insurance, \$500. Confiscation at Marseilles.  | No legal adjudication.                                  | Papers, protests, &c., with Leonard Kimball or his attorney. The claim is for insurance by George Nickles, assigned by him to claimant.   |

Figure 2.1: Lemuel Taylor Claims against the French

for Cuba.

## 2.3 War of 1812

### 2.3.1 Resolution & Declaration

Politically, Taylor agitated for war against England and signed a resolution by Baltimore merchants to that effect. The War of 1812 broke out in June. He was also an active participant in the Baltimore riots of 28 July 1812. Among his other exploits, in September 1813 he challenged William Jones, the Secretary of the Navy, to a duel over the appointment of

<sup>14</sup>American state papers: documents, legislative and executive, of the Congress of the United States. 1st session of the 1st congress to the 35th congress, inclusive: commencing March 4, 1789, and ending March 3, 1859, Volume 6 Jan 1859, Gales and Seaton.

Joshua Barney as Commodore in the defense of the Chesapeake river as the British were nearing. Jones declined, but Barney reacted by challenging Taylor to a duel, which Taylor accepted. The result was that Taylor was seriously wounded and Barney unharmed [140]. Joshua Barney (1759-1818), a long-time political enemy of Taylor, had served in the Continental Navy during the Revolutionary War, and commanded a Baltimore privateer at the beginning of the War of 1812. He submitted a defense plan for the Bay of Baltimore against the likely British attack to Secretary William Jones, who approved the plans and gave Barney the command — against the strenuous objections of Taylor. Barney's plan failed miserably and he was forced to order the scuttling of all of his vessels to prevent them from being taken by the British.

When the War of 1812-1815 was declared, Baltimore was the third largest city in the United States, after New York City and Boston. It had also built a strong ship building industry and was, along with New England, a primary nest of the privateers attacking British shipping during the revolutionary and 1812-15 wars.

### 2.3.2 The Battle of Baltimore: North Point

In 1814, during a lull in the Napoleonic wars while Napoleon was exiled in Elba, the British turned its attention to the upstart former colony that was waging war on her and launched a major expedition to attack the United States capital and the hated nest of privateers in Baltimore. Previously most British resources had been focused on France, on protecting Canada from U.S. invasion, and on controlling access to the Chesapeake Bay. But with the defeat and exile of Napoleon it could turn full focus on the United States. The result was an expedition with seasoned land forces commanded by Major General Robert Ross transported and supported by naval forces commanded by Admiral Sir George Cockburn, both under the command of Vice Admiral Alexander Cochrane, the commander-in-chief of the North American Station — and alleged to be the model for C. S. Forester's Horatio Hornblower and Patrick O'Brian's Jack Aubrey.

The British duo began with stunning success on 24 August 1814 by taking and burning Washington, D.C., the nation's capital, following their complete route of the force of regular army and state militia troops in the Battle of Bladensburg. The British then decided to follow up with a similar combined attack on Baltimore. Given their experience with the regular and militia forces so far, they expected few problems in destroying the shipping, privateering, and military defenses of Baltimore.

Adm. Cockburn's ships delivered Gen. Ross and 5000 troops to North Point, Md., near the main route to Baltimore, 14 miles distant.

Unfortunately for the British, Major General Samuel Smith who commanded the land and sea defenses of Baltimore had suspected such an attack by that route and commanded Brigadier General John Stricker to lead his Third Brigade of the Maryland Militia to block the route from North Point to Baltimore to intercept and delay the invading army in or-

der to give Baltimore more time to prepare its defenses for the imminent British attack. Stricker moved with 3200 men, including the Fifth Regiment of Cavalry of 140 men commanded by Col. James Biays and six field pieces of artillery.

There was little hope of Stricker's force defeating or even stopping Ross' force, but there was hope of delaying it for a few hours by combining snipers and barricades with the infantry and cavalry at his command. At word of the British landing Stricker sent a small force ahead to slow the British troops, including the Fifth Regiment of Cavalry of the Baltimore Militia commanded by Lt. Col. James Biays. And this is where Lemuel Taylor comes in.

In January 2021 during the long Pandemic sheltering in place and a lot of Web searching I found a digitized version of *The Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812* (1868) by Benson J. Lossing [88] and scored a hit on a search for Lemuel in the index of the book — which led me to page 9953 and an image of the Battle of North Point, or rather of the field just before the actual battle. According to Lossing, the image is an engraving copied from a drawing made by an eye witness and that the drawing was then preserved by the Maryland Historical Society. The drawing was almost certainly made by the artist Thomas Runkle, an eye witness to the battle who painted the same scene and who is also known to have made engravings based on the painting. The original oil painting on wood was preserved in the Maryland Historical Society, now known as the Maryland Center for History and Culture A digital reproduction of the original painting (subject to copyright restrictions) is online.<sup>15</sup> A digitized lithograph of Runkle's painting by Endicot & Swett, 1834 can be found online.<sup>16</sup> The public domain engraving in Lossing is shown in Figure 2.2. The scene follows preliminary skirmishes which included sniper fire that fatally wounded Gen. Ross, and shows the scene from behind the American lines facing the British in the distance. Many groups and individuals are numbered. Number 11 is identified in the caption of the image in [88] as "Lemuel Taylor, Adjutant."

This discovery triggered another search to answer the obvious questions: Was this our Lemuel Taylor? Was there an independent verification that Lemuel had been an officer in the Maryland Third Brigade under General Stricker? Had he fought in the Battle of North Point, which is considered as part of the larger Battle of Baltimore? The Third Brigade was commanded by Gen. Stricker and was under the general command of Gen. Samuel Smith of the Maryland Militia, who was an intimate business associate of Lemuel's. In 1814, Lemuel was 44, of sufficient age to serve as an adjutant to a ranking officer. Traditionally, an adjutant is a staff officer who assists the commanding officer of a unit such as a regiment or brigade. But which officer? Here Internet genealogical services help since they have scanned and, more importantly, indexed many important sets of documents, including

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<sup>15</sup><https://collections.digitalmaryland.org/digital/collection/mhwe/id/19/>

<sup>16</sup><https://collections.digitalmaryland.org/digital/collection/mhwe/id/29/>

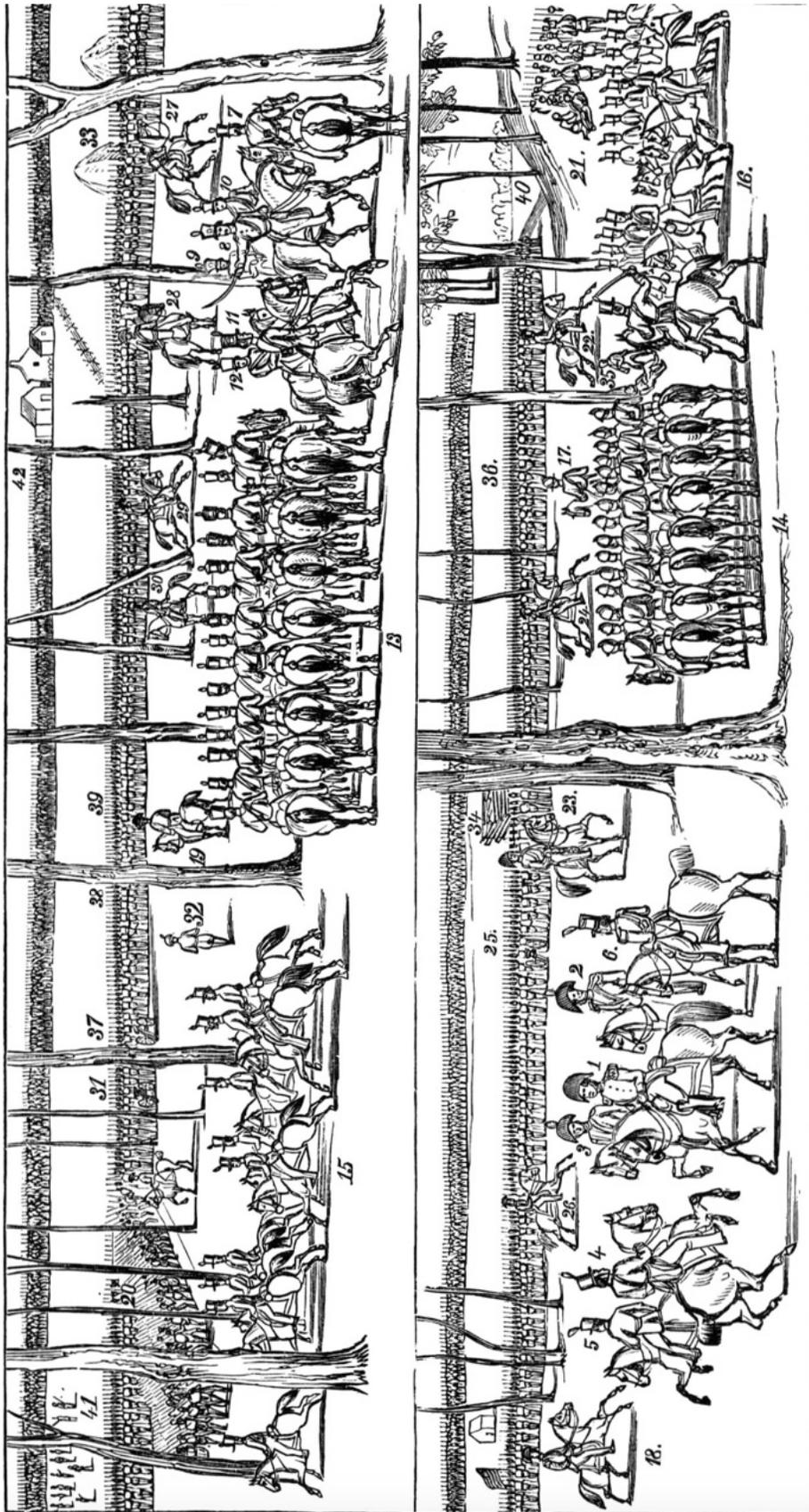


Figure 2.2: The Battle of North Point

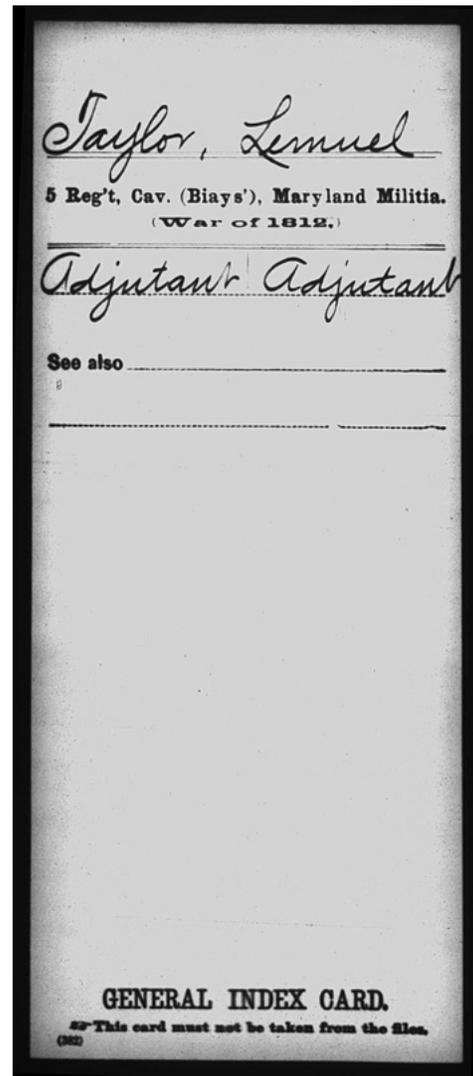
ships' passenger lists and officers of the state militias during the War of 1812. Searching led me to the *United States War of 1812 Index to Service Records, 1812-1815* database with images, using FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org>) to find the index card identifying Lemuel as having begun and ended his service in the War of 1812 as Adjutant to the 5th Regiment of Cavalry of the Maryland Militia, commanded by Lt. Col. James Biays, who is the individual labeled by 8 brandishing a sword next to number 11 Lemuel in Figure 2.2. General Stricker, the brigade commander, is also depicted in the image, of course as individual number 1.

The top panel is the left side of the original drawing, and the lower panel is the right. A thin line of Americans faces a larger and better armed British army, and the British flanking army can be seen on the left. Earlier the British Army commander Gen. Ross had been shot by a pair of teenage snipers.

As the main battle commenced the British advanced, but the Americans were able to defend their ground for a brief period before being forced to retreat mostly in good order. The British sustained surprisingly high losses and slowed down their March to Baltimore out of concern for snipers and surprise attacks. The Battle of North Point was considered a tactical victory for the British, but a strategic loss since the delay of several hours allowed the Americas to bolster their defense of Fort McHenry and the city of Baltimore before the British arrived. What the British thought would be an easy victory, led to a humiliating withdrawal in the face of well organized troops and artillery. The successful defense of Baltimore gave a large moral boost for the Americans when it was sorely needed.

The War of 1812 database also has an index card for the other Baltimore Lemuel Taylor, the much younger Lemuel G. Taylor was a private in the same regiment.

Gen. Stricker in his report of the battle to Gen. Smith ended with comments on the performance of his officers, finishing with



Major William B. Barney and Adjutant Lemuel Taylor of the cavalry, who

having no opportunity of distinction in their regiment, owing to the grounds, did me great service, the former aiding Captain Montgomery, the latter in conveying orders through the whole.

In a published letter published in the *Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser* on 24 September 1819 a painting of the battle by Dominic W. Boudet by officers of the Battle of North Point, including Lemuel Taylor, Lemuel identified himself as “late adjt. 5th cav. regt. M.M. and aid de camp to the general on the day of battle.” The painting was described as having excellent likenesses of the officers, but no trace of it seems to remain. Boudet had been invited to paint the scene, but the City of Baltimore rejected the result and he was never paid.

### 2.3.3 Privateers

From 1812 to 1815 Taylor partially owned several privateers, privately armed vessels licensed by the federal government, including the following: [44]

**schooner *Dolphin*** captured 12 prizes before being taken by the British and becoming the *HMS Dolphin*.

Co-owners included Smith & Buchanan, John Hollins, John Smith Hollins.

**schooner *Pilot*** 3 prizes

Co-owners included John McKim, Jr., John Hollins, John Smith Hollins, Smith & Buchanan

**schooner *Surprise*** 43 prizes

Co-owners included John Hollins, John Smith Hollins, Smith & Buchanan

**schooner *Tom*** 4 prizes

Co-owners included Lemuel Taylor, John McKim, Jr., and John Hollins

**schooner *Whig*** 11 prizes.

Co-owners Lemuel Taylor and William Buchanan

A few references such as the above mentioned blog by Edward Papenfuse say that Lemuel also served as captain of some of his privateers, but I have not found any confirmation for this.

The *1814-15 Baltimore Directory* lists Lemuel Taylor as a merchant at 47 S. Gay with a dwelling on East St. as well as a Director of the Maryland Insurance Company (along with James A. Buchanan) and Director of the Baltimore Water Company (also along with James

A. Buchanan). This James A. Buchanan (1747 – 1821) was not the U. S. President, James Buchanan, rather he was a Baltimore businessman and financier, a senior officer in the Maryland Militia during the War of 1812, and a major player in the Baltimore scandal of Smith and Buchanan which broke the Bank of the United States, caused the bankruptcy of his business partner Samuel Smith, and triggered the 1819 Financial Crisis, which will be considered in more depth shortly as perhaps the primary cause for Lemuel Taylor fleeing Baltimore for Cuba around 1821. Buchanan was also an intimate business associate of Lemuel Taylor, and Buchanan and Smith both crop up often in the Baltimore portion of the story of Lemuel Taylor. The same *Directory* also lists a neighbor of Taylor's 47 S. Gay merchant house – Smith, S. & Buchanan, merch. 51 S Gay st., almost next door!

## 2.4 Baltimore's Washington Monument

In 1815 the City of Baltimore laid the corner stone for a monument to George Washington in what is now Mount Vernon Place. A copper plate inserted next to the corner stone read

On the 4th of July, A. D. 1815, was laid this FOUNDATION STONE of a monument to be erected to the memory of GEORGE WASHINGTON.' On the reverse: 'Managers John Comegys, James A, Buchanan, Robert Gilmore, Jr., Isaac McKim, William H. Winder, David Winchestre, Fielding Lucas, Jr., James Cocke, John Frick, James Williams, Washington Hall, Lemuel Taylor, George Hoffman, Edward J. Coale, James Partridge, Nicholas G. Ridgely, Robert Miller, Nathaniel F. Williams, Willam Gwynn, Benjamin H. Millikin, James Barroll. Eli Simkins, Secretary. Robert Mills, Architect. The site presented by John Eager Howard, Esq. Edward Johnson, Mayor of the city.

In addition to his being named on the plaque as one of the managers of the project, Lemuel Taylor also was one of the managers of the lottery approved by the State of Maryland to raise funds for the project [123]. Sharing both managerial roles was a fellow privateer owner, Isaac McKim.

## 2.5 The Second U.S. National Bank: 1816

In 1816 the second Bank of the United States was approved by Congress and in November the general Board of Directors announced the appointment of the Directors of several state branch offices. Included in the Baltimore Branch was Lemuel Taylor along with James Buchanan and John McKim, Jr. Each branch had several directors and a Cashier. The Cashier for Baltimore was Jas. W. McCullough. James W. McCulloh (McCulloch, McCullough) (1789–1861) was an American politician from Baltimore. According to Wikipedia,

McCulloch worked for the George Williams Counting House, part of the second Bank of the United States, as a cashier who was twice indicted for conspiracy. He was the center of the landmark Supreme Court case *McCulloch v. Maryland* for giving himself loans for stocks. George Williams was a cousin and business associate of Lemuel Taylor, presumably through his marriage to Mary Wheatley Williams.

Amy's future husband Russell Gray's grandfather William Gray was also listed as a director for the Boston Branch.<sup>17</sup> In the subsequent financial crisis, the U.S. Government and the National Bank placed much of the blame on the corruption and self-dealing of the Baltimore Branch.

In 1831 the U.S. Congress launched a formal investigation of the second Bank of the United States, which resulted in a report [38] detailing allegations of fraud and mismanagement in the bank and in its branches, including the practices of branch officers — Directors and Cashiers — making loans to each other using Bank funds while also owning shares in the bank, but then defaulting on those loans when they were called in when the bank encountered difficulties in 1819. Notable among the the branches accused of corrupt behavior was Baltimore, and in particular George Williams, James Buchanan, William McCulloch, Samuel Smith, and Lemuel Taylor. These men were never indicted or imprisoned for related crimes, but they were financially ruined and Lemuel Taylor was imprisoned for failure to pay outstanding debts. Taylors huge debt to the Bank of the United States was the leading, but by no means only, cause of his financial failure in 1819.

As with the first Bank of the United States founded by Alexander Hamilton, the second Bank of the United States was highly controversial and political and eventually its charter was not renewed under pressure from President Andrew Jackson.

## 2.6 1819: Panic, Default, and the Oliver Trust

### 2.6.1 The Panic of 1819

Excerpts from a 2017 article in the *Remembering Baltimore* blog by Edward Papenfuse, Maryland State Archivist, retired [53] provide a concise context:

In every respect Baltimore in the first quarter of the 19th century was an economic and cultural frontier where fortunes were made and lost in international commerce by an aggressive and speculating merchant community that took advantage of the wars in Europe. One of the most active and initially successful proved to be General Samuel Smith and his partners.<sup>18</sup> They dealt with both sides during the Napoleonic Wars,<sup>19</sup> even when The United States

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<sup>17</sup> *Kentucky Gazette*, No. 51, Vol. 2, December 1816.

<sup>18</sup> Especially his business partner James A. Buchanan

<sup>19</sup> 1803-1815

was at war with the British between 1812 and 1815, and when at war, they resorted to a very lucrative privateering that made even the ship captains, like Lemuel Taylor,<sup>20</sup> carried the government's approval of their raiding enemy shipping (called letters of Marque signed by the President and the Secretary of State) very wealthy. In addition, the duties the merchants paid on imports and exports prior to 1804, helped convince President Jefferson that he could afford to purchase Louisiana for \$15 million dollars, a significant boost to Napoleon's war chest. Ironically, when the loans negotiated for the purchase of Louisiana came due in 1817 to the London banking firm of Baring Brothers,<sup>21</sup> it would prove to be the economic snake that bit the most adventuresome of the Baltimore merchants and sea captains, causing widespread bankruptcies, and precipitating the first great American Depression. Those merchants ... had secretly speculated in U. S. Bank Stock, assuming it would continue to rise in value, and when their securities were called in to pay for the stock which they had purchased on margin in an effort to send specie to pay off the Louisiana Purchase, the bubble burst ...

General Samuel Smith (7/27/1752-4/22/1839) grew up in Baltimore and gained fame as the commander of land and sea forces that defended Baltimore from the British attack during the War of 1812. He was a Major General of the Maryland Militia, a wealthy landowner and leader of mercantile interests including Smith, Buchanan and Co, and served in both the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States.

A highly entertaining discussion of the business dealings General Smith and James Buchanan can be found in "The scandal of Smith and Buchanan: The skeletons in the McCulloch vs. Maryland Closet." Smith and Buchanan owned ships with Lemuel Taylor, including the ship *Warren* and the privateers *Surprise* and *Dolphin*. Smith was generally regarded as a hero of both the American Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, but his financial dealing was a major contributor to the financial crisis of 1819 and the financial ruin of him and his associates, including Lemuel Taylor. Smith would recover, Buchanan and Taylor would not. Smith served in both the U.S. Congress and U.S. Senate and in his old age was elected Mayor of Baltimore. He lost his personal fortune, but he died a war hero widely praised public servant. Buchanan managed to transfer much of his property to his family before he lost the remainder to an insolvency process. As we shall see, submitted to the insolvency process and then fled with his family to Cuba to begin a

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<sup>20</sup>I have found no evidence that Lemuel Taylor ever was a ship captain, rather he owned or shared ownership of many merchant ships and several privateers or *Letters of Marque*. Papenfuse may here be confusing our Lemuel Taylor with Lemuel Greenberry Taylor, a much younger man who lived in Baltimore around the same time, and was still there years after our Lemuel Taylor had left for Cuba. More details on Lemuel G. are provided in Section 2.6.4. Lemuel G. Taylor captained steam-powered ferries, not privateers.

<sup>21</sup>Baring Brothers were a famous and powerful international merchant bank centered in London. They will crop up several times in the sequel.

new life.

The Panic of 1819 was international and its causes were complex. Economic turmoil in Europe following the end of the Napoleonic Wars contributed, and the problems of the Bank of the United States were not limited to the southern branches. The beginnings of the Panic are often set in January 1819 because of the timing of a sudden and extreme reduction of credit of the bank and the widespread foreclosures calling in of loans that many, including Lemuel Taylor, were not able to pay.

### 2.6.2 Default & The Oliver Trust

1819 proved a horrible year for Lemuel. In addition to accumulating debt to the Bank of the United States he accumulated a large number of other debts ranging from small to quite large. Many were in the form of promissory notes, signed notes promising to pay a fixed amount within a specified time limit, typically from one to several months. These notes were usually in the range of a few hundred to a few thousand dollars, but often they were for \$10,000 or more, significant sums for the times. At times he was an endorser on such notes written by a business associate or merchant house, which meant he shared the liability. Defaulting on loans was a criminal offense, and before the end of the year Lemuel had defaulted on many such notes, which added up to hundreds of thousands of dollars, an astonishing amount at the time. Financial failure seemed imminent, even though his shipping business seemed to thrive. As evidenced by newspaper shipping news and would later be reinforced by court documents, during 1817-1819 ships owned at least partially by Lemuel were carrying cargo (especially coffee) and passengers to and from Europe and the Caribbean, including to the port of Havana, Cuba. Ships advertised under Lemuel's name included *Woodrop Sims*, *General Smith*, *Sarah & Louisa*, *Madison*, and *Alexander*. But his income was insufficient to pay his debts, and from 1819 through 1820 complaints to the courts grew to a flood.

Possibly hoping to stem the tide of creditors and defaults, on 10 July 1819 Lemuel Taylor mortgaged his East St. house to Robert and John Oliver for 225 shares of capital or stock in the Bank of the United States.<sup>22</sup> Given that the financial crisis had already begun and that the Bank of the United States was conspicuously involved, it seems unlikely that this was an investment on Lemuel's part to obtain shares. It would have made sense, however, if this was done to return shares already purchased from the bank to reduce his debt to them. But his agreement with the Olivers was to borrow the shares with the stipulation that they could call for the return of the shares whenever they wished and that if Lemuel defaulted, they would acquire his East St. house, its furnishings, the land with it, and all other buildings on the property to be held in trust them until such time as

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<sup>22</sup>*Baltimore County Land Records*, <https://www.mdlandrec.net/main/> Book (No.) 157/Folio (Page) 608 (recorded in 1820).

Lemuel returned the loan with any accrued interest. They would also have the right to sell the house, land, buildings, and furnishings to pay off his debt to them.

The trust created to hold Lemuel's described assets pending either reimbursement with interest or sale to pay off the debt would have as its sole stated purpose the paying back to the Olivers of Lemuel's defaulted debt for the bank shares, but a later court decision to be considered (*Estate of Robert Oliver v. Palmer and Hamilton* (1841) [136]) would state that the more general purpose of the trust was to pay back any and all of Lemuel Taylor's debts to the Olivers. This contract was a smart move for the Olivers, because it was made before Lemuel applied to the State of Maryland for relief through the insolvency laws, which would put all of his remaining assets in trust and assume all of his designated future income to pay off of his creditors. The Olivers got there first, and cornered the rights to his Baltimore property for his debts to themselves. Here all funds held in trust by the Olivers with the purpose of reimbursing Lemuel Taylor's debts to them will be collectively referred to as the *Oliver Trust* to distinguish it from the distinct trust created by the Commissioners of Insolvent Debtors for the City and County of Baltimore later in June 1821.

A few days later on 30 July 1819, Lemuel mortgaged his 1/2 share of Lots # 64 and #65 at Fells Point to the Olivers for \$12,000.<sup>23</sup>

On 6 December 1819 Taylor assigned the deed of his East St. land to the Olivers in exchange for \$16,000.<sup>24</sup> The details of location and measurement of the property are made explicit in the document.

Lemuel signed a further agreement with the Olivers on 13 December 1819 assigning to them his claims on Spain for the *Warren* [137] as security on his debts held in trust. It became known that the Olivers were likely to receive a significant income from the Spanish government via the Florida treaty negotiations, and the officers and crew of *Warren* renewed their suit against the owners and extended their original suit to those like the Olivers had been assigned future income of owners of the *Warren*. But the case dragged on because it took the treaty commissioners five years to award the funds to the owners, and then because the owners fought the suit for payment to the officers and seamen. Following a ruling by the Maryland circuit court in favor of the officers and crew, the owners appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, where it would be taken up again in 1831.

According to later testimony by Lemuel at the initiation of his insolvency process in 27 June 1821 following his imprisonment for defaulting on his debts, he had just returned from a visit to Cuba of nearly 19 months. If he had left on the trip immediately after his 13 December 1819 agreement with the Olivers and had returned to Baltimore just before his application, his trip would have been more than 18 months. I found no records of Lemuel on passenger lists recording travel by Lemuel Taylor to Cuba during December 1819, but

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid 153/401

<sup>24</sup>Ibid 154/214

he could easily have taken passage on one of his own ships making a scheduled run. In fact, his ship *Madison* sailed on 15 December 1819 from Baltimore to Havana.

Lemuel's presence in Cuba in May 1820 was recently confirmed thanks to an email from Benjamin Johnson, a Senior Processing Archivist at Harvard, who sent to me a scan of a sales document of 28 May 1820 including the sale of 64 Africans to Lemuel Taylor for \$16,000, notably the same amount Taylor had received in December 1819 from his sale of his East St. Baltimore property to the Olivers. The document was for the "Sales of Cargo" from the Schooner *Camarioca*, Capt. Leufrio. The Cargo was 210 people from the Coast of Africa, of whom Lemuel Taylor bought 11 men, 16 lads, 14 women, and 23 girls for \$16,000. He was the largest single purchaser of the 210 captives. The ledger noted that many of the captives were "sent to Havana," which with the name of the schooner suggests that Lemuel's purchase was made either in the port of *Camarioca* or in nearby *Matanzas*, both of which were ports convenient to *Santa Amalia*. It is notable that shortly before declaring insolvency in Baltimore he was purchasing a significant number of human beings, presumably for his coffee plantation *Santa Amalia*.

In Section 2.7 Lemuel's time in and return from Cuba from late 1819 through mid 1821 will be described, but the next step in his legal history occurred in his absence in Baltimore on 26 December 1820, and it is best considered context here. On that date was recorded *Lemuel Taylor Mortgage & Trust to Robert Oliver and John Oliver*,<sup>25</sup> his final legal instrument before his June 1821 application to the Commissioners of Insolvent Debtors. The document begins by noting that at the time of the proceedings Lemuel was in *Matanzas* on the Island of Cuba. It is later made clear that Lemuel is well-aware of the document and the agreement and a witness testifies to his agreement. This document builds on the 10 July 1819 document and formally puts the East St. house into trust with the Olivers as trustees. In addition, it gives Roswell L. Colt, Robert Oliver's son-in-law, and John Thomas full power of attorney for Lemuel Taylor. Colt will fill the role. In late January 1821 a witness declared to the court that the document has been signed and sealed by Lemuel and delivers a letter from Lemuel approving Colt's appointment as power of attorney. The document also makes it clear that the intention of the document and the appointed attorney is to ensure that the indenture described remains in effect in the face of any other claims that might arise on the property held in the trust by others.

The document explicitly states that the sole purpose of the Trust is to pay Lemuel's debts to the Olivers and that once that is accomplished, whatever is left should revert to Lemuel *or his representatives*, which would appear at this time to mean to Roswell L. Colt.

Lemuel's story is now interrupted to consider two parallel stories of 1819 before returning to Lemuel and his return to Baltimore from Cuba in 1821.

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid 158/104

### 2.6.3 American Bonapartes

The bursting bubble of the second United States National Bank resulted in the Panic of 1819, largely driven by failing Baltimore banks. Papenfuse [53] provides a hindsight appraisal of the financial meltdown and Lemuel Taylor's role in it by quoting a letter written by Madame Elizabeth (Betsy) Patterson Bonaparte, about whom he says

Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte, while traveling in Europe on the income from the settlement of her marriage with Napoleon's brother Jerome, which Napoleon had annulled, and from which she had secured a Maryland divorce, blamed the economic troubles in Baltimore between 1817 and 1822, on the lavish lifestyle of its merchants, particularly their penchant for building fine mansions.

The following quote is from a letter from Elizabeth Patterson to William Patterson dated 22 May 22 1823 which was published in [48].<sup>26</sup>

I shall never forget the depredations committed on banks, which brings me to speak of my regret at hearing of the death of poor James Buchanan, whose father has by this tragical event, been severely punished for the folly which led him to build and furnish with regal magnificence a palace. I am sorry to express my conviction that General Smith's fine house, and the extravagant mode of living he introduced into Baltimore caused the ruin of half the people in the place, who, without this example, would have been contented to live in habitations better suited to their fortunes; and certainly they only made themselves ridiculous by aping expenses little suited to a community of people of business. It is to be hoped that in [the] future there will be no palaces constructed, as there appears to be a fatality attending their owners, beginning with Robert Morris and ending with Lem. Taylor. I do not recall a single instance, except that of [William] Bingham, of any one who built one in America, not dying a bankrupt.

Indeed, According to Humphries [76] he was officially declared insolvent by the state in 1821<sup>27</sup> as were his associates Buchanan and Smith and many others, but contrary to Mme Bonaparte he did not die a bankrupt. Instead he departed the country for Cuba around the end of 1821 and was soon after followed by his family and the evidence to be described shows he lived there for another three decades. He did suffer further insolvencies in Cuba, but his heirs managed to hold on to the Santa Amalia Estate into the twentieth century. More later.

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<sup>26</sup>The book can be found on the World Wide Web. Papenfuse credits Lance Humphries for bringing the letter to his attention.

<sup>27</sup>Zerhusen [145] says that Lemuel Taylor became insolvent in 1819.

Before moving on, a few further comments regarding Mme. Bonaparte and her descendants. Another Mme. Bonaparte, the wife of one of Betsey Patterson Bonaparte's two grandsons, attended Amy Heard's wedding in Washington, D.C., on 3 November 1886, which I find both surprising and ironic. Betsey Patterson Bonaparte had a reputation for beauty, wit, riches, and ambition along with a love for royalty and an often voiced disdain for America. Jérôme Bonaparte apparently fell in love with her during a visit to the United States, and they were married in Baltimore. But Jérôme's big brother, the emperor, did not approve, and refused to recognize the marriage and ordered Jérôme to return. At first Jérôme refused and he and Betsey lived for a while in Baltimore. Eventually they attempted to return to France, but Betsey was refused permission to enter. So Betsey went on to London to wait, while Jérôme tried to fix things with Napoleon I. But the emperor was adamant, insisted on annulment, and bribed Jérôme to abandon Betsey by the promise of a rich European princess and the Kingdom of Westphalia. Jérôme caved, married the princess without divorcing Betsey, and became a King. Betsey, already pregnant, returned to Baltimore where her and Jérôme's son Jérôme Napoleon Bonaparte was born. This founded the so-called American Branch of the Bonaparte family — a branch never recognized in France.

When Jérôme Napoleon Bonaparte grew to marriageable age he had the choice of marrying European royalty or a beautiful, rich, Maryland socialite named Susan May Williams. He married the latter in 1829 and settled in Baltimore. They had two sons: Jérôme Napoleon Bonaparte, who became a soldier, graduating from West Point and then serving both in the U.S. Army and then in the French Army for Napoleon III, and Charles Joseph Bonaparte, who was a politician, best known for his service as President Theodore Roosevelt's Secretary of the Navy and later as the U.S. Attorney General. Jérôme married Caroline LeRoy (Appleton) Edgar (10/3/1840-11/19/1911) and George married Ellen Channing Day (1852-1924). Both brothers had houses in Baltimore and shared a mansion that had belonged to their father in Washington, D.C. Either of the wives could have been Mme. Bonaparte at a Washington D.C. wedding in 1886.

#### **2.6.4 The other Baltimore Lemuel Taylor: Captain Lemuel G. Taylor**

Lemuel Taylor is occasionally confused in the literature with Lemuel G. Taylor, whose life in Baltimore overlapped our Lemuel Taylor for a few years. Because the confusion persists, we take a detour to disambiguate the two and clarify that our Lemuel Taylor and his contemporary Baltimorean Lemuel G. Taylor are distinct individuals.

Lemuel G. Taylor was listed in the 1850 Baltimore census as being 59 years old, suggesting he was born around 1791. Our Lemuel was born 11/19/1769, was 43 when the War of 1812 was declared, and 80 by the time of the 1850 census. Lemuel G. Taylor was

only about 21 when the War of 1812 broke out, which supports his being inducted into the Maryland Militia as a private, while our Lemuel Taylor was an officer. Lemuel G. Taylor was a sailor and ship's carpenter in his youth, and in March 1827 Captain Lemuel G. Taylor began operating the steamer *Maryland* between Baltimore and Chestertown with a stop at Queenstown. His was the first steamboat on the Chester River.<sup>28</sup> He continued to operate steamers in the region and he appears in the Maryland newspapers and histories regularly until his death. For example, Captain Taylor published a letter to the Editor of *The Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis, Maryland, on Thursday, 22 Nov 1827 and the book *Lost Chester River Steamboats from Chestertown to Baltimore* by Jack Shaum, 2015, History Press, Charleston SC, describes Lemuel G Taylor as commanding the steamship *Maryland* in 1830 between Baltimore and Centreville on the Corsica River with a stop at Chestertown. Lemuel G's regular schedule in 1833 was described in *Matchett's Baltimore Directory* (Volume 492, page 207):<sup>29</sup>

Maryland, Capt. Lemuel G. Taylor, leaves the lower end of Dugan's wharf, for Chestertown, every Monday morning at six o'clock, returning same day: Annapolis, Cambridge and Easton, on Tuesdays and Fridays at 7 A. M.; and Annapolis, only, at 9 A. M. on Sundays; but for winter arrangement, for Chestertown, on Sundays at 9 A. M.

This period overlapped the years during which our Lemuel's children were married in Cuba and there is no evidence that our Lemuel ever returned from Cuba to the U.S., where he would have faced serious legal and financial problems.

Lemuel G. Taylor married Mary Merryman on 4/20/1815, who was born in 1795 and died soon after her marriage on 10/22/1815 (*Maryland Historical Magazine* (Volume 10), p. 290, 1915). Both Lemuels married women named Mary.

The same confusion of the two Lemuel Taylors from Baltimore has occurred elsewhere, e.g., in John DuBois' blog regarding his Taylor ancestors [52].

## 2.7 1821: Insolvency and the Insolvent Trust

### 2.7.1 Return from Cuba

Sometime shortly before 27 June 1821 Lemuel Taylor returned to Baltimore from a trip to Cuba. He was imprisoned by the County of Baltimore for failure to pay contractual debts.

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<sup>28</sup>A *General Chronology of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and its Predecessors and Successors and its Historical Context*, Christopher T. Baer, May 2015. Edition, [http://www.prrths.com/newprf\\_files/Hagley/PRR1827.pdf](http://www.prrths.com/newprf_files/Hagley/PRR1827.pdf)

<sup>29</sup>From the *Archives of Maryland Online* at <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000492/html/am492-207.html>

On 27 June 1821 he applied successfully to the Commissioners of Insolvent Debtors for the City and County of Baltimore to use the Maryland laws for insolvent debtors in order to be personally discharged from imprisonment, an application and procedure which will be considered in more detail in the next subsection.

The legal process eventually revealed details of his recent trip to Cuba which are important to his history, so this trip is the first focus of consideration of Lemuel's legal insolvency process.

Lemuel testified shortly before his application that he had returned from a trip of "nearly 19 months" to Cuba, during which he purchased an estate of which he owned 2/3 and that C. Sochay and A. De Frias together owned the other 1/3. In his schedule of property he describes the size of the state as "15 Cavalieres or 450 acres of land." "Cavalieres" is a misspelling of the Spanish "Caballerías," and a "caballería" was a Spanish and colonial measure of area corresponding to approximately 134,202 square meters or about 33 acres. Hence 15 caballerías would have been around 495 acres. This estate will play an important role in Lemuel and his family's future in Cuba. Its name is revealed in other documents in his insolvency process to be *Savanilla* or *S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia*, where *savanilla* is the English spelling of the Spanish word *sabanilla*, which can mean either a small grassy plain or a shroud, and *S<sup>ta</sup>* is an abbreviation for *Santa*, as St. is for Saint in English. . Lemuel's 1820 visit to Cuba coupled with several years of his merchant ships trading with the ports of Havana and Matanzas as evidenced by advertisements in the Shipping News section of Baltimore newspapers show that he had extensive dealings with the Island of Cuba before his emigration with his family from Baltimore to Cuba in 1821-1822.

Eighteen months before late June 1821 takes us to late December 1819, and as earlier discussed, on 13 December Lemuel had mortgaged his house, its land, and its belongings to Robert Oliver with the stipulation that if he defaulted on paying back the loan when called in, all of this property would go into a trust controlled by Oliver whose sole purpose was to pay back his debt. While Lemuel was in Cuba, this trust, which will be referred to as the Oliver Trust, was created in December 1820, Lemuel's deed was granted to the trust, and Roswell Colt was given power of attorney to represent Lemuel Taylor.

It is worth noting that schooner Quiroga, which formerly belonged to Lemuel under the name Sarah & Louisa, arrived in Baltimore on 12 June 1821 with a cargo of fruit and ballast destined for Thos. Tenant following a 12 day voyage. Perhaps Lemuel had returned on it.

Lemuel's Cuban trip explains why he was absent from the 1820 census in Baltimore and provides the origin of the *S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia* estate which will play a major role in the lives of Lemuel and his descendants for nearly a century.

### 2.7.2 Insolvent Trust

Lemuel's original application for discharge from prison and his debts succeeded in his release from prison and the creation of an *Insolvent Trust*, a legal structure which would assume his debts and his assets, including assets obtained from his own existing claims and suits such as those aimed at foreign governments for illegal seizure of his ships and cargoes during the recent wars. His personal discharge was issued on 27 June 1821 and is shown in Figure B.1. The initial decision was based on Lemuel's testimony, a schedule of his property, a list of his creditors, and his witnessed oath to comply with the requirements of the law. The schedule and list still exist in damaged form in the archives of the state of Maryland and are included in Appendix B as they contain important information both about Lemuel's past in Baltimore and his future in Cuba. In particular, the Schedule of Figure B.2 lists two unnamed properties in Cuba.

The online archive of more than one thousand documents relating to the insolvency process of Lemuel Taylor formally initiated in June 1821 is briefly described in Appendix B and provides significant information about Lemuel's life in Baltimore and his involvement with Cuba. These documents provide the main source of information for this section.

As part of the insolvency process, a trust was created having Lemuel Taylor and Roswell L. Colt as provisional trustees to manage reimbursement of the many creditors. This trust will be referred to as the Insolvent Trust as was done at the time, and it should be noted that this was a different trust from the one Oliver Trust created by Robert and John Oliver with Lemuel Taylor in 1819. Colt and Thomas Tenant were soon appointed permanent trustees. Both were among Lemuel's creditors and both had to provide bond for security. Lemuel was required to attend the office of the Committee on 20 August to receive interrogatories to him by any of his creditors and to provide formal answers in person to the Baltimore County Court on 29 September. Lemuel also had to swear an oath to abide by the Insolvent laws for delivery up of his property.

Provided he continued to meet the conditions and orders of the court, Lemuel's person was discharged from prison and from all debts, contracts, promises, and agreements due from, or owing or contracted from him as an individual or in a co partnership capacity by him, before 27 June 1821. There was a condition "that any property acquired by gift, descent or in his own right by bequest or devise, or in any course of distribution, shall be liable to the payment of the said debts."

Thus began a lengthy procedure that would take two decades to reach near conclusion, and another decade to clean up final dispositions in 1854, by which time Lemuel very likely had died.

A discussion of some aspects of the legal proceedings shed light on Lemuel's dealings up to this point, and serve as a prelude to his emigration to Cuba in the same year as well as suggestions of his previous dealings with and visits to Cuba. The original files are all on mdhistory.net, which is an alias for <http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov>. The URLs for

Lemuel's insolvency documents all take the form [http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov/msa\\_t515/msa\\_t515\\_4/html/msa\\_t515\\_4-xxxx.html](http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov/msa_t515/msa_t515_4/html/msa_t515_4-xxxx.html)

where xxxx ranges from 0001 to 1200. These four digit numbers will be used to index the the sources of the material; that is, in this subsection citation [0001] refers to [http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov/msa\\_t515/msa\\_t515\\_4/html/msa\\_t515\\_4-0001.html](http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov/msa_t515/msa_t515_4/html/msa_t515_4-0001.html)

### 2.7.3 Interrogatories & Answers

Several of the questions and answers important to this narrative are quoted. In addition to the initial Schedule and List of Creditors, the most informative documents are the interrogatories put to Lemuel Taylor and his answers. Several are quoted in full and others less important here are simply summarized. Quotations by Lemuel have been lightly edited for spelling and punctuation which I found distracting and sometimes confusing. The originals are available online at the Maryland Archives.

Interrogatories to be propounded to Lemuel Taylor an applicant for the insolvent laws of Maryland. 29 August 1821

Answers given on 29 September 1821

1. [0935] What kind of mercantile books have you kept for the last five years; have you Ledgers, Journals, Day books, Blotters, Bank books, Check books, Bill books, and how many letter books? Produce all of them and say if all the entries contained therein are correct and true. [0935]

**Answer:** [0947]

I have kept such books for the last five years as I believe are usually kept by commercial men with which are all those mentioned in the first interrogatory. I have three letter books the entries on all of which are to the best my knowledge correct & true which books with all the papers and letters relative to my concerns are in the possession & under the control of my trustees.<sup>30</sup>

2. Have you any letters for the last six years; are any addressed to you in your own or a fictitious name on business by Mr. Suchet<sup>31</sup> of Havanna. Anything Faulac, Antonio de Frias & Co. or by any other person or persons? if yes, produce all of them.

**Answer:**

I have received many letters of business in the last six years in my own name. I never had a letter or letters addressed to me in a fictitious name from Mr Sochay, Faulac, de Frias & Co or any other person or persons and all letters received from

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<sup>30</sup>These papers and books have not survived

<sup>31</sup>Suchet is Cornilio Souchet. Lemuel usually spells the name Sochet.

them or any of them or any other person or persons that were thought at the time worth keeping, for the last twenty years are with my books & papers.

4. What induced you to go to Cuba lately; what have been your concerns since there? Have you not received from Spencer, Faulac & Co several negroes say about one hundred and fifty, and what has become of them if sold? How have you applied the proceeds?

**Answer:**

I had different views in going to Cuba all of which was intended for the benefit of my creditors & self while there I attended to any little commissions that came in my way spent some time in the country but unfortunately for me most of the time was unoccupied. I did receive some negroes from Spencer, Faulac & Co. the precise number not recollected they were all sold and the proceeds paid to Spencer, Faulac & Co, Louis Martinez, & Antonio de Frias & Co.

5. Have not since your departure from the United States purchased a plantation in Cuba? From whence did you procure the funds? Is it not now under your control? In whose name does it stand, and do you not expect to receive the profits of it? How many negroes, what farm utensils are on the farm, were they not purchased by you; and if they or the farm are mortgaged to any persons, to whom, and for what consideration? When was the consideration received, and how, and how was it applied? Did your books show this, and which of them?

**Answer:** [0948]

I did while in Cuba purchase about 450 acres of land, as mentioned in my schedule two thirds of which is mine the other the other third owned by A. De Frias & C. Sochay, there are fifty negroes on it, a pair of oxen, two horses, a cart and some other small articles. Two thirds of the land and some negroes are unpaid for. The money paid by me for negroes and other expenses — was mostly derived from bills drawn on Charles Wirgman and the balance borrowed of Louis Martines. The seller of the land has a mortgage to secure the purchase money, Louis Martines to secure the value of twelve negroes and money loaned me for the use of the estate, and the estate of the late John Faulac to secure an old balance due that estate. It is all at present under my control. There is no entry of these transactions in my business books. —

The estate described fits the description of an estate named as “*Savanilla or Sta Amelia*” in an 1824 sale by the trustees to Robert Oliver to be described later. It also fits the description of the cafetal or coffee plantation named Santa Amelia located in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos as described in the literature on Don Cornelio Souchay. See Subsection 2.2.7.

## 6. [0936]

Have you not a plantation in Cuba standing in the name of a Spaniard, and whom? What was its cost, how long have you owned it; how many slaves are on it, what their cost, to whom is it mortgaged, and for what consideration; and when was the consideration received, and how applied? Exhibit all the accounts, sales, and accounts current, with Anthony de Frias & Co. which you have received the last six years, particularly those received by you on your late trip to Cuba. Say if they are correct and how much are you in their debt? Did you not propose and enter into a partnership with Suchet, and what funds did you propose to put into the concerns? Do you not now, and will you not continue to receive the profits of said estate and slaves?

**Answer:** [0949]

I have no estate standing in the name of a Spaniard. I have half of a coffee estate standing in the name of Peter Tregent<sup>32</sup> as mentioned in my Schedule on which there is about 120 negroes it was begun in the year 1807 for cast [?] see my books. This estate is mortgaged to Antonio De Frias & Co to secure any balance I owe them on a final settlement of our accounts and all the consideration received are in numerous transactions with the House prior to June 1819. I can not at present say how much I owe De Frias & Co and presume the amounts will now be settled by any trustees or their agents. All accounts sales and other accounts ever received from Antonio de Frias & Co are with my books & papers — I never did at any time propose to enter into copartnership with Mr Sochay.

Items 5 and 6 deal with the two Cuban estates described by Lemuel in his Schedule of property, with no names or locations are provided. Their names and the location of one of them are, however, are specified during the sale of these two Cuban properties by the Insolvent Estate before 16 September 1824 when the Auctioneer's fee was recorded in the books.. The sale was advertised, an example from the Baltimore *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser* on 1 March 1823, p. 3 being shown in Figure 2.3.

The Auditor's report and Trustee's account for the proceedings of the insolvency process reports the sale of two Cuban properties on 16 September 1824 via a charge to Harrison & Sterrett<sup>33</sup> for the sale of two properties to R. Oliver [0143][0600][0973]:

<sup>32</sup>I have not found another occurrence of this name in Cuba other than a 51 year old secondary school French teacher living in Havana named Joséphine Trégent in 1898, so the rare family name was present in Cuba in the nineteenth century (*Les Colonies Françaises de Cuba (1887-1914)*, Nathalie Belrose, Master II Thesis, Centre de Recherches sur l'Aérique Latine et les Mondes Ibériques. Université Paris I (2010). The French name suggests that he might have been one of the immigrants from Haiti during or following the revolution.

<sup>33</sup>Auctioneers and commission merchants, O'Donnell's Wharf, East Side of Pratt St. in Baltimore

- Bruce Hall Estate
- Savanilla or S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia

According to Roth[117], the sale brought 18,030 each pesos<sup>34</sup> to Cornelio Souchay and the heirs of Antonio de Frias.

7. Give a detailed account of your concerns with Charly Wirgman Esq. for the last three years. Was he not your agent during your late absence from Baltimore, how stand your accounts with him. Exhibit all your accounts, sales, and accounts current with him.

**Answer:**

an account of all my transactions with Mr Charles Wirgman for the last three years will be found in my books and papers he was only m agent for particular transactions I can not say how our accounts stand but can say that there is no claim against me that gives me so much concern for I have innocently drawn him in to large advances for me since I suspended my payments & which has done him much injury.

8. Give a detailed account of your transactions with Col Thomas Tenant for the last three years. What concern has he in the Quiraga? Is it now on your account and who receiving the profits of her voyages?

**Answer:**

An account of all my own transaction with Col Tenant for the last twenty years will be found in my booksd & papers. He has no interest in the Quiraga<sup>35</sup> within my knowledge. the legal right is in Lucas — and the equitable right in De Frias & Co. than four times her value the profits (if any) on the voyage is for account of De Frias & Co. —

<sup>34</sup>the *peso* or Spanish silver dollar (the descendent of the Spanish “pieces of eight” referring to the fact that each dollar was valued at 8 reals) was used to define the original United States silver dollar and in the 1820s the U.S. silver dollar was by law still worth the same as the Spanish silver dollar in terms of silver content.

<sup>35</sup>In a later answer Lemuel will state that Quiraga’s former name was Sarah & Louisa.

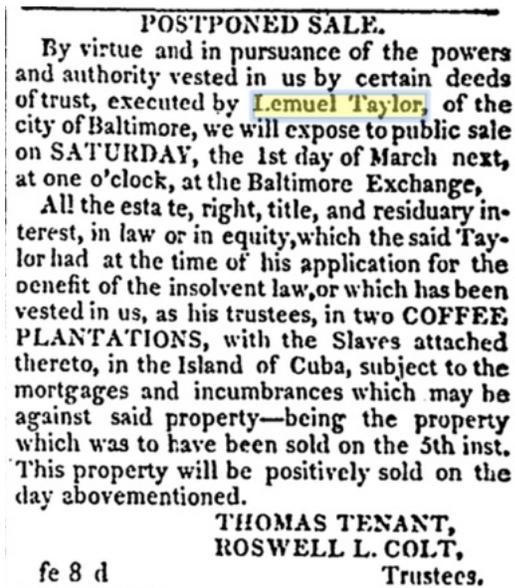


Figure 2.3: Estate Sale

9. Have you not an interest in the Ship Madison? If yes, what is its nature and extent? If nay, had you not formerly an interest in said ship? At what time, to what person or persons, and for what consideration did you part with said interest? In what forms was the consideration received, and how disposed of. If you have parted with your interest in said ship, is any part thereof, did you not assign the same, in contemplation of insolvency, with a view to derive some benefit therefrom to yourself, your family, relations, or to some of them?

**Answer:**

I have no interest in ship Madison but such as I have in all mortgaged & transferred property mention in my Schedule. I did not transfer her in contemplation of insolvency, or with a view to receive any benefit therefrom for myself family or relations or any part thereof and I here declare in answer to all such questions that I have not transferred any ship vessel or any other property of any kind or nature whatever with a view to insolvency or with a view to benefit myself family relations or any part thereof.

Interrogatories 10-20 ask similar questions about several other ships, including General Smith, Sara and Louisa, Tallapoosas, Dick, and Alexander.. His answers are similar to or implied by his answer for the Madison with the exception that he points out that the Sara and Louisa is now the Quiraga. Interrogatory 20 asks him for the location of the vessels mentioned, and his answer is that he does not with the exception of the Madison and the Quiraga, the former left Havana for Hamburg in May and the latter left Baltimore for Havana the previous month. He states that none of the vessels are employed by him or for his account. Interrogatory 21 asks similar questions about another ship, the Buenos Ayres, and receives a similar reply.

23. [0939]

Have you, or had you not, any property real or personal in the City of Baltimore, at the time of your failure, or within two years antecedent thereto; and what has become of this same? Have you not mortgaged or transferred the same? State the consideration received therefor, and how has it been applied. What was the consideration of your mortgage to Mr. Oliver or Colt, and what has become of it? How much do you now owe them, or either of them.

**Answer:**

For an amount of all the property I ever had in the City of Baltimore see Schedule and Books & papers all money received from ?? Oliver and Colt have been applied to the payment of my trust debts and amounts unfortunately to much more than the property will ?? I can not say how much I owe them.

Interrogatory asks about Lemuel's gambling habits, which he dismisses as never having resulted from losses of more than \$100.

25. Did you not at the time of your application for the benefit of the Insolvent laws, reserve any money whatever in your possession, or under your control, and how much? Have you not a large and expansive [expensive?], and how have they been supported since your application?

**Answer:**

I did not reserve any money in my possession or under my control (belonging to me) at the time of my application for the benefit of the Insolvent Law my family at present with me consist of a wife two children two infirm[?] female servants one girl about 7 years old and a ??? for 20\$ annum and her cloths my family affairs are conducted with as much economy (in my opinion) as any gentile family in the City in proof I mention that during my absence (nearly 19 months) there expenses (including the education of one of my children) were less than 1400\$ —

I am in debt for all money expended for the support of my self & family Since my application for the benefit of the insolvent Law —

Lemuel Taylor appeared in person to provide the above answers on 25 August 1821.

Following an analysis his responses and his behavior since his application, the Commissioners of Insolvent Debtors reported on 29 September 1821 to the Baltimore County Court that Lemuel had complied with the Laws of Insolvency of Maryland and met all the conditions of the process (See Figure B.4.) Lemuel was free to leave the country legally and leave the remaining decades of legal battles to his trustees.

## 2.8 Prelude to Cuba

The insolvency records for Lemuel Taylor establish that for years his ships had traded with Cuban ports and that he had owned property there as early 1807 and that at the time of his application to follow the process of the insolvency laws he owned two coffee plantations in Cuba: *Bruce Hall* and *Savanilla* or *S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia*, and that Lemuel owned 2/3 of *Savanilla* or *S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia* in 1821 with Cornelio Souchay and Antonio de Frias sharing the remaining 1/3. Both estates were included in his assets assigned to his Insolvent Trust in 1821 prior to his departure for Cuba. Both estates would be sold to Robert Oliver by the Insolvent Trust in 1823, but strangely the only record in the reports and audits of the Insolvent Trust would be for the auctioneers' fee submitted in 1824, no income for the Insolvent Trust for the benefit of the creditors was reported. This suggests that perhaps instead of a cash transaction for the purchase, Oliver simply removed the purchase amount from his claims to the Insolvent Trust for debts equal to the cost of the Cuban plantations. This

provided a convenient means of effectively moving the plantations into trust as security against Lemuel's debts specifically to Oliver, but it required cooperation with the Insolvent Trust since it gave priority to Oliver as a creditor and did not provide additional funds to the Insolvent Trust for claims of creditors. This cooperation was likely enhanced by the fact that Oliver's son-in-law Roswell L. Colt was a trustee of Lemuel's Insolvent Trust. It could perhaps be justified that it appeared that the two trusts together would eventually be able to pay off all of the creditors given the likelihood of eventual success of claims by Lemuel on foreign governments for alleged illegal seizure of his ships and cargoes and that cooperation between the two trusts would smooth the way. But the optics were not good and left Oliver and his estate apparently liable to unhappy creditors. Suits to this effect did arise and delayed final settlement until long after Oliver's death and probably Lemuel's death as well

Recall from Section 2.2.7 that in 1830 Souchay acting as executor of the estate of Antonio de Frias sold the 1/3 of the coffee plantation *S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia* in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos belonging to him and the heirs of Antonio de Frias, including de Frias' widow, to Robert Oliver of Baltimore. *Savanilla* is an English spelling of the Spanish *Sabanilla* (as Havana is the English spelling for Habana), and I am convinced that "Savanilla or S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia" in the insolvency papers is the same estate as "Santa Amelia in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos" in the Cuban records referred to by Roth based on Bouchey. Estates were often known by their location or owner's name, and locally "Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos" would have been abbreviated to "Sabanilla." More later.

Lemuel Taylor still owned a partial interest in Bruce Hall and a 2/3 interest in Santa Amelia, but they were held in his Insolvent Trust. In 1823 they were sold to Robert Oliver, but the sale was not indicated in the insolvency papers until 1824 when the auctioneers presented their invoice. The other 1/3 of Santa Amelia were shared by Souchay and de Frias, but Souchay sold his 1/6 and the 1/6 belonging to the heirs of de Frias to Robert Oliver in 1830. Thus it appears that Robert Oliver owned all of the Santa Amelia coffee plantation in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos when he died in 1834 as well as Lemuel Taylor's former portion of Bruce Hall. I believe these formed the totality of Cuban properties in the estate of Robert Oliver at his death in 1834, but to confirm this would require a visit to Oliver archives in Maryland.

## 2.9 Last Days in Baltimore

After being declared an insolvent debtor and facing many legal challenges, Lemuel started fresh and moved with his family to the Island of Cuba sometime after 29 September 1821 when the Commissioners of Insolvent Debtors submitted their final report on his compliance to the County Court.

Lance Humphries observed [76] that Lemuel's family probably did not travel to Cuba

with him at first as evidence suggests Mary Williams Taylor remained in their house on East St. until it was put up for sale by the Olivers in January 1822.

The auction advertisement published in the *Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser* on 2/21/1822 shows that the two trusts were co-operating in the sale, Robert & John Oliver selling Lemuel's mansion and related land and buildings. During the upcoming years Lemuel would make requests for certain parties to be paid from funds held in trust by the Olivers, but satisfaction was not always obtained by creditors who then sued the Olivers in Lemuel's absence, and also made claims on the Insolvent Trust. The two trusts were in competition for Lemuel's assets, the Oliver Trust aiming to reimburse the Olivers, and the Insolvent Trust aimed at reimbursing all other creditors. Legal conflicts arose, as in the claim of the officers and seamen of *Warren*. Courts eventually held the owners, including Lemuel, liable, but Lemuel had assigned any funds received from successful claims against Spain to the Olivers, who refused to honor the claims of the officers and crew for recovery of money owed to them by Lemuel Taylor. Although the two trusts had different goals, they were intimately connected by the person of Roswell L. Colt, who held Lemuel Taylor's power of attorney and was engaged to defend the priority of the Oliver Trust in receiving funds owed to Lemuel Taylor and at the same time was the Trustee of the Insolvent Trust, responsible for reimbursing all of the creditors except for the Olivers. Recall that he was also the son-in-law of Robert Oliver.

It is not clear how the two trusts negotiated with each other regarding legal responsibilities, but it does seem that by 1854 all of the surviving creditors had been satisfied and suits against Robert Oliver's estate resolved.

The earliest I could find Lemuel mentioned in the literature convincingly demonstrating his residence in Cuba is in the *United States Supreme Court Reports* of 1828, wherein a letter from Lemuel dated 28 June 1824 was submitted as evidence in the case of *M'Lanahan et al. v. The Universal Insurance Company*. The letter sent from Havre, France, to Thomas Tenant, Esq. of Baltimore, Maryland, described Lemuel's trip from Havana to Charleston departing 3 December 1823 for Charleston, whence he traveled to Havre. Lemuel's letter notes that he visited Baltimore on his way to Havre. Thomas Tenant was one of the trustees of Lemuel's Insolvent Trust in Baltimore.

**AUCTION SALES.**

**By HARRISON & STERETT**  
**B**y order of the Orphans' Court of Baltimore county, on **SATURDAY**, the 23d, at one o'clock, on the Exchange, will be sold, 29 shares of *United States Bank Stock*, belonging to the estate of a deceased person. feb 20 H. & S.

In consequence of the unfavorable weather on Monday, the sale of the following Valuable property, was postponed until **SATURDAY**, the twenty third inst. at one o'clock, when it will positively take place at the Exchange.

**BY** virtue and in pursuance of the powers and authorities vested in us by certain Deeds of Trust, executed by Lemuel Taylor, of the city of Baltimore, we will expose to public sale on **SATURDAY**, the 23d inst. at one o'clock, P. M. at the Baltimore Exchange,

**All that Valuable Property**

situated in East st, adjoining the First Presbyterian Church, to wit:

 The **DWELLING HOUSE** of said Taylor, with the extensive back buildings, Coach House, &c. running thro' to New Church st.

*Also, at the same time and place,*

**Five valuable Building LOTS,**

fronting on Belvidere street, and situated between New Church street and the Parsonage House.

*Also, at the same time and place,*

"The one equal half part of an undivided moiety, (being equal to one fourth part of the whole) of and in all those

**Two Lots of Ground,**

situate and lying in that part of the city of Baltimore aforesaid, called Fell's Point, and which are distinguished on the plat thereof, by numbers 64 and 65."

Terms of sale, one fourth, an approved endorsed note, payable in six months, with interest; balance in 3, 4 and 5 years, with interest payable annually.

**ROBERT & JOHN OLIVER.**  
 feb 20, 1822 H. & S.

**Pursuant to the general orders** of Baltimore County court, in relation to sale of the Estates of insolvent debtors, the subscribers being appointed trustees for the benefit of the creditors of Lemuel Taylor, an insolvent debtor, will proceed to sell

**All the right, title, interest and equity of redemption** of the said Lemuel Taylor, of and in the property described by Messrs. Robert and John Oliver, in the preceding advertisement, at the time and place therein mentioned, and on a credit of 6 and 12 months.

*Baltimore, 26th January, 1822.*  
**THOMAS TENANT, } Trustees.**  
**ROSWELL L. COLT, }**  
 feb 20 d4t

**ELEGANT FURNITURE BY AUCTION.**

**O**n *Wednesday*, the 3d inst. at 11 o'clock, in the forenoon, at the late dwelling of Mrs. **Lemuel Taylor**, in East st. next to the Presbyterian Church, will be sold,

**A variety of Drawing Room and other Furniture**—Consisting of  
 Chairs, Sofas, Window Seats  
 Mirrors, large and very handsome  
 Card tables, Andirons, Shovels and Tongs  
 Silk Curtains, Carpets and Rugs  
 Chandeliers, Sideboard  
 Oil Cloth Carpets, Wardrobes, etc. etc.

Persons desirous of purchasing, may have an opportunity of examining the above articles on Tuesday afternoon, and Wednesday morning.

april 1 H. & S.

Figure 2.4: Baltimore Patriot &amp; Mercantile Advertiser, 2/21/1822,4/2/1822

# Chapter 3

## La Isla de Cuba

### 3.1 Early Nineteenth Century

When Lemuel visited and then settled in Cuba in 1820-1821 he found a diverse and rapidly evolving culture. Invaded by Spaniards over three centuries earlier, the most powerful portion of the population were the descendants of the original Spanish invaders, born and raised on the island. They were referred to as *Criollos* (in Spanish, Creoles in French and English) and they were dominant in commerce and agriculture, but the government and military were still largely controlled by more recent Spanish immigrants, called *Peninsulares*. According to the official census in 1817, the population broke down as follows: <sup>1</sup>

|         |         | Free    | Total   |         |  |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|--|
| Whites  | Slaves  | Colored | Colored | Total   |  |
| 239,830 | 199,145 | 114,058 | 313,203 | 553,033 |  |

Since 1817, the population had been significantly increased by immigrants from Europe and North America, especially from the Atlantic Coast and the Gulf Coast. In 1820 a foreign resident of Cuba wrote to friends<sup>2</sup>

The wealth of the island is in the hands of the Creoles; the Europeans being chiefly adventurers from the north of Spain, with a considerable number of French, and to this class of whites may be added, adventurers from the Canaries, from North America, and the Costa Firme<sup>3</sup>, whose first exertions are commercial, and whose capitals, when attained, are usually expended in forming plantations. Stakes like these in a country are not easily plucked up and

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<sup>1</sup>“De colonos africanos en Cuba y sus inconvenientes,” *Revista Hispano-Americana*, II (1865)

<sup>2</sup>*Letters from The Havana during the year 1820; containing an account of the present state of The Island of Cuba and observations on the Slave Trade.*, London: Printed for John Miller, 69 Fleet Street. 1821.

<sup>3</sup>The mainland parts of the Spanish empire surrounding the Carribean.

removed. The adventurer becomes a resident, forms local alliances, and his children are *cubanos*. This rooting of adventitious population is, however, as I am inclined to think, to be chiefly ascribed to the political state of the mother country, which, with a short interval, has preserved those feudal distinctions and institutions of the darker ages, which kept society banded in ranks that none could move from. The *Catalan*, the *Gallego*, or other adventurer, when sent forth to seek his fortune on this shore, knew that, on attaining the object of his pursuit, his wealth would scarcely advance him a step in the scale of society at home. There was no competing with the lord of his village or the *hidalgos* of his province — no emparking<sup>4</sup> himself out of some private jurisdiction as an independent ‘squire. On the contrary, in his adopted country his wealth was every day encreasing<sup>5</sup> and raising his importance. If he was ambitious, he could purchase some post of power and distinction in the municipal government of the colony ; at any rate he could vie with the greatest in the number of his slaves, and the luxury of his table, and sit down amply satisfied with his own importance.

The *nucleus* of population once formed, a new country afforded a range and facility for its spreading. But though the island of Cuba has been settled above 300 years, it is yet a new country. Shut up during the greatest part of that period by the false policy of Spain, it labored under all the disadvantages of such seclusion, and now shows the effects, by the absence of many useful arts and appendages of refinement long familiar to Europe, as well as by the scanty portion of its soil that lies under cultivation.

More than half the population were *people of color*, a term used at the time, consisting of free and enslaved descendants of captured and enslaved Africans and indigenous peoples along with their descendants of mixed race. The significant minority of immigrants of French heritage were mostly from Saint Domingue along with their slaves and free people of color. The economy was growing, especially the exportation of coffee and sugar, and the number of plantations and associated export merchant houses was increasing rapidly. Spain’s colonial laws were increasingly supportive of economic growth, increased agriculture for export, and increased foreign trade.

To provide context for Cuba at the time Lemuel and his family arrived, the first part of this chapter comprises a sketch of Cuban colonial history up to the 1820s including its geographical and political divisions along with its economy in the region of most interest — what was then known as the *jurisdicción de Matanzas* was largely what is now the Province of Matanzas in Western Cuba. A description of Cuba at the beginning of the 19th century also requires some consideration of the late 18th century and Cuba’s eastern

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<sup>4</sup>building himself a park (obsolete)

<sup>5</sup>obsolete for increasing

neighbor the island of Hispaniola and the colonial powers of Spain and France in the region.

The story then turns to Lemuel Taylor and his family and neighbors' early history in Cuba.

The chapter concludes with Amelia W. Taylor's 1831 marriage to Francis (François) De Coninck at the *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* estate outside of Coliseo, a locality which in 1821 was variously called a Caserio or Barrio in Spanish — a very small village or hamlet.

## 3.2 Colonial History

The history of Spanish colonial Cuba began in October 1492 with the arrival of Christopher Columbus, which was soon followed by a military invasion by the Spanish. In 1510 an expedition led by the conquistador Diego Velázquez de Cuéllar began the conquest of the indigenous peoples and the construction of a formal colonial military government with its capital in Santiago de Cuba in Eastern Cuba.

The indigenous peoples resisted the Spanish, but were quickly overwhelmed by superior Spanish military capabilities.

During the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries the colony expanded throughout the island and an agricultural plantation economy developed for locally consumed foodstuffs as well as goods for export within the Spanish empire, especially tobacco, coffee, and sugar. The plantation economy was originally based on the cheap labor coerced from indentured and enslaved indigenous peoples. Conditions of servitude and imported diseases lead quickly to depopulation of the native peoples, resulting in the Spanish introducing slaves from Africa in 1550. The Cuban-African slave trade would continue legally until 1867 and slavery would not be abolished in Cuba until 1886 by Spanish royal decree.

During this period the colonial government and military adapted to the spread of population and the growing economy. In the early 17th century the administration of the island was divided into two *Departamentos* (departments): the Occidental (Western) with El Habana (Havana) as capital, and the Oriental (Eastern) with Santiago de Cuba as capital.

The history of Cuba and specifically of several people encountered in this book is entwined with that of the neighboring island to the East of Cuba, which Columbus named *La Isla Española* (Hispaniola in English). Bartholomew Columbus, the brother of Christopher Columbus, established and named the capital of the island Santo Domingo in 1496. The city of Santo Domingo became the capital of Spanish Antilles and the entire island was often referred to as Santo Domingo.

In 1625 the western portion of Hispaniola became a French colony, usually known as Saint Domingue. Spain officially recognized the French control of the western portion of the island in 1697. A 1767 French map showing the divided island as well as the eastern tip of Cuba in the upper left to show how close the islands were is shown in Figure 3.1.



Figure 3.1: Hispaniola in 1767

The two colonies on Hispaniola remained separate thereafter, and both names were used both for the French or Spanish portions individually and for the entire island, with the result of a fair amount of confusion in maps and histories. The confusion was enhanced by the use of one of the indigenous Taino names for the western region of the island and for the entire island: *Haiti*. Both colonies Saint Domingue and Santo Domingo had a large impact on the development of colonial Cuba. Santo Domingo and Cuba were both Spanish colonies and hence were tied administratively, politically, and commercially as well as by language and religion. For a long time all Spanish colonies in the region of the Antilles were ruled from Santo Domingo. In this work, Hispaniola will refer to the entire island and the French and Spanish colonies will be referred to as Saint Domingue (or St. Domingue) and Santo Domingo, respectively.

### 3.3 Geographical and Political Divisions of Cuba

Understanding Spanish colonial history is complicated by the fluid nature of the names and boundaries of the regions of Cuba defined for military, political or government, judicial, religious, and other administrative functions. A prime example of the problem for this work is the *Santa Amalia* estate adjacent to the Barrio or small village or hamlet of Coliseo (aka El Coliseo).<sup>6</sup> In modern times it is part of the Province of Matanzas, but the the notions of provinces and other divisions analogous to U.S. states, counties, parishes, cities, villages etc. were not codified in Cuba until 1878, and details of names and boundaries continued to change after that. In the historical and more recent literature, the *Santa Amalia* estate next to Coliseo was described by saying that it was near or in a larger entity than the little-known hamlet of Coliseo. As specific examples, *Santa Amalia* was referred to as being *in* Cardenas, Jovellanos, Guamacaro, or Limonar. These names correspond to cities which during various time periods had the district or *jurisdicción* or *partido de jurisdicción* that contained them bearing their names. Different meanings of the term *jurisdicción* as political, military, or judicial districts further confused the issue. These various notions of the geography and divisions of the island are treated in Appendix C, but a few key points will be considered as needed in the development.

It is worth stressing that geographical names and divisions in Cuba varied over time and can be inconsistent or confusing.

### 3.4 Agriculture

In the early days of colonial rule, the emphasis on agriculture was growing food for the colonialists and the supporting population of laborers and slaves. Emphasis was on indigenous plants and imported plants that could be adapted to the range of Cuban landscapes and weather conditions. Over time the emphasis shifted to products for export, initially within the Spanish empire. The first was the indigenous tobacco, which had a history of growing successful growing on the island. The two major crops for the future, however, were sugar and coffee. Sugar production began early in 1523 with the arrival in Cuba of sugar cane from the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo. Coffee beans were brought to Cuba from the French colony of Saint Domingue in 1748 and used to found the first *cafetal* or coffee plantation near Havana [80]. These two plants were seen early on as potentially powerful organs of the future economy both by the ruling elite on the island, especially the wealthy Spanish creole landowners, and by the ruling Spanish government. Efforts were made by both to enhance conditions for the production and export of both crops. Originally there was a consensus that diversity was good for the economy, and efforts were made to prevent one crop from dominating land use, planning, business, or trade.

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<sup>6</sup>See, e.g., [https://www.ecured.cu/Coliseo\\_\(Jovellanos\)](https://www.ecured.cu/Coliseo_(Jovellanos)).

Overall there was an increasing shift towards a plantation economy, but many plantations grew multiple crops including locally consumed products along with products for export. Many land owners owned plantations which were largely devoted to different crops, for example, *ingenios* specializing in sugar production and *cafetales* devoted to coffee. The specific crops often best fared under different geological and climate conditions. Coffee produced better in hilly and forested areas providing significant shade, while sugar did better in flat, cleared land. Both required significant slave labor, although it has been extensively reported that the the sugar industry was far more dependent on slave labor than was the sugar industry in terms of requiring more slaves and more brutal conditions. This claim was and remains controversial. It was true, however, that the *cafetales* were generally more appealing to foreign visitors because of their more rural, hilly, and leafy environments, while the sugar plantations more resembled industrial zones, especially as they increasingly adopted foreign machinery to run the mills and factories and cleared woods and forests for the cane fields.

### 3.5 Coffee and Revolution in Saint Domingue

By 1790 there were fewer than ten *cafetales* in Cuba, which played a negligible role in world coffee production. On the other hand, Saint Domingue dominated international coffee exports, providing 60% of the coffee imported by Europe along with 40% of the sugar. French colonialists, including those born in Saint Domingue (creoles), associated with the coffee and sugar industries included planters, merchants, laborers, carpenters, cooks, doctors, and members of the military.

In 1791 a rebellion of slaves in St. Domingue grew into a revolution and war of independence, which ended with the establishment of the Republic of Haiti in 1804 in the former French colony. The revolution was a notoriously bloody one and it followed a century of extreme brutality by the French colonial plantation owners. During the war and its aftermath, many of the French colonialists fled Saint Domingue to the nearby east coast of Cuba, where a minority continued on to the Western Cuba to settle. Most of the French emigrants from Saint Domingue were coffee planters, laborers, and merchants who brought their skills with them, which led to a marked increase in the growth of the coffee industry in Cuba and the founding of many new coffee plantations.

Not all of the refugees from Saint Domingue fled to Cuba. Many fled west into Santo Domingo. Some stayed, but many continued on to the Atlantic ports of the United States, especially to Charleston, South Carolina; Baltimore, Maryland; New York City; and Boston, Massachusetts. Others sailed to Gulf Coast ports, especially New Orleans. At the beginning of the Haitian revolution and the diaspora of the Saint Domingue French, Louisiana was a Spanish colony. Originally a French colony, it had become a Spanish colony in 1763 in the Treaty of Paris which ended the Seven Years War. In 1800, under pressure

from France and First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte, Spain agreed to cede Louisiana back to France, which three years later sold the territory to the United States. This overview of the French diaspora from Saint Domingue is important because several of the refugees ended up as neighbors or in-laws of Lemuel Taylor.

By 1804 Cuba had more than eighty-four cafetales, and the industry would continue its explosive expansion and success for many years, until its decline in the 1830s-40s. The growth was enhanced by contributions of the Saint Domingue refugees and coffee would rival sugar as an economic powerhouse until the precipitous decline of the international coffee market.

Initially the Spanish rulers of Cuba were content with the French immigrants from Saint Domingue because of their contributions to the growing economy of Cuba, especially to the coffee industry. The common religion of most of the French fleeing Saint Domingue also helped. The welcome wore out, however, in 1807 with the beginning of the Peninsular War when Napoleon invaded Portugal through his ally Spain. King Carlos IV of Spain, suspicious of Napoleonic France, ordered all foreigners to be expelled from Cuba. Hence French colonialists in Cuba who had not become naturalized Spanish citizens and fully integrated into Cuban society (including the Catholic church) were expelled. The order was not strictly enforced initially, but as Napoleon turned on his ally enforcement increased rapidly. Once again, the French émigrés from Saint Domingue had to migrate, and this time they mostly followed the refugees who had earlier fled to the Atlantic and Gulf Coast ports. Another effect of Napoleon's turning on Spain was that for several years the Spanish governments lost effective control of their remaining colonies, and Cuba along with Puerto Rico were ruled more locally by their Spanish appointed governors. This led to a marked lack of enforcement of Spanish laws preventing foreign trade.

As already described in Subsection 2.2.7, Corneille Souchay arrived in Cuba from Baltimore in 1807 and became a clerk in the merchant house of Antonio de Frías in Havana, where he eventually became partner and where he would serve as liquidator of the company at the death of Frías. The cafetal *Angerona* he purchased during 1813-1815 would eventually become the largest Cafetal in western Cuba and the second largest in all of Cuba. *Algerona* was interpreted in Cuba as the Roman goddess of silence, and a sculpture in the estate showed showed a robed goddess with her index finger pressed against her lips. But she has been interpreted differently through the ages ranging from the goddess who relieved people from pain and sorrow, to the goddess who helped people adjust to the shortening days of winter up until the winter solstice.

It is notable that Souchay's growing influence occurred years before the 1817 opening to white planters and merchants from Europe and North America. His adoption of Spanish colonial culture and style and his appearance of religious conversion helped in his acceptance by the creole elite and government. It is also notable that Lemuel Taylor already bought interest in at least one coffee plantation by 1807 according to his insolvency

documents, and the two had both been active in Baltimore business during 1804-1807. It is not known if the two met during that time, but Lemuel and Robert Oliver were both involved with de Frías by 1817. Furthermore, Souchay arrived in Cuba at a time when many of the recent arrivals from Haiti who were part of the growing coffee industry were forced by the government to leave Cuba. Thus international demand for coffee was increasing as a result of the collapse of the Haitian coffee industry, but competition in Cuba was diminished by the departure of many cafetal owners. Lemuel Taylor testified during his 1821 insolvency process that during his 1820 sojourn in Cuba he had bought an estate of which he owned 2/3 and A. de Frías and C. Souchay shared ownership of the remaining 1/3. The estate is identified as “Savanilla or Santa Amelia” when Lemuel’s 2/3 portion is sold by his trustees to Robert Oliver in 1824. It is further characterized by Roth [117] as the cafetal Santa Amelia in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos.

At the end of the Peninsular War in 1814 before the final downfall of Napoleon in 1815, Spain permitted the expelled Saint Domingue refugees to return to Cuba, and many did. In spite of the return of the French colonists, many in the Cuban government were increasingly concerned with the white population becoming a minority in Cuba. An effort led by Alejandro Ramirez, the *superintendent de real hacienda* — the royal treasurer of Cuba — to promote an effort to encourage more white colonists to immigrate to Cuba, especially from Europe and North America. White foreigners of Catholic faith with capital and technical knowledge willing to take the oath of allegiance to Spain were granted land and an exemption from all taxes for fifteen years. This effort achieved fruition with the publication the publication on 21 October 1817 and 10 February 1818 of the royal *cédulas de Gracias* granting these privileges. These privileges had been first granted in Puerto Rico in 1815. Another aspect of the rules was the opening of trade in major Cuban ports to foreign ships. Slightly earlier on 23 September 1817, Spain and England had signed a treaty for the termination of the slave trade. Linking these two policies together, the promulgation of the welcome to new white colonialists was accompanied by secret instructions to stock up on slaves before the treaty came into effect. The assumption was that the growing white population would need a growing population of enslaved workers, but the transportation and trade of slaves was going to become illegal. Nonetheless, illegal slave trading would continue for decades. One of the areas targeted for the new immigrants was the Matanzas region.<sup>7</sup>

Barcia [103] notes that many of the new colonists came from ports such as New Orleans, Boston, Charleston, and New York. Some of these were French citizens, including returning Saint Domingue immigrants to Cuba.

Van Norman (2013) [80] argues that the Haitian exodus of French coffee planters to Cuba was not the primary cause of the explosive expansion of the Cuban coffee industry

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<sup>7</sup>“Immigration in Cuba,” Duvon C. Corbitt, *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, May, Vol. 22, pp. 280-308 (1942).

in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century as is commonly stated. Rather the rise of the coffee industry resulted from a variety of causes, most importantly the specific Spanish royal programs for improving the Cuban economy by organized and targeted support for specific crops, which included coffee and sugar.

There were many differences between the coffee and sugar industries. Both depended heavily on slave labor, but the sugar plantations tended to be more labor intensive and required a much larger slave population to function. Coffee plantations tended to be in hilly and forested areas, which often meant a more idyllic appearing operation than the sugar plantations, which were often in flat areas cleared of the original forests to make room for the sugarcane fields. The sugarcane industry became increasingly mechanized, which led to ugly factories and mills along with industrial pollution. The coffee industry hit its peak in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, soon after Lemuel's arrival in Cuba, and a variety of causes led to its decline. Among these, the decline in the market for coffee and the higher return on investment of sugar plantations played key roles. The sugar industry, on the other hand, would continue its growth until it was the predominant part of the Cuban economy.

### 3.6 Corral Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos

Recall from Sections 2.7 and 2.8 that in 1820 during a trip to Cuba Lemuel Taylor purchased an estate jointly with Cornelio Souchay and Antonio de Frías with Taylor owning 2/3 of the estate and Souchay and de Frías sharing the remaining 1/3. Taylor's share was placed in his Insolvent Trust in 1821. This estate was named as "Savanilla or Sta. Amelia" when the Insolvent Trust sold it at auction in Baltimore to Robert Oliver in 1823. It was argued in Section 2.8 that this was the same estate as described by Roth [117] as Santa Amelia in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos. Savanilla is the English spelling of Sabanilla, as the English Havana is of the Spanish Habana. This unusual name is quite old and rarely appears after the nineteenth century except in historical articles, maps, and books, so it merits clarification as to its meaning and location. Hence this section takes a detour to pursue this thread, a detour which will help untangle a key puzzle: were S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia, La Amelia, and S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia different plantations or different names for the same place?

The name was sometimes written as Sabanilla de vivos y muertos, which deemphasized the modifiers by not capitalizing them and simply clarified *which* Sabanilla was intended. Sabanilla was and remains a common name for villages, towns, and cities in Cuba with and without modifiers. I learned from Professor David Castañón of Boston University that the Spanish word *sabanilla* is a diminutive of both *sábana*, which means bedsheet, and *sabana*, which is a *savanna* or *savannah* in English, a grassy usually treeless plain. The accent of the first word falls on the first syllable and in the second word on the second syllable. The first meaning of *sabanilla* can also be translated as either *altar cloth* or

*shroud*, while the second means a small savanna. There are many Sabanillas in Cuba, some with and some without modifiers. In some cases local usage drops the modifiers which are understood. Thus Sabanilla in the neighborhood of Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos was understood when the abbreviated “Sabanilla” was mentioned.

This information on the word *Sabanilla* is discussed in detail in “Place names as an aid in the reconstruction of the original vegetation of Cuba,” by Leo Waibel (1943) [138]. The article adds that Pichardo in his *Diccionario* [111] defined *sabana* as an Indian word meaning an “extensive plane without trees.” If less extensive, they were called *sabanillas*. The article includes a Cuban map and accompanying table showing 169 localities on the island with names derived from *sabana*, 26 of which include Sabanilla, and one of which is Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos — listed as No. 37 in the map is *Corral Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos*. So the name is unique and is associated with with the surrounding terrain that the Spanish colonists found, an ancient name in terms of Cuban Colonial history. The map in [138] visually locates Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos in the region of Coliseo, but does not indicate a precise location.

Plantations and other estates were often referred to by the names of their locality, their founder, or their owner as well as by a name such as *S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia*. so what Roth names as “Santa Amelia en Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos” would have been called “Santa Amelia,” the abbreviated “Sta. Amelia” or *S<sup>ta</sup> Amilia*, or, simply “Sabanilla” in its general region. Thus Lemuel Taylor’s “Savanilla or S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia” is likely Roth’s *Santa Amelia* in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos. The fact that 1/3 of both of these sugar plantations were owned by Cornilio Souchay and Antonio Frías further supports their common identity. Further evidence is provided by the facts that Lemuel’s 2/3 interest in Savanilla or S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia would be sold in 1823 to Robert Oliver, and Souchay and the heirs of de Frías would sell their common 1/3 to Roberto Oliver in 1830.

But where and what, exactly, was *corral Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos*? A *corral* in Spanish is an English cognate as an area for grazing livestock or simply an open field or farmyard. It also has a lesser known and more precise technical meaning in Spanish geography and cartography, which is essential to understanding the different ways of locating S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia.

Again turning to Pichardo’s *Diccionario* [111], a *corral* was (approximately) a circular region of radius 1 Cuban legua or league, about 4.24 km or 2.6 miles, which was granted to early colonials for raising livestock. The circular region was only an approximation since in actual implementation the region was defined by a 62 or 64-sided polygon. The center point of an approximately circular *corral* was called an *asiento* or *seat* of the corral. The same name, in our current example *Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos*, was used to denote both the center location and the entire circular region, but often the word “corral” was added to clearly indicate the entire region. See also Ely (1963) [55].

Unlike other localities such as hamlets, villages, towns, and cities, the shape of a corral was fixed and shown on maps as circular with a special symbol for its *asiento* or seat or

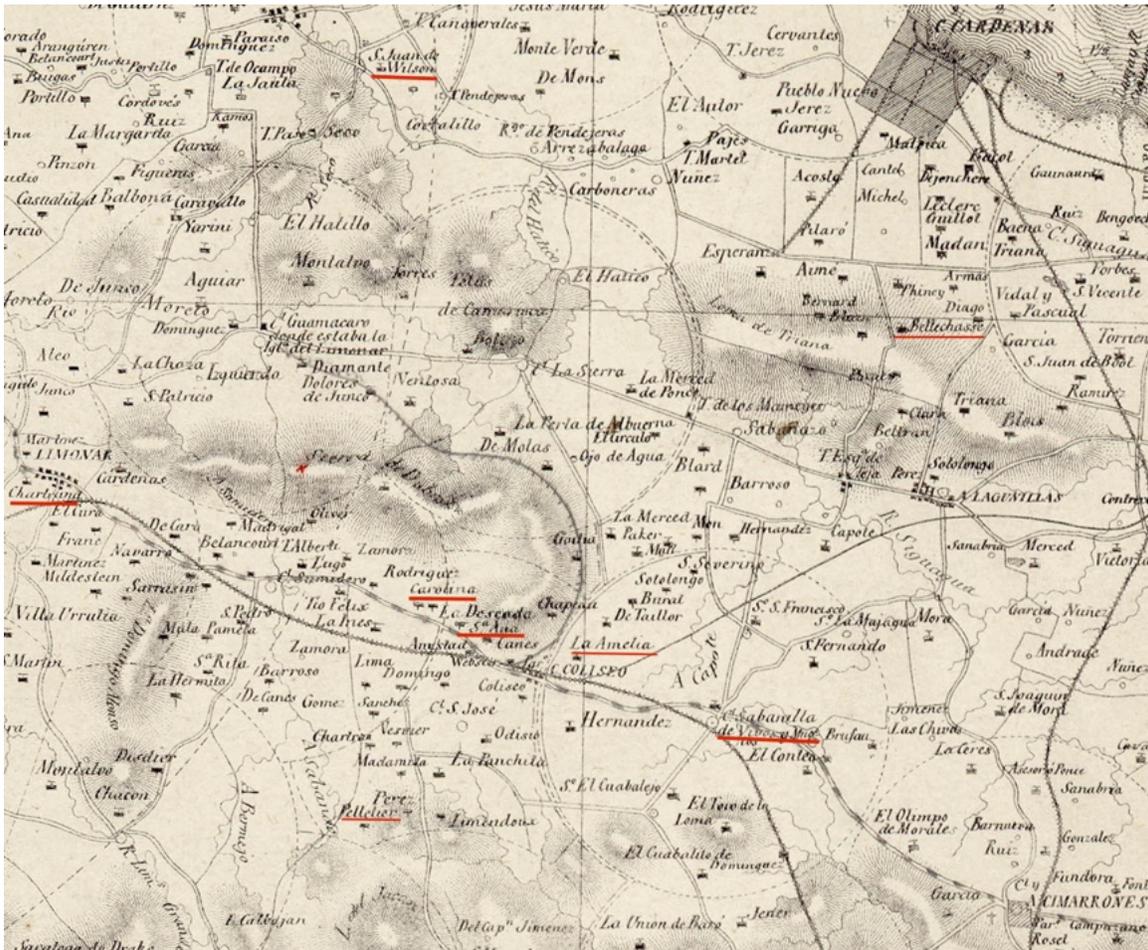


Figure 3.2: Corral Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos: Pichardo 1875, annotated excerpt

center of the circle with name of the corral nearby. The perimeter of the corral was usually represented by a dashed line. An excellent and relevant example is provided by an excerpt of Pichardo's classic 1875 map of the Isla de Cuba shown in Fig. 3.2. (See Appendix A and [110].). The asiento of the corral Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos is at the center  $\odot$  of the dotted circle, and the caserío (hamlet) Coliseo and ingenio *La Amelia* close to its northeast can be seen just inside the upper left portion of the circle defining the corral. Other corrals can be seen in the figure and it can be seen that they can overlap.

This excerpt of Pichardo's 1875 map shows part of the Jurisdicción of Matanzas and was based on his earlier 1840 map of that region, so it likely gives an accurate depiction of the region not long after Lemuel's arrival. *La Amelia* had been an ingenio or sugar plantation since before 1840, but it had been a cafetal or coffee plantation when Lemuel,

Souchay, and de Frías bought it. The primary new feature added years after Lemuel's arrival is the railroad, running from Cimarrones in the bottom right to Limonar in middle left. *La Amelia* and a few neighboring plantations that will be mentioned in the story are denoted by a red underline superimposed on the image scan.

The legend accompanying the map defines two important symbols:

 Ingenierio de azúcar el primero; Cafetal el segundo  
Sugar plantation on the left; Coffee plantation on the right

The map indicates the many ingenios and cafetales near Coliseo, several of which will be important to the stories told here. Of immediate interest are C. COLISEO, where Pichardo's legend indicates that C. stands for *Caserio*, which means a very small village or hamlet. Another Spanish word with a similar meaning is *Barrio*. The caserío Coliseo is sometimes written as *el Coliseo* or *El Coliseo*, which means "the coliseum" in English. There is a different city elsewhere in Cuba, Colosso, with the same meaning.

It is helpful to incorporate a scale from another page in the collection comprising the 1875 map in order to appreciate the size and shape of a corral and the distances between nearby localities. This is done in Fig. 3.3. The figure shows part of Fig. 3.2 superimposed

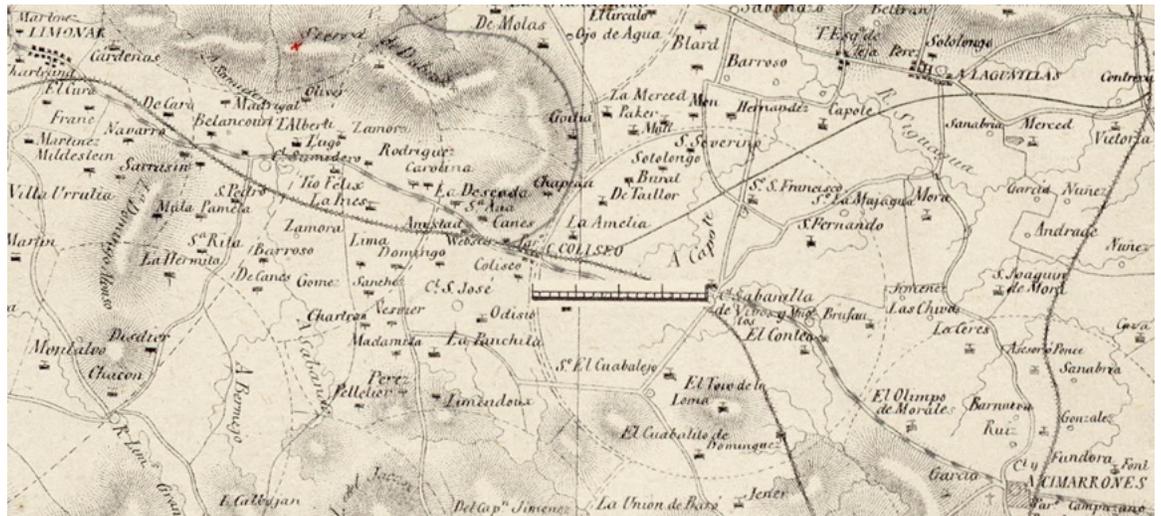


Figure 3.3: Corral Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos with scale

with a scale of length 1 Cuban league or 4.24 km or 2.6 miles anchored on the asiento of corral Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos. The scale allows visual estimation of distances between plantations, hamlets, and towns of interest. Note that some information is lost because the superimposed scale is not transparent. For example, the Hernandez estate between Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos (asiento) and Coliseo is hidden.

Pichardo's map is enhanced by turning to his verbal description of getting from Sabanilla to Coliseo found in *Caminos de la Isla de Cuba: Itinerarios* [108] [109]. Pichardo's *Caminos* were published more than four decades after Lemuel's arrival, but the author knew the area in detail from his experience making the first maps of the area within two decades of the time of interest. Furthermore, Pichardo was aware of the history of the area.

Volume I of Pichardo's *Caminos* follows the *Camino General*, the primary road through the island, a road which in other Spanish colonies such as California would have been called *Camino Real*, but here the name apparently caused confusion with other minor roads bearing the royal name so it was not used for the main road through the island. The *Camino General* ran through Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos, by the cafetal la Amelia belonging to Taillor<sup>8</sup> and then arrived at Coliseo. It is described in Volume I as part of the *Camino General* itinerary going from Villa Clara to Matanzas. A second description of Coliseo and la Amelia is part of itinerary 398 in the second volume traveling the road from Cardenas to Coliseo [109], but its description is postponed since the current emphasis is on Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos.

In Pichardo's itinerary in Volume I for Villa Clara to coastal Matanzas to the north west, pp. 75-76, Pichardo locates Sabanilla de Vivos et Muertos 6.36 km towards Coliseo from the Ingenio Olimpo and 10.6 km towards Coliseo from Cimarrones. The following excerpt begins at the Ingenio Olimpo and follows the road shown in the map through Coliseo to the Ingenio *Carolina*, describing several places that will be of interest. The multiple dots indicate where distance from the previous multiple dots is recorded in leguas Cubanos, or Cuban leagues, approximately 4.2 km or 2.6 miles.

Begin on p. 75 by arriving from the southeast at

*El Olimpo*.— Ingenio [D.] . . . . .  
 Al tocar luego la circulacion del Corral  
*Sabanilla*, va el Camino dividiendo  
 los Partidos Pedáneos de *Cimarrones* y  
*Lagunillas* y toca en  
*El Contéo*.— T.—Rio.—Ingenio de Jimeno  
 (I.) en la Hacienda de su nombre . . . . . 3/4  
 Sigue curvando á I. para el O.N.O.;  
 cruza otra vex el Rio del *Conteo*, y,  
 siempre dividiendo lega á  
*Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos*.— Corral.  
 (I.)- Ingenio *San Márcos*, de Tosco.

<sup>8</sup>One of the many spellings of Taylor in Cuba, which include also Tayllor, Telor, and Tylor

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| Paradero de Tosca, en el Ferro-carril del Coliseo á Bemba. — Camino á D. para <i>Lagunillas</i> , & . . .  | . . . 2/3  |
| <i>Ingenio de Hernandez</i> .— [D.] . . .  | . . . 1/3  |
| Prosigue cargando á I. para cortar la línea férrea y serpeando por ella, dejando á D. el ingenio la <i>Amelia</i> , de Taillor, llega á <i>El Coliseo</i> .— Caserio perteneciente á Matanzas; término de la Jurisdicción de <i>Cárdenas</i> .<br>— Paradero del Ferro-carril del <i>Coliseo</i> .<br>— Administracion de Correos y correspondencia pública para Cardenas.<br>— Encruzijada por la D. para <i>Lagunillas</i> , & ; por la I. para <i>Rio-Nuevo</i> , & . . . | . . . 4/5  |
| Entrando en ell Partido Pedaneo de <i>Guamacaro</i> y aproximado al Ferro-carril, va por entre los antiguos cafetales demolidos del <i>Coliseo</i> y <i>Consistorio</i> (de Canes) por donde se inclina á D. para el N.O., cortando la linea; deja á I. el ingenio demolido <i>la Amistad</i> (de Arrieta) y á D. el cafetal <i>Santa Ana</i> de Sieges para llegar á  |            |
| <i>La Deseada</i> , de Campanería.— T. (D.) Camino á I. para <i>San Miguel</i> & . . .   | . . . 7/10 |
| Sigue con rumbo cardinal O.N.O.; deja á D. el Cafetal <i>Carolina</i> , de Battle ó San Jorge, luego á I. el demolido <i>la Inés</i> del Capitan D. Felipe Jiminez, hoi ingenio la <i>Concepcion</i> , de Dulzaides, Cafetal de los <i>Rodriguez</i> y <i>Callejon de Zamora</i> . (I.) . . .  | . . . 4/7  |

which I translate as

|  |       |
|--|-------|
| <i>El Olimpo</i> .— Sugar Plantation [on the Right] . . .  | . . . |
| Join the traffic for the Corral <i>Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos</i> , the road dividing the local districts of <i>Cimarrones</i> and <i>Lagunillas</i> and pass by |       |

- El Contéo.*— a tavern — river — a sugar mill of Jimeno (on the Left)  
 in the his estate. . . . . 3/4  
 Follow the bend to the left west northwest;  
 again cross the *Conteo* River, and,  
 still dividing arrive at
- Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos.*— Corral.  
 (On the left)- Sugar plantation *San Márcos*, de Tosco.  
 Telegraph station of Tosca, on the railroad  
 from Coliseo to Bemba. — On the Right the road  
 for *Lagunillas*, &. . . . . 2/3
- Ingenio de Hernandez.*— [D]. . . . . 1/3  
 Carry on to the right to cross the railway winding with it, leaving  
 on the right Taylor's sugar plantation *la Amelia* on the right, arrive at
- El Coliseo.*— Hamlet belonging to Matanzas;  
 end of the judicial district of Cardenas.  
 — Coliseo railroad station.  
 — Administration of the mail and public correspondence for Cardenas.  
 —Crossroad on the right for  
*Lagunillas*, &. ; on the Left for  
*Rio-Nuevo*, &. . . . . 4/5  
 Entering into the local district of  
*Guamacaro* close to the railroad,  
 go between the ancient demolished coffee plantations  
*Coliseo* and *Consistorio* (de Canes)  
 where on the right the road bends to the  
 northwest, cutting the line; leave on the Left the  
 demolished sugar plantation *la Amistad* (of Arrieta)  
 and on the Right the coffee plantation *Santa Ana* of Sieges  
 to arrive at
- La Deseada*, de Campanería.— Tavern (on the Right)  
 Road to the Left for *San Miguel* &. . . . . 7/10  
 Follow the course west northwest; leave  
 to the Right the coffee plantation *Carolina*, de Battle  
 or San Jorge, later to the Left the demolished *la Inés*  
 of Captain Don Felipe Jiminez, today  
 the sugar plantation *Concepcion*, of Dulzaides,
- Callejon de Zamora.* (I). . . . . 4/7

The *Military Notes on Cuba* (1909) [61], which were essentially an update of Pichardo's

*Caminos*, designates the Tosca railroad station as the “asiento of the ancient corral of Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos.” Both Pichardo’s map and his itinerary indicate that la Amelia and Coliseo were close to the boundary of the corral Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos and hence la Amelia could be considered as being “in” Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos since it was within the “corral” of a circle of diameter one legua of the *asiento* located at Tosca station, or in the hamlet of Coliseo, to which it was adjacent. The 1909 U.S. Army map shown in Fig. C.2 depicts the geographical relations of Coliseo, *Santa Amalia* (which we will argue is another name for *Amelia*), and Tosca, which confirms their proximity.

Returning to the itinerary, leaving the center of the corral of Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos, Pichardo describes the ingenio of Hernandez on the left as another sugar plantation an additional 1/3 legua or 1.41 km towards Coliseo from *San Marcos*. Crossing the tracks and following a winding road along the tracks for 4/5 km one passes Taylor’s plantation *la Amelia* and arrives in Coliseo.

An obvious suggestion at this point is that Taylor’s “Savanillia or S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia” which has been equated with Roth’s “Santa Amelia in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos” partially owned by Souchay and de Frías is also Pichardo’s “la Amelia” which is adjacent to Coliseo, but contained within the corral of Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos. The fact that Pichardo names la Amelia as a sugar plantation and not a coffee plantation is not a problem here since most coffee plantations in the early part of the century transformed into sugar plantations by mid century. Pichardo’s *la Amelia* fit both descriptions of location within Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos and nearness to Coliseo, Lemuel Taylor’s sugar plantation S<sup>ta</sup> *Amelia* was also named *Savanilla*, and the fractions of ownership with Antonio de Frías and Cornelio Souchay were the same.

There is further evidence that Coliseo overlapped the corral Sabanilla de los Vivos y Muertos. An 1885 issue of the *Boletín de la Revistas de Legislación y Jurisprudencia*, Periódico Oficial del Ilustre Colegio de Abogados de Madrid, Tomo 74 it refers to a mortgage of

el ingenio denominado Carolina, alias Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, de 40 caballerías de tierra, sito en el Coliseo, punto de Sabanilla de vivos y muertos, término municipal de Lagunillas, partido judicial de Cárdenas, con sus correspondientes linderos

The Spanish word “punto” in a geographical context is a synonym of Spanish “lugar” or place, so it can mean “point” or “place. Hence an English translation is

the coffee plantation *Carolina*, alias Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, of 40 caballerías of land, situated in Coliseo, place of Sabanilla de vivos y muertos, municipality of Lagunillas, district of Cardenas with its corresponding boundaries

The implication is that Coliseo is a place within Sabanilla de vivos y muertos.

A further connection between the ancient place name of Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos and the modern barrio of Coliseo is also suggested by Pichardo in his map and his itinerary mentioning the *Ingenio of Hernandez* encountered between Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos/Ingenio San Marcos. Ballester [15], notes a colonial era plantation owned by Gaspar Hernandez, a sugar plantation and originally coffee plantation, named *Audaz*, which Ballester describes as 1.75 km east of Coliseo. *Audaz* was a fairly well known plantation; it appears in Rebello's 1860 survey of ingenios [114] as owned by Don Martin Hernandez, associated with the port of Matanzas, the Jurisdicción de Cardenas, and the paradero of Coliseo. In other words, a plantation located by Pichardo in Sabanilla in 1865 (and by implication in 1840) was placed in Coliseo in 1860 by Ballester, who never mentions Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos in his book. The implication is that areas corresponding to Sabanilla and Coliseo overlapped. More is true. The EcuRed website <sup>9</sup> describing the hamlet Coliseo describes the modern hamlet as composed of five *Asentamientos* or settlements: the largest *Coliseo* bearing the name of the collection along with *Audaz*, *La Esperanza*, *Cuabalito*, and *Dispersas*. It further describes the colonial history of the group:

#### **Etapas colonial**

En sus inicios Coliseo era una pequeña aldea enclavada en lo que es hoy el reparto Vicente Santana con un camino real llamado "camino de las diligencias" por donde transitaban los pobladores hasta el cercano ingenio "Audaz", alrededor del pequeño caserío, por lo fértil de sus tierras las plantaciones cañeras comenzaron a proliferar y Coliseo se convierte así en un caserío rodeado de ingenios además del "Audaz".

or

#### **Colonial period**

In its beginnings, Coliseo was a small village nestled in what is now the Vicente Santana neighborhood with a royal road called "road of the stage-coaches" along which the settlers traveled to the nearby "Audaz" sugar mill, around the small hamlet, due to its fertile sugarcane plantations began to proliferate from their lands and Coliseo thus became a village surrounded by sugar mills in addition to the "Audaz".

This convincingly establishes that the *Audaz* plantation formed an early and integral part of the locality of Coliseo, while Pichardo described and depicted it as part of Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos.

The bottom line here is that although the *la Amela* plantation of Taylor is clearly next to Coliseo and likely was usually considered to be *in* Coliseo, Pichardo explicitly placed it

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<sup>9</sup>[https://www.ecured.cu/Coliseo\\_\(Jovellanos\)#Historia](https://www.ecured.cu/Coliseo_(Jovellanos)#Historia)

in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos in both his map and his itinerary, which stated arrival in Coliseo only after passing la Amelia. Audaz historically was a part of the barrio of Coliseo from its founding to the present time *and* within the corral Sabillia.

For all of these reasons, I am convinced that the *S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia* sugar plantation in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos which was co-owned by Souchay, de Frías, and Taylor and which was also named *Sabanilla* was the same plantation in the same place as *La Amelia* plantation described by Pichardo. This conclusion is further supported by Ballester (which will be discussed in some detail later) who notes that the plantation called la Amelia by Pichardo was also called *Santa Amelia* (and *Santa Amalia*) during its long existence.

### 3.7 Foreign Merchants: George Knight

Spain formally did not allow foreign trade outside of the dwindling Spanish Empire at the end of the 18th century or non-Spaniards to own property or do business within Cuba. Prior to Spain's opening up international trade and business in 1817 and its encouragement of "white" settlers, a few foreigners like Souchay were able to settle, do business, and own property by making connections with important Spaniards, both native Cubans and those born in the Peninsula. Several of these were able to build influence and business prior to 1817 and had a head start for being well established before the influx of immigrants, like Lemuel Taylor, who moved to Cuba following the official opening.

An important example for Lemuel and his family was George Knight, who left a few historical traces in different places, but does not seem to have merited even a brief biography anywhere. According to the Trist documents <sup>10</sup> regarding N.P. Trist, the U.S. Consul in Havana, Knight along with John Morland and Edward Spalding one of the oldest American residents at Havana, "and also those whose names are best known in their own county and throughout the commercial world. The documents include letters from Knight, including one which states that he had been an established merchant in Havana since 1814."<sup>11</sup>

An early source of information about Knight is provided by the Thomas Lee, Jr., letterbooks, 1817-1831, available on microfilm at the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston. Thomas Lee was a Boston Merchant who had much correspondence with George Knight as an agent in Cuba, usually involving ships carrying consignments in the triangular trade involving St. Petersburg, Cuba, and U.S. ports, including Boston and New York. It is notable that one letter sent by Lee to George Knight during 1817 is sent care of P. Williams in Baltimore.

Lee also corresponded with Miralla & Co. in 1817. In 1826 George Knight wrote to Joshua Bates of Baring Brothers reporting the death of his partner, Miralla, and the debts

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<sup>10</sup>[134]

<sup>11</sup>Some sources only state that he had been in Havana since 1816.

he had left.<sup>12</sup> Montaud [92] mentions a firm Miralles, Knight & Co. in 1823, which is likely an alternative spelling of Miralla. The *Pensacola Gazette* of 31 October 1835 reveals the likely identity of Miralla with an announcement related to a lawsuit by Mariatigui, Knight & Co against the heirs of José Antonio Miralla, whose story can be found in a 1962 review by Duvon C. Corbitt<sup>13</sup> of the book *José Antonio Miralla y sus trabajos*<sup>14</sup> The review and book relate the life of Miralla and his literary works and supplement the brief treatment of Cuban history presented herein. Quoting Corbitt's review:

Miralla was born in Córdoba de Tucumán in 1790, went to Buenos Aires in 1805 to study in the Real Colegio de San Carlos, and was present when a British force invested the city in 1807. In 1810 he went with a fellow student to Lima where he completed work for a medical degree (which he seems never to have used), and was for a time suspect by the authorities because of what was happening in Argentina at the time. Becoming the protégé of the Conde de Vista-Florida, Miralla went to Spain with his protector as secretary when the count was chosen councilor of state. When, however, Ferdinand VII upset the constitutional system in Spain, Miralla left for Cuba where he became the head of a prosperous importing firm, a personage of importance in commercial circles, and a member of the highly respected Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, to whose *Memorias* he became a frequent contributor. With the restoration of the constitutional regime in 1820 Miralla became a captain in the "constitutional militia" and a warm advocate of the principles of the Constitution of 1812. Soon, however, he became involved in the independence conspiracies centering around the "Rayos y Soles de Bolívar," probably because of his connection with the Masonic lodge in Habana which supported the movement. Accused of plotting an uprising in the interior, Miralla slipped away to New York where he joined the revolutionary committee that was working for Cuban independence. It was while traveling for this committee, first in Colombia and later in Mexico, that Miralla died in the latter country at the age of 35.

So the merchant Miralla who was an early partner with George Knight, was also a famed writer of literature —poems and essays — and political and social articles as well as an early activist for Cuban independence.

In 1825 the *Mercantile Weekly Report* of Havana reported on 23 April in their list of Foreign Vessels in Port several ships consigned to Martin, Knight & Co.<sup>15</sup> In 1826-7,

<sup>12</sup>*The Baring Archive*, Series HC5, North America, 5.1.31.

<sup>13</sup>*Hispanic American Historical Review* (1962) 42 (2): 257–258. <https://doi.org/10.1215/00182168-42.2.257>

<sup>14</sup>Edited by Ponte Domínguez, Francisco J.. Habana (1960), Talleres del Archivo Nacional.

<sup>15</sup>Given in evidence in the U.S. Supreme Court 1851 Case of EDMONDSTON v. DRAKE AND MITCHELL,

Barings correspondence refers to the “failure of Martin, Knight & Co.” in Havana. The comma is important, as it suggests that this is a company involving George Knight and someone with last name Martin. Some historical lists mention “Martin Knight & Co.” at that time, but I have found no evidence of someone with first name Martin and last name Knight in Cuba at the time. During his career, Knight had several partners named in a company title or acting as unnamed partners. Examples are Miralla, Knight & Co. in 1823 and then Mariàtegui, Knight & Co., founded around 1825 by Juan José Mariàtegui and George Knight. Mariàtegui was a member of a prominent family from Guipúzcoa in Spain who had been a silent partner of Miralla, Knight & Co. [92]

Scans of letters in the Baring Archives show clearly that the 1825 company is clearly “Martin, Knight & Co.” and not a mis-transcription of Miralla or Mariàtegui.

There was another Knight active in Cuba at the time in Cuba — Captain John Knight, a merchant ship captain who worked with George Knight and with Miralla & Co. and Lee and others in 1817. Lee wrote to him in Cuba, St. Petersburg, and elsewhere. But he does not show up anywhere as a merchant, so it seems likely that the only “Knight” active in Cuban trade during the first half of the nineteenth century was George.

Barings Archives [HC4] report the death of George Knight’s wife in Havana in 1826. Her name is not known, but passenger lists show that on 10 January 1823 Mrs Knight aged 22 traveled from New Orleans, Louisiana, with her son Georges George 4 years and John 8 months and her daughter Mary 2 years along with two female servants. George married again in 1834. The 3 July Boston Post reported

In Havana, June 14, George Knight Esq. to Miss Anna, daughter of the late  
Consul General of France, Francis Guillemain Esq.

Showing the family connections in commerce, following George Knight’s ruin in 1840, George’s brother-in-law Auguste Guillaumin [Guillemain] would become a partner of the successor firm L. Mariàtegui & Co. [92]

George Knight visited Barings in London in 1831, after which Mariàtegui, Knight & Co. became Barings sole agent in Cuba. When Juan Mariàtegui died in 1835, Knight continued their business under the title of George Knight & Co. and moved away from merchant trading towards financing large-scale, short-term, high-interest loans to planters, with their crops as guarantees. [92] One of the plantations was *Santa Amalia* in Coliseo.

In 1831 George Knight and his daughter crop up in the the diary of a Key West Lawyer named William Hackley.<sup>16</sup> On Sunday March 20 he notes that a Miss Knight of the Island of Cuba sailed for Havana with Oliver O’Hara, a local friend of Hackley’s who is often mentioned in the diaries. Knight was a passenger on the *Tioson* stuck in Key West due

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30 U.S. 624 (1831): Filed 12/23/1829

<sup>16</sup>*Florida Keys Sea Heritage Journal* VOL. 22 NO. 4 SUMMER 2012. [https://keywestmaritime.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/v22-4\\_2012summer.pdf](https://keywestmaritime.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/v22-4_2012summer.pdf)

to a law suit . In June Hackley drew up legal papers involving Mariateque [Mariategui] Knight & Co.

Wednesday, June 15.

Received of Oliver O'Hara for drawing a mortgage from George Knight to Mariateque Knight & Company \$10 and for one from Joseph Prince to George Knight \$8.

George Knight was involved with U.S. business and law suits.

During 1832-39 Barings [H4] reported increasing financial difficulties of George Knight & Co., mainly caused by the purchase of sugar plantations in Cuba

As will be treated in Chapter 4, Barings reported the failure of George Knight & Co. in 1840, and several newspapers reported on the event. Knight's major creditor, Barings, appointed attorneys for carrying out the liquidation and established the new firm of L Mariategui & Co. to manage the concerns of Knight & Co. Luis Mariategui was the nephew of Knight's late partner Juan Mariategui.

Barings [HP5] reported George Knight's death in Havana on 2 August 1843. Anna returned to France with their daughter Caroline (1842-1875).

## 3.8 Lemuel's Arrival in Cuba

### 3.8.1 Home

Around the time the Taylor family moved to Cuba in 1821-2, Cuba was in the midst of a "swift development towards a plantation economy based largely on the production of sugar, coffee, and tobacco. Coffee dwindled sharply in importance from the 1830s onwards" [102]. The changes are illustrated by the percentages of the principal crops produced for export going from approximately 18% for sugar, 9% for coffee 1% for tobacco in 1830 to 61%, 2% and 15%, respectively in 1861.

After Lemuel arrived, probably in late 1821, and his family joined him, probably in 1822, they needed a place to live. The natural choice would have been his S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia estate, located in both Coliseo and the corral Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos.

### 3.8.2 Barcia's Description

The only treatment of Lemuel's early years in Cuba that I have found is in Barcia [103]. There follows a quotation from his book, which provides a lot of information and a good launching point for a discussion of the early years of Lemuel Taylor and his family in Cuba, especially with regard to his coffee plantations. The information is familiar, but

differs in many details from what has and will be presented about Lemuel Taylor in this work. Most of this section will be devoted to reconciling the apparent conflicts.

We know even less about when and how Lemuel Taylor, a native of Baltimore according to Reverend Abbot<sup>17</sup> — who spent a day and a night on his coffee plantation, *Santa Amalia* — moved to Guamacaro. All the existing evidence suggests that Taylor arrived in Cuba from the United States after the publication of Ramírez’s rules in 1818.<sup>18</sup> Vincent Grey one of his neighbors in Cuba, claimed to have known him since 1814, when he was still living in the United States. Grey said that Taylor always ran his estate “dressed like an overseer, with a whip in his hands, going after the negroes under the severe heat of the sun.”

Although Taylor was at some point the owner or co-owner of three coffee plantations, he seems to have followed many of his neighbors into ruin. In the early 1820s Taylor owned the *San Marcos* plantation, where his family lived, the *Santa Amalia* plantation in Coliseo, and the Browse Hall plantation, which he co-owned with Pedro Figueras. He was also the proprietor of the Vivos y Muertos hacienda, located in Sabanilla de Gregorio. In 1825 the *Santa Amalia* plantation was already dangerously compromised, to the point that Taylor was sent to prison for his inability to pay his debts. Consequently, in October of that year, Juan and Roberto Oliver became co-owners of one-third of the plantation, while Antonio de Frías and Cornelio Souchay co-owned another third, leaving Taylor as the mortgaged owner of the remaining third. The few existing documents suggest that Taylor defaulted on his debts and lost the plantation soon thereafter. His name, like those of many other coffee planters in the area, disappeared from the historical records during the second half of the 1820s. [103].

Barcia refers to Lemuel Taylor’s plantation which was visited in 1828 by Abiel Abbot as *Santa Amalia*. Abbot does not name the plantation, and it is likely but not certain that the plantation of Abbot’s “Mr. T.” is indeed Taylor’s. But for the moment, it suffices to say that, as we shall see, with time *Santa Amelia* or *la Amelia* came to be called *Santa Amalia* at least by 1840, a name which lasted until after the Cuban revolution of 1959. It is not clear when the name changes occurred, but more history will be supplied later.

It is correct to describe *Santa Amalia* as being “in Coliseo” in that it was only half a kilometer from the village and its postal address was in Coliseo, but it is misleading to

<sup>17</sup>Abbot’s description of his 1928 visit [115] will be considered later in the narrative as well as in Appendix A.

<sup>18</sup>These rules opened Cuba to world trade and welcomed foreign colonists, traders, and merchants were described in Section 3.5.

say that Lemuel “moved to Guamacaro.” During Lemuel’s life, Guamacaro was only another town in the same general area as Coliseo and Limonar, only much later would it become a *municipio* or municipality, like a county or parish or township, which included nearby towns such as the hamlet of Coliseo and hence also *Santa Amalia*. *Santa Amalia*’s locality varied through the years among Guamacaro, Limonar, Jovellanos (Bemba), and Lagunillas simply because of changes in Cuban political geography. *Santa Amalia*, however, remained adjacent to Coliseo, which was something less than a village and always overshadowed by its larger neighbors. It can not be said that it remained in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos, which by 1909 was referred to as the “ancient corral of Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos” and it has largely vanished from maps, articles, and books since — except of course for a few historical treatises such as the one you are now reading.

As we will see, sometimes in the newspapers *Santa Amalia* would be described as being in or near Matanzas or Cardenas, both of which descriptions had some truth at one time or another. For much of the time, Cardenas was the closer in terms of distance, but Matanzas was more accessible by decent roads and eventually the railroad.

Coliseo’s importance was enhanced the mid century when it acquired a railway station with trunk lines to nearby plantations. Its railway station, telegraph station, and post office put it on many maps. The Cuban railroads grew rapidly from beginnings in the mid 1830s because of their importance to the transport of sugar and coffee from plantations to ports.

Certainly Lemuel was aware of the Ramirez rules because of his experience in the Cuban trade, his owning property in Cuba (through a surrogate) since 1807, and his purchase of the cafetal S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia in 1820 during a visit to Cuba considered in Section 2.7, but like Cornelio Souchay, he had established himself well in advance of those rules. When he moved to Cuba permanently in 1821-2, he already was an owner of interest in two estates and had established business relations with Antonio Frías & Co., including with its silent partner Don Cornelio Souchay, with whom he co-owned S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia. But his ownership of both properties were by October 1821 held in trust with Robert Oliver in Baltimore. According to his insolvency documents, he owned interests in two and only two estates, he had no “hidden” properties in someone else’s name.

The Ramirez or royal welcome rules were aimed at inviting white settlers with experience *and capital*, and Lemuel was not highly qualified on the financial side. He had left the U.S. as an insolvent debtor, but at least his debts had been absorbed by his agreement with Robert Oliver and by Lemuel’s Insolvent Trust and for the time being Lemuel still qualified as a well-connected experienced trader and a property owning planter.

Vincent Grey was presumably Vincent Gray, a merchant from Massachusetts who gained significant influence in Cuban commerce, a slave trader and a member of the commercial house of Antonia de Frías — and hence a business associate of both Lemuel and Robert Oliver. Gray served as Vice Consul and Acting Consul of the United States at Havana and “acted as an intermediary in virtually every major U.S. legal dispute in Havana

even as he violated U.S. law as a slave trader post 1808 in partnership with a Spanish commercial house.” Vincent Gray is treated at some length in Chambers (2013) [34], where he describes correspondence with James Madison, James Monroe, and Alexander Hamilton with regards to American-Cuban trade. Gray’s correspondence with John Forbes and Company provided General Andrew Jackson with advance information about Great Britain’s plans to attack New Orleans towards the end of the war of 1812 [40]. Gray was arrested and jailed briefly in Havana in 1805 for forging shipping papers. He resided in Cuba from the early 19th century to at least 1829. I did not find any evidence that Gray ever lived in Baltimore or knew Lemuel there, I suspect the two were acquainted during Lemuel’s earlier visits to Cuba and his business with de Frías.

In this quote and elsewhere in his book, Barcia makes it clear that Lemuel Taylor was a slave owner in Cuba and that he had a mixed reputation in his dealing with his slaves, as a hard master who liked to exhibit the power of archetypal slave owners, but nevertheless maintained a reputation as providing a less brutal environment in comparison with other slaveowners in Cuba for his slaves in terms of food and housing. Cornelio Souchay also had a reputation for being less brutal than most Cuban slave owners. But it must be remembered that in general conditions for slaves in Cuba were awful, and being “less brutal” than others was hardly high praise.

The one advantage Cuban slaves had over slaves in the United States was that they could, and sometimes did, buy their own freedom through permitted paid work in addition to their forced work.

Barcia’s discussion of Lemuel’s early properties in Cuba have both familiar and suspect aspects. Barcia describes four separate properties, but we have seen in Section 2.7 that Lemuel moved to Cuba possessing only two estates, not four. Given his financial situation, it is doubtful that he could have purchased additional estates between his arrival and the events of 1825 Barcia relates. The four properties are considered next.

Barcia lists three coffee plantations owned by Taylor: *San Marcos* in an unknown location, *Santa Amalia* in Coliseo, and Browse Hall in an unknown location. He also lists a Vivos y Muertos hacienda, located in Sabanilla de Gregorio.

### 3.8.3 *San Marcos Plantation*

Barcia states that Lemuel and his family first lived in San Marcos coffee plantation. I have found no corroborating evidence to Barcia’s statement that Lemuel ever owned even partially a San Marcos estate in Matanzas as Barcia states, but an estate by that name ‘quite close to Coliseo was encountered in Section 3.6 located in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos by Pichardo [108][109][110] and as Tosca by Ballester [15]. It is doubtful that Lemuel soon after arriving would have lived with his family in an estate he had no ownership in when he did have ownership in two estates: Bruce Hall and “Sabanilla or S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia,” where the second estate was reported in some documents to be in the same area as San Marcos. My

guess is like other plantations in the vicinity it was sometimes referred to in documents as "Sabanilla" and therefore was liable to confusion with Lemuel's *S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia* plantation.

*S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia* in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos was a logical first residence for Lemuel's family in Cuba.

### 3.8.4 *Santa Amalia* Coffee Plantation in Coliseo

Barcia describes *Santa Amalia* as the estate owned by Lemuel at the time of the 1825 African slave rebellion in Matanzas, but we have not yet encountered the name in Lemuel's history. Presumably the name is clearly used in the extensive documentation regarding the rebellion and its associated actions and legal processes that Barcia describes. Ingenio *Santa Amalia* in Coliseo is listed in the 1860 census of the sugar plantations of Cuba by of Rebello [114] owned by the heirs of Taylor, having Matanzas as its port and Coliseo as its *paradero*. Letters in the archives of the Baring Brothers Bank described in [92] describe the balance on the sale of *Santa Amalia* owed by De Coninck in 1840 to Barings following the failure of George Knight & Co of Havana. *Santa Amalia* is [601] in Ballester's list of Sugar plantations and has comparatively detailed information. It lists the founder as "Lionel Taylor" followed by the heirs of his son Alejandro Taylor (Alexander) and the D'Conincks until 1904, which is correct, except that Ballester begins the history of the plantation around 1840, almost two decades after Lemuel and his family moved to Cuba. Barcia implies that the origins go back to the early 1820s, but he goes on to describe how in October 1825 "Juan and Roberto Oliver became owners of one-third of the plantation, while Antonio de Frías and Cornelio Souchay together owned another third, leaving Taylor as the mortgaged owner of the remaining third." This is close to, but not the same as the story of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia* in Lemuel's insolvency papers in Section 2.7 and to Roth's story of the *Santa Amelia* coffee plantation in which Cornelio Souchay and Antonio de Frías shared 1/3 ownership with another unnamed individual owning the remaining 2/3 — two stories that imply the identity of the two plantations. The difference with Barcia's story is that Souchay and de Frías owned 1/3 from the time of its purchase in 1820, and Souchay sold the 1/3 to Oliver in 1830 for exactly the amount of the debt de Frías & Co. owed Oliver. Lemuel's 2/3 share was held in trust by the Insolvent Trust by the time he arrived to live in Cuba in 1821-2, and that portion was bought by Robert Oliver in 1823-4. But the dates and description are sufficiently close to be within acceptable limits of historical consistency.

Although differing in details, our argument of the identity of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia*, and *S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia* agree with the conclusions of Barcia and the identity of both with *La Amelia* agrees with Ballester.

### 3.8.5 Browse Hall Coffee Plantation

I find no mention of a Browse Hall in Cuba, but I believe this is simply a misspelling or misreading of Lemuel's Bruce Hall, a coffee plantation described in Section 2.7. The auctioneers fee for the sale was recorded for 16 September 1824 while Barcia's footnote regarding the purchase of Browse Hall by Juan and Roberto Oliver gives a date of 28 April 1823.<sup>19</sup> The advertisement for the auction sale of Lemuel's estates reproduced in Figure 2.3 is dated in March 1823, which is consistent with the April sale date given by Barcia. I suspect that the later date in the insolvency papers is just the delay in the auctioneers submitting their bills to the Insolvent Trust trustees and in international deeds being recorded. I am convinced that Barcia's Browse Hall was Bruce Hall, an estate partially owned by Lemuel, whose interest was sold to Robert Oliver in 1823.

### 3.8.6 Vivos y Muertos hacienda located in Sabanilla de Gregorio

I think this is simply an error of interpretation of the archival documents. The Spanish word "hacienda" means "house" in the usual sense, but it can also mean an estate or *finca* (farm). Many cafetales and ingenios began as fincas. This suggests that Barcia's "hacienda Vivos y Muertos" was simply an estate in a place called "Vivos y Muertos," and only "Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos" has this name. Furthermore, I can find no place called "Sabanilla de Gregorio" in the Matanzas region. My conclusion is that this place is simply a garbled version meaning an estate in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos, which could mean San Marcos or Audaz from Pichardo, or Santa Amelia from Subsection 2.2.7. Only the latter one was definitely owned by Lemuel Taylor, so I think this hacienda was S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia of Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos.

### 3.8.7 The Cuban estates of Lemuel Taylor

To summarize, the four estates listed by Barcia as belonging to Lemuel Taylor during the early 1820s distill to two estates: Browse Hall is really Bruce Hall, and the other three are all alternative names for the S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia coffee plantation, which had been purchased in 1820 by Lemuel Taylor (2/3) and Antonio de Frías (1/6) and Cornelio Suchay (1/6).

The main objection to this analysis is the fact that *Santa Amalia* is considered to be in Coliseo, while Santa Amelia is usually named as being in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos. The difference, however, is convincingly explained by Cuban geography and by the physical location of Coliseo and S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia within the corral of Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos and the nearly identical histories of S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia (next to Coliseo) and S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia (in Sabanilla).

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<sup>19</sup>Barcia's footnote reads "Certificaciones de Félix Lancis, ANC, AGRT, 669/76. The hacienda was sold to Juan and Roberto Oliver on 28 April 1823."

### 3.8.8 Lemuel's fate

Barcia's quote closes with a description of Lemuel's financial problems with the *Santa Amalia* estate in Coliseo and of his imprisonment in Cuba for failure to pay his debts. This is a good time to point out that Spanish law at the time protected Lemuel from foreclosure and confiscation of his lands, assets, or slaves unless his debts exceeded the total value of his estate. Nonetheless in order to be released from prison, he did have to make some financial arrangements. Barcia brings back several individuals familiar from the Chapter 2 to describe those arrangements:

Consequently, in October of that year, Juan and Roberto Oliver became co-owners of one-third of the plantation, while Antonio de Frías and Cornelio Souchay co-owned another third, leaving Taylor as the mortgaged owner of the remaining third.

Barcia's account based on Cuban archives parallels that of Lemuel's insolvency papers, except that in the insolvency papers the Olivers purchased all of Lemuel's interest in S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia in 1823, not 1825. Once again, the difference is likely due to the delays of international communications and real estate transactions.

By 1825 Robert Oliver was no longer active in international maritime trade and his brother John was dead, but he still held a vast amount of property, including property in Cuba in his estate following his death in 1834.

Given his position as Lemuel's trustee in Baltimore with the then still unrealized hope for future income in Lemuel's name based on lawsuits against foreign governments (indeed these hoped-for funds would eventually more than cover Lemuel's debts, including those to Oliver), it is not surprising that Oliver had shared in the ownership of Lemuel's estates. The shared ownership of S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia with Souchay and de Frías dated back to Lemuel's purchase in 1820 of the plantation, as detailed in Subsection 2.2.7. Souchay sold the combined interest of the heirs of de Frías and himself to Robert Oliver in 1830, leaving Oliver the owner of the entire estate. To this leads to another mystery: If Oliver's estate owned S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia when he died in 1834, how did it end up by 1840 being purchased by Lemuel's son-in-law Francis De Coninck from George Knight & Co. of Havana, an agent of Baring Brothers Bank? An answer might lie in the records of the business or estate of Robert Oliver, but until and unless I can manage a visit to Maryland, I can only guess.

I have found no mention of Oliver having Cuban correspondents other than Taylor and Frías, but if he or his executors — who included his son-in-law, our old friend Roswell L. Colt — had wanted to sell a Cuban estate to an investor in Cuba, they might well have sought advice from Oliver's connections at Baring's, who would likely have referred them to their favorite correspondent in Cuba — George Knight & Co. The sequel will be considered in Chapter 4, but as a spoiler it can be said that the heirs of Lemuel Taylor will finally sell S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia in 1904.

Barcia's concluding inferences are not correct, Lemuel's story in Cuba extends for at least another quarter century and his heirs will own *Santa Amalia* until the early twentieth century.

### 3.9 Coliseo

It is difficult to find historical information on the barrio of Coliseo around 1820 of Lemuel's visit and purchase of S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia and of his subsequent immigration. An excerpt from an 1855 map of Cuba in Figure 3.4 shows the location of Coliseo in relation to the coastal and cities and ports of Matanzas and Cárdenas along with several other localities.<sup>20</sup> Although published in the United States three and half decades after Lemuel arrived in Cuba, this map is relevant because it is the clearest highest resolution digital map in the public domain of the the Island of Cuba during the first half of the nineteenth century that I could find that clearly shows Coliseo in relation to the rest of the Matanzas region, what since 1879 has been the Province of Matanzas. It does not show individual estates.

A key item shown in the map that did not exist when Lemuel arrived in Cuba is the network of railroad lines existing at the time, which began development in 1837 and arrived in the Coliseo area around mid-century. The railroad line reinforces the mid-century importance of the the small village of Coliseo as a major transportation hub connecting the plantations surrounding it (including *Santa Amalia*) to the port of Matanzas. There was a short trunk line of about .75 miles connecting the *Santa Amalia* Plantation to the Coliseo station [61]. The Matanzas-Coliseo line would eventually be extended southeast to Bemba, also known as Jovellanos, which had a direct rail connection north to Cardenas. But the Matanzas railway link was shorter and faster than that to the geographically closer Cardenas.

A relevant source for maps and descriptions was published almost a century later by the U.S. Army in 1909 following one of the U.S. military interventions in Cuba. As described in Appendix A, the descriptions and maps were essentially updates on the maps and itineraries of Pichardo [108] [109] and other historical sources. Coliseo is described in [61], pp. 313-4:

Coliseo. — Barrio and village. The barrio contains centrals *Carolina* and *Santa Amalia*. The village is a shipping point on United Railroads of Havana, about 11.2 miles northwest of Jovellanos; to the south and west are wooded hills about 150 feet high. In 1896 an important engagement took place at this point between the Spanish forces commanded by General Campos and Cuban forces

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<sup>20</sup>The full map is entitled *Map of the Island of Cuba Compiled from the Most Reliable Spanish Authorities 1855* with the footnote "Entered according to Act of Congress in the Clerks Office of the Northern District of New York in the year 1855."



Figure 3.4: From 1855 U.S. Map of Cuba

commanded by General Gomez. After the battle the village was burned by the Spanish forces, and has never since reached its former importance. Sugar is the only industry. Population, about 600. Water is obtained from a large well situated in the south east portion of the village. Water raised by hand and sold from carts. The railroad company obtains water from a deep well east of the station; water raised by steam pump. No sewer system. Streets lighted by oil lamps. There are about 20 buildings, 3 of which are stone and suitable for quarters for troops. One is situated south of the center of the village and is occupied by the rural guard. The other two are on the eastern side of the village and now used as stores. These 3 buildings are in bad sanitary condition; no water, lights, or modern closets; would accommodate in all about 125 men. No stables. No corral, though there are yards that could be used. No building suitable for hospital. There are 4 small wooden houses suitable for storehouses. Telephone and telegraph offices in railroad station. Telephone connection with ingenio *Santa Amalia*, ingenio *Carolina*, railroad station at La Tosca and Sumidero, village of Limonar, and colonia Descanso. The ground is low and badly drained. No good grazing; limited amount of wood; no camp recommended. There is one small, stone Spanish blockhouse, northwest of railroad sidings, suitable for 10 men. No facilities at railroad for unloading. Standard-gauge branch leaves village, running northeast to ingenio *Santa Amalia*. Standard-gauge road from Coliseo runs northwest to La Julia (Triunfo). The village is surrounded by cane fields on north and east. High hills are on the west and south. On the west, where the railroad passes, there is an opening into the valley of Sumidero.

The quote paints a dreary picture of Coliseo in 1909 from a military viewpoint, but one can imagine what it was like 90 years earlier and note the fact that the only sugar plantations still worth mentioning are *Santa Amalia* and *Carolina*.

The geography of the area including Coliseo as depicted in 1909 in [61] are depicted in Fig. C.2 which show in particular the geographical relations among Coliseo, Matanzas, Cardenas, *Santa Amalia*, and *Carolina*.

Returning to Pichardo's *Caminos*, Volume II provides an alternative pass by the ingenio *la Amelia* and into Coliseo by smaller roads instead of via the Camino General. This time the traveler is on the road following the circular perimeter of corral Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos in Pichardo's 1875 map of Fig. 3.2 from its northernmost point heading in a southwest direction toward Coliseo. The itinerary is on pages 345-6 in Volume 2 of Pichardo [109] and a scan is shown in Figure 3.5. The itinerary snippet shown picks up at the crossroads with the road from Ojo de Agua. On the right is the southwestern corner of the ingenio Goitia: which I translate as

Continue to drive to the southwest and south southwest between the ingenios

Continúa por el círculo para el S. O. y S.S.O. por entre los ingenios de *Goitia* (D.) y de D.Manuel Tayllor [I.] y dejando á D. el Cafetal de *Chapeau* y á I. el ingenio la *Amelia* de D. Alejandro Tayllor, llega á

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*El Coliseo, &. en el Camino General*

Figure 3.5: Excerpt from Pichardo (1865), Volume 2 [109]

*Goitia* (on the right) and Don Manuel Tayllor’s on the left and leaving on the right the Cafetal de *Chapeau* and on the left the ingenio la *Amelia* of Don Alejandro Tayllor, arriving at El Coliseo, & the Camino General.

Pichardo here uses the spelling Tayllor instead of Taillor as in Volume 1 and on the map. Second, he describes an ingenio just northeast of la Amelia, which belongs to Manuel Tayllor but is not given a separate name. I previously thought that possibly “Manuel” was, like “Samuel,” a misspelling of Lemuel. I no longer consider this a serious possibility. There are other more plausible explanations other than coincidence for the Taylor name being associated with two adjacent plantations, one of which seems quite likely to have belonged in part to Lemuel Taylor. One is that the northerly “Tailler” might have been the other estate owned by Lemuel — Bruce Hall. The other, which I lean towards, is that the estate might have assumed the name *Carolina* earlier used for the cafetal shown northwest of Coliseo along the Camino General, which is described in Pichardo’s *Caminos* and Barcia in that position, but is several kilometers west of the later central *Granma* described in Friginals [59] and Ballester [15] as evolving from the ingenio *Carolina* and having been founded by an M. Taylor. Barcia [103] cites [15] regarding the history of cafetal *Carolina* eventually becoming the central *Granma*, but says that Ballester made an error in his attribution of Taylor as the possible founder. But I think it unlikely that Bartlett’s *Carolina* as described by Barcia could have become Granma since modern maps show Granma to the east of Coliseo as does the 1909 U.S. Army, not to the northwest as Pichardo and Barcia depict it. I suspect there were two estates named *Carolina* in the two different locations, and that the one that decades later became *Granma* was not the one on Pichardo’s map and in Barcia’s story of the events near Guacamero in 1825. I also believe that that the

ingenio marked *Taillor* on Pichardo's map is the primary candidate for the later *Carolina*. This identification is not important to the story, but it does explain an inconsistency in the literature.

*Granma* was the name of the boat that Castro and his original small band of 82 revolutionaries took from Mexico to Cuba in November 1956. It was a 60 foot diesel powered cabin cruiser, originally built as a light armored training boat for the U.S. Navy for a crew of 12. It was later converted to a pleasure yacht and eventually bought by Fidel Castro's 26th of July movement, and it is still on display as a memorial to the revolution in Havana. The name was allegedly suggested by the grandmother of the original owner.

As a final comment on the itinerary from Pichardo's Vol. II, it was not possible that in 1865 when the book was published that the owner of *la Amelia* was Alejandro Taylor (Alexander Taylor) since Alexander Taylor had left Cuba by 1848 and died that same year in Connecticut. The error is easily explained, however, since Pichardo's work was based on his map and travels from around 1840, when it is likely that Alexander Taylor was managing *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* along with his brother-in-law Francis De Coninck. As we shall see, Alexander was also the owner of the *ingenio Arroyo* not far away. Lemuel Taylor was still alive, but he was 71 in 1840 and he had lived a long and hard life. So it seems likely that he let the next generation do most of the managing of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*.

The presence of Alexander at *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* during this period is supported by the information provided in Table 3.3, which is based primarily on the 1915 Webster family genealogy [142]. All of the children of Alexander and Maria Louisa Taylor were born in Coliseo over the period of 1835 through 1847, so Alexander was indeed living in the area around the time Pichardo was developing his map and making notes for his *Caminos*. Moreover, he was probably managing *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* and not involved with the nearby *Ontario* plantation belonging to the Websters, Alexander's in-laws.

### 3.10 The *Santa Amalia* Estate

The focus of attention is now on *Santa Amalia* or *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* estate, the estate of primary importance to Lemuel Taylor and his family and descendants from its purchase in 1820 as *Savanilla* or *S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia* through its sale in 1904 by the heirs of Lemuel Taylor — the children of his children Alexander Taylor and Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck. Lemuel's first daughter Mary Williams Taylor is not mentioned again in the history of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*.

This section explores *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* in more detail.

Barcia [103] describes *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* in 1825 as about 1.5 km northeast of the small village or hamlet of Coliseo, which is 31.7 km southeast of the city of Matanzas and 18.1 km southwest of the city of Cárdenas, two major ports on the northwestern coast of Cuba, east of Havana. The location and description and the information in the rest of his book regarding the geography of Coliseo and the plantations in the neighborhood leave no

doubt that S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia is the same plantation as Lemuel Taylor's Savanilla or S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia. Barcia implies that Lemuel Taylor was the founding owner of *Santa Amalia* but lacks any citations relating to previous owners or names. Barcia cites Ballester's *El azúcar en Matanzas y sus dueños en La Habana: Apunté e iconografía* (2007) [15] and mostly agrees with the information therein. As I found this reference very hard to find, the next subsection incorporates an extract and some discussion from this classic reference.

### 3.10.1 *El azúcar en Matanzas y sus dueños en La Habana*

After struggling for several years with the profusion and confusion of the names for Lemuel Taylor's cafetal which became an ingenio, then a central, and finally the Central Victoria de Yaguajay following the 1959 revolution and before its demolition early in the 21st century, I found a hint of all of the names occurring in a single book in November 2020: [15]. The *Santa Amalia* estate is mentioned several times in the book, but the key page is 83 which is mostly devoted to the ingenio indexed as [601]. Since the book is so hard to find,<sup>21</sup> I include a scan of the page as Figure 3.6 so as to provide the information as Ballester presents it. An explanation of the entry for each ingenio is given on p. 47, which is translated into English below before discussing the details.

Each entry includes the following information about each ingenio (an edited translation)

- **A code number and the names the ingenio has had** beginning with the best known name. The code number identifies the ingenio on a map created by the author, but unfortunately the copy in the book is quite bad and I could find no digital version on line.
- **Geographical location.** The distance in kilometers to the center of the locality which is given as a reference, based on the author's map.
- **Year of founding or first harvest.** When it is not known, the first of the first reference. If demolished, the year of the final harvest is given. The Cuban sugar *zafra* (harvest) runs from January through May.
- **Political division in 1860, 1958, and 1976** (when the mills were reorganized). In 1860 there were three political jurisdicciones: Matanzas, Cardenas, and Colon. In 1958 following the revolution the antique political division enacted in 1878 was used, along with several modifications which represented the traditional municipios. In 1976 the then current political divisions were used.

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<sup>21</sup>I found no online version and it took over a year to find and purchase a hard copy. I have continued to search occasionally hoping to find a copy in better shape.

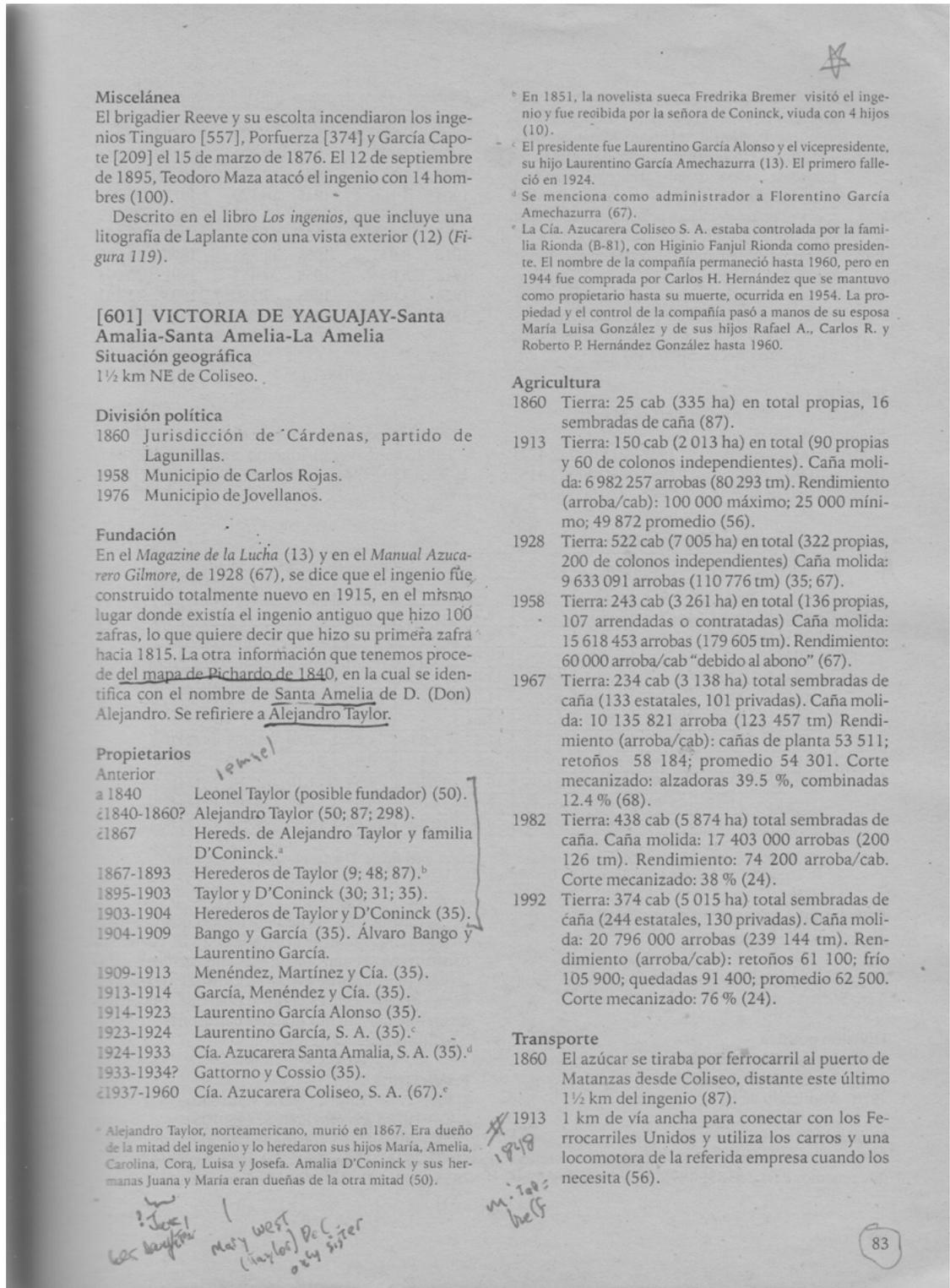


Figure 3.6: Extract from Ballester

- **Name of the owners.** The years of ownership are included when known.
- **Data on agriculture, transport and industry**
- **Miscellania**

Reading 3.6 using the legend and extracting the key points, to me the most important fact is that *Santa Amalia*, *Santa Amelia*, and *la Amelia* all named the same estate. The first name Ballester is the last one I learned, but it is the name best known to most Cubans since soon after the 1958 revolution, when the victory of Yaguajay played an important role.

The political division follows the 1860 division of Rebello [114], specifically Coliseo and *Santa Amalia* were then in the jurisdicción of Cardenas (not Matanzas) and the partido de jurisdicción (district) of Lagunillas. Unsurprisingly Rebello is one of Ballester's cited sources.

The foundation information that the estate had its first harvest in 1815 as an *ingenio antigua*, which was only a few years before Lemuel Taylor acquired the plantation. It names the possible founder as "Lionel Taylor" sometime before 1840, but surely "Lionel" must be another misspelling of "Lemuel" and that Lemuel was not the founder, since he claimed to have bought *S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia* during a visit to Cuba in 1820. He owned 2/3 of the estate and the other 1/3 was shared by Cornelio Souchay and Antonio de Frías and Lemuel left no books or records to investigate for a prior owner on name. Presumably Barcia searched without success in the Cuban archives for earlier information.

Whom Lemuel bought it from remains a mystery. Ballester cites Pichardo's 1840 map as a basis for the foundational story and the naming the owner of Santa Amelia as D. Alejandro, which refers to Alejandro (Alexander) Taylor. This is consistent with the 1865 Pichardo *Caminos* [109] and Ballester probably saw the 1840 Pichardo map of Matanzas on which the 1875 map of the Island of Cuba was based. This is consistent with the history treated here since Lemuel's son Alexander was still alive in 1840 and his children were being born in Coliseo.

But why did Pichardo believe that Santa Amelia belonged to Alexander after 1843 rather than his father Lemuel? First, a key point here is that the evidence supports that the attribution of Alexander's ownership dates to 1840 when he was still alive. It is not surprising to see the stale information long after he died because maps and books were not updated all that quickly. Second, there is the possibility that Lemuel had died by 1840 (implied, by example, by Barcia who states that he disappeared from history soon after 1825) and that Alexander indeed was the owner as an heir. But he was not the only heir, we shall see that eventually *Santa Amalia* would have shared ownership among several of Lemuel's heirs. Third, Barcia [103] argued that Lemuel had serious financial problems soon after the 1825 slave rebellion, and he might have lost financial control — yet his heirs maintained family ownership and management. Several sources attribute ownership to

the Taylors and De Conincks during the latter part of the nineteenth century, and it is the grandchildren of Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck and her brother Alexander Taylor who are the owners at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Ballester guesses that Alexander owned the estate from 1840-1860, but this guess is wrong as Alexander died in 1848, not 1867 as stated in footnote (b) to this item. His sources include an unpublished article by Delgado, Rebello — who does not mention Alexander by name in his 1860 book, he says only that *Santa Amalia* is owned by the “heirs of Taylor,” which is true if the Taylor is Lemuel, in which case the heirs include both Taylors and De Conincks, who indeed will own the estate together until it is sold in 1904. So his descriptions of owners from 1840 through 1904 can be unified and corrected by saying the owners were the descendants of Lemuel Taylor, who definitely owned the *Santa Amalia* in 1825 (albeit shared ownership with a mortgage).

Note a) in Ballester states that Alexander owned half the ingenio and that his children Maria, Amelia, Carolina, Cora, Luisa and Josefa inherited his half. This is close to correct, but his wife (not daughter) Maria Louisa (Webster) Taylor lived for many years a widow and the children’s inheritance probably came through her. Ballester mentions six daughters, but Alexander had seven. we will revisit the Taylor children later.

Ballester concludes the note saying that Amalia D’Conick and her sisters Juana and María had the other half. Again, this is almost true. Alexander was Lemuel’s only son, Lemuel also had two daughters: Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck and Mary West (Taylor) Wieland. My guess is María is Alexander’s wife María Louisa (Webster) Taylor, Amelia’s sister-in-law. I think it likely that Juana is Amelia’s eldest daughter, Jane Leep De Coninck. The heirs of *Santa Amalia* will later be seen to be the heirs of two of Lemuel and Mary Taylor’s three children: Alexander and Amelia. I believe that the third Taylor child, Mary, was not an heir because she married young and left Cuba for France and never returned. We shall see, however, that Mary’s children nonetheless remained in communication with their Taylor and De Coninck cousins into the twentieth century. The citation for the information in this note is Ballester’s reference (50) “La industria azucarera en Jovellanos desde sus inicios hasta 1959” by Marlén Herandez Delgado — unfortunately an unpublished manuscript, dated 2001. I am very curious what the sources of (50) were, but was not able to find any traces of the article or author.

In note b) Ballester mentions the visit of Fredrika Bremer, which will be discussed at some length in Section 5.1. He cites his reference (10), which is the Spanish translation of the English translation of part of Bremer (1853E) [23] dealing with her Cuban visit. Ballester states that when Bremer visited Santa Amalia, the Widow Mrs De Coninck — who is Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck — lived with her four children, which is inaccurate. Bremer writes that Mrs De Coninck lived with her *father* (Lemuel Taylor) and her youngest daughter (Mary) and that the other three children (Jane Leep, Francis Alexander, and Amelia Henrietta De Coninck) were living in the United States at the time of her visit (1851). I have not succeeded in learning with whom they were living. My guess is that

they were either with relatives in Baltimore or with the widow Maria Louisa (Webster) Taylor and her children in Connecticut.

Despite some errors, Ballester's book is an extraordinary classic treating the history of sugar and coffee plantations in Matanzas.

### 3.10.2 *S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia, S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*

According to Lemuel himself, his plantation *S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia* was bought in 1820, and the evidence is that a plantation in the same location *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* was sold by Taylor's heirs — his great grandchildren — in 1904. A natural question is when did *S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia* become known as *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* ?

We shall see in Chapter 4 that in 1840 Francis De Coninck owed money to George Knight & Co. of Havana for the “ balance purchase of sugar estate SANTA AMALIA” for 80,000 pesos — Spanish silver dollars, a debt due to Baring Brothers Bank following the financial failure of George Knight. In 1840, De Coninck happened to be a correspondent and agent of Barings as well as the son-in-law of Lemuel Taylor. Presumably Barcia saw documents providing an earlier date of 1825 dealing with the African slave rebellion of that year and its aftermath.

A guess of the timing of the changing of the name is suggested by the De Coninck Bible entry for the marriage “ on the St Amalia Estate on the 16th of June 1831 by the padre of Limonal, of Amelia Williams Taylor second daughter of Mary & Lemuel Taylor of Baltimore to Francis Charles De Coninck oldest son of Jane & Ignacio De Coninck of Ostend.” Note in the image that the second “a” in Amalia looks like it has been written over something else, perhaps an “e”? Amelia writes her own name clearly as “Amelia” and not “Amalia,” as she has on occasion been named in genealogical records. Amelia dated her signature in the front of the bible as 1833, so apparently she filled in the earlier events in hindsight.

*Santa Amalia* played a fundamental role in Lemuel's life and in the lives of several of his descendants. Lemuel's great-granddaughter Amy Heard visited the estate with her mother Jane Leep (De Coninck) Heard in 1883-4. Amy's father Augustine Heard Jr. wrote to Amy during his visit to Matanzas in 1886 during which time he visited the estate, after it had fallen on hard times. Letters during the visits were to and from ingenio *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* , Coliseo, Cuba. During these visits the estate was managed by Amy's aunts and their husbands.

Because Coliseo was a little known tiny village, family ephemera such as letters, bible annotations of marriages and births, and newspaper reports often described *Santa Amalia* in relation to the much better known and important city of Matanzas, the second largest city on the island after Havana. The most common description of the location of *Santa Amalia* that I have seen from the first half of the nineteenth century was that it was *near* Matanzas. *Santa Amalia* was closer as the crow flies to the city of Cardenas (which was

and remains much bigger than Coliseo) than to the city of Matanzas, but Matanzas was and remains much larger and better known than Cardenas, and travel between Coliseo and Matanzas was easier and faster than that between Coliseo and Cardenas because of smoother terrain, better roads, and eventually the railroad.

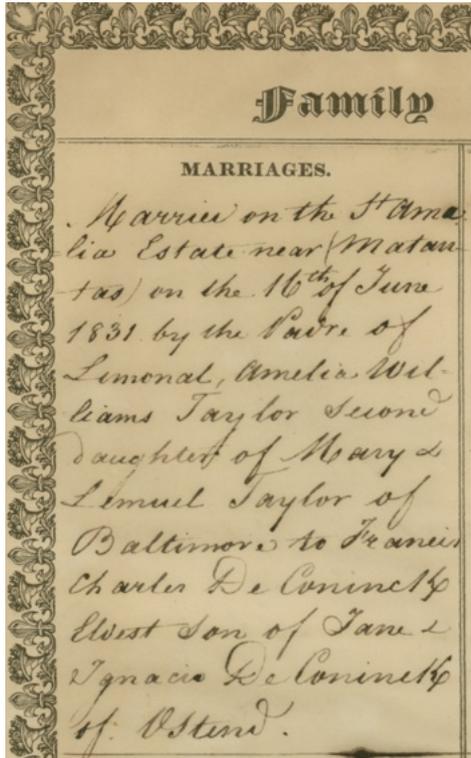


Figure 3.7: DeConinck Bible Excerpt

*illustrated* listed this *Santa Amalia* as being owned by Taylor heirs and the *Santa Amalia* situated in Guacamaro (when the district contained Coliseo) as being owned by the Webster heirs – which was partly true in that Alexander Taylor’s widow Maria Louisa (Webster) Taylor was an heir to our *Santa Amalia*, along with Alexander’s sister Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck. Hence by the end of the nineteenth century, Taylor heirs and descendants included Taylors and De Conincks and descendants of Websters. Barcia describes a cafetal *Amelia* on the Coliseo highway to the East of Coliseo owned by the Paires, but I have not found separate information on it. He had access to official documents that I lack.

We shall see that Taylors, Heard, and De Conincks still owned the estate and were still involved in legal issues regarding the estate into the early 20th century until 1904, when the estate was sold. A postcard from 1925 shows what the mill looked like two decades after the descendants of Lemuel Heard and their families had left Cuba and sold the estate.

In addition to its early names of *Savanilla* and *S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia* – the abbreviated form of *Santa Amelia*, *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* had other names including *Amelia*, *la Amelia*, and, over a half century after the departure of the last of the heirs of Lemuel Taylor, the name of the estate was officially changed by the national government after the Cuban revolution of 1959 from central *Santa Amalia* to central *Victoria de Yaguajay*. The early names lived on, however, in tradition, literature, maps, and tourism. In the literature it is usually clear when the plantation being treated is *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* because of the relative location of the plantation to Coliseo, its presence in the “ancient corral of Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos,” or other geographical descriptions or identifying characteristics.

There were other plantations with these names involving variations on Amelia and Amalia elsewhere in Cuba. There was another *Santa Amalia* estate in Santa Isabel de las Lajas in the modern province of Cienfuegos listed in *Cuba Illustrated* [113]. Interestingly, *Cuba Illus-*



Figure 3.8: Ingenio *Santa Amalia* in 1925

The last descendent of Lemuel that I could verify resided at *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* was his granddaughter, Amy's aunt Mary Taylor (De Coninck). When Amy's father Augustine Heard visited the estate in 1886, nine years before the breakout of the 1895 Cuban war for independence and the subsequent U.S. intervention, the estate was being managed by the widower of Amelia Henrietta (De Coninck) Pelletier, who died in New York in October 1884.

The original name reported in the Lemuel Taylor's insolvency papers of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia* persisted in the later literature. The best known and probably the most cited source of the name *Santa Amelia* for Lemuel's Coliseo plantation is Fredrika Bremer's 1854 book *Hemmen i den Ny Verlden* [23] (in Swedish) and its almost simultaneous English translation by Mary Howitt (with the cooperation of Bremer) as *The Homes of the New World; Impressions of America* (also [23]) describing her visit in March 1851 to a plantation she named *St. Amelia Inhegno*<sup>22</sup> during her travels in the United States and Cuba. The visit will be described in some detail in Section 5.1 as it presents a marvelous portrait of Lemuel's home

<sup>22</sup>Bremer's spelling of the Spanish word *ingenio*

and family in 1851, both in words and illustrations. As described by Bremer, Ingenio Santa Amelia was a sugar plantation located between Matanzas and Cárdenas and within sight of the hills of Camarioca. Indeed Coliseo is West of Matanzas and East of Cárdenas and just south of the Tetas de Camarioca and quite close to the foothills, as can be seen in the 1885 map of the region in Figure 3.4. Bremer was a Swedish novelist (sometimes described as “Sweden’s Jane Austen”), travel writer, and feminist author.

Bremer visited the widow Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck, her father (Lemuel Taylor who matches bremer’s description of him), and her daughter (Mary Taylor De Coninck who matches the age given Bremer gives in her book) in 1851. Bremer mentions that the other three children were then in the United States<sup>23</sup> The location of the plantation and its description match Taylor’s *Santa Amalia*. That Bremer’s St. Amelia is actually St. Amalia is clear from her other writings. During the same trip she names the same estate *St. Amalia* in her accompanying sketch book containing watercolors and sketches of places and people [24]. The sketchbook was not published, but it is available online at the University of Uppsala in Sweden with high resolution images, including some of *Santa Amalia* which are so labeled.<sup>24</sup> Much of the sketchbook was reproduced (with lower quality images and some errors of identification) in an issue of the *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional* in its 1951 celebration of the centennial of Bremer’s visit [116]. More on the sketchbook later.

Bremer also uses *St. Amalia* to name the plantation she visited in a separate letter to her friend Andrew Downing written during her visit, which was not published in her original book, but was published decades later in [27]. The letter was written from “St. Amalia Estate (Cuba) March 12, 1851.” She states that

Even now I am enjoying American hospitality in the home of a very pleasant American lady — Mrs. Coninck, on the Sugar Estate St. Amalia, between Matanzas and Cardenas.

This letter timing is sandwiched in time between two letters in *Hemmen*: the 2 March letter from Limonar, which is close to Coliseo, and her 15 March letter from the house of Mrs de Coninck at “St. Amelia Inhegno.” Mrs de Coninck is Amy’s maternal grandmother Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck.

An earlier example of the appearance of the Santa Amelia name in the region relates to a business partner of Lemuel and Mary Taylor’s son Alexander Taylor named Jeremiah Bowers Thompson (1809-1846). A memorial for him included in the *Thompson family memorial* [133] contains the following quote:

<sup>23</sup>Jane Leep, Amelia Henrietta, and Francis Alexander

<sup>24</sup>The writing is unmistakable in the high quality images available as tiff files from the digital collections of the Uppsala University Library Digital Collections <https://www.ub.uu.se/special-collections/> or the Alvin database at <http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/>.

...in 1844 he went into business with Mr. Taylor, of Cuba, a very worthy man, son of a gentleman of great wealth and high qualities, under the style of Taylor & Thompson. They established their business at Cardenas, about one hundred miles from Havana, and up to the time of his death, which occurred on Jan. 21, 1846, carried on a highly successful and profitable business. ... He died after a short illness, in the flush of life and fulness of his manly powers, mourned by all who knew him, on the "Sta." *Amelia*, the residence of his partner's father (Mr. Taylor), near Cardenas, Cuba, where rest his mortal remains.

Alexander Taylor was the only son of Lemuel Taylor, and the more famous and far richer Moses Taylor had no son. *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* is physically near to Cardenas. So the reference seems to be to *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*. So in this case, as with Bremer, it would seem that Santa Amalia is the same as *Santa Amalia*.

## 3.11 Neighbors

A few plantations near the *Santa Amalia* Estate and Coliseo are of particular interest to the stories of the Taylor family and their descendants: *Ontario*, *Santa Ana*, *Carolina*, *Santa Cecilia*, *Laberinto/Ariadne*, and *Bellechasse* Another estate farther from *Santa Amalia* merits mention, the San Juan Estate near Camarioca (Wilson). Several of these estates appear (sometimes with other names) in the letters by Abbot (1828) [115], the diary by Lowell written in 1831-2 [89], the book of travel letters by Bremer (1854) [23], and itineraries by Pichardo published in 1865 based on his earlier work dating back at least to the 1840s [108] [109]. All of the estates appear in Pichardo's classic 1875 map [110] shown in Figures 3.2 and 3.3 and most of them also appear in Barcia's map of the events of the 1825 African slave rebellion in the jurisdicción de Matanzas. This section emphasizes the neighborhood in the two decades following Lemuel's arrival in 1820-1. A perspective at mid-century of the same region and some of the same people is treated in some depth later in Section 5.1 on Fredrika Bremer's visit to Cuba.

### 3.11.1 *Santa Ana* and *Ontario*: Sage, Webster

Ephron Webster and Ebenezer Sage shared ownership of neighboring estates *Ontario* (named *Webster* in Figure 3.2 Ephron Webster owned *Santa Ana* and *Ontario* along with his brother-in-law Ebenezer William Sage, although in the mid 1820s only Webster was present to manage things since the Sages were visiting Connecticut. The Sages resided at *Santa Ana* and the Websters at *Ontario* and the two families were closely linked since Webster's wife Maria Sage was Sage's sister.

*Santa Ana* appears in Pichardo's 1875 map as *S<sup>a</sup> Ana* in Fig. 3.2 to the northwest of Coliseo, agreeing with its location in Barcia's map in Fig. 3.14. *Ontario* does not appear in

Fig. 3.2, but there is an estate named *Webster* to the south of *S<sup>ta</sup> Ana* and west of Coliseo, which matches Barcia's location for *Ontario* and at the time it was common to refer to estates in maps and documents by the name of their founder or owner. This observation is reinforced by following an itinerary in Pichardo's *Caminos*, Vol. 2 [109] while looking at his 1875 map [110] <sup>25</sup> Itinerary 397 traces Camino de los Baños de San Miguel beginning at the Pueblo de Cimarrones heading west through S. Miguel Baños Mun., then turning North, passing between the hills Del Capn. Jiminez on the right and Jacan on the left, then passing the cafetal Limendoux on the right, then the ingenio Panchita also on the right and the cafetal Madamela on the left. All of these are clearly noted on the 1875 map. Also noted on the map opposite Limendoux is the cafetal Pelletier, which will be important later.

Continuing on the Camino and the map, one encounters the crossroads of El Cubulejo y San Jose — which on the map can be identified the intersection of a road coming from the west from El Cuabaljo and the Camino being traveled on, which is now in the Corral S. José. Continuing north the Cafetal de Mme. Verrier is on the left, as described. Again as described, the map shows the road following the arc of the the *Dirulo del Sumidero*, the circle defining the Corral of Sumidero (if radius 1 Cuban legua). Following the itinerary, just before one crosses the railroad from Coliseo, on the right is the Cafetal *Ontario*. near the ruins of *la Armistad* also on the right. Looking back at the map, the location the itinerary gives for *Ontario* is labeled *Webster*.

Apologies for the long winded justification, but it is important to know the location of *Ontario* and its closeness to Coliseo, which can be judged by Figure 3.2. The map also shows the relationship of *Ontario/Webster*, *La Amelia*, and *Santa Ana* to Coliseo, *Bel-lechasse* to Cardenas, and *Chartrand/Laberinto/Ariadne* to Limonar

Ephron Webster merits more attention than most of the neighbors of Lemuel Taylor and *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* because his daughter Maria Louisa will marry Lemuel's son Alexander, linking the Taylor and Webster families in a way that will last through many years and locations. Three of his other children will also be involved with the descendants of Lemuel Taylor. Both of his sons, George Sage Webster and Frederic William Webster, will be involved with *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*, and his oldest daughter, Mary Reed Webster, will travel with Lemuel's Taylor and De Coninck grandchildren.

Considerable information about Ephron Webster and his descendants can be found in the Hamlin genealogy [10], the Webster genealogy [142], and the Williams genealogy citeWilliams:1915. Ephron Webster of Hartford Ct. (born 15 July 1782) entered Yale University in 1798. Both the Webster genealogy and later alumni publications indicate that he dropped out and never graduated. Ephron married in 1807 Ebenezer Sage's sister Maria Sage (born in Middletown, Connecticut 11/23/1786), a granddaughter of Jabez Hamlin, from whose genealogy [10] much of the family information about the Sages and

<sup>25</sup>specifically fichero 22 which is a r . j - t . 5 - c . 2 - 24 \_ ( 3 ) . jpg

Websters can be drawn. Ebenezer and Maria resided in Middletown from 1807-1814 and then moved to Cuba around 1816. Ephron Webster died in Cuba 11/13/1841, Maria died in Washington, D.C., 5/12/1850.

According to Barcia [103], the family resided at the *Ontario* plantation from 1823 to about 1826, but we shall see in Section 8.2 that the family was still involved with *Ontario* much later in the 1890s. In Chapter 5 the account books will show that both George and Frederick Webster were still actively involved with *Ontario* while George was managing Ingenio *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* 1853-1864.

Ephron died in 1841 and was buried in Limonar, Cuba – near Coliseo. This suggests he might well have been buried on his own plantation, as many colonialists from the United States did who had only pretended to be Catholic in order to own property in Cuba under Spanish law.

Of the seven children of Efron and Maria Sage Webster, we will encounter five in the Taylor story: [10][142][107]

1. Mary Reed Webster (born in Middletown, Ct., 7/29/1810),
2. George Sage Webster (born in Middletown Ct., 12/4/1812),
3. Maria Louisa Webster (born in Middletown Ct., 10/17/1814),
4. Serafina Catherine (born in Cuba 10/19/1818)
5. Frederick William Webster (born in Cuba 2/12/1820).

The Websters and the Taylors became close friends and in-laws. More later, but a few points are mentioned here to set the scene.

### **George Sage Webster**

George moved with his parents to Cuba, but left in 1825 to attend Norwich University in Montpelier Vermont, a private military college. His listing in *Norwich University, 1819-1911; her history, her graduates, her roll of honor* (1911) [49] is given in Figure 3.9. The key points are that 1) he began as a cadet at Norwich University in 1825 having come from Cuba, 2) after three years at Norwich he returned home to Cuba where he “owned an extensive plantation near Colosso” – confusing the name with Coliseo – where he resided until returning to Middleton in 1864, and 4) he married Harriet Isham of New London Conn. on 19 November 1850. Details of George’s plantation will be developed as the story continues.

Interesting additional information about Harriet and George and George’s father Ephron is given in Harriet’s entry in the *A Brief History of Jirah Isham of New London, Connecticut and his Descendants* (1940) [107].

#### GEORGE SAGE WEBSTER.

George S. Webster, son of Ephron and Maria (Sage) Webster, was born in Middletown, Conn., December 3, 1812, and died in New Haven, Conn., November 11, 1892.

He entered the "Academy" from Cuba, in 1825, and remained three years. He owned an extensive plantation near Colosso, Cuba, where he resided until 1864, when he returned to Middletown, Conn. In 1878, he removed to Hartford and in 1890, to New Haven. He was a member of the Episcopal Church.

He was married November 19, 1850, to Harriet Isham of New London, who died in Hartford, Conn., September 21, 1901. Five children were born to them: William Ephron, born June 4, 1853, died May 10, 1884; Eliza, born October 8, 1851, died October 6, 1863; James, born February 14, 1858, died September 20, 1877; Anita Eliza, born March 13, 1864, married Frederick R. Honey, resides Hartford, Conn. One child died in infancy.

Figure 3.9: George Sage Webster Bio at Norwich Univeristy

HARRIET TRACY ISHAM (Jirak, John, Joseph, John), was born Nov. 19, 1827, at New London, Conn. She was the eighth child of Jirah Isham and the third child by his third wife, Elizabeth Chapman Trott. She was educated in New London. Left an orphan at seventeen, with an older sister, Louisa, she managed the home and cared for five younger children. She was married Nov. 19, 1850, in New London, to George Sage Webster of Middletown, Conn.

George Sage Webster (Ephron, Isaac, Isaac, Stephen, Jonathan, Robert, John) was born Dec. 12, 1812, at Middletown, Conn. He was the third of eight children of Ephron William and Maria (Sage) Webster, and was a direct descendant of Governor John Webster of Connecticut. His father, Ephron William Webster, was born July 15, 1782, at West Hartford, Conn. (William was not a part of his baptismal name, but was taken as a Saint's name, after he went to Cuba to live, to enable him to hold property there.) He moved about 1816 to Cuba, where he became an extensive coffee planter. He lived in the jurisdiction of Matanzas, Cuba, and about 27 miles east, in the District of Guamataro. He married at Middletown, Feb. 7, 1807, Maria Sage, daughter of Ebenezer and Sarah (Reed) Sage of Middletown. Maria Sage was a granddaughter of the Hon. Jabez Hamlin, and also of Gen. Comfort Sage. Ephron William Webster died and was buried in Cuba. His wife died in Washington, D. C.

They had eight children, the first three being born in Middletown, and the others in Cuba. George Sage and Harriet Tracy (Isham) Webster, went after their marriage to Cuba, where he was a sugar and coffee planter, and lived for about fifteen years on his plantation, which was known as St. Amelia. Here all of their children but one were born. In 1864 they returned to Middletown, Conn., where they resided until 1889, when the family removed to New Haven, and lived there until his death, at 65 Grove Street, Nov. 11, 1892. George Webster was not a success as a business man after he returned to Connecticut. Living so long in Cuba with plenty of negro servants seemed to have disqualified him for active business life in this country. He was always considered a very proud man and came from very fine old New England stock. His wife survived him and all of her children, except Anita, who lived with her mother. The widow died in a hospital in Hartford, Conn. The family were all buried in Middletown, Conn.

Children of George Sage and Harriet Tracy (Isham):

1. Eliza Isham.
2. William Ephron.
3. James Alexander.
4. Infant son, born June 30, 1859, and d. in seven days.
5. Anita Eliza.

ELIZA ISHAM WEBSTER was born Oct. 8, 1851, on a sugar plantation known as St. Amelia, Cal d Seo, Cuba. She died in St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 6, 1863.

The final sentence of the quote is important for this work because it establishes the birth of George Sage and Harriet Websters first daughter “on a sugar plantation known as St. Amelia, Cal d Seo, Cuba.” Cal de Seo is a misspelling of Coliseo, and St. Amelia is *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*, as will be discussed at length as there is historical confusion about the names.

George and Harriet had been married in Connecticut 19 November 1850 and their first child was born on 8 October 1851. One would think that they would have moved to Cuba and St. Amelia very soon after their Connecticut wedding in order to avoid arduous travel during Harriet’s pregnancy. Passenger lists (manifests) of departures from the U.S. are much harder to find than are arrivals, but CubaGenWeb . org has maintained lists based on reports in maritime columns in the major Cuban newspapers. The shipping companies and government did not keep or preserve them. CubaWebGen . org lists show that Jorge Webster arrived in Habana on Steam Ship Isabel from Charleston on 20 May 1851. It is important to note that this was *after* Fredrika Bremer’s visit to Santa Amelia in March 1851. So George Sage could not have been the man whose portrait she sketched

as described in Section 5.1 His wife is not mentioned, but CubaWebGen . org points out that accompanying wives and children were often not listed and that Spanish equivalents to English names were usually used. It is likely that George and Harriet arrived in Havana six months after their marriage and a little less than five months before the birth of their first child. For future reference, George and Harriet’s children are listed with a few details in Table 3.1

| Name             | Born      | Died      | Married   | Spouse          |
|------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|
| Eliza Isham.     | 10/8/1851 | 10/6/1863 |           |                 |
| William Ephron   | 6/4/1853  | 5/10/1884 | 7/21/1858 | Antoinette Hull |
| James Alexander. | 2/14/1858 | 9/20/1877 |           |                 |
| Anita Eliza.     | 3/13/1864 |           |           |                 |

Table 3.1: Children of Harriet Tracy (Isham) and George Sage Webster

Norwich [49], Isham [107] , and Webster [142] sources agree that George owned a plantation in Cuba and [107] and [142] name the plantation as St Amelia and the Norwich University bio implies the same by locating it near “Colloso,” a misspelling of Coliseo. But George did not own *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* in 1851 or any other time, George was not an heir to Lemuel Taylor, in 1851 it was his sister Maria Louisa Taylor who was an heir, through her late husband Alexander Taylor who had died in 1848. As will be seen in some depth later, Lemuel Taylor’s widowed daughter Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck was in residence at *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* with her youngest daughter Mary Taylor De Coninck in March 1851 when the Ingenio Santa Amelia was visited and written about by the Swedish author Fredrika Bremer. Hence she was the heir-in-residence at *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* in March 1851, and her father Lemuel Taylor was still alive and mentally active according to Bremer, (See Chapter 5.)

While George S. Webster never owned *Santa Amalia*, the error is understandable for several reasons. I can find no Cuban official or scholarly documents listing Webster as ever owning St. Amelia or Amalia, in addition to the Norwich University biography and the Hamlin, Isham, and Webster genealogies, the travel book *Cuba Illustrated* in its 1894 edition published a list of ingenios with their owners, and included *Santa Amalia* in Guamacaro as belonging to the “Herederos de Webster.” George likely promoted his reputation to publications and descendants as a “Cuban Planter” by claiming or implying to have owned the plantation on which he spent 15 years.

On the other hand, official statisticians and professional historians disagree. Rebello [114] lists “Herederos de Taylor” as the owners of *Santa Amalia*, and George S. Webster was not a Taylor heir, his sister was, and Ballester lists from 1840 through 1904 the owners of *Santa Amalia* as either Taylors, D’Conincks, or their heirs. Jimenez [78] notes in his book on companies in Cuba which involves nineteenth century sugar industry that *Santa Amalia* belonged to Taylor Coninck. The Spanish Claims filed following the Cuban-

Spanish-American War regarding *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* described in Section 8.2 lists only direct descendants of Lemuel Taylor and their spouses, George Sage Webster and his descendants are not included.

Ephron Webster's descendants were listed in the claims made on the *Ontario* Estate. Both George and Alexander's wife Maria were heirs to *Ontario*. Other descendants of Ephron Webster share the *Ontario* claims including

- Efron's daughter Carolina Augusta Webster (1824-1869) who in 1850 married John Murdock Storey (1818-1884) and among their children Edward Graves Storey (1857-1914), Caroline Sage Storey, who married John Greenough of New York.<sup>26</sup>
- his daughter Serafina Catherine Webster who married Thomas Pattison, USN, in 1850. (We shall meet her in Amy's Washington D.C. Journals in the early 1880s.)

In summary, the evidence is that George and his family lived at the *Santa Amalia* estate for around fifteen years, during which time he managed the estate, but the estate belonged to his widowed sister and his widowed sister-in-law, the heirs of Lemuel Taylor. All of the claimant names reinforce the argument that even though Ephron Webster did not bequeath *Ontario* to his heirs as Barcia notes, in fact most of the claimants in the Spanish Claims were his descendants, suggesting that Ephron did not "lose" the estate, he passed it on to his children before he died, much as Lemuel Taylor may have done with *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* an his children by means of its sale to Francis De Coninck in 1840.

### Frederick William Webster

To conclude the consideration of *Ontario* during the first half of the nineteenth century, it is useful to use some hindsight from the future. If indeed *Ontario* stayed in the Webster family, who was in charge after Ephron died in 1841? Given that George will manage *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* from at least 1853 through 1864 during which he authored the account book described in Chapter 5 and given the fact that his brother Frederick and the *Ontario* estate are often mentioned in the account book, it seems likely that the brothers had shared responsibility for *Ontario* following the death of their father in 1841, that the older brother — George — would have been in charge while resident, and that Frederick would have taken over *Ontario* when his brother returned to the U.S. to get married. George probably took over managing *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* between his return to Cuba in May 1851 and his taking over the Accounts book in 1853. Frederick appears in the *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* Account Book in a minor capacity, so he could easily have continued with the management of *Ontario* until its disappearance or his return to the United States in 1873.

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<sup>26</sup>*America's Successful Men of Affairs: An Encyclopedia of Contemporaneous Biography*, Henry Hall, Ed., Vol. I, The New York Tribune, 1895.

The only comment I found about Frederick outside those in the Webster, Hamlin, and Williams genealogies and the *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* Account Book was an observation by Mary Gardner Lowell writing about her visit to *Ontario* while she was staying nearby with the Sages in Santa Ana. Mary mentioned that Frederick, who was 12 years old at the time, was attended a local private school which Mrs. Sage was considering for her son. Mary did not think much of the school, but thought Frederick was a “fine boy.”

### 3.11.2 *Carolina: Bartlett*

Barcia [103] in his map of the path of the 1825 rebellion in Fig. 3.14 situates the *Carolina* plantation to the north and west of Coliseo and of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*. This location agrees with Pichardo’s itineraries and his 1875 map [108] [109] [110] considered in Section 3.6 and Fig. 3.2 in particular. This location fits his narrative description of the path of the rebels just as it fits Pichardo’s itinerary from Coliseo to the cafetal *Carolina*. Barcia cites Ballester’s description of *Carolina* for a history of the plantation [15], including the fact that central *Carolina* eventually became central Granma following the 1959 revolution, but this is not consistent with the original location of *Carolina* since central Granma is to the east and only slightly north of Coliseo, as shown in a modern map in Fig. 3.10.<sup>27</sup>

Ballester places the early *Carolina* 2 km east of Coliseo, and it shows on his map of ingenios to be east and slightly north of Coliseo. There is a significant difference of direction (northwest vs. northeast) between the Barcia/Pichardo location and Ballester’s location and his identification with *Granma*. Barcia explicitly disagrees with Ballester on the question of the founding of *Carolina* since instead of Bartlett,<sup>28</sup> Ballester follows Fraguinals [59] and describes the possible Founder of *Carolina* as named Taylor.

Another piece of evidence pointing to historical inconsistency in Barcia’s description is given by the 1909 Army map of Fig. C.2, which in a rare departure from Pichardo’s 1875 map puts the central *Carolina* to the east of Coliseo in the location of the modern Granma, where Ballester locates it.

The simplest resolution to the inconsistency of location and origins is that the *Carolina* of Barcia and Pichardo was not the same as the later *Carolina* of the 1909 U.S. Army mapmakers and later of Ballester which became *Granma*. It seems likely that Bartlett’s *Carolina* vanished after his death and that another nearby plantation assumed its name, much as the *Carolina* of the 1890s assumed the name *Coliseo* [15] of a cafetal shown in Pichardo (1875) to the south of the hamlet of Coliseo as in Fig 3.2. This explains both the location problem and the founder problem because the Army and Ballester location is visually the same as Pichardo’s ingenio *De Taillor* (also called *Taillor* and *Tayllor* in other old maps, Pichardo uses both spelling in his two volumes of *Caminos*).

<sup>27</sup><https://callejero-cuba.openalfa.com/central-gramma>

<sup>28</sup>I have also found the name “Battle” as owner of the *Carolina* that Abiel Abbot visited, which seems a plausible misspelling.

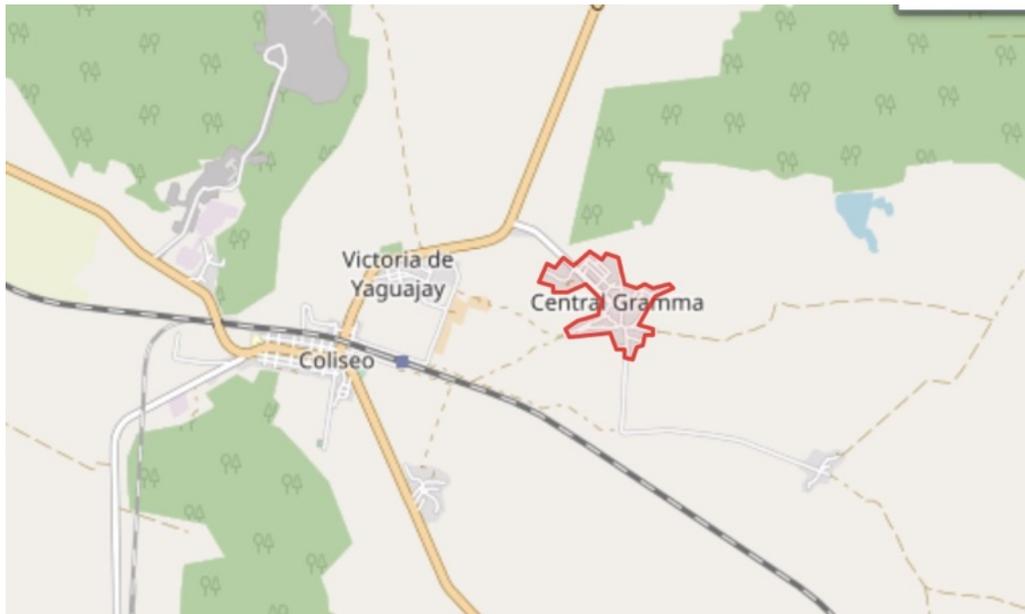


Figure 3.10: Coliseo, Central *Victoria de Yaguajay* (formerly *Santa Amalia*), and Central Granma, (formerly *Carolina*)

This explanation leaves Barcia's location and founders description intact and is consistent with the history of the plantation during the 1825 rebellion and the immediate following years, but it implies that this historical cafetal *Carlolina* was not eventually transformed into the central *Carolina* that was renamed the central *Granma* following the 1959 revolution.

Returning to the narrative, according to Barcia, p. 89, *La Carolina* was owned by George Bartlett by 1825, when it was a cafetal or coffee plantation, having purchased it sometime after 1820. In addition to colonial Spanish documentation, he also cites Abiel Abbot's book [115], who visited the estate in 1828, for much of his discussion. Abbot wrote of *La Carolina* in glowing terms. Barcia describes Bartlett's financial problems, the conversion of the estate to an ingenio in the mid 1840s, and its eventual growth into the Granma Central. As just discussed, I doubt only the final part of the narrative.

Ballester [15] adds that in addition to the name *Carolina* the estate was also called *Coliseo* in the late nineteenth century, a plantation name that also crops up earlier in a different location in Pichardo's map. Ballester states that the *Carolina* estate was originally owned by a W. Taylor (around 1828, when Abbot visited) and was later owned by M. Taylor (around 1840). The M. Taylor source cited by Ballester is Pichardo's 1840 map of Matanzas, and an estate named *De Taillor* also appears in Pichardo's 1875 map shown in Fig. 3.2 to the northeast of *la Amalia*. The name also occurs in Pichardo's 1865 book *Caminos de*

*la Isla de Cuba: Itinerarios* [109], where the owner is named as “Manuel Taylor.” Although “Manuel” resembles “Lemuel” in script, the only possibility of a connection I can think of is the unfounded thought that perhaps this was Bruce Hall, the estate that Lemuel owned and that Pichardo identified by its earlier owner. It was definitely not Moses Taylor, who was not known to buy plantations, only to provide financial services to them.

Mary Gardner Lowell visited the Bartlett’s during her stay at Santa Ana with the Sages. She said of him

a planter named Bartlett who has a fine estate near Mr. Sage’s<sup>29</sup> who is extremely rough in his manners and has quarreled with his mother in law & will not suffer his wife to see her. [89]

### 3.11.3 *Laberinto/Ariadne/Chartrand*

The *Ariadne* Estate in Limonar, near Coliseo, was owned by Juan Matías Chartrand, who was also known by his French names Jean Matieu and his English names John Mathew. We will refer to him as “Juan” since that is the name that Lemuel knew him by. His story is as interesting as Lemuel’s. He is not an ancestor or relative of Amy, but his daughter was the first wife of John Bayley, who attended Amy’s christening as a sponsor or godfather in Boston in 1861. Chartrand is also part of once popular legend and his sons became internationally famous artists. Add to all this the fact that the estate was a popular destination for celebrities of the mid nineteenth century, and its ruins remain a popular tourist location, with a reputation of being haunted by the ghosts of the dogs that once guarded the estate. In contrast, little evidence of the original buildings and structures of *Santa Amalia*, *Carolina*, *Santa Ana*, and *Ontario* remains.

Chartrand was born around 10 July 1788 at San Nicolas in the French Colony of Saint Domingue on the Island of Hispanola in what is now Haiti. The colony was founded in 1659 and lasted until the successful rebellion of the African slaves in 1804, a bloody revolution resulting from a century of horrendous treatment of the imported Africans and their descendants by the French. Chartrand was a small child living on his parents Millefleures Estate when the revolution occurred. At the time the revolution began his father John Chartrand was away on business and his mother Catherine was holding a large party for friends and neighbors. The estate was attacked and the French were killed, except for Juan and his brother Phillipe, who were rescued by a loyal slave, usually named *Samedi* (“Saturday” in French). Samedi fled with the children and made it to their uncle’s estate in Cap François, where the uncle put them on a ship to Charleston, South Carolina. There the trio were taken in by friends of the family. When the uncle died, Juan inherited his cafetal (coffee plantation) in Limonar, Cuba — *El Laberinto* (the Labyrinth), according

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<sup>29</sup> *Carolina*



Figure 3.11: Chartrand's Ariadne

to one story because of the tortuous curving roads required to reach the estate from the town. An alternative narrative is less romantic, Chartrand is said to have named the plantation after a boat he fondly remembered. During the 1840s, severe hurricanes blew down the the trees which shaded the coffee bushes from the sun, so Chartrand converted it into an ingenio (sugar plantation and mill) and renamed it *La Ariadne*, after the princess in the Greek myth who led Thyseus out of the Minotaur's labyrinthe. She was also identified with the Roman goddess of silence, who was represented by a famous statue on the estate. Fredrika Bremer visited *Ariadne* during her visit to Cuba in 1851.

The hurricanes are historical and are mentioned elsewhere in this work, but the conversion from cafetal to ingenio was more likely to have come earlier for economic reasons, the coffee industry was collapsing and the sugar industry was booming around 1840.

Juan married Louisa Julienne T. Charlotte Dubois on 28 April 1820 in Charleston, South Carolina. Louisa was born on 20 September 1798 in New York. Juan died 2 December 1865 in Matanzas, Cuba. Louisa died 27 May 1864 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and is buried in Mount Auburn in Cambridge, as are many of the characters encountered in this work, including Amy Heard and Russell Gray.

Juan and Louisa had many children. The most relevant to this work is Jeannette Chartrand, born 9 May 1823 in Cuba, who married John Prince Bayley on 22 October 1845, whom we have already met briefly in the Introduction as Amy Heard's godfather. A passenger list in the Boston Semi-weekly Atlas on 10 April 1847 reports the arrival in Philadelphia from Matanzas of Mr John P. Bayley and Mrs Bayley of Boston. The ship from Matanzas to Philadelphia was a popular method of transportation from Matanzas en route to Boston. State and federal censuses showed John and his wife in Boston in 1860, by which time he had founded Bayley, Rollins & Co., a commission merchant company, which dealt with molasses and sugar from Cuba along with other items. He obtained a U.S. Passport on 16 March 1872, which is the origin of his precise birthdate.

Jeannette Bayley died in June 1867 in Cambridge, Mass. Her mother, Louise or Louisa Julienne (DuBois) Chartrand, seems to have joined Jeannette and John P. Bayley as she died 27 May 1864 at the age of 65 in Cambridge, and she also is interred at Mount Auburn.

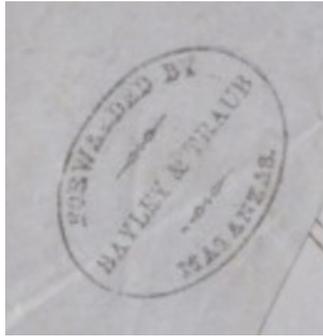


Figure 3.12: Bayley & Traub forwarding stamp

John P. Bayley married for a second time Lola Traub of Baltimore, born 9/5/1840, Matanzas, Cuba, died 5 August 1907 in Atlantic City. This additional connection with Matanzas is of interest. A little more snooping revealed that in 1841 there was a commercial house in Matanzas named Bayley & Traub, which had been formed by Santiago Bayley and Carlos Traub. Their only remaining trace is because they were mail forwarders, as were other companies we will encounter — Augustine Heard & Co. and De Coninck, Spalding & Co. These companies helped transport mail through their international shipping networks, and envelopes bearing these stamps, like the one shown in 3.12, are valued by stamp collectors.

In his will he John P. Bayley nailed down his connection to Amy. From the Wills and Probate Records of Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Vo 527-528 can be found

Fourth. I give to my god children, Amelia Heard, daughter of Augustine Heard of Ipswich, Massachusetts, Mary Parrot, daughter of Philip and Mary Parrot, of Paris, France, and Jeanne de Mabathy, of New Brighton, Staten Island, the sum of five hundred dollars each.

So John knew not only branch of descendants of Lemuel Taylor through Lemuel's youngest daughter Amelia W. DeConinck, he also knew the branch through Lemuel's oldest daughter Mary West (Taylor) Wieland whose daughter married Philippe Parrot, the French painter who will be considered in Chapter 6. Bayley's serving as godfather for grandchildren of both Lemuel Taylor's daughters reinforces the inference of long friendship between the Bayley and Taylor families, likely begun before Mary West Taylor left Cuba for

Paris in 1834 after having married John Wieland in 1828. The friendship might well have begun when Bayley was courting Jeanette Chartrand at her father's plantation nearby *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* or in Havana.

Among the Chartrand's many other children were the painters Philippe Chartrand, Augustus Chartrand, and Esteban Sebastian Chartrand-DuBois. Esteban Chartrand was the most famous of the three, and many of his paintings of Cuban estates and countrysides were based on his memories of *Ariadne*, where he grew up. A relevant example is his 1980 landscape *Batey*. A batey was a settlement built around a sugar mill, and the painting



Figure 3.13: Esteban Chartrand's *Batey*

is an idealized vision of such settlements, which could include both beautiful landscaped mansions and walled prison-like slave quarters.

*Ariadne* is included in Rebello (1860) [114] in the jurisdicción de Matanzas, paradero de Limonar, with don Juan Chartrand as proprietor.

#### 3.11.4 *Santa Cecilia*: Pelletier

*Santa Cecilia* is the neighbor of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* about which the least seems to be known and its owner's connection with Lemuel Taylor the least understood. Nonetheless, there are connections of the name Pelletier with the Taylor family and with *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*.

The oldest connection is from Pichardo's map in Fig. 3.3. Looking about 1.5 leguas to the SE of *La Amelia* (using the scale showing 1 legua) there is a sugar plantation icon with the name Pelletier. Unfortunately Pichardo's *Caminos* provide no further information, nor does the name appear in any of the sources regarding coffee or sugar plantations used. Happily Barcia [103] provides relevant information in his description of Jorge Víctor Pelletier who owned a plantation named *Santa Cecilia*. Rather than paraphrase Barcia's prose, upon which I can not improve, the story is quoted directly from [103]:

Other foreigners who settled in Coliseo after 1818 also formed associations to increase their chances of success in an already very competitive market. One such case was the partnership of Luis Juan María Chatelain, Jorge Víctor Pelletier, and María Magdalena Tonton Lamelle. Chatelain was a native of Saint Domingue, whence he and his family had been forced to flee shortly after the revolution began.

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Soon after their arrival in Cuba sometime before 1819, the Chatelains settled in Coliseo, where Luis Juan María and Jorge Víctor Pelletier bought twenty-eight caballerías from Gerónimo Paire and Luisa Divina Fussilier and founded the Santa Cecilia coffee plantation. Pelletier was a native of Louisiana who had arrived in Cuba shortly after the publication of Ramírez's rules. A third member joined their venture, apparently by force. As soon as Chatelain and Pelletier purchased Santa Cecilia, they were obliged to mortgage the property and ten slaves to one Madam Tonton Lamelle, who became their business partner less than a year later. In 1825 the estate was divided into three small coffee plantations, all located within the original twenty-eight caballerías and all under the name Santa Cecilia. By 1827 the differences among the associates were stronger than ever; that year Pelletier began a lawsuit against Madam Tonton Lamelle and Chatelain for denying him the access to the road to Matanzas. Very little is known about what became of these small coffee plantations in the following years. It is likely, given their size and early economic troubles, that they perished before the advance of the sugar industry in the region, probably even before the crisis in the international coffee market brought the growing of coffee there to a standstill.

The gap in the quotation tells a story of Chatelain that is identical to the story of Juan Chartrand's escape from Saint Domingue as a child. As the Chartrand version is heavily documented in the literature (especially by his descendants) and since Chatelain and Chartrand are two different people (this is not a case of name confusion), I have removed that

part of the story. On the other hand, I have kept the basic facts about Chatelain because they are relevant to Lemuel's descendants because of the Chatelain/Pelletier connection.

Comparison of Barcia's story of Santa Cecilia and noting its location on his map of Fig. 3.14, a visual comparison with Pichardo's map of Fig. 3.3 with the scales depicted in mind (both maps have a scale of length 1 legua Cubano = 5000 varas Castellanas or about 4.24 km.) shows Pichardo's *Pelletier* and Barcia's *Santa Cecilia* to approximately 1.5 leguas SE of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*, hence they most likely refer to the same cafetal.

But who was Jorge Victor Pelletier? Barcia says he was a native of Louisiana, which is certainly possible. But the name is French, and most Cubans with French names at that time were of Saint Domingue origin, and many had come by way of Louisiana and South Carolina after having fled Saint Domingue to Cuba only to be expelled by Spain and moved on to the Gulf Coast or South Atlantic coast of the United States. Regardless, I have found no information on Pelletiers in that era in Louisiana. I also searched on George (the equivalent English name, which will be important later, and Georges (the equivalent French name).

Searching genealogical sites did yield hits on Jorge Victor Pelletier of Cuba, but unfortunately the sites were not consistent in their details. Searching passenger lists also provided clues. A George Victor Pelletier can be found in the Malon family genealogy.<sup>30</sup> No birthdate is given, but it is stated that he was born in France and that he died in Cuba date unknown. In the genealogy his wife is named as Frances Chatelain, who was also born in France, date unknown, and died in Cuba, date unknown. Notably in Barcia's story, Jorge Victor Pelletier was a business partner and co-owner of property with Luis Juan María Chatelain, which suggests an obvious connection or remarkable coincidence. In addition, the genealogy lists a child of theirs Eugene Saints Pelletier b. 1853, Havana, Cuba, d. 1922, Havana, Cuba. This is plausible as a son of Barcia's Jorge Victor Pelletier. Eugene also occurs as Eugenio Santos Pelletier y Chatelain, including both the patronymic and matronymic Spanish surnames. familysearch.org lists a Jorge Victor Pelletier who died in 1860 who married Francisca Amada Chatelain (1840-1884) along with three children: Eugene Saints Pelletier-Chatelain, Concepcion Camila Pelletier (1860-?), and Eugenio Santos Pelletier (1858-1920) — the first and third appearing to be the same person. It is Eugenio Santos or Eugene Saints Pelletier-Chatelain who produced the descendants that wrote the modern family trees.

Partially confirming this information, the document *Etat des propriétés rurales appartenant à des Français dans l'île de Cuba Expédié le 20 janvier 1843 reçu le 7 mars 1843*<sup>31</sup> list of the French owners of property in Cuba includes in the Jurisdiction de La Havane a Georges Pelletier, marié avec enfants, with a coffee plantation of 10 cavalleries located in

<sup>30</sup><https://www.genealogy.com/ftm/m/a/1/Heinz-E-Malon/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-0009.html>

<sup>31</sup>Ministère des Affaires Etrangères Correspondance consulaire et commerciale La Havane Volume 13 Microfilm P13688

Sumidero. The French document says only that Georges or Jorge or George had multiple children, and it would not be surprising if one of them was named George or Jorge after his father. Our George Pelletier had no children with Amelia H., so he may have left no descendants to prepare his family tree. Most trees I have seen do not include uncles and aunts past the first generation or two back.

A great-great-grandson of a don Jorge Victor Pelletier was Jesús Yanez Pelletier, who was a guard during Fidel Castro's time in jail credited with saving his life and later an activist against Castro. He mentioned his ancestor in a 1996 interview.<sup>32</sup>

There are other scattered mentions of possible relations. All that seems certain for later use is that Lemuel Taylor had a contemporary and neighbor named Jorge Victor Pelletier as stated by Barcia and implied by Pichardo's 1875 map. This is important to Taylor's descendants because his granddaughter Amelia Henrietta De Coninck, Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck's daughter, will marry a man named George Pelletier and that Pelletier family will be in charge of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* during its decline following the deaths of Frank and Mary T. De Coninck and Amelia H. (De Coninck) Pelletier. It seems likely that this George Pelletier is related to Barcia's Jorge Victor Pelletier, possibly a son or nephew — but I have found no separate convincing evidence of such a person; that is, a George Pelletier around Amelia Henrietta's age related to Jorge Victor Pelletier. There is evidence of a George Pelletier of a consistent age in passenger list of a vessel from Cuba to New York shortly before Amelia H.'s death in New York.

### 3.11.5 San Juan: Wilson

When Mary Gardner Lowell visited the San Juan Estate in Camarioca in 1832. She described it as being owned by James D'Wolf (also known as James DeWolf), but managed by two former owners — Mr. John Smith, who managed the coffee portion, and Mr. Wilson, who managed the sugar operation. D'Wolf was a famous (many would say infamous) merchant and slave trader. Lowell said that both Smith (whom she liked) and Wilson (whom she did not) were allowed to remain with their families on the land at no cost because of the Spanish law that plantation owners residing on the land can not be removed due to insolvency or bankruptcy, a law that probably helped Lemuel Taylor hold onto *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*. She criticized Wilson as being ineffectual and alcoholic and allowing a cruel mayoral to run the estate. In particular, she says regarding the sugar part of the plantation that "it was managed by a Mr. Wilson, whom she described as "originally fourth owner but like our landlord lives here now without possessing any of the property." The story is a bit more complicated than Mary's brief description provides, but it does reinforce that a Wilson was an early owner and that he was connected with James D'Wolf, who took

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<sup>32</sup><http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/moncada/Jesus-Yanez-Pelletier-verano-1996.pdf>

over the estate. Nearly 2 decades later, when Fredrika Bremer visited Lemuel Taylor's St. Amelia, she met and wrote about "a young American Creole, Mr. W., whose plantation adjoins, is a daily visitor in the family, and a most agreeable companion he is." The *Bremer Centennial* [116] identifies Mr. W. as John O. Wilson. He is too young to be the Mr. Wilson encountered by Mary Gardner Lowell, but the two Wilsons can be connected.

Joseph or Jose O. Wilson was an early owner of the Ingenio San Juan which is about 3.5 km southeast of Camarioca and about 32 km from Coliseo by the roads of the day. Hardly adjacent, but by horse it can be considered a neighboring plantation. Ballester [15] lists Ingenio San Juan as ingenio number [472] and provides an interesting description of Joseph O. Wilson as a daring seaman and brave warrior in the 1812-1815 war between the United States and Great Britain in which he commanded the privateers *Yankee* and *MacDonough* and that later he founded the San Juan or San Juan de Wilson Estate — later called simply Wilson — between 1824 and 1831 and managed the estate until his death in Camarioca in 1839. Mary's Mr. Wilson must be Joseph O. Wilson, but so far the story is incomplete as there is no connection with D'Wolf or of Wilson's failings.

In a parallel story, the U.S. Naval History and Heritage Command<sup>33</sup> shows that a John O. Wilson was a midshipman in the U.S. Navy from New Jersey who was serving on the Frigate *Constellation* in the West Indies when he resigned his commission on 1 July 1836.

According to an article celebrating the hundred year anniversary Fredrika Bremer's visit to Cuba [116], Fredrika Bremer met a Juan or John O. Wilson of the San Juan estate when she visited S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia in 1851. Although the names Joseph/Jose and John/Juan have similar roots and are often confused, Bremer's Wilson could not have been Joseph since he died over a decade earlier. Bear with me, the story gets more interesting and it will converge.

The estate kept the name of *Wilson* until 1860, when it was sold and reverted to its original name of *San Juan*. This suggests that more Wilsons owned the estate between 1839 and 1860. The privateers mentioned by Ballester [15] were famous privateers operating out of Bristol, Rhode Island, who were among the privateers funded by the infamous businessman and trader in goods and slaves, John De Wolf (or D'Wolf) of Bristol. De Wolf had Letters of Marque by the U.S. Government, much like Lemuel Taylor did in Baltimore. The *Yankee*, in particular, was a famously successful brig or brigantine and its history along with some of its captains is well documented in the De Wolf Family Papers Collection of the Bristol Rhode Island Historical & Preservation Society and some is online at the Rhode Island Archival and Manuscript Collections Online (RIAMCO) at <https://www.riamco.org/index.html>. De Wolf's papers involving his funding of the brig *Yankee* and its licensing as a privateer under the command of one of De Wolf's captains, Oliver Wilson, describe De Wolf's selection of Joseph Oliver Wilson at the young age of 26 to command. Wilson received his commission on 13 July 1812,

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<sup>33</sup><https://www.history.navy.mil>

signed by the U.S. President James Madison and the Secretary of State James Monroe. In most historical treatments of his phenomenally successful career at privateering, he was known simply as Captain Oliver Wilson.

De Wolf maintained a paternal attitude over his captains, and often had power of attorney for them and even served as guardian for their children if orphaned. One of De Wolf's slaving captains, John Sabens or Sabin, died on a slaving voyage in 1807 and John De Wolf became guardian of his daughter Sarah. As a result, the De Wolf collection includes not only the records of Captain Sabens, but also those related to his daughter's education and subsequent marriage to another captain, Joseph Oliver Wilson. In addition there was an extensive correspondence after they moved to Cuba in 1818. John D'Wolf managed their affairs in the United State.

The Website of the Hall Families of New England provides additional information about Oliver Wilson and his family. Wilson was born on 19 January 1788 in Windsor, Hartford County, Connecticut and died on 18 February 1839 at the San Juan Plantation in Camarioca in the Province of Matanzas, Cuba. He was married to Sarah Smith "Sally" Sabens (3/6/1799-1/8/1847). They had seven children. Death dates are not known. The oldest were born in 1817 and 1819. Their third child was Joseph Oliver Wilson, but so was their fifth – which suggests that the first Joseph Oliver Wilson died young and the fifth child was given the same name, that of the father. The date of birth is not given, but a reasonable guess is in the mid 1820s, which is not out of line with Bremer's description of Mr. W. as young. Thirty years old was certainly young in comparison to Lemuel and Fredrika.

The only remaining sticking point is that this was a Joseph (José) O. Wilson, while Bremer and Ballester describe a John (Juan) O. Wilson, but the two names Joseph and John have always been linked as equivalent or simply easily confused. My conclusion is that this is Bremer's young Mr. W. as stated in [116] was the owner of *San Juan* and a son of its founder. This conclusion is reinforced by Chambers' [32],[33] mentioning correspondence between "[Joseph] José O. Wilson] (San Juan, Camarioca)" and Edward Spalding, citing the Spalding Papers, 1795-1825, Cuban Heritage Collection, The University of Miami, Miami, FL. Spalding had been Francis De Coninck's business partner for many years and would have been well known to De Coninck's widow Amelia.

Two further observations on the Wilson family from the Hall Families of New England documents. Oliver and Sarah's sixth child was named Edward Spaulding Wilson, probably after Francis De Coninck's partner Edward Spalding, both spellings are common. After Captain Wilson's demise in 1839, Sara Wilson moved to Spain, first settling in Madrid and later in Seville. I think this supports the spelling of her father's name as *Sabin* rather than *Sabens*, since the former is a Spanish surname. Sara Smith Sabin does appear in Web genealogical information as being born 6 March 1799 and dying on 8 January 1847 and being the wife of Captain Joseph Oliver Wilson.

My guess is that Joseph (sometimes called John) O. Wilson Jr. is the Mr. W. of Bremer's

visit described in Chapter 5 and the son of Mary Lowell's Mr. Wilson.

### 3.11.6 Bellechasse

The Ingenio *Bellechasse* in the jurisdiccione of Cardenas was also not as well known as the other neighbors of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* and it does not appear as often in historical documents and literature, but like *Pelletier* it is important to the historical threads followed here, in this case that of the De Coninck family. In addition, this *Bellechasse* is sometimes confused with the Ingenio *Reunion Deseada* in the jurisdicción of Matanzas, which in some references is called *Bellechasse*. While it is true that borders changed and, for example, Coliseo was sometimes considered in Matanzas and other times in Cardenas, here the two plantations are easily disambiguated. Ingenio *Bellechasse* appears in Pichardo, both in his maps and in his itineraries [110][108] [109]. and in both cases it is clear that *Bellechasse* lies between Cardenas and Coliseo, well within an the range of a day trip by carriage. On the other hand, *Reunion Deseada*, the other plantation associated with the Bellechasse family, lies between Limonar and the city of Matanzas, and is quite close to the southeast corner of the city of Matanzas. The two Bellechasse plantations were almost as far apart as the cities of Matanzas and Cardenas. . Fredrika Bremer describes her visit on 26 March 1851 to a “handsome young couple M. and Madame Belle C.” spelled out in the original Swedish version as “Belle Chasse.”<sup>34</sup> Bremer describes the couple as French Creoles with two charming children who intend to move to Florida to manage a plantation there. These clues help determine *which* members of the Bellechasse family Amelia W. De Coninck met in company with Fredrika Bremer in March 1851, and also identify other members of the Bellechasse family relevant to the story.

The only Bellechasse family couple that satisfies Bremer's description is Jean Louis Deville Degoutin Bellechasse (aka John D. Bellechasse in his Kentucky will and probate and Juan Luis Bellechasse in some family trees) (8/24/1814 - 8/17/1852) and his wife Sophia, born Catalina Sophia Dalcour (1820 - 1890). Sophia is often spelled Sofia and Dalcour appears as D'alcour, Delcour, Dalcourt. Both the Bellechasse and Dalcour families had French ancestry vis New Orleans, Louisiana, prior to its purchase of the territory by the United States.

Fredrika Bremer was born in 1801, so when she visited *Bellechasse* in 1851 she was about 50 and Jean and Sophia were relatively young at 37 and 31. I have found no other adult couple in the Bellechasse family that fit the description.

Jean Bellechasse was born in New Orleans to Adelaide Marie Josephe Laland D'Alcour (1776 - 1814) and Joseph Deville Degoutin Bellechasse (1761 - 1830). Joseph and Adelaide Dalcour were married in 1797. His wife Sophia was born Sophia Dalcour in Matanzas to Sophia Forbes (1796 - 1827) and Francisco/Francois Francis Lalande Dalcour. (1782 - 1832

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<sup>34</sup>See Section 5.1

). Jean's mother Adelaide was the sister of his wife Sophia's father Francisco — Jean and Sophia were first cousins. An occasional source of confusion in the literature results from the ambiguity of the name "Sophia Dalcour" which can mean either the maiden name of Sophia Sophia (Dalcour) Bellechase or her mother Sophia (Forbes) Dalcour. Jean died in Grayson Springs, Kentucky. Sophia died in France.

As to the two children, the 1852 Will and Probate of John D. Bellechasse filed in Kentucky (and essentially identical documents filed in Florida) (and another essentially identical Will in Florida) provide further details consistent with Bremer's description and online genealogical sources: The wills name John's wife as Sofia née Dalcour and their three Children: Joseph, Lucie, and Francis. Online family trees identify their children as Victoriana Lucia De Ville De Goutin Bellechasse as being born in 1845 and Francisco De Ville De Goutin Bellechasse in 1846, but do not mention a birthdate (or a name) for Joseph. Lucie and Francis were about 6 and 7 during Bremer's visit. The fact that Lucie and Francis crop up in family trees suggests that they had descendants and Joseph did, but Jean's will implies Joseph was alive when the will was written in 1852.

Since Sophia and Jean were neighbors and apparently friends of Amelia W. De Coninck in 1851 since Amelia brought Fredrika Bremer for a visit, it is likely that Amelia and her children also were acquainted with the siblings of Sophia and Jean. Both Dalcour and Bellechasse families were large, but only three will be encountered later and hence are mentioned here.

- Sofia's brother Augustine Dalcour was born around 1825 in Cuba. An October 1890 Maryland obituary described him as a former sugar planter in Matanzas.
- Sofia's sister Juana Camila Dalcour (1818 - 55) married a merchant from Leeds, England, working in Cuba, Stephen Cattley Tennant (1800 - 1848), in March 1840. Mary Gardner Lowell met Tennant during her 1831-2 traveling in Cuba.
- Jean Bellechasse's sister Vincenta Adelaide Maria Deville Degoutin Bellechasse, known as Adelaide (born in New Orleans around 1800, died in London, August 1882) married in Cuba in March 1820 Robert Morison (12/20/1791 - 5/4/1873), a merchant in Havana from Perth, Scotland. Robert Morison was Cuban agent for the British firm of Reid, Irving & Co. and played a key role in negotiating with Baring Brothers for divesting their Cuban sugar investments (including *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*) and became Francis De Coninck's partner in the firm Morison, De Coninck, & Co. of Havana. Morison will be considered in more detail in Section 4.6.

The families of Bellechasse, Forbes, Dalcour, De Coninck, Tennant, and Morison were interconnected by marriage and business, primarily in the region of Havana, Matanzas, and Cardenas. The three families Bellechasse, Forbes, and Dalcour were also involved with the Matanzas ingenio *Reunion Deseada*, which was not close enough to *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*

to qualify as a neighbor. *Reunion Deseada* was in existence in 1817 when John Forbes, a Scot who had lived and been a merchant in Florida from 1784 to 1817, moved to Cuba and became a partner in *Reunion Deseada* along with his son-in-law Francisco Dalcour and Joseph Bellechasse.<sup>35</sup> It is not clear how long the Cardenas *Bellechasse* was in existence, but its presence in the map and books of Pichardo described in Appendix A suggest it had been there in the days of Pichardo's traveling research and before his making his early maps of the 1840s. It seems probable that the property was bought by Jean's father Joseph while Jean was still a boy, that is, after Joseph obtained a third of *Reunion Deseada* in 1817 and not later than Jean's becoming an adult before the 1840s, when Pichardo was gathering his data. The ingenio did not last with the *Bellechasse* name after Jean and Sofia's departure from Cuba not long after Bremer's 1851 visit since they were mostly in Florida and Kentucky until his death there in 1852. The name "Bellechasse" does not appear in Rebello's 1860 survey of ingenios or Ballester [15] except in association with *Reunion Deseada*.

### 3.12 The 1825 African Slave Revolt in Matanzas

Barcia's book [103] is devoted to the 1825 African Slave revolt in the Matanzas region when African slaves from plantations in West Cuba in the region neighboring Guamacaro, Limonar and Coliseo led a rebellion against the plantation owners. See also Chambers [32], [33]. Barcia provides a description of the history and conditions underlying the 1825 rebellion, one of many that occurred in nineteenth century Cuba. He describes the origins and makeup of the band of rebels and their attacks on and battles with colonial planters and their eventual defeat by Spanish troops and armed colonials. The path of the rebels includes many of *Santa Amalia's* neighbors and many of the rebels were from those plantations. Barcia's map shown in Figure 3.14 provides a rendering of the relative locations of many of the estates mentioned herein. Note that in the map Barcia refers to Taylor's plantation as Sta. Amelia instead of Sta. Amalia as done elsewhere in the book. The scale in the map shows the length of 5000 varas which is the same as 1 legua Cubano as shown in the Pichardo maps such as Fig. 3.3.

Barcia tells the story of how most of Taylor's slaves sided with Taylor against the rebels to defend *S<sup>a</sup>Amalia*. When the armed slaves attacked his plantation, he fought them and successfully escaped on horseback — only to be imprisoned later in the year for failure to pay his creditors. The book treats in depth the awful conditions underlying the rebellion, the local geography, industry, politics, and the institution of slavery — which in Cuba was not ended until 1886. Among other nearby estates attacked by the slaves were *Santa Ana* and *La Carolina*, *Ontario* was spared for unknown reasons There is a large

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<sup>35</sup>See, e.g., "The Papers and History of Panton, Leslie and Company, and John Forbes and Company," William S. Coker, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Volume 73 (1994).

literature on slavery in Cuba and only occasional glimpses will occur in this work.

Chambers adds some detail, specifically mentioning Taylor's neighbors — including the Websters, Bartletts, and Wilsons — and their participation in defending their plantations against the uprising without ever providing Lemuel's first name — and Chambers makes an error stating that Lemuel was a former sea captain, which as discussed elsewhere was not true and suggests confusion with the younger Lemuel G. Taylor of Baltimore who was a sea captain years later — not before the uprising.

As in Barcia's quote early in this chapter, most publications that I have encountered do not treat Lemuel's life following the 1825 slave revolt, observing that many colonial plantation owners disappeared without trace around this time.<sup>36</sup> But we shall see that Lemuel turns up in the literature at *Santa Amalia* along with his daughter and granddaughter and a few neighbors in the letters of Fredrika Bremer on her 1851 visit described in Section 5.1. Lemuel does disappear after that, but a few of his heirs will remain at *Santa Amalia* almost until the early 20th century, and his descendants will still own the plantation until 1904.

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To close this chapter, we catch up on the lives of Lemuel and Mary Taylor's children Mary West, Alexander, and Amelia Williams since we left them in the previous chapter and continue through their own offspring. The next chapter returns to Amy's lineage and a focus on Amelia's husband, Francis De Coninck and their life together in Cuba.

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<sup>36</sup>The one exception to this has been a discussion in a blog by John DuBois [52], a descendant of Lemuel's, which confused our ancestor Lemuel Taylor with Lemuel G. Taylor.

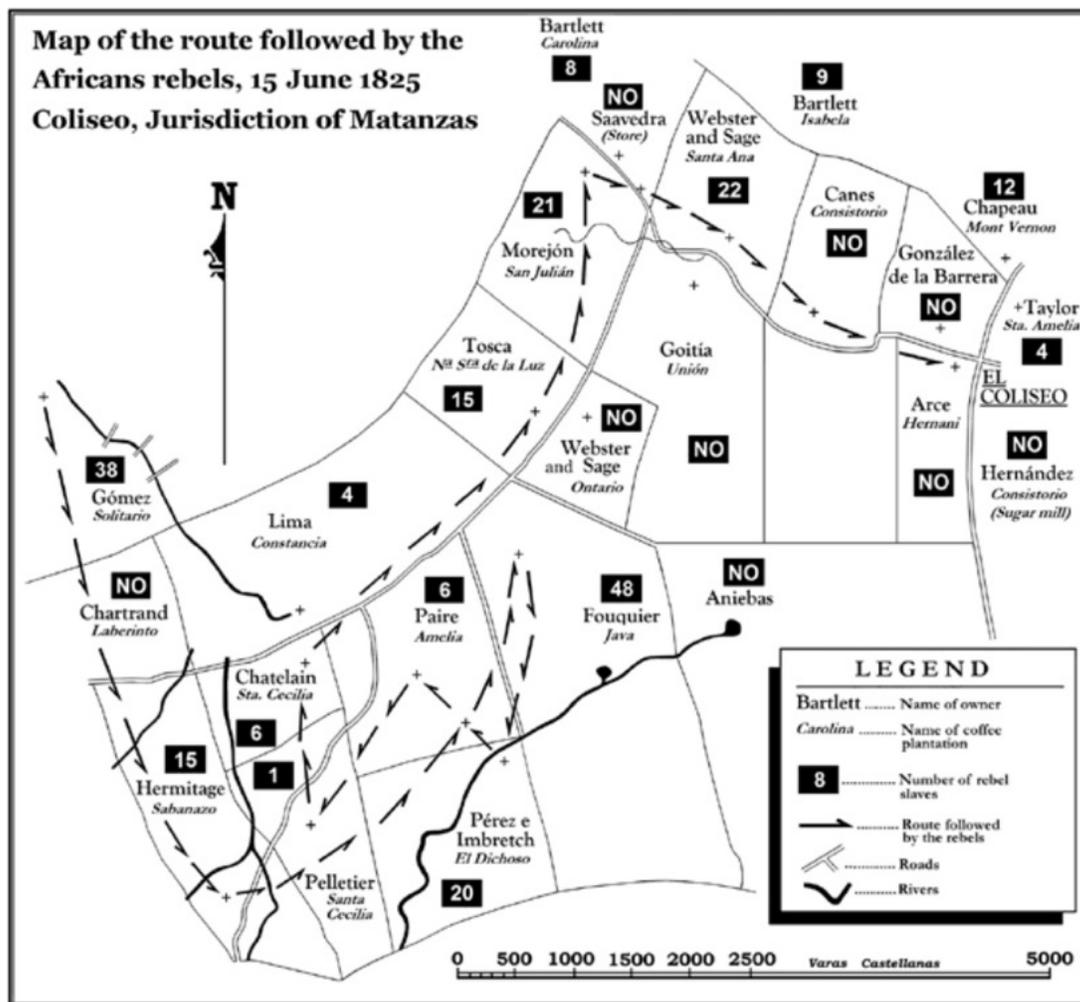


Figure 3.14: Barcia's map [103], of the 1825 rebellion

### 3.13 Mary West Taylor

Mary West Taylor, born in 1802, was introduced in Subsection 2.2.1 as the eldest child of Lemuel and Mary Taylor. The *Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser* of Friday 8 August 1828 (Vol. XXXII, Issue 34, p. 3) reported that

#### Married

On the 16th of June last, at St. Amelia, near Matanzas John C. Wieland, esq., a merchant of Havana, <sup>37</sup> to Mary, eldest daughter of Lemuel Taylor, esq., formerly of Baltimore.

I believed this branch of the descendants of Lemuel and Mary Taylor moved to Paris not long after their marriage and then disappeared forever from Amy's story until I discovered in 2021 an item in Amy's correspondence announcing the death in 1909 of Madame Veuve<sup>38</sup> Philippe Parrot née Mary Wieland, which lists Amy Heard Gray and her sons and many other names found in this book. The original announcement is shown in Chapter 8 in Figure 8.1 along with identification of and remarks on most of the people named. The document will be considered in some detail in Chapter 8 when the known survivors among Lemuel Taylor's descendants in the early twentieth century are considered.

It is appropriate, however, to continue Mary Taylor Wieland's history a little farther here because she leaves our story in Cuba in 1834 and will not appear again in the next few chapters, and because her granddaughter Marie (Parrot) Lhomme will be born in Paris shortly after Amy Heard's birth in Boston and arrival in Paris. The two second cousins (their grandmothers were Taylor sisters Mary and Amelia) will grow up in Paris as best friends <sup>39</sup> There is also a third reason, the story answers a question that had puzzled me for decades: How did Amy get to know Sarah Bernhardt? That question too will be considered later, in Section 6.7 when Philippe Parrot, the future husband of Mary Taylor and John Wieland as noted in Table 3.2 is introduced more thoroughly.

The Wielands moved to Paris after the birth of Mary, where John died soon after on 7/20/1835 [43] [68].

| Name      | Born      | Died      | Married  | Spouse          |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------------|
| Mary      | 3/10/1834 | 8/16/1909 | 8/2/1860 | Philippe Parrot |
| Alexander | 1832      | 6/20/1869 |          |                 |

Table 3.2: Children of Mary (Taylor) and John C. Wieland (born in Havana)

<sup>37</sup>The C stands Conrad [43].

<sup>38</sup>Widow

<sup>39</sup>Recalled years later by Amy's son Horace.

The death date of Alexander Wieland is taken from “Paris, France, Births, Marriages, and Deaths, 1555-1929” based on a declaration by Gabriel Elie Philippe Parrot, artist and painter – the husband of Alexander’s sister Mary Taylor Wieland.

### 3.14 Alexander Taylor

Alexander, only son of Lemuel and Mary Wheatley (Williams) Taylor, was educated in Geneva, Switzerland, and became a planter and merchant in Coliseo and Cardenas, Cuba, 1830-46. Alexander married Maria Louisa Webster (b. 17 October 1814 in Middletown Ct.) in Havana, Cuba, on 15 October 1834 [10], three years after his sister Amelia W. Taylor married Francis De Coninck. The Hamlin Genealogy [10] adds that he was an Episcopalian.

Alexander’s wife Maria’s father Ephron William Webster owned the nearby plantations *Santa Ana* and *Ontario* in partnership with Ebenezer William Sage. George Sage Webster was Maria’s brother and he is the author of the 1853-64 portions of the *Santa Amalia* accounts book [141] discussed in Section 5.3, suggesting that he managed *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* during those two years and probably through his departure from Cuba in 1864 to his birthplace of Middletown, Connecticut. The *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* Accounts book references both Mrs De Coninck (Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck) and Mrs Taylor (Maria Louisa (Webster) Taylor) as owners of some of the plantation’s slaves.

Alexander and Maria had seven daughters. listed in Table 3.3, all born in Coliseo, Cuba.<sup>40</sup>

| Name               | Born      | Died       | Married    | Spouse                   |
|--------------------|-----------|------------|------------|--------------------------|
| Mary Williams      | 8/1/1835  | 2/10/1898  | 7/21/1858  | Rev. Augustus Hitchcock  |
| Amelia Carolina    | 3/29/1837 |            | 8/24/1858  | Rev. Arthur Mason        |
| Cora Victoria      | 5/27/1839 |            | 12/12/1860 | Rev. Orlando Witherspoon |
| Louisa Webster     | 9/22/1841 | 1898       |            |                          |
| Alice Eliza        | 8/17/1843 | 3/8/1928   | 6/15/1880  | John H. Shoenberger      |
| Josephine Margaret | 6/7/1845  | 3/22/1889  |            |                          |
| Anita Glean        | 3/15/1847 | 11/22/1873 | 7 /12/1870 | John Corbyn Kennett      |

Table 3.3: Children of Maria Louisa (Webster) and Alexander Taylor (all born in Coliseo)

According to the entry for for Orlando and Cora (Taylor) Witherspoon’s son Herbert in *Quarter Century Record of the Class of Ninety-five, Yale College*, Volume 1895, Cora Victoria Taylor was born at St. Amelia Plantation, Cuba, implying that Alexander and Maria’s daughters were born not just in Coliseo, but specifically at St. Amelia/*S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* .

<sup>40</sup>*The Webster Genealogy* [142].

Alexander and Maria Louisa's daughters all appear later except for their youngest, Anita Glean, who died tragically at sea following a ship collision when the Steamship *Ville du Havre* sank following a collision on its way from New York to Havre, France. Anita married in Lieutenant Commander John Corbyn Kennett, USN, in July 1870 and they had two daughters, Agnes and Anita. Anita and her daughters were on their way to Europe to join her husband when the accident occurred.<sup>41</sup> The book *Grace Church and Old New York* by William Rhinelander Stewart, E.P. Dutton & Co. (1924) includes in a list of donations to the church, including one from Anita's mother Maria Louisa Taylor.

Alms basin, 14 1/2 inches in diameter, presented Christmas, 1876, "In memorandum November 22, 1873, Anita G. Taylor, wife of J. C. Kennett, U.S.N., also her two children Agnes and Anita. A mother's offering."

The evidence suggests that Alexander and his family resided at *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* from his marriage to Maria in 1834 through his illness and departure for the United States in 1847, which would explain Pichardo and others attributing ownership of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* to Alexander rather than Lemuel. It is also possible that they spent time at the Webster and Sage plantations of *Santa Ana* and *Ontario*, both of which were close to Coliseo and the *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*. In some documents, Alexander is listed as being from Cardenas, which is where his business interests were centered. Furthermore at the time Coliseo was part of the *jurisdicción* or judicial district of Cardenas, which is often abbreviated to the *district of Cardenas* — an ambiguous term because it could also mean the *municipal* district or municipio of Cardenas, which did not include Coliseo. Alexander also had business interests in the city of Matanzas. A young Alexander is likely the "Mr. Taylor" mentioned several times in Mary Gardner Lowell's 1831-2 travel diary during her visit to Matanzas (since the only other Mr. Taylor known in the area was his father Lemuel, was likely then too old for the activity exhibited by Mr. Taylor. Added support is provided by the fact that before coming to Matanzas, Lowell had spent time with the Wilsons in Camarioca where George Knight was visiting. Both the Wilsons and Knight were well known to the Taylor family.

Amelia W. De Coninck's mother, Mary W. Taylor, died at *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* in 1843 [43]. A Mortuary Notice appeared in the *Baltimore Sun* on Friday 13 October in 1843 in Vol XIII, issue 118, p. 2:

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<sup>41</sup>DuBois [52] states that she was on her way to meet her husband who was stationed on the Mediterranean at the time, and this observation is supported by Lt. Comm. Kennett's return to the U.S. soon after the disaster and his resignation from the Navy in September 1874, according to the Washington DC *Evening Star* of 4 August 1874.

## DIED

On the 5th inst., at her son's residence, near Cardinas, Mary Wheatley, wife of Lemuel Taylor, a native of Somerset County, Md., aged 76 years.

Lemuel and Mary's only son was Alexander Taylor and the De Coninck Bible states that Mary Wheatley died at St. Amelia, which I have argued is another name for St. Amalia. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that after 1840, Lemuel's heirs, specifically Alexander Taylor and his sister Amelia and her husband Francis De Coninck owned *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*.

In 1844 Alexander joined with Jeremiah Bowers Thompson to establish a business in Cardenas, about 100 miles from Havana, "under the style of Taylor & Thompson" [133], pp. 164-7. It is further reported that Thompson was born in 1809 in Charlestown, Mass., and he died after a short illness on 21 January 1846 at the age of 37 "on the 'Sta.' Amelia, the residence of his partner's father (Mr. Taylor), near Cardenas, Cuba, where rest his mortal remains." Alexander was described a "very worthy man, son of a gentleman of great wealth and high qualities" and Taylor & Thompson was said to be a "highly successful and profitable business" until Thompson's death.

It is notable that Francis De Coninck's professional interests as a merchant and Consul lay mostly in Havana, which is nearly 20 miles from Coliseo and the *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* Estate, and that his brother-in-law Alexander Taylor's business interests were in Cardenas, which is over 11 miles from Coliseo. These were significant distances for Francis and Alexander to travel when visiting *Santa Amalia*.

During the years 1843 and 1846 violent hurricanes visited Cuba and seriously damaged the coffee crop. The 1846 Havana hurricane (also known as the Great Havana hurricane of 1846, San Francisco de Borja hurricane, and The Great Gale of 1846) was the most intense tropical cyclone in recorded history for 78 years and the first known Category 5-strength hurricane to strike Cuba. These disasters combined with the increased competition of coffee trade of the East Indies and South America and the more certain profits of sugar cultivation to speed the decline of the coffee plantations as sugar plantations expanded and coffee nearly disappeared from Cuba by the end of the century [121]. The "plantations of trees" that had once dominated the landscape from about 1815 to 1846 were rapidly vanishing and being transformed into sugar plantations. Sugar plantations were



JEREMIAH BOWERS THOMPSON, ESQ.  
CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

just the opposite of coffee plantations in terms of landscape. For sugar, all other plants were removed and forests were cleared to fuel steam mills for sugar processing. Sugar production required costly machinery and skilled technicians knowledgeable in the science involved in the construction and operation of machinery. These storms and the deteriorating economic and living conditions may have contributed to Alexander and Maria's consideration of moving their family to New Haven, Ct., where Maria had family and roots.

One source ([10]) implies that the Alexander left Cuba in 1846, but all others state or imply that he arrived in New Haven only a few months before he died there on 2 August 1848. We will return to this issue later.

### 3.15 Amelia Williams Taylor

In Fig 3.7 of “Marriages” section of the De Coninck Bible [43] Amelia writes

Married on the St Amalia Estate near Matanzas on the 16th of June 1831 by the Padre of Limonal, Amelia Williams Taylor second daughter of Mary & Lemuel Taylor of Baltimore to Francis Charles De Coninck eldest son of Jane & Ignacio De Coninck of Ostend.

Limonal or El Limonal was the original name of the town of Limonar close to Coliseo. The name was attributed to its founding in 1808 as a lemon plantation by a French colonist, likely a Haitian emigré.

In 1831 Francis was a merchant and the newly appointed Consul in Havana of the recently created nation of Belgium. When Francis had been born in 1797 in Ostend, West Flanders, it was Ostende, Flandres-Occidentale, in Napoleonic France. Francis and his family will be treated in more depth in Chapter 4 along with a little history of West Flanders and the family's life in Cuba.

This chapter closes with a summary table of the children of Amelia W. (Taylor) and Francis De Coninck in the same format as the tables for Mary West (Taylor) Wieland and Alexander Taylor do so that all of the grandchildren of Lemuel and Mary Taylor are collected in one subsection, which will help sort out the (first) cousins later on. All of the De Coninck children were born in Havana, Cuba, except for Amelia Henrietta, who was born in Dunkirk, France — not far from Ostend, the birthplace of Francis De Coninck. Details will be provided later, but it is worth noting at this point that all of Alexander's children were born in in Coliseo, while Amelia's children were mostly born in Havana and none in Coliseo. This strongly suggests that Francis spent most of his time prior to 1840 located in Havana where he was occupied with his merchant and consul responsibilities, while Alexander was centered in Coliseo, probably at *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* managing the plantation. DuBois [52] (a descendent of Alexander's) writes the Alexander first met his future wife

| Name              | Born      | Died      | Married   | Spouse                                      |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---|
| Jane Leep         | 5/11/1832 | 6/19/1899 | 4/29/1858 | Augustine Heard, Jr. (3/23/1828-12/14/1905) |
| Mary Taylor       | 8/9/1834  | 1886      | 10/1881   | Thomas Donaldson Johnson                    |
| Amelia Henrietta  | 7/30/1836 | 10/3/1884 | 1883?     | George Pelletier                            |
| Francis Alexander | 8/19/1838 | 12/8/1878 |           |   |

Table 3.4: Children of Amelia and Francis De Coninck

Maria Louisa Webster while working for her father at the neighboring Webster plantation *Ontario*, but it does not seem likely that Alexander would have raised a family there since at the time of their marriage, Maria's father Ephron Webster was still in charge and her brother George Sage Webster would eventually take over management of *Ontario*.

# Chapter 4

## De Coninck

This chapter begins with François or Francis De Coninck, who married Lemuel Taylor's daughter Amelia Williams Taylor in 1831. In Belgian documentation in the 1830s he is listed as François, but in all other documents in Cuba and the United States that I have found he is named Francis, so he will here be known as Francis.

There is little information on Francis, his parents, and his siblings and their spouses in the Gray genealogy [68], but the De Coninck Bible [43] provides some information which can be coupled with Web searches of family trees and publicly available information to add some likely details and a few conjectures which are well supported by circumstantial evidence.

Francis was about a decade older than his brother-in-law Alexander Taylor. They died in adjacent years in adjacent states (New York and Connecticut, respectively), and their remains are interred in adjacent graves in Green-Wood cemetery in Brooklyn, in a shared plot bought by their widow and sister, respectively.<sup>1</sup>

Following the introduction of the De Coninck family, this chapter will develop the parallel and often overlapping lives of the De Conincks and Taylors up until the deaths of Francis and Alexander in 1847-1848 and the temporary return of Amelia to Baltimore with her children by 1850. Amelia and her youngest daughter Mary Taylor De Coninck returned to *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* in 1851.

The De Coninck family story will be continued through Amelia W. De Coninck's eldest daughter Jane Leep De Coninck's marriage to Augustine Heard, Jr., in Baltimore in 1858 in Chapter 5.

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<sup>1</sup>See Fig. 4.3.

## 4.1 François De Coninck of Ostend

According to the De Coninck Bible [43] as quoted in Section 3.15, Amelia Williams Taylor's husband was Francis Charles De Coninck, the eldest son of Jane & Ignacio De Coninck of Ostend. Ostend (in English, Ostende in French, Oostende in Flemish or Dutch) is in West Flanders (Flandre-Occidentale in French, West-Vlaanderen in Dutch) on the North Sea coast of what is now Belgium. According to his memorial stone and the accompanying documentation at Green-Wood Cemetery (based on information provided by Amelia when she purchased the plot) in Brooklyn, New York City<sup>2</sup>, Francis was born on 20 October 1793.

De Coninck has many spellings in the literature and several of them will be encountered here. They include Deconinck, DeConinck, D'Coninck, De Connick, and Deceninck. The family name evolved into "King" in English.

On the day of Francis' birth Flanders was part of the Austrian Netherlands (Les Pays-Bas autrichiens), part of the Hapsburg Empire. The official language was French, but Dutch or Néerlandais and German were also common along with many local and regional languages. Francis is named François in the only official European document I have found on him, an announcement of his appointment of Belgian Consul to Havana.

In ancient times, Flanders had been the Compté de Flandre (or Flandres, plural, to reflect it was often divided into at least two pieces). A modern translation of *Compté* would be "county," but a closer description in context would be a nation ruled by a count or, in Great Britain, an Earl. A compté can be thought of as an earldom. During its history it comprised much of modern Belgium, the Netherlands, and northern France. Through its history it was often bordered by more powerful kingdoms, including Spain, Austria, France, and even Great Britain, for whom the port of Dunkirk in West Flanders was important. Through centuries Flanders and parts of it had been under attack or occupied by many of its neighbors and had had an unstable and uncertain past, at times being a part of France, Spain, and Austria.

The Compté of Flandre was formally and finally divided into pieces and ceased existence during and following the Napoleonic wars, especially in 1830 with the creation of the modern nations of Belgium and the Netherlands. West Flanders and East Flanders became two provinces in Belgium and "La Flandre Française" or "Les Flandres Françaises," including Dunkirk not far from Ostend, joined the département du Nord and part of département du Pas de Calais in France.

Within a year of Francis De Coninck's 1793 birth, Flanders was annexed by revolutionary France following the French victory in the September 1794 Battle of Sprimont. That battle ended Austrian control of essentially what is now Belgium and made Ostend part of France until the final fall of Napoleon in 1815, when Flanders became a part of the newly

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<sup>2</sup>See Fig. 4.3.

created United Kingdom of the Netherlands, where it remained until the 1830-1831 Belgian Revolution which involved the secession in 1830 of the former Southern Netherlands, including Flanders, from the United Kingdom of the Netherlands and the establishment of an independent Kingdom of Belgium. France provided military support for the rebels.

This complicated history is relevant because it meant that Francis' world growing up was more French than Flemish or Dutch and that the French language was the dominant language in his area of West Flanders for both political and geographical reasons. Geographically, West Flanders abutted France before and after it was a part of France. Even today, French is one of the three official languages (and communities) of Belgium, along with Dutch or Néerlandais and German. West Flanders as part of Flanders is nowadays within the Dutch community of Belgium, but historically and geographically the importance of French remains. During its sojourn as part of France, West Flanders formed the French Department of Lys.

There is an interesting side story to the historical context into which Francis was born. In 1794 much of Europe allied against France to defeat the revolution, which resulted in the allies, including Britain, Austria, and several German states attacking the North of France through Flanders. One of the junior British commanders involved was a 25 year old Lieutenant Colonel, the Hon. Arthur Wesley, later to become the Duke of Wellington. He fled Flanders with the rest of the allied forces following the loss of the battle of Tourcoing in May 1794. Ostend was of serious concern to the British as a possible port through which an invasion from France might come, but they could not protect it alone and the Austrian high command made the decision to send their troops elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

Ostend is 54 km from Dunkirk, France, and its strategic location — as part of West Flanders — made it a crossroads of Europe and a land of many languages and wars. Historically, West Flanders was dominated by speakers of French although the majority language of Flanders was Netherlands Dutch or the strongly similar local Flemish. The dominance of French was partly political but also geographical as West Flanders was often either part of or adjacent to France. This anomaly explains why François De Coninck was born with a Flemish family name and a French first name and why his daughter Jane Leep De Coninck wrote and spoke fluent French and brought her children, including Amy Heard, grew up to speak and write fluent French. Almost all of her correspondence in this book is in French, which I have transcribed and translated.

Given the importance of Flanders to Cuba, it is appropriate to quote the Cuban poet and patriot José Martí regarding the similarity of Belgium and Cuba<sup>4</sup>,

Cuba and Belgium are both countries of modest size, surrounded by large,

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<sup>3</sup>“Wellington in the Low Countries,” 1794-1795, R. N. W. Thomas, *The International History Review*, Feb., 1989, Vol. 11, 14- 30.

<sup>4</sup>“Our Man in Havana and Other Facts about the Belgo-Cuban Connection,” Filip Matthijs, translated by Kate Connelly, a review of [4]

powerful and often hostile powers.

## 4.2 Ignace and Jeanne De Coninck

Francis' parents' first names are given in the De Coninck Bible as Ignacio and Jane. Ignacio is the Spanish version of the latin name "Ignatius" meaning "fiery one." The French equivalent is "Ignace," which at the time of Francis' birth would likely have been the form used since at that time French was the dominant language in Ostend. Similarly, Jane is an English version of the French name Jeanne. I will stick to the French version of the names since they best match the information I have found other than in the De Coninck bible. There is no further information about Ignacio/Ignace and Jane/Jeanne De Coninck in either the De Coninck bible or in the Gray genealogy.

The names Ignace and Jeanne De Coninck of Ostend crop up in two distinct family trees on the Web and in a few articles of the period with sufficient information to support their identification as Francis' parents. As of this writing, these family trees do not specifically mention Francis, but they are consistent with their descriptions of children in both lists, but the lists are not identical. This is understandable since family trees often concentrate on the ancestors of the writer and often miss siblings of distant ancestors. The family trees along with other sources provide information on the probable siblings of Francis and a few other members of Francis' wider family who appear in the Amy letters.

The two family trees are on the websites of Redgy Ferier at *My Heritage Family Trees*<sup>5</sup> and Xavier De Coninck in *Geneanet*<sup>6</sup>

The Ferier family tree includes the married couple of Ignace Louis De Coninck and his wife Jeanne, born Jeanne Françoise Leep. Ignace was born in the village of Messines (the French and English name, Mesen in Dutch) in West Flanders on 16 December 1755, he married Jeanne in 1786 in Ostend, and he died in Ostend Belgium on 3 February 1832. The dates are consistent with the birth of Francis in Ostend in 1793, but more importantly, Francis and Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck named their first child Jane Leep De Coninck, suggesting that Francis and Amelia named their first daughter after Francis' mother Jeanne Leep. "Leep" is a rare surname.

Ferier describes five children, three of whom are also listed with consistent information on the Xavier De Coninck list.

1) Jeanne Françoise Jaqueline De Coninck (14 October 1787-1838) married a man named Vaniseghem, which is a variation on the spelling of Van Iseghem. Xavier De Coninck names the man as Jean Joseph Van Iseghem (10 April 1784-1856).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>myheritage.cop

<sup>6</sup>geneanet.org

<sup>7</sup>Birth date information is taken from *Echo d'Ostende*.

The marriage took place in Ostend 1 July 1813 and they had a son Jean Ignace Antoine Iseghem (2/6/1816-2/17/1882).<sup>8</sup> Jean Joseph was a banker and diplomat, and Jean Ignace Antoine Van Iseghem was a shipowner, banker, consul of the Netherlands and Denmark long-time member of the Chamber of Representatives (the Belgian parliament), Mayor (Bourgmestre) of Ostend, Chevalier de L'Ordre de Léopold,<sup>9</sup> and, it turns out, was friend and colleague of Amy's father Augustine (Gus) Heard Gray, Jr.. Jean Ignace was also known as Jean-Ignace, Jean I. Van Iseghem, and, simply, Jean Van Iseghem — as Gus refers to him in his letter to Amy about her Belgian relations. This detour is to add to the circumstantial evidence that Ignace and Jeanne De Coninck of the Ferrier family tree are indeed the parents of Francis De Coninck and that Jeanne Françoise Jaqueline De Coninck was Francis' sister. Francis and Amelia named their first child Jane Leep De Coninck, which almost certainly was after Francis' mother Jeanne (Leep) De Coninck.<sup>10</sup>

2) Rose Louise De Coninck, b. 2 March 1789 in Ostend. Rose's husband, Godefroid Joseph Detremez (1786 – ?), whom she married in 1813, is mentioned in a letter to Amy from her father.

3) Henry François (1796-1877) will not play a role in these pages. He never married and remained in Ostend.

4) Auguste Adolphe Joseph Deconinck, b. 1801, plays no further role.

5) Eugenie Louise Deconinck (1798-99).

I believe that Francis Charles De Coninck born 20 October 1793 and Louis-Modeste De Coninck, born around 1890 were also sons of Ignace and Jeanne Leep De Coninck. The birthdates of these two fall safely between those of the first two daughters and Henry. Both Louis-Modeste and Francis left for Cuba to seek their fortune.

The case for Louis-Modeste rests on is an 1818 death announcement for Louis-Modeste De Coninck, a son of Ignace de Coninck, published in Ostend shown in Figure 4.1 which can be translated as follows: Louis-Modeste died in Havana, Cuba on 22 June 1818 at the age of 27 years and 7 months, so he born around December 1890. It merits noting that Ignace De Coninck's brother was Janvier Modeste De Coninck b. 1765, so the name Modeste was shared with his uncle.

“L'Église paroissiale de cette Ville d'Ostende” was probably Sainte-Pierre or St. Peter, which would be destroyed by fire in 1896 and replaced by the modern Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, with the support of Leopold II. The tower of the original church still rests

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<sup>8</sup>Corroborated in “De geschiedenis van Oostende” door V. FOUTRY, en “Echo d'Ostende” van 1 juni 1871. Jean Ignace werd geboren in Oostende op 6 februari 1816 en overleed er op 17 februari 1882 (V.V.F. Oostende).

<sup>9</sup>Details from *Pasinomie: Collection Complete des Règlements Généraux qui Peuvent être Invoqués en Belgique*, J.S.G. Nypels, Brylant-Crhistophe et Cie, Bruxelles, 1864.

<sup>10</sup><https://www.myheritage.com/research/record-1-169773101-20-161858/jeanne-francoise-deconinck-geboren-leep-in-myheritage-family-trees>

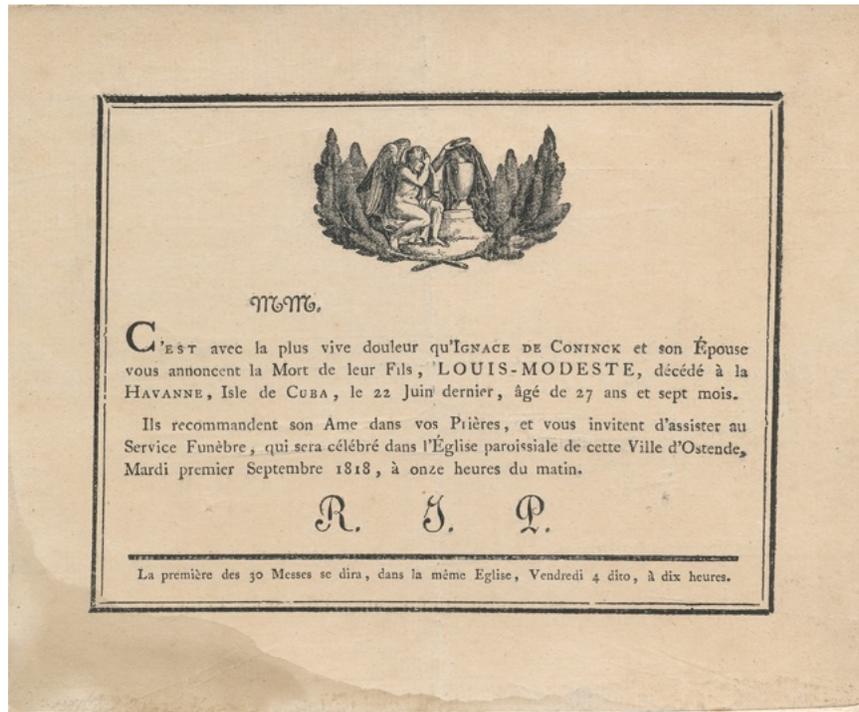


Figure 4.1: Death announcement of Louis-Modest De Coninck

behind the modern church.

So Ignace de Coninck of Ostend had a son who died in Havana and was born in late 1890, about 3 years before the birth of Francis De Coninck. This is consistent with the De Coninck Bible describing Francis as the “eldest son” in 1831 because the older Louis-Modest died over a decade before Francis was married, at which time Francis was the oldest living son of Ignace and Jeanne. It also makes sense that Francis might well have followed his older brother to Cuba to make his fortune. The absence of Louis-Modeste and Francis in the family trees of their siblings is not surprising since such trees are often constructed by future generations who are not aware of all of their ancestors’ siblings, especially when they emigrate to Cuba early in their lives.

For later reference, the children of Ignace and Jeanne Françoise De Coninck that I have collected from various sources are listed in Table 4.1.

### 4.3 Belgian Consul at Havana and Merchant

The Gray Genealogy [68] states that Amelia Williams Taylor married François De Coninck at the St, Amelia Estate (sugar plantation) on 6/13/1831, that he was the Belgian Consul

|                            | Born       | Died      | Married   | Spouse                                      |
|----------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|---|
| Louis-Modeste              | 1790       | 9/1/1818  |           |   |
| Jeanne Françoise Jaqueline | 10/14/1787 |           | 7/1/1813  | Jean Joseph Van Iseghem<br>(4/10/1784-1856) |
| Rose Louise                | 3/2/1789   |           | 1813      | Godefroid Detremez<br>(1786 - ?)            |
| François Charles           | 10/20/1794 | 6/29/1847 | 6/13/1831 | Amelia W. Taylor<br>(5/22/1806 - 4/26/1868) |
| Henry François             | 1796       |           |           |   |

Table 4.1: Children of Ignace and Jeanne Leep De Coninck (all born in Ostend)

at Havana, Cuba, and that he died in New York City on 29 June 1847<sup>11</sup>.

De Coninck's position as Belgian Consul to Havana is corroborated in Tome 5 of the official 1838 compilation *Répertoire de l'administration et du droit administratif de la Belgique*, by Charles Marie Joseph Ghislain De Brouckère and F. Tielemans. This document describes the history of the new nation of Belgium, which was created in 1830, had begun in 1831 the process of creating a diplomatic core and the appointment of consuls in support of Belgian business affairs around the world, and it describes the current consuls in 1838 without specifying *when* their appointments were made by the King, Leopold I. François De Coninck is named as the consul to Havana:

ILE DE CUBA. | LA HAVANE. | François de Coninck, consul.

That De Coninck was the consul in 1838 and had been appointed earlier, has an interesting historical footnote. It was in 1837 that financially strapped Spain had been considering the possibility of selling its Cuban colony to another European nation as a means of bolstering the finances of the nation. One of the interested monarchs was Leopold I of Belgium<sup>12</sup>.

A slightly different story is told on the Web in "Our Man in Havana and Other Facts about the Belgo-Cuban Connection," by Filip Matthijs, translated by Kate Connelly<sup>13</sup> where it is stated that

<sup>11</sup>There is unfortunately no primary source given for this information in [68], but a process of elimination suggests that it was contained in handwritten genealogical notes loaned by our cousin John Heard to my brother Steen when Steen was preparing the genealogy. I have not found any mention of the De Conincks using any of its various spellings in any of the published sources mentioned in the list of sources of [68]. The St. Amelia is another name for the *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* Estate.

<sup>12</sup>"Belgium and the Prospective Sale of Cuba in 1837," by Brison D. Gooch, *The Hispanic American Historical Review* Vol. 39, No. 3 (1959), pp. 413-427 Duke University Press

<sup>13</sup><https://the-low-countries.com/article/our-man-in-havana-and-other-facts-about-the-belgo-cuban-connection>, areviewof\cite{Adriaansen:2020}

The second chapter starts with Belgian independence. In 1831, the ship *Jean Key* was the first to sail into Havana's harbour under the Belgian flag, much to the dismay of the Dutch sea captains who were already there. A few years later, the first Belgian consul arrived. Diplomatic and mercantile ties were cemented. Belgian bricks, textiles and oil were exported to Cuba; cane sugar and tobacco were imported to Belgium.

François was already in place in Havana as a merchant and he married Amelia W. Taylor in 1831 at the Santa Amalia Estate. She reported the marriage in her new bible in 1833 and described him as the Belgian consul in Havana. It was not "years later" than 1831 that a consul was sent, Francis was already there as a merchant when the first official Belgian ship arrived and likely was given the job as he was on the spot and a new nation constructing a diplomatic core and having strong interests in trade would have been likely to appoint an established businessman who was a Belgian citizen and experienced in the local business environment, multilingual, and well connected to the Belgian business and political community. François filled all of these requirements. François was likely the first Belgian Consul in Havana, since he was listed in the 1838 history of the Belgium diplomatic assignments made since the founding of the nation.

François was also probably well-suited linguistically for such a position because Belgium's history as part of the Hapsburg Empire of Austria was linguistically and geographically rich, and important languages included French, Flemish or Dutch, and Spanish. Before becoming the Austrian Netherlands in 1713, Flanders had been part of the Spanish Netherlands.

The anglicized version of his name, Francis De Coninck appears in many historical documents either published or indexed on the Web providing evidence that he was also active in colonial business, owning part interest in Cuban plantations and participating in various trading and shipping partnerships operating out of Havana, including De Coninck, Spalding<sup>14</sup> & Co. in Matanzas by 1836, where they were correspondents of Rothschild. By 1837 they were established in Havana at 79 Calle de los Oficios.<sup>15</sup>

## 4.4 Baring Brothers Bank and George Knight & Co.

This section takes yet another historical detour to set up the context for an event in 1840 which had a major impact on Francis De Coninck and the Ingenio *Santa Amalia* and which exemplifies the major economic changes occurring in Cuba in the years before the mid

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<sup>14</sup>Edward Spalding is treated in some depth in Chambers (2015) *No God But Gain: The Untold Story of Cuban Slavery, The Monroe Doctrine, and the Making of the United States* [33], where he is portrayed as a profiteer heavily involved in the slave trade.

<sup>15</sup>*A List of Merchants at Havana, 1837, Rates of Duties.*

century mark. My primary sources for the story are Roldàn de Montaud's *Baring Brothers and the Cuban Plantation Economy, 1814–1870* (2015) [92] along with [81], [46], [47].

Barings bank was founded by the Baring Brothers, John and Francis, as John and Francis Baring & Co. in 1762 and it evolved into an international merchant bank of great influence and power for over two centuries until it collapsed in scandal in 1995. Francis Baring was the active partner, but the bank was widely known as “Baring Brothers” or simply “Barings.” By the early nineteenth century Barings had become heavily involved in Cuba's rapidly expanding sugar economy through direct investment and through loans and mortgages to a booming sugar economy trying to satisfy Europe's seemingly insatiable demand for the product. Barings was active in Cuba as early as 1814, even before the Spanish opening of largely free trade in the colony in 1818. Although at the time Cuba also had major coffee and tobacco industries, Barings mostly concentrated on providing financial services to the to the sugar industry, dealing primarily with a few local trading firms thought to have first class reputations. In the 1830s, Barings' primary and for a time sole agent in Cuba was Mariàtegui, Knight & Co., a trading company founded around 1825 by Luis Mariàtegui and George Knight. Knight was a North American who had been in Cuba at least since 1814 <sup>16</sup> Juan Josié Mariàtegui was a well connected Cuban of Spanish origin. Knight was a correspondent with Joshua Bates, a partner of Barings. Bates was born in Weymouth , Massachusetts, and prior to joining Barings in 1828 he worked for William “Old Billy” Gray of Boston and earlier of Salem. Both Gray and Bates will be revisited in Chapter 7, but it is noted here that among his many accomplishments, Bates was the primary founder of the Boston Public Library.

In addition to the named partners of Mariàtegui, Knight & Co. there was a silent partner Gonzalo Alfonso y Soler, a major plantation owner and slave-trader and one of the richest men in Cuba. The company concentrated on commission-based exporting, especially sugar, molasses, and coffee. It also imported manufacturing and dry goods from the U.S. and Europe.

George Knight married in Havana on 15 June 1834 Miss Anna Guillemin, the daughter of the late Consul General of France in Havana, Francis Guillemin <sup>17</sup>

Luis Mariàtegui died in 1835, but the company continued under the name of George Knight & Co with prearranged participation by Mariàtegui's heirs. Gonzalo Alfonso, however, began in 1837 a gradual withdrawal from the company. During the final years of the 1830s Knight & Co. shifted its business increasingly from commission-based trade towards short-term high-interest large loans to planters with their crops as guarantees. The planters' goal was usually expansion.

Unfortunately for Knight's strategy, the opposite happened. Knight had loaned far

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<sup>16</sup>Mantaud [92] says Knight had been in Cuba since 1816, but Knight himself writes later in a letter that he had had been in Cuba since 1814 [134].

<sup>17</sup>*Boston Post*, 3 July, 1834.

more money than his agreements with Barings permitted, and in 1837 a financial crisis and panic hit the United States, triggering a major depression that would last until the mid 1840s. The sugar trade collapsed as a result, leaving Knight much reduced asset values because of the collapsed market for the sugar planted by the planters owing him money. Although George Knight & Co had assets to cover much of its debts, Knight no longer had the flexible cash to fulfill contractual debts to Barings. The firm suspended payments on 15 May 1840.

Two days later local creditors of George Knight & Co. met and agreed to dissolve the company, acquiring all of its assets to sell and distribute to creditors as well as taking over the operation of all of the estates. The local creditor group appointed a liquidating committee of three for this purpose: a former partner of the company, Gonzalo Alfonso, Juan José Mariátegui's nephew Luis Mariátegui, and an influential local merchant Nicolás Domínguez. Luis Mariátegui advised Barings and other foreign creditors to agree to a deal among themselves as litigation in the Spanish courts could prove financially disastrous for the remaining assets. As the primary foreign creditor, the Baring brothers accepted the deal.

On 17 May 1840 the liquidating committee met to plan strategy based on a Balance sheet of the properties, claims and debts of George Knight & Co. on that day. The sheet is given in Table 11.1 of [92], which cites the primary source in the Barings Archives. In the section titled *Mortgage Claims* are two items detailing debts owed to George Knight & Co relevant to the Taylors:

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| Debt of Alex Taylor for advances on his half of the ARROYO | 100,000 |
| DeConnick, balance purchase of sugar estate SANTA AMALIA   | 80,000  |

The amounts are in pesos. According to [92] "One sterling pound equals five pesos (\$)" which recalls the fact that in 1840 the U.S. silver dollar was still by law defined to equal the Spanish peso.

Alex Taylor is certainly Alexander Taylor, Lemuel's son. The Arroyo estate is listed in the later Rebello 1860 census [114] in the Jurisdicción de Cardenas, Partido de Guanajayabo, having Cardenas as its port and Altamisal as its whereabouts. Altamisal is East of Jovellanos (Bemba), about 20 km southwest of Colseo. Arroyo's owners in 1860 by Adot, Spalding and Co., where Spalding is Edward Spalding, in 1840 still a business partner of Francis De Coninck and thereby connected to the Taylors. Adot and Spalding was a successor firm to De Coninck and Spalding following the departure of De Coninck from Cuba and his death in New York.

The Arroyo estate is also mentioned in Ballester [15] with index [041], who states that Adot, Spalding, & Co. owned Arroyo by 1860 and that it was subsequently purchased by Horacio (Horace) Gray around 1863 who in turn sold it around 1878. This information is enhanced by a Web article on the Cuban site [https://www.ecured.cu/Arroyo\\_\(Perico\)](https://www.ecured.cu/Arroyo_(Perico)), which agrees with Ballester's information and adds

En 1860 el ingenio contaba con un total de 56 caballerías de tierra, de las cuales 40 estaban sembradas de caña y su producción en ese año fue de 4 554 cajas (890 tm ) de azúcar.

Which Google translates as

In 1860 the mill had a total of 56 caballerias of land, of which 40 were planted with cane and its production that year was 4,554 boxes (890 mt) of sugar.

The ingenio was destroyed by 1896.

De Coninck must have been Francis De Coninck since he was the only active merchant or planter in the Jurisdicción de Matanzas in that era by that name and because he was married to an heir of the original owner of the estate in question. Unlike most of the names in the balance sheet, no first name was given for De Coninck – which suggests everyone involved knew who he was and further identification was needed. For example, it was not Lemuel's daughter Amelia W. De Coninck. Francis was well known as a member of De Coninck and Spalding, merchants of Havana and Matanzas, correspondents of the Rothschilds, and the lawyers for Baring Brothers handling their claims in the liquidation.

The immediate question is how Francis ended up in May 1840 owing George Knight & Co. \$80,000 balance on the purchase of an estate which in 1830 was owned by Robert Oliver after his purchase of Lemuel Taylor's 2/3 from Taylor's Insolvent Trust in 1823 and the remainder from Cornelio Souchay acting as executor of the estate of Antonio de Frías, his late business partner, in 1830. A plausible explanation can be offered of how this happened based on the history already related for Lemuel Taylor, Robert Oliver, and *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*. My guess is that the answers may be found in the Robert Oliver estate papers in the Maryland archives of David M. Perine, originally the agent of the executors and trustees and eventually a trustee himself. Pandemic and longevity permitting, this is on my wish list. In the meantime, the bottom line is that Francis De Coninck in May 1840 owed \$80,000 balance on the purchase of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* to the creditors of the failed George Knight & Co., and Barings is one of the primary creditors. The narrative will return to this state following the detour into conjecture.

An immediate question is *which* Horace Gray owned Ingenio Arroyo roughly during the period 1863-1878, a sugar plantation once owned by Alexander Taylor and by the successor firm to a firm including by Francis De Coninck, Alexander's brother-in-law and Jane De Coninck's father? More later in Subsection 7.4.15.

## 4.5 *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* : 1830-1840

When Robert Oliver bought Lemuel Taylor's 2/3 ownership in *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* in 1823 from the Lemuel Taylor Insolvent Trust he probably believed that the prospect of future income

from the assignment to him of Lemuel's claims on foreign governments for restitution of his losses of ships and cargoes due to allegedly illegal seizure during times of war would be successful to some degree because of treaties made at the conclusions of the wars. He had already received the bulk of Lemuel's Baltimore mansion, its contents, and related property before it could be claimed by the Insolvent Trust and had sold it in cooperation with the Insolvent Trust. It seemed likely the eventual income would eventually be sufficient to cover Lemuel's debts to Oliver and there was no clear financial gain to be had by allowing Lemuel's estate be sold to someone else to raise funds to pay Lemuel's other creditors. Before Oliver's death in 1834, *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* probably looked like a good investment. If his income from Lemuel's hoped-for assets did exceed Lemuel's debts to him, he could pay Lemuel the difference in interest in the property he was living on rather than giving up cash. Furthermore, Oliver might have made a deal with the Insolvency Committee – in particular with his son-in-law and future executor Roswell L. Colt – that his purchase of the *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* and Bruce Hall estates would be paid for by his removing any claims that Oliver himself might have on the Insolvency Trust by the purchase amount. In other words, Oliver might have “purchased” the estates by freeing up the Insolvency Trust to remove his demands and instead use the funds they obtained to pay the other creditors. This would explain why the insolvency audits and reports mention the sale only through the auctioneers' fee, but record no income. Oliver might do this because he was confident there was enough potential income assigned to him by his arrangement with Lemuel prior to the creation of the Insolvency Trust and hence removing himself from the insolvency proceeds might protect him and his own estate against further litigation. It did not succeed with this goal as exemplified by the suit against him and then his estate by Palmer and Hamilton and by the officers and crew of *Warren*. On the other hand, it does appear that all of the serious creditors were eventually satisfied. Oliver seems to have behaved along similar lines when he “purchased” the remaining 1/3 of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* from Souchay and the heirs of Antonio de Frías by cancelling the debt of the late de Frías to himself. Oliver bought the 1/3 with no exchange of money.

If Oliver acquired any mortgages on the property through his purchases, it is doubtful he would have let them default since if he did, they could be seized by the Spanish government. Without doubt, however, he knew that Spanish colonial law at the time ensured that an indebted owner who lived on the estate could not be evicted for the debt nor could his property be taken from him. The *privilegio de ingenios* forbade a mortgage being foreclosed against an ingenio or its slaves unless the debt exceeded the full value of the property. While Oliver owned the property and met any inherited mortgage obligations, there could be no difficulty, but he must have been aware that if he could sell it back to Lemuel or his heirs who actually lived on the property, he might gain some financial benefit without putting them and his obligation as a trustee of Lemuel's original trust arrangement at risk. If Lemuel or his heirs owned the estate and lived on it, they could not be evicted even if they defaulted on a loan. A solution to all of this was to sell the estate

back to Lemuel or his heirs with the possibility that they procure a local mortgage and hopefully provide some cash of their own.

This would make financial sense only if and when Lemuel's debt to Oliver was indeed likely to be paid off or at least nearly so. This had not happened by the time Robert Oliver died in 1834, but it had largely come to pass by 1840. Because Robert Oliver rather than the Insolvency Trust owned *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*, its disposition was up to his personal executors and trustees and not the Insolvency Trust, but both groups included Roswell L. Colt. Colt would have been aware of Oliver's connections with Cuban business, which included Barings Bank and hence also both their agent George Knight & Co and their correspondents and lawyers De Coninck and Spalding. Colt knew about Lemuel Taylor and *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*, and about Francis De Coninck as both a successful Havana Merchant and a son-in-law of Lemuel Taylor. Facilitating a sale of the property sped both trusts closer to their final resolution and may have removed the legacy of Lemuel Taylor in the Oliver estate. It also did not damage Taylor and his heirs since they regained a title which they successfully held for more than a half century and for several years following the death of the last of Lemuel's grandchildren.

The above financial reasoning is all, of course, conjecture. But it seems to me to be plausible and much simpler than any other explanation I can think of.

In May 1840, Francis De Coninck was the owner of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*, but owed money to the estate to Knight & Co., which was being dissolved with such claims to go to the creditors, including Barings. Like many plantation owners, De Coninck had a business and home in Havana, but his family spent time at *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*. Future literature would refer to the plantation as being owned by the heirs of Taylor-DeConinck. Lemuel Taylor was still alive (at least through the visit by Fredrika Bremer in March 1851), but he likely no longer had any significant financial interest or ownership, but the sequel will show that his heirs – his children and their spouses and eventually his grandchildren – retained ownership of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* into the early 20th century.

## 4.6 Robert Morison

To return to the story, the sequel is well-explained by Montaud [92]:

In any case Barings accepted the liquidators' proposal and named the Havana firm DeConnick, Spalding & Co. as its attorneys<sup>18</sup> instructing them to subscribe to the minutes signed on 17 May, and insisting that in the course of liquidation the estates should be administered only for the sole purpose of paying debts.

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<sup>18</sup>Baring Brothers considered the company to be of "best reputation." See also [134] for praise of the company.

So Francis De Coninck was in 1840 the titular owner of the ingenio Santa Amalia with a debt to Barings for the balance of purchase, and he was married to Lemuel Taylor's younger daughter. Together with his brother-in-law Alexander Taylor, Francis was in debt to the creditors of George Knight & Co, of which the primary one was Barings. Led by Barings, Knight's creditors decided to renegotiate the 1840 agreement in June 1843.

Economic hard times again had hit Cuba again in the early 1840s and Barings was having difficulties recovering what it was owed and planters were having difficulty fulfilling their obligations. The death of George Knight further complicated the situation. According to [92], DeConnick, Spalding & Co. entered long negotiations with Robert Morrison, who represented Reid, Irving & Co, and they agreed that Barings would keep some of the mortgages — including half of the Arroyo estate, half of the Santa Ana, and all of the Santa Maria. Montaud's [92] "Morrison" is a misspelling the last name of Robert Morison, who is referred to in Barings documentation <sup>19</sup> which lists letters

Morison, (Agent, Reid, Irving & Co)  
 1843 - 15/12, 28/12  
 1844 - 12/2.

Reid, Irving & Co. was a British mercantile house that invested heavily in the international sugar industry. Robert Morison was encountered in Subsection 3.11.6 as the husband of Adelaide Bellechasse, the sister of Jean Bellechasse — the neighbor of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* of Lemuel Taylor, the father of Francis De Coninck's wife Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck. So it is likely that Robert Morison and his wife knew Francis De Coninck as neighbors, both in Havana and *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* .

Soon after these arrangements were made, on 1 August 1843 Morison wrote to E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Co to announce that his Morison & Co. was being dissolved and that Morison, De Coninck & Co. would take its place. <sup>20</sup> Francis De Coninck also dissolved his firm (De Coninck & Spalding) as he and Morison joined forces. The company conducted business in maritime trade, especially consigning cargo including sugar, coffee, and tobacco along with quarters for a few passengers.

Morison, De Coninck & Co was officially the successor firm to Morison & Co and it inherited Morison's business, but it did not inherit all of the business of De Coninck & Spalding — the successor to De Coninck & Spalding was Storey, Spalding & Co. More later.

Correspondence in the archives of E.I. du Pont et du Nemours & Co. show that in addition to ordinary mercantile trade, Morison & and then Morison, De Coninck & Co

<sup>19</sup>Guide 9: "Subject and Nominal Indexes" for Letters Received from Agents & Correspondents in New Orleans, 1819-1871. (series A. 3.f volumes 102-106)

<sup>20</sup>The correspondence can be found in the digital archives of E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. Records (LMSS:V) at <http://www.hagley.org/library>

dealt with the purchase, delivery, and trade for gunpowder, including for the U.S. Military during the Mexican-American War.

Francis de Coninck's final business partner Robert Morison was born in 17 December 1791 in Perth, Perthshire, Scotland. Announcements in the *England & Wales, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations), 1858-1966* tell something of his death and life:

National Probate Calendar 1873:

Robert Morison formerly of Havannah in the Island of Cuba but late of 54 Palace Gardens Terrace, Middlesex, Merchant who died 4 May 1873 at 54 Palace Gardens Terrace was proved by Vicenta Adelaide Morison, The Widow the Relict the Sole Executrix. Personal Estate under 25,000 pounds.

National Probate Calendar 1882:

Vicenta Adelaide Morison late of 54 Palace Gardens Terrace, Kensington, Middlesex, Widow who died 2 Aug 1882 was proved by Robert Joseph Morison of Arundel Lodge, Cathnor Rd, Hammersmith, esquire Alexander Joseph Morison of 2 Brabant Court, Philpot Lane, City of London, Merchant the Sons the Executors. Personal Estate: 19,212/19/4d.

Family trees on ancestry.com add much detail. Adelaide Morison was born Adelaide Vicenta Maria Deville De Goutin Bellechasse in 1800 and Robert and Adlaide were married on 14 March 1820 in San Carlos, Borrromeo in the Matanzas region of Cuba in 1820. Adelaide's parents were Joseph Deville DeGoutin Bellechasse (1761 - 1830) and Adelaide-Marie-Josophe Lalande D'Alcour (1776 - 1814). These details are added here because these names will crop up again later, and it is useful to mention now these connections among the families De Coninck, Morison, Bellechasse, and Dalcour.

## 4.7 *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* : 1843 - 1848

Again returning to the story of *Santa Amalia*, Barings eventually backed out of the transfers of mortgages because they involved slaves, which were not consistent with recently modified British law. The mortgages on Santa Ana and Arroyo were written in the names of front men and were to be administered by Storey, Spalding & Co., the successors to De Coninck, Spalding & Co. Santa María was given to Mariàtegui & Co., the successor to George Knight & Co., and Mariàtegui together with Francis DeConnick (as individuals) supervised the operations of the mortgaged estates that remained in the hands of their proprietors, which I believe included Francis De Coninck's *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* since it was not named among the transferred mortgages. Mariàtegui and De Coninck provided occasional progress reports to Barings and Barings provided instruction on managing the estates and shipping the sugar to Barings' agents. This was an interesting change in that

De Coninck was considered as proprietor of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* and implicitly as the “front man” for the mortgage owed to Barings. There seems to remain a debt to Barings, but Barings avoided transferring the mortgage from the estate to itself. Barings seemed to put a great deal of trust into De Coninck, but it also could have simply been an effort for a friendly extraction of a bad situation.

The next few years were turbulent ones for Cuba and form the background for the final years of Francis and Amelia in Cuba. I can do no better than quote [92] again:

The Cuban debt became a veritable nightmare for the bankers. A series of adverse conditions prolonged repayment of the debt for over 15 years. The period of depression that began in 1842 lasted until 1852. In addition to serious social disruptions provoked by slave uprisings in certain estates in Matanzas and Cárdenas, there was an extended drought that year, followed by a cyclone that ruined the harvests. The crop of 1845 was around 98,000 tonnes, about half that of preceding years. In 1846 another cyclone hit the countryside, after which came the effects of the 1847 financial crisis expanding from Europe, and the revolutions of spring 1848, which paralyzed sugar sales in Europe, causing prices to tumble there.

Francis was still a partner of Morison, De Coninck & Co. when he died in 1847, as seen from Francis’ death announcement in the 30 June 1847 *New York Evening Post*:

Tuesday morning, 29th June, FRANCIS DE CONINCK, Esq. of the house of Messrs. Morison, DeConinck & c of Havana.

Morison kept the company name of Morison, De Coninck & Co. into the early 1850s.

## 4.8 Children of Amelia & Francis

The De Coninck Bible [43] yields the following information on Amelia and Francis’ children:

Amy’s mother Jane Leep De Coninck was born in Havana, Cuba, on 11 May 1832. Another family name spelling confusion similar to that of Jane’s mother (Amelia being misspelled as Amalia). Jane’s middle name is occasionally misspelled as Leap or Leaps. Here I believe the fault lies primarily with Edward Gray’s 1916 genealogy of the descendants of William Gray of Lynn [65], who incorrectly spelled the name of Amy’s mother in the paragraph on Russell Gray, Amy’s husband. This spelling propagated into other Gray family genealogical information, including [68]. The correct spelling is given in the De Coninck Bible [43], in Hanson’s Heard genealogy [70], It is also consistent with a family tree found on the Web giving Jeanne Leep as the name of the wife of Ignace De Coninck, the father of Francis.

In addition to Jane, Francis and Amelia had three other children: Francis Alexander b. 8/19/1838, Mary Taylor, b. 9 August 1834 in Havana, Cuba — she died in Cuba in 1886, and Amelia Henrietta, who born in 30 July 1836 in Dunkirk, France. Amelia H. died in New York in October 1884, four months after returning from a visit to Cuba with her sister Jane L. (De Coninck) Heard and Jane's daughter Amy.

Amelia and Francis also had a still born daughter in Dunkirk, France, on 22 December 1841.

The visits to Dunkirk likely had the goal of visiting Francis' family in nearby Ostend in West Flanders, which in 1831 had become part of the new nation of Belgium after having been part of the short-lived Kingdom of the Netherlands following its belonging to France during most of Napoleon's reign.

In November 1839 Francis DeConinck and family traveled from NYC to Havana aboard *El Rapid* and it was reported that the ship "had passengers who provided an income of \$1,620. One of them, Francis DeConnick, of the firm DeConnick, Spalding & Co., at the time one of the most important trading houses in the Cuban capital, paid \$500 for the entire cabin below, for himself and his family." Both the *Rapid* and the *Norma* belonged to the house of Moses Taylor (no relation to Lemuel). This may have been the final portion of travel from Ostend.

For the ill-fated 1841 trip when the De Coniincks lost a newborn daughter in Dunkirk, the entire De Coninck family, with the exception of Jane, had arrived in New York City from Havana on board the *Cristoval Colon* on 19 July 1841, on which day Francis was 46 years old, Amelia was 35, Mary Taylor was 6, Amelia Henrietta was 5, and Francis Alexander was 2. Jane was 7 at the time, and presumably remained with family, most likely with her Taylor cousins. According to the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, Volume XLIV, p. 1, on Monday 26 July 1841, that the De Coninck family had left New York for Havre, France, the previous summer:

In the packet ship Burgundy, sailed for Havre — ... Mr De Coninck and lady,  
Miss De Coninck, Master De Coninck, Miss Scull, Miss T Scull of Havana; ...

The Baltimore *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser* of Monday 30 May 1842 p. 2 reported "Mr. De Coninck, Brussels" among the passengers arriving in the steam ship *British Queen*, from Antwerp and Southampton.

Amelia's daughter Mary Taylor De Coninck married Thomas Donaldson Johnston in New York City on 3 March 1881.<sup>21</sup> The spelling in the NY marriage record conflicts with that of both the Gray genealogy [68], which states that Thomas Donaldson Johnson was from Baltimore, and with the letters of Mrs. Henry Adams[3] where Adams reports that

<sup>21</sup>"New York, New York City Marriage Records, 1829-1940", database, FamilySearch <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:2:QL7H-F27H>: 16 June 2022), Entry for Thomas Donaldson Johnston and Mary Taylor De Coninck, 1881.

Jane De Coninck Heard informed her in November 1881 that her younger sister had married a man named Johnson “without announcing it beforehand.” The spelling of Mary’s husband’s name as “Johnston” is confirmed in letters from Jane L. Heard to Amy from New York in 1886. Johnston is a mysterious character as his father was named Thomas Donaldson, so the name “Johnston” was acquired later. Mary was 32 and Thomas was 54 when they were married in New York City

Amelia Henrietta De Coninck married George Pelletier. The spelling of Pelletier’s name is from Amelia’s tombstone in Lot 57 Section TT at Green Mount Cemetery in Baltimore which can be seen in Fig. 5.5. Originally the inscription was hard to read from a photograph provided by the cemetery because of erosion, but at my request the cemetery cleaned the tombstone and sent a new photograph which is remarkably readable. It reads

Amelia Henrietta De Coninck  
Wife of  
George Pelletier  
of Cuba

The card entry of the cemetery lists her as “A. H. D. E. C. Palletier” interred on Oct. 6 1884. The Gray genealogy [68] gives his name as François Pilletur and genealogical notes written by my Uncle Horace spell the last name as “Pilatur.” So there is some question about the spelling of the name and no information about about the husband other than his name and living in Cuba. I am convinced the spelling “Pelletier” on the tombstone is the correct one for many reasons.

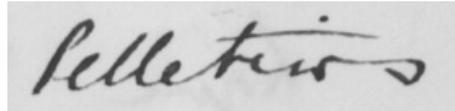
1. Manifest of the S.S. Newport arriving on 12 May 1884 in New York from Havana includes the adjacent names of the passengers

| No. | Name              | Age |
|-----|-------------------|-----|
| 10  | Mrs JL Heard      | 45  |
| 11  | Miss A Heard      | 20  |
| 12  | Mrs A C Pelletier | 50  |

The spelling of Pelletier is clear. The ages are not accurate, but they are not wildly wrong. On 12 May 1884 when Newport arrived in New York, Jane had just turned 52 the day before, Amelia Henrietta (De Coninck) Pelletier was 48, and Amy was 23.

2. The spelling “Pelletier” agrees with an 1886 letter from Augustine Heard, Jr. to Amy during his visit to Matanzas and the Ingenio *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*. In his letters he writes the name of the then current manager of the estate, and all occurrences clearly begin with *Pellet* not *Pillet* and end with what might easily be mistaken as *ur*, but close

inspection of multiple occurrences of the name convince me that it should be read as *ier* because of the dot that occurs above and slightly to the right of the upstroke. Its position is in line with the slanted upstroke and it is slightly elevated to avoid the crossing of the letter *t*. An example is given by



The letter presents another mystery: Amelia Henrietta Pelletier died in 1884, but the letter refers to Pelletiers plural. The implication is that no descendants of Lemuel Taylor are still living at *S<sup>a</sup> Amalia*, and it is not clear who the other Pelletier is.

3. The fact that Pichardo names a neighboring estate Pelletier and that Barcia names its owner as Jorge Victor Pelletier makes the surname a strong candidate for the husband of a grandchild of Lemuel Taylor. None of the other spellings for the name occur in the area around that time. Amelia Henrietta's husband's name George is Jorge in Spanish. It is plausible he was a son or nephew of Jorge Victor Pelletier, but he does not appear in any extant Pelletier family trees that I could find.

I have found no evidence that Francis Alexander De Coninck ever married. He was still living with his mother Amelia in Baltimore when she died in Baltimore in 1868, after which he returned to Cuba. Following his death in Cuba he was interred with his mother Amelia and sister Amelia at Green Mount Cemetery in Baltimore.

## 4.9 1845: Family Voyage

On 10 June 1845 a small group of De Conincks and Taylors arrived at the Port of New York on the Ship *Norma* from Havana. They were reported in the ships manifest (passenger list) and in two New York newspapers, but unfortunately the different reports were not consistent. I have read that such confusions are not infrequent. The voyage is important to the narrative because it set the stage and suggests undercurrents for the subsequent three years of events in the lives of both De Coninck and Taylor families. To help justify the guesswork involved, three separate lists are included and compared.

The first list is the official ship's manifest of the passengers. Table 4.2 yields the names and information of the De Conincks and Taylors in the order they are given. The names are contiguous in the manifest.

The main puzzle with the Manifest of the ship *Norma* is the identity of the only adult listed in the group — “Mary De Coninck.” The only “Mary De Coninck” related to the children who was alive at the time was Mary Taylor De Coninck, Amelia W. De Coninck's

Excerpt from **LIST or MANIFEST of all of the PASSENGERS**  
 Arriving from Havana on the Ship Norma, Port of New York  
 10 June 1845  
 with family names Deconinck or Taylor

| NAMES.            | AGE. | SEX.   | OCCUPATION. | Country to which they severally belong |
|-------------------|------|--------|-------------|--|
| Mary Deconinck    | 33   | Female | Lady        | UStates                                |
| Francis Deconinck | 7    | Male   | Child       | "                                      |
| Amelie Deconinck  | 9    | Female | Child       | "                                      |
| Mary W Taylor     | 10   | "      | "           | "                                      |
| Amelia C Taylor   | 8    | "      | "           | "                                      |

Table 4.2: Manifest of Ship Norma

daughter who was born on 9 August 1833 and would have been a child of 12 in June 1845. The other four in the group match exactly in age with children of Amelia and Francis De Coninck and Alexander and Maria Taylor if one identifies “Amelie Deconinck” with Amelia Henrietta De Coninck. Since it is highly likely that at least one of the parents is traveling with the children, a natural assumption is that either the first or the last name of the adult is wrong, that is, that “Mary Deconinck” is either “Amelia De Coninck” or “Maria Taylor.” Unfortunately the age of 33 does not match either hypothesis, in June 1845 Amelia was 38 and Maria was only 31. For further clues New York newspapers on the following day are helpful.

The New York *Evening Post* on 11 June 1845 list of passengers arriving from Havana on the ship Norma listed in order “Mrs Deceninck and servant, Miss Deceninck, Master Decenick, Miss H Taylor, Miss C E Taylor.” Apart from the obvious misspelling of Deconinck, this report confirms the adult as Amelia W. de Coninck and that she was traveling with a daughter and her son. In combination with the manifest, the daughter is Amelia Henrietta and not Jane. It is reasonable to assume that the two Misses Taylor are those named correctly in the Manifest. The “servant” might have been an enslaved Cuban creolla, in particular it might have been Luz, who is named as “Mrs. De Coninck’s Luz” in the *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* Accounts book ([141], p. 13). She is also listed first in the list of page 112 of *Criados* (servants or menials) of Mrs de Coninck as “Luz Criolla.”

The New York Herald published on 11 June 1845 list of “Passengers Arrived” from Havana on Ship Norma included (again contiguous and in order): Mrs E Deconinck and servant, Miss Deconinck, Master Deconinck, Miss M Taylor, Miss E C Taylor. Like the *Post* report, it confirms it was Mrs Deconinck, but gets the first initial wrong, and it confirms that she was traveling with a son and daughter, as does the manifest, which can be trusted

to specify which daughter. The initial “M” for one Taylor girl matches the manifest and the initials “E C” at least get the second initial correct.

My conclusion is that the manifest is basically correct except for the surname and age of the adult of the group, which should have been Amelia De Coninck at age 38.

So what was the purpose of the voyage of Amelia, two of her children, and two of her nieces to New York? The answers lie in the next section: her husband Francis was sick and would either soon move to New York City for treatment or was already there. Francis would die in New York City in 1847, and Amelia’s brother Alexander had made the decision to leave Cuba in 1847 with his family and move to Connecticut, where his wife Maria had family. Probably the Taylor children were on their way to Connecticut. Alexander would die soon after Francis, within a year of his arrival in Connecticut. The two are buried in adjacent plots in Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn in a plot purchased by Amelia W. De Coninck, see Figures 4.2 and 4.3.

#### 4.10 1847: Death of Francis De Coninck, Amelia’s Return to Cuba

Following a protracted illness described as “disease of the brain” on his death certificate and in the De Coninck Bible [43], Amelia’s husband Francis De Coninck died in New York at on 29 June 1847 at the age of 54.

Francis had gone to New York for treatment and had been staying at the Astor House, which was a hotel built by John Jacob Astor using the lots including his former house and the surrounding lots. It was considered the first luxury hotel in New York City. Francis was buried at Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn in Lot 1815. The Astor House was for men only, with women allowed to visit only under strict rules. It seems probable that Amelia and the children remained in New York to be near Francis after their arrival in 1845, but the rules prohibited them from staying at the Astor house.

Soon after the death of her husband Francis, Amelia and all of her children returned from New York City to Havana. French-language New York newspaper *Courrier des Etats-Unis* reported on page 5 of the Saturday 20 November 1847 edition:

PASSAGERS partis à bord du paquebot *Adélaïde*, pour la Havane. — ...Mme de Coninck et 3 enfants; Mlle de Coninck ...

which describes Amelia W. De Coninck, her teenage daughter Jane Leep De Coninck (then 15), and Amelia’s younger children Mary Taylor De Coninck (13), Amelia Henrietta (11), and Francis Alexander (9).<sup>22</sup> So Jane had rejoined the reduced family, which suggests she may have already come to the U.S. before the earlier trip of her mother, sisters, and brother.

<sup>22</sup>*Enfants* in French means “children,” not “infants” as in English.



Figure 4.2: Francis De Coninck Monument at Green-Wood Cemetery

The Cuban Genealogy Center <sup>23</sup> reports based on announcements in Cuban newspaper of the era that Louisa Taylor and Cora Taylor arrived in Havana on the *Adelaide* from New York on 28 November 1847, hence the two families had returned from New York to Cuba together.

### 4.11 1848: Death of Alexander Taylor

Amelia's only brother Alexander died in New Haven, Connecticut, on 2 August 1848 of "a liver complaint" [43] and his remains were also buried at Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn in Lot 1815, next to Francis. Both plots were purchased by Amelia, according



Figure 4.3: Monuments for Alexander Taylor and Francis De Coninck

to Green-Wood records. His wife and children settled in Middletown Ct. as discussed in Subsection 5.2.3 and eventually moved to New York in 1870.

### 4.12 June 1849: Matanzas to Philadelphia

The Barque *James Bayley* arrived in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, from Matanzas, Cuba on 3 June 1849 with several members of the Webster and De Coninck families on the

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<sup>23</sup>cubagenweb.org

passenger list.<sup>24</sup>

REPORT OR MANIFEST of all the Passengers taken on board the Bq *Jas Bayley* whereof Geo Bishop is Captain, from Matanzas, burthen 251 53/95 tons, and owned by Geo R Ayres & Co of Philadelphia and bound to Philadelphia.

Columns represent: Passenger numbers\*, names, age, sex, occupation, to what country belonging\*, country to which it is their intention to become residents\*.

|   |                               |    |        |           |
|---|-------------------------------|----|--------|-----------|
| 1 | W <sup>m</sup> Sparrow        | 35 | male   | engineer  |
| 2 | Thomas Clayton                | 28 | male   | carpenter |
| 3 | M <sup>rs</sup> Maria Webster | 65 | female | lady      |
| 4 | Miss Mary Webster             | 30 | female |           |
| 5 | Miss Helena Webster           | 22 | female |           |
| 6 | Miss Mary T Conink            | 15 | female |           |
| 7 | Miss Amelia Conink            | 13 | female |           |
| 8 | Francis De Conink             | 10 | male   |           |

\* Names were transcribed as seen regardless of spelling.

\* Passenger numbers assigned by transcriber for search purpose.

\* All passengers came from the United States and all intended to reside in the United States so these columns are not shown.

\* Passengers 4 through 8 were bracketed with note "Family of do", probably indicating family of Mrs. Webster.

The final note is correct, *do.* in passenger and other lists was an abbreviation for *ditto* or "the same as above."

Maria (Sage) Webster's husband Ephron had died in Cuba in 1841 and she was returning to Connecticut from Cuba with her daughters Mary Read Webster (b. 1810) and Helena Eliza Webster (b.1822) [10] and bringing with her all of Amelia W. De Coninck's children *except for Jane*. Jane followed her siblings the following spring, as considered in the next section.

Mary Taylor De Coninck would be back at *S<sup>a</sup> Amalia* by March 1851 with her mother Amelia, but before that all three all three De Coninck daughters — Jane Leep, Mary Taylor, and Amelia Henrietta — would visit Baltimore as considered in Section 4.14. Jane traveled to the U.S. separately, as is considered next.

<sup>24</sup>Transcribed by the Immigrant Ships Transcribers Guild based on the National Archives and Records Administration, Film M425, Reel 68.

### 4.13 May 1850: Barque *Isla de Cuba*

On 20 May 1850 the barque *Isla de Cuba* arrived from Havana in the Port of New York. An image of the passenger manifest is included as Figure 4.4 because it has several interesting implications, both evident and subtle. The manifest identifies the vessel as a barque of 215

Sold by Meloyden & Baker, Stationers, 55 Pine Street, adjoining the Custom House, N. Y.

**DISTRICT OF NEW YORK—PORT OF NEW YORK.**

I, John T. Marschalk do solemnly, sincerely and truly swear that the following List or Manifest of Passengers, subscribed with my name, and now delivered by me to the Collector of the Customs for the District of New York, contains, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a just and true account of all the Passengers received on board the Barque Isla de Cuba whereof I am Master, from Havana So help me God.

Sworn to this 20 day of May 1850  
 Before me [Signature]  
 List or Manifest OF ALL THE PASSENGERS taken on board the \_\_\_\_\_ whereof \_\_\_\_\_ is Master, from \_\_\_\_\_ burthen 215 tons.

| NAMES               | Age   |        | SEX | OCCUPATION  | The country to which they severally belong | The country in which they intend to become established | Place of the Voyage |
|---------------------|-------|--------|-----|-------------|--|--|---------------------|
|                     | Years | Months |     |             |  |  |                     |
| Mr. Pennant         | 32    |        |     |             | Havana                                     | New York   |                     |
| Miss Sophia Pennant | 9     |        |     |             | "  | "  |                     |
| Miss Ann Pennant    | 7     |        |     |             | "  | "  |                     |
| Miss L. Do.         | 3     |        |     |             | "  | "  |                     |
| Miss P. Leonard     | 17    |        |     |             | "  | Boston   |                     |
| Mr. A. Palmer       | 35    | 5      |     |             | "  | N. York  |                     |
| Mr. Thompson        | 35    |        |     |             | Boston                                     | Boston   |                     |
| Capt. Ward          | 45    |        |     | Ship Master | Boston                                     | Boston   |                     |
| Mr. Stewart         | 35    |        |     |             | France                                     | N. York  |                     |

Figure 4.4: Barque *Isla de Cuba* Manifest

tons burthen with master John T. Marschalk (in at least one newspaper account spelled the name Marschall). In 1850 a barque (bark, barke, barc) was a modest-size sailing vessel with three or more masts, two of which were square-rigged and a single mizzen mast at the rear rigged fore-and-aft. Barques were used primarily for trading but often carried a few passengers. For this voyage only 9 passengers were aboard, suggesting the remainder of the ship was used for the consigners' trade goods, which for an 1850 voyage from Cuba to the U.S. was dominated by sugar along with some coffee and tobacco. Barques were still in common use in the mid-nineteenth century because they were cheaper (smaller crew, fewer expenses) than the much faster steam vessels. Barques were also used to transfer modest numbers of people — including colonists, missionaries, and — in the late 1850s — Enslaved Africans to the Caribbean.

*Isla de Cuba* appears only three times in the online passenger lists I found by searching: the trip described here and trips March and November 1851 carrying only three passengers. It did, however, appear multiple times in *Diario de La Marina* in the early 1850s when advertising for cargo and passengers for future trips.

One of the passengers listed among the “Passengers received on board” the barque which arrived in New York on 20 May 1850 is Miss De Coninck, age 17, from Havana with eventual destination of Boston. Jane Leep De Coninck was born 11 May 1832 and hence was 18 when the *Isla de Cuba* arrived in New York, but 17 when she boarded the barque announced as departing 21 February in the *Gaceta de La Habana*, Num. 26-50, Febrero de 1850,<sup>25</sup> several notices in the *Gaceta* during February 1850 announced the presence, the loading of cargo, and the acceptance of additional cargo and passengers for the scheduled 21 February voyage to New York of the “hermosa y velera fragata paquete ISLA DE CUBA su capitan Marschalk” (the spellings “Marschall” and “Marshack” are also used). Furthermore, the *Gaceta* states that the consigners of the ship are “Morison De Coninck Y Comp,” the firm founded in 1843 by Jane’s late father Francis De Coninck and Robert Morison, who was introduced in this book in Subsection 3.11.6 with added detail in Section 4.6. Morison was British merchant who married Adelaide Bellechasse, the sister of Jean Bellechasse of the ingenio *Bellechasse*, an ingenio neighboring the *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* of the Taylors and De Conincks.

The barque did not leave Havana on schedule, but its actual departure was announced on the 27 February issue of the *Gaceta*

There is little doubt that Jane knew her father’s former partner, with whom her mother Amelia likely arranged Jane’s passage. It also seems improbable that Amelia would have sent off her 17 year old daughter Jane unaccompanied by friends since there are no immediately familiar family names in the passenger list. But as mentioned in Section 4.6 and will be further detailed shortly, Mrs. Tennant, the first adult on the list, was born Juana Camila Dalcour and was the sister of Amelia’s neighbor Sofia Bellechasse, and the misses Sophia (age 9), Heni (age 7) and Leo. (age 4) Tennant were her daughters. Jane was listed on the manifest following the Tennants and just before A. Dalcour (age 25), who was likely Camila’s brother Augustine Dalcour. If not actual family, all five were extended family, as was Robert Morison — who probably arranged the passage along with Jane’s mother, his former business partner’s widow. It is notable that of the group of five, all were bound for New York while Jane listed her destination as Boston.

The other passengers were Captain Evans, age 45, and Mr. Thompson, age 35, both bound for Boston, and a French lady going to New York.

There was a ship’s captain named George Evans who commanded the brig *Salvadora*

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<sup>25</sup>University of Miami Digital Collections <https://digitalcollections.library.miami.edu/digital/collection/cubanlaw/id/54846/> under the headings Parte Mercantil, Puerto de la Habana, Buques que tiene abierto su registro

taking passengers from Havana to New Orleans during 1848 and 1849 as indicated by passenger lists at the Immigrant Ships Transcribers Guild.<sup>26</sup> The final passenger list New Orleans from Havana is for March 1849, but his return to New Orleans in August 1849 was noted by newspapers because of his bringing a man named Garcia known by an alias Rey, a Spaniard who had allegedly been abducted by orders of the Governor General of Cuba and taken to Cuba. The American consul secured his release and sent him back to New Orleans on the *Salvadora*. Capt. Evans was reported as giving testimony regarding the kidnapping, verifying that in August 1849 he was in New Orleans. The next appearance of the brig *Salvadora* is a notice in the Shipping section of the San Francisco *Daily Pacific News* of 8 January 1851<sup>27</sup> seeking freight and passengers for the “A1 Baltimore clipper built brig SALVADORA, four years old, with an experienced master, Thos. F. Wood.” A conjecture is that Evans took his ship back to Havana for a final time from New Orleans, arriving in autumn of 1849, and relinquished command of the ship and returned to the U.S. a few months later on barque *Isla de Cuba*. To gather evidence would require poring through the maritime sections of the Cuban newspapers *Gaceta* and *Diario*. But it hardly seems worth the effort since there seems to be no apparent connection between Capt. Evans and the De Conincks so apart from the common destination of Boston there is little reason to suspect a connection.

There was also a Captain Samuel Evans connected to Lemuel Taylor in the Sheppard vs. Taylor 1831 U.S. Supreme Court case of Ship *Warren* described in Subsection 2.2.5. He was the first mate who took over the ship as Captain when the previous Captain Andrew Sterett committed suicide. That Capt. Evans is not a candidate for Jane’s traveling companion since he died in 1824.

#### 4.13.1 The Ship

*Isla de Cuba* is not called a barque in the Cuban press, but in addition to the manifest it was described as a barque in American books to be cited shortly. The Spanish description “velera fragata paquete” can be translated as a “swift-sailing fully-rigged packet boat.”

The *Isla de Cuba* appears in a few other publications dealing with events during the remainder of the 1850s. These provide pictorial and verbal information about the ship and its place in history. In 1853 the reverend Daniel H. Peterson joined a few passengers in cabins and a missionary group in steerage on a trip from New York to Monrovia, Liberia, and in 1854 published a book including a description of his voyages to and from and his time in Africa. The lengthy title provides a good summary: *The Looking-Glass: Being a True Report and Narrative of the Life, Travels, and Labors of the Rev. Daniel H. Peterson, a Colored Clergyman; Embracing a Period of Time from the Year 1812 to 1854, and Including*

<sup>26</sup><https://immigrantships.net/v>

<sup>27</sup>[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/dc/Daily\\_Pacific\\_News\\_1851-01-08\\_%28IA\\_cac1mmgd\\_000306%29.pdf](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/dc/Daily_Pacific_News_1851-01-08_%28IA_cac1mmgd_000306%29.pdf)

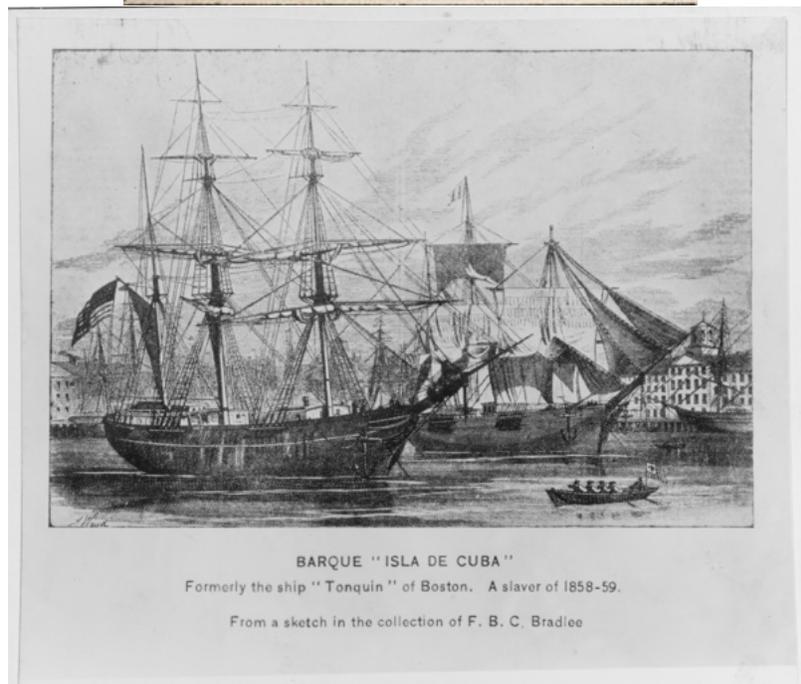
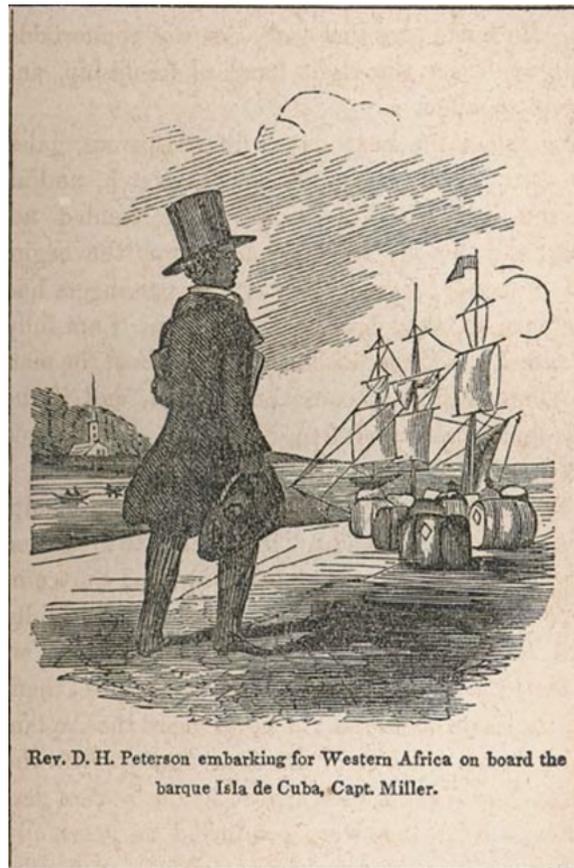


Figure 4.5: Barque *Isla de Cuba* in 1853 and 1857

*His Visit to Western Africa*<sup>28</sup> The book includes the top drawing in Figure 4.5, which is likely an added drawing based on the typical shape of a barque. The caption in the book is “Rev. D. H. Peterson embarking for Western Africa on board the barque *Isla de Cuba*, Capt. Miller.” The vessel has the typical three mast structure of a barque and is of modest size. In his book, Peterson describes the purpose of his visit to Africa is to both preach and to ascertain the state of the American emigrés in Liberia.

According to the 10 March 1854 *Buffalo Daily Republic*, Peterson was from Rome, Oneida County, New York, and he was a member of the African Methodist Church.

The ship departed from New York on 10 November 1853, and Peterson has high praise for the captain, first mate, and the rest of the crew and their handling of the ship and the comfort of the passengers. He states that there were 56 passengers on board, of which he said 30 to 40 were in steerage, the cheapest and worst of the accommodations, usually cramped, dark, and without fresh air or sleeping accommodation. The boat arrived at the port of Monrovia on 19 November. Peterson spent over two months in Africa and then returned to New York on the barque *Isla de Cuba* from Gambia under Capt. Forsyth with Capt. Miller on board as a passenger, leaving Gambia at the beginning of February 1854.

A more detailed portrait of the barque *Isla de Cuba* shown in the bottom of Figure 4.5 is taken from the book *Piracy in the West Indies: and its Supression* by Francis Boardman Crowninshield Bradlee, published by the Essex Institute Salem, Mas. 1923. The barque is mentioned in a chapter on the slave trade as being a typical ship used in the trade, but the story is more complicated and is detailed in *The United States, by information, vs. the bark, Isla de Cuba, and cargo*. (1863).<sup>29</sup> The document describes information filed in 1857 regarding a U.S. Court case in the District of Massachusetts regarding the seizure of the “B’k *Isla de Cuba* of New York, the burthen of two hundred and fifteen tons, or thereabouts” and the confiscation of goods for alleged participation in the trading of African slaves. No enslaved people were found on the ship when it was seized, but the evidence strongly suggested the intention based on the quantity of stores for a large number of people along with carpentry equipment and materials suitable for constructing enclosed space in steerage for a large number of people.

The document describes the ship as having been built in 1849 and that the “vessell has one deck and three masts, and that her length is ninety-seven feet, six inches, her breadth twenty-four feet, her depth ten feet, three inches, and that she measures two hundred and fifteen and 17/95 tons, and that she is a barque, has a square stern, and no billet head.” These details, especially the description as a barque and the burthen, are consistent with the description of the earlier reports of the barque *Isla de Cuba*. The court case, however, did not establish that the barque had actually been used in the slave trade

<sup>28</sup>NEW - YORK: WRIGHT, PRINTER, 146 FULTON STREET. 1854. An online version can be found at <https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/peterson/peterson.html>

<sup>29</sup>United States of America, Massachusetts District, In Admiralty, Boston, printed by Alfred Mudge & Son; Hathi Trust <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo.31924074466891>

and an effective defense by the owners succeeded in gaining some restitution for their loss of the boat and its contents. They had (barely) plausible excuses for the intent of the ship and complicated financial arrangements clouded issues of responsibility. It was never proven that the barque did participate in the slave trade as claimed by Bradlee, but it does seem likely that it would have if it had not been seized and sold. It is also important to remember that slavery was not illegal in the U.S. in the 1850s, but the trade was.

Bradlee makes the claim that the barquee *Isla de Cuba* was believed to be the ship “Tonquin,” which had been grounded in California in 1850 and rebuilt. The court case states that the barque was built in 1849 and all evidence of the several ships of the time named *Tonquin* suggests they were lost beyond any ability to rebuild. I believe, however, that the illustration from the Bradlee collection is an accurate portrayal of the barque that Jane De Coninck sailed on in 1850 and that the U.S. Court seized and sold in 1858. There is a “Bradlee Collection” at the Peabody-Essex Museum which someday I hope to explore.

#### 4.13.2 Passengers

This brings us back to the passenger manifest that began this section with context to consider Jane’s fellow passengers on barque *Isla de Cuba* in March through May 1850. The first six of the nine passengers can be identified from multiple consistent sources, of which the most important one is “The Papers and History of Panton, Leslie and Company, and John Forbes and Company,” William S. Coker (1994).<sup>30</sup> The key to the group is Mrs Tennant, who was introduced in Subsection 3.11.6 as Juana Camila Dalcour, usually referred to as “Camila,” the daughter of Sophia Forbes and Francisco Dalcour who married Stephan Cattley Tennant. The manifest includes Mrs Tennant, three of her daughters, her brother Augustine, and Jane Leep De Coninck, daughter of Amelia W. and Francis De Coninck.

**Mrs Tennant** née Juana Camila Dalcour (1818–1855), the daughter of Maxim Francois Lalande Dalcour and Sophie Forbes, sister of Sophia Dalcour Bellechasse, and brother of Augustine Dalcour. Sophia Bellechasse was a neighbor *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* living at *Bellechasse*. On 18 March 1840 Camila married Stephen Cattley Tennant (1800–1848), an English merchant serving as the Cuban agent for the mercantile firm Tennant & Clark. Stephen had lived in Havana since the 1820s, but was visiting Great Britain in 1848 when he died in a train wreck. Camila was 32 and not 22 in 1850 as listed on the register.

**Miss Sophie Tennant** was Camila Tennant’s daughter Florencia Sophia Tennant (1841–1857).

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<sup>30</sup> *Florida Historical Quarterly*: Vol. 73 : No. 3 , Article 7. Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol73/iss3/7>

**Miss Heni Tennant** was Camila Tennant’s daughter Enriqueta Augustina Tennant, born 31 May 1843 in Matanzas Cuba. The transcription “Heni” is perhaps dubious, but note that the first letter matches the initial “H” in “Habana” in the country column and the remaining letters match handwritten letters “e”, “n”, and “i” elsewhere in the manifest. More importantly, her age on departure of the *Isla de Cuba* matches the manifest and “Heni” is one of the many nicknames for “Henrietta”, the English equivalent of Enriqueta.

**Miss Leo. Tennant** was Camila Tennant’s daughter Leocadia Fernanda Tennant (1846 - 1878) who would grow up to marry Alexander Morison, the son of Robert Morison and Adelaide Bellechasse.

**Miss De Coninck** was Jane Leep De Coninck (5/11/1832 - 6/19/1899)

**Mr. A. Dalcour** was Augustine Dalcour (1825 - 1890), the brother of Camila.

Two of the children of Stephen and Juana Camila Dalcour Tennant were not on the voyage: Enriqueta’s twin brother Esteban José (1843 - 1914), who later anglicized his name as Stephen Joseph, and Blanca Catalina Tennant (1844 - 1878).

After the arrival of the barque *Isla de Cuba* in New York in May 1850, she next appears in published history in December 1850 in Baltimore, which is the subject of the next section. First, however, two detours at the fates of two of the other passengers with Jane which might or might not have influenced her unaccounted time between New York and Baltimore and afterwards.

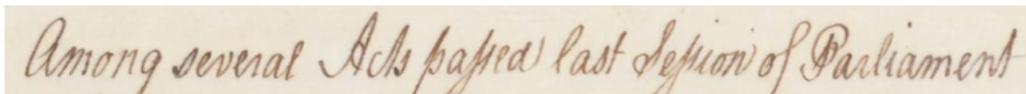
### 4.13.3 Camila Dalcour Tennant and Julian Fontana

On 9 September 1850 in New York City Camila Dalcour Tennant married Julian Fontana, also known as Jules. The suddenness of remarriage on arrival suggests a prior history, and unsurprisingly there was one. Although Julian himself plays a minor role in this book, he is one of the celebrities of his time that passes through the story and who deserves to be better known today. There are websites devoted to Fontana as well as many articles, a book, and PhD thesis. Two Websites <https://www.julianfontana.com> by Bill Rodriguez and [https://www.poles.org/db/f\\_names/Fontana\\_J.html](https://www.poles.org/db/f_names/Fontana_J.html) are quite thorough and informative. Fontana was a true polymath — a musician, writer, businessman, and traveler. He was born in Krakow, Poland, and was schooled with Frederik Chopin and the two became friends and colleagues. Although a musician and composer in his own right, Fontana is perhaps most known for his spreading the music of Chopin internationally through concerts and publication arrangements. He was fluent in French, Spanish, and English as well as his native Polish, which helped him popularize Chopin’s music in the United States and Cuba, in particular. Following Chopin’s death in

1849, Fontana was engaged by the Chopin family to organize and publish all of Chopin's previously unpublished works. Fontana moved to Cuba in 1844, motivated by his difficulty in finding sufficient work in Europe and the multiplicity of theaters and concert halls in the Spanish colony. While in Cuba, Fontana had an affair with the young wife, Camila, of the British Merchant Stephen Tennant and it was rumored that her fifth child, Leocadia, born in May 1845 was Fontana's. Fontana moved back to New York, where he was successful giving concerts, composing, promoting Chopin's music along with his own, and presumably teaching. Camila's husband Stephen died in England in a train accident in 1848 and Camila left Havana for New York not long after, arriving on the *Isla de Cuba* on 20 May 1850. On 9 September 1850 Jules Fontana and Camila Dalcour were married at the old St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City. Bill Rodriguez' sister in November 2006 got a transcribed copy of the marriage certificate, which brings us back to a main thread of Jane's story. One of the two listed witnesses is "Sophie Bellechape" which I am convinced is a transcription error from the original document of "Sophie Bellechasse." I have often paused when reading hand-written script documents from the mid-19th century by the sript "ss." My difficulty is not uncommon and several websites considering early cursive writing note this problem. As an example, [https://dohistory.org/on\\_your\\_own/toolkit/writing.html](https://dohistory.org/on_your_own/toolkit/writing.html) says with regards to 18th century cursive:

The lower case s was written in elongated form at the beginning of a word, in the middle of a word, and when written twice, as in pass. The elongated s can be mistaken for an f, and ss can look something like a p.

I have encountered this in letters and handwritten documents at least up to the mid 19th century. A visual example is provided in *Style Guide: A Reference for Reading Historic Documents*, State Archives of North Carolina, which in Figure 2 provides an <sup>31</sup> illustration of the old cursive double-s in the words "passed" and "Session."



Sophia Bellechasse was the sister of Camila Tennant, both were daughters of Sophia Forbes and Francisco Dalcour. So it is natural that the bride's sister would be in attendance for the wedding. It is also likely that the bride's brother Augustine who came with her from Cuba would be there. Sophia Bellechamp would be back at *Bellechasse* in Cardenas in March 1851 when Fredrika Bremer and Amelia W. De Coninck visited her. She would be in Florida with Jean and then Kentucky by 1852, when Jean died in Kentucky.

<sup>31</sup>[https://files.nc.gov/dncr-archives/documents/files/State\\_Archives\\_TranscribeNC\\_Handwriting\\_Guide\\_0.pdf](https://files.nc.gov/dncr-archives/documents/files/State_Archives_TranscribeNC_Handwriting_Guide_0.pdf)

Soon after their marriage, Camila and Julian Fontana left New York with her children for Paris, where she and Julian had a son. On 30 March 1853 Camila died giving birth to their second son. In serious financial difficulty, he gave up guardianship of Stephen and Camila's children to the Tennant family. Julian tried hard but failed to obtain a part of Camila's estate which she had inherited from her father and John Forbes, even traveling to Cuba in 1857-8 to testify in Spanish courts. He did win a small amount for his son with Camila. The remainder of his life was hard, with continuing financial hardship, bad health and much travel. He married again and had five more children. He died in Paris in 1869.

Enriqueta Augustina Tennant also merits a detour as a fascinating individual who crossed paths with the Taylors and De Conincks. Arguably she proved to have the greatest impact on the world of the 9 passengers traveling from Havana to New York on the barque *Isla de Cuba*. Her life story is well documented and she was and remains best known for her founding of the John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester in memory of her late husband. Her story is well told in the Ryland Blogs, especially in

“Rylands Reflects: Our Man in Havana,” (December 3, 2020),<sup>32</sup> “Rylands Reflects: Whiter than white? Enriqueta Rylands's Cuban roots,” by Elizabeth Gow (September 14, 2020),<sup>33</sup> and “Rylands Reflects: Enriqueta Rylands's first home,” also by Elizabeth Gow, (May 31, 2022)<sup>34</sup> These articles present a colorful and well illustrated account of Enriqueta's life and contributions, but the reader is warned that the citations include articles in the *Bulletin of John Rylands University Library Manchester* which are not available without a subscription, which proved an annoying barrier for pursuing details. None of the universities with which I am associated (Stanford, Boston University, MIT) have subscriptions and Manchester's only suggestion for finding a copy was that I convince one of them to subscribe. I was available to by a reprint of one relevant article “Enriqueta Augustina Rylands (1843-1908), Founder of the John Rylands Library,” *Bulletin of John Rylands University Library Manchester*, Vol. 71 (2): 3-38, as a reprint from a bookseller. Manchester was unhelpful.

#### 4.14 1856: Return to Baltimore, the Monday German

The earliest evidence of Amelia W. De Coninck's return to Baltimore is in *Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1855-56*, page 90, and *Woods' Baltimore Directory for 1856-57*, page 64, which list

<sup>32</sup><https://rylandscollections.com/2020/12/03/rylands-reflects-our-man-in-havana/>

<sup>33</sup><https://rylandscollections.com/2020/09/14/whiter-than-white-enriqueta-rylands-cuban-roots/>

<sup>34</sup><https://rylandscollections.com/2022/05/31/rylands-reflects-enriqueta-rylandss-first-home/>

DeConnick Amelia W. 21 McCullough<sup>35</sup>

so that Amelia again resided in Baltimore not later than 1855. The directory does not list family members sharing the residence, but subsequent events in 1856 and 1858 suggest that that Amelia's daughters Jane Leep, Amelia Henrietta, and Mary Taylor were living with her until Jane's marriage in April 1858.

In 1956 the three daughters were involved in Baltimore society event. I learned of the event while searching online for events involving the De Conincks between Fredrika Bremer's 1851 visit to *S<sup>ta</sup>Amalia* and Jane De Coninck's marriage to Augustine Heard Jr. in Baltimore in 1858. The first article I found was published in the *Baltimore Sun* on 8 December 1907 (Volume CXLII, Issue 22, Page 12): "The Monday German: Its history and significance, a few facts about one of Baltimore's oldest and most momentous social events," by Amy D'Arcy Wetmore.<sup>36</sup> The title caught my eye because I had encountered the word *german* in the context of a dance in Amy's journal and had tracked down that it was a seasonal series of cotillions, where the first of the season was a formal ball at which debutantes were "presented" or introduced into society. The article gives the history of the Baltimore Bachelors' Cotillion, which was better known as the "Monday German." It was a rite of passage and ritual for the girls and young women of the Baltimore white and rich or influential elite. It was unabashedly racist and exclusionary, but it was much ballyhooed in the press in later years.

The 1907 article refers back to an article of the previous December for the first published history of the event. This original article was published in the *Baltimore Sun* on Sunday 2 December 1906: "The Bachelors' Cotillion; Its Origin and History: A Hitherto-Unpublished Chapter in the Social Annals of Baltimore."<sup>37</sup>

According to Wetmore, the Monday German had been founded in in December 1856 by group of Baltimore families to emulate cotillions then popular in the South and in Newport and three generations of girls had been attended since that time. The first Monday german took place in early December, 1856, "at the house of Lloyd Rogers, on Mulberry street where the Pratt Library now stands."

The articles describe the original 1856 event and the subsequent history of the event, but only the first event in December 1856 is of interest here. The names are listed of the founding members (female and male), including the three De Coninck sisters: "Jane De Coninck, Mary De Coninck, and Amelia De Coninck." The 1907 article notes that 37 of the original 43 were dead, as were the three De Coninck sisters.

The girls were paraded by their sponsors (usually fathers) before the attending Baltimore bachelors, who might be "old or young, fat and prosperous or young and slim."

<sup>35</sup>Woods spells De Coninck as "De Conninck" and McCullough is spelled "McCulloh"

<sup>36</sup>Lance Humphries informs me that Amy D'Arcy Wetmore was born Amy D'Arcy Wilson and she married Russell Wetmore. She was related to Baltimore "old money" and well knew the social world of Baltimore at the turn of the century. Wetmore was described as social historian and writer. She died in 1821.

<sup>37</sup><https://www.newspapers.com/image/373379626>

There were 44 original members: 6 married women, 13 girls or young women being presented to society — including Jane, Mary, and Amelia, and 25 men. The rules were that no Baltimorian was permitted to attend unless specifically invited by an unidentified governing committee of members led by a Secretary — originally Mr. William C. Pennington. Strangers, however, were always welcomed if “properly introduced.” The decision of who received invitations was made by an unnamed committee of members.

The De Coninck sisters’ father Francis had died in New York in 1847, so it is not clear who fulfilled the role escorting the young women. Scanning the list of the male members reveals only three names familiar to me from the Taylor/De Coninck history: Taylor, Gilmor, and Woodville. Mr. and Mrs. Henry S. Taylor shared a family name with the sisters’ grandfather Lemuel, but I can find no connection between Lemuel and Henry, and Taylor was a fairly common name in Baltimore at the time. The only cousin I have found of Lemuel’s was a Williams, which name does not occur in the list of founding members. The Gilmor family was well known and affluent, but the only connection I could find is that Lemuel owed a Gilmor money before leaving for Cuba in 1820. The two Woodvilles on the list of members are Myddleton Woodville (1829-1878) and William Woodville VI (1827-1898), called William Woodville, Jr., at the time. The Woodville’s do have a connection with Jane, but only William lived in Baltimore at the time. A slight detour describes the connection, which can be summarized by noting that their niece, Bessie Woodville, became a very close friend of Amy Heard, Jane’s daughter.

The William and Myddleton Woodville were brothers of Richard Caton Woodville (1825-1855), a native of Baltimore who became an internationally known artist. In 1845 to Europe he emigrated to Europe with his first wife, Mary Theresa Buckler. Both Richard and Mary were Baltimore natives and well-to-do, but they married in secret because their parents opposed the marriage.

From 1845 to 1851 Richard Woodville trained and worked in Düsseldorf, Germany, where his daughter Elizabeth, called Bessie, was born 29 August 1848. In 1849, he left his family for fellow artist Antoinette Schnitzler, and Mary Woodville returned to Baltimore with her two children — Bessie and her brother Henry James. Mary appears in the 1850 census with her children Henry 5 and Bessie 2 living with her Buckler relatives. Bessie will reappear in Amy’s 1882 journals and in subsequent letters to Amy. Bessie will maintain connections with her Baltimore roots, but will spend most of her life in Biarritz, where Amy will visit frequently with her parents and her brother John will spend a significant amount of time.

The connection between Bessie Woodville and Amy is not a convincing argument that William Woodville, Jr., served as Jane’s sponsor at the 1856 Baltimore German that both attended as founding members, but it is plausible and consistent.

In December 1856 Jane was 24 years old. Figure 4.6 is a scanned Daguerreotype I inherited from my father. It has no identifying label on the frame or the decorated leather and velvet box containing the frame. I believe the image is of Amy’s mother Jane De

Coninck and that it was likely taken between her 1850 arrival in the U.S. from Cuba and the 1856 Monday German. Daguerreotypes were popular from the late 1840s through the late 1850s, by which time better, faster, and cheaper photographic processes had replaced them. Baltimore was a major participant in the spread of the Daguerreotype process and had many active studios. The young woman in the image strongly resembles the photo of the older and more austere Jane L. Heard of Figure 5.4 likely taken around the time of her 1858 marriage and before their move to Paris late that same year.

Lance Humphries observes that the Daguerreotype might be a photography of a drawing, a practice of the time as families split up things. He adds that it resembles the work of the artist George D'Almaine's work, as exemplified by his portrait of Susan May Williams Bonaparte <https://www.mdhistory.org/resources/susan-may-williams-bonaparte/>.

Jane's life between her 1850 arrival in New York City and the 1856 Monday German remain a mystery. I have found no clues in online searching of newspapers and passenger lists. It can be inferred that during this time her grandfather Lemuel Taylor died, probably not long after Fredrika Bremer visited him and Jane's mother Amelia at *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* in March 1851. Furthermore, Jane and her sisters Mary and Amelia Henrietta and their mother Amelia were all back in Baltimore by 1856.

I had thought that perhaps Augustine Heard II, Jane's future husband, might have attended the 1856 Monday German in Baltimore, but that theory fails because his letters in the Baker Library collection definitely put him in China through all of 1856 and much of 1857.



Figure 4.6: Jane Leep De Coninck c. 1856

## Chapter 5

### *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* : 1851-1886

By 1851, both Francis De Coninck and Alexander Taylor were dead and buried in the United States. In March, the then-famous Swedish author Fredrika Bremer visited the Ingenio *Santa Amalia* (which she referred to as both *Santa Amalia* and Santa Amelia in her books) and left a description of her time with Lemuel Taylor, his daughter Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck, and Amelia's daughter Mary Taylor De Coninck. Bremer also met others who lived on the estate, including several enslaved Africans. Surprisingly for the time, Bremer was allowed to talk with the slaves and and paint them as well as the colonial owners and managers of the estates she visited. She observed and wrote about the cultures of the enslaved tribes, including the Lucumi and Congo, and provided a long description of and commentary on the conditions under which they lived and aspects of their culture they had manage to preserve, including dance. Her description of *Santa Amalia* and of other estates and cities in Cuba provide an illuminating picture of the Island of Cuba. in the middle 19th century. These writings are quoted extensively in this chapter along with several notes and observations. In addition to the books and letters describing her travels in America, she made sketches and watercolors of places, landscapes, and people she saw. These have been digitized and are available online in the public domain and a few key examples are included here.

In a little less than three years later, the manager of the Ingenio *Santa Amalia*, George Sage Webster, began an Account Book for the estate, in which he would record the daily expenses of the estate until his departure for Connecticut around 1865. The book provided a list of the slaves at the Ingenio Santa Amalia around 1865, as well as those rented from the nearby Webster estate of Ontario. George was the brother of Alexander Taylor's widow Maria Louisa Taylor. Both Mrs. De Coninck and Mrs. Taylor — who can only be Amelia W. De Coninck and Maria Louisa Taylor — are specifically mentioned in the Account Book, but only in relation to purchases made for their *Criadas*, or enslaved servants. These lists, referred to as *Dotaciones*, provide a chilling reminder of the reality of slavery — that it was no abstract concept of an economic system, but rather a brutal reality denying the

humanity of a substantial fraction of the people.

The lives, departures, deaths, marriages, and births of Lemuel and some of his progeny who were living at mid-century when Bremer visited *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* are considered, including the 1858 marriage of Jane Leep De Coninck in her mother's house in Baltimore to Augustine Heard, Jr., and the birth of Amy Heard in 1860. The Heard family and Augustine Jr. in particular will be considered in depth in the next chapter.

The chapter ends with a twentieth century poem by a descendant of Africans transplanted to Cuba as slaves. This remarkable poem by the late Cuban poet Georgina Herrera, born in Jovellanos, was written as she faced the ruins of the *Borracón* (slave quarters) of the Ingenio Santa Amelia with her knowledge of the oral transmissions of her ancestors, some of whom may have been listed in George Sage Webster's account book.

## 5.1 March 1851: Fredrika Bremer's visit to S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia

In March 1851 Fredrika Bremer (17 August 1801 – 31 December 1865), a Swedish novelist (often described as the “Swedish Jane Austen”), travel writer, artist, and feminist visited Lemuel Taylor, his daughter the widow Amelia W. De Coninck, and her daughter Mary Taylor De Coninck at Taylor's Santa Amelia sugar plantation near Matanzas and subsequently wrote a book about her travels in Cuba in the United States [23].<sup>1</sup> Her book comprised her letters about her travels to her younger sister Agatha in Sweden. Lemuel was in good company, Bremer also visited such U.S. luminaries as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Longfellow, and Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Bremer was a celebrity in her day, the first Swedish novel writer to gain fame in the United States. In an odd connection to the Heard family, Bremer was a friend of the famed Swedish singer Jenny Lind, and the two would meet during their overlapping stay in Cuba. Lind, it turns out, was the principal rival of singer Pauline Viardot, who later would be the teacher of Amy's close friend in the 1880s, Mathilde de Nogueiras.

She describes the Ingenio<sup>2</sup> *Santa Amalia* and the brutal conditions of the slaves then living on the plantation. She describes Lemuel as mostly confined to his arm-chair, but still mentally sharp. Lemuel was probably too old and frail at the age of 81 in March 1851 to later return to the U.S. as has been suggested.

Bremer's letters provide a great deal of insight into the lives Amelia, her father Lemuel, and her daughter Mary in mid nineteenth century Cuba and show that Lemuel was still alive and mentally aware at the time of the visit. It is sometimes hard to extract per-

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<sup>1</sup>Recall that S<sup>ta</sup> Amelia is another name for *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*, but I follow the author's choice of name when quoting.

<sup>2</sup>I use the Spanish for words in Spanish, I do not follow Bremer's Swedish approximate spellings except in quotes, which (at least on their first appearance) are accompanied by footnotes providing the Spanish spelling.

sonal information from her writings because key details are occasionally missing — like the names of the people she is visiting. It is usually possible, however, to fill in missing information and remove inconsistencies by considering other writings by her or other contemporary material. Of particular interest is a sketchbook she filled with pencil drawings and water colors of several places and people, including *Santa Amalia*. Happily all of this material is on the Web and most of it is in the public domain. It is useful to begin with the different sources written (or drawn) by her and a few resources about her.

## Writings and Drawings

During the late 1840s and early 1850s Fredrika Bremer traveled extensively in the United States, visiting the North, South, and Midwest as well as the Island of Cuba soon after the filibustering expedition of Narciso López, a privately financed invasion of Cuba funded mostly by United States southern politicians ostensibly to initiate a war of independence in Cuba against the Spanish colonial power. Few of the officers and soldiers were Cuban, most were veterans of the recent war between the United States and Mexico. One reason reported in the press was to follow the model of Texas: gain independence and then request annexation by the United States, adding to the number of slave states. The plan failed because López had little and short-lived success, lacking support from most segments of the Cuban population. But the invasion did cause significant political agitation on the Island and brought attention from the U.S. and Europe regarding its colonial status.

Bremer wrote long letters describing her travels, including places and people, to her tubercular younger sister Agathe in Sweden, which were collected and published in three volumes as *Hemmen i den Ny Verlden* (in Swedish) in 1853-54. Her time in Cuba was described in Volume 3 [23]. The original Swedish version can be found on the Internet at the Runeberg Project.<sup>3</sup>

During her travels, Bremer also carried a sketchbook with her and made drawings and watercolors of many of the people, plants, and places she encountered. Sometimes the images have brief notes on them providing titles or location [24]. Unfortunately, the beautiful collection of drawings was never properly published. Happily excellent quality scans can be found online at the University of Uppsala as tiff files.<sup>4</sup> Lower resolution jpeg copies will be reproduced here. Before discovering these outstanding images, I discovered reproductions of the sketchbook in a Cuban journal celebrating the centennial of Bremer's visit in 1951 [116] along with added captions drawn from the American English translation of *Homes of the New World*[24]. The captions are informative, but several are incorrect for now understandable reasons. These will be discussed.

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<sup>3</sup><http://runeberg.org/hemmeninya/3/>

<sup>4</sup><http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record\%3A90177\&dswid=-9079>

The book was translated into English by Mary Howitt with the cooperation of Bremer and published as *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America* almost simultaneously with the Swedish version. It was published in the United States by Harper & Brothers in 1853 [24] and in Great Britain by Arthur Hall, Virtue, & Co [26] in 1855. I will usually use the Harper English version here as it is the one chosen by other relevant resources. In particular, there is a very nice online version at the University of Wisconsin.<sup>5</sup> There is also a very nice Google Earth .kml file that provides a visual tour of many of the places Bremer visited.

A major problem for me originally was that Bremer often gives incomplete names in the English translation, for example, writing Mrs. De C. in the English version, instead of the recognizable Madame de Conich in the original Swedish. In other letters not in the book, she used the correct spelling of De Coninck. Happily these can be found in the Swedish original for most of the names. Other names can be reconstructed by clues given in other sources. One explanation for Bremer's decision to not publish the full names in the English version of those of her hosts who owned slaves, fearing possible recriminations because of the frank and detailed descriptions and comparisons of the conditions of slavery in both America and Cuba. Another explanation is that it was simply the style of the time to not provide specific names.

In 2020 a Spanish translation of the original Swedish *Hemmen* by Matilde Goulard de Westberg was published as *Cartas desde Cuba* [22]. The book has the advantage of filling in the original names of the Swedish version and either correcting or explaining some of the Spanish spelling idiosyncrasies by the Swedish author. The Spanish translation has the correct spelling of De Coninck! On the negative side, it leaves out the context of the rest of Bremer's travels. As Bremer was very interested in and wrote in depth on the horrible situations of slaves, the full book allowed much more comparison between the systems in Cuba and in the United States in the decade before the Civil War.

A final relevant manuscript of Bremer are two letters written in English from Cuba to close friends of hers, the Downings in New York [27]. The letter of 12 March 1851 is written from St. Amalia Estate, not from St. Amelia as she named it in *Hemmen* [23] and its derivative *Homes* [24] and observes

Even now I am enjoying American hospitality in the home of a very pleasant American lady – Mrs. Coninck, on the Sugar Estate St. Amalia, between Matanzas and Cardenas.

confirming the identity of Mrs. de C. in *Homes* and Madame de Conich in the original Swedish.

In the discussion of *Hemmen/Homes*, direct quotes will be used with accompanying notes of explanation or missing details. Bremer's own words are more effective than any

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<sup>5</sup><http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.BremrHemme>

summary I could give in describing the environment she experiences, including the nature of colonialism and African slavery. The brackets give the page number in the corresponding original Harper English translation of Volume III [23].

The letters will be typeset as is the rest of the book. The interspersed comments will look like this to distinguish them.

Vertical dots

⋮

will denote sections of text not copied here. The excerpts that are copied are those relevant to Bremer's visit to Ingenio *Santa Amalia* and its neighborhood.

## LETTER XXXII

Havana, Cuba, Feb. 5.

⋮

I have received two invitations which have greatly pleased me: the one to Matanzas, to the house of an American merchant there; the other to a plantation at a few miles' distance, from a Mrs. De C., whose friendly letter was a real refreshment to me; for there I shall be able to get out into the country, and to become acquainted with palms, and coffee-shrubs, and sugar-cane, and other tropical growths. I am greatly delighted. I wished to leave Havana, where the oppressive heat and the unusual mode of living have caused me to suffer from an intolerable headache, which I have now had for three days, and which I can not get rid of, although I am as much in the air as possible. To-morrow I shall go by rail-way to Matanzas, which is not quite a day's journey.

*Madame De C. is Mrs. Amelia W. De Coninck, daughter of Lemuel and Mary Taylor. This is the first mention of Amelia W. De Coninck in the original English translation [23]. The name is spelled out in the original Swedish.*

*Bremer did not number the letters in the original Swedish edition. Both the Hall (UK) and Harper (US) did. The Hall edition labeled this March 2 dated letter as being within Letter XXXIII, but the Harper edition which is being followed labeled the March 2 dated letter under a headline of XXXIV, which confused me as the result in both the Google and University of Wisconsin online versions had no Letter XXXIII and two Letter XXXIV's. Hence here the Hall convention is followed. In other words, the Hall London addition begins Letter XXXIII with the Matanzas, Feb. 23 letter, and the Harper version titles the same page Letter XXXIV. Then they both label the March 19th letter from Cardenas as Letter XXXIV.*

## LETTER XXXIII

March 2 Matanzas

[p. 311]

I shall to-day leave Matanzas to accompany my kind friends to a sugar-plantation belonging to Mrs. B.'s parents, at a place called Limonar, about fifteen miles off. I shall there study trees and flowers, and the Lord knows what else. After a stay of a few days at Limonar, I shall go to Madame De C.'s who resides on a large sugar-plantation situated between Matanzas and the city of Cardinas. Kind and hospitable people provide me here also with opportunities of seeing the country and the people, and I can not say how thankful I am for this kindness.

Ariadne Inhegno, March 7th.

*Inhegno is Bremer's spelling of the Spanish ingenio, which means "refinery" and in context meant "ingenio azucareo" or "sugar refinery" or "sugar mill. "Ingenio Ariadne was .25 km west of Limonar which was about 15 km from Coliseo. Ariadne is ingenio [130] in Ballester [15], who names the original owner as Juan Chartrand, a Frenchman and Haitian exile and hence likely his original name was Jean Chartrand. Chartrand died in 1865. The estate was founded between 1824 and 1831. In 1860 it was in the Jurisdicción de Matanzas, Partido de Guamacaro.*

*The history of Juan Mathias Chartrand and the Cafetal Laberinto/Ingenio Ariadne is considered in Subsection 3.11.3.*

⋮

I have several times visited the Negro-Slaves' Bohea, which is a kind of low fortress-like wall, built on the four sides of a large, square court-yard, with a large gateway on one side, which is locked at night. The slaves' dwellings are within the wall—one room for each family –and open into the court. Nothing is to be seen on the outside of the wall but a row of small openings, secured with iron bars, one to each room, and so high in the wall that the slaves can not look out from within. In the middle of the large court-yard is a building which serves as a cooking-kitchen, wash-house, &c.

⋮

Mr. C. is a courteous, lively, and loquacious Frenchman, with a good deal of acuteness and sagacity of mind; and I have to thank him for much valuable information—among other things, on the various negro tribes of Africa, their character, life, and social state on the coast, from which the greater number of slaves are brought hither—for the most part purchased from African chiefs, according to agreement with the white slave-dealer—Mr. C. having himself been there, and being therefore good authority on the subject. I have also learned from him how to distinguish the different tribes by their characteristic features, and their various modes of tattooing themselves.

⋮

Cuba is at once the hell and the paradise of the negroes. [p. 321] The slave has severer labor on the plantation, but a better future, a better prospect of freedom and happiness than the slave of the United States. The slave standing by the hot furnace of the sugar-mill can look to those heights where the palm-trees are waving, and think to himself – “I too can take my rest beneath them one of these days!”

⋮

In the morning and the evening I go out on my solitary rambles in the neighborhood, generally accompanied by three large blood-hounds, which I can not get rid of, but which are gentle as lambs, and lie down perfectly quiet around me whenever I sit down to sketch a tree or any remarkable object which takes my fancy; and it is perhaps as well for me that I have them with me, because there are said to be runaway negro slaves roving about on the island, and the dogs guard me from any surprise of this sort. These animals are so trained that, while they are perfectly gentle toward white people, they are dangerous to the blacks, and the blacks are afraid of them.

⋮

I have here sketched two remarkable trees, the one a beautiful ceiba in perfect health and magnificence, and a magnificent tree it really is; the other a ceiba in the arms of its terrible murderess or mistress, or both in one. In this tree one may see the parasite grasping the trunk with two gigantic hands, and, as it were, strangling it in its embrace. *See Figure 5.1 for the drawings from her sketchbook.*

I have here also greatly enjoyed the balmy air, and the wonderful beauty and novelty of the vegetation. There are some beautiful avenues– *guadarajahs*, as they [p. 323] are called in Spanish–on this plantation, one of king-palms, another of mango-trees, and so on. In the evenings we have music–for the whole family is musical– and sit with open doors, while the delicious zephyrs sport round the room.

I could go through the whole process of sugar-making, from its very commencement to its close, that is to say, if I had sugar-cane and a sugar-mill. The process is so simple and so agreeable to witness, that I think you will not be displeased to see it here on paper as I have seen it in Mr. C's well-kept sugar-mill. We must first, however, see the cutting of the sugar-cane.

The sugar-cane is waving there in the field like a compact, tall green reed; the stems, about as thick as a stout walking-stick, are yellow, some with flame-colored stripes or spots, or with various characteristics of the cane, such as longer or shorter distances be-



Figure 5.1: left: Ceyba, right: Ceyba with Jagauy-Embra

tween the joints, each according to its species, for there are here many species of sugar-cane, as the Otaheitan-cane, ribbon-cane, and so on.

The cane is cut off near the root with a sharp reaping hook, or short, crooked scythe, one or two canes at a time; the green top is cut off, and the cane cast to one side. The negroes perform this operation with great speed and dexterity, and, as it seems, con amore. It is said that they like to destroy, and I could almost believe that it was so; there is a crashing and crackling among the vigorous canes; it is cheerful work, and those black figures, with their broad chests and sinewy arms, look well so employed. The shorn canes are loaded upon wagons drawn by oxen and conveyed away to the sugar-mill, where, as soon as it reaches the open door, it is unloaded by women, who throw the canes into a broad, raised, long trough, which extends into the building, where upon an elevation are placed two broad mill-stones, turning in opposite directions, the one raised a little above the other. By the side of [p. 324] this trough stand women, who pass the canes onward and up to the grinding mill-stones (I have seen a couple of young women at work here who really were splendidly beautiful, with their dark glancing eyes, their white teeth, their coral necklaces round their throats, and the pink handkerchiefs bound round their heads), where stands a negro on a landing-place, who is called the feeder, his business being to see that all the canes pass regularly between the mill-stones. The juice is pressed out with

every half revolution of the stones, and the canes which enter between them from above fall down, crushed dry, into another trough below, whence they are conveyed away by an opposite door, and then heaped up into another wagon drawn by oxen, which, as soon as it is loaded, moves off and gives place to another. This wagon, loaded with *la bagaza*, goes to the flagged pavement, where women unload it into baskets, and lay it out to dry, as we have already seen. On one side of the building in which the sugar-cane is ground stands a house containing the machinery which sets the wheels in motion, and which is worked principally by oxen, which are driven as the oxen with us in the operation of thrashing. There is a driver to each pair of oxen, and it is from these that the shouts and the kind of stamping sound proceed which are heard at night. A negro shouts aloud words which he invents for the occasion, and which are often entirely without meaning, and the others respond in chorus, repeating with some variation the given words. The shouts and the noises are unmelodious, but the negroes enliven themselves in this manner during their nocturnal labor.

The juice which flows from the crushed canes flows between the mill-stones into a porcelain trough, placed in a transverse direction to the great trough extending between the two doors, and through this it flows into a porcelain tank, where it is purified; after which it is again passed by another trough into the boiling-house, where it is boiled [p. 325] and skimmed in immense boilers or pans, fixed in the earth by masonry. By the side of each pan stands a negro, naked to the waist, who, with an immense ladle, as tall as himself, stirs and skims the boiling juice. The juice, when it flows from the cane, is a thin liquid, of a pale green color; it is now boiled in the pans to a thick sirup of a grayish tint; and this process being complete, it is allowed to flow into large, flat, long pans, where it is left to harden; after which it is broken up, packed into hogsheads, and sent out into the world.

Sugar is in no instance refined in Cuba; there is, therefore, no really white sugar there. The boilers are heated by furnaces, the mouths of which are in the walls, and which are continually fed by *la bagaza*, which, when dried, makes excellent fuel.

And this is the history of the sugar-cane before it comes into your coffee-cup.[2\*] Alas! that its sweetness can not, as yet, be obtained without much bitterness, and that human enjoyment costs so much human suffering; for I know very well that what I see at this place is not the darkest side of sugar cultivation. There is a far darker, of which I shall not now speak.

The most definite and the most beautiful formation in these grottoes are the pillars. A drop of water distilling from the roof of the cavern falls upon the earth, and petrifies; from these petrified water-drops grows up a conical elevation, from above also a similar cone is formed, depending from the roof, and slowly growing from petrifying water-drops; and in the course of centuries these two have met, and now form a column which seems to support the roof, and not unfrequently resembles a petrified palm-tree. Many such palm-trees stood in the vault of the grotto; many others were in process of formation. The

power of a water-drop is great!

Monday morning. I have been wandering about in the inclosed pasture-ground, el portrero, contemplating parasitic growths and sketching trees. A wood in Cuba is a combined mass of tendriled and thorny vegetation which it is impossible to penetrate. I have seen in the inclosed pastures some beautiful tall trees, but many more deformed, from parasites and other causes; the beautiful and the unsightly stand there side by side. I saw to-day also a beautiful convolvulus, with large white flowers twining itself up to the very top of a dead tree, overhung with many heavy parasites. There are many kinds of the convolvulus here, which, with their beautiful flowers, constitute the principal ornament of the quick hedge, which they bind together into a dense mass and cover with lovely flowers. There are many species of wild passion-flower, some very large, which bear fruit, others very small. One of the most beautiful trees on this plantation is the pomme-rosa tree; it is just now in flower, and its blossom has an indescribably delicious fragrance.

I shall shortly leave the plantation of Ariadne, but shall return both from my own wishes and those of the family. I am anxious to leave with my kind entertainers, as a [p. 331] remembrance of me, a portrait of the youngest boy, my little playmate.

[331]

St. Amelia Inhegno, March 15th.

St. Amelia Inhegno is a large sugar plantation, and I am now sitting in the smoke of the sugar-mill, which enters through the open window into my room — a large, excellent room, with a regular glass window, from which I obtain a fine view of the hills of Camerisca, and the palm-groves and plantations at their feet. I have every thing here which I can wish for, only too much of the sugar manufacture, which is just opposite my one window, and which is on a much larger scale than on the plantation of Ariadne. Is it not singular that the word Inhegno, which here signifies an inclosed and cultivated place, and which is always used to indicate a plantation, so much resembles, both in sound and meaning, our Swedish word Inhägnad?

*St. Amelia in [23] is called St. Amalia in other letters [27] and in her sketchbook [24], [116]. Camerisca is Bremmer's misspelling of Camarioca. The Cuban Spanish translation of the original Swedish [22] translates the hills of Camerisca as las colinas de la cordillera de Camarioca and its built in translation puts this into the English "the hills of the Camarioca mountain range." In her sketchbook Bremer uses "lomas de Camarioca," where lomas is synonymous with colinas, both in English mean "hills." The more colorful name of the Camarioca mountain range is the Tetas de Camarioca, which run East to West north of Coliseo, with foothills reaching the just north of Coliseo where Santa Amalia is located. See Figure 3.4.*

*The hills of Camarioca are depicted on one of her watercolors depicted in Figure 5.2. The caption consists Bremer's written notes on each image. Lomos is Spanish for hillocks or low ridges*

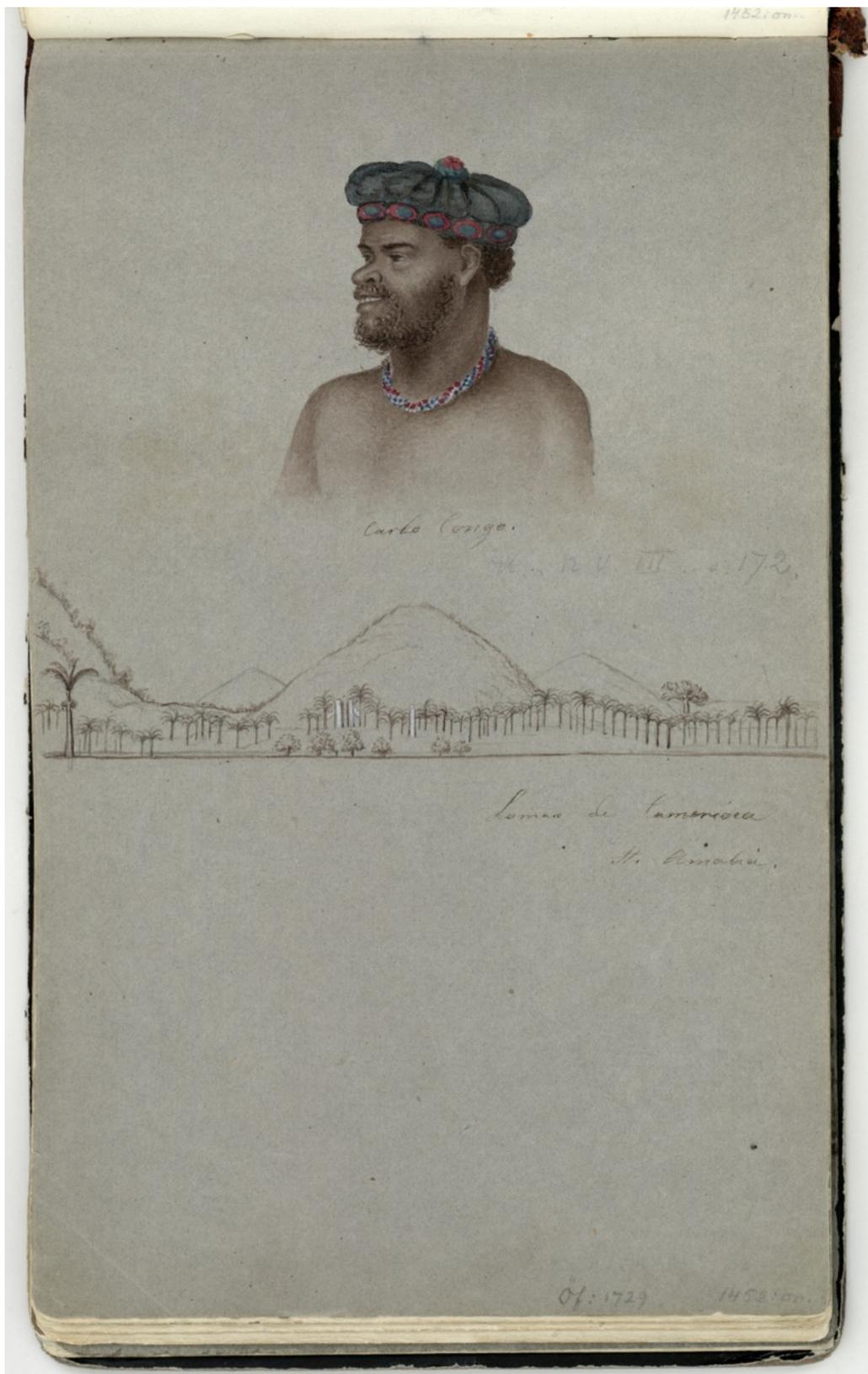


Figure 5.2: Carlo Congo, Lomos de Camarioca, St. Amalia

My hostess, Mrs. De C., is an agreeable and well-bred American lady, a widow with four children, three of whom are in the United States, and only one, a pretty girl of sixteen, remaining with her at home. She lives here with her father, an old officer of cheerful temperament, although lame, and confined for the most part to his arm-chair. A young American Creole, Mr. W., whose plantation adjoins, is a daily visitor in the family, and a most agreeable companion he is. He, like my hostess, is possessed of the gift of gay and easy conversation, below which lies a foundation of earnest integrity. Another young man belongs to the social circle of the evening and the dinner-table, and he is, under the old gentleman, overseer of the plantation. This young man is of great value to me, from the candor and readiness with which he communicates any information which I may desire to possess.

*Amelia W. (Taylor) and Francis De Coninck had four children: Jane Leep, Mary Taylor, Amelia Henrietta, and Francis Alexander. In March 1851 Jane is 18, Mary Taylor is 16, Amelia Henrietta is 14, and Francis is 12, so it is Mary Taylor De Coninck whom Bremer meets.*

*I have not yet discovered who the other children stayed with in the U.S., although there is evidence they had friends and possibly relations or friends in Baltimore, where Lemuel and Mary Taylor lived for two decades. Another possibility is that they stayed in Connecticut with Amelia's brother Alexander Taylor's widow Maria Louisa (Webster) Taylor, the De Coninck children's Taylor cousins. Amelia W. was back in Baltimore by 1856 and likely much earlier.*

*In March 1851 Lemuel Taylor was 82, so he ranks as old and it would not have been surprising for him to be frail. As we have seen, he was an officer in the Maryland State Militia during the war of 1812 and took part in the Battle of Baltimore. He had not had an easy life.*

*The young American Creole, Mr. W., is identified in [116] as Juan or John O. Wilson, but verifying his identity and constructing his story proved a challenge. Bremer describes him as being an American Creole (in the Spanish translation of the Swedish the word used is Criollo), owning an adjoining plantation, being young, and being a daily visitor. The Spanish word Criollo in colonial times meant people of Spanish heritage who were born in the colony. The word became more general with time and could also mean people of European heritage who were born in Cuba. Bremer's phrase American Creole suggests someone of United States heritage who was born in Cuba. In Subsection 3.11.5 it was argued that a good fit to Bremer's description that is consistent with [116] and with Ballester's description of Wilson's Ingenio San Juan [15] Joseph (José) O. Wilson, the son of the founder of the estate.*

*The young "overseer" is a more complicated question of identity. The original Swedish here uses the word föreståndare, which is usually translated into English as manager or superintendent. While overseer can have this general meaning, it also means specifically the person who was in charge of enslaved people, including their housing, food, discipline, and punishment. The Spanish word for this meaning of overseer was mayoral, and Bremer uses the word majoral elsewhere in the book to describe this function. In the Spanish translation of Bremer's book, the translation of the young man's position is administrador — administrator or manager in English — and not mayoral. So here I trust Matilde Goulard de Westberg, the Spanish translator of the Swedish, more than Mary Howitt, the English translator. Another reason to prefer the English translation of föreståndare as administrator or manager*

rather than mayoral is that during that era the mayorals of colonial estates were often of Spanish Creole descent, and Bremer usually made a remark about the origins of the people she met.

For several years I thought that the identity of the manager of the plantation during Bremer's 1851 visit was convincingly resolved by "Sugar Plantation Account Book for Ingenio Santa Amalia" [141] described in Section 5.3. This book was authored by George Sage Webster from 1853 until his departure from Cuba for Connecticut in 1865. The book is at the Merric Library in Miami and a digital version is available on the Web. Recall from Section 3.11 that George Sage Webster was the son of Ephron Webster and Maria Sage Webster, who owned the nearby Ontario plantation, and, more importantly, the brother of Maria Louisa (Webster) Taylor, Alexander Taylor's widow. George was Amelia W. De Coninck's brother-in-law, he was family, and he was definitely the manager of the estate in 1853 two years after Bremer's visit. Finally, George's wife Harriet gave birth to their first child at St. Amalia in October 1851 following their marriage in October 1850.

There was time for the Websters to get to Cuba following their marriage to be there for Bremer's visit in March 1851. Thus I saw no better candidate than George Sage Webster for the young manager mentioned by Bremer. But in May 2022 I discovered in the passenger lists at CubaGenWeb.org based on arrival reports in Cuban newspapers that Jorge Webster arrived in Havana from the United States on the Steamship Isabel on 20 May 1851 — two months after Bremer's visit and safely before the birth of Webster's child.

This discussion leads naturally to another watercolor from Bremer's sketchbook given in Figure 5.3. Again the caption is limited to Bremer's notes on the page, but external to the image in the sketchbook is the title, which translates to "Two Male Portraits." The natural conclusion is that the two men in the sketch made at S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia are two of the three men who had the conversation with Bremer that she writes about in her Letter XXXIV from St. Amalia: Amelia De Coninck's father Lemuel Taylor, Joseph O. Wilson of the nearby San Juan Estate, and the manager of Santa Amalia. As I have denigrated my own prior choice of George Sage Webster for the manager, I have to name a further candidate or choose the first two men.

The Bremer centennial [116] takes a stand identifying the two men in the caption given to the image:

Mr. Alexander Taylor y Mr. John O. Wilson. Ingenio Santa Amalia. Marzo 15 de 1851.  
 ... Un viejo official lisiado, d de alegre temperamento que pudo regular se encuentra obligado a permanecer en su sillón. Un joven americano criollo, Mr. Wilson, de una plantación vecina, que es visita diaria de la familia. ... p. 331.

The page number is that of the American translation of [23], Letter XXXIV. But while the text follows [23], it adds and omits things. It omits the fact that there were three men in the conversation on the page given: The father of Mrs de C., Mr W. the owner of a neighboring estate, and the manager of St Amalia. The American translation does not name the three individuals in the conversation described, it refers to the father of Mrs. de C. — whom the Swedish version [23] and the Spanish translation of the Cuban material [22] clarify is the father of Mrs De Coninck — who is Lemuel Taylor and not Alexander

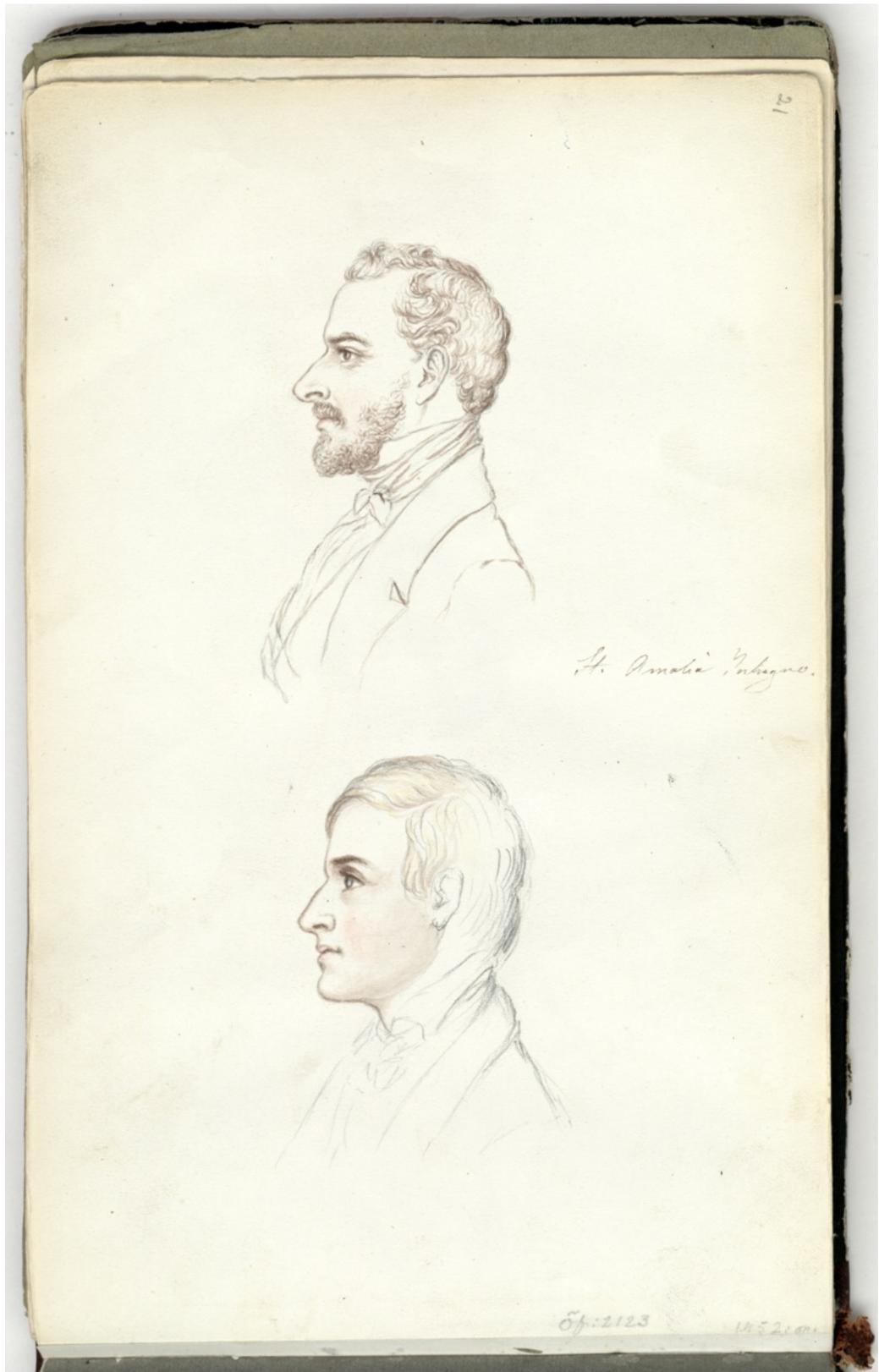


Figure 5.3: St. Amalia Inhegno

*Taylor, her brother. The caption refers to the neighboring plantation owner only as Mr. W., and it gives no suggestion of the name of the manager.*

*The image of [116] can not be of Alexander Taylor since Alexander died in 1848, three years before Bremer's visit. The editor in 1951 made the mistake of assuming that Mrs. De Coninck's father was Alexander Taylor since her father is not named in the book. This mistake is understandable for an editor writing a century later about a centennial of the 1851 visit because the antique maps of the mid nineteenth century (especially those by Pichardo) and the derivative books mention Alexander Taylor as the owner of Santa Amalia in the 1840s, and that error propagated for a very long time. For example, Pichardo's classic book on Cuban roads in 1865 names Alexander Taylor as the owner of Santa Amalia. Pichardo's maps were probably based on his earlier data from 1820 to 1840, when it was likely that Alexander was at least sharing in the management of Santa Amalia with either his father Lemuel Taylor or his brother-in-law Francis De Coninck, whom Barings considered the owner of Santa Amalia in 1840. So the top image is definitely not Alexander Taylor. So who is it? Let's turn to the lower image first.*

*I agree with identification of the lower picture as being a nearby plantation owner named Wilson. I think the evidence supports its being Joseph O. Wilson rather than John O. Wilson, and that Joseph qualified as an American Criollo since he was born in Cuba to a United States citizen, Joseph O. Wilson, who was born in Rhode Island, had died in 1839, who had a son (two, actually) named after him, and who had been a famous privateer. The story of the father is backed up by the Cuban literature on ingenios (especially Ballester [15]) and by the De Wolf family papers. Furthermore, Bremer emphasizes the youth of Mr. W. I think the lower image is the youngest looking of the two men, so he gets my vote as being Joseph O. Wilson of the San Juan Estate (also known as the Wilson Estate).*

*Returning to the top images there are two remaining likely possibilities for the identity of the man pictured: it is either Amelia's father Lemuel Taylor, the old frail military man described in Bremer, or it is the young manager. I will give my own theory and conclusion and admit that without more evidence doubt remains.*

*Since George Sage Webster would manage the estate for roughly 15 years, likely beginning soon after his arrival in May 1851, whoever was assisting Lemuel in March 1851 was temporary. Bremer points out he was young, so he probably had not been doing it for a long time. I think it possible and even likely that the assistant was George's younger brother Frederick William Webster who was 21 at the time. The American and European colonial planters tended to either live on their properties (at least early on) or find extended family members (in-laws and descendants) to manage them. In 1851 the only Taylor family close connection in Cuba was with the Websters, who lived nearby. It is likely that George and Frederick managed Ontario following the death of Ephron Webster in 1841, and they were brothers-in-law of Lemuel's son Alexander after Alexander married their sister in 1834. Ontario was a much smaller plantation than S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia, so George probably had helped out his sister's family in running S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia for years, and Frederick probably knew the ropes as well.*

*Bremer would likely have chosen as subjects for her paintings the two most interesting colonialists she met at S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia and not a young assistant to the founder of the plantation. Bremer provides much more detail about the father of her hostess than about the manager. Had George been there, she might have picked him instead of Lemuel as he left a significant trail in history, with several accounts of his*

*life and impact. Frederick left almost no trace, he made little impact on the people he met.*

*So I would make my bet on the portrait being of Lemuel, and that the likely objection that it does not look like a frail old man is met with the fact that he made a favorable impression on the artist who was generous in her sketch. I absolutely confess to the obvious bias, I would love to have convincing evidence that the top image is Lemuel Taylor, my great-great-great-grandfather. I have looked for but not found other portraits of any of the candidates for the Bremer sketches.*

*One physical attribute that I notice in the top portrait is the prominent nose, which to me resembles the noses of Lemuel's daughter Amelia, of Amelia's daughter Jane, and of Jane's daughter Amy. But admittedly this is hardly a proof of anything.*

This plantation is much larger than the one I visited in Limonar,<sup>6</sup> and a considerable portion of the slaves two hundred in number—have lately been brought hither from [p. 332] Africa, and have a much wilder appearance than those I saw at Ariadne. They are worked also with much more severity, because here they are allowed only four and a half hours out of the four-and-twenty for rest; that is to say, for their meals and sleep, and that during six or seven months of the year! Through the remaining portion of the twelve months, the "dead season," as it is called, the slaves are allowed to sleep the whole night. It is true, nevertheless, that even now, upon this plantation, they have one night a week for sleep, and a few hours in the forenoon of each alternate Sunday for rest. It is extraordinary how any human beings can sustain existence under such circumstances; and yet I see here powerful negroes who have been on the plantations for twenty or thirty years. When the negroes have once become accustomed to the labor and the life of the plantation, it seems to agree with them; but during the first years, when they are brought here free and wild from Africa, it is very hard to them, and many seek to free themselves from slavery by suicide. This is frequently the case among the Luccomées, who appear to be among the noblest tribes of Africa, and it is not long since eleven Luccomées were found hanging from the branches of a guasima-tree—a tree which has long, horizontal branches. They had each one bound his breakfast in a girdle around him; for the African believes that such as die here immediately arise again to new life in their native land. Many female slaves, therefore, will lay upon the corpse of the self-murdered the kerchief, or the head-gear, which she most admires, in the belief that it will thus be conveyed to those who are dear to her in the mother-country, and will bear to them a salutation from her. The corpse of a suicide slave has been seen covered with hundreds of such tokens.

I am told here that nothing but severity will answer in the treatment of slaves; that they always must know that the whip is over them; that they are an ungrateful people; [p. 333] that in the disturbances of 1846 it was the kindest masters who were first massacred with their whole families, while, on the other hand, the severe, masters were carried off by their slaves into the woods, there to be concealed during the disturbances. I am told that, in order for a man to be loved by his slaves, he must be feared. I do not believe it;

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<sup>6</sup>Chartrand's Ingenio Ariadne

such is not human nature; but there is a difference between fear and fear. There is one fear which does not exclude love, and one which produces hatred and revolution.

The slaves have here, in a general way, a dark and brooding appearance. They go to their work in the sugar-fields sleepy and weary. As they drive the oxen to and fro, I frequently see them sucking sugar-cane, which they are very fond of, and of which they seem allowed here to have as much as they like. This is, at all events, a refreshment. They are not fed here on rice, but principally upon a species of root called malanga, which, it is said, they like, but which seemed to me insipid. It is yellow, and something like the potato, but has a poor and somewhat bitter taste; each slave receives a portion of such root boiled for dinner, and eats it with his salt meat. They have for breakfast boiled maize, which they bruise and mix with wild tomatoes, the fruit of the plantain, or vegetables; for they are allowed a little land on the plantation where they may sow and reap for themselves, and besides this, each family has a pig, which they kill yearly and sell.

*Sunday, March 17.* It is the Sabbath, and forenoon; but the sugar-mill is still grinding, and the whip-lash sounds commanding labor. The slaves will continue to work the whole day as if it were a week-day. Next Sunday, they say, is the one on which the slaves will rest for some hours, and dance if they are inclined; but—they look so worn out!

There are in Cuba plantations where the slaves work twenty-one out of the four-and-twenty hours; plantations [p. 334] where there are only men who are driven like oxen to work, but with less mercy than oxen. The planter calculates that he is a gainer by so driving his slaves, that they may die within seven years, within which time he again supplies his plantation with fresh slaves, which are brought hither from Africa, and which he can purchase for two hundred dollars a head. The continuance of the slave-trade in Cuba keeps down the price of slaves. I have heard of "gangs" of male slaves, six hundred in each gang, who are treated as prisoners, and at night locked up in a jail; but this is on the plantations in the southern part of the island.

It is amid circumstances such as these that one may become enamored of the ideal communities of socialism, and when men such as Alcott seem like the saviors and high-priests of the earth. How beautiful appear to me associated brotherhoods on the earth, with all their extravagance of love, when compared with a social state in which human powers are so awfully abused, and human rights trampled under foot! Here I feel myself more ardent than ever for those social doctrines which are laboring to advance themselves in the free states of America; and when I return thither, I shall endeavor to become better acquainted with them and their leaders, and to do more justice to both.

Yet even here I have derived some little comfort with regard to the condition of the slaves on this plantation, at least from the visit which I have paid to their bohea. This is a large, square, but low fortress-like wall, in which the slaves live as at Ariadne plantation, and in which they are secured by bolts and bars during the night. I have often visited them here during meal-times, and have always felt it a refreshment to witness their vigorous life and their cheerfulness; nevertheless, I have seen countenances here steeped in such

gloom, that not all the tropical sunshine would illumine, so hopeless, so bitter, so [p. 335] speechless were they—it was dreadful! The countenance of one young woman, in particular, I shall never forget!

I can not but often admire the Herculean frames among the men, the energetic countenances in which a savage power seems united to a manly good-heartedness, which last shows itself especially in their treatment of the children, and by the very manner in which they look at them. The little ones are not here familiar and merry as they are on the plantations in America; they do not stretch out their little hands for a friendly salutation; they look at the white man with suspicious glances—they are shy; but the very little Bambinos, which are quite naked, fat, and plump, as shiny as black, or black-brown silk, dance upon their mother's knees, generally with a blue or red string of beads around the loins, and another round the neck; they are the very prettiest little things one ever saw; and the mothers, with their strings of beads round their necks, their showy kerchiefs fastened, turban-wise, around the head, look very well too, especially when, with delighted glances, and shining, pearly teeth, they are laughing and dancing with their fat little ones. Such a young mother, with her child beneath a banana-tree, is a picture worthy the pencil of a good painter.

I saw in those dark little rooms—very like those at Ariadne plantation—more than one slave occupied during the short time allowed him for rest in weaving little baskets and hats of palm-leaves, and one of them had constructed a fine head-dress of showy patches and cock's feathers!

In other respects the slaves live in the bohea very much like cattle. Men and women live together, and part again according to fancy or whim. If a couple, after having lived together for some time, grow weary of each other, the one will give the other some cause of displeasure, and then they separate. In case of any noisy quarrel, the majoral is at hand with his whip to establish peace.

[p. 336] “Are there here no couples who live constantly together as in proper marriage; no men and women who love one another sufficiently well to be faithful to each other as husband and wife?” inquired I from my young, candid conductor.

“Yes,” replied he, “there are really such couples who have always remained together since they have been upon this plantation.”

“Lead me to one of these couples,” said I.

It was just dinner-time. My companion led me to one of the rooms in the wall. The door stood open, as is commonly the case, to admit light and air. The man was out; the woman sat alone in the room; she might be about fifty, and was busy at some work. She had a round face, without beauty, but with a good and peaceful expression.

I asked her, through my interpreter, whether she was fond of her husband?

She replied cheerfully and without hesitation, “Yes; he is a good husband.”

I inquired whether she had been attached to him in Africa?

“Yes, in Africa,” she replied.

I asked how long she had been united to her husband—how many years?

This question seemed to trouble or perplex her; she smiled, and replied at length that she had had him always!

Always! She did not know how vast and profound that word was on her lips. It went to my heart. Weeks, months, seasons, years, youth. strength, many changes had passed by unnoted, unobserved; hemisphere had been changed for hemisphere, freedom for slavery, the palm-tree hut for the bohea, a life of liberty for a life of labor— every thing had changed; but one thing had remained steadfast, one thing had remained the same— her love—her fidelity! She had always had him, the husband whom she loved— [p. 337] he had always had her. Of that which was variable and evanescent she knew not, made no account—she knew merely of time as regarded that which was eternal. She had had her husband always; she should have him always. That was evidently written in her calm countenance and in her calm voice. It could not be otherwise.

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I went from this married pair to the prison cell, in which the slaves are placed after they have suffered punishment—women as well as men—and while the mind is still in a state of fermentation, after having endured bodily suffering. They are placed here in irons, made fast to a wooden frame, and here they sit, bound hands and feet—women as well as men—till their minds are again calm and their wounds healed, so that they can [p. 338] again go to their work.

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The sugar-mill here affords, in its way, an interesting and picturesque scene. The athletic figures of those half-naked Africans who stand by the furnaces, or by the boiling sugar-pans, in those large, gloomy buildings, or who move about occupied in various ways, produce a singular effect. I can not behold without amazement and pleasure the savage but calm majesty of their bearing and movement, as well as the dark energy of their countenances. Sculptors ought to see and model from these African chests and shoulders. They seem made to sustain Atlas. And though the Atlas of slavery presses heavily upon them, they are still strong—terribly strong, if the hour of vengeance should ever come; now they are silent and gloomy. The Spanish majorals.<sup>7</sup> in their white shirts and with their whips, or short, thin, square staves in their hands, stand or sit here and there on elevated platforms within the building, to overlook the work, and in the morning take the while their coffee and white bread. They seem to me, as far as form and appearance goes, to be much smaller and more insignificant than many of the black slaves. In the slave states of America no idea can be formed of the peculiar beauty of form of the African

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<sup>7</sup>mayorals are the overseers of slaves.

negro, especially those of certain tribes. The native slaves there are a weaker and gentler race. The wild raven has been tamed.

Many of the slaves, also, who are brought to Cuba have been princes and chiefs of their tribes, and such of their race as have accompanied them into slavery on the plantations always show them respect and obedience. A very young man, a prince of the Luccomäes, with several of [p. 339] his nation, was taken to a plantation on which, from some cause or other, he was condemned to be flogged, and the others, as is customary in such cases, to witness the punishment. When the young prince laid himself down on the ground to receive the lashes, his attendants did the same likewise, requesting to be allowed to share his punishment. This affecting instance of loyalty produced merely the coarse assurance "that they should not fail of their full share of the whip when opportunity offered!"

This occurrence did not take place on this plantation.

There is more use made of machinery in this sugar-mill than in that at Ariadne. Instead of fixed troughs by which the sugar-cane is conveyed by human hands to and from the mill-stones, there are here carriages to convey the cane worked by machinery, and which run on many wheels in a long row, one after the other, from one door of the sugar-mill to the other, and it is merely at the entrance-gate that the cane is loaded by human hands.

And now you must have had enough of sugar-cane; but, before I leave the bohea, I must say a few words about the government of its population. This rests, after the master, upon an overseer, who is called the *majoral*.<sup>8</sup> and below him is a *contra-majoral*, who sometimes is a negro. On large plantations, such as this, there are many white under-majorals. The condition of the slaves, and the prevailing state of feeling among them on a plantation, depends very much upon the ability, prudence, and humanity of the majorals. The savage murder of a majoral in Cuba not unfrequently bears witness to the despotism of their proceedings, and to the state of frenzied excitement into which cruel oppression may bring the naturally gentle and easily subjected negro-race.

However oppressive slavery may be to the inhabitants of the bohea, and though the planters quite naïvely ignore most of the Spanish laws for the emancipation of the slave, and though the justice of the law is also here nullified at [p. 340] pleasure, still the wafting breezes of the life of freedom can not be wholly excluded from the bohea. The slave knows, generally, that he can purchase his own freedom, and he knows also the means for the acquisition of money. The lottery is, in Cuba, one of the principal means for this purpose among the negro slaves, and they understand how to calculate their chances wisely. For instance, several individuals of a certain nation will unite for the purchase of a quantity of tickets, the numbers of which follow in close succession. Out of a total of consecutive

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<sup>8</sup>The Swedish original has the word *mayoraler* which is close to the Spanish word *Mayoral* which means slave overseer. Notably this is not the Swedish word *föreståndare* used in the Swedish original to describe the the third male in the conversation with Bremer with Mrs. De Coninck, her father, and Mr. W. as an "overseer." In discussing that conversation I observed the Swedish suggested "manager" as a better translation, but here "overseer" is correct.

numbers, one or two will commonly draw a prize, which, according to agreement, belongs to the nation, and is divided among all the members. In this way I have heard that the Luccomée nation lately obtained at Havana a prize of eleven thousand dollars, a portion of which, it is said, has been applied to purchase the freedom of slaves of their nation; and, if I mistake not, a Luccomée negro on this plantation has lately, with the consent of his owner, purchased his own freedom for two or three hundred dollars. Yes—some become free, but many, many never become so!

As far as concerns myself, my life here is as free and agreeable as I can desire. Mrs. De C.<sup>9</sup> is a very charming and amiable person to associate with, and she allows me to have all the liberty I wish, and is infinitely agreeable to me. In the early mornings I go out alone; visit the slaves' bohea, or ramble about the plantation; I enjoy the air, and sketch trees and flowers. I have now become acquainted with that candelabra-like plant, which I have already mentioned. It is the flower-stalk of a plant of the aloe genus, called Peta, a shrub with stiff, thorny leaves, and this flower-stalk shoots up from the root every third year, and bears upon its branches bunches of yellowish flowers which produce fruit. It shoots up to a height of five or six ells, blossoms, and bears fruit all within the space of two months, after which it dies down. It has a singular but very ornamental appearance; I have made a [p. 341] drawing of it. Here, also, are a couple of remarkable ceiba-trees,<sup>10</sup> the one on account of its beauty, the other for its deformity—its tragical combat with the parasite. The sugar-cane fields are inclosed with lofty, untrimmed hedges, in which grow wild orange and various tropical trees.

During the hottest part of the forenoon I sit quietly in my own light, excellent chamber, writing and drawing. Just before dinner I go out, look around me in the bohea, or seat myself under a mango-tree on a cross-road to catch a few breezes, if I can, in its shade. In the afternoon I generally drive out with Mrs. De C. in her volante, her daughter and Mr. W.<sup>11</sup> accompanying us on horseback. To be rocked over the country in an open volante, in that heavenly, delicious air, is the most soothing, delightful enjoyment that any body can conceive.

The family assembles in the evening, and I then play American marches, "quick-steps" and other lively pieces, with *Yankee Doodle* for the old gentleman,<sup>12</sup> who, with these, recalls his youthful achievements, and feels new life in his stiffened limbs. At a later hour I go out on the pizza to see the stars shining in the darkness of night, and to inhale the zephyrs which, though not so full of life as at Matanzas, are yet always full of delicious influence.

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<sup>9</sup>Amelia W. De Coninck

<sup>10</sup>See See Figure 5.1, Bremer is repeating herself.

<sup>11</sup>Amelia W. De Coninck, her daughter Mary Taylor De Coninck, and Joseph O. Wilson of Ingenio San Juan. A *volante* is a horse-drawn carriage popular in Cuba during the period.

<sup>12</sup>Lemuel Taylor

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[p. 342] They support themselves as if in the air, fluttering their wings for a considerable time about the red flowers, into which they then dip their bills, but how gracefully I can not describe. La Coquette and her winged wooers present the most lovely spectacle. I have here seen three kinds of humming-birds. The one with the crimson coloring of morning, of which I have just spoken; a little one of a smaragdus-green and more delicate form; and a third, green, with a crest of yellow rays on its head. They will sometimes all alight upon a bough, and as they fly away again, a soft, low twittering may be heard. They are quarrelsome, and pursue one another like little arrows through the air, while, as rivals, they approach the same flower.

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The heat is now becoming excessive, and I feel it so enervating that I think I shall leave Cuba on the 8th of April instead of the 28th, as I had intended. From Cuba I shall proceed to Charleston and Savannah, visit two plantations on the coast of Georgia, and so on to Virginia — the Old Dominion — which I must see, and where I shall probably spend the month of May; thence to Philadelphia and New York—to my dear home at Rose Cottage; then to the White Mountains in New Hampshire, pay a visit to [p. 343] Maine and Vermont, and thence, in the month of July, to my first beautiful home on the banks of the Hudson; then to England, and then—home!

I am now going for a few days to Cardenas, a little city on the sea-coast; but I shall return hither. The kind Mrs. De C. will lend me her volante.

#### LETTER XXXIV

Cardenas, March 19th

It was at Cardenas that the first senseless robber-expedition against Cuba, under the conduct of Lopez, landed last year, and was repulsed by the bravery of the Spanish army. You are shown holes in the walls made by cannon-balls, and they are now living in daily expectation and fear of a new attack under the same leader, the news of which is just now in circulation, and people are on the alert in consequence, and the city under watch.

*The above excerpt is intended to remind the reader that these were turbulent times. In 1851 Narciso López led a filibustering raid launched from American territory with American funding and retired or on-leave members of the American army in an attempt to capture territory (Cardenas in particular), declare Cuban independence from Spain, and seize control of the country. There was active support from the United States ostensibly to “free” the island, but the primary undercurrents were to either buy and annex the island to add a slave state — or possibly three — to the union to maintain or change a balance, or to simply control the economy and possibly invade to install a government favorable to U.S.*

*interests. In fact the U.S. did invade and take control over Cuba twice following the Cuba-Spanish-American war, during which the U.S. intervened in the Cuban war of independence. The story is too long to detail here, but a reminder of an incident in United States history with repercussions that are still felt over a century later might encourage further reading.*

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**ST. AMELIA INHEGNO, March 23rd.**

Once more in my excellent room, with my charming Mrs. de C.,<sup>13</sup> for a couple of days. I came hither in a whirling cloud of hot, red dust. The soil of Cuba is as red as burnt clay, and the dust is dreadful in windy weather. In rainy weather, again, it becomes a thick slime, which it is impossible to get through. This belongs to the obverse side of nature here. The volante, drawn by three horses a-breast, flew like a whirlwind through the red dust, and our *calashero*, Patricio, seemed greatly to enjoy the wild career.

It is again Sunday, that Sunday upon which the slaves are to have a few leisure hours, and I have talked to both the old gentleman and the young one about it, and prayed that the slaves might have a dance; but we shall see how it will be. The sugar-mill is not at work, but I see the slaves going about, carrying *la bagaza*, and I hear the cracking of the whip keeping them to work. It is already late in the afternoon; I am waiting in expectation and impatience. Will there be a dance or no? I fear that some pretext will be found for changing the dance into labour. I confess that I shall be very much annoyed if it is so; for the dance has been promised me, and the poor people need enlivening; neither should I allow them to dance to no purpose. There—the African drum! There will be a dance.—I hasten to witness it.

*Later.*— The dance did not this time take place under a shady almond-tree, but in the hot court of the bohea. The musicians were stationed with their drums on the shady side of the kitchen. There was merely a small company of dancers, and the dance was of the same kind as that at Ariadne, and presented no new feature of interest, [p. 348] until an elderly Congo negro, called Carlo Congo,<sup>14</sup> entered with his Herculean chest into the dance. He ordered the drummers to beat a new tune, and to this he performed a dance, Which, with its bendings, its evolutions, and tremulosities, would have told well in a ballet of the Paris opera; that is to say, in the person of a satyr or faun, for the dance had no higher character; but it was admirable, from the power of the dancer, his agility, flexibility, bold transitions, and the wild, picturesque beauty of his evolutions. This was the Congo dance; but Carlo Congo could not execute it in its full perfection; wearied for four months' labor, day and night, his limbs were evidently deficient in the needful power; he was obliged to pause

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<sup>13</sup>de Coninck

<sup>14</sup>A watercolor of Carlo by Bremer from her sketchbook is shown in Figure 5.2. Although she describes him as elderly, the portrait does not emphasize old age. Perhaps likewise the top portrait in Fig. 5.3 is a similarly generous portrait of the elderly Lemuel Taylor.

many times to rest, and, though he soon recommenced, he again came to a stand, shaking his head good-humoredly, as if he would say, "No! it will not do!" His countenance had that expression of power and sensibility which I have so often seen among the negroes; he wore a little cotton cap on his head, and a necklace of blue glass beads round his throat; the upper portion of the body and the muscular arms were bare; and their form, and the development of the muscles, during the dance, were worthy the study of a sculptor. The partner of this skillful dance was also more animated in her movements than any of the negro women whom I had yet seen, and swung round with great dexterity and art. Carlo placed a little sprig of myrtle in her mouth, after which she danced, holding it between her lips as a bird would have held it in his bill.

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I am now again in my quiet chamber. The sugar-mill is clamoring and smoking, and the slaves are carrying la bagaza.

I see above the walls of the bohea, but far beyond them, the magnificent guararajah of palms below the hills of Camerioca. These hills also have deep caverns and concealed tracts, which serve as the retreats of fugitive slaves. They dig pitfalls at the mouths of the caverns to preserve them from their pursuers. But the pursuit of them is now given up, as it is not only unavailing, but attended by great peril to the pursuers. Sometimes they will come down in the night-time to the plantations for sustenance, [p. 350] which they obtain from the negroes of the plantation, who never betray the fugitives of the mountains. The negroes, it is said, never betray one another except under the torture of the whip.

*March 26th.* I have visited with my kind hostess some of the plantations in the neighborhood. The most agreeable of these visits was to that of a handsome young couple, M. and Madame Belle C.<sup>15</sup> French Creoles. An enchanting expression of human kindness was portrayed on their countenances. They are said to be very kind to their slaves, and I understand that M. Belle C. is thinking of taking a sugar plantation in Florida, on which he will employ only free negroes. May he succeed! One single successful experiment of this kind would effect a great change in American slavery. The man who does this may be reckoned as among the greatest benefactors of humanity.

I saw at M. and Madame Belle C.'s two of the sweetest little children, and a well-kept garden, in which were many beautiful plants. I saw some remarkably fine Provence roses, but without any sign of fragrance. The great heat, it is said, destroys the scent of this and many other flowers. This handsome young couple have invited me to spend some time with them, but I must decline the invitation.

The planters of Cuba are extremely hospitable, and as the life of the ladies is very monotonous, and increasingly so of late, for the hand of the Spanish government has rested heavily on the Spanish Creole since the late disturbances, compelling him to pay a

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<sup>15</sup>from the Swedish original: Belle Chasse

tax, they are by no means unwilling to have the monotony of their every-day life diversified by the presence of a European stranger.

The character of the sugar plantation and the life upon it seems to me very much the same every where. The most beautiful features of these plantations are the great avenues, especially of palms; I can not walk through [p. 351] these *guadarajahs* without a sentiment of devotion, so beautiful and magnificent are they! The gardens are frequently quite small, and commonly but ill kept. The fields of sugar-cane encroach upon every thing else. The life of the ladies is not cheerful, and scarcely active at all. They seem to me to suffer from the condition of the plantation, which is never free from danger, and which does not allow them to develop at all their more beautiful activity—nay, which even checks their movements. They dare not go out alone— they are afraid of runaway slaves; besides, with all the beauty of trees and vegetation peculiar to the Cuban plantation, it still lacks that which constitutes one of the greatest delights of country life—when one looks at it merely from the pleasurable point of view—it lacks grass-sward—that soft, submissive, verdant sward, in which millions of small blades of grass and masses of little flowers are brought together, to prepare for human beings a fresh and soft couch on which to repose in the open air. It lacks those groves of shadowy trees and underwood, beneath and amid which we repose so pleasantly; and I soon observed that this paradisaical atmosphere and these *guadarajahs* could not compensate to the inhabitants of the island for the absence of those unpretending rural pleasures.

Besides, we behold no injustice around us in the country, no want which we can not in some degree lessen. They behold much daily which they can not do any thing to alleviate. Nay, the more noble a woman is in Cuba, the more unhappy must she become. And even if she be united to the best of husbands, who does all that lies in his power for her and for his slaves, she still can not close her eyes to that which occurs around her. The plantation is never many acres in extent, and it adjoins other plantations which are managed according to the disposition of their masters, and of what kind this sometimes is we know already. Add to this the state of the government [p. 352] of the island, the violence of government officials, slave-trade, slave tumults, the examinations of the Spanish government, and the punishments which it inflicts, one perpetual state of fear—no delicious waftings of the heavenly atmosphere of Cuba can give cheerfulness to life under such circumstances.

Last week a cargo of slaves from Africa arrived at Havana; they were no less than seven hundred in number, and all children, the eldest not eighteen, and the youngest under ten years of age. It was spoken of this evening in our circle.

“They who do this,” said a mother of the party, bitterly, “ought to have some day the reward they deserve!”

And yet, if human beings are to be conveyed from their native country into foreign slavery, it is better that it should take place when they are children than when grown up; it is less bitter then. As children, they become accustomed to the bohea and to the whip, and have not the memory of a life of freedom, which drives them to despair and suicide.

Amid these gloomy thoughts and impressions, again and again the unspeakable beauty of the air and the vegetation presents itself, and affects my soul to thanksgiving, and shows me a future paradise.

It is again full moon, and the nights are indescribably beautiful. I returned home late last night from a visit with my hostess. We drove, with uncovered heads, in the open volante, through palm-groves, beneath the vault of heaven, which was flooded with light. The air was delicious and bland, as the purest human kindness.

There are two splendid palm avenues at the plantation of St. Amelia, a hundred trees in a row, I have no doubt. Many of them are just now in bloom. The luxuriant sprays of flowers shoot out like a garland of wings around the stem, a little below the palm-crown, in the most beautiful relationship both to it and the stem. There is another [p. 353] avenue of the tamarind (from the green heads of which the beans are now falling, and which the little negro children eagerly gather, to suck the agreeable acid fruit), and of mango-trees, and a species of acacia, with red berries, from which the negroes make necklaces. There are, in front of the house, many of those trees, with lime-tree-like heads, and dark, fiery-red flowers, such as I saw on La Plaza des Armas at Havana, the botanic name of which is *Hibiscus tiliacea*.

Cuba is an outer court of Paradise, worthy to be studied by the natural historian, the painter, and the poet. The forms and colors of the vegetation seem to typify a transition from earthly life to a freer and a loftier sphere of beauty.

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*Following this second stay with Lemuel Taylor and Amelia De Coninck, Fredrika Bremer spent her final month of visits before leaving Cuba for the Southern United States. This section is closed with an April 3rd excerpt of Bremer's letter from Cafetal L'Industrie discussing the conspiracy of the the Southern states of the United States to annex Cuba to change the balance of slave states to non-slave states in the decade preceding the U.S. Civil War. The best known of the proposals was the Ostend Manifesto of 1854 which proposed that the U.S. should offer to buy Cuba from Spain and, if Spain refused, to declare war and take it. The conspiracy was not successful, but provided a hint of the Cuban-Spanish-American War to come and the intervention in the Cuban War of independence by the United States.*

Cafetal L'Industrie, April 1st

There is a general talk now of a fresh attack being made on Cuba, a new attempt at conquest which is said to originate with the Americans. It is said also that the expedition is arming at Yucatan, and consists of a number of people who were in the Mexican war ; it is expected about Easter. Many families on the plantations hold themselves in readiness for flight from the island on the first outbreak of disturbances. The Creoles are bitterly

displeased with the Spanish government, and they have reason for being so. They wish universally to be liberated from the Spanish yoke, but are themselves too weak to undertake their own liberation ; and they fear the negroes, who, on the first occasion, would rise against them. The Spanish army is in active preparation to defend the island against the Americans. The American government has publicly declared itself opposed to these robber expeditions, and admonishes all good citizens of the United States to oppose them. The Spaniards, however, suspect the American Slave States of being concerned in them, and of desiring their success, in order that by the annexation of Cuba as a slave state, they might have a balance in the South, against the increase of the Free States in the North. I shall hear the result of all this, however, in the United States.

On the 22nd of April I shall bid farewell to this beautiful, but serpent-stung, Cuba!

## 5.2 The Heirs of Taylor and De Coninck

Until the early twentieth century, most historical treatments describe the owners of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* ingenio and later central as “heirs of Taylor and De Coninck” or some variation (usually misspelled) of the theme. It was not uncommon in Cuba in the mid nineteenth century for the owners to not reside on their estates, but to leave them under the resident management of members of their extended family, including siblings and cousins and in-laws. *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* was no exception. During the second half of the nineteenth century, heirs seem to reside at *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* for less than a total of a decade. The heirs would own the estate until the beginning of the twentieth century, it appears that none actually lived there after 1886, although Augustine Heard Jr. would visit it in 1886.

In this section what is known is combined with some guessing to establish when and which descendants of Lemuel Taylor were actually on the estate following Fredrika Bremer’s visit in March 1851. To provide context, the return of Lemuel Taylor’s descendants to the United States and later visits back to Cuba are also described.

Amelia W. De Coninck was the heir of both her father, the original owner, and of her late husband Francis De Coninck, who appeared to be the owner in 1840. Later history would prove that the surviving descendants of Amelia and her late brother Alexander constituted the owners. It seems likely that in 1840 Francis De Coninck had represented all four of Lemuel Taylor’s heirs: Himself, his wife, his wife’s brother, and his wife. Recall that Lemuel Taylor’s oldest daughter Mary West (Taylor) Wieland, had no role in the history of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* , having permanently left Cuba when young.

Hence during the time of George Sage Webster’s management (1851-1865), ownership of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* was shared between Lemuel’s heirs: Amelia (Taylor) De Coninck (widow of Francis De Coninck) and Maria Louisa (Webster) Taylor (sister of George Sage Webster).

### 5.2.1 The Baltimore De Conincks

Amelia relocated to Baltimore no later than 1855 since *Marchett's Baltimore Directory for 1855-56* includes "DeConnick Amelia W., 21 McCulloch."<sup>16</sup> The item is repeated in the directory for 1856-57 with "McCulloch" replaced by "McCulloh." To make the 1855 directory, she likely was already resident by 1854. It seems most likely that Amelia took Mary with her, and they joined Jane, Amelia Henrietta, and Francis Alexander in Baltimore. In 1854 Jane Leep was 22, Mary Taylor was 20, Amelia Henrietta was 18, and Francis was 16. There is no evidence that Amelia W. ever returned to Cuba. We shall see that Mary and Francis/Frank did spend significant time in Cuba and that Amelia Henrietta and Jane would return to *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* for a visit with Jane's daughter Amy in 1884.

So it would seem that Lemuel Taylor probably died during the period 1851-1854. He was not interred in the United States as were his daughter Amelia (in Baltimore) and Son Alexander (in Brooklyn), so he may well have followed the lead of other colonists who pretended to be Catholic but had difficulty being interred in holy ground and simply arranged to be buried on his estate *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*. Cornelio Souchay had similarly arranged for his burial on his own estate.

In April 1858 Amelia W. De Coninck hosted the wedding of her daughter (and Lemuel's granddaughter) Jane Leep to Augustine Heard Jr who at that time was the European representative of Augustine Heard & Co., residing in Paris. Amelia wrote in the family bible [43]:

Married in Baltimore Md at her mother's residence, 21 McCullough St, April 29th 1858, by the Revd Dr Coxe, Pastor of Grace Church, Jane Leep — oldest daughter of the late Francis & Amelia W. De Coninck to Augustine Heard Jr, second son of George W. & Elizabeth Heard of Ipswich Mass.

Shortly after the marriage Jane Leep (De Coninck) Heard moved with her new husband Augustine Heard Jr. to Paris.

Augustine and Jane Heard returned to Boston in November 1859 for the December 1860 birth and January 1861 christening of their daughter Amy. In 1860 Amelia traveled from Baltimore to Boston for the event. Fig 1.2 shows Amelia in 1861 as photographed in Boston.

In 1868 Amelia W. died in Baltimore in a house she was sharing with her son Frank, who was then a clerk. The *New York Herald* reported in the Deaths section of its Thursday 30 April 1868 edition, Vol XXXIII, Issue 121, p. 8

**DE CONINCK.**— At Baltimore, Md., on Sunday, April 26, after a short illness, Mrs. AMELIA DE CONINCK, relict of Francis De Coninck, of Havana, Cuba.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup>Quoted by *Archives of Maryland Online* Vol. 565, p. 90

<sup>17</sup>"Relict" means "widow."



Figure 5.4: Augustine Heard Jr and Jane Leep (De Coninck) Heard, c. 1858

Amelia was interned at Green Mount Cemetery on 27 April 1868 in Lot No. 57, Area TT. Their records state that she died of pneumonia. She would later be joined by her son Frank Alexander in 1879 and her daughter Amelia Henrietta in 1884. Their memorial stones are shown in Figure 5.5

In an odd connection with Lemuel Taylor's youth, Green Mount Cemetery was built on the grounds of the mansion of Robert Oliver, Lemuel's early mentor and benefactor and then creditor and trustee and owner of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia*.

It is notable that in 1868 two important members of Amy's family died: Amy's grandmother Amelia W. De Coninck in Baltimore and Amy's great uncle Augustine Heard Sr. in Ipswich. Also in 1868 Amy's sister Max Heard was born in Hong Kong. It seems quite possible that Amelia W. DeConinck and Augustine Heard Sr. knew each other since Amelia attended Amy's baptism near Boston in 1861 and Augustine Sr. lived nearby, was still healthy, and would likely have visited the baptism of his nephew's daughter's baptism.

Frank returned to Cuba after the death of his mother and remained there until his death in 1879. I have found no evidence Frank ever married. His death was reported without details in the Baltimore *Sun* Mortuary Notice section, Baltimore, Md., Vol: LXXXIV, Issue: 65. p. 2, Friday 31 January, 1879:

**DE CONINCK.**— On December 8, 1878, near Matanzas, in the Island of Cuba.  
FRANK DE CONINCK, formerly of Baltimore, Md.



Figure 5.5: Amelia W. De Coninck, Francis A. De Coninck, and Amelia H. (De Coninck) Pelletier. Green Mount Cemetery, Baltimore

Frank (Francis Alexander) De Coninck was interred in his mother's plot No. 57 at Green Mount Cemetery on 29 January 1879. Frank's sister Amelia Henrietta (De Coninck) Pelletier died not long thereafter as she was interred on 6 October 1884 at Green Mount cemetery, joining her mother and brother in Lot No. 57. See Fig. 5.5.

Mary Taylor De Coninck married Thomas Donaldson Johnson of Baltimore in New York City in 1881. By December 1883 - January 1884 when Amy and her mother Jane visited Ingenio *Santa Amalia*, Mary Taylor (De Coninck) Donaldson — Amelia W. De Coninck's daughter, Jane's sister, and Amy's aunt Mary — along with her husband Thomas Johnson were resident at *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* and managing it. I have found no information about who managed *Santa Amalia* between Webster's departure in 1864 and Mary Taylor De Coninck's taking over before late 1883. Amelia Henrietta was also at *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* during the visit; a letter from Augustin to Amy during that visit refers to "Aunt Amelia" being there.

During the visit Jane wrote to Augustine that Mary was in very poor health.

Amelia Henrietta married a Cuban, George Pelletier, but the date is unknown. My guess is this occurred during her stay at *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* and that George was the son or nephew of the Jorge Victor Pelletier that had owned the nearby cafetal in Lemuel's youth. Amelia H. returned to Baltimore, where she died in 1884. December 1883 was the last time the three De Coninck sisters were together.

Mary died at *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* in 1886 and was interred in Cuba, apparently the last of her family to reside there.

When Augustine Heard visited a very shabby *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* in 1886, there were no Taylor descendants residing there, and the manager was Amelia Henrietta (De Coninck) Pelletier's widower George. George and Gus did not get along. More later.

Of Amelia W. and Francis De Coninck's four children, only the oldest, Jane Leep (De Coninck) Heard, was still living at the end of 1886. By the end of the nineteenth century Lemuel Taylor, his children Amelia W. and Alexander, and many of his grandchildren were also gone. By the beginning of the twentieth century the heirs of Taylor and De Coninck were the great-grandchildren of Lemuel and they still owned *Santa Amalia*, which by then had become the Central *Santa Amalia*.

### 5.2.2 The Death of Lemuel Taylor

It is not known when when Lemuel Taylor died, but it seems likely that it was not long after Fredrika Bremer's March 1851 visit, at which time he was 81 years old and physically frail being cared for by daughter Amelia and her 16 year old daughter Mary,

The departure of Amelia W. De Coninck from *Santa Amalia* after Fredrika Bremer's 1851 visit followed by her arrival in Baltimore enough before 1855 to be resident in her own house before being listed in *Marchett's Baltimore Directory for 1855-56*. Amelia's daughter's 1858 wedding was held at the same address. Amelia was in New England for

her granddaughter Amy Heard's birth in 1860 and that she still resided in Baltimore during 1864-1866 with her son Frank. These known locations suggest that she never returned to Cuba after 1854-5, which in turn suggests that her father Lemuel Taylor died before she left, sometime between Bremer's March 1851 visit to the *Santa Amalia* Estate and 1855 when Amelia's name appears in the Baltimore Directory. Lemuel's ill health and advanced age reported by Bremer reinforce this conjecture since Amelia appeared to be Lemuel's caretaker during Fredrika's visit. Lemuel was 81 years old when Bremer visited *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* .

Furthermore, Lemuel is never mentioned in the *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* Accounts Book written by George Sage Webster from 1853 on, suggesting that Lemuel was no longer present as early as 1853. This is possible, but I cannot say it was likely because they might well have resided in Havana and left the running of the plantation to others. My guess is, however, that both were gone from Cuba before Amelia's brother-in-law George Sage Webster arrived from Connecticut to take over the administration of *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* .

Lemuel Taylor was the last Taylor to reside at *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* .

### 5.2.3 The Connecticut/New York Taylors

Only Lemuel and Mary Williams Taylor's son Alexander had continued the surname since their daughters had assumed the names of De Coninck and Wieland. Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck had remained in *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* until her departure for Maryland between 1851 and 1854. Mary W. (Taylor) Wieland had left for France years earlier. The daughters of Alexander Taylor had returned to Connecticut shortly before his death in 1848. His wife and children had either accompanied him or come earlier, there is no evidence that any of them stayed in Cuba or ever returned. But where did they end up?

There is no evidence that any of Alexander and Maria Taylor's children remained in Cuba in 1848 following Alexander's death in Connecticut. There is evidence of their living in Connecticut for many years. Local Episcopalian church records show Amelia Taylor being admitted to communion and confirmed in 1855, Mrs. Alexander Taylor becoming a member in Apr. 1857, and Alice E. Taylor being confirmed 31 March 1861.

An excerpt from the June 15 1860 Census of the city of Middletown, County of Middlesex, Connecticut, shows the resident members of the Taylor household including Irish servants , and the subsequent table provides a transcription of the entries for the Taylors and Mary Webster:

Page No. *58*

**SCHEDULE 1.—Free Inhabitants in *Middletown City* in the County of *Middlesex* State of *Connecticut* enumerated by me, on the *15<sup>th</sup>* day of *June* 1860. *H. J. Burrows* Ass't Marshal.**  
 Post Office *Middletown*

| Dwelling-house—In the order of valuation. | Family number—in the order of visitation. | The name of every person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1860, was in this family. | Description. |          |                            | Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male and female, over 15 years of age. | VALUE OF ESTATE OWNED. |                           | Place of Birth, Naming the State, Territory, or Country. | Married within the year. | Attended School since over 5 years of age—has cannot read & write. | Whether deaf and dumb, blind, lame, idiotic, pauper, or convict. |    |
|---|---|---|--------------|----------|----------------------------|---|------------------------|---------------------------|--|--------------------------|--|--|----|
|   |   |   | Age.         | Sex.     | White, Colored, or Indian. |   | Value of Real Estate.  | Value of Personal Estate. |  |                          |  |  |    |
| 1   | 2   | 3   | 4            | 5        | 6                          | 7   | 8                      | 9                         | 10   | 11                       | 12   | 13   | 14 |
|   |   | <i>Oliver Payhill</i>   | <i>22</i>    | <i>M</i> |                            |   |                        |                           | <i>Conn</i>  |                          |  |  |    |
| <i>49</i>                                 | <i>43</i>                                 | <i>A Taylor</i>   | <i>46</i>    | <i>F</i> |                            |   |                        |                           |  |                          |  |  |    |
|   |   | <i>Cora W Taylor</i>  | <i>21</i>    | <i>F</i> |                            |   |                        |                           | <i>Cuba</i>  |                          |  |  |    |
|   |   | <i>Louisa W "</i>   | <i>18</i>    | <i>F</i> |                            |   |                        |                           | "  |                          |  |  |    |
|   |   | <i>Alice E "</i>  | <i>16</i>    | <i>F</i> |                            |   |                        |                           | "  |                          |  |  |    |
|   |   | <i>Josephina M. "</i>   | <i>15</i>    | <i>F</i> |                            |   |                        |                           | "  |                          |  |  |    |
|   |   | <i>Anita G "</i>  | <i>13</i>    | <i>F</i> |                            |   |                        |                           | "  |                          |  |  |    |
|   |   | <i>Wannah McCarty</i>   | <i>30</i>    | <i>F</i> |                            | <i>Servant!</i>   |                        |                           | <i>Ireland</i>   |                          |  | <i>1</i>   |    |
|   |   | <i>Ann Mc Coy</i>   | <i>19</i>    | <i>F</i> |                            |   |                        |                           | "  |                          |  |  |    |
|   |   | <i>Wannah McCarty</i>   | <i>19</i>    | <i>F</i> |                            |   |                        |                           | "  |                          |  |  |    |
|   |   | <i>Mary R Webster</i>   | <i>48</i>    | <i>F</i> |                            |   |                        |                           | <i>Conn</i>  |                          |  |  |    |

Middletown, Connecticut, 1860 Census

The five younger Taylors are listed as born in Cuba and Maria Louisa Taylor and Mary Webster as born in Connecticut. The younger Taylor entries match up with the five in

| name            | Age |
|-----------------|-----|
| A. Taylor       | 46  |
| Cora W. Taylor  | 21  |
| Louisa W. "     | 18  |
| Alice E "       | 16  |
| Josephina M. "  | 15  |
| Anita G "       | 13  |
| Mary R. Webster | 48  |

Table 5.1: Middletown 1860 Census

Table 3.3 of the children of Alexander and Maria (Webster) Taylor. Present in the full list but not in Connecticut are Mary Williams, who married Rev. Augustus Hitchcock in July 1858. and Amelia Carolina, who married Rev. Arthur Mason In August 1858. The final entry, Mary R. Webster, is Miss Mary Read Webster, who was the sister of George Sage Webster and of Maria Louisa Webster, the wife of Alexander Taylor. Mary was the Aunt of the the young Taylor children and a sister-in-law of Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck. The first entry, A. Taylor age 46, puzzled me at first, but the age in 1860 is that of Maria Louisa Taylor, whose married name was Mrs. Alexander Taylor.

I can find no definite evidence of whether Alexander's family came with him to Connecticut or if they came separately and, if so, when. Alexander's descendant John Jay Du Bois wrote in his blog [52] that the family moved from Cuba to New Haven, Connecticut, together in 1848 and that Alexander died soon thereafter in New Haven. But I can find no mention of Maria Louisa Taylor (or any variation thereof) in passenger and immigration lists nor can I find her in the 1850 U.S. Census.

Unfortunately the Du Bois blog seems to have concluded in March 2020, and the links specific to his Taylor ancestors are broken. That was also the month in which I received my last email from him regarding our common ancestors and their descendants. I have found related material at another DuBois cite described in the bibliography entry for [52], but the existing link does not include his earlier material on his Taylor family except for a few incidental comments. Dr. Du Bois was still listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the Jay Heritage Center at the Jay Estate in Rye, NY, in 2021.

The family left Connecticut and moved to New York City before 1870. The New York Census on 7 January 1870 lists a household led by Maria Taylor born in Connecticut (50 years old) along with Louise (28), Alice (??), and Josephine (21) Taylor and Mary Webster (about 55), Susan Webster (50), and Maria Webster (40). The list also includes three Irish servants. The ages are nearly illegible and only approximate, but this is clearly a variation Webster/Taylor family shown in Table 5.1. I have not been able to determine the identity of Susan and Maria Webster. They do not seem to be descendants of Ephron, but they were born in Connecticut.

Mary Reed Webster (b. 7/29/1810), daughter of Ephron and Harriet, sister of George Sage and Maria Louisa (Taylor) Webster, died in New York City on 13 December 1872.

### **1872-3 Return Visit to Cuba**

Following soon after the death of Mary Webster, the Taylor family made a visit of nearly 6 months to Cuba. Passenger manifests show that 24 December 1872 M.L. Taylor and 3 daughters arrived in Havana on Shiip City of Merida from New York and that on 8 June Luisa W., Josefina M., and M. L. Taylor departed on the steamship City of Havana for New York.<sup>18</sup> They arrived on 13 June and the Manifest of Steamship City of Havana includes passengers Mrs Maria L. Taylor (age 58), Miss Alice E. Taylor (28), Louisa W. Taylor (31), and Josephine M. Taylor (26).<sup>19</sup>

The 1880 census showed Maria L. Taylor (60) living in New York City with Louisa (30) and Josephine (29) and two Irish servants, noting that Maria was born in Connecticut and Louisa and Josephine in Cuba.

The name "Taylor" for descendants of Lemuel Taylor died out with this generation as the daughters of Alexander either died unmarried and childless or married and took on

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<sup>18</sup>CubaGenWeb

<sup>19</sup>*New York, U.S., Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820-1957, 1873; Arrival: New York, New York, USA; Microfilm Serial: M237, 1820-1897; Line: 1; List Number: 568, Ship: City of Havana*

their husband's name.

Amy and the reader will encounter several of the "Taylor cousins" of Jane De Coninck, descendants of Alexander and Maria Louisa (Webster) Taylor, in Washington DC and New England two decades later.

### 5.3 *Ingenio S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia Accounts Book: 1853-1865*

In May 2020 I found online a hand-written Accounts Book for the Ingenio *Santa Amalia* written in part by Geo. S. Webster, or George Sage Webster, the son of Ephron Webster and the brother of Louisa Webster Taylor, Alexander Taylor's widow and Amelia W. De Coninck's sister-in-law [141]. The book is actually two unrelated books thoroughly mixed up, a fact not made clear in the online description at the Digital Collections of the Library of the University of Miami. The most important part was written by or with George Sage Webster beginning in December 1853, a few months over two years after Fredrika Bremer's visit, and ending with his departure in 1864 or 1865 with his family, and his eventually settling in Connecticut. The remainder of the writing, often interspersed with the earlier entries, is by an unknown writer who takes the book with him to Maine for use as a notebook.

The pages for 1864-5 show a definite breakpoint between the nature of entries and handwriting styles, and I suspect during this period things were being finalized from the years of George's management, but no mention is made of his successor. George returned to Middleton, Connecticut, in June 1864, arriving in New York on 4 June on the Steam Ship Eagle. The Manifest lists G. S. Webster (53), Mrs. J.S. Webster (45), and Master Webster (11), who is William Ephron Webster, born in 1853. Eliza Isham Webster had died in 1863, the infant Anita Eliza, born in 1864), was not listed on the manifest. Neither was their son, James Alexander Webster — who will appear later in Amy's Journal. George's brother Frederick, had earlier returned to Connecticut in March 1864.

As described earlier in the chapter, George Sage Webster probably began his work as manager of the plantation when he returned to Cuba with his new wife in 1851 a few months after Fredrika Bremer's visit. Webster arrived when Lemuel Taylor, his daughter Amelia W. De Coninck, and her daughter Mary Taylor De Coninck all lived on the estate with him. George's mother, Maria Sage Webster, and his siblings had all returned to the United States to live by 1951. Maria Sage Webster had left Cuba together with her daughters Mary Webster and Helena Webster (and Mary,T., Amelia H., and Francis A. De Coninck) in 1849. George was probably still involved with management of the Webster Ontario estate.

By 1853 George was clearly managing the estate as evidenced by the account book, and supported by the fact that in occasional references in literature he was considered to be its owner. [49][107] As has been discussed, this was likely because of the confusion of

his being an heir to neighboring plantations and the husband of an heir to S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia . It seems likely he also spread the fiction himself. By 1853 or soon after Amelia De Coninck left S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia with her daughter Mary and moved to Baltimore. It seems likely Lemuel Taylor died before she left since Bremer's description suggests she was taking care of him in his old age. This meant all of the Taylor and De Coninck heirs to the S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia were in the United States or dead. Thus it seems likely that George Webster never saw his sister or his sister-in-law again in Cuba. Maria Louisa did revisit Cuba with three of her daughters in 1872-3, but by then George was long gone.

Webster does, however, mention Mrs. De Coninck and Mrs. Taylor in the account book as owners in the lists of enslaved persons and in connection to the small expenses for shoes and clothing. Examples are "Mrs. De Coninck's Luz" (mentioned in an 1854 entry on page 13 in the pdf) and "Mrs. Taylor's Betty" mentioned in the same year on p. 15. Luz is listed as "Luz Criolla" and her age (edad) given as 27 on page 112 which follows a page dated 1865 and is reproduced in Figure 5.6. The custom in Cuba was to give the slaves a first name or given name and in the place of a last name (family name, surname) use either the name of their tribe in Africa, or the word "Criollo/a" for Cuban-born descendants of foreign-born ancestry. Lucumi, Ganga, and Congo/a were common surnames. In addition to the slaves belonging to *Santa Amalia*, there is also a list on p. 99 of the slaves rented from the Ontario Estate, which belonged to the Webster family. On p. 165 the earlier lists seem to be repeated, this time with no ages but with plus signs to the right, as if being checked off.

The Accounts book often refers to a Day Book for details, but unfortunately I have found no evidence of the Day Book's survival.

The secondary part of the Account Book is sometimes an overlay on the first part, filling into spaces originally left blank with dates usually in the 1877-1878 range. Sometimes it fills many pages with no or few earlier entries or mention of *Santa Amalia* or Webster. The language of the later writing is mostly Spanish and the location is in the state of Maine, as specified by the names of locations (and the New England weather). Trips to Bath, Georgetown, Westport (Maine), and Boston, Mass., are mentioned.

The early writing is mostly about minor expenses such as the examples given below. The 1864-5 writing around the time of George Webster's departure has the appearance of an accounting of the estate, especially the listing of the valuable enslaved Africans and their descendants.

The later writings are mostly describing the weather and the social life of the writer

My guess is that the later writer probably worked at S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia , initially with George Webster and then for his successor — not named in the document — until around 1877, when the writer left Cuba, keeping the book to use as his own notebook. There are occasional indications in the later material of a talent for accounting, which suggests a book-keeper took the book with him when he left *Santa Amalia* and moved to Main. Although I found nothing definite, I note that a boiler engineer named Hiram Beal who is often

| Criados de Mrs. de Coninck |  | Criados de Mrs. Taylor |                       | ceda |
|----------------------------|--|------------------------|-----------------------|------|
| 1                          | Luz Criolla, cda                         | 27.                    | 1 Julia, Lucumi       | 41.  |
| 2                          | Jou Santos w                             | 26.                    | 2. Jania w            | 57.  |
| 3                          | Juan de Luis Primo w<br>4 de Julio Nacio | 21.                    | 3. Mercedes (criolla) | 27.  |
| 4                          | Lberine Laurana                          | 1.                     | 4. Jorge w            | 22.  |
|                            |  |                        | 5. Carlos w           | 24.  |
|                            |  |                        | 6. Susana w           | 17.  |
|                            |  |                        | 7. Vera w             | 18.  |
|                            |  |                        | 8. P. Medifonso w     | 14.  |
|                            |  |                        | 9. Roberto w          | 10.  |
|                            |  |                        | 10. Jose w            | 8.   |
|                            |  |                        | 11. Nera hija Monica  | 1.   |

Figure 5.6: 1865 Criados of Mrs. De Coninck and Mrs. Taylor

mentioned in the Accounts Book has a name matched by a man living in Maine in the late nineteenth century. Beal might have combined administration with his engineering work.

The first three pages of the book are later additions, the first mention of Webster is at the top of page 5 (a right-hand page) and related material is at the top of the facing left-hand page 4. The date is January 21st 1854. The bottom writing on both pages is dated much later in 1877 in a very different handwriting. The next few pages are later writing with the next occurrence of Webster's name being on the facing pages of 8 and 9, which have the dates in October and November 1853 and have a heading of Cr. or credit on the right-hand page 9 and Dr. or debit on the left-hand page 8, where the terms follow accounting tradition rather than the ordinary English meaning. Familiar terms crop up in the listings, including travel expenses to Matanzas and Cardenas, clothes for enslaved workers, food, sewing, frying pans, tomato seeds, cod fish, beef, black pepper, soda biscuits, onions, small and large spoons, padlock, cologne, wine, laudunum, bottles of ale, silver watch, lottery tickets, tea, payments to engineers, postage, payments to Bayley and Traub, the Matanzas merchant firm of Santiago Bayley and Carlos Traub, a firm which can be found on the Web at many stamp collecting websites because they served as forwarding agents for mail. Carlos Congo, of whom Fredrika wrote and whose portrait she drew, is mentioned on p. 13.

F.W. Webster, George's brother, is often mentioned. There might be a link between Santiago (James) Bayley and John P. Bayley, Amy's godfather. John (1818-1880) had an older brother James (1803-1852), but I have no evidence he was in Cuba between his birth and death in Boston. John Bayley's second wife's was Lola Traub and she was born in Matanzas, and the name and timing suggest a connection to Carlos (Charles) Traub.

The beginning of the Account Book and the very end mostly include the earlier material, with later material filling in most of the space left empty. Most of the middle of the book is dated in the later 1870s in Maine, written in a different hand. Somehow the book ended up at the University of Florida, where it was scanned and put on Web, where I found it. I have found no commentary explaining the book's origins and history, but it reinforces the historical discussions of Cuba in this work.

## 5.4 El barracón

In April 2021 while spending some time searching the Web for "Ingenio Santa Amalia" I stumbled onto an article "Poétiques mémorielles et imaginaire collectif: canne à sucre et émancipation en Caraïbe," by Sandra Monet-Descombey Hernández on JSTOR, wherein I found

Le *Je* intime de ces poèmes, souvent autobiographique, sert de vecteur de transmission, comme dans « Barracón », émouvant recueillement devant



# Chapter 6

## Heard

The Heard family of Ipswich originated with Edmund Heard, who was a linen weaver in Claxton, Norfolk Co., England. Edmund forms the root of the Heard of Ipswich family tree of Figure 6.1. Edmund's eldest son Luke was a colonist in New England and founded the Ipswich branch of the family. Several generations of Heards were born and died in Ipswich and a thorough family genealogy has been written by E.W. Hanson [70]. See also [69]. Biographies of many family members have been published, a few of which will be cited here where the focus is on ancestors and collaterals that had an influence on Amy Heard. The family patriarch relevant to Amy was her great-grandfather John Heard.

### 6.1 John Heard of Ipswich

The first Heard to achieve more than modest means was John Heard. John was born in Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1744 (baptized 19 May 1744). His parents were Daniel Heard (baptized 1717, d. 1770) and Mary Dean (March) Heard. John Heard was a successful businessman with controlling interest in the Ipswich Mills and a half interest in the rum distillery on Turkey Shore Road in Ipswich, the road that ran along the river bank where they unloaded barrels of West Indies Molasses. John's business and personal papers along with those of many of his descendants are among the Heard Collection at the Baker Library, Harvard University.<sup>1</sup>

During the American Revolution John owned an interest in many privateers, establishing a seafaring and maritime interest for generations to come. Following the revolution, he invested in ships trading in the West Indies and Virginia and eventually in China and India, a maritime commerce that was developed by his sons. Between 1795 and 1800 he built the Ipswich mansion that now bears his name and is the home of the Ipswich Mu-

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<sup>1</sup><https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/11/resources/575>

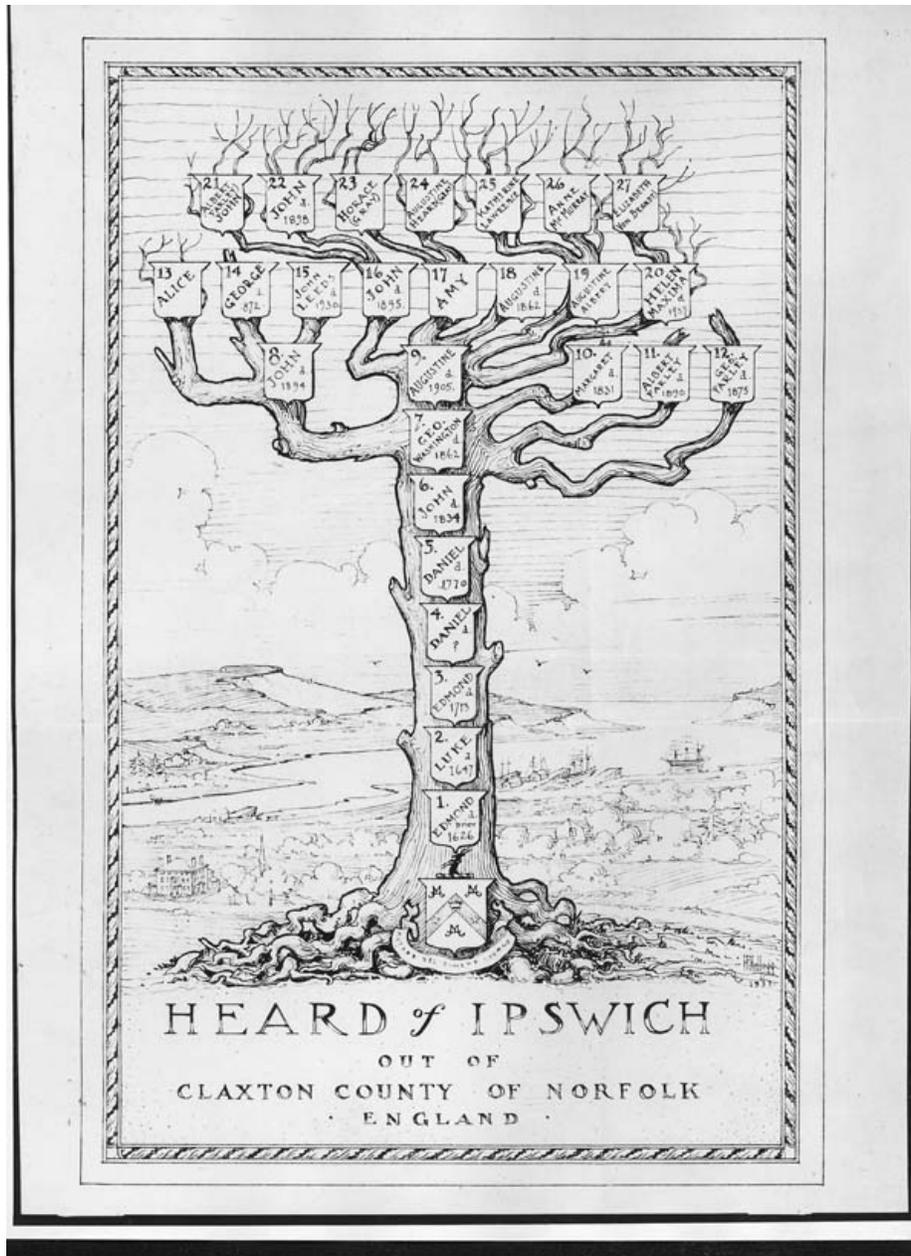


Figure 6.1: Heard of Ipswich

seum, formerly known as the Ipswich Historical Society. He was active in politics, serving in several town and county offices as well as Massachusetts House of Representatives as a Federalist for several terms, the State Senate in 1803–1811, and later as a Justice of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas, becoming Chief Justice in 1819. In 1820 he was a Presidential Elector and a delegate to the Convention for revising the constitution.



Figure 6.2: Brothers Augustine and George Washington Heard

John married his second wife Sarah “Sally” Staniford, Amy’s great-grandmother, 9 February 1777. Family legend has it that John knew George Washington and that as a result he named one son George Washington Heard (Amy’s grandfather) and another Augustine Heard (Amy’s great-uncle) after George Washington’s father.

These two sons of John and Sally are the most important of John Heard’s fourteen children for Amy’s story. Their portraits are shown in Figure 6.2. Although Augustine’s name was spelled in the Spanish fashion, the descendants of his brother George pronounce “Augustine” as if it were spelled “Augustin,” as if the final symbol rhymed with “tin” and not “teen.”

Two other children of John Heard are relevant to Amy’s story. John’s first son John Jr. or John II was born to John’s first wife Ann Elizabeth Story in 1775 and a tradition was established for giving the first son born to Heard descendants the name “John,” a tradition

that resulted in a confusing array of the names "John Heard, Jr.," "John Heard III," and so on. An attempt will be made to distinguish the many John Heards encountered in Amy's story following the spirit of the original designations; that is, JH1 will be the original John Heard born in Ipswich in 1744 and JHII the first born son of JH1.

John's daughter Mary Heard (7/24/1796 - 10/15/1869) was "Aunt Mary" to George Washington Heard's four sons.

## 6.2 Augustine Heard

### 6.2.1 Ipswich & the Sea

Augustine Heard was born in Ipswich on 30 March 1785. He was not an ancestor of Amy's, he was her great-uncle, her father's uncle. But his role in the family was immense and Amy's father, was named after him and called "Augustine Heard Jr." to distinguish them, a convention followed here.

Augustine Heard was educated at Phillips Academy, Exeter, in New Hampshire, leaving school in 1803 to join the house<sup>2</sup> of Ebenezer (Eben) Francis, one of the principal merchants of Boston. In summer 1805, Francis sent Heard at age 20 to sea as a supercargo, the person who managed the business, trading, buying, and selling of the cargo of the ship. Sometimes the captain served also as own supercargo, often the supercargo was a business agent and clerk for the captain. The authority of a supercargo was limited to a specific voyage, so if a merchant firm wished to establish a more permanent agent in a foreign port, they would establish a branch or agency of their house in that port. The American headquarters for trading firms were most commonly in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia and many ships were bound for Calcutta, then under the control of the British East India Company (EIC) and a center for international trade in cotton, silk, spices and other commodities, along with the nascent trade in Indian opium, which would grow to lucrative but alarming proportions by the 1820s. The primary market for opium was China, where it was illegal to buy, sell, possess, or transport.

When Heard first visited Calcutta, the Indian opium trade was strictly controlled by the monopoly of the British East India Co. (EIC) and was effectively closed to American merchants. The trade and use of opium in imperial China had long been illegal. The EIC had effectively ruled much of India both militarily and administratively since 1757 and the company held a world-wide monopoly on imports from and exports to India, including cotton, silk, spices, tea — and Indian opium.

The EIC did not wish to offend the imperial government by violating its laws within Chinese jurisdiction, but since the 1770s the EIC had monopolized the sale of Indian opium

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<sup>2</sup>Historically a house or counting house was a building or house in which the accounts and money of a person or company were kept.

and had dealt with Chinese merchants and smugglers who took the risks and made significant profits. While the EIC officially held a monopoly on trade among Britain and East Asian ports, in particular between Calcutta and Canton, local trade was permitted by private merchants by an arrangement generally characterized as “country trade.” Country trade typically involved coastal trade, river trade, and trade among near neighboring states, including British controlled Indian states and China — whose single port open to foreigners was Canton.

Private British merchants did not share the scruples of the EIC regarding the opium trade and in the beginning of the nineteenth century considered themselves as country traders allowed to trade in popular goods such as cotton, silk, and tea while also smuggling opium illegally into China. British merchants had been trading in China since the early seventeenth century and dominated the early foreign trade in China. They would continue to do so until temporarily expelled in 1839. American merchants were a distant second.

As early as 1805, Eben Frances gave instructions to Augustine Heard with significant leeway, but beginning with a shipment of pepper to Leghorn (Livorno in Tuscany) with the option “should he proceed to India” to take the proceeds of the pepper to invest the proceeds “in opium or some other valuable goods that you think may produce a profit.” [139] American involvement this early in the trade was relatively small, but it was not absent. Because of the monopoly of the EIC in Calcutta, Indian opium was not easy to find by non-British merchants. The small American trade attempts to sell opium in Canton involved mostly inferior opium from Smyrna, such as was being trans-shipped by Baltimore merchants in 1820.

For the 25 years following his first voyage to Calcutta Augustine was active as supercargo and ship’s captain voyaging widely in the Mediterranean, the West Indies, and South America as well as the Far East. His many sea adventures have been recorded and can be found, for example, in *Personal Reminiscences* by Robert Bennet Forbes (1882). [58] See also *Augustine Heard and Friends* by T.F. Waters (1916) [139] for a view from Ipswich.

Notably, In June, 1810, Heard sailed for Calcutta as supercargo in the brig *Caravan* owned by Pickering Dodge of Salem. Included in the kegs specie to be used for purchasing was \$10,000 invested by “Wm. Gray, known commonly as “Billy Gray.” In a hint of the future, Amy Heard’s great uncle Augustine Heard was doing business with her future husband Russell Gray’s grandfather, Billy Gray. When Heard returned from Calcutta in 1811, Dodge appointed him master and supercargo of *Caravan* for its second voyage to Calcutta.

The seagoing years of Augustin Heard ended in 1831 when he arrived in China to become on 1 January 1831 a partner in Russell & Co. in Canton, a house with financial interests in the opium trade preparing to enter the trade itself with the end of the East India Co monopoly. A “house” in this context ’was a branch or agency of foreign firm, with resident partners and clerks with painfully slow communications with foreign partners — mail took several months to travel between Canton and Boston.

The story of the U.S. active participation in the opium trade in East Asia and, to a lesser extent, in the Middle East, including the role of Augustine Heard and the companies he became associated with, has been told by several authors, and remains unfortunately relevant to the modern opioid crises. A readable and thorough modern development is *The Voyage of the 'Frolic': New England Merchants and the Opium Trade* (1999) by Thomas Layton, which resembles a detective story beginning with Layton and his students discovering the wreck of a Baltimore Clipper belonging to Augustine Heard & Co. off the Northern California Coast. [84] Other books and articles will be cited as the story is told.

### 6.2.2 1830s Canton

Canton (Guangzhou) in 1830 was a place where fortunes could be made by intrepid foreigners, but it was an artificial and isolated existence full of long hours and hard work. The "Canton System" had been in operation for over a half century as a means of the imperial Chinese government to enforce tight control over foreign trade while minimizing contact between citizens of the empire and foreigners as a means of ensuring security and national defense.

In 1830 Canton was the only port in China allowed by Chinese imperial law to participate in trade with foreigners and in Canton commercial life was greatly constricted by physical constraints to a factory/warehouse area. Foreign women were forbidden and foreign traders were discouraged except during the trading season. These and many other rules were intended to discourage foreigners from settling down to permanent residence in China. This state of affairs was a result of an edict of 1757 by the Qing emperor which aimed to control foreign trade and provide strict constraints on relations between foreigners and Chinese citizens. The Qing dynasty (1644–1911) was ruled by the minority Manchu people of Northeast Asia and they were sensitive to the threats to their power from the majority Han population and from foreign powers who might seek to interfere in Chinese politics.

The goal of the edict was to control trade between the ports of the empire and foreign merchants and to enhance national security in defense of foreign interference. The government was concerned with the possibility of foreign encroachment on their sovereignty and the potential of support of Han rebel. The Manchus were well aware of the military and administrative colonial takeover by British agents of the Indian states which began with the efforts of the British East India Company (EIC), a private company with a government sanctioned monopoly on trade between Britain and East Asia. Over many decades the edict evolved into a strict bureaucracy and set of rules and laws forcing foreign traders to deal with the Chinese through specified contacts in a single location following specific rules.

In 1830 British still dominated foreign trade in Canton. The Americans were a distant second. The East India Company would soon lose its official monopoly status and inde-

pendent British merchants were taking in increasing role in leading the British and also the entire foreign merchant community.

The most important of British merchants in the early 1830s were the Scotsmen William Jardine (1784-1843) and James Matheson<sup>3</sup>(1796-1878). The two men met in Calcutta in 1820 and formed a partnership focused on the “country trade” among Calcutta, Hong Kong, and Canton. In 1832 they officially formed the firm Jardine, Matheson & Co. which quickly became the primary foreign country trader in Canton thanks to more and better trained and better connected agents. By 1834 Jardine & Matheson were in position to take over trade leadership when the British parliament stripped the EIC of its monopoly on trade between Britain and China. Jardine had been participating in the opium trade since 1817 and the trade had grown large enough by 1820 to alarm the imperial authorities.

There was an attempt in the 1820s by the government to curtail the trade in Canton. The attempt was unsuccessful, however, as the opium traders moved their base from Canton to ships anchored off Lintin Island off the Pearl River estuary, where opium clippers continued to import the drug and transfer it to small Chinese boats and to private British boats to move the drug up the rivers and along the coasts to local dealers. Around Lintin Island foreign armed boats could resist the imperial navy and store vast amounts of opium for local smugglers to transport up river and along the coast. As Chen (2017) [36] observes, the operation in Lintin was considered by the British merchants to be “free trade.” On the other hand, the Chinese government felt threatened by uncontrolled foreigners influencing activity in a manner that threatened civil stability.

The opium trade continued to grow into the early 1830s.

On arrival in Canton in 1831, Augustine Heard joined the American firm of Russell & Company, a tiny firm in comparison to the British partnership of Jardine & Matheson. Heard would deal with Jardine & Matheson through his entire career, both competing and cooperating.

The environment in Canton in 1830 was decidedly unhealthy. The tropical climate, isolation, workload, and stress combined with the severely limited physical social activity took its toll on the health and lifespan of the resident merchants. The attraction, however, was the possibility of gaining significant wealth in a only a few years, enough to retire in comfort or even luxury back in New England. In 1830 Russell & Co. was on the verge of becoming the leading American house, a position it would hold until its demise in 1891.

By Chinese law over half a century old, Canton was the only Chinese port legally open to foreign trade, and there were strict controls governing business and personal affairs. No foreign warships were allowed in the area and firearms were not permitted. The merchant community was confined to a small riverside area outside of the city walls and incoming ships were subject to government inspection, fees, fines, and arbitrary interference. Foreign women were not permitted in the enclave and the men were only allowed

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<sup>3</sup>pronounced “MAYtheson”)

to reside in the area during the trading season, when the monsoons were favorable for shipping.

The community was housed in a collection of 13 Hongs — “factories” or warehouses — which provided lodging and locations to conduct business. The lodgings were comfortable and there were a few constrained recreational opportunities within the community, including sailing, billiards, and reading. Walking, however, was strictly limited to the enclave and sailing was limited to adjacent waters of the Pearl River (Zhujiang).

A few of the foreign merchants brought wives and families, but as they were not allowed in Canton under Imperial government control they found comfortable residences in nearby Macau (aka Macao), then a Portuguese Colony with better weather and with few prohibitions and much available entertainment and pleasures.

One such merchant was William H. Low, a partner of Russell & Co., who brought his wife Abigale and his niece Harriet Low to live with him in Macau while he spent most of his time in the factory in Canton. Harriet wrote extensive letters and diaries of her experiences, which eventually provided a primary source for studies of the community such as Jaques M. Downs’ *The Golden Ghetto* (2014) [51], which detail the purely masculine comforts of Canton and the more diverse and expansive entertainment and recreations along with family life in Macau during the 1830-40s. Extensive context and source material can also be found online, e.g., at the Harvard Heard Collection in the article *Expatriate Traders in the Treaty Port Communities*<sup>4</sup> and the MIT *Visualizing Cultures Website Rise & Fall of the Canton Trade System – II Macau & Whampoa Anchorage* by Peter C. Perdue<sup>5</sup>. This purely masculine colony of foreign merchants in Canton would remain the rule until the end of the First Opium War in 1842, when China was forced by the Nanking Treaty to open up more ports to foreign trade and ease restrictions on foreign traders.

The merchants with families in China could alternate between grueling work days in Canton and comfortable family life in Macau. Unmarried merchants or merchants with families in a far away home sometimes had affairs with local women in Macau according to the letters and journals at the time as well as novels inspired by the reports. The women were usually Macanese of Chinese descent or mixed Chinese, Portuguese, and other ethnic groups. The Tanka ethnic minority is specifically mentioned in some sources.

In rare cases these arrangements resulted in marriage, but more often the women were considered officially as “protected women” as women supported financially by foreigners who also assumed some legal and financial responsibility for them, often including legal transfer of property or trust funds to provide some security if and when the foreigner returned to his foreign home. The topic of protected women will be revisited in Section 6.5 in the context of a family legend of Augustine Heard and evidence relating to his nephews.

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<sup>4</sup><https://www.library.hbs.edu/hc/heard/expatriate-traders.html>

<sup>5</sup>[https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/rise\\_fall\\_canton\\_02/cw\\_essay02.html](https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/rise_fall_canton_02/cw_essay02.html)

There is little evidence of sexual involvement between the foreign merchants and well-born Chinese women, but it did happen in popular novels such as *Java Head* by George Hergesheimer (1919) [72]<sup>6</sup> and in real life in the case of Augustine Heard & Co. partner George Dixwell, whose story is told in *The "Other" Dixwells: Commerce and Conscience in an American Family* by Thomas N. Layton. (2021) [83] George Dixwell married Hu Ts'ai-shun (1848-1915), a Manchu, in 1867.

### 6.2.3 Precursors to War

The 1830s were marked by increasing friction between English merchants in Canton and the local representatives of the Chinese imperial government. The tensions eventually led to war being declared by Britain in 1839 accompanied initially by a naval attack by a British warship on several Chinese naval ships and months later by an actual invasion.

The causes of war are generally attributed to British reaction to Chinese attempts to curtail the increasingly alarming opium trade in 1839 by the government sending Commissioner Lin Zexu to Canton and his confiscation and destruction of chests of opium belonging to British merchants in Canton. Commissioner Lin also imprisoned and punished many Chinese citizens involved in the trade.

Several years before the 1839 crackdown, however, a group of British merchants allied with the support of Protestant missionaries had lobbied and petitioned the British government to intervene militarily and consider a formal declaration of war on China on the basis of their perceived ill treatment by the Chinese government through restrictions on their trade, personal lives, and commerce and communication with Chinese citizens. Jardine and Matheson were leaders of the merchant group in both Canton and London. Members of the group were chafing under their confinement to a single port and the strict rules governing their behavior. Calls for forceful intervention and even war were published in the Matheson owned English language newspaper the *Canton Register* and in petitions and personal appeals by Jardine and Matheson and other British merchants in Canton.

A detailed history of the machinations of this group is given by Chen in *Merchants of War and Peace: British Knowledge of China in the Making of the Opium War* [36]. From 1834 on the group pushed for a show of force by the government in the interests of national pride and "free trade." The *Canton Register* founded and led by Jardine was distributed among the international British merchant community. These efforts were initially fruitless, but in 1839 events led the the British government to change its policy and declare war on China.

A few events of violence involving both English seamen and Chinese citizens resulted

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<sup>6</sup>The protagonist ship captain who returns to Salem with a Mandarin wife is named Ammidon and he had once been employed by Augustine Heard.

in the Chinese Government sending Commissioner Lin to Canton to restore calm and enforce the law. While the most obvious law breaking was the illegal opium trade, the crackdown was also intended to react to the breakdown of foreign control of their own people, a basic principal of the Canton system. Commissioner Lin declared that all foreign merchants must pledge to no longer deal in opium. The group of British merchants who had been promoting intervention by the government to protect “free trade” supported by protestant missionaries unhappy with the restrictions on their proselytizing refused to cooperate, so the Commissioner Lin seized 20,000 opium chests from their storage and burned them and ordered all English citizens to leave Canton and hence all of China under Imperial control. The Americans avoided exile by agreeing to cease trade in opium.

The British merchants and their supporters appealed to local British military authorities and to officials in London, including British Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston. This time the rhetoric of free trade and British honor aggravated by the destruction of British property (albeit illegal) and exile of British citizens from China was successful. The nearest British naval units responded by attacking a few boats of the Chinese Navy and Lord Palmerston, pushed through a declaration of war in the cabinet of ministers and sent an invasion force from India, initiating the first Opium War. The resolution was influenced by politics, Palmerston’s Whig party was weak at the time and was able to draw support from the Radical party, composed mostly of Northern manufacturers eager to expand British trade in China. Support for war was far from unanimous in both the merchant community in Canton and in London. Many foreign merchants in Canton and the Tory opposition in Britain opposed the war. The anti-war merchants even launched an opposition English language newspaper the *Canton Press* to counter the articles and editorials of the pro-war *Canton Register*. Their basic principle was that the merchant community should comply with the laws of the nations with whom they were trading and should seek mutually beneficial peaceful solutions to problems that arose.

In addition to supporting the military intervention and declaration of war the pro-war group of British merchants supplied extensive information on the state of the Chinese military, along with descriptions of its weaknesses and suggestions for strategy. Most of these suggestions were followed by the invading forces.

The far superior naval and military forces of Britain quickly led to a humiliating defeat of the Chinese which was codified by the August 1842 Treaty of Nanking, which ended the Canton system, “opened up” foreign trade to other specified Chinese ports including Shanghai, imposed a crippling indemnity for lost property (primarily destroyed opium), and ceded Hong Kong and nearby islands to the British.

Possession of a fortified island base for commerce had been proposed years earlier by the pro-war group of British merchants in Canton, and the Treaty of Nanking reflected the demands made by the group to the British public and Parliament since 1835. The arguments promoted by the British war party also trumpeted the idea that China was a backward, semi-civilized nation and that the war and invasion were for the benefit of



The story of Russell & Co. and the eventual acrimonious division of the company resulting in the formation of Augustine Heard & Company and their rivalry of over three decades is admirably told in *Rivals in Canton: The Control of Russell & Co. 1838-1840 and the founding of Augustine Heard & Co.* by Tim Sturgis (2006) [130], a beautiful little book that is unfortunately difficult to find. Several informative older articles available online include *American Trade in Opium to China, 1821-39* by C.S. Stelle (1941) [128], *American Merchants and the China Opium Trade, 1800-1840* by J.M. Downs (1968) [50], and *Old Shipping Days in Boston* produced by the State Street Trust Company (1918) [42]. The Baker Library Special Collections at the Harvard Business School has an immense collection relevant to Russell & Co. and Augustine Heard & Co.

Forbes' book [58], the original source in book form of a history of Russell & Co., still merits mention as an insider's view of the formation and heyday of the firm. It includes at the very end a list of the active partners of Russell & Co. from its founding in 1824 through 1880 along with their dates of acceptance and retirement and notes. The list is reproduced in Figure 6.3 and provides a useful chronology of the company.

Russell & Co. had its origins in the early American efforts to trade with China soon after the American revolutionary war. The first Boston merchant from the new nation was Thomas Handasyd Perkins in 1792. That year at the age of 27 he founded J. & T.H. Perkins with his older brother James in Boston and sailed for Canton on one of Elias Hasket Derby's <sup>7</sup> ships. Perkins realized the financial possibilities for the China trade, initially with the possibility of bringing sea-otter furs from the American Northwest to China to trade for tea, silk, and porcelain desired in the Americas and Europe. Given the time constraints of a supercargo, he realized that to develop a successful long term trade Perkins & Co. would require a local house in Canton.

Back in Boston in 1803 he sent his senior clerk, Ephraim Bumstead, to Canton along with his own nephew, 15 year old John Pershing Cushing (1787 - 1862), as an assistant, in order to found Perkins & Co. in Canton. Bumstead died within a year and young Cushing took over the house and directed it for the next two decades. He was highly successful, considerably aided by his friendly and productive relationship with a leading Chinese merchant of the day, Houqua. Trade flourished in sea-otter skins and Hawaiian sandalwood to Canton and tea, silk, and porcelain to Europe and the Americas. Cushing returned home in 1827 a rich man. On his departure he was considered the premier American merchant in China. Cushing handed the direction of Perkins & Co. in Canton over to Thomas Tunno Forbes, like Cushing a nephew of the founder of the Perkins businesses, Thomas Perkins. Forbes was the elder of the three sons of Ralph and Margaret Perkins Forbes. We shall soon encounter the younger Forbes brothers: Robert Bennet Forbes (1804-1889)

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<sup>7</sup>Elias Hasket Derby of Salem (1739 - 1799) grew rich in the privateering trade during the revolution and became one of the premier merchants in the new nation. His ships were among the first American ships to trade in China, but he did not seriously pursue the effort.

(known as “Bennet”, the author of [58] and many other books) and John Murray Forbes (1813-1898).

In 1819 Samuel Wadsworth Russell of Middletown, Connecticut, (1789 - 1862) founded Samuel Russell & Co in Canton with himself as senior partner along with several partners in Providence, Rhode Island. The firm was a commission house — a group of partners united in a five-year contract which took a percentage on goods bought and sold and typically did not provide their own capital, although individual partners might do so through their own investments. Unlike the then largest American house in Canton, Perkins & Co, Samuel Russell & Co. did not own its own ships or finance its own trades, rather it arranged such business and took a commission on the sales.

Early in his career, Russell had been a supercargo for the Salem merchant William “Old Billy” Gray, who will be treated at more length in Chapter 7 since he is also important to Amy Heard, who later married Billy Gray’s grandson Russell Gray.

Samuel Russell & Co, the small new competitor to Perkins & Co, did not fare well against the existing Canton houses. With the expiration of its founding contract in 1824, the firm was transformed into Russell & Co with partners Sam Russell and Philip Ammidon (1778 - 1837). The fortunes of Russell & Co improved as the company steadily rose in trade and influence so rapidly that by 1831 it absorbed Perkins & Co to become the premier American house in Canton, which it remained until its demise in 1891.

During the 1820s The China trade increasingly had a major flaw of imbalance — Chinese goods were far more demand in the West than foreign goods were desired in China, forcing the Western merchants to pay for most of the goods in cash, specifically in specie — Spanish silver dollars minted in Mexico and obtained from Central and South America. Shipping specie, however, was insecure and dangerous and silver was scarce.

Trade imbalance first affected the much larger British East India Company, but gradually spilled over into the American houses. The tragic solution to imbalance was initiated by the British and eventually copied by the Americans — opium. The drug was illegal in China, but much in demand and enforcement was lax. Early efforts employed smuggling outside Chinese government jurisdiction by local Indian and Chinese shippers followed by local boats rowing the chests to local opium merchants up the Pearl River. Initially the American houses were not deeply involved with the actual shipping of the drug from India because of the monopoly on the Calcutta - China trade held by the British East India Company. The Americans managed occasionally to evade the British restriction or to receive exceptions. American merchants also imported Turkish opium, but the quality of the Middle Eastern product was considered inferior and the quantity was a tiny fraction of the opium delivered in China. Americans also sold Turkish opium in Java and Manila.

Cushing began shipping Turkish opium to China in 1821, but it was not yet a major product for Perkins & Co and Cushing was wary of Chinese government interference. He continued the shipments on a cautious scale and introduced in 1823 the idea of having an

incoming ship docked for a long time outside of Chinese jurisdiction to serve as an opium storage ship from which small amounts could be successfully smuggled. Such effectively permanent storage vessels included the *Lintin* sailed by owner Robert Bennet Forbes in 1830 to end up anchored off of Lintin Island as an opium storage vessel for Russell & Co.

The improvements in marketing, storage, and transportation led to a revival of the Turkish opium trade, and Perkins & Co. guided by Cushing until his departure, dominated the trade from 1824 to 1829.

In addition to shipping Turkish opium, American houses were deeply involved in the complex banking and financial manipulations funding the Indian opium trade. These financial dealings linked American businesses with British businesses, including power-houses like Baring Brothers Bank of London. It should be noted that only one American house at that time, Olyphant & Co, refused on principle to participate in the opium trade.

In 1827, before the end in 1829 of the first five year contract defining Russell & Co, founding partner Philip Ammidon chose to return home and William Henry Low (1795 - 1834) of Salem agreed to join the house as partner to replace him, arriving in China with his wife Abigale and his niece – the diarist Harriet Low (1809 - 1877) – in 1829.

<sup>8</sup> Since at that time foreign women were not allowed in Canton, Harriet and her aunt lived in the Portuguese Colony of Macau while Low worked in Canton. Low became a partner in January 1830, but ill health caused him to retire in 1833 and the Lows sailed home. Sadly William died on the way. He had earlier recruited his nephew, Harriet Low's brother, Abiel Abbot Low to take his place. Abbot became a partner in September 1833 and remained a partner of for four years.

As has been mentioned, John Cushing of Perkins & Co departed for home in 1828, leaving Thomas Forbes in charge of Perkins & Co. Unfortunately for the firm, in August 1829 Thomas Forbes was drowned in a typhoon. In his effects a letter was found putting Samuel Russell in charge of the firm's business in case of Forbe's death. Cushing quickly returned to China and with his Boston Boston partners ratified a merger with Russell & Co, which would absorb the business of the Perkins Boston partners. The house of Perkins & Co. was dissolved and Russell & Co immediately became the primary American trading company in China, expanding its business from pure commission merchants to include the banking, financing, and ship owning aspects of Perkins & Co.

By 1829 Russell also wished to return home and he invited Augustine Heard to join as a full partner as his own replacement in Canton. Heard arrived in China in 1830 and became junior partner in January 1831 after the absorption of Perkins & Co, leaving the enlarged Russell & Co in Canton with only resident partners William Low and Heard. Some sources describe Heard as being chosen to replace Ammidon, and it is possible that the invitation had been sent through Ammidon, but Low was made partner a year before

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<sup>8</sup>“The Caleb Cushing Papers and Other China Trade Materials at the Library of Congress,” Jacques M. Downs, *Journal of East Asian Libraries* , Vol. 1989, No. 86, Article 3. 2-1-1989

Heard and Ammidon had already gone by then. Low was made partner at the beginning of 1830, while Heard arrived and Russell left later in 1830. Russell remained an active corresponding partner until 1836 from his home in Providence.

Augustine Heard's invitation to become a partner of Russell & Co. came during a visit to New England and he soon set out for Canton on the ship *Lintin* captained by Bennet Forbes, who had worked with Russell & Co and its predecessor Samuel Russell & Co since their founding. Another passenger on the voyage was Forbes' youngest brother, John Murray Forbes, who was on his way to China to make his fortune.

Bennet Forbes had already begun his fortune as a sea captain and merchant in the Mideast and China trade. Years later in old age back in Boston, Bennet wrote his memoirs *Personal Reminiscences* (1882) [58] in which he describes his voyage to China with Augustine Heard and some of their adventures there. The portrait of Heard in Fig. 6.2 is reproduced in [58]. It is copied from a painting by Hunt still hanging at the Ipswich Massachusetts Library.

During the voyage Heard, a sailor and ship's captain of many years experience, was clearly chafing from boredom at having nothing to do and was getting in the way with his efforts to help. Forbes joked about putting him in charge to keep him busy, but it turned out that Forbes was then suffering from ill health and indeed gave Heard the command of the ship for much of the voyage.

On Heard's arrival in Canton in 1830, Samuel Russell returned home William Low became senior partner and Heard became junior partner on 1 January 1831. Bennet Forbes was put in charge of the permanently moored opium storage ship *Lintin* and managed the opium trade of the firm. He was not made partner during his first stay in China, but he would become a partner on his return in 1839.

The younger John Murray Forbes was made clerk of the company and later in 1834 became a partner. He was charged with keeping an eye on his Uncle Perkins' investments.

When Heard and the two Forbes brothers arrived in Macau in November 1830, Heard was 45 years old with experience in trading among East Asia, Europe, and the Americas and specific experience trading in opium, all important to Russell & Co. Bennet Forbes was 25 and John Forbes only 17.

The workload on the two partners Low and Heard of the newly merged company was heavy and William Low's health was poor and Heard's was not much better.

Meanwhile John Cushing in Boston searched for other men to go out to Canton to join the firm. He settled on Joseph Coolidge (1798 - 1879), who appeared to be an ideal choice: A 35 year old graduate of Harvard, widely traveled, experienced as a merchant, and well-connected — he was known to Sam Russell and he had married Ellen Randolph, a granddaughter of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello in 1825. Coolidge accepted, reluctantly left Ellen and their three children in Boston, and arrived in Canton in early 1833. He became a partner in 1837.

William Low retired in 1833 after having recruited his nephew, Abbot Low, but he died

in the Cape of Good Hope the following year while returning home in the company of his wife and niece Harriet Low. The younger Low came as a clerk in 1833 and became a partner in 1837. John Murray Forbes similarly fell ill and he, too, returned home temporarily in 1833. Heard's deteriorating health made it increasingly likely that he, too, would be leaving soon. So following Cushing's arrival there was little time for the premier American house to maintain its workload, seek new recruits from Boston for the future, and prepare for an imminent radical change in the China trade.

Not long after Coolidge's arrival in Canton, the British Parliament revoked the monopoly of the East India Company of trade between Britain and China to be effective in January 1834. This opened up trade between Calcutta and Canton to American ships – including the opium trade – which was still illegal in China. This was of huge significance to Russell & Co, but it also raised complex issues of establishing the necessary trade relations to take advantage of the new opportunities for tea, silk, and porcelain and more thorny issues of profiting from the illegal opium trade in the face of increasingly determined Chinese opposition and enforcement. An immediate result was that Coolidge was sent to Calcutta to negotiate arrangements, and Russell & Co. again was left understaffed. Likely in some desperation, Heard offered a partnership to John Cleve Green (1800 - 1875), an experienced supercargo and merchant then working for the house of N. L. & G. Griswold in Canton. The Griswold family crops up later, so a short detour is in order.

Brothers Nathaniel Lynde Griswold and George Griswold founded the N.L & G. Griswold Company in 1796. Originally importing sugar and rum from the West Indies, they expanded into the China trade in the 19th century and became a major player in the tea trade. George Griswold's son John Nobel Alsop Griswold (1822 - 1909) spent time as an agent at the family firm in Canton and then joined Russell & Co. as a partner in 1848 where he served as senior resident partner in Shanghai until retiring in 1854. After his stint in China he went home and spent many years working with John Murray Forbes' developing railroad empire and finally ending up in Newport Rhode Island where he was active in land and business development and built a "cottage" – a mansion that still stands. John's daughter Minnie Griswold was about Amy's age and will crop up in Amy's 1881 journal.

Returning to the history of Russell & Co, Green's partnership in Russell & Co began in January 1834. Green was was competent, efficient, and well respected, but he was also abrasive and not well-liked. The easy-going, amiable Heard found Green difficult and their relationship soured. As a New Yorker Green was something of an outsider in a firm with resident and U.S.-based partners all from Boston.

John Murray Forbes returned to Canton in spring 1834 with renewed health and newly married to find "an exhausted, disgruntled and far from fit Heard; insistent on getting back to Boston as soon as possible." [130] He discovered to his surprise that in his absence he had been he had been a full partner since since January 1834. Soon after his arrival Augustine Heard sailed home, leaving Russell & Co. in the hands of Green and Forbes with

the young Low on his way. Bennet Forbes also returned to Boston in 1834 to enjoy his new wealth and marry. Green immediately began to chafe at the absence of Coolidge from Canton. Like John Forbes, Coolidge had become full partner of Russell & Co in January 1834, but after leaving India he had continued to travel widely, ostensibly to build business for the firm, but in reality contributing little to the frenzied business in China where his absence was felt.

Coolidge landed in Boston in autumn 1834. He met with Boston merchants, including a recovering Augustine Heard, who remained a partner of Russell & Co as its Boston representative until 1836. The friendship between Coolidge and Heard was renewed and Heard became almost a member of the younger family. Coolidge remained in Boston until June 1835, and when he left for Canton he asked Heard to keep an eye on his family's finances and welfare in his absence. Heard agreed and followed through. Coolidge arrived back in Canton four months later, having recruited a new clerk and eventual partner for the firm, the ship's young supercargo Edward King (1835 - 1900), during the four month voyage. King would become a partner in 1843. Shortly after his arrival in Canton, however, Coolidge left for Calcutta — much to the displeasure of Green and Forbes, who wanted him to help locally instead of wandering off in search of new business.

Nonetheless, the remaining partners Green and John Forbes had an excellent trading season from autumn 1835 through winter 1836. Expecting the imminent return of Coolidge, Forbes retired from Canton and sailed home to his new wife in October, just before Coolidge returned. Coolidge had now been a partner for three years, but he had not yet gained the experience of a trading season in Canton. Although well-educated, traveled, and connected, he had not yet gained the actual experience needed to succeed as a partner. As 1837 began, the firm was assisted by the new young clerks Abbot Low, Edward King, and a new recruit, William Hunter. Hunter would become a partner in 1837. Friction grew between Green and Coolidge which interfered with the operation of the firm and Coolidge was not yet fully sensitive to the opinions and feelings of the firm's partners and close associates including John Forbes, John Cushing, and William Sturgis in Boston and Joshua Bates at Barings in London. Cushing was, however, close to if physically remote from Heard and Cushing had the sympathy and friendship of Bates. When Coolidge had been brought into the firm, he had been destined to follow Green as the senior partner in the next contract term in 1839. But things were going awry.

When Coolidge again visited Boston in 1837, a full fledged international financial crisis was developing, threatening worldwide trade and ruining many who had retired wealthy but invested unwisely, including Bennet Forbes. John Forbes, concerned about the financial situation, thought it wise to send Coolidge to London to solidify the firm's relations with Joshua Bates at Barings. But Forbes, too, had his doubts about Coolidge. In early 1838 John and Ellen Coolidge left for London and arrived in the spring.

The Coolidges spent a year in London with social high points mixed with business setbacks. They enjoyed a friendship with Joshua Bates and his wife and sharing the Lon-

don social scene with the Bates, but encountered multiple setbacks to Joseph's hopes for the future. An order from Barings to Russell & Co encountered difficulties because it was for an unrealistic quantity of high quality tea at a specified price. As a result Coolidge, advised by Barings, made a purchase departing from the wishes of Houqua and the instructions of Green which angered them both. Then Green brought in two new partners in Canton over Coolidge's objections: Bennet Forbes, who after being ruined by poor investments in the 1837 financial crisis had left his family in Boston to sail to Canton in the hopes of remaking his fortune, and Warren Delano, a partner of a competing firm in Canton — Russell, Sturgis & Co. Coolidge thought highly of Forbes, but objected to Forbes being made a partner without Coolidge's approval. He opposed the inclusion of Delano, and again objected to the action being taken without his approval. It was clear to Coolidge that his position as future leader of Russell & Co as well as his position as a partner was now at risk, but he decided to shore up his connections in London and then in Boston on his way back to Canton in an effort to regain his position with Russell & Co in spite of what seemed to be a hostile opposition to him. He received the support of Bates before departing London with Ellen in Spring 1839 for New York and then Boston. He received support from associates in both New York and Boston, but it was all aimed at his finding a way to make peace with Green, Forbes and the new younger partners. But by then Coolidge was probably doubting the possibility of a reunion and was thinking of the possibility of posing the possibility or threat of his forming a new firm to compete with Russell & Co. He and all of his confidants did not like the idea of the disruption in business and morale that might be caused if he did this, but during the visit to Boston he, along with his wife Ellen as revealed in later correspondence [130], asked for and received permission from Augustine Heard to invoke his name as the potential senior partner of the threatened alternative to Coolidge regaining his position.

The possibility of a new competing partnership of Coolidge and Heard in such an event had been raised in discussions in New York. A reluctant Heard gave Coolidge permission to use his name in this manner and the Coolidges sailed for Canton summer in 1839, leaving their boys in boarding school in Switzerland and their daughter in Boston in the care of Heard. The Coolidges arrived in Macau in November 1839 to find a drastically changed situation.

Over his objections Bennet Forbes had been made a partner soon after his October 1838 arrival, taking over his younger brother's share in January 1839. In addition, Warren Delano had been accepted as partner as of January 1840. Both actions had been opposed by Coolidge. Green had passed the reins of senior partner to Forbes and was himself retiring in December 1839 — the end of his 5 year term — and heading home. In addition, Forbes had convinced the active partners to approve the contract for the next five years beginning in 1840 — excluding Coolidge.

In November 1839 when Coolidge arrived with his wife in Macau, he attempted to appeal the decisions and made his threat to form a new partnership with Augustine Heard

if his appeal did not succeed, but the partners stood firm and Bennet wrote his wife that while the partners did not want the establishment of a new competing firm with Coolidge, but they were not willing to change their actions, in spite of pleas from many associated in America who supported Coolidge. On 1 January 1840, a new house in Canton named Augustine Heard and Company was announced with Joseph Coolidge and Augustine Heard as founding partners and it was discovered in the factory of Russell & Co that all belongings of former partner Joseph Coolidge had been removed and his room emptied. News of the events was communicated by Ellen Coolidge to her close friend Augustine Heard. The letter showed her disappointment in the unraveling of events and the actions of her husband in appearing to hide behind the name of Heard in naming the company. She left it to Heard to decide whether to reluctantly leave his comfortable home in Boston. A reluctant Heard set sail for Canton in June of 1841.

From its founding in early 1840 to Heard's arrival, Coolidge alone had little success in finding and doing business. Other events dominated life in Canton and Macau. The few exceptions were when Bennet Forbes, overloaded with work, passed on some requests to Coolidges for transferring British goods to Canton and teas back to Macau.

In late 1839, Abbot Low retired and sailed home in January 1840.

### 6.2.5 War

While Coolidge was traveling and Bennet Forbes was returning to Canton and taking from Green the leadership role in Russell & Co, serious events were unfolding in China. The ending of the East India Company's monopoly on the trade between China and India had been followed by a rapid growth in the quantity of opium imported by China and a corresponding decrease in the quantity of specie in the empire. In addition, the employees of the traders were becoming increasingly unruly and violating the Chinese laws constraining them to specified areas such as Lintin Island. Violations resulted in Chinese interference and even executions, imperial government pressure increased against Chinese opium dealers and traders as well as the foreign traders.

The Chinese Government in early 1839 moved to strictly enforce its laws on the opium trade and appointed a special commissioner headed by an incorruptible mandarin Lin Tse Tsu charged with stopping the illegal trade. Government raids on Chinese opium traders were increased and better organized, resulting in more public executions. In March 1839 stronger measures were taken. The port of Canton was closed and the harbor surrounded with soldiers. All Chinese employees of the foreign merchants, including servants and cooks, were removed, effectively reducing the foreigners to prisoners in their own compounds. Lin then demanded all chests of opium be publicly destroyed and bonds sign that no more would be imported. Refusal meant instant expulsion from Canton.

All of the merchants allowed their current supplies to be destroyed, the property was after all illegal in China and the merchants had no military force to defend themselves.

The British, however, under the leadership of the Superintendent of Trade Captain Charles Elliot, refused to sign the bond promising to never again import the drug claiming that the order violated the principal of free trade. He did manage to get the British traders to surrender their opium by promising indemnity by the British government against their losses. The Americans did sign the bond, but had no indemnity for their losses. The result was that all of the British were expelled from Canton, fleeing to British ships anchored out of the imperial jurisdiction. The Americans were allowed to remain and proceeded to preserve trade not involving opium. By May the Chinese soldiers had withdrawn and the servants and cooks returned.

The British approached the Americans in hopes of achieving solidarity and common action, but Bennet Forbes as the leading American Merchant refused, observing that he would remain in whatever conditions allowed trade. He was quite willing to abandon the opium trade. In June 1839 with a temporarily situation, Green returned home leaving Forbes completely in charge.

Russell & Co began to thrive as arriving British ships could not proceed and most sold their cargos to the American company at attractive prices.

In the midst of this surge and with trepidation about likely future British reprisals, Bennet's concerns about the difficulties with Coolidge were fueled by an influx of support letters from New York and Boston colleagues seeking compromise. But he continued resolute in his decisions as his irritation at Coolidge's negative portrayals of Forbes to his friends grew.

Meanwhile, Great Britain was circumventing Commissioner Lin's restriction by sending their cargo elsewhere in China outside of his control, to Amoy and Foochu and the British government had decided to send a punitive military expedition from India to China. The expedition arrived in June 1840, closing the river and stopping all trade. At about this time Bennet Forbes concluded that he had remade his fortune and accomplished all he wished and he sailed home. Coolidge stayed on in Canton, awaiting the arrival of Heard, aged 65, in October 1841.

The British attacked various Chinese positions along the coast, capturing islands guarding the entrance to major rivers and then took all of the major forts defending Canton and its Harbor. The Chinese called for a truce once a crippling indemnity more than covering the British opium losses was agreed to. Peace negotiations dragged on, but the port of Canton was opened in May 1841 with American houses doing a brisk business transporting British goods from the mouth of the river to Canton, where British ships were still forbidden. Coolidge worked with the British firm Jardine Matheson with the cooperation of Houqua. Ellen Coolidge's health was deteriorating and she sailed for home in April 1841, but arrived after the departure of Augustine Heard as captain and supercargo of his ship in June. Heard brought with him his oldest nephew, fourteen year old John Heard (often distinguished from the numerous other John Heards by calling him John Heard III) and two clerks. Heard had also persuaded a prosperous Boston merchant, George Dixwell,

to follow him to Canton a month later to join the new firm as a partner.

The truce did not last and the British renewed their attacks, again using superior military firepower and training to overwhelm the Chinese defenders. All foreign merchants moved to evacuate Canton, but Joseph Coolidge waited too long and was imprisoned.

### 6.2.6 Augustine Heard & Co.

As with Russell & Co., an outline of the history of a firm can be illustrated by a list of its partners, as Bennet Forbes provided in Fig. 6.3. A corresponding list for Augustine Heard & Co. has been generated by Thomas Larkin as part of his *Sino-Foreign Networks project* at Bristol University.<sup>9</sup> The list extracted by from his data base by Prof. Larking for me was based on local registries and shows the year of the first appearance of the names of the partners in those registries. I hope to add additional information to the list with time to reflect Bennet Forbes' list for Russell & Co.

| Name | Date of Admission              |
|------|--------------------------------|
| 1842 | Augustine Heard Sr.            |
| 1842 | Joseph Coolidge Jr.            |
| 1842 | George Basil Dixwell           |
| 1845 | John Heard                     |
| 1847 | Joseph L. Roberts              |
| 1847 | Charles A. Fearon              |
| 1847 | John Ward                      |
| 1850 | Augustine Heard Jr.            |
| 1854 | Ebenezer Francis Parker        |
| 1856 | Albert Farley Heard            |
| 1856 | William Comstock Jr.           |
| 1859 | George Frederick Weller        |
| 1864 | George Washington/Farley Heard |
| 1874 | Charles Edward Parker          |
| 1876 | Edward Gilchrist Low           |
| 1873 | Robert Inglis Fearon           |

Table 6.1: List of Partners of Augustine Heard & Co., China

Although founded on paper in January 1840, Augustine Heard & Co was begun as an operating concern on 1 June 1842 having Augustine Heard, Joseph Coolidge, and George

<sup>9</sup><https://research-information.bris.ac.uk/en/projects/mapping-sino-foreign-networks-mobility-in-nineteenth-century-chin>

Dixwell as resident partners. The original term was 3 years, as opposed to the regular 5 year terms of Russell & Co. Both Heard and Coolidge knew the opium trade well and immediately concentrated on the lucrative trade. Because the firm had not existed when other houses signed the bond prohibiting the trade forced by commissioner Lin, the partners felt they were not legally bound by the bond. The war was still raging and would not end until the humiliating Treaty of Nanking was signed in August 1842. The treaty would end the Canton system by opening several other ports (called “Treaty Ports”) to foreign trade. Of these, Shanghai soon became the dominant Chinese port while trade in Canton withered. In addition to the forced expansion of trade and the indemnity to recover the loss by British merchants on the destruction of the illegal opium and the closure of its trade, China was forced to cede the island of Hong Kong to Great Britain for 150 years. Hong Kong would grow into a trading center, especially for opium. The treaty did not mention opium, but it did prevent the imperial government from banning any commodity – called “free trade” by the foreigners who were forcing the debilitating and deadly drug onto the nation because of the claim the Chinese people wished to buy it, so the merchants should be free to sell it to them. The treaty brought a temporary peace to China and the houses prospered, but many conflicts continued and there would be a second Opium War ten years later.

Augustine Heard & Co grew to be the second largest American trading company in China, after Russell & Co. [139],[87]

Heard stayed long enough in China to stabilize and organize the company returned to Boston soon after the beginning of the second three year term of the firm on 1 June 1844 and the remainder of the firm’s story is entwined with John along with Augustine’s other three nephews. The firm would be mostly a Heard family venture until it failed in 1875 and its remnants were absorbed by the British house of Jardine Matheson. The year 1844 began with Augustine Heard & Co partners including Augustine Heard, John Heard, George Dixwell, and Joseph Roberts. Coolidge was notably absent, and it is not clear what his later fate was. He had gained enough fortune to retire comfortably, but perhaps he had proved as difficult to the partners of Augustine Heard & Co as he had at Russell & Co.

George Dixwell does not play a major role in this book, but there is an excellent well-researched book on his life: *The “Other” Dixwells: Commerce and Conscience in an American Family*, by Thomas N. Layton (2021). [83] which focuses on Dixwell’s Chinese family, but also contains information about AH & Co. and the Heard brothers.<sup>10</sup> Layton earlier wrote *The Voyage of the ‘Frolic’: New England Merchants and the Opium Trade* (1999) [84] and its sequel *Gifts from the Celestial Kingdom: A Shipwrecked Cargo for Gold Rush California* (2002) on the archeology and history of the Chinese opium trade and the role of

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<sup>10</sup>Unfortunately the book lacks an index, which limits browsing for names and places of interest. I recommend the “Author’s Edition” paperback with its photographs for reading, and the Kindle version for looking up names. The book also adds fictional dialog, which can be distracting.

AH& Co. in it. The books had their origins and archeological field work by Layton and his students on a sunken Baltimore Clipper found off Northern California.

Augustine Heard and his company play a major background role in this book and will usually be abbreviated to AH & Co. AH & Co was the second largest New England/China trading firm after Russel & Co for much of its existence, which lasted well into Amy's lifetime, when it finally collapsed in the mid 1870s as a result of many causes, including an international recession and financial mismanagement by its American branch. The company traded a variety of goods, most famously tea, but like Russel & Co it was also deeply involved in the opium trade [84], as were many U.S. trading firms in China at the time.

Many short biographies of Augustine Heard may be found in collections of American biographies and the business papers of Augustine Heard and Co. can be found at the Baker Library at Harvard University. In later life Heard was a co-founder of the Ipswich Library, where his portrait still hangs in the reading room in the original library building.

After the end of the First Opium War in August 1842, both the houses of Augustine Heard & Co and Russell & Co prospered as friendly rivals, expanding into other treaty ports and elsewhere in Asia.

When Augustine Heard Sailed home, he left his nephew John as senior partner along with partners Dixwell and Roberts. For the remainder of its existence, Augustine Heard & Co would continue to be primarily a Heard family company, with the four nephews taking turns as senior partner.

### 6.3 George Washington Heard

AH's younger brother and Amy's Heard grandfather George Washington Heard was born 5 February 1793 in Ipswich, Mass., and died there on 21 April 1863. He graduated from Harvard in 1812 and, unlike his brothers who went out into the world to seek their fortune, returned to Ipswich and lived with his father. He received an MD in 1815, but never practiced medicine. He married Elizabeth Ann Farley, born 20 July 1802 to daughter of Major Robert and Susanna (Kendall) Farley of Ipswich. George and Elizabeth are buried in the Heard family tomb in Old North Cemetery, Ipswich. George operated a distillery, probably his father's Turkey Shore Distillery. and originated a lace-making factory, which lost money and was sold to Ipswich Lace Col, which went bankrupt. He was a successful merchant, a partner in the Ipswich Manufacturing Company with his older brother Augustine, and the first president of the Ipswich Bank, established in 1833. He was regarded as one of the leading citizens of Ipswich and served several terms as representative of Ipswich in the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Elizabeth Farley Heard is remembered as an active correspondent with her four sons, all of whom would take turns as managing partners of Augustine Heard and Co. in China and its branches elsewhere. Her trove of

letters was advertised in 2011 by the Ten Pound Island Book Co. of Gloucester, Ma., for \$20,000. Reading the listing in their email circular, curiosity compelled me to write for details, since I thought all of the Heard family correspondence had been sold to the Baker Library at Harvard many decades ago. I got a curt response saying the letters had been sold. I found out later when the Baker Library had an exhibit on Augustine Heard and Co. as an exemplar of early American business interests in China that they had bought the Elizabeth Farley Heard letters. I hope to eventually spend some time poring over the letters to resolve several questions I have, including who was Miss Loring depicted in the photo with Augustine Heard and on her unpleasant communications with John Heard who was executor of his uncle Augustine's estate after AH died in 1868.

George and Elizabeth had five children: John was born 14 September 1824 and died on 19 February 1894. Amy's father Augustine, usually referred to as Augustine Heard Jr., or Augustine Heard II, was born on 7 December, 1827. Margaret was born on 2 March 1830. Albert Farley Heard was born on 4 October 1833, and George Farley was born as George Washington on 31 January 1837.

George's brother and Augustine Jr.'s, namesake Augustine Heard left China in 1844 and his four nephews, George Washington Heard's sons, took turns as managing partners of the firm until its failure in 1875.

| Name              | Born      | Died       | Married    | Spouse                                     |
|-------------------|-----------|------------|------------|--|
| John              | 9/14/1824 | 2/19/1894  | 1/31/1867  | Alice Leeds (3/30/1846-9/1/1917)           |
| Augustine         | 12/7/1827 | 12/14/1905 | 4/29/1858  | Jane Leep De Coninck (5/11/1832-6/19/1899) |
| Margaret          | 3/2/1830  | 7/21/31    |            |  |
| Albert Farley     | 10/4/1833 | 3/26/1890  | 10/28/1868 | Mary Allen Livingston (1/5/1851-12/8/1882) |
| George Washington | 1/31/1837 | 2/4/1875   |            |  |

Table 6.2: Children of George W. and Elizabeth Heard: All born in Ipswich)

## 6.4 Heard Brothers Four

### 6.4.1 John, Augustine Jr., Albert, & George

Augustine Heard's four nephews — the sons of his brother George Washington Heard — succeeded each other as resident, senior, or managing partner — all terms used for the effective leader of the firm. As the eldest brother, John asserted a dominating influence even after his final departure from China and official retirement. Occasionally two brothers overlapped each other as the new one learned the ropes, but the four were not together from the time of John's departure for Canton with his uncle Augustine Heard in 1841 until the meeting of all four in Paris in 1871. [71]

This subsection provides an outline of tenure of the four brothers in China and the following subsections fill in many details.

John had sailed with his Uncle Augustine to Canton in 1841 and became a partner of Augustine Heard & Co. in 1845.

Augustine Jr. arrived in Canton in 1847 after he had completed the requirements for his undergraduate degree at Harvard, but before the graduation ceremony was held. Gus became a partner in 1850, but soon returned home because of ill health leaving John still in charge. Gus returned to China in 1852, allowing John to travel and eventually go home until his eventual return to Hong Kong in 1857.

Albert arrived in Canton in 1853 to join Gus and replace John. Albert became a partner in 1856. He returned to the U.S. in 1858 and then went back to China in 1859, where remained until 1867. He returned again to Hong Kong in 1872 as the final managing partner following the fateful 1871 Paris meeting of the four brothers.

John returned in January 1857, allowing Gus to return home. He would soon marry in Baltimore in April 1858 and then proceed to Paris, where he became the European Agent for Augustine Heard & Co.

John Heard returned home in 1862 and managed AH & co. business in Boston.

George Washington (later Farley) Heard became a partner in 1864 following diplomatic service as private secretary to John Ward, the American Minister to China beginning in 1859.

In 1867 Gus returned with his growing family to Hong Kong and John departed China for the final time. Augustine remained in Hong Kong as the senior partner until departing for the 1871 meeting of the four brothers in Paris, which occurred not long after the fall of Paris and the end of the War of 1870, aka the Franco-Prussian War.

With the company's financial situation declining, the four brothers met in Paris in 1871 and chose Albert to return to Hong Kong as the final leader of the firm before its demise in 1875.

### 6.4.2 New York ↔ Canton

The Heard family spent significant time traveling between New England and China. A few specific voyages are detailed in the literature or can be inferred from historical records and provide insight on the travel choices in the mid 19th century. In the first half of the century the voyages were mostly by sail as steamboats grew into steamships and moved from local curiosities and coastal service to large vehicles carrying cargo and passengers across stretches of ocean and by the end of the century crossing the wide Pacific.

Augustine Heard's early trading voyages and his voyage in 1840 with Robert Bennet Forbes in the *Lintin* are considered in some depth in the literature, especially in Forbes (1882) [58] and Waters (1916). [139] His nephew Augustine Heard Jr. straddled the sail

and steam eras and his first two trips from New England to China exemplify and illustrate the two means of transportation around the middle of the century.

Gus and 47 other young men were awarded a Bachelor of Arts degree from Harvard College at the graduation ceremony on 25 August 1847<sup>11</sup>, but he was not present at the ceremony because he had already sailed on 18 November 1846 on ship *Paul Jones* from



SHIP "PAUL JONES," 624 TONS, BUILT AT MEDFORD IN 1842 BY WATERMAN & EWELL

Figure 6.4: Image from Gleason (1936) [63]

Boston bound for Canton. His brother John relates in his memoir [71] that "in March, 1847, my brother Augustine came out in the Paul Jones and joined me." Ship *Paul Jones* had been cleared in Boston bound for Canton with Captain Watkins on 14 November 1847<sup>12</sup> and it sailed two days later. Gleason (1936) [63] describes the ship as having been built in 1842 by Waterman and Ewell at Medford, Massachusetts, and that it was owned by John M. Forbes of Boston and Russell & Co. of China. Gleason states that

She was the perfection of the Medford clipper type of 1830, and the fastest vessel of her time, with the exception of the "Natchez."

<sup>11</sup> *The Boston Atlas*, 25 August 1847

<sup>12</sup> Reported in the *New York Daily Herald* on 16 November.

He goes on to describe her first voyage in 1843 bound from Boston to Hong Kong. Gus's voyage about three years later was probably similar.

On her first voyage the *Paul Jones* in 1843 sailed from Boston for Hong Kong, January 15th, crossed the equator twenty-six days out, was fifty-four days to the Cape of Good Hope, eighty-eight days to Java Head, and arrived at Hong Kong one hundred and eleven days from Boston.

Indeed 111 days from Boston to Hong Kong was a fast time for a sailor, but the general term "clipper" was generally defined by "fast."

Gleason attributes ownership of *Paul Jones* to John Murray Forbes and Russell & Co., of which both John M. Forbes and Bennet Forbes were partners. In the *Finding Aid* for the Heard Collection at the Baker Library of the Harvard Business School [**HeardGuide**] there is an item

1845-1847 Ship "Paul Jones": Tea, Domestic Identifier: Carton S-11; Folder 88; Reel 87-4767 R-376

which suggests that the ship was under contract to Augustine Heard & Co. at the time that Gus made his voyage from Boston to Canton. I hope to verify this surmise and look for additional information soon.

Thanks to philatelist historians, Gus's voyage from New York to China in 1852 following his 1850-1852 visit home for health reasons is well documented and provides insightful information about the details of traveling between Canton and New York in the mid nineteenth century. The details are included in an untitled document with no named original source posted at the Website of Siegel Auctions: <https://siegelauctions.com/ph/pdf/021.pdf>. The document is a collection of stories of letters sent between the United States and China from 1841 through 1872. One of the letters was written by Augustine Heard Jr. in 1852 while returning to China from his visit home. The story provides much information about travel between the East Coast of the U.S. and China. Gus wrote the letter during part of his voyage to China and mailed it on arrival in Hong Kong. Both his voyage out and the letter's voyage back to Ipswich are described. It is the best source I have found of the travel endured by the Heards, describing the legs of the trip and the time it took for the passage. The documents also compare the time required for the trip via steamboat in comparison with the much cheaper but slower sailing vessels.

The items are direct quotations of portions items from the cited website. I have sent email asking for details of the original source but have not received a reply.

The first item describes Gus's voyage out to China by a sequence of steamships: *R.M.S. Asia*, New York to Liverpool, *S.S. Bentinck*, Southampton to Alexandria, *S.S. Pottinger*, Suez to Galle, Ceylon, *S.S. Malta*, Galle to Hong Kong, and *S.S. Canton*, Hong Kong to Canton.



Figure 6.5: *Asia* and *Malta*

The *Asia* was a Cunard Ship, the others were owned by the Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Co. (P&O Line)

Images of two of the steamers — *Asia* and *Malta* — are shown in Figure 6.5 since they provide a good illustration of the combined sail/steam technology of the mid 19th century. The left hand image is “The P. & O. Co.’s S.S. Malta, A. J. Barlow Comr off Macquarie Fort, Sydney,” watercolour by Frederick Garling, Courtesy of Dixson Galleries, State Library of New South Wales. The right hand image is from the Library of Congress <http://loc.gov/pictures/resource/det.4a26436/>.

The second item describes the return trip of his letter by the Clipper Ship *Atalanta* from Hong Kong to New York. The trip to Canton was by steamship with one land passage at Suez, avoiding a trip around the Cape of Good Hope. The trip out by steamship took three months, the return by sail by Clipper ship and took 84 days, the second fastest up to that time by a sailing vessel and faster than the steamship trip out. Nearly a month elapsed on the trip out between Singapore and Hong Kong, which suggests delays or a layover, and several days en route were spent waiting for the next ship to depart. Gus’s 1846-1847 clipper ship sailing voyage of 111 days began in Boston and ended in Canton and did not require the many layovers and changes of ship.

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Excerpts from Siegal Auctions Historical Document:

1852

U.S. TO CANTON VIA SOUTHAMPTON AND SUEZ

CUNARD LINE: R.M.S. Asia, New York to Liverpool

S.S. Bentinck, Southampton to Alexandria

P & O. LINE: S. S. Pottinger, Suez to Galle, Ceylon

S. S. Malta, Galle to Hong Kong

S. S. Canton, Hong Kong to Canton

June 23, 1852. A long letter from Augustine Heard, Jr. to his mother at Ipswich, Mass. It is headed "On board Steamer "Malta" June 23, 1852. He gives her some interesting points, inter alia,

"It is a beautiful day, and we are heaving in the long swells of the Indian ocean. The sun is shining brightly and the sky of that most delicate light, vapor charged blue of the tropics have with its floating web-like clouds. I had been reading an essay on cloud painting & was stretched under the heavy awning, drowsily watching the changing forms and admiring the contrast between the deep-blue of the sea, here and there streaked with a fleece of foam, and the delicate tint of the sky, when imperceptibly and by degrees a spirit of devotion crept upon me, and I found myself actually looking 'through nature of to nature's God.'"

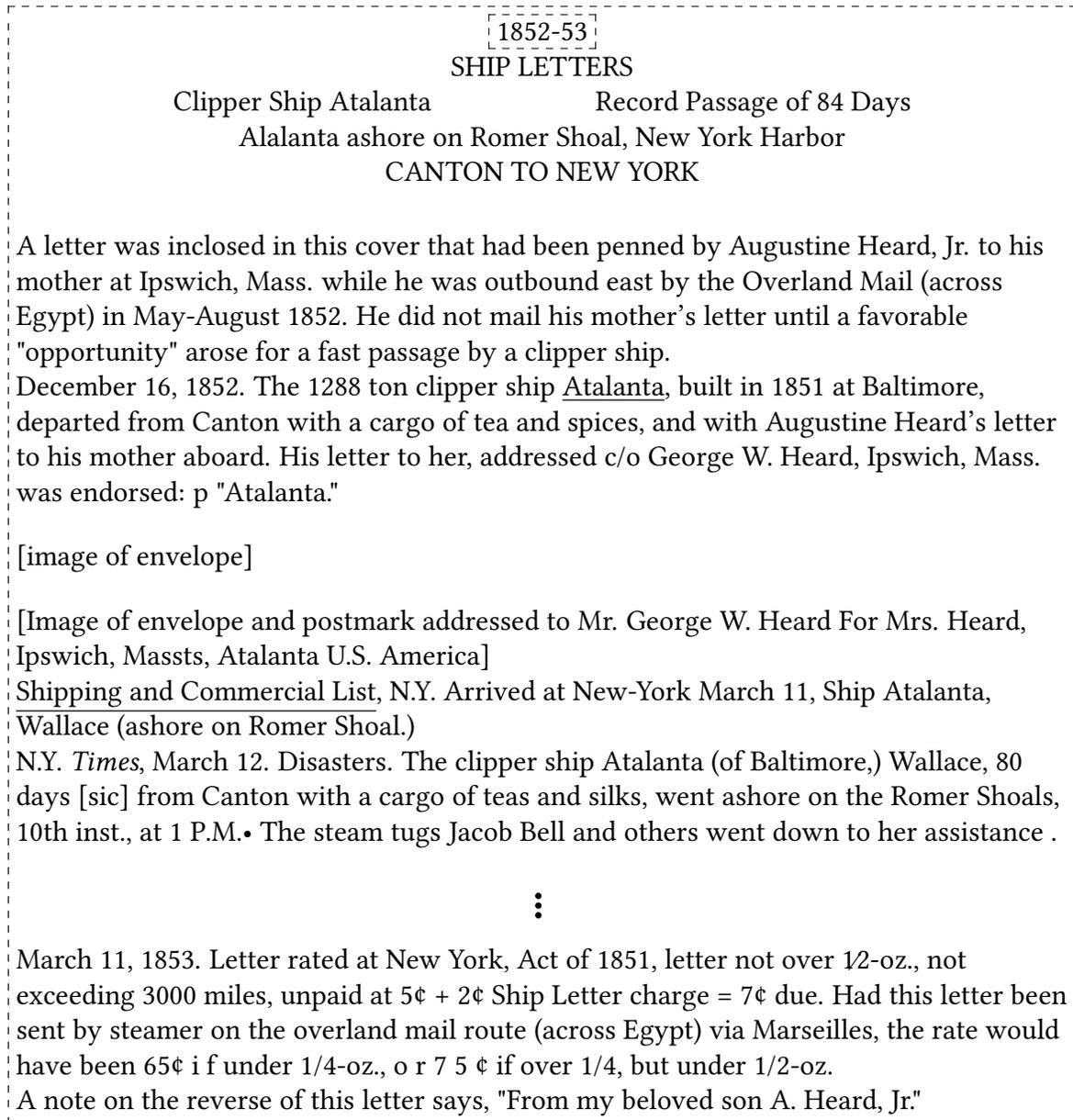
He goes on to explain his philosophy on religion and reminiscing about home. It is evident that Mr. Heard was a man of means as he was going out to China by the "overland mail", i.e. by steamers and across Egypt, rather than booking a much cheaper passage as a passenger on a sailing vessel. The overland route took him about 93 days, New York to Hong Kong. A sailing vessel, going around the Cape of Good Hope, could take up to 180 days. The S.S. Malta of the Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Co. had departed from Pointe de Galle, Ceylon on June 22, 1852. Heard's letter was penned only one day out of Galle. The Malta arrived at Hong Kong on August 5, 1852. Based on the Malta's dates, we can project Mr. Heard's passage from the United States as follows:

| <u>R.M.S. Asia</u> | <u>S.S. Bentinck</u> | <u>S.S. Pottinger</u> | <u>S.S. Malta</u> |
|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| New York May 5     | Southampton May 20   | Suez June 5           | Galle Jun 22      |
| Liverpool 15       | Gibraltar 25         | Aden 11               | Penang 27         |
|                    | Malta 29             | Galle 20              | Singapore 29-30   |
|                    | Alexandria Jun 2     |                       | Hong Kong Aug 5   |

The S.S. Canton of the P. & O. Line ran a regular river service working between Hong Kong, Macao, Cumsingmoon and Canton on the Canton River. Among other things, she collected and delivered mail to and from the main line packets at Hong Kong. Arrival of this letter at Canton would have been about August 8.

As noted above, while Augustine Heard penned his letter on the passage out, it did not get mailed to his mother until the clipper ship Atalanta left Canton for New York on December 26, 1852 (which see.)

The previous quote is followed by an image of part Gus's letter.




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Two paragraphs discussing a N.Y. *Times* article claiming the Hong Kong to New York voyage set a speed record in this trip were omitted above and replaced by the verticle dots. The voyage was the second fastest tea clipper voyage from Canton to New York at the time.

The quoted documents indicate the fastest route available in the middle of the nineteenth century and the length of time — about three months — it took to make the trip from New York or Boston to Canton or Hong Kong. Only slightly better than the 1846-47 voyage, but the sailing ship *Paul Jones* was one of the fastest clippers of its day and in particular was much faster than ordinary sail propelled transport of passengers.

### 6.4.3 Final Meeting

The final meeting of the four brothers was held in Paris in December 1871, the year when France lost the Franco-Prussian War and Paris was occupied by the army of the newly created German Empire. In his memoir, John Heard writes of George that he

went to Europe in 1871, where Gus was expected from China, and, in December of that Year, Albert and I also went out to meet them. We met in Paris and it was the first time we had been together since I sailed for China in 1841. We were together about three weeks, and discussed all topics of interest. It was settled that Albert should go out to China, and he sailed wearily in the next year.

⋮

I was in Europe about a month. I did not enjoy it much. The business we had to arrange was not of a pleasant nature. Paris was a very sad place in comparison with my recollections of it in the full glory of the Empire. The war of 1870 had just ended, the place was only half lighted, it was a gloomy season of the year, and everybody we sad. We got home in February.

[71]

The War of 1870 aka the Franco-Prussian War between the French Empire and the Northern German Confederation led by the Kingdom of Prussia ended in January 1871 with the fall of Paris and the humiliation and collapse of the Second Empire of Napoleon III. The German occupation continued into 1873 and did not withdraw until France paid a large war indemnity. During the war the Northern German Confederation and the Southern German States united into the German Empire under the leadership of the Kingdom of Prussia. In 1971 Paris was in ruins and its losses were staggering.

The four nephews of Augustine Heard are shown in a photograph, courtesy of the Ipswich Museum in Ipswich, Mass. I have not been able to find a thorough provenance for the photograph. I first saw the photograph of the brothers when Pat Tyler, then the Ipswich Town Historian and historian for the Ipswich Historical Society, showed me the framed original at a Garden Party held by the Ipswich Historical Society for members at the Heard House in August 2009. She gave me permission to include it on my Website



Figure 6.6: Sons of George Washington Heard: Albert Farley, George Farley, John, Augustine Jr. Paris, 1871

devoted to my writings on Amy Heard, including what you are now reading. She eventually provided me with good quality JPEG of the image on a CD. Unfortunately she did not provide its history or date past a comment in an email on 15 October 2009: “just thought you and he might be interested in what they looked like as young blades in the Far East.” The Heard brothers were mostly sequential in their presence in the Far East, occasionally having a pair of them together at the same time at the changing of the guard as one was leaving and another was taking over or beginning training. An article written by Gillian Bickley, Peter E. Hamilton and George Cautherley, first published in the Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography, edited by May Holdsworth and Christopher Munn.<sup>13</sup> summarizes the sequence of Heards to lead the family firm and describes its demise:

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<sup>13</sup>See <https://industrialhistoryhk.org/augustine-heard-company/>.

The four brothers met in Paris in 1871 to determine which of them would take over the flagging firm: in the end the responsibility fell on Albert. Default on a substantial debt by their dishonest US agent constituted the coup de grâce and the firm went bankrupt in April 1875.

This reinforces the fact that the four brothers were in Paris at the the same time late in 1871 when John was about 47, Gus 44, Albert 38, and George 34, ages which are consistent with their appearance in the photo. John Heard in his 1891 Memoir [71] states that the 1871 meeting was the first meeting of all four brothers together since John first sailed to China with his uncle Augustine in 1841.

The photographer is not known for certain, but the original photograph in possession of the Ipswich Massachusetts Museum has an accompanying note “Aymon. ‘Les quatre fils.’ [The Four Heard Brothers].” A Web search reviled a carte de visite (CDV) the previous year taken by a photographer named A de La Roche Aymon described as “Photographie originale / Original photograph, Publication Date: 1870. Photographie,CDV, Vintage albumen Carte de Visite, // Circa 1870 // Tirage albuminé // Format (cm): 6,5x10,5. Seller Inventory # PD1717.”

Two decades later in the 1892 volume of the *Paris-Photographe: Revue Mensuelle Illustrée* Issue No. 7. (juillet) on p. 296 there is a list of new members received into the Société Française de Photographie at their 3 juin 1892 meeting including “Roche-Aymon (comte A. de la)” of Paris. The name is unusual and the photographer who took the CDV and later was inducted into the national photography society was likely a branch of the noble family of De La Roche-Aymon. The note attached to the Ipswich Museum photograph might have been a bit of a joke added to original photograph. There was a well known medieval story of *Les Quatres Fils d’Amon* which in 1858 had been turned into a play *Les quatre fils Aymon légende fantastique en cinq actes* by Anicet Bourgeois et Michel Masson (1858) in Paris a few years before the photograph. A photographer with a sense of humor might well have dubbed the photo using a small jeu de mots on his subjects and his own name.

#### 6.4.4 John Heard III

G. W. Heard’s eldest son John never went to college, and in his autobiography/memoir written after his retirement to Ipswich [71] he confessed he was never interested in academics and disliked the several schools he attended. In 1841 at age 17 he accompanied his Uncle Augustine to Canton, China, where he began his long career with Augustine Heard & Co., eventually twice leading the company before retiring in 1862. The “III” was often attached to his name to distinguish him among the numerous John Heards: The first was the father of Augustine and George Washington Heard, the second was the brother of Augustine and George, and the third was the son of George Washington Heard and the

elder brother of Amy's father Augustine Heard Jr., who was named after his uncle.

On 31 January 1867 John Heard married Alice Leeds, the daughter of the Rev. George Leeds, D.D., in Philadelphia. Rev. Leeds had been Rector of St. Peter's Episcopalian Church in Philadelphia since 1860. Previously he had been Rector of St. Peter's Church in Salem, Mass. The Rev. Leeds was also at the same time Rector of Grace Church in Baltimore, a position he had held since 1866 and would remain in until 1885. This apparent detour in the story is of interest for two reasons: First, in the "small world" category, at Grace Church he succeeded the Rt. Rev Arthur Cleveland Coxe, D.D., the priest who in 1858 had officiated at the wedding of Jane Leep De Coninck and Augustine Heard Jr. at the house of Amelia W. De Coninck. Second, he will appear in Amy's Washington D.C. Journals.

John and Alice Heard's children were Alice Leeds Heard (1868-1953) who was known as "Elsie" to distinguish her from her mother, George Heard (1870-1872), and John Leeds Heard (1872-1930). Elsie was the same age as her first cousin Max Heard, Amy's younger sister.

In 1830 with the death of her brother, Elsie inherited the Heard House, now the primary building of the Ipswich Museum. In 1836 she sold the house to the Ipswich Historical Society with an arrangement that she would be able to live in the ancestral home for the remainder of her life. She kept a bedroom and office, and the Historical Society took over management of the remainder of the house and began restoration efforts.

Following the departure of the the senior Augustine Heard from Augustine Heard & Co in 1844, his nephew John Heard led the firm until his own own departure in 1852, when his younger brother Augustine Heard Jr. took over. John's primary goal was to continue the expansion of the company amidst the new structure for foreign trade imposed on China by the Nanking Treaty. AH& Co soon developed branches in Shanghai and other major ports.

John returned in 1857 to take over from his brother Albert Heard. The simmering feud between the Imperial Government and the foreign merchants had again boiled over, and in 1857 Great Britain with support from France again attacked key Chinese positions with overwhelming force, including the destruction of the imperial Summer Palace. The second Opium War concluded with yet another punishing treaty, the Treaty of Tientsin on 3 July 1858, which legalized the sale, transportation, and production of opium in China over Chinese government opposition. Quoting from Layton (2021) [83]:

Although the Heards continue to import opium from India, legalization meant an end to the large profits derived from smuggling. John's task for the Heards between 1857 and 1862 was to diversify the firm to meet these new Market conditions.

In 1859 John traveled in Japan with Townsend Harris, the new U.S. Minister to Japan, and began successful efforts to establish branches of Augustine Heard & Co. in Yoko-

hama, Nagasaki, and Kanegawa. John retired and return home in Ipswich in 1862, leaving Augustine Heard & Co second to only Russell & Co among American firms in China.

#### 6.4.5 Augustine Heard, Jr.

Augustine Heard, Jr. was born Augustine Heard in on 7 December 1827 in Ipswich Mass. (baptized 28 March 1828), but he was usually given the “Jr.” to distinguish him from his more famous uncle and namesake, Augustine Heard of Ipswich. For the same reason he is often referred to as “Augustine Heard II.” He was known informally by his nickname of *Gus*, the nickname adopted by his grandson, my father, Augustine Heard Gray as well as my brother, Augustine Heard Gray, Jr. (called “Steen”), and by my nephew, Augustine Heard Gray. Augustine Heard, Jr. died aboard the steamship *König Albert* off Gibraltar while on the voyage home from Italy, 14 Dec. 1905.

Gus was awarded an undergraduate degree by Harvard College (B.A., 1847) in August, but prior to the ceremony he had already left for China aboard *Paul Jones* on 18 November 1846. Two of his classmates will crop up in his daughter Amy Heard’s story: William Crowninshield Endicott, a future U.S. Secretary of War and the father of Mary Crowninshield Endicott, one of Amy Heard’s close friends and correspondents; and Joseph Peabody Gardner, a brother of Sarah Russell Gardner – the second wife of Horace Gray. Amy’s future husband Russell Gray was the daughter of Horace and Sarah Russell (Gardner) Gray. Joseph was also the brother of Jack Gardner, whose wife was one of Amy’s correspondents – Isabella Stewart Gardner.

Gus initially worked in the main office at Canton, which was moved to Hong Kong in 1856 around the time of the outbreak of the second Opium War.

From 1847 to 1857, Gus worked in China, except for a return trip to the United States during 1850-52 for the benefit of his health. His brother John wrote in his memoir (p. 70) that

In 1850 Augustine made a trip home. He was not very well, and as I wanted to go myself sometime, without expecting to be immediately called back on account of his health, I thought it better he should go first, and lay in a stock of strength that would give me a good long vacation. He was gone about a year and a half, getting back in July 1852.

The exact time and itinerary of Gus’s trip home from Canton is not known, but some facts can be inferred. Tom Larkin<sup>14</sup> notes that John Heard’s memory regarding his being met with Gus in Hong Kong in January 1857 is supported by by a report written by Gus commenting on the great poisoning on the eve of the the second opium war in January 1857. The original of the manuscript is at the Baker Library of the Harvard School of

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<sup>14</sup>Private communication.

Business and a transcription can be found at <https://ee.stanford.edu/~gray/poisoningah.pdf>. Larkin also points out that Albert wrote to his parents in March 1857 implying that Augustine would be back in Ipswich around May. Indeed the passenger manifest of Steam Ship *Arabia* on 13 May 1857 in New York from Liverpool lists both Geo. W. Heard (20) and Aug. Heard Jr. (28) as passengers. Recall from Sub-section 6.4.2 that if Gus were on the final leg of a trip from Hong Kong to New York via Liverpool, he would have left around 3 months earlier, that is, in the middle of February. Given his dependence on the schedule of available steamers en route, this is consistent with his setting out soon after meeting John in Hong Kong in January. Furthermore, this leaves little room for extended stops en route, that is, he would have had little time for business or personal affairs in Europe on his way.

Like his brothers John, Albert Farley, and George Farley (born George Washington), young Gus became a senior partner of the largely family controlled firm. In 1852 following his return from the U.S. Gus took over leadership as managing partner of the firm from his older brother John, and directed the company until John's return in 1857 [71].<sup>i</sup> During his stint as senior partner, Gus became the first Westerner permitted to trade in Siam in 1855.

When his brother John returned in 1857, Gus was designated as the firm's representative to Europe, where he would make Paris his headquarters and do business in England, France, Belgium and Russia. His Belgian connections were deep enough that years later in 1871 he was made an Officer of the Order of Leopold by King Leopold of Belgium and Gus mentions many of Amy's Belgian cousins in his later letters. But prior to arriving in Paris in 1858, he next appears in history on 29 April 1858 in Baltimore marrying Jane Leep Heard, the daughter of Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck and the granddaughter of Lemuel Taylor.

Mystery remains of Gus's travels between his departure from China in early 1857 and his reappearance in Baltimore in April 1858 for his marriage. It is not clear how a man mostly in China from 1847 through 1857 with a single known trip home during 1850-2 could have met, courted, gotten engaged, and married a young woman who had grown up in Cuba and mostly lived there with the exception of rare travel with her family until May 1850, when at age 17 she left Havana for New York with a Cuban neighbor family, ending up in Baltimore before December 1856. The only opportunities they had to meet in person was during the period from May 1850 when Jane arrived in New York from Cuba through May 1852 when Gus left New York for China, or between Gus's arrival in New York from China in May 1857 through their marriage in April 1858.

It is possible that his business in Belgium drew him into acquaintance with the De Coninck family of Ostend and through them met Jane De Coninck. Since Jane's mother Amelia had been born in Baltimore and resided in Baltimore by 1858 when Gus and Jane were married there, since Jane and her sisters Mary and Amelia were in Baltimore in

December 1856 to attend a “Monday German” — a cotillion celebrating the entrance of debutants into Baltimore society <sup>15</sup>, and since Jane was not with her mother in Cuba in March 1851 when *S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia* was visited by Fredrika Bremer, it seems likely that Jane spent significant time living in Baltimore during 1850s between the departure of her mother for Cuba in early 1851 and her mother’s return to Baltimore by 1857.

There were connections between Augustine Heard & Co. and Baltimore prior to 1858, but none appear to coincide with Gus and Jane being colocated. Augustine Heard & Company had ships built in Baltimore. A famous example was the Baltimore Clipper, the Frigate *Frolic* built at the Gardner Brothers Shipyard in Baltimore in 1844 for the Heards for use in the opium trade [84]. In addition, according to documents in the Heard Collection at the Baker Library of the Harvard Business School, Augustine Heard Sr. had done business with Baltimore merchants since before he joined Russel & Co., going as far back to business dealings with the firm of Hammond & Newman of Baltimore in 1817, before the economic crisis of 1819 and the 1820 departure of Lemuel Taylor to Cuba, but during which time Hammond & Newman as well as Taylor were involved with the Cuban trade. So the Heards and the family company had connections in Baltimore, and Gus spent 1850-1852 temporarily in the U.S. during his initial stay in China 1847-1857. He might have visited Baltimore on family business during his U.S. stay. But there is no hint of such a visit that I have found. When Jane arrived in New York in May of 1850, she listed her destination as Boston and her probable traveling companions left for Europe not long after arrival. But again there is no evidence of Jane actually going to Boston or suggestion of whom she knew there that might also be friends with the Heards.

Heard correspondence does not reveal events leading to the marriage. His family learned of Jane and the engagement when Gus wrote from Baltimore in 1858 to his brother John in China that he was engaged to Miss Jane De Coninck [71]. The De Coninck Bible [43] states in the marriages section:

Married in Baltimore Md at her mother’s residence, 21 McCullough St, April 29th 1858, by the Revd Dr Cox, Pastor of Grace Church, Jane Leep — oldest daughter of the late Francis & Amelia W. De Coninck to Augustine Heard Jr, second son of George W. & Elizabeth Heard of Ipswich Mass.

*Woods; Baltimore City Directory Ending Year 1860* <sup>16</sup> shows both De Coninck Amelia W. and Deconinck, Francis living at 21 McCulloh in 1860 (p. 99).

On the same day of his marriage — 29 April 1858, Gus applied for a U.S. Passport in Baltimore, Maryland. The application describes him as follows:

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<sup>15</sup>Section 4.14

<sup>16</sup><https://ia800301.us.archive.org/30/items/woodsbaltimececi1860balt/woodsbaltimececi1860balt.pdf>

|            |            |               |
|------------|------------|---------------|
| Age        | 30         | Years         |
| Stature    | 5          | Feet & Inches |
| Forehead   | medium     |               |
| Eyes       | dark       |               |
| Nose       | Common     |               |
| Mouth      | Common     |               |
| Chin       | round      |               |
| Hair       | dark brown |               |
| Complexion | light      |               |
| Face       | long       |               |

A note on the application states that “Mr Heard will be accompanied by his wife and wishes it so stated on the passport.”

The application requires a witness to testify to the applicants deposition that he is a native citizen of the U.S.A. born in Ipswich. The Witness is William M<sup>c</sup>Kim of Baltimore who deposed that

he has been acquainted with the above named Augustine Heard Jr. for a length of time and verily believes him to be a native citizen of the United States.

This passport application is important to the story because of the included deposition that William M<sup>c</sup>Kim had known Gus for a “length of time.” William M<sup>c</sup>Kim (born 12/21/1808) and his brother Haslett M<sup>c</sup>Kim were both prominent Baltimore business men of the time and were sons of William Duncan McKim, the brother of Isaac McKim, a business colleague of Lemuel Taylor and fellow veteran of the War of 1812. This connection between Gus and Jane’s family prior to their marriage is the only one that I have found and will be explored later.

On 26 May the New York *Evening Post* reported that Gus and Jane were passengers on ship *Persia* from New York to Liverpool. They were on their way to Paris, where he had been serving as European Agent for Augustine Heard & Co. in Europe. Several letters from Gus to his parents and uncle reveal his state of mind. Gus wrote to his mother Elizabeth Farley Heard from Paris on 25 November 1858 <sup>17</sup>that while he regretted that she was not going visit the family in Paris as she had been considering, he thought it “the voyage is after all a very hard one for any body.”

Gus wrote to his Uncle Augustine on 27 Oct. 1858 inviting him to come to Paris along with Gus’s parents to visit. In addition to previously given reasons for a visit, Gus hints that Jane may be expecting a child. Gus describes a large house with 3 to five guest rooms available, enough for the entire family. He mentions that in addition to Augustine Senior, George Washington and Elizabeth Farley Heard, he has also invited one of Jane’s

<sup>17</sup>Elizabeth Heard Papers, Baker Library, Harvard Business School, Mss:766 1829-1864 H435

sisters (Amelia Henrietta later joins Gus and Jane), Jane's mother Amelia de C., and Gus's brothers Albert & George, saying he can "put up" all of them "without the least trouble!"

In his (almost) annual birthday letter to his mother on 7 December 1858, he wrote a letter to his mother musing on his past life, his previous six months, his marriage, and his future. The complete letter, which is in the Elizabeth Heard Collection at the Special Collections of the Baker Library of the Harvard Business School, is transcribed here since it provides insight into Amy's parents two years before her birth.

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Paris, 50 Champs Élysée 7 Dec 1858

My dear mother,

Whoever else may ??? this day, I am very certain that it is always marked by you with a thought for your son. I was too near you last year to write my usual letter, but the anniversary for some reason has this tie made me more than usually reflective, & I did not like to pass it by without a word to you.

Half of my life has passed, I suppose, & very likely more. I feel as if I had already lived long. I have done more in my thirty years than many man in in the ???, but the changes I have undergone in the last 12 month have made one younger, & given me a stronger ??? in life, than I had felt for many years before. To think that I am a married man, — an in a fair way to become father of a family, is enough to make any body serious! Who would have thought last year at this time that all this was bo be brought about? — So soon —

I have been running over the whole course of my life, from the time I was deposited on the gravel walk in front of Mr. Well's ??? at Cambridge, a pour miserable little urchin, to the day of my marriage — through all the varying life of school & college, & clerk & partner, & head, & man of amusement: & in it all, in so far as there has been any thing good to remark, I see distinctly the influence of you & father, acting & reacting: — concealed perhaps for a time, only to stand forward more prominently afterwards.

And I cant tell you how grateful

I am & ever shall be Whatever is good in any of me came & comes from you ; As I have often said, to you too is due the strong affection that binds us all together the greatest blessing that can be vouchsafed a family ???.

You taught me the love of truth, the horror of all that is mean & if we have the hearts we get them from you. As wee grow older, too, these facts become more & more impressed on our minds & feelings: as we know more of the world,

we are better able to appreciate the excellence & strength of the characters that have shaped our steps.

No doubt much of their excellence is due to the religion you profess, & which, it is your regret, is not yet professed by your sons. — no doubt this will come as far as God wills it. I think you have no reason to wish for any of your sons — not to speak of myself, I think you will look far to find men of nobler hearts, of a higher sense of honor, integrity & uprightness than my brothers — If the religion be wanting yet, as you understand it, it is because God so wills it, & in his own good time he will permit the change.

For myself on these subjects — I am not aware that my sentiments have undergone any change of late. My habits of course have to some extent. Jane's ideas & mine are very much in harmony, & we had a chapter or two of the Bible every day & pray together. To any one else, these words might show of hypocrisy or cant, but I know the interest you feel & father in every thing that concerns ??? especially as regards the things eternal, & have no hesitation in speaking them — tho with the caution that your warm enthusiasm to not stretch their meaning too far! We shall try to tread somewhat in the steps of those before us, that we may feel that we are taking a right direction to lead (??) those who are to follow us.

Thus far I have thanked you for for what you have done for me in the past — and now I come to claim a word of thanks in my time. I have given you a daughter, whom you may cherish in all safety & tenderness. Affectionate & tender & true she is, & you have only to know her more to love her as I could have you. Through all the pains, & disappointments of the past six months, & they have not been small, scarcely a word of impatience or ill humor has escaped from her lips, but she has always been cheerful, & anxious to share ??? annoyances

This sickness has had the effect, probably intended by Providence of testing ones affection for each other, of purifying it, & placing its strength henceforth beyond the danger of an interruption. — She has lost everything in the way of pleasures she came to Europe for, but all the pangs of the past are forgotten in the thought of the limitless future that stretches out before the steps of the young mother ! —

Goodnight my dear mother & father. The longer I know you, the more I love you. Jane is sitting by the fire and tells me to put with her love a daughter's fond kiss to this birthday message of

Your affectionate son

A

On 11 January 1859 *Baltimore Daily Exchange* reported that one of the passengers on the United States mail steamship *Fulton* departing New York on the previous Saturday for Havre was Miss Amelia De Coninck, Miss Amelia De Coninck was Amelia H. De Coninck, probably joining her older sister Jane to help with the imminent birth of Gus and Jane's first child a few months later.

Gus and Jane's first son John, the first grandchild of Amelia W. De Coninck and the late Francis De Coninck, was born in Paris, France, on 4 May 1859. This was the final entry in De Coninck bible.

John was frequently referred to as "John Heard, Jr." to distinguish him from his uncle John (who was often referred to as John Heard III — almost every generation of Heards had at least one "John"). John Jr. would grow up to be a mining engineer and a successful writer of fiction and travel.

On 21 June 1859 Gus writes Uncle Augustine that the family the family is packing up their belongings to be shipped in a few days from Havre to Boston and that they are beginning their travels. Gus says they are sick of Paris and that the change will do them good. They are traveling first to Versailles, then to Fontainebleau, and then providing all are in good health they will spend a month in Switzerland. They will intend to leave Europe for Boston at the end of October.

In November 1859 the family returned to the United States from Europe, arriving in New York from Liverpool on steamship *Asia*, a Cunard line ship taking typically less than two weeks. According to the manifest or passenger list <sup>18</sup> the family then consisted of

| Name                  | Age |
|-----------------------|-----|
| Augustine Herd        | 31  |
| M <sup>rs</sup> Heard | 26  |
| Miss Amelia Coninck   | 21  |
| Nr Charlotte Howard   | 29  |
| John Heard            | 3   |

There are a few errors. John was only about 8 months old, Jane's sister Amelia Henrietta De Coninck's last name is misspelled as "Coninck," and Augustine Heard's last name is misspelled as "Herd." It is worth noting that Amelia H. was returning to the United States with the family.

Amy Heard was born in Boston on 7 October 1860. In the *1860 Boston Record of Births* her name is given as "Amelia," but the birth certificate was corrected to change "Amelia"

<sup>18</sup>*New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1891*, database with images, FamilySearch(<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:27TS-YKX:20> February 2021), Amelia Coninck, 1859; citing Immigration, New York City, New York, United States, NARA microfilm publication M237 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.), FHL microfilm 175,553.

to “Amy”. Her parents were listed as Augustine Heard, Merchant, and Jane L. Heard and their address was given as 80 Boylston St., Boston.

| BIRTHS REGISTERED IN THE CITY OF BOSTON, for the year eighteen hundred and <del>1861</del> <i>1861</i>   |                             |                   |  |                                      |                        |                        |                          |                       |                          |                           |                           |
|--|-----------------------------|-------------------|--|--------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| DATE OF BIRTH  | NAME OF THE CHILD, (IF ANY) | SEX AND CONDITION | PLACE OF BIRTH   | NAME OF FATHER                       | RESIDENCE OF FATHER    | OCCUPATION OF FATHER   | PLACE OF BIRTH OF FATHER | NAME OF MOTHER        | PLACE OF BIRTH OF MOTHER |                           |                           |
| <i>29</i> <i>Oct 7</i>   | <i>Amelia</i>               | <i>Female</i>     | <i>80 Boylston St.</i>                                   | <i>Augustine</i>                     | <i>Same St.</i>        |                        | <i>Ipswich</i>           | <i>Jane L.</i>        | <i>Same St.</i>          |                           |                           |
| Additions to and Corrections in the Copies of Records of Births returned to the Secretary of the Commonwealth from the <i>City</i> of <i>Boston</i> for the Year <i>eighteen hundred and sixty</i> |                             |                   |  |                                      |                        |                        |                          |                       |                          |                           |                           |
| ALL NAMES TO BE GIVEN IN FULL.   |                             |                   |  |                                      |                        |                        |                          |                       |                          |                           |                           |
| No.  | DATE OF BIRTH               | SEX               | FULL NAME OF THE CHILD, AND COLOR (if other than white). | AGE AND CONDITION (See Title, 1861.) | PLACE OF BIRTH         | NAMES OF PARENTS.      |                          | RESIDENCE OF PARENTS. | OCCUPATION OF FATHER.    | PLACE OF BIRTH OF FATHER. | PLACE OF BIRTH OF MOTHER. |
|  |                             |                   |  |                                      |                        | Full Name of Father.   | Maiden Name of Mother.   |                       |                          |                           |                           |
| <i>3329</i>  | <i>Oct 7</i>                | <i>Female</i>     | <i>Amy Amelia Heard</i>                                  | <i>3</i>                             | <i>80 Boylston St.</i> | <i>Augustine Heard</i> | <i>Jane L.</i>           | <i>Boston</i>         | <i>Merchant</i>          | <i>Ipswich</i>            | <i>Same St.</i>           |

Figure 6.7: Amy Heard Birth Certificate

The name “Amelia” would reoccur occasionally during her life on official documents, but she never used the name.

Amy was baptized on 5 January 1861 by the Rev. Arthur Mason, the rector of St. Andrews Church in Chelsea, Massachusetts, just North of Boston, in the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts. Her name on the baptismal certificate was given as “Amelia” and the Sponsors (Godparents) were listed as John P. Bayley and Amelia H. DeConinck, Amy’s younger sister.

The Rev. Mason was the husband of Amelia Caroline Taylor, one of Alexander Taylor’s daughters and hence a niece of Jane’s mother Amelia W. De Coninck and first cousin of Jane’s, who attended the ceremony. Jane’s sister Amelia Henrietta also attended since she was listed as sponsor and she had returned from Paris with Gus and Jane and John and would still be traveling with the family three years later. On 16 July 1863 A. Heard (age 35) arrived in New York on Ship Persia from Liverpool with his wife (28), J. (4), A. (2), and Miss. De Coninck (24).<sup>19</sup> So Jane’s sister Amelia Henrietta had returned to Paris with them following Amy’s birth and the group returned to the United States in 1863.

According to letters from Gus to his brother Albert in spring 1861, they were living at 80 Boylston St., Boston, around the time of Amy’s birth. Shortly thereafter, Gus, Jane, John, and Amy returned to Paris.

Although based in Paris, Gus often traveled within Europe. In October 1861 Gus returned from St. Petersburg to Paris by way of London, according to a letter written by his first cousin, Gustavus (Gus) Farley Jr., to his parents Amalia Newman Farley and Gustavus Farley Sr. in Boston. Gustavus Farley Sr. was the brother of Elizabeth Farley Heard, our Gus’ mother, so the Augustine Jr and Gustavus Jr, both called Gus, were first cousins. Gus<sup>2</sup> both grew up in Ipswich, but Gus F. was several years younger than Gus H. Gus Farley Jr.’s letters to his parents have been edited and edited and published along with

<sup>19</sup>Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1820-1897 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M237, roll 231); Records of the U.S. Customs Service, Record Group 36.

background and stories by his great-granddaughter Penelope Pelham West: *London Letters Home (1861-1865) of an American Apprentice Preparing for the Far East Trade: Gus Farley, Jr. (1844-1899) (2021)* [143]. I met Penny when she gave a talk based on her book at the Ipswich Museum in May 2023. It is a rare occurrence to meet a third cousin — we share great-great grandparents in Gustavus Farley Sr. and Amalia Newman Farley, and her family letters provide several insights into the Heard family. Gus Heard became something of a mentor as well as cousin and friend to young Gus Farley, Jr. In early letters in [143] Gus F. noted that his appointment with a family friend and former partner of Augustine Heard & Co., Mr. Fearon, had not been available because he had not yet returned from his travels to St. Petersburg with Gus Heard.

Mr. Fearon was Charles Augustus Fearon (1820-1882), an English merchant and banker whose parents Cristopher Augustus and Elizabeth Noad Fearon (1794-1838) were intimate friends of the Heard family. Circumstantial evidence is provided by the facts that Christopher was the British Vice Consul at Canton from 1825 through 1843, when he was appointed Consul, while Augustine Heard (Sr.) was a partner of Russell & Co. in Canton from 1830-1834 and returned in 1841 to Found Augustine Heard & Co. The strongest evidence, however, is that Christopher gave the name *Augustine Heard Fearon* to one of his sons with his second wife Grace Adriana du Moulin (1823-1890). He also gave the name of James Sturgis Fearon, another AH & Co. partner, to another son with Grace.

Christopher left China in 1839 not long the death of his first wife and migrated to New South Wales, where he married Grace in 1845. Grace and her family had emigrated from Holland to Australia in 1834. Christopher seems to have maintained his position as Vice Concul after his departure from Canton and was officially appointed Consul in 1845 when the Consul, his business partner, died.

Other evidence of Heard-Fearon family connections includes the fact that Charles would eventually become a partner in Augustine Heard & Co., and name one of his sons George Dixwell Fearon (born in Shanghai 1851) after the co-founder of Augustine Heard & Co. Charles' brother Robert (1837-1897) was also a partner of AH & Co. and both became important financial and commercial connections for the company after their departure. Charles in particular became a close colleague of AH& Co. in London [87] and, as the letters of Gus Farley Jr show, traveled with Gus Heard for business. [143]

Which brings us finally to a connection with Amy Heard. Charles and Ellen had a daughter, Ellen Augusta Fearon (1857-1924) who was born following the return of Charles and Ellen to England. She married Douglas Edwards in 1886. Amy Heard in her 25 December 1882 Journal entry mentions having received an Xmas card from Nellie Fearon, whom I have not identified. But Fearon is an unusual name and "Nellie" is a nickname for "Ellen." Gus Heard and his family had stayed in Brighton in 1876 during their travels following the failure of AH& Co. At that time Charles and his wife were still alive and living near London, so it seems likely that the Heards would have visited their long time connections, the Fearons, during that visit. It seems more likely that the daughter

Ellen would have written rather than than the mother as she was fairly close in age to Amy. There was also another Ellen in the family, Charles had a sister Ellen Joanna Singleton Fearon (1862-1948) who was roughly Amy's age. But she had moved from China to Australia with her father and it seems unlikely they would have maintained contact.

Charles and Ellen had a son George Dixwell Fearon, presumably named after another partner of AH&Co. Family and business did mix.

Gus Farley Jr. spent Christmas 1862 with Augustine Junior and Jane Heard and their children John and Amy at their house at No. 66 Rue Marbeuf near the Champs Elysees. [143] Gus F. Jr wrote in his letter of 6 January 1863 that

I don't much fancy the French style of living viz.: two meals a day with breakfast at 12 o'clock and dinner at 1/2 past 6. You always have coffee & bread & butter in your room before rising.

I generally rose about 1/2 eight and went for a walk until breakfast time after which, I used to start on a cruise about the city with Augustine when he was not engaged, or with some young fellow to whom he introduced me.

There is a great deal to see in Paris in the way of picture galleries, old churches, museums, etc. which occupied a great deal of my time.

Paris is by far the finest city I was ever in; the streets are very broad & fine & the shops are most beautifully fitted up.

In addition to John and Amy, Gus and Jane had three other children: Augustine, who was born at Vevey, Switzerland, on 17 Dec 1861, but died soon after on 10 June 1862 in Paris; Augustine Albert, who was born at Paris, 12 June 1866; and Amy's sister Helen Maxima, who was born at Hong Kong on 11 May 1868, during Gus's final turn at directing Augustine Heard & Company from its Hong Kong headquarters.

| Name             | Born       | Died      | Married    | Spouse                                      |
|------------------|------------|-----------|------------|---|
| John             | 5/4/1859   | 5/2/1895  | 12/15/1887 | Adeline Wheelwright Lewis                   |
| Amy              | 10/7/1860  | 5/18/1949 | 11/3/1886  | Russell Gray (6/17/1850-6/7/1929)           |
| Augustine        | 12/17/1861 | 6/10/1862 |            |   |
| Augustine Albert | 6/12/1866  | 3/7/1946  |            | Katherine Lawrence Beck                     |
| Helen Maxima     | 5/11/1868  | 3/16/1937 | 4/15/1893  | Max Scipio Von Brandt (10/8/1835-3/24/1920) |

Table 6.3: Children of Jane Leep and Augustine Heard, Jr.

Gus had returned to China in 1867 prior to Helen Maxima's birth to replace temporarily Albert Farley Heard. According to one source<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup>An article at <https://industrialhistoryhk.org/augustine-heard-company/> based on an article written by John M. Carroll published in the *Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography* published by the HK University Press.

In a letter from Gus to Amy in 1887 (transcribed in Section 14.6) naming the Heard family's "Belgian relations," he observes that "I was so much in Brussels twenty years ago." Gus remained managing partner in Hong Kong until replaced by the returning Albert Farley Heard in 1871.

From there, he went to Paris from where he wrote to his brothers regarding the problems of AH& Co. Records of the Heard collection <sup>21</sup> list the many letters with topics, but I have only begun to read those letters. It appears he returned to Europe and that he, Jane, and Amy were still living there in 1880, close to the time of the family's return to the U.S. in 1881 and the beginning of Amy's Journals of Newport, New York, and Washington, D.C.

Times would not have been good in Paris 1870s since the Franco-Prussian War, called the war of 1870 in France, did not end until May 1871.

Jane Leep De Coninck died 19 June 1899 in Baltimore and both Gus and Jane are buried in the Heard family tomb, Old North Cemetery, Ipswich. <sup>22</sup>

An important part of Gus's life was his membership in The Century Association, a New York private social and dining club founded in 1847 for the promotion of fine arts and literature. Gus is listed in the Association Archives <sup>23</sup> section on *Earliest Members of the Century Association* as an Importer/Diplomat. He was elected to the club 1880 at age 52 and his club memorial reads

Augustine Heard was a representative of the old fashioned class of American international business men. Born in Ipswich, Mass., in 1827, and a graduate of Harvard in 1847, he entered business in China and was the first foreigner to avail himself of the commercial treaty with Siam as early as 1850. Later he resided for many years in Europe and in China, in connection with English, French, and Russian enterprises and interests in the latter country. In 1890 he was appointed by President Harrison, Minister to the then Hermit Kingdom of Corea [Korea], a post for which he was peculiarly fitted, but which he was obliged to resign after three years because of his failing health. Mr. Heard, when in New York, was always at home in The Century, where he had a large circle of associates. He united with the tact and courtesy of the man of the world and the diplomatist a delightful simplicity and kindness.

Many of Gus's letters to Amy were written from The Century 109 East Fifteenth Street in New York City (he also wrote from the Union Club).

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<sup>21</sup>Mss:766 1754-1898 Heard Family. Heard Family Business Records, 1734-1901: A Finding Aid

<sup>22</sup>They were *not* buried in the adjacent Highland Cemetery, as is often claimed, e.g., by *Find a Grave* at <https://www.findagrave.com>.

<sup>23</sup>[www.centuryarchives.org/caba/](http://www.centuryarchives.org/caba/)

### 6.4.6 Albert Farley Heard

Excerpted and edited from Hanson [70]:

ALBERT FARLEY, b. 4 Oct. 1833; bp. 29 Dec. 1833; d. at Washington, D.C., 26 March 1890; buried in the family tomb, Old North Cemetery, Ipswich; m. 28 Oct. 1868 (divorced) Mary Allen Livingston, b. 5 Jan. 1851, d. at her apartment in Paris, France, 90 boulevard de Courcelles, 8 Dec. 1882, bur. with her mother at Tivoli. Albert F. Heard entered Yale University in 1849, graduated in 1853, and went to China shortly afterwards to join his uncle's company, Augustine Heard & Co. He went back to the United States in 1858, returning to China the next year and stayed there until 1867 when Gus arrived to replace him. Albert was obliged to return to China again in 1872, he remained there until 1875; in 1877 he represented the Lowell Gun Company in Russia, and it was probably about this period that he was the official representative from China to Russia for several years; from 1880 to 1882 he was manager of a metallurgical foundry in Bayonne, France; he later removed to Washington, D.C., where he served as private secretary to William C. Endicott, Secretary of War, and later as librarian for the Army. Mr. Heard became interested in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church and published a book on the subject, *The Russian Church and Russian Dissent* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1889). No children.

To supplement Hanson's details, Albert married then 17 year old Mary Livingston 28 October 1868 not long after his return from his second China stay. Their troubled marriage would end in 1880, one year before Mary died in Paris. As described in some detail In Chaffe (2017) [31], their marriage was an unhappy and difficult one. Mary accompanied Albert on his return to China in 1872 and lived with him there until 1874, when she made an extended visit to the U.S. They lived separately most of the time thereafter, they had no children. It was during her stay in China that Albert was involved in property transactions donating property he had purchased in 1867 to Lam Kew-Fong mentioned in Section 6.5 citing Chaffe (2017) [31]. Chaffee observes that only Albert's side of the story is known (through the letters in the Heard Collection at the Baker Library) – no letters from Mary Livingston Heard are known – and that during her time in China Mary might well have learned of Albert's reputed protected woman.

William C. Endicott in Hanson's bio was William Crowninshield Endicott, a Harvard classmate of Gus and father of one of Amy's friends and correspondents.

### 6.4.7 George Washington/Farley Heard

Excerpted from [70]:

GEORGE WASHINGTON (changed to GEORGE FARLEY HEARD, 1861), b. 31 Jan. 1837; bp. 20 Aug. 1837; d. unkm. at sea aboard the S.S. Anadye in the Red Sea while returning to the United States, 8 Feb. 1875; buried in Aden.

George W. Heard spent his boyhood in Ipswich, Derry and Exeter, in all which places

he attended school; he entered Harvard College but completed his formal education at Geneva, Switzerland; in 1859 he went to China as private secretary to the American delegation at the negotiation of the Treaty of Tientsin; he was present with Mr. Ward, the American minister to China, at the attack of the Peiho forts by the English, which he described in letters home to his parents (Heard Collection, Harvard University; copies in the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.); afterwards he joined Augustine Heard & Co. in Canton as manager of the trading house in Canton succeeding his brothers; among his earlier accomplishments were membership in the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company (1859) and being one of the first Americans to scale Mont Blanc, the highest mountain in France (1855); he remained with Augustine Heard & Co. until its final collapse after which he was the last of the four brothers to leave the country.

George Washington Heard, jr., merchant, petitioned 6 April 1861 (granted 13 May 1861) for his name to be changed to George Farley Heard, giving the reason as: "There are several persons in said Boston whose middle name commences with the same letter as that of your petitioner thereby causing great trouble and inconvenience to your petitioner in the reception of letters & otherwise." (Suffolk Co. Probate).

## 6.5 Protected Women

Augustine Heard never married, but family legend has it that as with many western traders in China in the mid-nineteenth century, Augustine Heard had a "protected woman" whom he supported. Her name is not known, but the legend is that she is pictured in an oil painting that was kept by the Heard family (in particular the descendants of Augustine's nephew John Heard) and which now is displayed at the Heard House, the home of the Ipswich Museum in Ipswich, Mass. While nothing is known about her, it seems almost certain that she would have been from the Portuguese Colony of Macau and not Chinese in a strict sense. My father, Augustine Heard Gray believed that that Hergesheimer's 1919 novel *Java Head* was a fictionalized account of Heard's romantic relationship with the twist that the two formally married and had a son and returned to Salem, where racial prejudice drove the aristocratic Chinese wife to suicide. Augustine Heard is specifically mentioned in the novel, but as the former employer of the protagonist. It seems likely that the woman in the painting was important to one of the early Heards in China, which narrows it down to Augustine Heard and his nephews.

Intimate relationships between men in the American colony in China and local women has been the subject scholarly research in articles, books, and dissertations, and the Heards are mentioned on occasion. Some references describing generalities and specifics of "protected women" who maintained long term relationships American merchants include *The*

*Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784-1844* by Jacques M Downes (2014) [51], *Untenanted Lives: Involuntary Childlessness in Nineteenth-Century America* by Morwenna I. R. Chaffe (2017) [31], “Protected Women in 19th-Century Hong Kong” Carl T. Smith (1994) [127], and “Abandoned into Prosperity: Women on the Fringe of Expatriate Society” by Carl T. Smith (2010). [126].



Albert Farley Heard, one of Augustine Heard’s nephews and successors to leadership of Augustine Heard & Co. along with Augustine Heard, Jr., George Washington (later Farley) Heard, and John Heard III —together the four sons of Augustine Heard’s brother George Washington Heard — is reported to have kept a protected woman named Lam Kew-fong (also written Lam Kew Fong) [126][31]. The relationship overlapped his marriage to Mary Livingston (married 1868, divorced 1880 — she died the next year in Paris). The evidence of the relationship is not uncommon for such arrangements — property records of Albert donating property in China (in 1873) and evidence of financial support.

John Heard III, the eldest of the four nephews of Augustine Heard, described sexual relations of friends and colleagues with local women in his correspondence, and specifically referenced his own unsuccessful attempts with a beautiful young Macanese woman. There is evidence that John had a son with one of the Lam sisters before his return from China to Massachusetts.

There is strong evidence that Augustine Heard Jr. had a protected woman prior to 1857 and that they had a daughter. The evidence is in two letters from George Farley Heard to his brother Augustine in April and May 1873 reviewing the status of funds that Augustine had established in 1857 for the support of two women in Macao, mother and daughter. The letters were written from Hong Kong by George on 20 April and 30 May 1873 in response to an earlier inquiry by Gus to George. These letters were found in the Baker Library collection by Professor Thomas Larkin of Bristol University in the United Kingdom George Cautherley of Hong Kong called my attention to them.

I am in the process of transcribing them to eventually include excerpts describing the details of the arrangements, but for the present here is a summary: In the first letter

George refers to a previous letter from Gus requesting information on his (Gus') private account. George replies that there is nothing new, all is well, that the money is devoted to the "best of all objects" and that "you are a Bully Boy," which I infer to mean that George approves of his brother's financial arrangements for two recipients, a mother and her daughter.

The second letter is titled "Macao Accounts" and it details that in June 1857 Gus had written "to the House" meaning Augustine Heard & Co., then managed by George in Hong Kong, that a then existing account containing a trust providing available income with amounts detailed could be drawn on by two women, a mother and daughter, and that mother had rights to the income until her death, and the daughter until her marriage – at which time the remaining funds would revert into Gus's own private account. The names of the women are not entirely legible and vary in spelling, but the mother seems to be named "Apack" or "Achupack" and the daughter "Anui." George says the name of the daughter is phonetic and writes it out in syllables as "Ah - nu - iy." The letter goes on to say that the mother is still living and that the daughter was betrothed in December 1868 (the year that Gus and Jane's younger daughter Max was born in Hong Kong) and married in June 1872 to a respectable Chinese merchant. Anui received a bonus final payment on the day of her marriage. George states that he has not seen the women since his arrival in China, but Albert has told him they are fine.

## 6.6 Amy Heard and her siblings

### 6.6.1 Amy

As previously noted, following her birth in Boston in October 1860 Amy moved to Paris with her parents and her older brother John, Jr. Amy spent her childhood in Paris, remaining until the family moved to Hong Kong in 1867 when Gus returned to China to temporarily replace his brother Albert Farley Heard as managing partner and attempt to revive the firm's failing fortunes, which were due to a combination of the economic conditions in world trade, mismanagement and embezzlement in the U.S. branch, and antiquated business practices.

Amy's life briefly overlapped that of her father's uncle, the original Augustine Heard. Her earliest extant writing is a letter in the Heard Collection of the Baker Library of the Harvard Business School<sup>24</sup> written by a seven year old Amy in Hong Kong.

Hong Kong: July 12<sup>th</sup> 1868

My dear Uncle Augustine

Uncle George before he went to Japan gave me your love.

I wish you would send me your photograph. I don't remember you because then I was a little baby but I remember that John used to go and see you with Papa and bring back some ginger cakes which were very nice. I think you will find me a big girl when next you see me. I like China very much when it does not rain! But that is very rare.

My little sister is improving very much. John wrote to me yesterday that little Augustine was full of fun, and I should like to see him very much.

Good-bye my dear Uncle, please give my love to Aunt Mary Aunt Alice and Uncle John and believe me your affectionate little niece.

Amy Heard



Amy Heard in 1867, Paris

<sup>24</sup>Box BN-6-BN-7; Folder BN-6-7; Reel 88-4058 R-519

The letter implies that her brother John is not with the family in China, but is with her infant younger brother Augustine Albert Heard and her Aunts Mary and Alice and her father's brother John. Aunt Alice was Alice Leeds, whom John had married in 1867. Probably Aunt Mary was Mary Allan Livingston, who married Amy's Uncle Albert. in New York on 28th October 1868, after this July 1868 letter. Albert had married the 17 year old Mary following his replacement as head of AH & Co in China and his return to the U.S. Augustine Heard Sr. might not have ever seen Amy's letter since he died in Ipswich in September 1868.

### 6.6.2 Max

Amy's younger sister Helen Maxima (Max) was born in 1868 in Hong Kong, then the headquarters of Augustine Heard & Company. Augustine Heard & Company began to fail as recession turned to depression in the early 1870s, eventually becoming insolvent in 1875. By then Augustine Heard and his family had returned to the United States, where they would live primarily in New York City and Washington, D.C, until Gus is appointed Minister Plenipotentiary and Consul to Seoul and he, Jane, and Max move to Korea for his term there. Most of the letters in Chapter 15 are from Max to Korea and tell the story of Max and Max, Max Heard and Max von Brandt, their courtship and marriage and move to Germany.

### 6.6.3 John, Jr.

John Heard, Jr. pursued a successful career as a mining engineer and eventually a writer, publishing many magazine articles of both fiction and nonfiction. Two short biographies are quoted as together they provide a surprisingly complete description of him.

The first was published in the periodical *The Critic*<sup>25</sup> under the heading "Two Young Authors" and portrays him as a promising young writer with a scientific background and provides a physical and personal description of him. The second is in an obituary, was originally published in *The Engineering and Mining Journal* on 20 July 1895 and then subsequently reprinted in *The Boston Evening Transcript* and on 9/15/1895 in *The New York Times*. The tragedy of his life is that the obituary came less than three years after the glowing praise of his promise.

*Current Literature* prints the following sketch of the translator of Maeterlinck, the Belgian Shakespeare':—

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<sup>25</sup>10 September 1892, Number 551



THE LATE JOHN HEARD, JR.

JOHN HEARD, Jr., whose name has become familiar in the magazines as the author of many ingenious short stories, is a son of Augustine Heard, one of the four brothers of the great China firm whose gigantic operations were brought to an abrupt close a number of years ago by reverses in China and the foundering of six of their enormous ships during a single typhoon. John Heard is still a young man, little over thirty years of age. At the time of his father's misfortunes he was possessed of a small inherited fortune of his own, all of which he wisely invested in his education. He was at the time at the famous English school at Harrow. Born in China, he was first educated in the United States, then went to England, passed on to France, where he became a student at the *École des*

Mines, in Paris, and finally ended by a scientific course at Harvard. With this preparation he engaged in mining engineering, made a success of that by important discoveries in the manufacture of aluminium, and five or six years ago first appeared in the literary field. His fondness for the romantic aspects of science associates him with Flammarion and that school of writers. He is now engaged upon one of his life works, a history of mining engineering. For the purpose of writing this has gone to Paris, to be within reach of the great national library there. Meanwhile he will continue to write for the magazines. In person, Mr. Heard is a man of medium height and somewhat taciturn expression, though the best of good company to all who know him. In appearance a typical student, he is an excellent story-teller, his conversation being a curious mixture of scientific exactness and dry humor. His home is in Boston. When there, he takes an active part in literary matters, and is a member of one of the committees charged with an oversight of the various book departments of the Boston Public Library, around which revolves the learning of the universe.

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**THE LATE JOHN HEARD JR,** It is our sad duty, as it has been, alas, very frequently of late, to record the untimely death of an able and honored member of the profession and a valued personal friend, Mr. John Heard, Jr. Mr. Heard was born in Paris, France, May 4th, 1859, and died at Florence, Italy, May 2d, 1895, having attained therefore but

36 years. Notwithstanding his youth, and his constant ill health during the past three or four years, Mr. Heard had done much creditable professional work, and was at the time of h's death engaged upon literary work, more particularly on a "History of Mining," which would, assuredly, have been an enduring monument to his professional knowledge and high literary ability. No one more competent for this great work could have undertaken it. It is to be hoped that the notes which he had collected for this purpose may yet be utilized.

Mr. Heard received his early education in Paris, then in Germany, from which he went to the famous school at Harrow in England. He subsequently studied in the Scientific School at Harvard College, at the école Centrale in Paris, and at Bonn and Freiberg in Germany. His field work began at Biarritz in France, and for some years he was engaged in mining work in Mexico and Central and South America, and later in Canada, in Massachusetts and in Arizona. While engaged in Boston, he devised and patented a cupola process for smelting antimony, the results attained with which were extremely promising.

Unfortunately the company which had taken a temporary control of the process, was unable to secure supplies of ore, and the work was deferred by Mr. Heard until suitable conditions could be secured. While engaged in this work some of his men were overcome by an accidental escape of carbon monoxide, and in rescuing them Mr. Heard was himself, poisoned. For many months he was ill, and in fact the disease which finally caused his death is supposed to have had its origin in his characteristic devotion to duty on his part.

Mr. Heard was extremely familiar with mining and metallurgical literature and practice, and had traveled very extensively in many parts of the world and spoke as a native four languages and many of their dialects. As a writer of fiction he achieved considerable distinction, and his book entitled *A Charge for France and Other Stories* was exceedingly well received.

Mr. Heard's education and life were out of the common. He came of the Ipswich family of Heards, prominent in our early Colonial history, as well as in China, where the great house of Augustine Heard & Co., tea merchants, was founded, and flourished early in this century. Mr Heard was educated in many countries, yet he was nevertheless and ardently patriotic American, who loved and appreciated all that was best in this country.

When he first came to study at Harvard his natural reserve was somewhat increased in his intercourse with his fellow-students by his different foreign training, but this soon wore away, and no one was more sympathetic with the life around him. He was ambitious to do the best things, and was never idle. He bravely took the varied chances of a risky calling, and faced new ventures pluckily, always certain that in the end he would find success.

His profession was an adventurous one, and he passed years of danger and exposure in Mexico and the far West, gaining in these wild countries a great practical knowledge of mining and of the rough life of the frontier. His was a life of sharp contrasts, both of environments and of fortune, and it is pleasant to remember that his last years were

filled with the best happiness that can come to a man. When his health was so affected by exposure and misadventure that he could not actively practice his profession, he found a wealth of material for romantic writing in the retrospection of his varied life. His stories were published in all of our leading magazines, and at least one tale of adventure in Mexico was written by him in French and English, and published in the former language in a leading French periodical.

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John Heard Jr. published extensively in addition to his best known *A Charge for France and Other Stories* mentioned in the article. He published both fiction and memoirs including in 1885 “Letters from the Isthmus” and “Letters from Sonora” in *Lippincott’s Magazine* (later merged with *Scribner’s*). Allan Stacey as observed that some of Heard’s stories are fictionalized factual incidents, and that the same may be true of his memoirs. Regardless, Heard had an established popular publishing reputation along with his strong international reputation as a mining engineer.

His beginning his field work in Biarritz suggests that his presence there might well have been the reason for the family visit of Gus, Jane, Amy, and Max to Biarritz in 1877. Biarritz crops up occasionally in the sequel, so it is worth mentioning that it is an ancient seaside resort in the southwestern corner of France, in the French Basque region close to Spain.

#### 6.6.4 Adeline Wheelwright (Lewis) Heard

On 15 December 1887 John married Adeline “Addie” Wheelwright Lewis who like John, was one of Amy’s correspondents. Addie was born in Roxbury, Mass. on 22 November 1858, so she was about 2 years older than Amy Heard, whom she referred to as “little sister” in their correspondence.

The entry for 439 Marlborough St. in *Back Bay Houses* [14]<sup>26</sup> describes their life and its connections with Amy’s as follows.

On May 21, 1891, 439 Marlborough was purchased from Benjamin Coffin by John W. Wheelwright and George Lewis, Jr., trustees under the will of George Lewis, Sr., as the home of George Lewis, Sr.’s son-and-law and daughter, John Heard, Jr., and Adeline Wheelwright (Lewis) Heard. They previously had lived in Medford. John Heard was a mining engineer.

By the 1892-1893 winter season, the Heards were living in Europe and 439 Marlborough was the home of Mr. and Mrs. Alden Sampson, probably Alden Sampson and Mary Agnes (Yarnell) Sampson.

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<sup>26</sup><https://backbayhouses.org/439-marlborough/>

⋮

John Heard died in May of 1895 in Florence, Italy.

Adeline Heard and their two young sons, Albert Farley Heard and John Heard, Jr., resumed living at 439 Marlborough.

By the 1896-1897 winter season, she had been joined by her father-in-law, Augustine Heard was a retired shipping merchant in the China trade and had served as US Minister to Korea from 1890 to 1893. He also maintained a home in Washington DC. His wife, Jane Leeps (de Coninck) Heard, appears not to have been with him in Boston, and probably was living in Washington, where she died in June of 1899.

Adeline Heard's younger son, John Heard, Jr., died in March of 1898. Sometime between 1900 and 1905, her elder son, Albert, changed his name to John Heard, Jr.

Adeline Heard, her son, and her father-in-law continued to live at 439 Marlborough during the 1901-1902 winter season, but were living elsewhere and traveling abroad during the next three seasons.

⋮

Adeline Heard and her son, John (né Albert), returned from Europe to Boston in September of 1905 and resumed living at 439 Marlborough. Her father-in-law, Augustine Heard, returned in December and died en route on board the SS König Albert.

During the 1907-1908 winter season, Adeline Heard and John Heard, Jr., were living elsewhere and 439 Marlborough was the home of Walter H. Seavey and his wife, Mabel M. (Foster) Seavey.

⋮

By the 1908-1909 winter season, Adeline Heard and John Heard, Jr., had resumed living at 439 Marlborough. He was a lawyer and real estate trustee.

The article continues with a few moves and then returns until John Heard Jr. married Elizabeth Silsbee in 1917 and she joined Adeline and John at 439 until she divorced John by 1920. John married again in 1939 and moved in with his new wife and her parents. Adeline remained in the house until her death in 1939 and the following year the house

was sold by the trust originally established by George Lewis' will. Note that the house was owned by a trust created entirely by Adeline's relations.

By 1896 Max Heard was living in Germany, but Adeline's sister-in-law Amy was still only a few blocks away at 39 Marlborough St.

Although John Heard Jr. died in Italy, prior to his death he had been listed as a non-resident member in Clark's Boston Blue Book, with an address of "Care of Perier-Freres, 59 Rue de Provence, Paris, France. This is a telling mail drop. Jacques-Constantin (1742-1818) and Auguste-Charles Périer were famous engineers who in 1781 had installed the first *pompe à feu* or steam engine for pumping water from reservoirs to city water systems. They founded the Compagnie des eaux de Paris and later established an engineering company, Frères Périer et Cie. This company early in the 19th century produced steam engines for several coal mines in Littry. One of them, preserved in the museum of the Molay-Littry min, is the oldest steam engine preserved in France. That the company was a pioneer in mechanizing mines would have been a natural attraction for John Heard Jr. There is a Rue des Frères-Périer in the 16eme Arrondissement in Paris in honor of the brothers.

### 6.6.5 Augustine Albert Heard, Santa Amalia Redux

Hanson's *Heard Genealogy* [70] says that

Augustine Albert Heard was born in Paris, France, 12 June 1866, and died at Cambridge, Mass., 7 March 1946, and was cremated at Woodlawn Cemetery, Everett, Mass. He married Katherine Lawrence Beck, who was born at St Louis, Mo., daughter of John A. and Annie E. (McMurray) Beck.

He was for many years in railroad work. The 1920 census of Manhattan, N.Y. (ED 547, Dist 1, sh 16B) listed at 202 West 69th Street: "Alexander" Heard, 55, widowed, b France (father b Mass., mother b Maryland), director (Red Cross); Catherine Heard, dau., 27, unkm, b Minnesota (father b France, mother b Missouri), clerk (bank). The 1930 census of New York City (ED 41- 188, Dist 33, Sh 11A) listed as a lodger in the household of George M. Alden, at 3721 87th Street: Augustine Heard, lodger, 63, widowed, b France (American citizen), salesman (lighting fixtures).

Children:

- i. KATHERINE LAWRENCE, b. 4 Aug. 1892; d. unkm. at New York, N.Y., Jan. 1967.
- ii. ANNE MCMURRAY, b. 21 August 1894; (living 1933); m. 22 Dec. 1917 Donald W. Montieth. The 1930 census of San Mateo, Calif.: Donald W. Mon-

teith, 40, b NY, broker (insurance); Anne H. Monteith, wife, 25, b Mo.; Peter S. Monteith, son, 11, b NY; Jane H. Monteith, dau., 8, b Calif.

In summer 2022 I decided to search for more information about Augustine Albert because I found letters he wrote to his sister Amy and I was curious to know more background and because I realized that there was some confusion in some sources between Augustine Albert Heard and his father Augustine Heard Jr. Augustine Albert Heard was named simply “Augustine Heard” in the Paris announcement of his birth, and as mentioned earlier, Augustine Heard Jr. and Jane L. Heard had earlier had a son named simply “Augustine Heard” who was born in Switzerland and died in infancy. Through most of his life Augustine Albert Heard was known as Augustine A. Heard, but on occasion he appears as “Augustine Heard.” Hence knowing his locations and connections help identify occurrences of the “Augustine Heard.”

Snapshots of his life and location are implied by a few newspaper articles and other sources found by searching for “Augustine A. Heard.”

21 June 1880 Appears in U.S. Student as a student at school in Quincy Mass: Adams Academy.

The Minnesota *Saint Paul Daily Globe* on Sunday 18 October 1891, Vol. 13 reported that

Augustine A. Heard of the Great Northern railway passenger department, was married in St. Louis Wednesday to Miss Katherine Beck, the accomplished daughter of Hon. John A. Beck. After their wedding journey Mr. and Mrs. Heard will return to this city, and will be at home in the Dacotah flats, corner of Selby and Western avenues.

The 29 November 1896 issue of the *Daily Inter Ocean* of Chicago, Il., reported that Augustin A. Heard, Secretary of the Central Passenger Committee was resigning effective 1 January to return to Buffalo to become Western passenger agent of the Lehigh Valley Rd. The article states that Mr. Heard as Western passenger agent, will have charge of the territory at Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Suspension Bridge, and west of those points. The article describe Heard as coming to Chicago in September 1895 from Buffalo, where he had earlier been general passenger agent of the Northern Steamship Company. A similar article appeared on the same day in the *New York Tribune*.

On 1 October 1897 the *Buffalo News* published an article title **BUFFALO REAL ESTATE COMPANY**. announcing the incorporation of the The Pioneer Real Estate Company of Buffalo with Augustine A. Heard one of the five directors.

Heard was still living in Buffalo in 1898 when a front page article about his involvement with several others seeking reparations from the Spanish government for damages done to the Santa Amalia Estate in Cuba during the third Cuban war for independence from Spain begun in 1895. The history of the Santa Amalia Estate was given in Chapters 3 and 5 and the Spanish claims will be treated in Section 8.2. The Buffalo newspaper article provides a link between The article *Buffalo News*, 26 January 1898 is shown in its entirety as a prelude to the later section. The article provides a detailed description of the attack by "insurgents," which were the revolutionary forces in the third Cuban war for independence prior to the entry of the United States, when the Cuban war for independence into the Spanish-American war instead of the Cuban-Spanish war.

As will be seen, the treaty that ended the Cuban-Spanish-American war exempted Spain from liability for claims of damage caused by revolutionaries, which resulted in the claims against Spain by the descendants of Lemuel Taylor for Santa Amalia being rejected.

The Mrs. Hitchcock mentioned in the article was Mary W. Hitchcock, a daughter of Alexander Taylor and Louisa W. Taylor. Her sisters Amelia C. Mason, Cora V. Witherspoon, and Alice E. Shoenberger were also heirs.

## HAVE A CLAIM AGAINST SPAIN.

Buffalo Man and Eleven Others  
Own a Plantation  
in Cuba.

They Demand \$91,000 Damages  
For Its Destruction by the  
Insurgents.

THEY HOPE TO GET IT.

The State Department Has Records  
of Similar Claims Which Were  
Paid by the Spanish  
Government.

Mr. Augustine A. Heard of this city, Western Passenger Agent of the Lehigh Valley, is one of 12 heirs who are joint owners of a valuable and extensive sugar plantation known as the Taylor plantation located at Santa Amalia, in Matanza, near Havana, Cuba.

The property was purchased years ago by Mr. Heard's maternal grandfather, and was by him extended and improved until it became one of the most valuable of the productive plantations on the outskirts of Havana, yielding an annual revenue in the neighborhood of \$30,000.

When it became apparent that the plantation was likely to suffer by the visits of the insurgents, the agents of the property were instructed to appeal to the Spanish authorities for protection, and they were told that it would be provided. But the Spanish failed to keep their promise.

On their first visit the insurgents were told that the property belonged to United States citizens, and they replied that if such was the case they would refrain from destroying the buildings and would content themselves with carrying off the live stock, which they did.

A few months later a second band of insurgents visited the plantation. They were told of the visit of the others and of how the animals on the place had been carried off, but they refused to believe it, and before leaving the place burned all the buildings except the house in which the machinery was stored. The result has been that the plantation has yielded no revenue for the past three years.

Mr. Heard and the other heirs, one of whom is Mrs. Hitchcock of New York, formerly of Buffalo, have filed with the State Department a claim of \$91,000 against the Spanish Government, and have received assurances that the matter will be duly laid before the authorities at Madrid. Messrs. Bissell, Carey & Cooke drew the papers for Mr. Heard.

Mr. Heard said yesterday afternoon that in the records of the State Department there were precedents for similar claims in which the applicants have been successful.

"I don't know whether we will get anything out of it," he added. "But of course I hope we will."

U.S. Census records list him and his family living in East Orange, New Jersey in 1900 with occupation as an Agt Pan RR apt. and in Albany, New York, in 1910 as a Railroad Officer. His family at that time included his wife Katherine (spelled Catherine in the Census), her mother Anna and sister, and Augustine and Katherine's children Katherine and Anna,

In the 1905 U.S. State Census Augustine, his wife Kate and both children.

18 December 1909, Augustine Heard 43 and Katharine Heard 42 arrive in New York on the S.S. Havana sailing from Havana.

1910 U.S. Federal Census, State Street, Albany, New York. Railroad Officer.

In 1915 appears in the New York State Census residing alone in New York City on Madison Ave.

On the passenger list of the Tenadores arriving 5/3/1915 from Havana, Cuba in New York.

On 8 May 1917 arrived in Key West, Florida from Cuba on board the Olivette.

This is the last known Heard family visit to Cuba that I am aware of.

In 1917 an article in the *Sun and New York press* announced on 28 November read

### **Miss Heard to Wed Aviator**

Augustine A. Heard, formerly of Albany, has announced the engagement of his daughter, Miss Anne Heard, to Donald Wright Monteith, son of the late Mr. and Mrs. Mames Monteith of this city . Mr. Monteith returned recently from service with the American Ambulance serve in France and is now attending the naval aviation school in Cambridge, Mass.

Augustine A. Heard's 26 April 1923 U.S. Passport Application states has resided outside of U.S. In France to 1881, Germany and France during 1912, and Cuba from February through April 1917 and that his then current address in New York. Passport is for the purpose of traveling to Haiti and the Dominican Republic as a Field Director for the Red Cross. The application describes him as aged 56 years, gray hair, medium forehead, brown eyes, large known, and oval face. His passport photo is of poor quality, but together with the description gives an idea of his appearance.



In 1930 he appears in the census in New York as a widower and lodger employed as a lighting fixture salesman.

In the 1940 Census he appears living as a lodger in New York on Main Street.

## 6.7 Paris, Parrot, and Portraits

When Gus and Jane first arrived in Paris together in 1858, AH & Co. was doing well financially and Gus was well connected commercially and socially in Paris, London, Brussels, and St. Petersburg. Gus had been based in Paris since moving from China to Europe in 1855, but he had traveled frequently to business centers and had wide correspondence. Jane had relatives in Belgium (Gus years later would write Amy naming a few), but the only relatives she had in Paris in 1858 were her first cousins, Mary/Marie Wieland and her brother Alexander Wieland. In Section 3.13 Mary Wieland was introduced as the daughter of Jane's mother Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck's sister Mary West Taylor, who was born in Baltimore 1802 and married John C. Wieland in Cuba in 1828. John and Mary Wieland had two children in Cuba: Alexander who was born around 1831 and his younger sister Mary was born in 1834, two years after her cousin Jane's birth. Shortly after the birth of Mary, the Wieland family left Cuba permanently for France, where John Wieland died the following year.

According to the 2 August 1860 marriage record in the 6th Arrondissement of Paris <sup>27</sup>, the widow Mary Taylor Wieland was living with her daughter Mary Wieland when the younger Mary Wieland, without profession, living with her mother married Élie Philippe Gabriel Parrot, painter, living in Paris, born in Excideuil (Dordogne) 13 May 1831. Mary Wieland was born in Havana 10 March 1834 with parents John Conrad Wieland and Marie Tailor [sic]. Mary Taylor's birth name is spelled correctly later in the document. The same document also includes a witness, Dr. Alexander Wieland, age 29, brother of the wife. As the older brother of Mary by two years, he was also born in Cuba and doubtless named after his uncle Alexander Taylor.

It seems probable that the widow Wieland had been living with her daughter in Paris since the death of John Wieland. In particular, mother and daughter were likely living together in Paris in 1858 when Augustine Heard Jr. and family arrived, reuniting Jane with her aunt Mary (Taylor) Wieland and with her first cousin Mary Wieland Jane and the younger Mary Wieland had been infants when together in Cuba in the mid 1830s.

The 1860 Parrot-Wieland marriage document further states that Philippe's brother Jules Parrot, a doctor of medicine and professor of the faculty of medicine, 30 years old, was a witness along with Alexander Wieland. Given that Jules and Alexander were both MDs and almost the same age, it seems probable that their connection might have been the origin of Mary Wieland meeting Philippe Parrot. The document also states that at the time of the marriage Mary Wieland and her mother Mary Taylor Wieland lived together on rue St. André des Arts in Paris. The witnesses were mostly painters and doctors, which hints at the life the two Marys led before and after the marriage.

In early 1861 following the October 1860 birth and January 1861 christening of Amy

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<sup>27</sup>No. 492, for Parrot & Wieland

in Boston — and not long after the 2 August 1860 marriage of Mary Wieland to Philippe Parrot — Gus and Jane returned with John, Jr. and Amy to Paris, along with Jane's sister Amelia Henrietta De Coninck. On 2 June 1861, Marie Parrot was born to Philippe and Mary Wieland Parrot. Amy and Marie were life-long friends and correspondents as well as second cousins. Marie Parrot married 5 December 1885, in Paris 8e Arrondissement, 75008, Paris ,Île-de-France, France, Louis Frédéric Henri Lhomme 1846 - , a year before Amy married Russell Gray in Washington DC. Marie Lhomme will be encountered again in Chapter 8.

In Paris Gus and Jane developed a reputation for living in grand style. It was said at the time that Mr. Heard's carriage and his wife's jewels were as fine as any in Paris. [69] The family would remain based in Paris with Gus doing business for AH& Co there, London, Biarritz, Vevey, Belgium, and St. Petersburg until 1867 when Gus took over as the resident partner in Augustine Heard and Co. in Hong Kong. Gus, Jane, and Amy would often return to Paris and environs after their years in China.

It seems likely that Jane and her sister Amelia Henrietta would have socialized with their newly married cousin Mary Wieland Parrot and that the cousins by marriage Gus Heard and Philippe Parrot would have been familiar with each other as a result. Moreover, their infant daughters Amy Heard and Marie Parrot would become friends and remain so through old age. Jane's cousin Alexander (Mary's brother) and Philippe's brother Jules would likely have also been a part of the group.

But who was Philippe Parrot? His story can be summarized currently as a largely forgotten painter who gained some fame in his day, but was lost in the tsunami of Impressionism and its stars including Manet, Bazille, Monet, Renoir, Sisley, and Pissarro. A perk of amateur writing such as this book is the inclusion of stories of largely forgotten individuals who led interesting lives and who created works that still merit attention. Parrot painted at least one and I will argue two portraits that are relevant to this book, as will be illustrated.

A modern website<sup>28</sup> provides a short summary: Philippe Parrot (1831-1894) studied at the École des Beaux Arts and the Swiss Academy in Paris and exhibited at the Salon Paris from 1861 onwards, winning medals in 1868, 1870, and 1872. In 1878 won another badge of distinction at the Exposition Universelle, the third World's Fair. His work is displayed in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Bordeaux and the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Ghent as well as at the Musée de Comedie-Française of Paris and museums in Périgeux, Le Bain, and Pontoise.

A street (Rue Philippe Parrot) in Périgeux<sup>29</sup> is named after him.

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<sup>28</sup><https://www.artnet.com/artists/philippe-parrot/>, <https://www.arte edettagli.com/2015/08/philippe-parrot-1831-1894.html>, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippe\\_Parrot](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippe_Parrot)

<sup>29</sup>The capital of Perigord

Parrot was among the artist friends of Sarah Bernhardt who helped design her grandiose mansion in the Monceau district.<sup>30</sup> Bernhardt mentions both the painter Philippe and his physician brother in her memoirs. [17]

Enlightening details on both the painter Philippe Parrot and on his doctor brother are well illustrated by two old articles, one over a half-century old and the other over a century old. These are provided both for their stories and because of their demonstration of the high regard of the Parrots by their peers and their community decades after their passing. Incidentally, some insight is provided on the artist's wife, Mary Wieland Parrot.

The Frères Parrot, the doctor and the painter, merit space in this tome both because of their connection to the Heard family and because they were of interest in their own right. A short biography of the two brothers published in an article by Dr. Ch. Lafon in the *Bulletin de la Société Historique et Archéologique du Périgord* in June 1957<sup>31</sup> tells the story of the brothers and also provides a short but nuanced description of Madame Philippe Parrot née Mary Wieland, whose 1909 death notice described later provides a list of many of the surviving descendants of Lemuel Taylor at the dawn of the 20th century.

A few relevant paragraphs are included here. It is the most complete information that I have found on his life, art, and family and it makes explicitly the point that although Parrot surged to the top of his profession, it was just before the tsunami of impressionism forever altered that world. Later an excerpt from a late nineteenth century dictionary of important artists is quoted to provide a view from an art critic.

#### LES FRERES PARROT

Il existe à Périgueux une « Rue Philippe-Parrot », qui fut ouverte vers la fin du siècle dernier; On sait qu'elle débute rue Victor-Hugo et qu'elle se termine dans l'ancienne rue des Noyers, devenue rue Ludovic-Traricux. Son nom lui a été donné par délibération du Conseil municipal du 17 décembre 1895.

Lorsqu'on demande autour de soi quel fut ce personnage, sinon illustre, du moins assez célèbre pour avoir mérité que son nom fût donné à une voie périgourdine, il est douteux que l'on obtienne une réponse satisfaisante. La plupart de ceux à qui on pose la question, avouent ignorer tout de ce Philippe Parrot.

Mon regretté confrère, le Docteur Tocheport, qui fut maire d'Excideuil, m'avait jadis fourni des renseignements biographiques sur les deux frères et il m'avait

<sup>30</sup>"Sarah Bernhardt the visual artist," Catherine R. Collins, Master of Arts thesis, College of Fine Arts of Ohio University, June 2002; *Women in the Arts in the Belle Epoque: Essays on Influential Artists, Writers, and Performers*, Edited by Paul Fryer (2012).

<sup>31</sup>[https://docs.shap.fr/BSHAP/BSHAP\\_1957-3.pdf](https://docs.shap.fr/BSHAP/BSHAP_1957-3.pdf), pp. 141-143.

communiqué une note écrite à leur sujet par M<sup>me</sup> Foret, amie de la famille Parrot. En outre, M. Soubeyran, conservateur du Musée de Périgueux, a bien voulu me documenter, et je l'en remercie sincèrement, sur la carrière artistique de Philippe.

⋮

Bertrand-Auguste Parrot, notaire à Excideuil, avait épousé Catherine-Rose Jaubert et le ménage, qui habitait le domaine des Roches, dans l'ancienne paroisse de Saint-Martin <sup>32</sup> eut deux fils : Joseph-Marie-Jules, né le 10 novembre 1829, et Elie-Philippe, né le 13 mai 1831.

Mon regretté confrère, le Docteur Tocheport, qui fut maire d'Excideuil, m'avait jadis fourni des renseignements biographiques sur les deux frères et il m'avait communiqué une note écrite à leur sujet par M<sup>me</sup> Foret, amie de la famille Parrot. En outre, M. Soubeyran, conservateur du Musée de Périgueux, a bien voulu me documenter, et je l'en remercie sincèrement, sur la carrière artistique de Philippe.

Les deux frères furent envoyés à Paris faire leurs études -secondaires au Lycée Louis-le-Grand. Jules se destina à la médecine. En 1852, il fut reçu au concours de l'internat des Hôpitaux et il soutint sa thèse de doctorat en 1857. Mais il n'en resta pas là ; il continua à travailler et fut nommé agrégé à la Faculté de Paris en 1860 et médecin des Hôpitaux en 1862. Entre temps, il s'était marié et avait eu deux fils, Pierre, qui fut officier de cavalerie, et Paul, futur marin, qui mourut jeune.

⋮

Quant à Philippe, son père avait voulu qu'il se fasse inscrire à la Faculté de Droit, espérant sans doute qu'il viendrait un jour le remplacer à Excideuil ; mais l'étude du Code et de la procédure ne l'intéressait pas et il s'adonna à la peinture. A partir de 1861 il exposa régulièrement, au Salon, des portraits à l'huile ou aux crayons et surtout ce qu'on appelait des « sujets de genre ». Le Musée de Périgueux possède de lui *Après le Bal* et *Sommeil*, légués par M<sup>me</sup> Lhomme; *Judith* et *Holopherne*, donné par la comtesse de Cossé-Brissac; *Jeune fille au bain* et *Léda*, dépôt de l'Etat, et *Flore* et *Zépbyre*, don de la famille Parrot ; on peut encore citer une *Elégie*, qui est au Musée de Bordeaux; une *Bacchante*, qui appartient au Musée d'Anvers, *la Source*, *le Printemps*, *Galathée*,

<sup>32</sup>L'ancienne paroisse de Saint-Marvin-la-Rivière, est devenue une section de la commune d'Excideuil.

*la Baigneuse* au Musée du Luxembourg, et le *Portrait de Sarah Bernhardt*, qui est à la Comédie-Française ; pour remercier le peintre, et en témoignage de reconnaissance au médecin qui avait soigné son fils, la grande tragédienne offrit aux deux frères un groupe en bronze (une mère tenant sur ses genoux son enfant mort), dont elle était l'auteur, groupe qui est resté à Excideuil dans le jardin des Roches.

Philippe se maria avec une femme d'une haute valeur morale et intellectuelle et il leur naquit une fille.

Les deux frères, qui furent toujours étroitement unis, furent très attachés au Périgord. Jules acheta la propriété de La Reymondie<sup>33</sup> pour y chasser et il y recevait cordialement ses amis et ceux de ses fils ; c'est ainsi que Jean Charcot y vint deux années consécutives. Plus tard, après la mort de leurs parents, Jules et Philippe venaient passer leurs vacances aux Roches, qu'ils gardèrent indivises.

⋮

Philippe lui survécut jusqu'en 1894. Que dire de la peinture qu'il a laissée ? Je n'ai pas qualité pour en discuter. Qu'il me soit cependant permis de remarquer qu'il peignait ses tableaux inspirés d'un académisme désuet et aujourd'hui tombé dans l'oubli, au moment où Manet et les Impressionnistes produisaient des oeuvres, certes à l'époque fort décriées, mais dont la beauté est maintenant universellement reconnue.

Ajoutons enfin que la Ville de Paris, en souvenir des deux frères, a donné leur nom à une rue située près de la gare de Lyon.

⋮

D<sup>r</sup> Ch. LAFON

The article provides the only description I have found of Mary Wieland:

“Philippe married a woman of high moral and intellectual value and they had a daughter together.”

The implication is that Mary was held in high regard by Parrot's contemporaries and that Philippe and Mary had only one child, Amy's second cousin and friend Marie Parrot Lhomme.

<sup>33</sup>La Reymondie est une propriété située aux portes d'Excideuil, dans la commune de Saint-Martial-d'Albarède.

The article mentions what is regarded by some as Parrot's best known work (see the next article) — his 1875 portrait of Sarah Bernhardt which is displayed in the Musée de la Comédie-Française in Paris and shown in Figure 6.8. The official title of the portrait is *Portrait de Mme Sarah Bernhardt, pensionnaire du Théâtre-Français* and it shows Bernhardt in the role of Berthe de Savigny in *Le Sphinx* by Octave Feuillet in an 1874 production at the Comédie-Française. The portrait was shown at the Paris Salon in 1875. Like the author of the article on the brothers, I am no art critic. But nonetheless I find Parrot's Sarah to be my favorite of all of the portraits of her that I have seen and I do not feel that it suffers from the tendencies towards repetitious standard classical topics from mythology and religion ascribed to many pre-impressionist painters. At least one art historian in the late nineteenth century agrees with me, as we see next.

In her autobiography *Ma Double Vie: Mémoires de Sarah Bernhardt, avec de nombreux portraits de l'auteur* (1923), [17] Bernhardt mentions both of the brothers Parrot. Jules as one of her doctors and Philippe as one of her crew of young painters that helped decorate her house.

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A biography focusing on Parrot's artistic career which shows the high regard he was held in before the turn of the century can be found in *Les artistes modernes, contenant quarante biographies (Volume 2)* by Eugène Montrosier (1881):

M. Philippe Parrot est né en 1831, à Saint-Martin-d'Excideuil (Dordogne). Après avoir achevé ses études à Louis-le-Grand, il rentre dans son pays à vingt ans y mène la vie large de la province, chassant, montant à cheval, courant au hasard de sa fantaisie à travers bois et prairies, comme s'il cherchait à tuer l'ennui et la lassitude qui lentement s'emparaient de lui. A vingt-cinq ans, il n'y put tenir davantage et il revint à Paris. Là, il rencontre fortuitement des élèves de l'atelier Cogniet, cause avec eux de leur art, se laisse prendre au griserie capiteuses de leur bel enthousiasme, et en se ressouvenant qu'au lycée il avait enlevé tous les prix de dessin, il médite la résolution de commencer sa carrière d'artiste. Ici un autre obstacle se dressa devant lui. Il a vingt-cinq ans ; la vie indépendante qu'il a menée ne lui permettrait pas de supporter les charges que les Cabrions d'alors ne ménageaient pas au nouveau ; il pourrait en résulter des ennuis graves. Il n'entra pas chez le « père Cogniet », mais il se mit à suivre les cours de académies Suisse et Charles. Singulières académies où aucune autorité ne se faisait sentir, où les élèves se corrigeaient entre eux, s'aidant les uns les autres des faibles connaissances qu'ils possédaient. Avec une persévérance digne d'un meilleur sort, M. Parrot travailla là, sans désespérer, pendant dix années. Fort heureusement, au moment où peut-être il allait, de découragement, laisser tomber le pinceau de ses mains inexpéri-

mentées, Paul Dubois, qu'il avait eu pour condisciple à Louis-le-Grand rentra à Paris, de retour de Rome. Les deux amis se revirent et le futur grand sculpteur en présence des travaux de son camarade lui fit complètement changer sa manière. Brutalement il effaça les illusions du peintre, lui démontra l'inanité de ses tentatives, le manque d'issue du chemin dans lequel il s'était engagé; en un mot, il bouleversa de fond en comble tous ses procédés, et à la place lui en indiqua d'autres. Il fait mieux encore: en 1867, il emmène M. Parrot en Italie, qu'il lui fait parcourir en homme qui sait où les merveilles resplendissent. Tous deux ils visitent Pise, Florence, Naples. Ce furent les étapes vers la lumière pour le peintre, et comme un chemin de Damas. Il ressentit, durant le séjour de plusieurs mois qu'il fait en Italie, une impression profonde, indéfinissable dont ses oeuvres, par la suite, marqueront les effets. A son retour en France, il exposa (1868) une *Élégie* d'une grâce attirante (musée de Bordeaux); en 1870, le *Sommeil* et en 1872, le *Portrait de M<sup>me</sup> de Loqueyssie*. Ces trois œuvres obtinrent chacune une médaille.

Dans les morceaux que nous venons de signaler, M. Parrot montre une préférence marquée pour un peintre contemporain absolument personnel en dépit des aïeux que sa brosse fait évoquer; nous voulons limites permises la perfection de l'exécution; chez M. Henner<sup>34</sup>, cela tient de la magie. Avec la possession qu'exerçait un tel peintre, avec les conseils données dans l'intimité, les secrets d'une brosse prestigieuse découverts, M. Parrot ne pouvait faire autrement que de se perfectionner.

En 1875, M. Parrot envoya au Salon la *Source* et le *Portrait de M<sup>lle</sup> Sarah Bernhardt*. Un de nos confrères leur consacrait cette sincère appréciation: « La *Source* est une grande figure nue, couchée dans une grotte, et dont le visage immobile, les yeux profonds et le corps excellemment modelé, rappelle les peintures de M. J.-J. Henner. M. Parrot a d'ailleurs, on le sent, on le voit, pour la peinture de M. Henner, pour cette pâte savoureuse, une admiration particulière. La *Source* a vécu certainement dans ce monde supérieur où le peintre de la Naïde rencontre ses idylles. Mais le meilleur tableau de M. Parrot, c'est encore le grand *Portrait de M<sup>lle</sup> Sarah Bernhardt*. M. Parrot a bien rendu, et en véritable artiste, la grâce tout particulière, le regard vague et pensif de la comédienne. C'est bien là ce corps frêle, nerveux, et en présence duquel Hogarth trouverait au suprême degré l'élégante séduction de la *ligne*; c'est le port languissant de cette tête inquiétante, ce sourire indécis et mélancolique, ce charme un peu souffrant et par cela même poétique. »

A l'Exposition universelle de 18 - 8 M. Parrot figura avec une toile de grande

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<sup>34</sup>Jean-Jaques, Henner (5 March 1829 - 23 July 1905)

dimension, le *Jugement de Pâris* et une élégante figure, *Léda*.

Puis, nous eûmes *Galathée* et le portrait de M<sup>me</sup> de Kaulla ... ; les portraits si distingués de la fille du peintre et de M<sup>me</sup> Jules de Saulcy ; et enfin, en 1880, le *Printemps* ou *Avril*, d'un dessin si pur, d'une tournure si hautaine, d'une couleur si harmonieuse ; c'est une des plus belles pages de M. Parrot.

This brings us to the puzzle of the portrait of Augustine Heard, Jr., that hangs over a stairway landing in the Heard House, the house of the original John Heard of Ipswich and the headquarters of the Ipswich Museum, which was formed as the Ipswich Historical Society.

The painting has a small inscription in dark red in the dark lower left corner which is almost invisible in the digital copy of Figure 6.9. Expanding a selection showing the inscription results in Personal inspection of the actual portrait in August 2023 reveals it to be

*à Madame A.H. née DeC. affectueux Hommage P. P?  
mai 1863*

the question mark corresponds to a squiggle which could be an embellishment or flourish marking the end of the artist's initials. The figure also shows two signatures by Philippe Parrot. The one on the left is from his 1860 French wedding registration when he married Mary Wieland, the one on the right is an undated signature from the Benezit Dictionary of Artists as shown on Wikipedia. The squiggle in the inscription resembles that following the end of the last name of the artist, which suggests that the final letters of the inscription are simply the artists initials ended by the embellishment — an abbreviation of Philippe Parrot's full signature.

The verso of the canvas, which was photographed during a recent restoration, shows a stamp

Carpentier - DeForge  
Mds de Couleurs  
Boulevard Montmartre, 8  
Paris  
Atelier Bould des Batignolles

which was a company of merchants of art supplies including paints, canvases, and frames which existed with this specific set of names in this order 1863–1868.

Augustine Heard Jr.'s daughter Amy Heard Gray, wrote in 1939 to her older son Horace Gray that she believed that the portrait of her father was painted by "very probably Tante's father Phil Parrot." In the same letter Amy provides information on the provenance of portrait.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup>See Section 17.1.

Amy's conjecture that Parrot was the artist of AH Jr.'s portrait probably derives from the fact that in 1858 when newlyweds Augustine Jr and Jane Heard arrived in Paris, Jane's first cousin Mary Wieland was living with her mother, the widow Mary West (Taylor) Wieland and that two years later in 1860 Mary Wieland married the young artist Philippe Parrot. The children of Lemuel Taylor were close during their lives, and their children, the Taylor cousins, also stayed in touch.

When Amy names Parrot as the father of "Tante", she meant her son Horace's "Tante Mary" or "Tante Marie" or "Tante Parrot", that is, the daughter of Philippe and Mary (Wieland) Parrot. Amy had several relatives she called "Tante" in her letters to her sons, but only one was a daughter of "Phil Parrot." In her own journal and letters, "Tante" in similar contexts referred to Jane's cousin Mary, the wife of Philippe Parrot.

In the same 1939 letter Amy describes how the portrait of her father had for many years hung over the mantelpiece at 439 Marlborough St., the home originally shared by her brother John Heard, Jr., (5/4/1859-5/2/1895), the mining engineer and author of both technical works and popular fiction and travel magazine articles, and his wife Adeline (Addie) Wheelwright (Lewis) Heard. Following John Jr.'s death Addie continued to live in the house (most of the time) with their son Albert (who later changed his name to "John Heard, Jr.") until he married and moved out. When he was not traveling, AH Jr. lived with Addie for his final years. Albert/John (called "Bobbin" by Amy in her letters) was involved with the transfer of the portrait from 439 Marlborough to the Ipswich Historical Society. The trail of ownership is not completely clear, but the essentials are: AH Jr. left the bulk of his very small estate to his children Augustine Albert Heard and Max Heard von Brandt, stating in his will that they most needed it. But he left the remainder (explicitly including furniture and ornaments, presumably art work) to Addie and Amy. Hence many of the items, primarily furniture and art, were located in 439 and 39 Marlborough St. during the remainder of Addie's life. Amy's 1939 letter describes the transfer of several items to the Historical Society. Addie did not own 439 when she died, it had been owned by a trust arranged by her father and was eventually sold outside of her family (see [www.backbayboston.org](http://www.backbayboston.org)).

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Amy's letter provides provenance for the portrait, and the discussion of this section argues that the artist was Philippe Parrot. In an attempt to validate the artist I followed a suggestion of Marjorie B. Cohn, Carl A. Weyerhaeuser Curator of Prints, Emerita, and Eunice Williams, Art Historian and Assistant Curator, Harvard Art Museums (Fogg Museum) and composed a letter in formal French to the Roger-Quillot Museum of Fine Arts, which holds several works by Parrot. My Alliance Française professor, Cassandre ReyThibault provided invaluable help composing the letter, incorporated beginning on the next page. The email response from the Museum follows.



Figure 6.8: Portrait of Sarah Bernhardt (1875) by Philippe Parrot, Musée de la Comédie-Française, Paris.

Figure 6.9: Portrait of Augustine Heard, Jr., (1863) by P.P. ,  
Ipswich (Massachusetts) Museum.



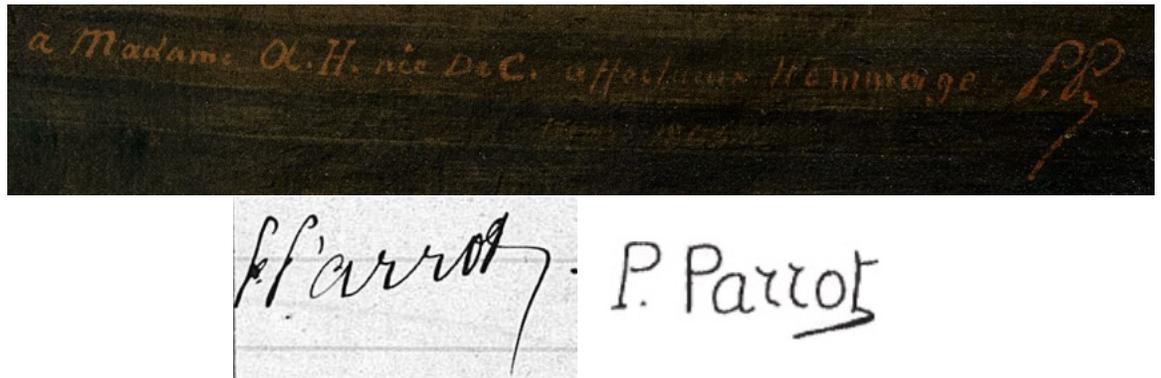


Figure 6.10: Inscription & Signatures of P. Parrot

The exchange summarizes the evidence for attribution and the reply from the Museum which supports the conclusion as leaving no doubt. It was also great fun to collect the information in proper business French and to receive additional reasons supporting the attribution.



STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Department of Electrical Engineering

rmgray@stanford.edu  
<http://ee.stanford.edu/~gray/>

Robert M. Gray  
Alcatel-Lucent Technologies Professor of Engineering, Emeritus  
Professor of Electrical Engineering, Emeritus

La direction, Monsieur ou Madame  
Musée d'Art Roger-Quilliot  
Place Louis-Deteix  
63100 CLERMONT-FERRAND

à Clermont-Ferrand, en 2024/01/23

Objet: Identification de l'auteur d'un 1863 portrait au Musée d'Ipswich, Massachusetts

Madame, Monsieur,

Je vous écris avec une question qui concerne le peintre français Philippe Parrot (1831 - 1894) dont votre collection possède plusieurs œuvres. Il y a un portrait dans la collection du Musée d'Ipswich (Massachusetts) daté 1863 et attribué à « un artiste français inconnu ». Pour plusieurs raisons je crois que le portrait est un travail du jeune M. P. Parrot avant qu'il ne devienne connu à la Salon de Paris en 1868.

Je cherche des avis vis-à-vis de cette théorie, qu'ils soit affirmatifs ou négatifs, de la part de professionnels de l'histoire de l'art connaisseurs de l'époque et l'artiste.

Je vous partage mes raisons pour cette conjecture dessous. En réalité, cette proposition d'attribution du portrait à Parrot a été faite par ma grand-mère, la fille de la personne représentée dans le portrait, dans une correspondance datant de 1939.

Une copie du portrait se trouve en Figure 6.9 ci-joint, Le sujet est Augustine Heard Jr. (1827-1905) qui était l'agent de la société d'Augustine Heard & Co. à Paris (1855-1870). Le tableau a une petite dédicace en rouge sombre dans l'obscurité du coin fond gauche qui est presque invisible. La Figure 6.10 montre cette dédicace, que je transcris ainsi, d'après l'original du musée :

« à Madame A.H. née DeC. affectueux Hommage P. P?  
mai 1863 »

Le point d'interrogation ici indique un embelissement du deuxième P majuscule. Madame A. H. était Madame Augustine Heard Jr., née Jane DeConinck à La Havane.

Voici les différents éléments rassemblés, qui étayent mon hypothèse d'attribuer ce tableau à Parrot :

1. En 1860, M. Parrot s'est marié avec Mary Wieland, la cousine de Mme Augustine Heard Jr. Mme Parrot (Mary Wieland) et Mme Heard (Jane DeConinck) sont nées à Cuba et elles se sont séparées aux environs de 1830 quand la famille Wieland est parti de Cuba pour Paris. Il est bien probable qu'elles se soient retrouvées à Paris en 1858. En effet, après leur mariage à Baltimore cette année-là, les Augustines Heard ont déménagé à Paris la même année, — avant donc le mariage de Parrot et Mary à Paris en 1860.

2. Le dédicace du portrait finit avec les initiales de Philippe Parrot, avec un embelissement qui ressemble à ceux qui se trouvent dans ses signatures dans le registre de mariage de Philippe Parrot avec Mary Wieland à Paris, et dans le *Dictionnaire d'Artistes* de Benezit.
3. En 1863 Parrot a fini son entrainement à l'Académie Suisse et il a exposé au Salon en 1861, mais il restait pauvre et il réalisait de l'art décoratif et des portraits pour gagner de l'argent. Il me semble qu'il aurait été disponible pour faire un portrait du nouveau mari de la cousine de sa femme.

Je serais très reconnaissant de recevoir votre opinion sur cette théorie, pour communiquer au Musée d'Ipswich ainsi que dans le cadre de mes propres recherches sur la correspondance de ma grand-mère <sup>36</sup>

Veillez trouver ci-jointes:

1. Le portrait de M. Augustine Heard Jr. du Musée de Ipswich
2. Le dédicace du portrait et deux exemples de signature de P. Parrot.

En vous remerciant par avance pour toute l'aide que vous pourrez m'apporter, je vous prie d'agréer, Madame, Monsieur, l'expression de mes respectueuses salutations.

Robert M. Gray  
12 Norwood Avenue  
Rockport, MA 01966-1715  
États-Unis

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<sup>36</sup>[https://ee.stanford.edu/~gray/amy\\_heard.pdf](https://ee.stanford.edu/~gray/amy_heard.pdf)

From: Frederic Manuch <fmanuch@clermontmetropole.eu>  
Subject: TR: Au sujet du portrait d'Augustine Heard Jr  
Date: December 20, 2023 at 2:28:13 AM EST  
To: "rmgray@stanford.edu" <rmgray@stanford.edu>

**De :** Frederic Manuch

**Envoyé :** mardi 19 décembre 2023 17:35

**À :** mrgray@stanford.edu <mrgray@stanford.edu>

**Objet :** Au sujet du portrait d'Augustine Heard Jr Cher Monsieur,

J'ai lu attentivement votre dossier, et il me semble que l'attribution du portrait d'Augustin Heard Jr à Philippe Parrot ne fait aucun doute.

Un élément supplémentaire permet d'argumenter dans votre sens : cet artiste avait l'habitude (finalement assez rare) d'inscrire de longue dédicace sur ces toiles.

Je vous joins une toile passée en vente l'année dernière qui en offre un bel exemple. Il me semble que la forme des lettres, notamment des "a", confirme votre attribution, de même que le choix des abréviations.

Sa signature limitée aux seules initiales sur votre toile, se justifie par l'intimité de l'artiste avec la personne recevant la toile. Je ne possède malheureusement pas de visuel de la toile également dédicacée, passée en vente à Angers en 2022...

Je vous joins la fiche technique de l'œuvre de Parrot présente dans nos collections. Il s'agit d'une représentation de *Galatée*.

Voici son historique :

- 1878, Paris, Exposition universelle, France, groupe 1, classe 1, n°684
- 1891, Moscou, Exposition française, groupe I, classe 1, sans numéro

Historique :

Demande d'achat de Paul Dubois au directeur des beaux-arts, Paris, 21 mai 1894 (AN, F21 2144) ; affaire sans suite

Vente après décès de l'artiste, Paris Drouot, 15 juin 1894; nouvelle demande d'achat de Paul Dubois au directeur des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 3 mai 1895 (AN, F21 2144) ; achat de l'Etat le 27 juin 1895 pour 3000 francs (AN, F21 2144) ; dépôt au musée du Luxembourg (AN, F21 2144); sortie du musée du Luxembourg pour le musée de Clermont-Ferrand, 1901

Toile en mauvaise état de conservation, marouflée sur contreplaqué.

Oeuvre en rapport : réduction (H.2,00 ; L. 1.00), vente après décès de l'artiste, Paris, Drouot, 14 juin 1894.

Reproduction : album photographique Adolphe Braun (petit et moyen formats)

Caricatures :

Cham, "Le Salon pour rire", Le Charivari, 14 mai 1876 ; Stop, "Visite au Salon de 1876", Le Journal amusant, 24 juin 1876, n°1034

Acquise par l'Etat en 1897, elle a été conservée de 1897 à 1901 à Paris au musée du Luxembourg, puis attribuée au musée du Louvre. Elle est aujourd'hui affectée au musée d'Orsay. La date du dépôt au musée des Beaux-Arts, Clermont-Ferrand date de 1901 (arrêté du 8 mars 1901).

En restant à votre entière disposition, je vous souhaite une très agréable journée.

Bien cordialement

F. Manuch



**Frederic Manuch**  
 Gestionnaire du centre de documentation  
 Direction de la Culture/Centre de documentation  
 Tél : 0443762530  
 E-mail : fmanuch@clermontmetropole.eu

Clermont Auvergne Métropole  
 64-66 avenue de l'Union Soviétique - BP 231 - 63007 CLERMONT-FERRAND Cedex 1  
[www.clermontmetropole.eu](http://www.clermontmetropole.eu)

The email included two attachments: The first included technical details of a well-known painting by Parrot in their collection entitled *Galatée*, which can be viewed online at <https://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/oeuvres/galatée-70825>. The second is from [artnet.com](http://artnet.com) announcing the auction and sale of another work by Parrot, *Portrait d'une jeune femme à l'ombrelle* (1891). The painting shows strong similarities in the inscription to those of the Heard portrait, as noted in the quoted email.

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## 6.8 Nomadic Heards

Amy and her family traveled, living in or making extended visits to Paris, France, Vevey, Switzerland, Hong Kong, New York City, Brighton, United Kingdom, and Biarritz, France. From 1861 to 1875 the travel was associated with Augustine Heard Jr.'s work with Augustine Heard & Co., as the company's European agent headquartered in Paris but making regular trips to London, Brussels, St. Petersburg, and Rome, as the U.S. agent in New York City, and as the senior resident partner in the firm's headquarters in Hong Kong — where Amy's sister Max was born in 1868. Following the firm's failure in 1875, Gus returned to Hong Kong in attempts to salvage the remnants of Augustine Heard & Co and create a new incarnation, but the attempt failed and the remaining business was absorbed by Jardine Mathieson.

In 1871 AH Jr left AH & Co in Hong Kong and was replaced by his brother Albert. Several online histories report that as the financial situation of the company grew dangerous, all four brothers met in Paris to decide on future management, and Albert became the final managing partner of the firm and remained so until its failure in 1875.



Amy Heard in 1876, Brighton    Amy Heard in 1877, Biarritz

Figure 6.11: CDVs

The Heard collection of letters at the Baker Library show that Albert Heard in St. Petersburg received letters from Gus in China until April 1877 and from 1877-9 from Gus in London, Biarritz, Boston, and New York. In 1880 Albert received mail from Gus announcing his going to Europe seeking interest for funding mines in Nevada.

Gus and his family returned to New York in 1881, when Amy began her journal transcribed here. He had many business connections, perhaps inherited from the days of AH & Co., but possibly maintained or created during the 1870s by visits. Letters and photographs place him in London during 1873-1874, Brighton in 1876, and Biarritz in 1877, and in Ipswich in 1878 from where he wrote the earliest letter in the collection transcribed here to Amy in an unknown location.

By January 1880 correspondence at the Baker Library of the Harvard Business School shows that Gus, Heard, and Amy were living in Biarritz while Gus worked with his brother Albert and others on a project involving mining and processing ore, especially copper. At the time, Albert was managing a foundry in Bayonne, France. His letters indicate his

intention to relocate to Paris. I hope that further research at the Baker will put together a more complete track of Gus and his family from his 1871 departure from China for Paris to his arrival in New York with Jane and Amy a decade later.

When the company failed in 1875, the family was close to financial ruin and the travels were more focused on Augustine Jr.'s quest for funding his family. While his reputation as a businessman and manager had been strong during his years with the family company, the remainder of his life was one of financial hardship for him and his family and he endured a sequence of bad investments and failed companies and projects.

Soon after the failure the family was in Brighton, United Kingdom, in 1876, and Biarritz, France, in 1877. In both places the family had photographic portraits in the form of *cartes-de-visites* (cdv), as shown for Amy at age 16-17 in Figure 6.11.

By early 1880 the family was living in Biarritz while Augustine Jr. was involved in a project involving the mining of brass and copper and the processing of these metals and other minerals including antimony. The Heard collection at the Baker Library contains many letters of his to his brother Albert, who around this time was managing a foundry in Bayonne. Augustine's son John Heard Jr. and several other investors were also involved and the letters demonstrate high hopes followed by significant concerns and even depression about the obtaining of sufficient ore, the production processes for the products, the government bureaucracies, the obtaining of international patents, and the markets.

While Biarritz has a reputation as a resort area for the rich, Jane and Amy, who in January 1880 was 19, were extremely unhappy and Augustine wrote Albert on 12 January that he was going the next day to Paris to seek quarters for Jane and Amy for a month or so, saying “She is wretchedly low. I am thinking of sending her to Paris for a change, but I am at my wits end.” His concerns about improving Amy’s spirits are illustrated by his appeal to Albert that he find and send

photos of Sarah Bernhardt as Doña Sol, sufficiently distinct to show perfectly the dress. It is a long white dress in the part of the play. I mean there is to be a fancy Ball here at the Marquis of Tavalquintos [?] next month & if Amy is well enough she may like to go. That dress is supposed as easy to prepare & very becoming to her. & will be equally good for other [??] afterwards. It can be made up well enough here from good photos or from a gravure. Now you know what is wanted you can judge what to find. Only let us have it sharp. Perhaps you can suggest something better?



Several photos of Bernhardt as Doña Sol in *Hernani* in 1877 and 1878 can be found by online searching. The only example I could find showing a full length dress is shown here. It is from the Paris Musées website *Les Musées de la Ville de Paris*.<sup>37</sup> It is described as from an unknown engraver for the Maison de Victor Hugo-Hauteville House made from a photograph taken from a performance on 21 November 1877. *Hernani* was a tragedy written 47 years earlier by Victor Hugo and Hugo himself came to see her. The next day, he famously sent her a note: “Madame, you were great and charming; you moved me, me the old warrior, and, at a certain moment when the public, touched and enchanted by you, applauded, I wept. The tear which you caused me to shed is yours. I place it at your feet.” The note was accompanied by a tear-shaped pearl on a gold bracelet.

I find no sequel to this father’s attempt to cheer up his unhappy teenage daughter, but the letter shows the lengths he was considering to provide opportunities in the society they had belonged to before his financial collapse.

<sup>37</sup><https://www.parismuseescollections.paris.fr/en/node/814253>

Two days later Augustine writes that Amy is “miserable” and that “I feel anxious & worried about Amy” and that he has put Max into a school. This sets the stage for the primary sources for this book, the Gilded Age journals by and letters to Amy Heard.

The family ended up in Newport, Rhode Island, for the summer of 1881 and then moved to Washington, DC, where they stayed briefly at a boarding house and then moved into their new home at 1777 Massachusetts Avenue in Washington, near DuPont Circle. That would be their home until Amy married Russell Gray in Washington D.C. in 1886 and the couple moved to Boston. Gus and Jane remained in Washington D.C. until he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary (the equivalent of a modern day Ambassador) and Consul to Seoul, Korea. As will be seen later. There Max met, was courted by, and then married Max Scipio von Brandt, the German minister to Peking.

Amy’s family had to learn to live on a much reduced income in Washington, D.C., as Gus spent much of his time seeking a diplomatic position based on his extensive experience in China. Gus lobbied for an appointment as minister to an Asian country, preferably China. He was not considered to have sufficient credentials for a major diplomatic position, but in 1890 he was appointed United States Minister Plenipotentiary (essentially Ambassador) and General Consul to Korea by President Benjamin Harrison following nomination by the Secretary of State, James G. Blaine. He served from July 1890 to 1894.

In the mean time, the family occasionally traveled to Europe and the playgrounds of the wealthy in the U.S., especially Newport and Bar Harbor, trips that seemed almost designed to find good matches for the daughters, Amy and Max.

During the period 1871 to 1890 Augustine Jr. lived principally in Washington DC. His later years were spent partly in Europe and partly in Washington, D.C. (*National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 28:327).

Augustine served as the U.S. Minister/General Consul to Korea from July 1890 through 1893. He was appointed to the position by James G. Blaine, Benjamin Harrison’s Secretary of State. In a letter in 1889 to Russell Gray, Gus admits that the appointment almost certainly resulted from Blaine’s interest in Amy Heard Gray rather than Blaine’s interest in him. Amy’s connection with the Blaines goes back at least to 1881, when Mrs. James G. Blaine mentions [18] hearing Amy’s sister Max sing at the the Outreys, the family of the French Minister Plenipotentiary (the equivalent of an ambassador to a backwater like the U.S.). The friendship is likely much older, however, as the parents of Mrs. Blaine, the former Harriet Bailey Stanwood, lived in Ipswich, Massachusetts, before moving to Maine. Hence they likely knew the Heards, one of the most prominent families of Ipswich. Blaine himself was one of the most famous politicians of his day. After marrying Harriet, he moved back to Maine with her and began a career as a newspaper man and politician. He was a founder of the Republican party and served in congress from 1863 through 1876, serving as speaker for much of the time. In 1876 he was appointed to the senate, where he served until 1881. He sought the Republican presidential nomination in 1876, but lost to

Rutherford B. Hayes, largely due to the taint of a railroad graft scandal that was to haunt him throughout his career. He tried again in 1880, but lost to James A. Garfield. He became Garfield's secretary of state, but resigned in 1881 when Garfield was shot. Nominated for president in 1884, he lost to Grover Cleveland. In 1888 he refused candidacy and helped Benjamin Harrison get nominated. When Harrison won, Blaine again became Secretary of State: 1889–1892.

In 1889 Amy wrote to her friend Mrs. Blaine asking her to urge her husband to “do something” for AH2. Blaine was disposed to help, but wished to know what sort of thing AH2 had in mind. AH2 traveled to Washington to discuss the matter, and after being somewhat put off finally spoke with Blaine. What transpired seems to be that AH requested the position of minister to China, but Blaine refused observing that China was the most important position in all of Asia and required a seasoned diplomat. He offered instead a position as Consul in Hong Kong or China, but AH2 seemed to think a Consular position beneath him. Given his financial hardship at the time, his failed business, and his complete lack of experience outside the business world, this suggests that AH2 might not have been an easy personality to deal with. His letters generally indicate constant depression and unhappiness. Blaine then asked AH2 if he knew anything of “Corea,” to which AH2 replied he did not. Blaine offered him the position as Minister and General Consul. AH2 was again reluctant, but after considering and discussing the matter for a few days accepted. His letters thereafter give full and grateful credit for Amy's assistance in gaining the post.

Gus served in Korea from July 1890 through his resignation in March 1893 during the rule of King Kojong — a time of much intrigue and political maneuvering among China, Japan, the European states, Russia, and the U.S. for influence in Korea. Kojong, also called Li Hsi or Li Hi, came indirectly to the throne at the age of twelve when in 1864 King Ch'olchong died without an heir and his widow adopted the young boy with royal blood, and placed him on the throne. His father, Prince Yi Hungson, became regent with the title “Taewongun” or Prince Parent. The Taewongun despised foreigners and would continually cause trouble and foment revolution for the remainder of his life[85]. Kojong assumed real power when he came of age in 1873. He remained King until 1897 when he became emperor until his death in 1907.

## 6.9 Marriage of Amy Heard and Russell Gray

On 3 November 1886 Amy Heard married Russell Gray in Washington D.C. Russell will be considered in the next chapter, but it is worth noting now that he was born at Boston on 17 June 1850 and that his and Amy's grandfathers had known each other in business and politics so Amy and Russell had probably known each other and each other's families since childhood. Amy's journals in the early 1880s do not mention Russell, but they do

mention several members of his family. Several local and other newspapers reported on the event. Fig. 6.12 shows the Washington D.C. *Evening Star* article on the day of the event along with the article the next day in the *National Republican*.

Amanda or Amalie West should be Amalia West. Justice Gray is Amy's uncle Horace Gray Jr., Russell Gray's half-brother, then an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.<sup>38</sup> William C. Endicott was the Secretary of War for whom Amy's uncle Albert Farley Heard served as private secretary. Endicott's daughter Mary was a close friend of Amy's. Miss Gray is one of Russell's sisters, either Elizabeth (Bessie) or Harriet. The Misses West were Amalia's sisters Victoria and Flora.

The Mme. Bonaparte in the article is almost certainly the wife of a grandson of Elizabeth (Betsy) Patterson Bonaparte, the divorced wife of Napoleon's brother Jérôme, whom we encountered in Section 2.2. The grandsons were Charles Joseph Bonaparte, a lawyer and political activist for progressive and liberal causes who served in Teddy Roosevelt's cabinet, and Jérôme Napoléon Bonaparte II (1830-1893), a soldier in both the United States and French armies. Both were living in the Washington, D.C. area when Amy and Russell were married. Jérôme II was the son of and he was the son of Jérôme Napoléon Bonaparte (1805-1870) and Susan May Williams (1812-1881) of Baltimore. His wife was wife was Caroline Le Roy Appleton Edgar (1840-1911). A plausible connection between Amy and the Bonapartes is Baltimore, where Amy's mother and grandmother had lived and where the parents of Jérôme II and Charles had lived.

The Boston papers also reported the wedding, including the 6 November *Boston Herald* and the 4 November Boston Evening Transcript of Figure 6.13 Except for some misspellings, these reports of the marriage were consistent.

It was pointed out to me by the webmaster of *Back Bay Houses*[14] that there were also published articles that were significantly inconsistent, which are included as an example of the spread of "fake news" in 1886. The day following the wedding, newspaper articles in the *New York Herald* and the *Boston Globe* shown in Fig. 6.14 appeared claiming that Amy was the niece of General Benjamin F. Butler, the controversial celebrity of the period known informally as "Beast Butler" from his Civil War Exploits. There were other differences between the two groups of articles, but the connection was Butler is the most startling. There is no known connection between the Butler family and the Heard (or De Coninck) family. The surname Butler does appear in Amy's 1882 Washington Journal, but only by the pair "Mrs. and Miss. Butler." Ben Butler's wife (and his mother) were long dead in 1882, and his niece (Blanche) was long since married and changed her surname. It is possible Amy met Ben Butler as that had common friends in Washington (including Mrs. Henry Adams), but she was definitely not his niece and it was of infinitesimal prob-

<sup>38</sup>This Horace Gray, Jr. — the son of Horace Gray, the youngest son of Old Billy Gray — should not be confused with the other Horace Gray Jr. previously encountered — who was the son of William Rufus Gray, Horace Gray's oldest brother. Recall it was common practice to attach "Jr." to names honoring an uncle as well as a father.

GRAY-HEARD.

A small but fashionable company witnessed the marriage at St. John's Church yesterday of Miss Heard, daughter of Mr. Augustine Heard, and Mr. Russell Gray, of Boston, brother of Justice Gray, of the United States Supreme Court. Mr. W. C. Endicott, jr., and Mr. John Heard, jr., Mr. Augustine Heard, jr., brothers of the bride, and Mr. Woodbury Lowery, with wedding favors of white roses and maiden hair ferns in their coat lapels, were most effective as ushers, and seated the guests in the body of the church. The pretty interior was lighted, and the sun, shining through the colored glass of the memorial windows, threw a many tinted glamour over the scene. Promptly at 12:30 the groom and his best man, Mr. H. W. Swift, of Boston, appeared upon the altar, accompanied by the officiating clergyman, Rev. W. A. Leonard, D. D. The organist sent forth the first notes of the "Wedding March" from "Lohengrin," and the bride and her attendants entered the right hand side aisle. The bridal robe was a magnificent gown of cream tinted satin, with tablier drapery of rare old point lace. The tulle veil was caught with sprays of white lilac, a necklace of pearls encircled the throat and held a cross of pearls, and the low bodice was clasped at the breast by a large pearl ornament. Gloves of white kid, satin slippers, and a small bouquet of white roses and maiden hair ferns completed the dainty toilet. Miss Heard and Miss Amanda West, youngest daughter of the British minister, were the bridesmaids, and preceded the bride to the altar. They wore simple dresses of white point d'esprit made over white silk, and the bodices were pointed low in the back and front, the opening being filled with illusion. The full draperies of the skirts were caught up with cream-tinted ottoman ribbon. The gloves were tan-colored gants de suede. The bride was escorted by her father, who gave her away. The ushers passed up the opposite aisle and took a position near the altar during the ceremony. Some of those present were Justice Gray, Miss Gray, Secretary Lamar, Count Lippe, the British minister, and the Misses West, Mrs. Blatchford, Mrs. Archibald Hopkins, Mr. Horace Helyar, Miss Endicott, Gen. and Mrs. N. L. Anderson, Mme. Bonsparte, Mrs. Robeson, Mrs. Don Cameron, Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Pollok, Admiral and Mrs. Rodgers, and Gen. Parke. After the ceremony the bridal party were given a breakfast at the residence of Mr. Heard, 1777 Massachusetts avenue, and in the afternoon Mr. and Mrs. Gray departed upon their wedding journey. Their future

Figure 6.12: *Evening Star*

**Wedding Bells.**

There was a pretty morning wedding at St. John's Church to-day at 12:30 when Miss Heard, daughter of Mr. Augustine Heard, was married to Mr. Russell Gray, of Boston. The church was artificially lighted. Mr. Wm. C. Endicott, jr., Mr. Augustine Heard, jr., Mr. John Heard, jr., brothers of the bride, and Mr. Woodbury Lowery acted as ushers and seated the guests in the body of the church. Mr. H. W. Swift was best man to the groom. The ceremony was performed by Rev. Dr. Leonard. Miss Heard and Miss Amalie West, the British minister's youngest daughter, were the bride's only attendants. They wore simple short dresses of white *point d'esprit*, the bodices pointed front and back at the neck and the opening filled with tulle; the gloves were long undressed, tan color, and the full draperies were caught up with large loops of cream-colored ribbon. The bride wore a magnificent robe of white satin, the front of which was draped with rare old point. The tulle veil was caught with orange blossoms and white lilac, and the bridal bouquet was a small bunch of white roses and maiden hair ferns. About her fair neck was clasped a necklace of pearls, from which was suspended a cross of pearls, and a large ornament of pearls fastened the low bodice in the front. White gloves and white satin slippers completed the bridal toilet. The bridesmaids preceded the bride to the altar, being escorted by her father, who gave her away, and Mr. Swift awaited the bridal party on the altar. After the ceremony a wedding breakfast was served at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Heard, 1777 Massachusetts avenue, and in the afternoon Mr. and Mrs. Gray departed on their wedding journey. Their future home will be in Boston.

*National Republican*

**Wednesday night.**  
**The marriage of Mr. Russell Gray of Boston, half brother of Justice Horace Gray, and Miss Amy Heard, occurred at St. John's church at 12:30 today. The ceremony was performed by Rev. Dr. Leonard. A small company was present, including the families of the bride and bridegroom and Washington friends. Among those at the church were Mr. John Gray and Mr. and Mrs. Curtis of Boston, Mr. West, the British minister, Secretary Lamar, Col. and Mrs. Archibald Hopkins and others. Mr. H. W. Swift, Mr. Russell Gray's law partner, acted as his best man. The bridesmaids were the bride's sister and Miss Amelta West, daughter of the British minister. The ushers were William C. Endicott, Jr., Mr. Lowery and the bride's brothers, Mr. Augustine Heard and Mr. John Heard. Mr. Gray and his wife left on their wedding tour.**

**PERSONAL.**  
 The New York Tribune states that it has the "highest authority" for saying that the recent report, which originated in its columns, about the engagement of Mr. James Russell Lowell to Dowager Lady Lyttleton is unfounded.  
 The marriage of Mr. Russell Gray of Boston, half-brother of Justice Horace Gray, and Miss Amy Heard occurred at St. John's Church, Washington, at 12.30 Wednesday. The ceremony was performed by Rev. Dr. Leonard. Among those at the church were Mr. John Gray and Mr. and Mrs. Curtis of Boston, Mr. West, the British minister, Secretary Lamar, Colonel and Mrs. Archibald Hopkins and others. Mrs. Endicott gave a dinner party last evening in honor of Mr. and Mrs. Curtis of Boston, who came to attend the wedding.

Figure 6.13: *Boston Herald**Boston Transcript*

ability that Butler would have given the bride away. The *Washington Evening Sun*, a local paper made it clear that Augustine Heard was at the wedding and that the Heards held the reception afterwards at their home on 1777 Massachusetts Avenue. It is true that Amy's mother was likely in mourning at the wedding since her sister Mary Taylor (De Coninck) Johnson died in Cuba in 1886.

The obvious question is how the erroneous facts of Butler being Amy's uncle, his being at the wedding, and his leading Amy down the aisle and giving her away got published. Clearly the Boston Globe and New York Herald got their stories from the same source, and the source was not actually at the wedding. The false story popped up in other places: The *Evening Journal* of Lewiston Maine reported that General Benjamin F. Butler was in Washington "to attend the wedding of his niece, Miss Amy Heard, to Russell Gray, brother of Justice Gray of the Supreme Court." The *Harford Courant* in Hartford Connecticut published the *NY Tribune* Article on 11/5/1886 and the *United Opinion* of Bradford, Vermont, published a short version of the Butler/Amy Heard stor on 18 July. The origin of the Butler variation remains a mystery, but perhaps a possible solution is provided by an article published in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* on 2 November, the day before the wedding. In a column entitled **Notes about Notables** it was said that

Gen. Benj. F. Butler is in Washington to attend the the wedding of his niece, Miss Amy Heard, to Russell Gray, brother of Justice Gray, of the Supreme Court.

Perhaps the enterprising Society reporting source for the New York and Boston Papers saw this article and combined it with hearsay or a second hand report of the wedding to add a celebrity name to the title and article. Some reinforcement for this theory is provided by the fact that the day before the *Boston Evening Transcript* published the accurate

**GRAY-HEARD.**

**A Quiet Wedding Where General Butler Gives the Bride Away.**

WASHINGTON, November 3.—A very quiet wedding took place today at St. John's Church, where Miss Amy Heard of this city, a niece of General B. F. Butler was married to Russell Gray of Boston, a younger brother of Justice Gray of the United States Supreme Court.

There were no flowers about the altar or chancel, and the attendance was limited to a couple of hundred only, the cause being that Mrs. Heard, the bride's mother, is in mourning. The wedding was after the English form, the groom being attended only by his "best man," while the bride was accompanied by only two bridesmaids, Miss Heard, a younger sister, and Minister West's youngest daughter.

At 12:20 Mr. Gray, who is a young copy of Justice Gray, entered at the north door with his best man and took his place at the altar rail, where they were preceded by Rev. Dr. Leonard. Five minutes later the bride entered at the west door leaning on General Butler's arm, and, preceded by the Misses Heard and West, was met at the chancel steps by the groom and led to the altar rail.

General Butler gave the bride away. The attendance comprised the very elite of society here, among those present being Justice Gray, ex-Chief Justice Drake of the Court of Claims, Rear-Admiral and Mrs. C. R. P. Rodgers, General John G. Parke and Miss Parke, the secretary of the interior and Justice Bancroft Davis.

The groom and best man were in morning dress, the bride's dress was en train, without flowers on the enveloping veil, and the bridesmaids' in simple white dresses made like walking suits.

### WEDDING BELLS.

#### MARRIAGE OF GENERAL BUTLER'S NIECE TO A BROTHER OF JUSTICE GRAY.

[BY TELEGRAPH TO THE HERALD.]

WASHINGTON, D.C., Nov. 3, 1886.—A very quiet wedding took place to-day at St. John's Church, where Miss Amy Heard, of this city, a niece of General B. F. Butler, was married, at half-past twelve o'clock, to Mr. Russell Gray, of Boston, a younger brother of Justice Gray, of the United States Supreme Court. The attendance was limited to about two hundred, the cause being that Mrs. Heard, the bride's mother, is in mourning. The wedding was after the English form, the groom being attended only by his "best man," while the bride was accompanied by only two bridesmaids—Miss Heard, a younger sister, and Minister West's youngest daughter. At twenty minutes past twelve Mr. Gray, who so closely resembles the stately Justice, entered at the north door with his best man and took his place at the altar rail, where they were preceded by Rev. Dr. Leonard. Five minutes later the bride entered at the west door, leaning on General Butler's arm, and, preceded by Misses Heard and West, was met at the chancel steps by the groom and led to the altar rail. General Butler gave the bride away, and the beautiful ceremony was over very soon and the guests departed. The very elite of Washington society graced the occasion by their presence.

Figure 6.14: Boston Globe

New York Herald

description of the wedding shown above in Fig. 6.13 it published a short spurious note almost identical to that of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. The next day the *Transcript* got it right and dropped the celebrity connection, but there was no suggestion of a fake or an apology. Why a columnist in Philadelphia would invent such a story is not clear, Butler's niece was already married and he was not a relative or close friend of Amy Heard.

Two photographs likely taken around the date of the wedding merit mention. The photographs were taken by Washington D.C. photographer Moses Parker Rice. He arrived in the District of Columbia in 1861 and was a photographer for over 50 years. Since Russell was rarely in Washington, a portrait by an established Washington D.C. photographer suggests the timing was close to his marriage. The other photo shown in Fig. 3 is of Amy's sister Max Heard, who along with Amalia West was one of Amy's two bridesmaids. Russell was 36 in late 1886, which is consistent with the photograph (there is no grey yet in his beard, and Grays were often balding at an early age. Max was 18 at the time of the wedding, which is also consistent with the image. Regrettably I have found no image of Amy in that year or one by Rice.



**Russell Gray in Washington 1886**

# Chapter 7

## Gray

Amy Heard's marriage to Russell Gray of Boston united two Massachusetts families intimately connected with international maritime commerce. The Heards of Ipswich and the Grays of Salem had long been familiar in New England commerce and politics.

The Salem Grays origins lie primarily with William "Old Billy" Gray, who was born in nearby Lynn to a cordwainer Abraham Gray, but moved early to Salem where he began as an apprentice to Elias Hasket Derby, a well known marine merchant, and eventually moved on to ownership of many commercial ships and, like Lemuel Taylor, privateers during the War of 1812. His life and that of many of his descendants has been chronicled in books and articles, especially in Edward Gray's two books [66],[65]. These books, written by a descendant, have been criticized as being more anecdotal than analytical history. Less friendly interpretations of his life and businesses can also be found, especially in the works of historian Stephen Chambers [33],[34]. Billy Gray was a more complex figure than most of the literature on him suggests, and Chamber's observations and Edward's Gray's family biases both follow the facts.

The Grays did not have as great of an impact on Amy as the Taylors, De Conincks, and Heards before her marriage to Russell in 1886 simply because they were not relations and she did not have much occasion to interact with them. The Grays played little part in her journals and in her letters until her marriage was near. So I give the Grays a much smaller role in this Part describing the context of her journals and her letters than I have given the other families. Here I will provide a few details of key characters. The rest can be found in my brother Steen's genealogy of the Grays [68]. Another reason for taking this tack is that I think I have added quite a bit to the family collection of knowledge of the Taylors, De Conincks, and Heards, but I have little to add to the Gray family story in [68] except perhaps for details of Billy's son Horace's financial misadventures. Recently (autumn 2022), I have also learned of the Cuban activities of the Grays long before the marriage of Augustine Heard Jr. and Cuban-born Jane Leep De Coninck.

## 7.1 William “old Billy” Gray of Salem

The Gray genealogy [68] borrows heavily from Edward Gray’s books *William Gray of Salem, Merchant: A biographical sketch* (1914) [66] and *William Gray of Lynn, Massachusetts, and Some of his Descendants* (1916) [65]. Hard copies of the books are rare, but online versions can be found on the Web. It is worth repeating some of the prose within this manuscript to preserve continuity of narrative and to provide diversity of style by plagiarizing from a more than century old manuscript.



Figure 7.1: William and Elizabeth Chipman Grays

William Gray, or, as he was later called, “Billy” or “old Billy” Gray, was the oldest son of Abraham Gray, of Lynn, Massachusetts, and Lydia Calley, daughter of Francis Calley, of Marblehead. Billy was born in Lynn on 8 July 1750. William Gray, his grandfather for whom he was named, was a husbandman and cordwainer<sup>1</sup>, and he is said to have initiated the manufacture of shoes by operatives in Lynn. Our William’s father, Abraham Gray, seems to have followed along the same line, being one of the first shoe manufacturers in Lynn who employed journeymen and apprentices. When William was still a small boy,

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<sup>1</sup>shoemaker

Abraham moved his family to Salem. Billy's nickname was mentioned in the preface of Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*:

But then, what reams of other manuscripts—filled, not with the dulness of official formalities, but with the thought of inventive brains and the rich effusion of deep hearts—had gone equally to oblivion; and that, moreover, without serving a purpose in their day, as these heaped-up papers had, and—saddest of all—without purchasing for their writers the comfortable livelihood which the clerks of the Custom-House had gained by these worthless scratchings of the pen. Yet not altogether worthless, perhaps, as materials of local history. Here, no doubt, statistics of the former commerce of Salem might be discovered, and memorials of her princely merchants—old King Derby—old Billy Gray—old Simon Forrester—and many another magnate in his day, whose powdered head, however, was scarcely in the tomb before his mountain pile of wealth began to dwindle.

Of William Gray's youth little is known, except that he was apprenticed at an early age to Samuel Gardner, Esq., of Salem, and later entered the counting-house of Richard Derby, Esq., of the same port. He seems to have stepped from the counting-house to mercantile life, as no record whatever of his going to sea has been found, and he began business for himself when he was about twenty-eight years old.

At this period, there were three William Grays in Salem: Captain William Gray, who made a brilliant record as master of letters of marque during the Revolution; William Gray, Jr. (of another family); and William Gray, Tertius, our William, who, though he was the son of Abraham Gray, and only a distant relative, if any, of the other two, was called "Tertius" because he was the third in point of seniority. As the older William Grays died, Billy moved up to "William Gray, Jr." around 1785 and finally in 1808 became simply "William Gray." Understandably much confusion to historians and descendants has resulted.

In the troublous times prior to the Revolution, William Gray joined the 3d Company of the First Regiment of the Essex Militia in Salem and was elected 2nd lieutenant. When hostilities broke out, his company, under Colonel Timothy Pickering, made a forced march to Lexington, arriving, however, only in time to exchange a few shots with the retreating British.

Owing to our almost entire lack of a navy during the Revolution, the Continental Congress issued privateer licenses and "letters of marque" to individuals, in order to supply the deficiency in fighting ships. A letter-of-marque vessel carried a cargo to a destined port or ports, taking prizes if they came in her way, and defending herself against the enemy as a regularly commissioned private ship of war under heavy bonds to her government to obey the rules of warfare, thus combining commerce and war. Billy Gray was owner or part owner of several of these privately armed vessels during the latter part

of the war, and from time to time his ships captured some British property. Like Lemuel Taylor, he did not go to sea himself.

During this period, with daily life full of the business of war and of sending forth letters of marque, was deep as well in the art of love. He evidently found time to court the pretty and vivacious Miss Elizabeth Chipman, daughter of Hon. John Chipman and Elizabeth Brown Chipman, of Marblehead. His attentions proved successful if not altogether acceptable to the friends of the young lady, for the rumor goes that the Chipmans did not look with too much favor on the suit of young William Gray, feeling that his prospects were not good enough at the time to support Miss Chipman in the same comfort to which she was accustomed. However this may be, the marriage took place, and his “darling Betsey,” as he then and afterwards called his wife, became Mrs. William Gray on March 29, 1782. Elizabeth Chipman’s brother remained loyal to Great Britain, joining the British in New York and eventually settling in New Brunswick.

The Letters of Marque owned partly or entirely by Billy Gray included the brigantine *Defence*, brigantine *Hind*, ship *Venus*, brigantine *Defence*, brigantine *Hector*, brigantine *Hynde*, ship *Iris*, and brig *Union*.

Billy’s initial fortune was made through his privateers, but he quickly adapted to non-wartime maritime commerce following the end of the revolution during his long career. Billy also chaired the Salem Committee that raised the funds to build the frigate *Essex* for donation to the Continental Navy during the French Quasi War, the Barbary War, and the War of 1812, during which she was finally captured by the British in 1814 at Valparaiso. Billy also provided the funds for the refitting of the rigging of the frigate *Constitution* for the war of 1812.

As soon as the Revolution was over and peace had been declared, William Gray quickly adapted and launched into foreign trade, and his commerce grew so rapidly that by 1792 it had reached large proportions. He was one of the first of the Salem merchants to embark in the trade with India and China, the brig *William and Henry*, belonging to Messrs. Gray and Orne, arriving from Canton in 1790.

In 1792 Billy was a founder and first President of the Essex Bank, which occupied rooms in the Salem Custom House.

Billy Gray was almost two decades older than Lemuel Taylor, but Billy Gray’s grandson Russel Gray would marry Lemuel Taylor’s great-granddaughter Amy Heard. There are many parallels between the two men. Both became merchants dealing primarily with maritime trade, both owned privateers in wars against Great Britain, both served as officers in state militias to fight the British, both founded and served as officers for local banks, and both would be directors in the ill-fated second National Bank of the United States.

There were also significant differences between the two men. Billy went into state politics and had a reasonably successful career. He was a State Senator for Essex County in 1807 (along with John Heard of Ipswich), 1808, and 1821. His politics, however, ran

afoul of the Salem merchant community and the Federalists when he supported Jefferson’s Embargo of 1807, which was a result of the challenge to U.S. neutrality arising from the June 1807 affair of the American frigate *Chesapeake* being boarded by the British warship *Leopard* in order to claim American seaman of British descent for the British Navy. Jefferson chose economic retaliation, cutting off all trade with both belligerents, cutting New England off from imports it had relied on. The move badly damaged the New England economy, and most of New England objected to the Embargo and were sympathetic to Britain and did not share Jefferson’s seeming reverence for the French. It had had a long-term beneficial side effect, however, in that it forced New England to improve its own industries and reduce reliance on imported goods.

Billy, although he admitted it was a ruinous measure for New England, claimed that it was a constitutional action and supported it, and consequently became a storm center in Salem. Billy along with a few Baltimore merchants of stature claimed patriotic grounds of loyalty to the national government for his actions, but some historians suspect his motives arguing that he was in a financial position to absorb his losses and that he profited from his connections to conduct illegal foreign trade. Stephen Chambers in *The American State of Cuba: The Business of Cuba and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1797 – 1825* (2013) [34]. Two quotations make Chamber’s case:

In the case of most elite Americans who invested in the Cuba trade in this period – from Baltimore merchant Samuel Smith to Massachusetts native William Gray – complete business records simply do not exist.<sup>27</sup> Precious few documents survive for many of the most powerful commercial houses, which once invested in fleets that dwarfed the U.S. navy. Moreover, extant documents are often irregular, consisting of idiosyncratic, personalized methods of record-keeping.<sup>28</sup> Compounding these difficulties, many of the studies of elites that scholars have relied on – such as William Gray of Salem for Massachusetts native William Gray and Mount Hope for the Rhode Islander James D’Wolf – are notoriously antiquarian. Typically written by descendants of the ‘great man,’ these celebratory works often contain many accurate elements but lack a substantial and rigorous scholarly foundation.

In Massachusetts, I target the efforts of elite merchant William Gray to eliminate domestic competition through his overt support for a trade embargo, which he intended to covertly circumvent. In the Baltic, I highlight the work of William Gray’s de facto commercial agent John Quincy Adams, who leveraged the information of the diplomatic office, along with personal ties forged at Harvard, to protect Gray’s profits from French seizure.

Powerful merchants like Gray who were Federalists, but who supported Jefferson and his party (then called “Republican,” but also called “Democratic Republican” or “Democrat”

) with regards to the embargo, were attacked in speeches and in the press and shunned and harassed by the Federalists, who were then dominant in New England state governments. Billy Gray felt obliged to move from Salem to Boston with his family in 1809, and soon formally left the Federalist Party. Feeling was so strong that there was much talk in New England of seceding from the United States, which was then still a fragile union, with the Federalists strongly favoring economic issues and the Democratic Republicans more interested in agricultural matters. After his departure, evidence of Billy slowly disappeared from Salem, his houses were gone along with the evidence of his contributions to Salem's maritime heyday. Billy still was appreciated in Boston, however, and he ran for and was elected Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts in 1810 at the invitation of the successful Republican candidate for governor, Elbridge Gerry,<sup>2</sup> Gray was re-elected in 1811 and was a Presidential elector in 1820 and 1824.

When Billy moved to Boston in 1809, he owned fifteen ships, seven barques, thirteen brigs, and one schooner. Edward Gray quotes a letter of credit he wrote for his friend John Quincy Adams while Adams was the U.S. Minister at the court of St. Petersburg.

William "Billy" Gray died on 3 November 1825 in Boston.

Gray's Wharf still remained in Boston in 1858 and is depicted in Figure 7.2.

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<sup>2</sup>famous for the word "gerrymander"

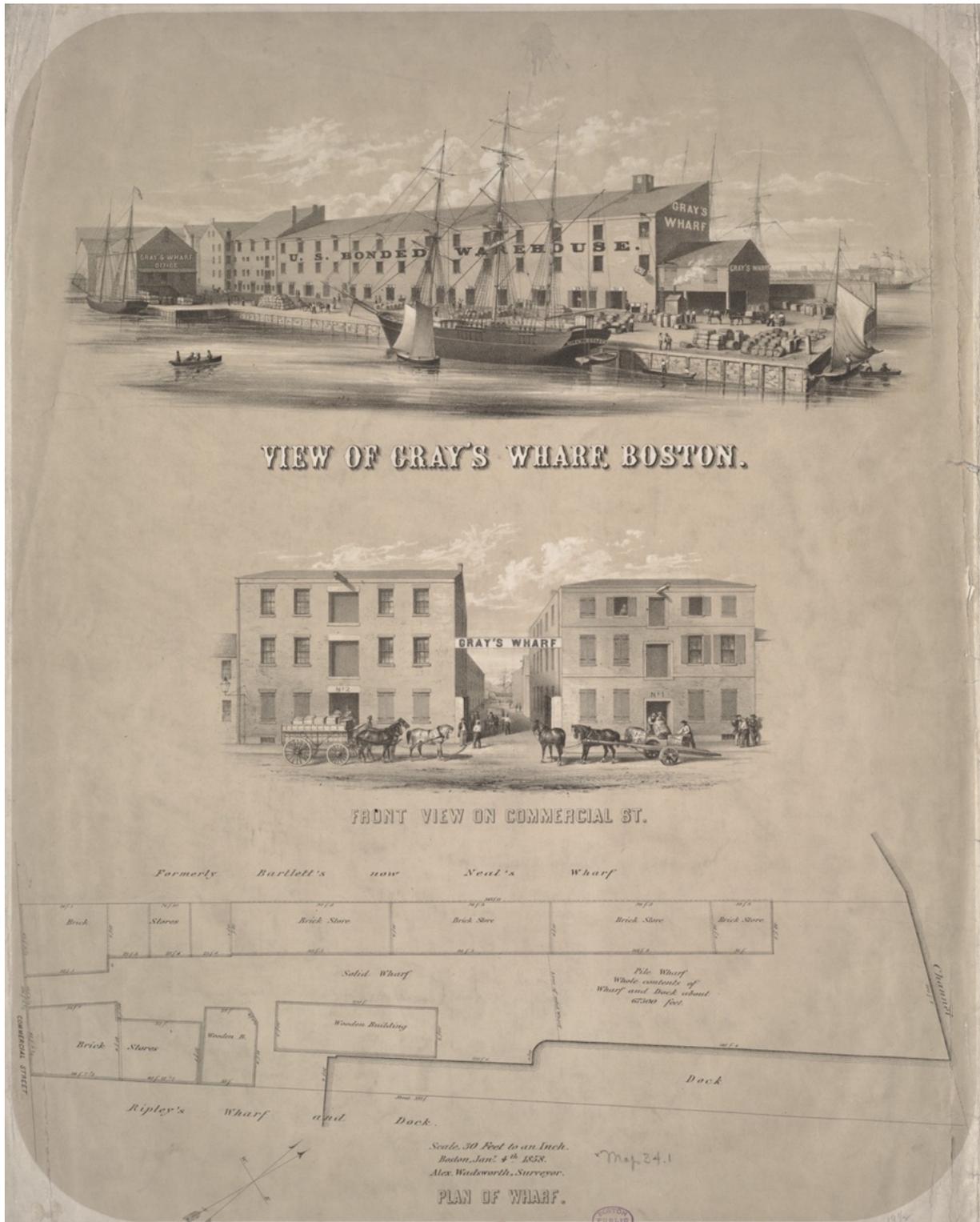


Figure 7.2: Gray's Wharf, Boston, 1858

## 7.2 Billy Gray & Cuba

Billy Gray was and remains best known for his impact on the China trade, but he also was involved with trade in the the Baltic and the West Indies, notably Cuba in the final years of the eighteenth century. Edward Gray in his biography of Billy tells the story of how during the “quasi-war” with France, Billy arranged for the arming of his one of his ships in Havana to convoy a fleet of American merchant ships home:

At the end of President Washington’s administration, the French Directory broke off all relations with our Government, and French privateersmen and frigates began to attack American commerce. Intercourse with France was suspended by Congress in 1798 ; the treaties with that country were declared at an end, American frigates were authorized to capture French vessels guilty of depredations on American commerce, and an American army was formed. Under these conditions, American shipping was in danger of being captured, and the American vessels which were at Havana came home from Cuba under convoy of one of Mr. Gray’s ships, armed on the spot, arriving at Salem September 11, 1798. [66]

At the time, the United States had no navy to speak of, but the idea of private armed vessels for protecting U.S. commerce grew into a means of bolstering the fledgeling U.S. Navy in two ways: One was an authorization for private interests to build at their own expense armed ships which could then be given to or leased to the government, an example being the Frigate *Essex* constructed by a committee led by Billy. The second was that such private armed ships could be licensed by the government to attack the shipping of belligerent powers, including merchant and government ships — which yielded the fleets of privateers or letters of marque sailing against the British in the war of 1812.

In the 1790s Billy expanded his commercial network to the Baltic, including Russian ports. [34] He played a key role in the development of the “Sugar Triangle,” the triangular trade in sugar among Cuba, Boston and New York, and Europe, especially Russia. Other commodities shipped included coffee and tobacco to Europe, and iron and hemp on the return. With time Billy incorporated his sons in the trade, and several of them and their progeny joined the family trade and branched out on their own. Like the Heards, the Grays had extensive dealings with the Baring Brothers Bank. As mentioned in Section 4.4, Joshua Bates had worked with Billy Gray prior to becoming a partner of Baring Brothers’ Bank. Bates was born in 1788 who became a merchant and a Banker, working for Billy Gray during his Boston years 1809-1825. He joined Barings Bank in 1828, serving as the “American partner” of the bank until 1864 and eventually becoming Senior Partner in London. He named his son William Rufus Gray Bates (1815-1834) after Billy Gray’s eldest son William Rufus Gray.

Billy Gray dabbled in the illegal opium trades, but was never as deeply involved as were Russell & Co. and Augustine Heard & Co, led by Heards and Forbes, in the early expansion of the the India - China opium trade by American companies prior to 1840. Billy Gray sent opium cargoes to Canton and and Thomas Perkins went to China as Gray's following the war of 1812.

## 7.3 Children of Billy Gray

Of Billy and Elizabeth's ten children, only the few with relevance to Amy Heard will be mentioned here. The rest can be found in Edward Gray's books and elsewhere. Connections between the Heard and Gray families, on the other hand, seem to be totally absent in the historical and genealogical literature.

### 7.3.1 William Rufus Gray

Their first child William was born on 23 June 1783 and died 27 July 1831. He graduated from Harvard in 1800. In 1802 he legally changed his name to William Rufus Gray, possibly to reflect the fact that *rufus* is Latin for "the red" and he and his father and other relatives had reddish hair and complexion, or possibly his sense of humor led him to rename himself after William Rufus or William II, King of England following his father William I (better known as William the Conqueror and earlier as "William the Bastard"). William Rufus Gray also took his turn being called "William Gray, Jr." He was a merchant. He married Mary Clay on 19 October 1807. As the elder son, William Rufus was born while the laws and customs of primogeniture were only beginning to fade in the United States, and his branch of Billy Gray's descendants remained the most prosperous for many generations. Billy was reputed, however, to have made good financial for all of his surviving children.

One of William Rufus Gray's children had interactions with the Heard family, and he also caused some historical confusion in the historical literature. His son Horace was born 19 June 1821 in Medford, Mass., and died in New York, N.Y., 18 July, 1901. This Horace Gray was a merchant and lived in New York for most of his life. He participated in the Cuban trade and owned a sugar plantation, *Arroya*, in Matanzas — a plantation owned previously by Amy's grandmother Amelia W. Coninck's brother Alexander Taylor. Horace appears in Cuban records as Horacio Gray. Horace was often referred to as Horace Gray, Jr., to distinguish him from his uncle Horace Gray, Billy Gray's youngest son Horace, who will be the subject of the next section. The disambiguation was not very effective as Billy's son Horace Gray (1800-1873) also had a son named Horace, also called Horace Gray, Jr., who was probably the most famous Horace Gray of them all as he became Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court and then an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. The two Horace Grays, Jr., were thus both grandsons of Billy Gray. William Rufus

Gray's son Horace Gray, Jr., had a greater impact on Amy's life than Horace Gray's son Horace, the judge. So in the sequel the former will be referred to as simply Horace Gray, Jr., and the latter as Judge Horace Gray.

### 7.3.2 Henry Gray

Billy & Elizabeth's second child and second son was Henry Gray, born 17 January 1784 and died in New York 1854. He was a merchant and lived in both Boston and New York. He plays only a small role in the story through his cooperation with his youngest brother Horace in trade with Cuba with ships they owned.

### 7.3.3 Lucia Gray

Billy and Elizabeth's daughter Lucia was born 20 December 1788 and died 15 May 1844. In 1807 in Salem she married Samuel Swett, who was born in Newburyport, Mass., in 1782 to Dr. John Barnard and Charlotte (Bourne) Swett. Samuel Swett was a remarkably accomplished and interesting individual. He graduated from Harvard in 1800, studied and practiced law in Salem from 1803 to 1810, when he and Lucia moved to Boston. He spent time as a Judge of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas for the Southern Circuit.<sup>3</sup> He served in the War of 1812, rising to the rank of Major and being known as "Colonel Swett" in later years. During his years as a lawyer he grew increasingly interested in mercantile affairs and also became a serious scholar and author with an interest in history, especially military history. He was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1813. As a merchant he spent over thirty years as a silent partner in his brother's firm, William B. Swett & Co. The public partners were William Bourne Swett and a third brother Tasker Hazard Swett.

Tasker named his son William Bourne Swett (1832-1888) Named after his uncle, this William Bourne Swett was sometimes referred to as William Bourne Swett, Jr., to distinguish the two. In 1858 William Bourne Swett, Jr., Susan Heard Winthrop (1837-1886), a first cousin of Augustine Heard, Jr., Amy's father. Both Susan and Gus were grandchildren of John Heard of Ipswich The junior Swetts were close friends of the Heard family and Amy called Susan Swett "Aunt Susan." So Lucia Gray's marriage to Samuel Swett combined with Samuel's nephew William Bourne Swett's marriage to Susan Heard Winthrop linked the descendants of John Heard and Billy Gray before Amy Heard was born.

Note that William B. Swett, Jr., married Susan Heard Winthrop in the same year that Augustine Heard, Jr., married Jane Leep De Coninck in Baltimore.

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<sup>3</sup>[Source: *History of the Judiciary of Massachusetts* By William Thomas Davis; Publ. 1900

### 7.3.4 Francis Calley Gray

William and Elizabeth's sixth child was Francis Calley Gray, born 19 September 1790. He graduated from Harvard in 1809 and received his LL.D. in 1856. He practiced law, but is primarily remembered as an art collector who brought engravings home from his travels to Europe and left a remarkable collection of 1795-1841 engravings and other works on paper to the Fogg Museum at Harvard. He served as John Quincy Adams' private secretary, a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives and Senate, president of the Boston Athenaeum, and was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His contributions to art can also be seen at in the statue of an Irish setter at the feet of his tomb at the Mount Auburn Cemetery.<sup>4</sup> He never married. An excellent biography of Francis Calley Gray with many family stories is Marjorie Cohn's book *Francis Calley Gray and art collecting for America* (1986). [39]

William and Elizabeth's eighth child John Chipman Gray was born 26 December 1793. He graduated from Harvard in 1811 and received his LL.D. there in 1856. He practiced law and like his brother Francis Calley, served as an officer of the Boston Athenaeum, and was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He married Elizabeth Pickering Gardner in Boston on 11 March 1799. John died in Boston 3/3/1881. John Chipman Gray served as an officer in the Union Army, eventually as Judge Advocate and a Major during Sherman's march through the South. His letters on the progress of the war to his law partner John Codman Ropes were published as a book. [67]

### 7.3.5 Horace Gray

William and Elizabeth's tenth and last child (the fifth son) was my great-grandfather Horace Gray, born 25 August 1800 in Medford, Massachusetts. He lived in Boston, where he died 30 July 1873. As the youngest child, Horace was somewhat overshadowed by his illustrious siblings and even by his own children in his accomplishments, fame, and finances. Billy Gray endowed all of his progeny with fortunes, but his youngest child Horace, like Lemuel Taylor, became insolvent and died with little remaining but his house on Summer Street in Boston, which he had inherited from his father. Nonetheless, Horace achieved both fame and notoriety during his life.

Edward Gray's book and my brother Steen's Gray Genealogy say almost nothing about Horace Gray's professional life, concentrating on his marriages and children. His public contributions as the principle founder of the Boston Public Garden and his horticultural and botanical efforts in Brighton are well known and constitute his primary legacy to greater Boston and to the positive side of his reputation and fame, although many articles mentioning him, he is little known in the 21st century. His contributions to public gardens,

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<sup>4</sup>[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francis\\_Calley\\_Gray#/media/File:Francis\\_Calley\\_Gray\\_2016\\_098.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francis_Calley_Gray#/media/File:Francis_Calley_Gray_2016_098.jpg)

landscaping design, botany, and horticulture, however, are there for the finding by Web searches, and articles continue to appear from historical associations and park websites, such as the Friends of the Public Garden.<sup>5</sup> Conversely, his professional career is hardly documented at all in comparison to the careers of his father, brothers, and his children. On occasion even his public garden work got tangled up in his involvement with water power, dams, and the creation of land from wetlands that was to end in his financial ruin. These are the focus of the next section.

## 7.4 Horace Gray I

Billy Gray's son Horace Gray was born on 25 August 1800. Edward Gray [66] tells us that he graduated from Harvard in 1819, A. M., and he was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was a merchant, and lived at Boston, where he died, July 30, 1873. Further details derive from other sources, including books and Web sites relating to the Boston Public Garden and his other similar pursuits, and several government reports and reports on legal trials relating to his business involvements.

Horace Gray began his professional career in his father's mercantile house and then worked as a commission merchant, dealing especially with the Baltic, French, and India trades [144]. Less well known — at least in Gray family legend and literature — is the fact that Horace along with his older brother Henry were also involved in the West Indies trade, specifically with Cuba.



Figure 7.3: Horace Gray in 1861

### 7.4.1 Horace Gray and Cuba

The story of the involvement in the Cuba trade of Horace (and other Grays) is told in *From Sugar Triangle to Cotton Triangle: Trade and shipping between America and Baltic Russia, 1783-1860* by Kalevi Ahonen (2005) [5] based on his PhD Dissertation. In the early 1820s, Boston's trade with Russia started to become concentrated on the Havana sugar business.

<sup>5</sup><https://friendsofthepublicgarden.org>

The activities of Nathan Bridge & Co. and John Douglas Bates give a representative picture of the organization, finance and competition between the Boston houses trading in the sugar triangle. Bates was a shareholder of Bridge & Co., and agent of the firm until the death of Nathan Bridge in 1830. After that Bates and his brother Edward carried on trading under the name of Bates & Co. They both travelled to St Petersburg via Cuba several times, John in the 1820s and Edward in the 1830s. Both Nathan Bridge and Bates were customers of Joshua Bates, who was the “American partner” of Barings of London from 1828 to 1864. Both firms collaborated in their sugar operations with Henry and Horace Gray, who owned vessels but did not always have the necessary capital to buy sugar in Cuba. Bridge and Bates could apparently obtain credit in London and St Petersburg. They were very close business associates of Brothers Cramer until the St Petersburg firm closed for business. After that the number of Bates & Co.’s sugar shipments fell significantly and the firm concentrated its operations on the Dutch markets. Henry and Horace Gray’s journals and ledgers from the 1830s and part of the 1840s, mentioned above, give a good picture of the financing arrangements of sugar purchases, and of the way a large part of the Russian produce the firm had purchased was marketed in different parts of New England. Horace Gray & Co. itself used hemp for the production of cordage by its own Mill Dam Company. Amongst others the Boston Manufacturing Company, Boston Iron Company, Plymouth Cordage Company and local shipbuilders bought raw hemp. Grays’ also had several regular customers in New York, Baltimore, Savannah and Charleston. Russian manufactures were also taken to Cuba in significant quantities in payment for sugar and coffee. The Gray brothers traded with several houses in St Petersburg, most often with Brothers Cramer and Thomson, Bonar & Co.

Many other Billy Gray descendants were also involved with Cuba. Billy Gray’s brother Samuel’s two sons Samuel C. Gray and Francis A. Gray “were other merchants sailing the sugar triangle and active in the Boston-St. Petersburg axis” in the 1840s [5]. William Rufus’ son Horace Gray, Jr. was involved in Cuban trade and also owned a sugar plantation in Matanzas that had been previously owned by Alexander Taylor. The name Horace Gray in Cuban mercantile history can cause confusion because both Billy’s son Horace and William Rufus Gray’s son Horace formed companies named “Horace Gray & Co.” The dates usually disambiguate the Horaces.

#### **7.4.2 Boston Public Garden**

Horace Gray’s primary fame was as the “Father of the Boston Public Garden.” The Brighton Allston Historical Society Website <http://www.bahistory.org/> has a wonder-

ful treatment of Gray's contributions to the Public Gardens and his related contributions as a horticulturist in Brighton at his 100 acre estate on Nonantum Hill, including the largest grape houses in the country.<sup>6</sup>



The information at the Website is derived from articles written by Allston-Brighton historian Dr. William P. Marchione which appeared in the *Allston-Brighton Tab* or *Boston Tab* newspapers in the period from July 1998 to late 2001, which in turn supplement information from Marchione's books *The Bull in the Garden* (1986) and *Images of America: Allston-Brighton* (1996). Here I accept their invitation to make use of their prose provided proper attribution is given.

Horace Gray, the father of the Boston Public Garden, is a somewhat shadowy figure who deserves to be better known. A man of great vision and high public spirit, he was the prime mover and chief financial prop of the early effort to transform the swamp like western fringe of the Boston Common into the park that we today know as the Boston Public Garden.

⋮

Horace Gray received an excellent education under private tutors, earning an M.A. from Harvard in 1819. He then entered his father's mercantile house. Upon the elder Gray's death in 1825, Horace came into possession of the family's Summer Street mansion, which remained his home for the rest of his life.

It is not true that Horace lived at the Summer Street House at the end of his life, as will be detailed later.

Family legend (consistent with the Brighton Allston History Website) has it that Horace imported the first tulips into the United States at the cost of \$1,500.

On the financial side of his life, however, he had a disastrous career leading to his ruin and the loss of almost everything but his Summer Street Boston home. The Brighton-Allston Historical Website says only that

<sup>6</sup><http://www.bahistory.org/HoraceGray.html>

Horace Gray's horticultural ventures, both at the Public Garden and in Brighton ended abruptly in the 1847-48 period when he lost the bulk of his fortune as a result of faulty investments. Compounding his problems was the destruction by fire a short time later of the Public Garden's beautiful conservatory.

Fortunately, Gray salvaged enough of his fortune to retain ownership of his Summer Street mansion with its splendid garden. Here the great horticulturist lived out the last quarter century of his life in gentlemanly retirement.

What were these "faulty investments"? How did a financially well-endowed child of Billy Gray manage to lose a fortune? There is no good single source for an explanation. I vaguely recall another family legend, which unlike the tulip story has no verification in the published record. But it does have some correlation with actual events so in hindsight I can see how the legend developed.

### Family Legend

I dimly recall a story (from over a half century ago, probably told by a cousin) that said that Horace Gray had invested heavily in a company producing power from the tidal movement of water and that this involved the leasing and buying of significant quantities of swampland at the edges of the Boston harbor, a natural estuary and harbor of Massachusetts Bay. The company eventually went broke, and in the debacle that followed the land and leases were sold dirt cheap (pun intended) in order to satisfy the debtors, and many of the investors, including Horace, were ruined. The land so sold was then filled in and developed as residential real estate, resulting in huge profits for the new owners. It was Back Bay. Hence, the family legend ran, if Horace had only been savvy enough to hold out for what the land or land-to-be, all of us descendants would be rich.

Unsurprisingly, this legend is not true. But the truth does have some aspects that can easily be interpreted (or misinterpreted) in a manner resembling the myth. It is consistent with the Brighton Alston Historical Society's story of bad investments, but there is no mention there of the water power and land creation parts.

A lot of Web searching with various key words finally led me to the source book that I needed to learn the basics and continue my search — *Gaining Ground: A History of Landmaking in Boston*, by Dr. Nancy Seasholes (2003) [125] The book is large and beautifully illustrated, and it is a marvelously informative and authoritative, treatment of its subject. Its discussion of the Boston Water Power (BWP) Company and its participation in the creation of land from the marshes of swamp combined with a few email exchanges with Dr. Seasholes in 2007 led me to a better understanding of the story of Horace Gray's fall from financial grace along with a search ideas for tracking down more details specific to Gray's part in the story. While some mysteries remain, I will attempt to summarize the complicated story. As a tip for other amateur historians, I was impressed by how searches

on the title of Seashole's book led me to several recent historical articles that provided tidbits on Horace or his companies and lawsuits.

Horace deserves a proper biography, but this work in progress does not have room for a careful treatment. Instead, as with Lemuel Taylor, I will attempt to piece together what I have found into a coherent descriptive survey of the Horace Gray, the father of Amy's eventual husband and a grandparent of my father along with Jane L. Heard, Augustine Heard Jr. and Sarah Russel Gardner Gray.

### 7.4.3 Tidal Water Power

Following Jefferson's Embargo and the subsequent War of 1812, much of the New England economy was devastated, although some like Billy Gray had made fortunes from the wars with their privateers and foreign trade of sometimes dubious legality. Boston's international maritime commerce had been badly damaged, and rising competition from New York, Philadelphia, and other ports made it unlikely Boston would ever recover its former commercial dominance. Recovering the New England economy from its losses meant increasing industrialization, which required finding sources of power to drive the machines. Boston was limited in its lack of energy resources to drive the machines increasingly used by industries, it lacked roaring rivers and water falls able to drive massive water wheels able to drive machines for milling grain, cloth, lumber, and foundries. And steam power and electric power still lay in the future

Tidal water power had been used since the seventeenth century, but it was unreliable, intermittent, and not stable enough for efficient and large production. Power generation and delivery tended to follow the tidal schedule, which was not regular in that tides are effectively scheduled by the moon and not the sun, the rise and fall occur at differing times each day, and between tides there was too little flow to produce power. Small industries like mills could operate on a few hours of power a day, but the envisioned major industrialization envisioned by the state and its industrial leaders could not be accomplished without major technical and business changes.

A visionary project for providing "perpetual power" from tidal sources was developed in 1813 and initiated in 1814 by Uriah Cotting and his associates, who collectively were known as the Broad Street Association (founded in 1804). Cotting et al. had been undergoing extensive waterfront development.<sup>7</sup> At the time Boston was essentially a blob of land bordered on the East by Boston Harbor and on the left by swamps and marshes and the Charles River with only a thin causeway linking it to the mainland in the South. Cottings's group proposed a "perpetual power" system based on tidal water flow which could

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<sup>7</sup>See [125] and also "Perpetual power" by Robert Gordon and Patrick Malone, published online by SpringerNature, [64] and *MHC Reconnaissance Survey Town Report BOSTON*, 1981, and the Brighton and Allston Historical Society Article "Building The Mill Dam" at <http://www.bahistory.org/HistoryMillDam.html>.

provide stable, continuous water power which in turn would provide the power for an envisioned large manufacturing center. The idea was fairly simple, but unfortunately the implementation proved difficult and required significant technology development, and the side effects of the project coupled with other events proved to yield environmental nightmares. In addition, it proved far more costly than envisioned.

The idea was to build a “Great Dam” which would run from the East at the water’s edge at the corner of Charles Street and Beacon Street (up until Beacon Street ended at Charles Street) to Sewall’s Point (now Kenmore Square, where Beacon Street and Commonwealth Avenue meet) on the west end. This dam, originally called the Boston & Roxbury Mill Dam and later simply the Mill Dam, separated the Charles River from a marshy tidal basin to its South. A second and much shorter cross dam ran from the Great Dam to Gravelly Point to the South of the Great Dam. Baravelly point was the tip of a peninsula then in Roxbury, not yet part of the City of Boston, which is now roughly the intersection of Massachusetts Avenue and Commonwealth Avenue. This short dam cut the tidal basin into two smaller basins: an upriver “Full Basin” to the west and a downriver “Receiving Basin” to the east.

Whenever the water in the Charles was higher than that in the Full Basin, one-way sluices let water run from the river into the Full Basin, but the water from the river could not enter directly the Receiving Basin because of one-way floodgates in the opposite direction. Water could only enter the Receiving Basin via the Full Basin by traveling through sluice ways cut through Gravelly Point, and this steady flow of water powered the mills and factories and then flowed into the Receiving Basin and then out of the floodgates into the river. The overall behavior was that Full Basin was kept near the high tide level of the river and the Receiving Basin near the low tide level, and the water flow through Gravelly Point from the Full Basin to the Receiving Basin was stable.

Such was the general plan presented by Cotting and his associates in 1814 to the Massachusetts General Court Assembled, which was a joint meeting of the state legislature: the Senate and the House of Representatives.

#### **7.4.4 1814: Boston & Roxbury Mill Corporation**

In 1814 Cotting, Isaac P. Davis, and 144 others petitioned the Massachusetts General Court for incorporation as the Boston & Roxbury Mill Corporation for the purpose of building a dam across Charles River to enclose 480 acres of tidal flats composed mostly of swamplands and shallow bays to create water power for mills. The legislature approved the incorporation in June 1814. A few residents realized and verbalized concerns about potential damage to the community caused by the creation of large basins of mostly stagnant water, especially given the communities’ tendencies to dump their unfiltered sewage into the existing marshes, which would be aggravated by new industrial waste. The fears of “noxious gases” (then blamed for many illnesses) and foul smells of rotting garbage were eventually justified.

When the B&RM Co was authorized by the City of Boston and the State to begin work, it began creation of the Mill Dam, but major engineering and organizational feats were required, and the dam was not completed until 1821. Cotting did not live to see it. Toll roadways were added on the top of the dams, which provided an extra transportation benefit of connections to Roxbury and Brighton. The roadway on the Great Dam was originally called Western Avenue, but it was basically an extension of Beacon Street and renamed accordingly. The system provided its first power to the first factories on Gravelly Point that same year. The Great Dam and the cross dam to Gravelly Point seem to be collectively referred to in the press, reports, and books as simply the Mill Dam or Milldam, and the factories were often referred to as being “on the Mill Dam.”

Among the first industries to occupy the Mill Dam were several rope walks — long buildings for the manufacture of rope, usually made from American or Russian Hemp, where a man would walk backwards using a small machine to weave the rope. Billy Gray had owned several, rope walks and his sons owned at least two on the Mill Dam. Another of the original manufacturing facilities on the Mill Dam was the Boston Iron Company, which brings us back to Horace Gray — the founder and primary stockholder of the Boston Iron Company.

#### 7.4.5 Boston Iron Company

How did it come to pass that Horace Gray had an iron works company which was one of the first companies installed and operational on the Mill Dam? He must have been involved earlier with the Boston Mill Dam project and with its creator and builder, the B&RM Co.

The early stages of Horace Gray’s business career following his college graduation are described along with another vague description of his eventual ruin in *Aristocracy of Boston; Who They Are, and What They Were: Being a History of the Business and Business Men of Boston* by “One who Knows Them,” Thomas L.V. Wilson (1848) [144]. The book was published the year following the financial collapse of Horace Gray and his network of companies, so the author viewed both his rise and fall. So the quote from that book provides brackets to be filled in with what details can be found.

Wilson [144] says of Horace Gray:

On coming of age, he went freely into business — the Baltic, French, and India trades; afterwards into the iron works on the Mill Dam. From this he extended in the iron business; and at the time of his late failure, his house was concerned the most deeply in the iron manufacture of any establishment in New England. They owned the iron works at Pembroke, Me., . . . an establishment in South Boston; one in Clinton Co., NY; and yet another at Saugerties, N.Y.

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It is ascertained, that the debts against Horace Gray & Co. exceed a million, falling heavily on the iron works and coal dealers in different parts of the country. It is feared, from the *heavy* nature of the property, and the sacrifices that must be made in the sale of it, that the dividend will be small.

Horace Gray's iron companies were said to collectively be responsible for 10% of the U.S. iron production at the time of their collective insolvency. In addition to the locations mentioned above, Horace or his company Horace Gray & Company either owned, partially owned, or leased the Port Henry Iron Company in Port Henry New York, the Ulster Iron Works (leased from Henry Barkley), and iron works in New Jersey and Maine. According to testimony in the 1847 case of Roger Herring vs. Boston Iron Company, in 1846 and others were in the process of creating a new company, the Massachusetts Iron Company, in South Boston. In 1846 Gray was the "treasurer and principal stockholder" in the Boston Iron Company, but this case evolved around whether the financial arrangements for the new company construction and purchases had been made by Horace Gray as an individual or by the Boston Iron Company corporation. But the first and de facto model for many of the others was the Boston Iron Company on the Mill Dam.

On 13 June 1822 the Senate and House of Representatives approved the incorporation of the Boston Iron Company by Horace Gray, David Moody, and Samuel Dow, Junior, and their associates. The act said that the purpose of the company was rolling, cutting, and otherwise working iron in Boston in Suffolk County and in Roxbury in Norfolk County. The next day, on 14 June 1822, Horace Gray received a 100 year lease from the Boston & Roxbury Mill Corporation, recorded in the Registry of Norfolk, book 64, p. 218. The lease and other historical events in the history of B&RM are described in the May 1852 final report to the Governor of Massachusetts and the Massachusetts Senate by the Commissioners on Boston Harbor and Back Bay appointed to study the Boston Harbor and Back Bay development. The report recounted the history of the dams, ownership, progress, and future of the project. It also includes copies of relevant earlier documents, including the original 14 June 1814 charter of the Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation, which detailed the goals and the initial plans and steps of the project. Roxbury was then part of Norfolk County. The history is also recounted in legal detail with the benefit of hindsight in the March Term 1843 Summary of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court of the case of *The Boston Water Power Company vs. Horace Gray*.

Horace Gray also had a ropewalk on the Mill Dam, which used rope weaving or spinning machines patented by Daniel Treadwell — who was a well known inventor at the time who was also granted a lease by B&RM Co in an adjacent building and in synchrony with Gray's lease. Treadwell worked for the Boston Iron Works for several years, but did not look back on that part of his career fondly in his memoirs.

Other similar leases were issued and they carried certain rights and restrictions, including the right to access to almost unlimited amounts of water power provided the lessee did not negatively affect the amount available to other lessees, in particular by overuse of water or by causing obstructions in the water flow which limited the access of others. This reasonable constraint would require major technical innovation in developing techniques to accurately measure the amount of water power delivered to customers, and it would also lead to suits against Horace Gray and the Boston Iron Company breaking his covenant with B&RM.

The Boston Iron Company should not be confused with the East Boston Iron Company (chartered in 1847), the South Boston Iron Company (chartered in 1827), and the West Boston Iron Company (chartered in 1848).

According to [144], the Boston Iron Company was owned jointly by Frances C. Gray, Horace Gray & Co., and the estate of Paul Moody. Horace Gray & Co. often crops up as owner of iron companies founded by Horace Gray, although usually it is the individual Horace Gray who is the primary stockholder and officer of the company, but the company then leases its facilities and operation to Horace Gray & Co., a company which well hid itself behind the scenes and seems to show itself only in advertisements and court cases.

#### 7.4.6 Horace Gray & Co

The firm of Horace Gray & Co does not appear in the written documents I have found of the 1820s. But it does appear around the time of Horace Gray's insolvency, including in histories provided in court cases at the later time. Looking backward from the future adds some insight to the company. A key observation is made in *Conro v. Port Henry Iron Co.*, 12 Barb. 27, N.Y. Supreme Court (1851), one of Horace's court cases following his insolvency. Later a few more details will be provided, but a key quote from the trial summary is

The firm of Horace Gray & Co. was merely nominal, Gray alone being the person upon whose responsibility the firm rested. Nathaniel Francis, the partner, put in no capital, but his services only as book-keeper.

During the 1830s through the mid-1840s, advertisements for the company appeared in the Boston press and directories. For example, in the 1834 and 1836 issues of the *Boston Annual Advertiser* has the entries

Boston Iron Company, 8 Commercial wharf

Boston Hemp Manufacturing Company, 7 Commercial wharf

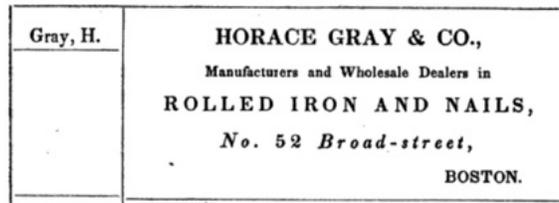
The 1844 issue of *The Boston Almanac* includes a listing for Horace Gray & Co. Boston Iron Co

52 Broad and *The Boston Almanac* for the year 1847 includes the same listing except the order of the two companies is reversed: Boston Iron Co. Horace Gray & Co.

52 Broad

which interestingly showed iron products being produced by Horace Gray & Co. instead of the entangled company of Boston Iron Company.

The 1845 issue of *Sheldon & Co.'s Business Or Advertising Directory* has the advertisement



#### 7.4.7 1824: Boston Water Power Co.

In 1824, the Boston & Roxbury Mill Corporation decided to split off the portion purely concerned with the generation and sale of water power without regard to products to a new company, the Boston Water Power Co. Two relevant events are reported in the historical Organizational Timeline of the Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation.<sup>8</sup>

1824

BRMC stockholders organize Boston Water Power Co. (BWPC) to handle water-power issues, while BRMC controls property and road issues. Stockholders hold equal numbers of shares in each corporation.

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1832

BRMC and BWPC officially divide their collective property between them, with BWPC gaining mill franchises, water-power privileges, and all flats lying south of the Mill Dam, and BRMC retaining roadways and flats north of the dam. In the context of generating water power, the deal seemed to continue the relative equality of the the two companies. But looking to the future, the B&RMC got the better deal because the land that would be made within their territory would be significantly more desirable.

The first item is the more important for the moment, but the second item will play a role years later.

The Massachusetts Senate and House of Representatives passed an act to the effect

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<sup>8</sup><https://www.masshist.org/collection-guides/view/fa0342>

That Thomas Bartlett, Horace Gray and Nathan Parker, with their associates, successors and assigns, be, and they hereby are incorporated under the name of the Boston Water Power Company.

Horace Gray was an incorporator of the Boston Water Power Co. and involved with it from its beginning. Furthermore, since the BWP Co was organized by stockholders of B&RMC, Horace must have been actively involved in the older organization as well.

#### **7.4.8 Every Silver Lining has a Cloud**

By the mid 1920s, things to seem to looking promising for Horace Gray's water power and iron businesses, he was in on the ground floor of new iron works and on the production and sale of the water power used to the run them, and the new water system had been touted as the means towards an industrialization of the Boston and Roxbury region bordering the dam, and the growing population and growth of industry promised a financially successful future. Horace had already begun building or buying or leasing and upgrading existing ironworks and associating mining operations in New England and elsewhere.

But ominous signs were also growing. The Mill Dam operation had not been the financial success promised by its founders, its costs had been high and the expected industrial growth was disappointing. The industrial pollution was increasing as many had feared, and it was aggravated when in the mid 1830s two railroad lines were built into Boston running over new causeways through the Receiving Basin. These badly limited water circulation and added to the pollution, and the foul smells and health dangers were visibly growing. Many citizens were questioning the need to have mills and factories within the city, and more people were becoming aware of the growing priority for new housing for the growing population. Boston was already engaging in many small landfill projects for creating new lands for a variety of uses, and the lands of the Mill Dam project might be better used for making new land than for providing water power for industry. Lastly, costs for steam powered machines were coming down.

There was yet another problem, Horace Gray began to launch legal battles against the corporations he had helped create and from which his rights to water power for his iron works and his share of the property acquired in the creation of the water power system derived. Those rights had been spelled out in detail in 1836 in contracts made between the Boston Water Power Company and the Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation on one side and Horace Gray and the Boston Iron Company on the other. The agreements specified how the power delivered would be measured and the quantities that were Gray's right. By the early 1840s Gray was unhappy with his allotments and believed he was not receiving his promised quantity, and he began preparations to sue the Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation for breaches of covenant. Being aware of the legal actions being prepared

against them, the Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation and the Boston Water Power launched their own suit to clarify the issues before Gray's suits had been filed.<sup>9</sup> The case, which was involved and highly technical, was sent to arbitration by a court-appointed committee. The final results were something of a draw, with Gray being allowed his original rights, but allowing the lessors the right to reduce them and to remove waste from the Boston Iron Company deemed to be blocking the Receiving Basin. But I believe that the relationships between Horace Gray and the Boston Iron company on one hand and the Boston Water Power Company and the Boston & Roxbury Mill had been soured by the case.

These negative influences would grow during the 1830s through the 1840s and finally become dominant in the 1851, when the decision would be made by the cities involved and the state to kill the Mill Dam project and the dependent industries and no longer devote the land owned by the parties involved to water power generation, but instead to properly fill tidal basins and develop the newly made land for residential housing that would become the Back Bay area.

Because the project failed financially and environmentally and in public opinion, almost every writer on the subject has summarized the entire project as an absolute failure. A notable exception, with whom I strongly agree, is Gordon and Malone's 2019 article on "Perpetual Power" [64]. No paraphrase I attempt can better their wording, so I quote:

Although the total power from the basins and the return on capital investment proved to be less than the promoters anticipated, the project was not the failure it has often been called . . . . Effective management assured modest but steady income for stockholders.

The tidal power provided by the dams and basins of the Back Bay enabled entrepreneurs to supply the city with essential services that included milling and iron fabrication. Inventors had workshop space and a power source to create new, start-up industries. Innovative products, technologies, and business practices spread nationwide from here and had lasting impact. By the 1850s, however, more efficient steam engines and cheaper prices for coal delivered to Boston had reduced the demand for tidal power. Complaints about nuisances caused by the tidal basins were still a problem, and a growing city needed room for expansion. Rising land values made real estate development look much more attractive than continuing operation of an aging power system, one that had solved an urgent problem for Boston in 1822 but was no longer economically viable. Now, after nearly forty years of service, the system offered another opportunity for creativity. Filling the basins called for

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<sup>9</sup>This reminds me of a cartoon I fondly remember by Reg Cap called *Andy Capp*, wherein the title character is questioned by a policeman as to why he had attacked another man replied "I thought he was going to hit me so I hit him back first."

earthmoving on the scale never before attempted in the U.S. The novel process for accomplishing this was the perpetual power system's final contribution to technological innovation.

While this largely concludes the story of water power and the Mill Dam Project and its beginning to morph into land creation, the loose ends remain of fitting Horace Gray into the panorama. There are three parts to this final story: Revisiting the place of the Public Garden in the overall story, the financial ruin of Horace Gray in 1847 prior to the shutting down of Mill Dam water power project, and the aftermath, including hindsight revealed in the many suits.

### 7.4.9 Public Garden Redux

In 1837 when Horace Gray and his associates were authorized to form a corporation to develop a public garden at the base of the Boston Commons, the land allotted them fell on the edge of the tidal basin created in 1822, so that some of the land in question was not solid land, but marsh. Hence part of the initial part of the project was to make land out of the marsh. The Public Garden was not a part of Back Bay, but it was on the edge and began its own land making project many years before the 1851 beginning of the Back Bay land making project. By 1837 Gray was deeply mired in the world of water power for industry and the iron industry in particular, but I suspect he also appreciated that the future lay in creating land for other uses, as he was doing for the Public Garden.

### 7.4.10 The Fall

About the 22d of November 1847, Horace Gray and Horace Gray & Co became insolvent and proceedings were instituted against them by their creditors. A few of these cases are listed along with a few comments.

On 2 December 1847, *The Eastern Mail* of Waterville, Maine (Vol. 01, No. 19) reported that

Messrs. Horace Gray & Co., of Boston, one of the largest iron firms in the country, unexpectedly failed last week under the pressure of liabilities amounting to half a million of dollars.

A few articles in other papers appeared painting a rosier picture and saying that Gray was finding other funding sources and would soon be meeting payrolls and paying off debts, but these ceased quickly.

Gray soon thereafter lost his Brighton house, as is told in the story of William C. Strong in the book *Historical Brighton* by J.P.C. Winship (1899),<sup>10</sup> p. 181:

<sup>10</sup>J.P.C. Winship, *Historical Brighton: An Illustrated History of Brighton and its Citizens*, Vol. 1, George A. Warren, Publisher, Boston, 1899

When a young man Mr. Strong was a student in the law-office of Daniel Webster at the time of the controversy in to Horace Gray's ninety-nine years' lease o the Mill-dam WaterPower. Mr. Webster sent Mr. Strong frequently to Mr. Gray's residence on Nonantum Hill. He was so charmed with the estate and especially with the graperies that in the following year, 1848, when the estate was sold at auction he became the purchaser. The size of the estate, over one hundred acres, and the magnitude of the graperies, capable of producing yearly over five tons of Muscat, Hamburg and other choice varieties of grapes, became at once such an interest and such a burden that he gave up the profession of law and devoted himself to horticultural interests. For many years, it is presumed, his crop of grapes was much the largest of any one producer in the country, the product averaging from one to three dollars per pound. This was before Caliornia grapes were known.

This extract reinforces 1847 as the date of Horace's ruin and the auction of his Brighton mansion and gardens soon thereafter, as well as adding to the description of the property.

#### **7.4.11 Conro v. The Port Henry Iron Company**

The following story is extracted from *History of Port Henry, N.Y.*, by Charles B. Warner and Eleanor Hall, published by the Tuttle Company of Rutland, Vermont, Chapter III. I find it very similar to several of the suits brought against Horace Gray involving his iron companies. Another source is *Conro v. Port Henry Iron Co.*, 12 Barb. 27 (N.Y. Sup. Ct. 1851).

One of Horace Gray's major iron mills and financial black holes was Port Henry, NY, a town earlier called Moriah located in Essex County, New York. The mining of iron ore began in the area in the early nineteenth century, with the first blast furnace being built in Port Henry around 1822, and the furnace used locally mined ore as well as ore from Vermont. The furnace was a small one, turning out fifteen to twenty tons weekly. About 1838 the property was purchased by Horace Gray of Boston, who formed the Port Henry Iron Company in 1840 and either leased at a nominal rental or bought the nearby Cheever ore bed. Gray added a second blast furnace in 1847, which was reported as being one of the best in the country at the time. The Port Henry Iron Company turned out large castings and heavy pipes, with a major market being the railroads. He was one one of the promoters of the New York and New Haven Railroad, and one of his projects in 1847 was the construction of a railroad along the west side of Lake Champlain. But Horace Gray's businesses failed in 1847, and the operations were suspended until purchased by others and rebuilt.

When Horace Gray was ruined, the Port Henry Iron Company befell a similar fate and was soon sued by its creditors. The case went to the Supreme Court of the State of New

York and was published in Vol. XII of *Cases in Law and Equity in the Supreme Court of the State of New York*, by Oliver L. Barbour, Banks & Brothers, Law Publishers., Albany, New York, 1879. The abbreviated title is *Conro v. Port Henry Iron Co.* The plaintiffs were the President, Directors and Company of the Bank of Vergennes and others. The defendants were the Port Henry Iron Company, Horace Gray, Nathaniel Francis, and several others associated with Horace Gray. The summary of the case observed that Horace Gray & Co was just Horace Gray and his clerk, Nathaniel Francis, and that Horace Gray was President and chief stockholder of the Port Henry Iron Company and that the problems (mainly the debt) arose because the company had leased all of its property to the president (Gray) who then made bad business decisions, including further leases and speculation of the corporation funds, without the consent of the other stockholders. Gray paid one dollar a year as rent, but assumed responsibility for all costs, maintenance, and improvements on the company and hence took on liability for its debts. The lack of consent of the stockholders made the lease illegal under New York law, but it hardly mattered because Gray continued to acquire the stock of the original incorporators, who were also the directors of the corporation, until by 1847 he owned 6/7 of the total stock of the corporation.

An excerpt of the case summary reads

The funds for carrying on the business of the company, were from the commencement, derived from accommodation drafts drawn by the agent or manager at Port Henry, on Horace Gray & Co. of Boston, and discounted at the Bank of Vergennes. The firm of Horace Gray & Co. was merely nominal, Gray alone being the person upon whose responsibility the firm rested. Nathaniel Francis, the partner, put in no capital, but his services only as book-keeper.

The amounts of the discounts or withdrawals from the Bank of Vergennes was over \$100,000 for the final years of the company and \$30,000 – \$80,000 a year earlier. The bank held Horace Gray in person or Horace Gray & Co responsible for these funds.

To make matters worse, during 1845 to 1847 Gray significantly improved the buildings and fixtures upon the real estate owned by the corporation, and for its benefit. He built a new furnace, several new dwelling houses, a dock, and many other buildings. By this time there were almost no stockholders left, other than Gray. By late 1847 Gray's personal responsibility to his workers, employers, and bank clearly exceeded the value of the properties of the corporation. Attempts were made by the creditors to receive payments, and many checks were drawn on Gray's accounts for that purpose, but the checks were not honored. The details of the many demands were complicated and there was confusion about separate responsibilities of the Fort Henry Iron Company, Horace Gray, and Horace Gray & Co., but the court determined that these were all the same.

About the 22nd of November, 1847, Horace Gray and Horace Gray & Co. became insolvent, and proceedings were instituted against them on behalf of their creditors in Massachusetts. On the 7th of December, 1847, all of the estate real and personal with a

few exemptions was vested with trustees for the benefits of the creditors. This included the assets of Horace Gray at Port Henry. All of the pig iron production was similarly assigned to creditors.

The property of Horace Gray and of Horace Gray & Co. would not prove sufficient to satisfy and discharge all their creditors at large. The property of Nathaniel Francis was small and would not supply the deficiency.

It has already been seen that Horace Gray was the owner of about six-sevenths of the stock of the Port Henry Iron Company at the time the debts in question were contracted, and that he controlled all its operations from the beginning, and was its president.

The plaintiffs are also entitled to their costs. These costs in equity should be paid by Horace Gray, by whose acts, omissions or misfortunes, the present controversy has been occasioned. None of the assignees are shown to be guilty of any wrong except the technical wrong of accepting an assignment, which amounted to a breach of trust in the assignor.

#### **7.4.12 Melledge v. The Boston Iron Company**

This case in Suffolk Massachusetts and again revealed the faulty structure of Gray's businesses. It involved the sale of coal which was delivered but not paid for because of confusion of the nature of the the Boston Iron Company with respect to Horace Gray & Co.

It appeared in evidence, that the defendants were duly organized and engaged in the business of manufacturing iron, employing workmen for that purpose, and buying and selling iron, and transacting other business, incidental thereto, at the Mill-dam, in Boston ; that for several years prior to May, 1847 , the persons constituting the Boston Iron company had been reduced to a small number, of whom Horace Gray was the largest proprietor; that they had no meetings for business, except their annual meetings ; that their whole business, for some years, had been conducted, in fact, by Horace Gray and company as agents, though it did not appear that there was any vote on their books appointing them as their agents, or appointing any agents, or defining or limiting the powers of agents, except votes giving Horace Gray and company general authority to sign and indorse notes for payment of money in behalf of the defendants; that the house of Horace Gray and company was a mercantile firm, consisting of Horace Gray and Nathaniel Francis, engaged in business in Boston, and having the care and agency of many other companies and works for the manufacture of iron, having distinct names, of which Horace Gray was the sole or principal proprietor

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and that after the notes declared on were given and before they became due, Horace Gray and company failed, and went into insolvency, and were, in fact, insolvent.

The plaintiff introduced witnesses, who testified, that they had had dealings with the Boston Iron company, and with Horace Gray and company, and supposed them to be one and the same concern; that they had made and sent bills to the Boston Iron company, and to the Massachusetts Iron company, and had received in payment there of, especially of the latter, the notes of Horace Gray and company ; that the Boston Iron company had paid the wages of persons engaged in the works at South Boston ; and that the title to the land and water-power in the occupation and use of the Boston Iron company was in Horace Gray's name.

The arguments were long and technical, but as in the other cases mentioned, the Byzantine structure of Horace Gray's businesses financial confusion and abuse. Because of the number of companies and the size of the debt, Gray's failure to meet financial obligations spread almost instantaneously to his entire network of companies.

### **The Failure of the Mill Dam Project**

The 1847 failure of the Boston Iron Factory, and of its neighbor the Boston Hemp Company, also run by Horace Gray & Company, certainly contributed to the failure of the dream of industrialization of Boston based on perpetual water power, but the real killer was the foul state of the tidal basins. In 1849 the Boston Health Department declared a public health crisis and demanded the now massive pool of foul smelling stagnant be filled in. The decision was made final by 1851, and in 1858 the serious filling of Back Bay began at the edge of the the made land of the Public Garden. The defunct Mill Dam provided the retaining structure for the fill. Railroad spurs were continually revised to facilitate dumping further and further outward over the mudflats in the directive of the Mill Dam. Four separate areas of Back Bay were simultaneously filled to speed up the process, while progressing from east to west toward the cross dam. The owners of the tidal flats sold the land to developers as they were filled and houses began to sprout. Some made enormous amounts of money, including the City of Boston and the stockholders of the Boston & Roxbury Mill Corporation. But the Boston Water Power Company got little of land sales funds, especially because the lands they owned were far less desirable. Horace Gray, of course, got nothing. He had already lost the bulk of his fortune. But his role in creating the Public Garden would be remembered fondly, at least by a few. His original plan did not endure, but he built sufficient momentum to attract strong public support, and its status as a park was made permanent and stable funding found.

### 7.4.13 The Tide Turns

The historical Organizational Timeline of the Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation reports that in 1848 B&RMC builds five houses on Western Ave. (formerly Mill Dam Rd. and later Beacon St.), The next year the Health Department would close down the Mill Dam water power project and demand that the entire tidal basin be filled in.

### 7.4.14 Personal

A few of the personal details of Horace's life can be found in various biographies in books and online. I have amplified on these based on notes my cousin Horace<sup>11</sup> gave me, which were copied from notes made by his father Horace Gray.

On 29 May 1827 Horace Gray married Harriet Upham of Brookfield, Massachusetts. Their eldest child, Horace Gray, Jr., was born on 24 March 1828 in Boston. Horace Jr. became a famous jurist, serving as the Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court and then as an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. The fame of Horace Gray Jr. far exceeded that of his father, as a simple online search of the name "Horace Gray" amply demonstrates.

After the birth of Horace Jr., the family moved to Florence Italy, their elder daughter Elizabeth Chipman Gray (my father's Aunt Bess) was born on 22 February 1830. The family then moved to Rome, where their younger daughter Harriet was born on 20 November 1834. Neither Bess nor Harriet ever married. I remember my father telling stories from his Boston childhood at the end of the nineteenth century about them. Perhaps someday I can add one or two. Somewhere I have his childhood writeup of at least one of them.

My Uncle Horace's notes state that "1832 Vernet picture painted in Rome." Web searching led me to an exchange on an antique appraisal web page *Just Answer Antiques* where I found a question and answer:

**Question:** I have a portrait of Horace Gray, a 19th century Supreme Court Justice, and his sister Elizabeth when they were children. It is signed H. Vernet Rome 1832. I also have a letter written in French by Vernet to the children's mother regarding the painting.

**Antique Expert:** Emile Jean Horace Vernet (1789 - 1863) is a listed artist in all accepted international databases and has 59 documented works recorded as having been sold.

Vernet usually abbreviated his name to Horace Vernet or H. Vernet. I never saw this picture or heard of it apart from my uncle's notes or this web exchange. It is possible

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<sup>11</sup>My Cousin Horace Gray was, like me, a grandson of Amy Heard Gray. His father was Horace Gray, Amy and Russell Gray's older son.

I saw it as a child during one of our occasional family visits from Coronado, California, to my Uncle Horace's house in Montecito, Calif., where then also lived my Aunt K — Katherine Meeker Gray and cousins Horace Gray, Arthur Meeker Gray, and Joan Gray.

In 1834 Horace Gray and his son Horace were painted by the Scotch painter Robert Pratt Lauder (1803-1863), which was in my Uncle Horace's possession at the time he made his notes. Also in 1834, on 22 September, on board the ship *Sovereign* from London to New York, Harriet Upham Gray died. From September or October 1834 he lived in Brighton, Mass.



Figure 7.4: Horace and Sarah Russell Gardner Gray

On 3 July 1837, Horace Gray married Sarah Russell Gardner (born 20 Sept. 1807 in Boston, died 23 Sept. 1893 at Nahant), a sister of Elizabeth Pickering (Gardner) Gray, the wife of his brother John Chipman Gray. [65] In the process he married into a famously interesting family. Sarah's younger brother Jack would later marry Isabella Stuart Gardner, the "Mrs. Jack" of Fenway Court and one of the most fascinating people that ever lived in my view. There are a couple of short letters from Mrs. Jack to Amy in the collection of letters.

Horace Gray and Sarah Russell Gardner had two children. John Chipman Gray (a rather common name in my family) was born at Brighton on 14 July 1839. Following his 1847 financial ruin and the sale of his Brighton house, Horace, Sarah, and John returned to the Gray family house at 57 Summer Street in Boston. Russell Gray was born at Boston on 17 June 1850. Uncle Horace's notes dates the financial ruin of his grandfather

Horace as Spring 1848 instead of December 1847 as previously given, but I believe the earlier date has more support in court cases and histories. The notes also report that Horace did not spend the rest of his days at the Summer Street house, but that on 1 November 1866 he and Sara moved to a new house at 143 Beacon St., probably rented from Sarah's relations. This is reinforced by information in the report *Public Garden Boston Landmarks Commission Study Report*, Report of the Boston Landmarks Commission on the potential designation of the PUBLIC GARDEN as a Landmark under Chapter 772 of the Acts of 1975, April 1975.<sup>12</sup>

By 1867, 143 Beacon had become the home of John Lowell Gardner's brother-in-law and sister, Horace Gray and Sarah Russell (Gardner) Gray. They previously had lived on Summer Street at the corner of Kingston. Horace Gray was a shipping merchant and iron dealer. An ardent horticulturalist, in the late 1830s and 1840s he had been a principal mover for creation of the Boston Public Garden. Living with the Grays at 143 Beacon were their sons, John Chipman Gray and Russell Gray, both lawyers. Also living with them were Elizabeth Chipman Gray and Harriet Gray, Horace Gray's daughters with his first wife, Harriet (Upham) Gray. His son by his first marriage, Horace Gray, Jr., lived at 4 Mt, Vernon Place. He was Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court and, in 1884, was appointed a Justice of the US Supreme Court.

As will be described, Russell Gray had a law degree, but his primary profession was in the insurance industry.

John Chipman Gray Jr. like his older half-brother Horace Gray Jr. followed the law as a career, but he took a different path. After his LL.B. degree from Harvard in 1861 he joined the Union Army and served until the end of the Civil War in a variety of positions, beginning as a 2nd lieutenant of infantry and then cavalry, and eventually as Major and Judge Advocate for Generals Foster and Gilmore. In this capacity he accompanied General Sherman's March to the Sea. While serving as an officer, he wrote many letters from the front to his future Law partner John Codman Ropes, who was writing a history of the war as it unfolded. Gray also published his letters.[67]

#### 7.4.15 The other Horace Gray

This subsection is an attempt at proactively disambiguating a potential cause of confusion. As mentioned in Chapter 4, there was another Horace Gray who was on occasion also referred to as Horace Gray, Jr. to distinguish him from his uncle Horace Gray, the youngest

<sup>12</sup>[https://www.cityofboston.gov/images\\_documents/Boston%20Public%20Garden](https://www.cityofboston.gov/images_documents/Boston%20Public%20Garden)

son of Billy Gray. This other Horace Gray (1821-1901) was the son of William Rufus Gray, the eldest son of William “Old Billy” Gray of Salem and Boston and hence a first cousin of Russell Gray, and in the same generation of descent from Billy as were Russell, Judge Horace Gray, and John Chipman Gray. According to the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* of New York of: July 20, 1901, Vol. 73, No. 1882

Horace Gray, who was a director of the Seamen’s Savings Bank since 1870 and Vice President since 1890, died at his home in this city on Thursday in the eighty-first year of his age. Mr. Gray was born in Boston, and after graduating from Harvard, came to this city and entered the house of Goodhue & Co., which was in the China trade, as a clerk, of which house, it may be noted, Pelatiah Perit was the head, Mr. Goodhue being in ill-health. Upon the death of Robert C. Goodhue in 1863, the firm was dissolved, and Mr. Gray associated himself with Mr. Weston, a fellow clerk, in organizing the house of Weston, Gray & Co., which later became Horace Gray & Co. Mr. Gray retired from active business in 1875. He was a trustee of the Atlantic Mutual Insurance Co., having been elected in 1873.

Goodhue & Co. had been founded by Jonathan Goodhue in 1807, originally as Goodhue, Swett & Co. Jonathan Goodhue, like Samuel Russell, had been a supercargo of Billy Gray. Goodhue & Co. served as the New York agent of Russell & Co. In 1807 Goodhue moved from Salem to New York as an agent of Salem merchants William Gray and John Norris, who had been his employers and mentors in Salem. Goodhue & Co. by 1833 Goodhue & Co. was a primary agent for Barings in the United States. Goodhue and Co. bought and managed the “Old Line” or “Black Ball Line” of steamships on the East Coast of the U.S. with service to Liverpool. Barings bought the line from Goodhue in 1834.

In addition to following his grandfather Billy Gray’s tradition of the China trade, Horace Gray Jr. had two interesting historical connections with the Heard family. The Heard Collection of the Baker Library at Harvard notes regular correspondence among the Heard brothers and Augustine Heard & Co. on business affairs in the early 1860s, which specifically mentions Weston – which identifies *which* Horace Gray was the correspondent. Secondly, as seen in Chapter 4, this Horace Gray was an investor in Cuba and specifically that he owned the Arroyo estate around 1863 that Alexander Taylor owned in 1840. The Baring Index includes an entry on p. 131 referring to correspondence with Taylor, Alex. (Administrator of “Arroyo” for H. Gray. Jr.) in 1844 This suggests the Alexander had defaulted on his mortgage, but the investor Horace Gray Jr. had bought the estate and retained Alexander as administrator for a time.<sup>13</sup>

This other Horace Gray provides a concrete connection of the Gray family with Augustine Heard Jr. around the time of Amy’s birth (regarding the China trade) as well as a

<sup>13</sup>Baring Brothers & Company, Guide 9: “Subject and Nominal Indexes” for Letters Received from Agents & Correspondents in New Orleans, 1819-1871. (series A.3.f - volumes 102-106) PART 9 : [pages 1-22]shr 131

connection with Alexander Taylor and hence possibly also with his sister, Amelia W. De Coninck, Amy's maternal grandmother.

## 7.5 Russell Gray

Russell Gray was born at Boston, 17 June 1850. He graduated from Harvard in 1869. He was in the insurance business and lived in Boston until his death 7 June 1929.

I have found little information about his childhood aside from a brief description of his world, his neighborhood, and his personality written decades later by a childhood friend — Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., who was born 12 May 1850, also in Boston. In 1912 then-Senator Lodge wrote “Some Early Memories.”<sup>14</sup> He notes that in 1850 the population of Boston was 133,000 and that of Massachusetts was about one million. Lodge writes “The tidewaters of the Back Bay still rose and fell to the west of the peninsula, and that large region now filled in and covered with handsome houses had no existence.” In Part II, 1860 - 1867, Lodge describes his two years at a private school in the basement of the Park Street Church near the family home at 31 Beacon Street run by a master Mr. Thomas Russell Sullivan, saying

I remember but few of the boys. I think I lost sight of most of them after our brief two years together, but there were a few whom I first knew there and whom I have known ever since. One of them was Russell Sullivan, son of the master, writer of plays and novels and charming stories, a friend long years afterward of Robert Louis Stevenson, one of my intimates then, sharing my love of the theatre, the most delightful of men and a life-long friend. Still another intimate of those days whom I had known from the beginning as a neighbor was Russell Gray, younger brother of the eminent justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Horace Gray. He was just my age, but like most of his family so phenomenally clever at his books that he was two years ahead of the rest of us, both at school and college. None the less, he has been the friend of a lifetime and he figures largely in the memories of my boyhood.

Soon after their marriage, Amy and Russell Gray moved to 39 Marlborough St in Boston, into a house on land created by filling the Back Bay tidal area, near the Public Garden founded by Russell's father Horace Gray.<sup>15</sup> There she would receive letters from

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<sup>14</sup>*Scribner's Magazine*, Part I: September, 1912. Vol. LII No. 3, pp. 309 - 323, Part II: 1860 - 1867, October, 1912, Vol. LII, No. 4, pp 474 - 491, Part III: The War — 1860 - 1866, November, 1912, Vol. LII, No. 5, pp. 541 - 553.

<sup>15</sup>The house still stands and its history and current photos can be found at <https://backbayhouses.org/39-marlborough/>

her family and friends for the remainder of her life. These and her journals and my notes constitute the remaining parts of this book.

## Chapter 8

### Lemuel Taylor descendants: 1909

As a closing parenthesis on Part I and to complete the context for the journals and letters of the nineteenth century, it is useful to review the surviving descendants of Lemuel Taylor in dawn of the 20th century. This is conveniently done with two documents, each of which mentions Amy and includes many of her Taylor cousins. The first document shown is shown in Figure 8.1. It announces the death in Paris of Amelia W. De Coninck's niece: Mme Philippe Parrot, born Mary Wieland, the daughter of Lemuel and Mary Taylor's daughter Mary West (Taylor) Wieland. The announcement includes the names of many identifiable mourners among the descendants of Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck and her sister Mary West (Taylor) Wieland. This document collects surviving descendants of of the two daughters of Lemuel and Mary Taylor.

The second document is drawn from the the U.S. government documents regarding American claims on Spain regarding damage done to their Cuban property during the Cuban-Spanish-American War. This document highlights the connections with the descendants of Amelia W. De Coninck and those of her brother Alexander, who together were the sole heirs of the Santa Amalia Estate during the war.

Together these documents provide a list of the descendants of Lemuel and Mary Taylor who survived into the twentieth century and a convenient framework for a few more comments on their lives.

#### 8.1 Mme Veuve Philippe Parrot née Mary Wieland

The death in 1909 of Mary, the daughter of Mary West (Taylor) and John Conrad Wieland provides a coda to the context of the letters and journals of Amy Heard Gray since it lists many of the surviving descendants of Lemuel and Mary Taylor, several of whom are mentioned in Amy's journals and letters.

The widow Mary Parrot, born Wieland, was the niece of Amelia W. Taylor and hence

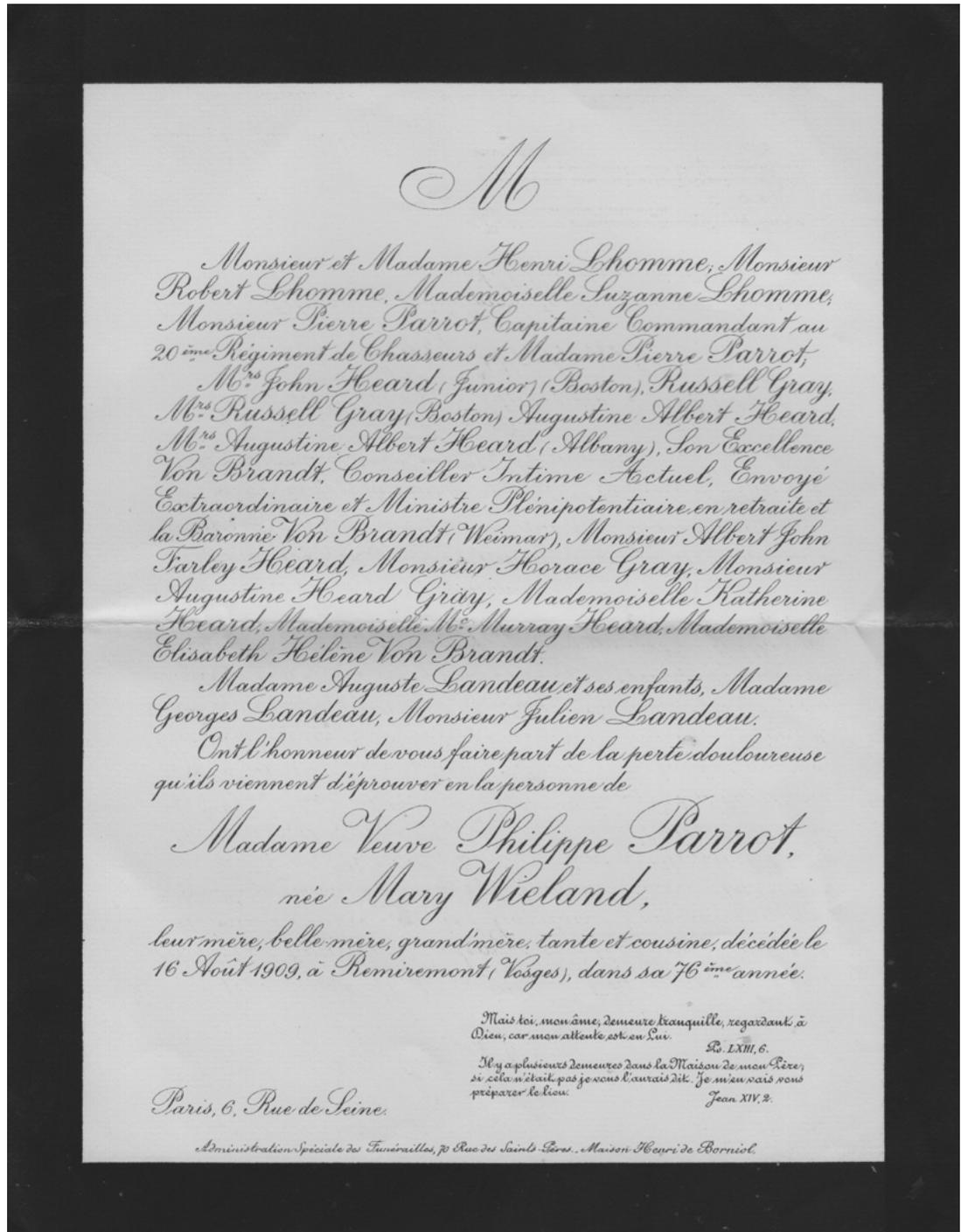


Figure 8.1: Mary (Wieland) Parrot Death Announcement

a first cousin of Amelia's daughter Jane . Mary and Philippe Parrot's daughter Marie or Mary Parrot was very close to Amy and the two second cousins were close friends as young girls together in Paris. Marie later married Henri Lhomme. Mary (Wieland) Parrot was "Tante Mary" or "Tante Parrot" to Amy and Max, but her daughter Marie was referred to as "Tante" my Amy's sons Horace and Augustine Heard Gray.

The announcement, shown in Figure 8.1, was mailed to "Russell Gray, Esq. & Mrs. Russell Gray", 39 Marlborough St., Boston (Mass)" It was mailed to me many years ago by my cousin Horace Gray (8/27/1916-11/11/1996), the son of Amy's older son, my father's brother Horace Gray, with a note saying "Thought you might find this of interest for your Amy Heard file. Mrs L'Homme was a childhood friend." The first names on the list are "Monsieur et Madame Henri Lhomme," which my uncle spelled as "L'Homme." I believe the correct spelling is Lhomme, as it appears in the death announcement. The first section of this chapter considers in order the identities of all of the people listed in the announcement, most of whom have already been introduced, a few others can be inferred from information on the Web, and three unknowns at the end, the Landeaus, whom I have not been able to identify yet.

I translate the announcement as follows:

### M

Monsieur and Madame Henri Lhomme, Monsieur Robert Lhomme, Mademoiselle Suzanne Lhomme, Monsieur Pierre Parrot Capitaine Commandant au Regiment de Chasseurs et Madame Pierre Parrot, Mrs John Heard, Junior (Boston), Russell Gray, Mrs Russell Gray (Boston), Augustine Albert Heard, Mrs. Augustine Albert Heard (Albany), Son Excellence Von Brandt, Conseiller Intime Actuel, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire en retraite and the Baronne Von Brandt (Wiemar), Monsieur Albert John Farley Heard, Monsieur Horace Gray, Monsieur Augustine Heard Gray, Mademoiselle Katherine Heard, Mademoiselle McMurray Heard, Mademoiselle Elisabeth Hélène Von Brandt.

Madame Auguste Landeau and her children, Madame Georges Landeau, Monsieur Julien Landeau.

Have the honor to announce to you the sad loss we have suffered of

### Madame Widow Philippe Parrot, born Mary Wieland

their mother, mother-in-law, grandmother, aunt and cousin, died 16 August 1909, at Remiremont, Vosges, in her 76th year.

But you, my soul, reside tranquil regarding  
 God, since my wait is in him.  
 Ps. LXXIII,6.

There are many places in the House of my Father,  
 if this were not true, I would tell you. I go there  
 to prepare a place for you.  
 John XIV,2.

Paris, 6, Rue de Seine

Special Administration of funerals, 70 Rue des Saints-Pères, Maison Henri de Borniol

**Madame Veuve Philippe Parrot née Mary Wieland** We encountered Mary (Wieland) Parrot in Section 3.13 on her mother Mary Taylor, where her birth and marriage to Philippe Parrot were described. On her marriage record, Mary (Wieland) Parrot was described as the oldest daughter of Mary (Taylor) and Jean Conrad Wieland. An implication is there was at least one other Wieland daughter.

**Monsieur et Madame Henri Lhomme** Madame Henri Lhomme was encountered in Chapter 6. She was born Marie Parrot in Paris on 2 June 1861, the year following Amy's birth in Boston. Marie was the daughter of Philippe Élie Gabriel and Mary Wieland Parrot. Mary Wieland was the daughter of John Conrad Wieland and Mary West Taylor, Amelia W. De Coninck's older sister.

Both Amy and Marie were children in Paris and they were second cousins (their grandmothers were sisters, their mothers were first cousins). According to my Uncle Horace, they were close friends from childhood. Monsieur Henri Lhomme was Louis Frédéric Lhomme.

In 1901 Amy took her two sons, my father Augustine Heard Gray b. 11/10/1888 and his older brother Horace Gray b. 10/11/1887 to visit the Lhommes at their summer place, the Chateau de Mercey on the Cote d'Or. A family photograph album put together by my Uncle Horace shows photos taken at the time of both Marie (Parrot) Lhomme, The daughter of Philippe Parrot and Mary (Taylor) Wieland, and Henri Lhomme in Figure 8.2 Uncle Horace wrote their family name as "L'Homme" instead of Lhomme. The album states that Philippe Parrot was a neurosurgeon in Paris, but as we have seen he was a painter, and his brother Jules was a medical doctor, described as a pioneer in pediatrics. Two photos of the chateau are shown in Figure 8.3

While looking for these details and being curious about the odd name of Lhomme, I looked for the Chateau de Mercey and some connection with the name of Lhomme, and perhaps some indication of the family of Henri. I discovered that there is a winery by that name, but could not find any information on their sites regarding history or More searching, however, led me to something that I thought had to be relevant. I found in the



Figure 8.2: Left: Mme Henri Lhomme born Marie Parrot

Right: Henri Lhomme



Figure 8.3: Chateau de Mercey

*Memoires de la Société Éduenne, Nouvelle Série, Tomee Onzième*<sup>1</sup> two names involving both Lhomme and the château de Mercey:

Lhomme de Mercey Bernard, au château de Mercey, 25 février 1866

Lhomme de Mercey Gabriel, au château de Mercey, 25 février 1881

The dates were when they were elected to the scholarly society. So possibly two generations of men with the family name of Lhomme de Mercey owned the Chateau de Mercey. More Web searching revealed that Bernard, the father, was a famous sculptor of the time, and that Gabriel was his son. Then I found a blog discussing the dates of ownership of the Chateau de Mercey (commune de Cheilly Les Maranges). Gabriel was born in 4/17/1858 at Autun. The chateau has been a winery since 2011, owned by the Antoine RODET group. Gabriel Lhomme de Mercey died on 6 February 1904, after the visit by the Grays to Henri and Marie Lhomme at the Chateau. When he died, his mother was still living and inherited his property. She died in 1907. Gabriel did not marry, nor did his only brother.

So what conclusions can be drawn? It appears that the Lhomme de Mercey family owned the Chateau de Mercey in 1901. Henri's family name Lhomme appears to be a shortened version of that family name, and he and his wife spent summers at the Chateau de Mercey. Henri Lhomme was not a direct descendent of Bernard Lhomme de Mercey because neither of Bernard's sons married. But it seems likely he was related because his unusual name was a part of the longer name of the owner of the chateau where he lived summers.

Marie Lhomme has very little online presence outside of a few family trees. She does have a card, however, in the collection of the *Shakespeare and Company Project*<sup>2</sup> devoted to the records of Sylvia Beach's Left Bank bookshop and lending library in Paris at 12 rue de l'Odéon. Marie (Parrot) Lhomme was a member in 1925 - 1926 living at 5 avenue Bosquet Paris 7<sup>e</sup>.

**Robert Lhomme** Robert Jean Philippe Lhomme (1886-1949) was the son of Monsieur et Madame Henri Lhomme. He married 10 October 1916 Marguerite Florence Marie Justine Peronne de la Foret Divonne.

**Mademoiselle Suzanne Lhomme** was a daughter of Monsieur et Madame Henri Lhomme. She is not mentioned in the Chamavert family tree, but the Horace Gray photo album has a photo of her at the Chateau de Mercey during their 1901 visit. Her name is Lhomme, she is in the list of the death notice, which includes only specified relatives (granddaughters being one), and the photo depicts her as about the right age.

**Monsieur Pierre Parrot Capitaine Commandant au 20<sup>eme</sup> Regiment de Chasseurs et Madame Pierre Parrot** Mary (Wieland) Parrot's son and his wife.

**Mrs John Heard, Junior (Boston)** The wife of Amy's late brother John, the former Adeline Wheelock Lewis. Amy's sister-in-law Addie.

<sup>1</sup>Société Éduenne des Lettres, Sciences et Arts, headquartered in Autun, France

<sup>2</sup><https://shakespeareandco.princeton.edu>



Figure 8.4: Left: Mlle Camus, Right: Suzanne Lhomme

**Russell Gray (Boston)** Amy's Husband, my paternal grandfather.

**Mrs Russell Gray (Boston)** Amy

This seems an appropriate place to include a photo of Amy at about this time. Figure 8.5 depicts Amy in 1905 at 39 Marlborough St. at the age of 44. A little after her visit with her sons to her cousin Marie Parrot Lhomme and a little before the death of her mother's first cousin Marie Wieland Parrot.

**Augustine Albert Heard** Amy's brother, b. Paris 12 June 1866.

**Mrs Augustine Albert Heard (Albany)** Amy's sister-in-law, born Katherine Lawrence Beck

**Son Excellence Von Brandt, Conseiller Intime Actuel Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiere en retraite et la Baronne Von Brandt (Wiemar)** Max von Brandt and his wife, Amy's sister Max.

**Monsieur Albert John Farley Heard** Born Albert Farley Heard, he was the son of Amy's brother John Heard and his wife Adeline Wheelwright Lewis. He legally changed his name to John Heard in 1889.

**Monsieur Horace Gray** Amy's older son, my father's brother, my Uncle Horace.

**Monsieur Augustine Heard Gray** Amy's younger son, my father and namesake of Augustine Heard Jr (like AH Jr, also called *Gus*).

**Mademoiselle Katherine Heard** Daughter of Augustine Albert and Katherine Heard. B. August 1892.

**Anne McMurray Heard** Daughter of Augustine Albert and Katherine Heard. B. 21 August 1894.

**Mademoiselle Elisabeth Helène Von Brandt]** The daughter of Max and Max.



Figure 8.5: Amy in 1905

**Madame Auguste Landeau et ses enfants ?**

**Madame Georges Landeau ?**

**Monsieur Julien Landeau ?**

I have searched unsuccessfully to identify these Landeaus for whom Mary (Wieland) Parrot was mother, mother-in-law, grandmother, aunt or cousin. “Cousin” in the general sense means someone with a shared ancestor, which includes the descendants of Lemuel and Mary Taylor and the spouses of the descendants, such as Heards and Grays. This narrows it down so that some conjectures can be made. The name Landeau does not occur in the descendants of the two of children of Lemuel and Mary Taylor: Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck, Alexander Taylor. So far as I know, their third child Mary (Taylor) Parrot had only one child, Marie Parrot who married Henri Lhomme. This suggests that a female member of the Parrot family married a Landeau. Given the closeness of relationship that the other listed recipients have, it also suggests that it might have been a sister or aunt of the Parrot brothers Philipe and Jules. The fact that two Madames Landeau are mentioned is puzzling, suggesting that both are widows. Julien Landeau is probably a child of one of the two Madames, the other “enfants” being deemed too young to be named. Searching several genealogy sites has not led to a good match, but there are some possibilities that are close and are possibly due to computer character recognition errors — humans still do some things better than AI, but it is an active area of research to improve such performance. There are entries in family trees that include similar names and the original documents leave doubt about the spelling. For example, there is a recorded marriage of an Auguste Honoré Lardeau (b. 1866) to a Marie-Louise Josephine Perrot (b. 1873) and they had a son Julien (b.1897) and the dates are consistent with the death notice, but there is no Georges in their family. In the original marriage document the names indeed look more like Lardeau than Landeau and Perrot than Parrot, but it is not obvious. Also, I have not found a Marie-Louise Parrot of the appropriate age. So I will continue looking.

## 8.2 Spanish Treaty Claims

In March 1901 the United States Congress established a Spanish Treaty Claims Commission to collect claims of damage — both property damage and personal injury — from United States Citizens resulting from the actions of Spanish colonial forces in Cuba during the Cuban-Spanish-American war. The intent was that these claims as accepted and modified by the Commission would be included in the demands made by the United States on the Spanish Government as part of the treaty ending the war. President Mckinley in March 1901 appointed the Commission, which included James P. Wood of Ohio, who eventually became president of the Commission and was first author on the final report of the committee submitted to the President on 2 May 1910 [6]. The committee received 542 claims filed totaling sixty-five million dollars, and willowed it down to 47 claims totaling

about two million dollars.

The Commission then grappled with international law and validation of the claims, which took several years, during which individual legal cases were under the guidance of the Attorney-General of the United States. The legal deliberations were complicated by the fact that Spain had been fighting an insurgency, a war of independence for Cuba, when the United States declared war on Spain following the explosion and sinking of the Battleship Maine, and as a result it was questionable to hold Spain liable for the destruction of property such as sugar cane fields due to the government's lack of protection, since the government was initially focusing its efforts on defeating the insurrection and not protecting foreign planters. These issues were argued in detail and volumes of evidence preserved, resulting in nine years being consumed in the reception, examination, and adjudication of the claims.

An unsuccessful claim was submitted by the descendants and heirs of Lemuel Taylor for damage done to the Santa Amalia. The specific damage was described in the final report along with the list of the claimants and the resolution of their claims, and images of excerpts are provided in Table 8.1. and Table 8.1

The claimants listed owned Santa Amalia when the claims were submitted on 1901-2, but that they had sold Santa Amalia by 1904, and hence they no longer owned Santa Amalia when the claims were resolved. Unfortunately for the claimants, the claim was not approved. This may have been because the destruction of crops was accomplished by insurgents and not by the Spanish colonial government fighting them, one of the legal issues the Commission dealt with. The claims do, however, show who the surviving heirs to Santa Amalia were at the turn of the century. Mary W. Hitchcock, Amelia C. Mason, Cora V. Witherspoon, and Alice E. Shoenberger are all daughters of Alexander Taylor and Louisa W. Taylor. Alice E. Shoenberger is the executrix or female executor of their combined estate. Louisa W. Taylor, their mother, is *sui juris*, that is, an independent person not needing an executor or administrator to speak for her. So this is the group whose ownership of Santa Amalia derives from being the wife or children of Alexander Taylor. The next group includes the living heirs of Lemuel and Mary's daughter Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck: Amelia H. Gray (Amy Heard Gray, a daughter of Jane Leep (De Coninck) Heard and Augustine Heard), Helen M. von Brandt (Amy's sister), Augustine A. Heard (Augustin Albert Heard, Amy's brother), and Adeline W. Heard (Amy's brother John Heard's widow). Strangely, Amy's father Augustine is listed as "administratrix" of this group, which means an administrator who is a woman — which is either an error or means I am misreading the punctuation. Jane De Coninck Heard died in 1899, so the ownership of Santa Amalia when the claim was submitted could have rested with her estate, of which husband Augustine Heard would likely have been administrator or executor.

Notably absent among the claimants are the descendants of Lemuel's oldest daughter Mary West (Taylor) Wieland. This supports my belief that her leaving Cuba early on (probably 1834) and moving to France caused her not to be considered as an heir to Santa

**LIST OF CLAIMS BEFORE THE SPANISH**

| No.  | Claimant.  | Residence.         | Citizenship. | Location of claim.              |
|------|--|--------------------|--------------|---------------------------------|
| 201. | Alice E. Shoenberger, executrix, Mary W. Hitchcock, Amelia C. Mason, Cora V. Witherspoon, Alice E. Shoenberger, sui juris; Louisa W. Taylor, Augustine Heard, administratrix; Amelia H. Gray, Helen M. von Brandt, Augustine A. Heard, and Adeline W. Heard. | New York City..... | .....do..... | Laguanillas, Matanzas Province. |

**TREATY CLAIMS COMMISSION.**

| Ground of claim.   | Amount claimed, including amendments to April 9, 1902. | Amount claimed, including amendments since April 9, 1902. | Award. | Order No. |
|--|--|---|--------|-----------|
| Destruction and loss of sugar cane and sugar, buildings, and live stock, plantation "Santa Amalia," December 20, 1895, and February, 1896, and February and March, 1897. by insurgents under Nuñez and Cayito Alvarez, and others. | 125,463.00   | 125,463.00  | (*)    | 1356      |

\* Where no figures appear in the column designated "Award," the claim was either disallowed on trial, rejected on the pleadings, or dismissed on motion.

Table 8.1: Santa Amalia Spanish Treaty Claim

Amalia. She did not seem to play any part in saving the estate from Lemuel's financial ruin, such as Alexander Taylor and Amelia W. and Francis A. De Coninck did. Also absent are Amelia W. De Coninck's children other than Jane and her offspring. Specifically, Mary Taylor (De Coninck) Johnson died in 1886, Amelia Henrietta (De Coninck) Pelletier died in 1884, and Francis Alexander De Coninck. Francis died in 1878 in Cuba. To the best of my knowledge, none had any children.

With regards to the earlier discussion of whether George Sage Webster (or his heirs) ever was a partial owner of Sta. Amalia, note that neither he nor his children are listed as claimants for Sta Amalia. His sister, Louisa is listed as she was the widow of Alexander Taylor, an heir to the estate. One of his children, Anita Eliza Webster, is a claimant in a separate entry for the Ontario estate, originally owned by George's father Ephron William Webster. That Anita Webster was a claimant to Ontario at the end of the nineteenth century suggests that Barcia [103], p.88, is not quite correct in stating that "Webster lost it [Ontario] sometime between 1826 and his death in 1841. By the time his will was read, soon after his death, he owned only the Santa Ana." My guess is that as Lemuel did with his children, he passed on ownership of the plantation long before he died. In the case of Lemuel, his son-in-law Francis De Coninck owned Santa Amalia by 1840. I suspect that in the case of Ephron Webster, his son George Sage Webster was probably at least partial owner of Ontario by that time, likely along with his brother Frederick William Webster, who is mentioned in the Santa Amalia Account Book and seems to be involved with the management of Ontario. I think that Ontario was not any more "lost" by Ephron than Santa Amalia was lost by Lemuel. In both cases the elders were passing on their properties to a younger and stronger generation.

Table 8.2: Ontario Spanish Treaty Claim

**LIST OF CLAIMS BEFORE THE SPANISH**

| No. | Claimant.   | Residence.          | Citizenship. | Location of claim.          |
|-----|---|---------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| 347 | Maria W. P. Randle, executrix of will of Serafina C. W. Pattison; Alice E. Shoenberger, executrix of will of Maria L. Taylor; Charles E. Jackson, executor of will of Helena E. Russell; Anita E. Webster, Harold S. Webster, by Antoinette H. Webster, his guardian; Edward G. Storey, Maria L. Fallon, Carolina S. Greenough. | New York City ..... | .....do..... | Limonar, Matanzas Province. |

**TREATY CLAIMS COMMISSION.**

| Ground of claim.  | Amount claimed, including amendments to April 9, 1902. | Amount claimed, including amendments since April 9, 1902. | Award. | Order No. |
|---|--|---|--------|-----------|
| Destruction and loss of cane fields, buildings, and crops, plantation "Ontario," 1895, 1896, and 1897, by insurgent forces. | 20,250.00  | 20,250.00   | (*)    | 1357      |

\* Where no figures appear in the column designated "Award," the claim was either disallowed on trial, rejected on the pleadings, or dismissed on motion.

**Part II**  
**Journals**

## Chapter 9

### 1881: Newport and Washington, D.C.

Amy's brief journal from fall 1881 through December 1882 with scattered additions in 1886 related to her wedding serve to introduce many of the people and places mentioned in Part I in Amy's personal context. Many will correspond with Amy or be mentioned by others in the letters.

The Journal begins in Newport, Rhode Island, but describes some of the preparations made for her upcoming move to Washington, D.C. Although many entries seem trivial, the entire journal is included because of the overall context and flavor it provides of how Amy spent her time. In Part III details of the relationships among the correspondents emerge.

#### 9.1 October

##### Newport, R.I.

Oct. 1<sup>st</sup> 1881

**1<sup>st</sup> Sat.** Not out in daytime. Dined at M<sup>rs</sup> Marshall O. Roberts, no one but her 2 sisters, Misses Endicott & a Miss M<sup>c</sup>Allister? Aftern. to party at Ida's \_ M<sup>rs</sup> Craig Wadsworth, M<sup>rs</sup> Dehones

Marshall Owen Roberts (1814–1880) was a capitalist and politician who, among other things, managed many government mail steamship service contracts. These businesses were severely damaged by competition from Cornelius Vanderbilt. Roberts gained notoriety as a profiteer from his steamship dealings during the Civil War. He was an anti-Seward Whig and a Republican. He was one of the group that financed Cyrus Field's first cable venture. Twice widowed, in 1875 he married Sarah Lawrence "Susan" Endicott (1840–1926), a daughter of John Endicott of Salem, Massachusetts.

The “Misses Endicott” will be mentioned in again, but as a warning they should not be confused with two other Misses Endicott: Mary Crowninshield Endicott and Fanny Peabody Endicott, who will be encountered later and who are close to Amy in age. The two Endicott families may have been distantly related, but it seems unlikely they were close. Mary and Fanny came from prominent parents and grandparents, while Sarah and her sisters (for whom I could find no names) were reputed to have come from very poor families.<sup>1</sup>

M<sup>rs</sup> Craig Wharton Wadsworth is the former Evelyn Willing Peters, 1845–1885. She would later be Amy’s neighbor on Massachusetts Avenue in Washington. Mrs. Henry Adams says of her [3], p 294

is house-hunting, having decided that there are more cakes and ale here than in Europe, which she tried for many years. She has remains of much beauty, a charming voice, dresses well, is quite pleasant.

Mrs James G. Blaine in her *Letters* mentions that Mrs Wadsworth is the wife of James Wadsworth, member of Congress from NY. [18]

I am not able to identify Ida with certainty. Later Amy provides last names for two Idas, Miss Ida Mason, in entry for 25 October and Ida Deacon on 8 October. There were people by both names in Newport around that time. Ida Mason does not appear to have been related to the Rev. Arthur Mason who officiated at Amy’s baptism and who married Amelia C. Taylor, a daughter of Lemuel Taylor’s son Alexander. Ida Deacon was a Bostonian who summered in Newport. She also does not appear to be related to Powell Mason, whose family will appear later in the journal.

**2<sup>d</sup> Sun.** Not out. M<sup>rs</sup> Calvert c<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>rs</sup> Sturgis & Rita & Susie tea with us.

The abbreviation “c<sup>d</sup>” or “cd” stands for “called.” The custom of calling is well described by Tehan in *Henry Adams in Love* [131], p. 24:

The paying of calls was governed by iron-clad rules. Any lady who was or wanted to be in society must first leave her printed calling card before making a visit. Her footman presented it to the servant of the house, and if the corner was turned down it signified that the lady had come in person. The lady for whom she left the card must, within seven to ten days, leave her card in return. This ritual use of the engraved bits of pasteboard was a means of testing the social temperature before entering the water. Next came the exchange of formal calls. One etiquette writer declared, “You cannot invite people to your house (however often you may have met them elsewhere) until

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<sup>1</sup><http://daytoninmanhattan.blogspot.com/2018/01/the-lost-marshall-o-roberts-house-107.html>

you first call on them in a formal manner and they return your visit. It is a safeguard against undesirable acquaintances. If you don't wish to continue the friendship, you discontinue to call and no further advances are made. But it is bad manners not to return a call in the first instance."

**3<sup>rd</sup> Mon.** Arthur Carey, M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins c<sup>d</sup>. Drove with M<sup>r</sup> Warren. Misses Endicott & M<sup>c</sup>Allister.

Mrs Archibald Hopkins was born Charlotte Everett Wise. She was a cousin of Henry Adams and a granddaughter of Edward Everett, a great American orator of the 19th century, who famously spoke for two hours before President Lincoln's two minute speech at the dedication of the cemetery at Gettysburg. Her extensive contributions to civic institutions in Washington DC are described in her biography at the website of the Church of the Epiphany in Washington, DC. <sup>2</sup>

**4<sup>th</sup> Tues.** D<sup>r</sup> Brackett filled tooth up. left. M<sup>r</sup> Atherton Blight, Arthur Rives, Miss Dehones. To see R. Sturgis, M<sup>rs</sup> Rob. Cushing.

**5<sup>th</sup> Wed.** To see M<sup>me</sup> Outrey. D<sup>r</sup> Brackett general polishing. M<sup>rs</sup> Parkinson sent us her carriage. C<sup>d</sup> on Phimneys, Wales, Perkins, Parkinson. M<sup>rs</sup> J. C. Gray, Miss Frick c<sup>d</sup>.

Mme Outrey was the "winsome" wife of the French Minister to Washington. M<sup>rs</sup> John Chipman Gray was born Anna Sophia Lyman Mason and she was called "Nina." John Chipman Gray was the brother of Russell Gray, Amy's future husband. John C. Gray was a Professor of Law at Harvard and founding partner with John Codman Ropes of the Boston Law Firm of Ropes and Gray. Gray was also a Major, Judge Advocate. in the Union Army during the American Civil War and traveled with Sherman in his invasion of Georgia. Ropes was also a military historian who wrote a history of the war. The letters between Gray and Ropes during the war were published in 1927. [67] Nina Gray was a long time correspondent of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. This is the earliest appearance in Amy's extant writing or correspondence of a connection with the Gray family. The two families had likely known each other for at least two generations since John Heard and Billy Gray were contemporaries in neighboring towns of Ipswich and Salem and both were active in state political and business affairs.

Another brother of John Chipman Gray and Russell Gray (actually, a half brother) Horace was then a U.S. Supreme Court Justice. In her letter to her father of 15 January 1882, M<sup>rs</sup> Henry Adams writes of Judge Gray that

Last Sunday Judge Gray to dine. Has not gained in charm of manner in the years since we last met. [3]

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<sup>2</sup><http://epiphanydc.org/2017/09/05/september-7-charlotte-everett-wise-hopkins-1935/>

**6<sup>th</sup> Th.** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Roberts, Endicotts, Miss M<sup>c</sup>Allister. M<sup>rs</sup> Edw. Potter c<sup>d</sup>.

Possibly Edward Potter is the sculptor (1857–1923) who created statues for the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, did several equestrian statues, and did the lions for the New York Public Library.

**7<sup>th</sup> Fri.** Rita Sturgis, M<sup>rs</sup> A. A. Low, Miss Low, M<sup>rs</sup> H. Pierrepont J<sup>r</sup>, c<sup>d</sup>. D<sup>f</sup> with M<sup>rs</sup> Warren.

7 October 1881 was Amy's 21'st birthday.

Rita Sturgis is possibly the wife of Russell Sturgis of Boston, who also was a partner in Russell & Co. (1842–1844), or of Robert Shaw Sturgis of Boston, another partner (1850–1857).

Abbot Augustus Low (1844-1912) was an entrepreneur and inventor from Brooklyn. He was connected with the Heard family through his father Abiel Abbot Low (1811–1893) of Salem, who was a merchant and the clerk and partner (1837-1839) of Russell & Co. in Canton China, the company founded by Samuel Russell of Middletown, Conn., following his arrival in China in 1824. The senior Low then formed his own company A.A. Low & Brothers and eventually became the leading China and Japan trader in silks and tea. Amy's father's uncle Augustine Heard had been a partner of Russell & Co. (1831–1836) before founding his own company, Augustine Heard & Co. [87, 139, 58] Russell & Co. was the largest and Augustine Heard & Co. the second largest American trading firms in China. Abiel Abbot Low and Augustine Heard knew each other from their time in China. Abbot Augustus Low married Marian W. Ward (1856-1928) in 1877. Mrs. A. A. Low was about 4 years older than Amy, and their daughter Marian Ward Low (1879-1971) was a toddler in 1881.

**8<sup>th</sup> Sat.** Papa came in the night. M<sup>rs</sup> Wetmore, Miss M. Whiting, Ida Deacon, M<sup>rs</sup> Cunningham, Miss Hurd c<sup>d</sup>. I on the Providence. Smith's, M. Griswold, Ida where several girls came to aft. tea. Maud Legdard drove me home.



Minnie Griswold crops up several times in Amy's journal. Minnie's engagement to John Forbes is recorded in Amy's 5 December 1881 journal entry, and the resulting wedding announcement published on 17 February 1882 in *The New York Times* provides a key to information about her and her family:

Miss Minnie Griswold, a daughter of J.N.A. Griswold was married in Grace Church at 3 o'clock yesterday afternoon to John Forbes, a son of the clergyman of the same name.

We met John Noble Alsop Griswold in Section 6.2. J.N.A. Griswold was a member of the firm Russell & Company, the company for which Amy's father's uncle and namesake Augustine

Heard worked before founding Augustine Heard & Co. Mary "Minnie" Griswold was born the following year. It is probable that Amy and Minnie knew each other because of their fathers' business connections in China.

Minnie grew up in Rhode Island and the portrait painted by her cousin Lydia Field Emmet hangs at the Newport Museum.<sup>3</sup>

*Wikipedia* supplies further information about Minnie and her family. J.N.A. Griswold had a major role in the China trade before returning to a successful business career in the United States, including land and business development in Newport Rhode Island. *Wikipedia* adds that his daughter Minnie married John Murray Forbes, Jr. (1844-1921). John Murray Forbes, Jr., was the son of the Reverend John Murray Forbes, *not* the member of Russel & Co. and later railroad tycoon John Murray Forbes of Section 6.2. They were indeed related, and it provides an example of the sort of thing that gives casual genealogists nightmares. A slight detour from the narrative sorts out their relationship.

The American branch of the Scottish Forbes family was begun by the Rev. John Forbes (1740-1783) who married Dorothy Murray (1745-1837) of Boston and also of Scottish descent. They had three sons: James Grant Forbes (1769-1825), John Murray Forbes (1771-1831), and Ralph Bennet Forbes (1773-1824). The second son John Murray Forbes was not either of the John Murray Forbes that crop up in the Heard story. The sons relevant to the Heard story in this generation are James Grant Forbes — who was the grandfather of Minnie Griswold's fiancée — and Ralph Bennet Forbes — who was the father of brothers John Murray Forbes and Robert Bennet Forbes of Russell & Co. In other words, the Russell

<sup>3</sup><http://www.newportalri.org/items/show/7226>

& Co. John Murray Forbes and the Rev'd John Murray Forbes were second cousins, both grandsons of the Rev'd John Forbes. Amy's friend Minnie Griswold married the son of the Rev'd John Murray Forbes. Is that clear?

**Oct 9th** Ch. Papa to N.Y. by night boat. <sup>4</sup>

**10<sup>th</sup> Mon.** Rev<sup>d</sup> Potter, Min. Griswold, Emily Upton, Miss Gray, Mrs Kenuce

Miss Gray is likely either Harriet or Elizabeth (Bessie) Gray, sisters of Justice Horace Gray and (half) sisters of John Chipman Gray and Russell Gray.

**11<sup>th</sup> Tues.** Large girl's lunch at the Russells. C<sup>d</sup> on Whitings, M<sup>rs</sup> Boit, Eyre, W. Wadsworth, Sands. The Misses Mason c<sup>d</sup>.

**12<sup>th</sup> Wed.** Mamma to lunch at the Rodmans. M<sup>rs</sup> Livingston, Woodsworth, Endicotts c<sup>d</sup>.

**13<sup>th</sup> Th.** To see M<sup>rs</sup> W. Forbes at M<sup>rs</sup> Pomeroy's. out. C<sup>d</sup> on M<sup>rs</sup> D<sup>e</sup> King, M<sup>rs</sup> Rich. Willing here & M<sup>rs</sup> Terry & Daisy! To see M<sup>rs</sup> J. C. Gray after dinner.

The name of Forbes also enters through Russell & Co., John Murray Forbes of Milton, Mass., was a partner (1834–1838) as were Robert Bennett Forbes of Milton (1839–1844), Paul Sieman Forbes of New York (1844–1873), and William Howell Forbes of New York and Paris (1861–1880), Frank Blackwell Forbes of New York (1863–1880), James Murray Forbes of Milton (1869–1872), John Murray Forbes, Jr., of New York (1871–1880), and Henry De Courcy Forbes of New York (1872–1880). Russell & Co. was clearly a family affair, as was Augustine Heard & Co. Many of these men made fortunes while still young and some, like Amy's father, lost most of it during the recession of the 1870s.

M<sup>rs</sup> J. C. Gray was Anna or "Nina" Gray, Amy's future sister-in-law.

**14<sup>th</sup> Fri.** M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Forbes & Miss Pomeroy c<sup>d</sup>. D<sup>e</sup> with M<sup>rs</sup> Warren. C<sup>d</sup> on Miss Madeleine Mixer.

**15<sup>th</sup> S.** M<sup>rs</sup> Griswold & Miss Derby c<sup>d</sup>. Boston M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Gray came today, J. C. after din. Papa & Mama dined at the Pomeroy's. I at the Griswolds. Afterwards to Commerce Party at Ida's.

**16<sup>th</sup> S.** Ch. c<sup>d</sup> on M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Minot, dined 1.30 at the Pomeroy's. Walked with Miss Erving. aft. tea. at Miss Howard's. Papa left by night boat.

**17<sup>th</sup> M.** Mamma to join Papa in N.Y. & go on to Washington & hunt houses with him. M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Minot c<sup>d</sup>. I on M<sup>rs</sup> Rich Willing & the Russells.

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<sup>4</sup>"Ch." is an abbreviation for Church.

**18<sup>th</sup> Tues.** Drove to Paradise & Purgatory



*Paradise and Purgatory* are scenic neighboring natural geological formations in Middletown, Newport County, Rhode Island. Middletown sits just north of the town of Newport. The rocks and chasms are known for their natural beauty enhanced by scenic views of the nearby ocean. The image is a drawing by William Trost Richards (1833–1905) made ca. 1875-80 in the collection of the Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum.

**19<sup>th</sup> Oct.** M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Phinney, Min. Griswold here. Drove with Miss Phinney.

**20<sup>th</sup> Th.** C<sup>d</sup> on Smiths & M<sup>rs</sup> Stanard.

**21<sup>st</sup> Fri.** M<sup>e</sup> Crawford, Maud Ledyard, M<sup>e</sup> Morgand. Drove with M<sup>e</sup> Pomeroy (Tandem).  
Mamma back fr. Washington. Aug. fr. Quincy to see Brachdt.

**22<sup>d</sup> Sat.** Drove with M<sup>e</sup> Warren.

**23<sup>rd</sup> Sun.** Not out. M<sup>e</sup> Arthur Rives cd.

**24<sup>th</sup> M.** Aug. back to Quincy. Began packing.

**25<sup>th</sup> Tues.** Miss Ida Mason & Perkins Cd. & M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Forsythe.

**26<sup>th</sup> Wed.** Miss G. King. M<sup>m</sup>e de Vaugrigneuse c<sup>d</sup>.

**27<sup>th</sup> Th.** M<sup>rs</sup> Buchler & B. sailed for Havre in "Lessing." M<sup>rs</sup> Edw. Potter c<sup>d</sup>. Not out since Saturday nor seen anyone. Hair washed.

*Lessing* was a ship of 3,496 gross tons, length 375.1ft × beam 40nft, one funnel, two masts, iron hull, single screw, speed 13 knots, with accommodation for 90-1st, 100-2nd and 800-3<sup>rd</sup> class passengers. It was launched in 1874 by A. Stephen & Sons, Glasgow for the Adler Line, Hamburg. she started her maiden voyage from Hamburg to New York on 28th May 1874. In 1875 she was purchased by Hamburg America Line and continued Hamburg - Havre - New York sailings.

**28<sup>th</sup> Fri.**

**29<sup>th</sup> Sat.** Papa home. M<sup>rs</sup> and Misses Austin, Miss Smith c<sup>d</sup>.

**30<sup>th</sup> Sun.** Ch. to say gbye to Miss Jane Stuart, Griswolds. Mamma dined at M<sup>rs</sup> D. King Sr. (French deb)

**30<sup>th</sup> Mon.**

## 9.2 November

**Nov. 1<sup>st</sup> T.**

**Wed. 2<sup>d</sup>** To say g.b. & leave cards at M<sup>rs</sup> Blight's & Perkins, Bruens, Tweedy, Pomeroy, Ida & King, old King, Cunningham, Derby, Calvert, Forsythe, Redmond, E. Potter

**2<sup>d</sup> W.** Left Newport by night boat.

**3<sup>rd</sup> Th.** Arr. N.Y. about 7 or 8 A.M. Came to N.Y. Hotel. Not out all day. Rain & fatigue. Saw no one but the crowd in dining room.

**4<sup>th</sup> Fri.** To see the cousins Taylor  
Shop'g. M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> J.C. Gray c<sup>d</sup>.

The "cousins Taylor" (strictly speaking) were the cousins of Amy's mother, Jane L. Heard — the daughters of Alexander and Maria Louisa (Webster) Taylor. Jane had other cousins in Europe, but there is no evidence that they ever visited the United States.

The 1880 Census showed Maria L. Taylor living in New York City with her daughters Louisa W. and Josephine, both of whom Amy would refer to as "aunts." In 1880, Maria's daughter Alice Eliza married on 12 July in New York City, John Hopson Shoenberger "a wealthy man of Pittsburg, Pa." [142] So it is possible that Amy also visited Alice. Of the four remaining daughters of Alexander and Maria, Anita Glean (Taylor) Kennett had died at sea in 1873, Mary Williams (Taylor) Hitchcock resided in Buffalo, New York, Amelia Caroline (Taylor) Mason resided in New York City, and Cora Louisa (Taylor) Witherspoon resided in New Haven Connecticut. The last three sisters all married Episcopalian clergymen and moved around during the years, but I list my best guess of their residence of their residence location. In summary, Taylor cousins in New York City in 1881 definitely included Louisa and Josephine and probably included Alice Eliza and Amelia Caroline.

**5<sup>th</sup> Sat.** Shopping. To see M<sup>rs</sup> Roberts & Endicotts. Papa, Mamma & I dined at M<sup>rs</sup> J.C. Gray's, with Judge Barrett & went to the Standrd after to see "Patience" Sullivan & Gilbert last operetta, the success of the season. "Bunthorne" played by Ryly excellent. (Take off of the aesthetic craze\_)

“Mrs Roberts & Edicotts” is Sarah Lawrence Endicott and her sisters whom Amy visited in Newport. Amy and her family, like visitors to New York before and since, were taken to the theatre — *Bunthorne* was a satire of Oscar Wilde.

**6<sup>th</sup> Sun.** To see the Rouths & M<sup>rs</sup> Baldy Smith.

Major General William F. "Baldy" Smith was a civil war commander with a reputation for being something of a martinet.

**7<sup>th</sup> Mon.** M<sup>rs</sup> Ch. Minot cd. Drove to Central Park with M<sup>rs</sup> Roberts. dined with her, 2 Endicott sisters, a brother Robert & Miss McAllister.

**8<sup>th</sup> Tues.** Shop. in the morn. Shops close at noon, election day.

The election was for several New York statewide offices.

**9<sup>th</sup> W.**

**10<sup>th</sup> Th.** Left N.Y. about 10AM. Arrv<sup>d</sup> Washington about 5. Mama, Max & I to M<sup>rs</sup> Penn's Boarding House 1800 F. because the house taken on Mass. Av. not finished.

**11<sup>th</sup> Fri.** Ethel Robeson came in the mf & took Max off for the day. Mama & I lunched at Mrs Hopkins with M<sup>rs</sup> Craig Wadsworth (staying there). Then to see the house Mass. Av., down town with M<sup>r</sup> Hopkins to the gas fixtures, to M<sup>me</sup> Outrey's, the Rob. McLanes. M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Robeson & Outreys here.

Ethel Maxwell Robeson (1/15/1874-1965) was the daughter of George Maxwell Robeson (1829–1897) and Mary Aulick Robeson, born Mary Isabella Ogston 15 July 1840. The 11 April 1910 *Boston Traveler* reported her death under the name “Mary Ogston Robeson, widow of George Maxwell Robeson.”

George was a lawyer, a New Jersey official, and U.S. Secretary of the Navy (1869–1877). He was a Republican congressman from New Jersey (1879–83). He was implicated in a financial scandals in the Navy Department and had a costly and bitter reelection campaign 1882, which he lost. According to *Wikipedia*, the resulting family financial ruin and contention led to his wife to move to Europe.

Ethel and her mother Mrs. Robeson appear several times in in Amy's journal. Mrs. Henry Adams [3], p. 263, says of Mrs. Robeson in her 6 February 1881 letter to her father: “Mrs. Robeson is fat and saucy, and if her manners get into ill-repute she may find her path thorny.” Mrs Adams further reported on p. 339 in her 31 January 1882 letter that

Emily Beale declared at dinner Sunday that the novel *Democracy* was a “horrid, nasty, vulgar book, written by a newspaper man not in good society,” and added, “Mrs. Robeson is awful mad she's not in it.”!!

Mrs. Adams comments provide colorful background for comments appearing in a letter to Amy from her friend Bessie Woodville in 1885 in Chapter 14.

Max was Amy's younger sister, Helen Maxima Heard (1868–1937) introduced in Section 6.6, who was Amalia West's age and was also on intimate terms with the West sisters. She was known throughout her life by the nickname "Max," but during her Korean stay in the 90's she signed herself more formally as "Helene." During the 80's The West sisters and Amy called Max "Bébé" (French for Baby) and she so signed her letters. Amalia often referred to herself (or to Max) as Amy's "Second Bébé."

Robert Milligan McLane (1815–1898) was in the House of Representatives, was Governor of Maryland from 1883–1887, and later minister to France.

**Sat. 12<sup>th</sup>** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Robeson. Max there to stay. Mama & I dined at the Outrey's, only M<sup>r</sup> Lowndes.

Mentioned frequently in the letters of M<sup>rs</sup> Henry Adams, [3] James Lowndes was a South Carolinian and Confederate Army Colonel who settled in Washington following the war to practice law. He was believed to be the model for the character "Carrington" in Henry Adams' book *Democracy*. [1]

**Sun. 13<sup>th</sup>** To St. John's Ch. with Miss McLane (Jinny)- To see M<sup>me</sup> Outrey & stayed to din.

According to *Wikipedia* St. John's Episcopal Church, Lafayette Square is an historic Episcopal church located at Sixteenth Street and H Street NW, in Washington, D.C.

**Mon. 14<sup>th</sup>** Breakfast Jinny McLanes. In town with Mama. M<sup>rs</sup> Philaino cd. ordered books for me.

**Tues. 15<sup>th</sup>** M<sup>rs</sup> Davenport cd. & M<sup>rs</sup> Andersen Williamson. To the R. McLanes.

Jinny Davenport was referred to by M<sup>rs</sup> Henry Adams as being a member of the "team" consisting of the Miss Bayards (Katherine and Mabel), Miss (Emily) Beale, and Henry James. The Misses Bayard were the daughters of Thomas Francis Bayard (1828–1898), the Senator from Delaware (1869–1885) and President Cleveland's Secretary of State from 1885–1889 and Ambassador to Great



Figure 9.1: Emily Beale in 1883

Britain from 1893 to 1897. Katherine Bayard would later commit suicide following the announcement of the departure of the Spanish Minister, her reputed lover

Juan Valera, from Washington. As shall be seen, Valera seems to have noticed Amy as well.

Emily Beale is often mentioned in Adam's *Letters*[3] and Alsop's *Lady Sackville*[8]. She was a close friend of Lizzie Cameron. Mrs Adams knew her quite well and her 1883 photograph of Emily titled *Emily Beale in hammock in glass room, wrapped in white fur* shown in Figure 9.1is from the Massachusetts Historical Society.<sup>5</sup> Emily was the daughter of General Edward Fitzgerald Beale, was a Washington neighbor of the Adams, and later married John R. McLean. She crops up several times in Amy's journals and letters.

**Wed. 16<sup>th</sup>** Not out. Lieut. Davenport cd. & Minnie Stout.

**Th. 17<sup>th</sup>** M<sup>rs</sup> John Davis, M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins, M<sup>rs</sup> Adams, c<sup>d</sup>.

M<sup>rs</sup> John Davis was one of the three daughters (Sallie) of Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen (1817–1885), a senator from New Jersey (1866–1869) and Secretary of State as of 12 December 1881, succeeding James G. Blaine, of whom much will be said later. John Davis served as assistant Secretary of State. M<sup>rs</sup> Adams is M<sup>rs</sup> Henry Adams (1843–1885), a primary chronicler of social and political Washington of the day and the wife of the historian Henry Adams, the grandson of one President and the great-grandson of another. Their house at 1607 H Street was one of the social hubs of political and diplomatic Washington. Born Marion Hooper, she was known as “Clover.”[60] Her brilliant wit became increasingly clouded by depression until her suicide in 1885 following the death of her father. Her husband's memorial to her, sculpted by St. Gaudens, is in Rock Creek Cemetery near Washington.

**Fri 18<sup>th</sup>** To the house Mass. Av. C<sup>d</sup> with M<sup>me</sup> Outrey & Mama on M<sup>rs</sup> Don Cameron, Blaine, I to the McLanes\_to dine with M<sup>rs</sup> Davenport at Wormdays. (Cont Lippe & M<sup>rs</sup> Bosh of the Spanish Leg.) Aftern. with M<sup>rs</sup> D. and son to Miss Carisa Garewell Concert. Not sympathetic, though fine voice.

M<sup>rs</sup> J. D. Cameron was the former Elizabeth Sherman, a niece of General W. T. Sherman and Senator J. Sherman. She married in 1878 James Donald Cameron, the Senator from Pennsylvania during 1877–1897, Secretary of War 1876–1877 under Grant, and a widower of twice her age. He was also Chairman of the Republican National Committee during Hayes' campaign and term. His father, Simon Cameron, was Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury before being removed for flagrant corruption. He was referred to as “M<sup>r</sup> Corruption” of the Republican Party and is famous for the comment that “an honest politician

<sup>5</sup><https://www.masshist.org/collection-guides/view/fap007>

is one when bought, stays bought.” She was close to the Adams for many years and was romantically linked to Henry following the death of Clover. The story of this romance is told in *Henry Adams in Love*. [131]

James G. Blaine was Secretary of State; he would be replaced by Frederick T. Frelinghuysen on 12 December. He had represented Maine in congress for 20 years and was a principal power in Republican party politics. He had run for the Republican presidential nomination in 1876 and 1880 and he would be the Republican presidential candidate in 1884 as the “plumed knight,” but clouds of suspicion regarding his honesty would contribute to his loss to the Democrat reform candidate, Grover Cleveland. Theodore Roosevelt fought hard against Blaine’s nomination at the 1884 convention, but he reluctantly supported Blaine after his nomination. Blaine refused the nomination in 1888 on the grounds that having lost once, he would not be the strongest candidate. (If only Richard Nixon had thought along similar lines!) Benjamin Harrison, the “little general,” became the nominee and Blaine regained his position as Secretary of State. Soon thereafter he appointed Amy’s father Minister and Chief Consul to Korea. The leading male character of Adams’ *Democracy*, Senator Silas P. Ratcliffe, was generally believed to be patterned after James G. Blaine. Clover Adams detested Blaine.

M<sup>rs</sup> James G. Blaine’s letters provide, after those of M<sup>rs</sup> Adams, the most informative source of Gilded Age Washington society. Born Harriet Stanwood in 1828, she married Blaine in 1850. She led an incredibly active and by in large happy life until 1893, when in short succession she lost her two elder sons, her daughter, and her husband. The remaining ten years of her life were unhappy to the extreme. A short biography of M<sup>rs</sup> Blaine may be found in Bradford’s *Wives*. [20]

Count Lippe is Count Lippe-Weissenfeld, a counselor of the Austria-Hungary Legation.

**Sat. 19<sup>th</sup>** To choose gas fix. with Phillips. To see M<sup>rs</sup> Phillips (Levy) & M<sup>rs</sup> Robeson. Papa came fr. N.Y.

**Sun. 20<sup>th</sup>** To St. John’s with M<sup>r</sup> Davenport. To see Minnie Stout.

In her letter from M<sup>rs</sup> Henry Adams to her father dated 20 November, M<sup>rs</sup> Adams mentions that

We are going to have a Thanksgiving dinner as well as you: M<sup>rs</sup> Augustine Heard and a beautiful daughter; the Lewenhaupts; Miss Beale; Count Lippe; and Kasson of Iowa, if he accepts. M<sup>r</sup> Heard may be here, so I must keep his place open and get another man too. Mrs. Heard is in a stuffy boarding-house, and looks as if life were a demnition grind. They’ve taken a house here for the winter. Tell Ellen, Mary de Connick, the little sister, was married two weeks ago to a man named Johnson, of Baltimore, without announcing

it beforehand, M<sup>rs</sup> Heard says. I thought folks in boarding-houses and stray diplomats might help in a national sacrifice, and Emily Beale is to be all alone

...

“Mary de Connick” is Mary Taylor De Coninck, Amy’s mother Jane Leep De Coninck’s younger sister, who according to the De Coninck Bible indeed married Thomas Johnson of Baltimore in 1881.

The “man named Johnson” is Thomas Donaldson Johnston, who married Mary Taylor De Coninck on 3 March 1881 in Manhattan, New York City, New York. He was 54 when he was married. The Cuban Passenger Website [www.cubagenweb.org](http://www.cubagenweb.org) shows that T. D. Johnston and his wife arrived in Habana from New York on 16 March 1881, about two weeks after their marriage.

Kasson is John Adam Kasson (1822–1910) was returning to Congress as a Republican from Iowa after four years in Vienna as American Minister to Austria-Hungary. He was a candidate in December for Speaker of the House, but lost to Keifer of Ohio.

**Mon. 21st** Papa, Mama & I by 10.30 train to Baltimore to see old M<sup>rs</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Kim & dine with her at 5 O’clock.

M<sup>r</sup>Hollins M<sup>c</sup>K her son \_\_ Miss Loulie M<sup>c</sup>K. & Alex. M<sup>c</sup>K her grandchildren & sister Miss Cordelia Hollins. To see old M<sup>rs</sup> Chatard\_M<sup>rs</sup> Grace\_ the Lydia Howards. Greenmount to Grandmama’s grave.

The McKim family was a major business and political family in Baltimore and the name crops up along with Lemuel Taylor’s in Chapter 2, especially John McKim, Jr. and his cousin Isaac McKim (1775-1838).

The Baltimore junkyard photo album contains several photos labeled as being McKims. This journal item provides a significant sampling of the a branch of the McKims in 1881 Baltimore which connects Augustine Heard, Jr., with the family before his 1858 marriage to Jane Leep De Coninck, and also connects the family with Jane’s grandfather Lemuel Taylor. Isaac McKim was a contemporary colleague and ship co-owner with Lemuel Taylor. In addition, both Lemuel and Isaac were members of Maryland military units in the War of 1812 and the defense of Baltimore as well as partners in civic activities and fundraising.

Isaac McKim married Ann Hollins, the daughter of William Hollins (1756-1810) and Mary Simpson (1750-1810). They had no children, but Isaac’s brother William Duncan McKim (1779-1834) had many children, including William McKim (1808-1879) – the witness for Augustine Heard Jr.’s passport application in Baltimore in 1858, where William testified that he had known Gus for a long enough time to vouch for his citizenship and birth.

“Old M<sup>rs</sup>M<sup>c</sup>Kim” is Margaret Dugan (Hollins) McKim (1810–1887), the widow of William McKim, whom she had married in 1831. Margaret was the daughter of Rebecca Dugan

(1788-1869) and John Smith Hollins (1787-1856), the mayor of Baltimore from 1851 to 1854.

One of her sisters was Cordelia D. Hollins (1822-1892). I have found no connection between the Hollins family names of William's wife Margaret and his uncle Isaac's wife Ann.

Hollins McKim is the son of William and Margaret. "Miss Loulie M<sup>c</sup>Kim and Alex." were Louisa McKim (1861-1923) — Loulie is a nickname for Louisa — and Alexander (1860-1864). Loulie and Amy were close in age. Loulie and Alex were children of Hollin's brother Isaac (1839-1872) and his wife Louisa Baldwin (Church) Latrobe (1839-1922), two of Margaret's grandchildren. Of William and Margaret's children, only Hollins and Isaac had children. It is notable that that the Heards continued their friendship with the family of William McKim from antebellum times.

Grandmama is Amelia W. DeConinck and Greenmount is Green Mount Cemetery in Baltimore. The grave is shown in Fig. 5.5. Jane Heard's brother Frank De Coninck was interred in the same plot and later in 1884 Jane's sister Amelia Henrietta (De Coninck) Pelletier would join them.

**22<sup>d</sup> Tues.** To 1777 Mass. Av. A.M. Mama & I out with M<sup>me</sup> Outrey in the P.M. to see wall papers. Call on M<sup>rs</sup> J. Davis. M<sup>lle</sup> de Chambrun, M<sup>rs</sup> Davenport, M<sup>rs</sup> Adams, the R. McLanes. Count & Countess Lewenhaupt, Swedish Minister. Viconte & V<sup>tes</sup> de Nogueiras, Portuguese min. called yesterday.

M<sup>lle</sup> de Chambrun is Marie Thérèse Virginie Françoise de Chambrun (30 June 1860, Essay, Orne – 17 January 1948, Algiers) who in 1895 married the explorer of Africa Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza. She was usually known as Thérèse de Chambrun. She was the daughter of the Marquis de Chambrun, the French counsel before the French and American Claims Commission. Through her mother she was a descendant of the Marquis de La Fayette. Like many of Amy's friends encountered in Amy's journal, Thérèse was close to Amy in age.

Thérèse's name now crops up on the Web mostly through association with her husband. His usual description as an explorer barely touches his career, which is easily found by Web searching. Some key points are that he not only explored the regions of modern Congo and Gabon, but he cultivated friendship with indigenous tribes and spent much of life attempting to develop relationships with France and preserving the rights and culture against the rapacious European Colonial interests of the period. He was instrumental in the attempt to eliminate slavery in the region. But following his retirement and departure and his marriage to Chambrun, he was asked to return to the region because of mounting problems between the French administration and the peoples of the region. He was in the process of preparing a highly critical report, when pressure from colonial authorities and ill health led to his departure for France, but he died before returning. Most accounts

list the cause as dysentery, but his wife insisted for the rest of her life that he had been poisoned by colonial officials to prevent his return to France. She refused French efforts to return his remains to France for internment in the Pantheon, instead arranging for his internment in Algiers with an epitaph of her own composition. She and their four children would later join him. He was unusual as a European colonialist of Africa in that a city named after him, Brazzaville — the capital of the Republic of the Congo, also known as Congo-Brazzaville to distinguish it from its larger neighbor, the Democratic Republic of the Congo — has not shed its colonial name.

The Visconde de Nogueiras (1824-1888) was Jacintho Augusto de Sant'Anna e Vasconcellos Moniz de Bettencourt, second Visconde das Nogueiras.<sup>6</sup> He was the Portuguese Minister Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary (Ambassador) to Washington 1878–1888. In *The Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams* [3]. In her letter to her father of 18 January 1882 Mrs Adams wrote

Yesterday Nogueiras, Portuguese Minister, and his wife came in before tea-time; *he* is very nice, she colossally dull but a Vicomtesse, to keep the balance socially. [3], p. 327

Most important for our story, their daughter M<sup>lle</sup> Mathilde de Nogueiras would become one of Amy's best friends, appearing often in her journals and letters.

**23<sup>rd</sup> W.** Rained all day & not out.

**24<sup>th</sup> Th.** Thanksgiving Ch. Papa, Mama, & I dined at M<sup>rs</sup> Henry Adams with Count & C<sup>tesse</sup> Lewenhaupt, Miss Beal, C<sup>t</sup> Lippe & Capt. Dewey who took me in.

M<sup>rs</sup> Henry Adams writes on 27 November 1881 to her father:

Our Thanksgiving dinner went off gaily; it grew to ten and Herbert Wadsworth came in to dessert and stayed till midnight to tell us about the South and cotton gins. M<sup>r</sup> Heard came with his wife and daughter, Lewenhaupts, Lippe, Miss Beale, and Captain Dewey, all Dinnerless folks.

Captain Dewey is the future Admiral Dewey, the hero of the battle of Manila in the Spanish-American war.

In her letter of 11 December she further writes

By the way, M<sup>rs</sup> Heard was much interested to see Miss Beale on Thanksgiving Day, having heard of her in Newport as the authoress of *Democracy* in collusion with Herbert Wadsworth, whom she accused of it after Miss Beale had gone. He looked very conscious and embarrassed and when we told Emily Beale she only gasped. So her fury of last year may have been a blind.

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<sup>6</sup><http://bettenco.my.megamet.net/bett0021.htm>

The Washington political novel *Democracy* [2] with its characters based on leading figures of the time (including James G. Blaine) was published anonymously in 1880 and was the best selling book of the year. It was attributed to many authors, its true author was a well-kept secret until Henry Adams confessed to it many years later.

**28<sup>th</sup> Mon.** Down town with Mama. \_ with Min. St. to dress-maker Jackson \_to see M<sup>rs</sup> D<sup>r</sup> P. Riske. M<sup>rs</sup> Adams with Mama. \_ M<sup>rs</sup> Blaine, Miss Knight, Miss Mixtur c<sup>d</sup>.

**Tues. 29<sup>th</sup>** Mama in town with M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins & back to lunch with her. Miss Beal, M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Pattison, c<sup>d</sup>. To Miss Knight's. M<sup>r</sup> Davenport & Babcock came in after din.

Mrs and Miss Pattison are Serafina Catherine (Webster) Pattison and her daughter Maria W. Pattison. The Websters were neighbors of the Taylors in Cuba and Serafina was the sister of Maria Louisa (Webster) Taylor, the wife of Alexander Taylor, the brother of Jane De Coninck's mother. Hence the Pattisons can be considered as "Taylor Cousins," at least by marriage. Sarafina was born in Cuba, 10/29/1818. She married Thomas Pattison a young officer in the U.S. Navy in 1850, a not uncommon fate for the daughters of American colonial planters in Cuba at the time. By 1881 Thomas Pattison had risen to the rank of Commodore (a one-star Admiral). He became a Rear Admiral in 1883 and retired in 1884. Sarafina's daughter Maria W. Pattison was born in Baltimore on 12 April 1851. [10] Admiral Pattison died in Staten Island, NY, 1891. Serafina then lived in New Brighton, Long Island, NY.

**Wed. 30<sup>th</sup>** To the house & M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins.

### 9.3 December

**Thurs. 1<sup>st</sup> Dec.** Mamma, Max & I dined at M<sup>me</sup> O. at 6. to Willard's hall aftern. to sell at her stalls in a fair for St Matthew's Church. C<sup>d</sup> with Jinny M<sup>c</sup>L. on the Hunts (Sec.) Miss Beal, M<sup>rs</sup> Emory, M<sup>rs</sup> Cameron, M<sup>rs</sup> L. Irving.

Willard's Hotel was one of Washington's best known hotels. It was there that Ulysses S. Grant stayed when he first arrived in Washington. Secretary Hunt was William Henry Hunt (1823-1884) was the United States Secretary of the Navy from March 1881 through April 1882. His daughter Cornelia Ridgely Hunt (1861-1930) was Amy's peer.

**Friday 2<sup>d</sup>** Breakf. at J. M<sup>rs</sup> L. With Miss Hunt. M<sup>rs</sup> Ross Ray, C<sup>t</sup> Lewenhaupt c<sup>d</sup>.

**Sat. 3<sup>rd</sup>** To Georgetown wharf with Mama & M<sup>rs</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lean. To M<sup>rs</sup> Phillips in the af. M<sup>rs</sup> Schuyler Crowninshield.

### 9.3.1 Crowninshield, Endicott, and Peabody

Mrs. Schuyler Crowninshield was born Mary Bradford (1844-1913), a successful author of Victorian fiction under the name of Mary Bradford Crowninshield. Her husband Arent Schuyler Crowninshield (3/14/1843-5/27/1908) was born in New York, graduated from the United States Naval academy in 1863, and immediately went into service with the U.S. Navy during the Civil War. In 1881 he held the rank of commander. He was promoted to Captain in 1894, he took command of the battleship *Maine* in September 1895 at her commissioning, leaving in 1897 to become chief of the Bureau of Navigation with the rank of Rear Admiral. *Maine* was sunk following an explosion in Havana harbor the following year.

Schuyler Crowninshield's ancestors rose to wealth and prominence in in pre-revolutionary Salem, Massachusetts, in the fledgeling New England maritime shipping industry and the family was notable for its maritime, business, political, and military service. The Crowninshields intermarried with other New England families who will enter Amy's journal and her correspondents, in particular the Endicott and Peabody families. It will speed up future introductions and should help reduce the confusion of similar names if the primary close connections are described now. It takes a paragraph to describe the primary Crowninshield-Endicott-Peabody connections of Amy's epoch.

The first connection is that Schuyler Crowninshield was a first cousin of William Crowninshield Endicott since Schuyler's father William Crownshield (1802-1880) was the brother of Mary Croninshield (1804-1838) who married William Putnum Endicott, William Crowninshield Endicott's parents.

The second connection is that William Crowninshield Endicott married Ellen Peabody, the daughter of George Peabody (1804-1892) and Clarissa Endicott (1807-1892). As a result, William Crowninshield Endicott and his wife were first cousins. and children had Crowninshield, Endicott, and Peabody ancestors and cousins.

William Crowninshield Endicott and Ellen Peabody Endicott had two children, William Crowninshield Endicott Jr. (1860-1936) and Mary Crowninshield Endicott (1864-1957), the namesake of Schulyer Crowninshield's sister Mary Crowninshield Endicott.

Mary Crowninshield Endicott the younger was a close friend of Amy's and the god-mother of her second son in 1888 and appears in both the journal and the correspondence. As will be seen, Mary C. Endicott lived a long and fascinating life. An entertaining illustrated biography of her life can be found in Donna A. Seger's blog *Streets of Salem*.<sup>7</sup> Mary was called the "Puritan Princess" by the press when her marriage to William Chamberlain, a member off the British Legation to the U.S., was rumored and then took place in November 1888. Seger's article is a great story with newspaper clippings and images and provides wonderful background for their correspondence that month, when Amy's second son was born.

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<sup>7</sup><https://streetsofsalem.com/tag/mary-endicott/>

**Sun. 4<sup>th</sup>** To Ch. Major Ferguson walked home with me. C<sup>d</sup> on M<sup>rs</sup> Ross Ray, M<sup>me</sup> Outrey. In the af to M<sup>rs</sup> Robeson's Reception. M<sup>rs</sup> Hale, M<sup>r</sup> Boutrell, Woodbury Blair, Bliss, Kasson, presented & Miss Warden.

Woodbury Blair was lawyer Levi Woodbury Blair (1852-1933), the son of Montgomery and Mary Elizabeth (Minna) Woodbury Blair, two longtime Washington political and society insiders. He grew up in a Federal Era house on Pennsylvania Avenue NW, a house now known as Blair House, the President's Guest House. Woodbury grew up in a wealthy family and spent summers at their summer home in Newport. He was the grandfather of the actor Montgomery Clift. <sup>8</sup>

**Mon. 5<sup>th</sup>** At the house all day\_ Lunched at M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins & down town for npapers. M<sup>rs</sup> Blaine, M<sup>rs</sup> A. Bliss c<sup>d</sup>. Letter from Minnie Griswold announcing her engagement to M<sup>r</sup> John Forbes.

John Murray Forbes, Jr., the son the Rev'd John Murray Forbes, a second cousin of the John Murray Forbes of Russell & Co.

**Dec. 6<sup>th</sup> tues.** To the house in the morning. Lunch at the Knight's with M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins, Miss Mixer, M<sup>lle</sup> de Nogueiras & M<sup>lle</sup> Martinez. It being Miss K.'s recep. day, stayed till aftern. M<sup>r</sup> Ogdens drove me home.

This Journal entry introduces two young women of roughly Amy's age who will appear frequently in her journals and also crop up in her correspondence. Both young women will go on to lead fascinating lives and merit detours from the Journal entries to provide something of their origins and lives.

### 9.3.2 Mathilde de Nogueiras

Mathilde de (or das) Nogueiras (1859-1941). is first mentioned in Amy's journals in the above 6 December 1881 entry. She was born Mathilde de Sousa Sant'Anna e Vasconcellos Moniz de Bettencourt in Madiera, Portugal. <sup>9</sup>

Mathilde can be found in many books, articles, and Websites, but all of these sources are focused on another woman — Mathilde's music teacher and long time associate Pauline Viardot (1821-1910), born Pauline Garcia in Spain. Mme. Viardot was a leading nineteenth-century French mezzo-soprano, pianist, pedagogue, and composer <sup>10</sup> and one of the major

<sup>8</sup>[https://www.ghi-dc.org/fileadmin/publications/Other/Blair-house\\_web\\_update\\_low.pdf](https://www.ghi-dc.org/fileadmin/publications/Other/Blair-house_web_update_low.pdf)

<sup>9</sup><http://bettenco.my.meganet.net/bett0021.htm> which cites *das Origens Normandas à Expansão Atlântico* by J. Moniz de Bettencourt. Lisboa: Ramos, Afonso & Moita, Lda., 1993

<sup>10</sup>[https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cendrillon\\_\(Viardot\)](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cendrillon_(Viardot))

forces in European music and culture in the nineteenth century. It is appropriate to begin Mathilde's history with some history about her far more famous teacher, mentor, and friend, whose life provides a unique image of the European music, art, literature, and culture of the nineteenth century.

Many biographies of Pauline have been written through the years, including *Pauline Viardot* by Patrick Barbier (2009) [16] (in French) and *The Europeans: Three Lives and the Making of a Cosmopolitan Culture* by Orlando Figes [57], both of which mention Mathilde de Nogueiras. The "Three Lives" of Figes' book were Pauline, her husband Louis Viardot, and their intimate friend Ivan Tourguénieff or Turgenev, the Russian author and translator influential in introducing Russian literature and music to western European countries. He was also an early activist for international copyright law to protect the royalties of authors against unauthorized foreign editions of their work.

Pauline Garcia was born into a musical family whose fame was and remains immense. She was a daughter of an internationally famous Spanish tenor Manuel Garcia and her older sister Maria — known as *la Malibran* — was generally acknowledged as the greatest soprano of her time. Pauline's brother Manuel also had an international reputation in music. Pauline gained fame very young as a promising piano player, as a teenager she was a pupil of Franz Liszt, following early rigorous training by her father. When Pauline's elder sister Maria Malibran died young following a horseback riding accident, Pauline was re-directed from piano into the singing profession by her parents. Pauline's fame as a piano player, however, grew throughout her life and she taught generations of piano players and singers, including Mathilde.

The Garcias founded a lineage of *Bel Canto*, a style of singing dominant for much of the nineteenth century which remains a strong presence, and left a huge repertory of music and pedagogy.

Mme. Viardot's social network included many remarkable figures of the epoch as close friends. She is said to have turned down Musset's proposal for marriage and instead married a well-established theater director (including the Italian Opera of Paris) and critic, Louis Viardot, who became her manager and devoted himself to her career. Louis Viardot was also an active republican thinker and writer as well as a translator. His translation of *Don Quixote* into French was long considered the best. George Sand had been instrumental in the couple's friendship and marriage and Sand and Viardot remained intimate friends until Sand's death in 1876. Pauline arranged music for librettos written by Musset, Turgenev and other famous writers of the time. She was close friends with Clara Schumann and knew Brahms, Rossini, Wagner, Hugo, Chopin, Berlioz, Lamartine, Dickens, Flaubert, and Maupassant. She became fluent in Spanish, French, Italian, English, German, and Russian and she wrote, arranged, and sang music in all of them and toured extensively while doing so.

Pauline traveled extensively in her early life, living for many years in Paris, Baden-Baden, and England. Following her official retirement as a singer and with-

drawal from public performance in 1861 she began a long “retirement,” but continued an active career of teaching, composing, writing, and hosting Paris salons almost until her death in 1910.

Over many years she published in many volumes a monumental collections of scores and commentary entitled *École Classique de Chant: Collection de morceaux choisis dans les chefs-d’œuvre des plus grands maitres classiques Italiens, Allemands et Français avec le style, l’accentuation, le phrasé & les nuances propres à l’interprétation traditionnelle des ces œuvres*. She began publishing privately this encyclopedic classic in 1861 [16], but by 1886 the volumes typically grouped by composer were being published by Hamelle in Paris, and with time versions in Spanish, Italian, German, and English appeared. The method of singing developed by her father and her was adopted at the Conservatoire de Paris and it is still actively taught.

Following the deaths of her husband Louis Viardot and their close friend Ivan Turgenev in 1883, she abandoned her grand houses for a Parisian apartment at 243, boulevard Saint-Germain, facing the Palais-Bourbon and the Place de la Concorde. She spent the rest of her long life teaching, composing, promoting young promising musicians, and hosting her musical salons.

During her final years she was daily cared for by her former student and devoted friend – Mathilde de Nogueiras. Mathilde is usually mentioned at the end of biographies of Viardot as her constant companion and caretaker or nurse [16] [57]. She was also praised in the press as an eminent singer and teacher in her own right.

It is not clear exactly when Mathilde began as a pupil of Pauline, but it was doubtless in Paris where Viardot lived after her withdrawal from active performance and likely after the 1883 death of Louis and Ivan, during whose final years Pauline had fewer students and spent a great deal of time caring for her husband and friend.

Circumstantial evidence suggests that Mathilde became a student of Pauline not long after Pauline’s 1884 move to her St. Germain apartment.

On 2 April 1903 *Figaro* reported

Mlle de Nogueiras, l’éminent professeur de chant élève de Mme Viardot, qui depuis la mort de son père le vicomte de Nogueiras, ministre de Portugal à Washington, s’est installée à Paris il y a bientôt dix-sept ans, a donné une très intéressante matinée.

noting that Mathilde had installed herself in Paris 16 years earlier following the death of her father and that by 1903 the former student of Mme Viardot was herself an eminent singing teacher. The article goes on to name Mathilde’s students who had performed. So it seems likely that Mathilde was a student of Pauline not later than 1888, and further evidence verifies that Mathilde was an aspiring singer and an associate of Pauline even earlier.

Fig. 9.2 shows that by 1887 Pauline knew and thought highly enough of Mathilde to dedicate one of her songs to her. *Madrid* – a *bolero* with words provided by a poem written many years earlier by Alfred Musset.

42

## MADRID

A Mademoiselle MATHILDE de NOGUEIRAS.

POÉSIE DE ALFRED DE MUSSET.      MUSIQUE DE PAULINE VIARDOT.

N<sup>o</sup> 1.  
Baryton ou Mezzo-Soprano.

Tempo di Bolero:

CHANT. Ma . drid, \_\_\_\_\_

PIANO. *mf*      *sf*

Figure 9.2: Madrid

Earlier evidence does not mention Pauline specifically, but demonstrates Mathilde's interest, experience, and ability in music. A letter from Josefina Martinez to Amy of 5 October 1886 following Josefina's return from Europe to Chile (in Chapter 11) informed Amy that Mathilde had decided to pursue a career as a professional singer. Given Mathilde's closeness to Pauline by 1887, it seems likely that Mathilde was already actively involved with Pauline. The previous year, Mathilde's early musical talents were pointed out in known October 1885 in *The Graphic* – an illustrated weekly newspaper published in Cincinnati, Ohio, where it was reported that

Mlle Nogueiras, daughter of the Portuguese Minister, who delighted many people with her singing at Newport, Narragansett and New York, has returned to the city. Mlle. Nogueiras proposes giving a concert at Masonic Temple, the 31st, for the benefit of a destitute family.

A few months earlier, Mathilde and her mother attended a tea in Washington D.C. near Dupont Circle according to the 19 April 1885 local newspaper *The Republic*.

Mathilde de Nogueiras occasionally used the stage name Mathilde Marcello, and is so named in some of the reviews of her concerts. A few of these sources merit being quoted in order to describe Mathilde's future and hints of her at the time she knew Amy.

Further evidence of a close relationship between Mathilde and Pauline appeared in *Asmodeo: Monitore Artistico –Teatrale con Annessa Agenzia*, published on 22 December, 1887, in Milan:

Matilde Marcello — Sotto questo name la gentile signorina De Noguèiras, chiamata al teatro da un grande trasporto per l'arte, farà il suo debutto cell'entracte carnevale al teatro di Crema, Dotata di una voca di soprano bella e simpatica, educata dalia Viardot, non v'ha dubbia che un lieto avvenire arriderá alla giovane esordiente.

which Google Translate plus a little tweaking yields

Matilde Marcello — Under this name the gentle signorina De Noguèiras, called to the theater by a great passion for art, will make her debut at the Carnival entracte at the theater of Crema. Equipped with a beautiful and sympathetic soprano voice, educated by Viardot, there is no doubt that a happy future will smile on the young rookie.

The stage name *Marcello* might have been given by the teacher Mme Viardot to her pupil Mathilde in honor of the composer Bennetto Marcello, whose *Psaume* was a favorite of Pauline's in her promotion of ancient music in her negotiations for concerts.

Mathilde's debut in 1888 at the Real Theatro de S. Carlos (Royal Theater of San Carlos) is described in many sources. The book *O Real Theatro de S. Carlos de Lisboa: Memorias 1883-1902* by Francisco da Fonseca Benevides mentions Mathilde Marcello several times. The book primarily deals with foreign singers performing at the theater, but it also emphasizes singers of Portuguese origin who have achieved fame in Europe and America, in which list he includes Mathilde Marcello on p. 6, and on p. 7. includes her in the Portuguese singers performing at the Real Theatro do S. Carlos in 1888. In the Chapter on the 1887-1888 her debut is described in more detail:

Na noite do mesmo dia realisou-se um concerto em beneficio de Mathilde Marcello, filla de Jacintho de Santa Anna e Vasconcellos, visconde das Nogueiras. A beneficiada cantou a aria das joia do *Fausto*, a *Serenota* de Braga com acompanhamento obrigado de violino por Julio Caggiani, a aria de opera *Cid*, de Massenet, o lamento *J'en mourrais*, de M<sup>me</sup> Viardot, e a aria do 4.o acto da *Forza del Destino*. Cantaram tambem Antonio Andrade e Francisco Andrade, tocou harpa M<sup>lle</sup> Luisello, e tocou piano Rey-Collacço.

My unreliable translation (again tweaked Google):

On the night of the same day, a concert for the benefit of Mathilde Marcello, daughter of Jacintho de Santa Anna and Vasconcellos, Viscount das Nogueiras. The beneficiary sang the aria of the jewels of *Fausto*, the *Serenota* of Braga with violin accompaniment by Julio Caggiani from Massenet's opera aria *Cid*, the *J'en lament mourrais*, by Mme Viardot, and the aria from the 4th act of *Forza del Destino*. with Antonio and Francisco Andrade also singing, Mlle Louisello playing the harp, and Rey-Collaço played the piano.

The quote provides further evidence that the actual identity of Mathilde Marcello as the daughter of the Viscount de Nogueiras was well known and provides detailed examples drawn from her repertoire, which includes a piece by her teacher, Mme Viardot.

A far less formal, but perhaps more informative, is a review of a preview of her concert that took place in December 1887. The review appeared in *A Imprensa: Revista Científica, Litteraria E Artistica*, Nos. 30 and 31, edited by Affonso Vargas and published in Lisbon, Portugal.<sup>11</sup> The byline for the review is *Viator*, whose column appears in other issues of the magazine, but who is not identified.

The translation is my own, aided by my transcription (OCR was laughable) plus translation software from both Google and DeepL a Portuguese-English dictionary app with several passes of editing and resolution of nonsense and multiple meanings yielded the following. Should the opportunity arise, I hope to get a more reliable translation.

#### A CONCERT IN S. CARLOS

⋮

the concert in in San Carlos that will soon be announced, where a new singer will appear for the first time in Portugal — Mathilde Marcello,

I prefer to give her this name, as it is the name that the gentle daughter of Sant'Anna and Vasconcellos has decided to adopt. There are certain names that even said or written *tout court*, represent, on the contrary, a proof of higher and more enviable regard.

Having explained this, I am certainly excused from telling you who Mathilde Marcello is, since almost all of my oldest and most distinguished colleagues in journalism have referred with sympathetically and affectionally to the the gentle daughter of the Viscount das Nogueiras.

⋮

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<sup>11</sup>[http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/OBRAS/IMPRESA/N32\\_33/N32\\_33\\_master/N32\\_33.pdf](http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/OBRAS/IMPRESA/N32_33/N32_33_master/N32_33.pdf)

It has been ten years, good God! And it still seems like yesterday!

Mathilde Marcello, then still known only as Dona Mathilde de Sant'Anna e Vasconcellos, was an interesting and lovely girl of twenty, bright, intelligent, educated and original with an unexpected and fascinating look in her eyes, a simple and frank manner in her speech, a pittoresque and novel grace her gesture; and over all a very soft perfume of youth, kindness, and beauty exhaling from her whole person, leaving in my poor heart, then eighteen years old, a dizzying and perilous intoxication touched vaguely by a distant passion

...

What the devil, a boy must have soul and blood. And I was a boy. Now I don't know if I still am, but but I was then, I swear it!

Then, Dona Mathilde had such a way of looking at people ... But let's get to the story.

Arriving in Lisbon in the company of her mother and her little brothers, I had the unforgettable pleasure of talking to her for hours that - needless to say - seemed like seconds to me, and listening to her episodes of her trips, the last one that she had made to Peru, for example, and where she had the honor of being attacked, in the the house that she and her family lived in, by a band of robbers. Her presence of mind, rare in many men in a similar situation, very rare in a young lady, almost a child

⋮

Let's continue.

I still remember some English lessons that this future star in the lyrical world, because in the the other world, that is, the one in which we live, she was already a star long ago; remind me still, as I was going to say, of those lessons given with a grace and a patience ... from a patient girl, to a clumsy boy who has constantly shown an invincible repugnance for the language of John Bull.

The words, which I shamelessly mangled and which which she corrected with the proficiency of one who speaks four or five languages perfectly! ... Just talking about this makes me feel again a certain visceral beating in my chest.

...

My God! How I was enraptured to hear her and to see her speak! And, yes, gentlemen, there are certain people who are graceful and captivating even with their lips.

But I still want to whisper to you here, quietly, so that she doesn't hear, that I have also heard her sing.

There was talk of Verdi's Masked Ball, and how the critics will laugh at my profane ignorance and my bad taste in music! — that I found fine, delicate, even malicious, the famous aria of the page in in the fourth act: then Mathilde, with that fine intention of her sex, when she wants to be delicate and and kind, sang for me to hear the whole passage that I had and, as to the voice, if my ear and my memory do not betray me, I must tell you that her singing was vibrant, Argentinean, clear with delicacy and color?

I don't know if she has lost in intensity what she undoubtedly has acquired in security, in science and in art, but if it was a voice to warm and enchant. At least it warmed me, but it did not enchant me because — between us — I was already there ...

Add to this add an American education, broad, virile, sincere, an education that taught her to treat even the most obscure person like me with a deftness both familiar and shy, a certain air of frankness and candor, which puts one at ease with this girl, the daughter of a diplomat, noble by birth and by education. No one would fail, however, to pay her the respect that was due to her.

She was in the middle of Lisbon alone, or with her brothers, some children, and, watching her pass by, it seemed that nature had evolved her into a privileged nimbus of purity and dignity, which made her intangible to the temerity or rudeness of any impudent person, drawing a line of distance so marked that they would not dare cross it.

I hide here the treasures of fraternal devotion, the thousand cares and the prodigious *interior* science that this girl developed at home, because they are not the the subject of this chronicle, and I only wish that many of her compatriots, and even those who are not, see how one can be a lady of the house at the same time, a model housewife, a model, everything, from the seasoning the dishes on a menu, to the palatial phrases of a parlor conversation, and in everything putting a delicate and distinct note, full of perfume, full of elegance ...

Her sad, sad condition, seeing herself forced to exchange all this for the stormy and uncertain life, and cruel supplication for her most delicate and secret instincts of a lady educated in such a divine atmosphere!

But, since Destiny — with a capital D, to see it well — has so willed it, let her at least repay her in ovations and triumphs for her sacrifice of many illusions, let her give her wings ...

After this, I could only recommend her to the the artistic soul of the public of S. Carlos, requesting a tribute that they sometimes know how to pay to those who manage to stir up character; but I fear the recommendation will prejudge her, and I prefer to remind her that not to forget the concert.

As for Mathilde Marcello, who today may not even remember me, forgive me for having evoked in these lines at least a few shades of her sympathetic and adorable profile, and accept, not in the name of a past that died with all that was ideal and beautiful, but in the name of the present, for me, an obscure hard worker of the pen, perhaps smiling for her because it allows her to foresee a glorious future, — accept this echo of my soul, which *was* the most vivid homage that I can offer you, while the night will not come when I confuse the public applause with my own, which will not be the least sincere and which consecrates it, — believe me.

VIATOR

In 1889 Mathilde returned to the U.S. and gave a concert in New York City at the Steinway Hall, originally located at East 14th Street in New York. *Wikipedia* says that

It was a place that would serve as an advertising as well a performance center for artists and the general public. After the hall was first opened on October 31, 1866 until 1890, it became one of New York's leading cultural centers, serving as the home of the New York Philharmonic and as a forum for public meetings. In 1890, Steinway Hall was "superseded by Carnegie Hall as the city's principal concert auditorium." Later on in 1925 a new Steinway Hall opened on West 57th Street, across the street from Carnegie Hall.

Two reviews of her concert provide information of Mathilde's standing within the music world. The right-hand review is by the *Montreal Herald's* correspondent in New York. It is more sympathetic and less snarky, and adds the observation that Mathilde's singing career was motivated by her lack of an expected inheritance.

NEW-YORK DAILY TRIBUNE  
THURSDAY MAY 21 1889  
**Mlle. DE NOGUEIRAS AT STEINWAY HALL**

Mlle. de Nogueiras, daughter of the late Minister from Portugal to this country, gave a concert yesterday afternoon in the smaller Steinway Hall. There was a large attendance, and, considering that the audience was composed principally of ladies, a great deal of enthusiasm was displayed. Mlle. de Nogueiras has a pleasant and strong mezzo-soprano, a little affected by a tremolo, but generally under good control and most effective in the middle and lower registers, she was heard in selections from several operas, and also in Rode's "air and variations," which is so dear to the ears of ambitious vocalists. For this, however, her voice is somewhat heavy, and her vocalization was not all that could be wished in either facility or accuracy of pitch. Mlle. de Nogueiras is said to have met with success in Italy as an operatic prima donna, and is about to return there to fill engagements already made.

*The Montreal herald*  
samedi 25 mai 1889  
New York Gossip **Mlle. DE  
NOGUEIRAS' CONCERT,**

which took place yesterday afternoon at Steinway Hall, was a musical and social success. Mlle. de Nogueiras is the daughter of the late Vicomte de Nogueiras, Portuguese Minister at Washington. Her father dying with an encumbered estate, compelled the lady to utilize her musical talent. Her voice, which is naturally charming in its soprano qualities, has been cultivated by Viardot, and last winter Mlle. de Nogueiras sang with great success in Milan and Turin. She returns to Europe this coming Saturday to fulfill engagements abroad.

Other articles sample Mathilde's career as a disciple of Mme Viardot.

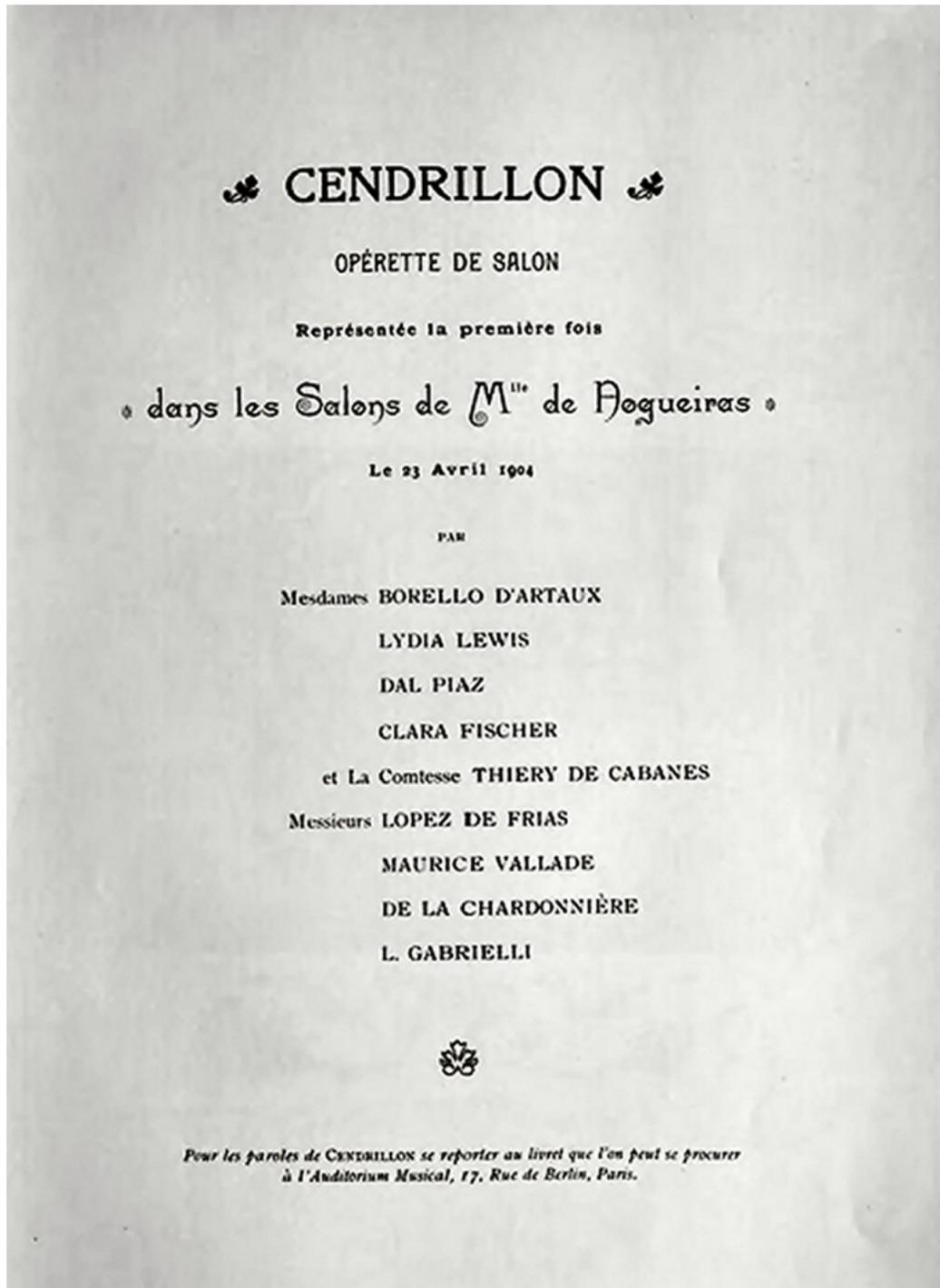
*Figaro* 1895-01-28 Paris

Musique intime avant-hier soir chez Mme Ch. de Bériot, femme du professeur au Conservatoire, en son hôtel de la rue Eugène-Flachat. Le maître de la maison a remporté un triple succès de compositeur, d'exécutant et de père, car ses deux charmantes filles, formées à son école, sont des musiciennes consommées. Les autres interprètes du programme étaient Mlle Nogueiras., M. G. Pierron qui, accompagné par l'archet de Mendels, a chanté l'Angelus, une des pages les plus saisissantes du regretté Benjamin Godard, et M. Hasseimans, un tout jeune violoncelliste, fils du célèbre harpiste.

*Musical Courier:*  
*A Weekly Journal*  
1898-5-25 New York

**From Paris:**

A very élite and brilliant concert was given this week of the works of Mme. Pauline Viardot by Mlle. Nogueiras.

Figure 9.3: *Cendrillon* Premier Playbill 23 April 1904

Nearly two decades after the publication of *Madrid* and a decade and half after Mathilde's concert in New York, when Viardot was 83 and in poor health, Viardot's final but best known operetta de salon *Cendrillon* premiered 23 April 1904 "dans les salons parisiens de Mathilde de Nogueiras où l'œuvre fut créée."<sup>12</sup> The piece along with an extensive catalog and index of the works of Viardot can be found in *The Musical Works of Pauline Viardot-Garcia (1821-1910) A chronological catalogue, with an index of titles and a list of writers set, composers arranged, & translators and arrangers; together with the musical incipits of works and a discography*.<sup>13</sup> The Playbill and the catalog observe that the work was dedicated to "Mademoiselle Mathilde de Nogueiras." The catalog comments that

Cendrillon, a chamber operetta for voices and piano, was indeed first produced in the apartment of Mathilde de Nogueiras, but, despite what its title seems to imply, the performances took place actually from March to May 1904

and then cites several publications of the time providing the dates of performances. It was also reported to have been presented privately in the Salon of Pauline Viardot in February 1904. So the "Premier" in April can be viewed as the first performance officially open to the public. An article in the 1 March 1904 issue of *Le Guide Musical: revue internationale de la musique et des théâtres* reported

Bien qu'elles ne soient pas sorties d'un cercle extrêmement privé, je crois intéressant de signaler ici les représentations qui viennent d'être données — dans les salons de M<sup>lle</sup> de Nogueiras, l'éminent professeur de chant, et par ses élèves, — d'une oeuvre nouvelle de M<sup>me</sup> Pauline Viardot, un petit opéra-comique intitulé *Cendrillon*. Un octogénaire plantait... M<sup>me</sup> Viardot chante, et chantera toute sa vie : si ce n'est pas avec sa voix, c'est avec les compositions dramatiques, mélodiques ou instrumentales que lui inspire sa verve intarissable. Et jamais cette inspiration ne prendra de rides. C'est par la fraîcheur des idées et l'harmonieuse simplicité de leurs lignes, en même temps que par la couleur expressive de leurs développements qu'on est frappé d'abord à entendre cette oeuvre, écrite comme en se jouant, mais d'ailleurs écrite entièrement par l'illustre artiste, prose, vers, musique. L'histoire de *Cendrillon*, réduite à trois petits tableaux de salon, est ici dans sa forme simple et la grâce enjouée.

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<sup>12</sup><https://www.radiofrance.fr/francemusique/podcasts/musicopolis/1904-pauline-viardot-compose-cendrillon-1877312>

<sup>13</sup>[https://prism.ucalgary.ca/bitstream/handle/1880/49849/Viardot\\_catalogue\\_2013.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](https://prism.ucalgary.ca/bitstream/handle/1880/49849/Viardot_catalogue_2013.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y)

*Cendrillon* was derived from Perrault's classic fairy tale which has been used in operas and live and animated films, including Disney's *Cinderella*. Salon operettas such as Viardo's have been described as "miniature operettas . . . requiring only a handful of voices and piano." The 1904 performances consisted of 7 singers and Mme Viardot herself directing and accompanying the singers on the piano. So at 83 she was the author, composer, director, and orchestra.



Figure 9.4: Mme Viardot & Mathilde de Nogueiras

The only image I have found of Mathilde de Nogueiras is contained in a photograph of Mme Viardot and Mlle de Nogueiras in a Paris park of around 1904, the time of the performance of *Cendrillon*, which appears on the *Shigo Voice Studio* website<sup>14</sup> with a photo

<sup>14</sup><https://www.shigovoicelessons.com/voicetalk/pauline-viardot-garcia-queen-of-bel-canto>

credit to the New York Public Library of the Performing Arts. The Library research help service (both the general and the Music Division) responded to my inquiries regarding the origins and ownership of the original stating that they have no knowledge of the photo and their catalogs do not include any reference to Mathilde de Nogueiras.

Following the death of Pauline Viardot in 1910, Mathilde continued to teach voice and piano.

*Le Figaro*  
lundi 30 Septembre 1912  
**Courrier Musical**

Nous apprenons que Mlle de Nogueiras, élève de Pauline Viardot, et qui l'assistait pour ses leçons dans ses dernières années, continue à diriger son école, et reprend le 1<sup>er</sup> octobre ses leçons de chant et ses cours d'ensemble.

Répertoire française, italien, allemand, anglais et espagnol.

Mlle de Nogueiras recevra le mardi, de 4 à 6 heures, 24, rue de Téhéran.

### 9.3.3 Josefina Martinez



Mlle Martinez was Amy's correspondent Josefina Martinez (b. 1863 Santiago, Chile, d. 1924, London, England), the daughter of Marcial Martínez Cuadros (7/30/1832-2/8/1918), the Minister plenipotentiary (ambassador) of Chile to the United States from summer 1881 through summer 1882. Minister Martinez, a Chilean lawyer and liberal politician. and his wife and daughter were new arrivals in Washington D.C.<sup>15</sup> Minister Martinez' parents were Victoriano Martínez and María Josefa Cuadros Pumarada, which suggests the origin of his daughter's name. Josefina's mother was born Constanza de Ferrari Prieto. The Martinez family spent September 1881 in Newport, Rhode Island<sup>16</sup>, where it is likely

where she met Amy. Martinez did not remain long as Minister to the U.S. It was reported in the Washington, DC, *Sunday herald and weekly national intelligencer* on Apr 30, 1882 that

In June we are to lose another of the diplomats, Señor Martinez, the Chilean Minister, having been promoted in his service and assigned as the Chilean Envoy at the Court of St. James. The beautiful face of Miss Martinez, with its great black eyes, will be sadly missed at social gatherings another winter, but the fair Chileño [sic] will not be forgotten by the circle in which she has been so great a favorite.

Señor Martinez was not highly regarded by official Washington, he was considered naive and not cooperative. There are hints that he refused to go along with U.S. requests for land concessions in the negotiations regarding the Pacific war between Chile and Peru — concessions which would have been financially beneficial to American business interests in the area. Martinez later continued an effective political career in Chile promoting unity among South American Nations and warning against trusting the Northern Power.

Josefina was well educated in her native Chile and traveled widely with her parents during her father's diplomatic career. She became increasingly aware of the differences in quality of life, especially of health care, among the rich nations and the poor. She never married, but after inheriting significant wealth from her parents she used it to create a

<sup>15</sup>"New Diplomats" Column of the *Evening Star* Saturday, Aug 20, 1881, which noted that his daughter was "in society."

<sup>16</sup>Washington D.C. *Evening Star*, Thursday, Sep 15, 1881

foundation and a hospital dedicated to tubercular children. The hospital still exists and Josefina's story can be found on their website.<sup>17</sup>

Perhaps Amy's meeting with Martinez influenced her to switch to Spanish for further entries. Amy doubtless learned Spanish from her Cuban-born mother while growing up in Paris in the 1860s, and she may have wanted to work on her Spanish in preparation for her upcoming visit the Ingenio Santa Amalia in December 1883 - January 1884. S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia was still owned the De Conincks and Taylors. It also seems likely that Amy's "Aunt Amalia" in Washington DC was actually her Aunt Amelia, Jane's sister Amelia Henrietta De Coninck. Amelia appears to have made the visit to Cuba with Amy and Jane, and definitely returned with them.

When I originally transcribed Amy's Spanish material, I also attempted to translate it into English. When I revisited the journals decades later, I decided to transcribe the Spanish and also provide my translations, which is the approach taken in the letters. I think my transcribing is more reliable than my translating of Spanish, so the reader has access to both – as with the French material, in which I have more confidence.

**Miercoles 7** A la nueva casa todo el dia. Comé en ca. de la Señora John Davis con Mrs Robeson, Miss Stout, M<sup>r</sup> Phillips who took me in. Woodbury Blair, the expert, D<sup>r</sup> Hamilton, M<sup>rs</sup> Robeson– Vinó el Presidente Arthur, muy tarde, como nos queremos marchar y quedamos un rato pero el no me habló.

The President is Chester A. Arthur, who assumed the office following the assassination of James A. Garfield.

**Wednesday 7** At the new house all day. Ate at the house of M<sup>rs</sup> John Davis with M<sup>rs</sup> Robeson, Miss Stout, M<sup>r</sup> Phillips who took me in, Woodbury Blaire, the expert, D<sup>r</sup> Hamilton, M<sup>rs</sup> Robeson – the President, Arthur, arrived very late, as we wanted to leave and we stayed for a while, but he didn't talk to me.

**Jueves 8.** M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Worden (Rear Admiral) nos hicieron v. y el señor W. Hallett Phillips, M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Hunt (secretary navy)

John Lorimer Worden (March 12, 1818 – October 19, 1897) was a U.S. Naval officer in the Civil War, notably commanding the Union ironclad *Monitor* in its inconclusive battle with the Confederate *Virginia*. Mrs Worden was born Olivia Toffey.

William H. Hunt was Secretary of the Navy in the Arthur Administration. His wife was Elizabeth Ridgely Hunt (d. 1864) and their only daughter was Cornelia Ridgely Hunt (1861–1930), about Amy's age.

William Hallett Phillips (1853-1897) was a U.S. Supreme Court lawyer who wrote several books on Supreme Court cases and on National Parks.

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<sup>17</sup><https://www.hospitaljosefinamartinez.cl/conoce-a-josefina-martinez-de-ferrari/>

**Thursday 8.** M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Worden (Rear Admiral) visited us and M<sup>r</sup> W. Hallett Phillips, M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Hunt (secretary navy)

**Fri 9<sup>th</sup>** En la banca para buscar los \$50 que me corrió la vieja Señora P.C. Brooks. Almorzamos en casa de M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins como cada día d'esta semana. Miss Knight called & M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Slack.

**Fri. 9<sup>th</sup>** In the bank to look for the \$50 that the old M<sup>rs</sup> P.C. Brooks sent me. Lunched at the home of M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins each day of the week. Miss Knight called & M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Slack.

**Sat. 10<sup>th</sup>** M<sup>rs</sup> Henry Adams c<sup>d</sup>. Comé a la legacion francesa. 18 personas. la señora Outrey estando mala no pudo comparacer y tomó su sitio la condesa Lewenhaupt. Los de la Barca (ministro español), de Azmacona (Min. Mejicano), señora Martinez y su hija, señorita de Nogueiras, señores Bérard [???] y otros cuyos nombres me escapan.

Papa llegó a N.Y.

**Sat. 10<sup>th</sup>** M<sup>rs</sup> Henry Adams c<sup>d</sup>. Dined at the French Legation. 18 people. M<sup>me</sup> Outrey was sick and could not appear and Countess Lewenhaupt took her place. The de la Barcas (the Spanish Minister), de Zamacona (Mexican Min.), señora Martinez and her daughter, Miss de Nogueiras, M<sup>rs</sup> Bérard [???] and others whose names escape me.

Papa left for N.Y.

Francisco Barca del Corral was Spanish Minister to Washington from 1881 through 1883. M<sup>rs</sup> Henry Adams referred to his wife as being "stout, jolly, and common."

**Domingo 11.** En la Iglesia. Regresó el Señor Woodbury Blair conmigo. Por la noche hemos ido, PP y yo en casa Robeson. Me fueró presentados el ministro belgico, el conde d'Hannetan ? el secretario del estado (Blaine) señores Strong, Belmont.

Woodbury Blair (1852-1933) was a prominent Washington D.C. attorney and the son of Lincoln's Postmaster General, Montgomery Blair. Woodbury Blair had a summer home in Newport.

**Sunday 11.** To church. I returned with M<sup>r</sup> Woodbury Blair. At night Papa and I went to the Robeson's. He presented me to the Belgian Minister, the Count d'Hannetam ?, the Secretary of State (Blaine), M<sup>rs</sup> Strong and Belmont.

**Lunes 12** Todo el día en la nueva casa como de costume. [???] y lunch con la señ. Hopkins.

**Monday 12.** All day in the new house as is customary. [???] and lunch with Mrs. Hopkins.

**Martes 13.** " " Los de Zamacona. (Min. Mejico) visit.

**Tuesday 13.** " " Lunch here. The de Zamacona's (Mexican min.) visit.

**Miercoles 14.**

**Jueves 15.**

**Viernes 16.** Dejamos la casa de M<sup>rs</sup> Penn, 1800 F., y venimos aqui, 1777 Massachusetts Av. Por la tarde vinieron M. y M<sup>me</sup> Outrey y M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins para dar consalos para el arreglo general. Papa se manchó a N.Y. Vinó tambien Min. Stout.

**Friday 16.** We are leaving M<sup>rs</sup> Penn's house at 6PM Friday and coming here, 1777 Massachusetts Av. M. and M<sup>me</sup> Outrey is coming for the afternoon and M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins to give advice on the general arrangements. Papa went away to N.Y. Min. Stout also came.

**Sabado 17.** Dejó Helena la casa Robeson y vinó aqui.

**Saturday 17.** Helene left the Robeson house and came here.

**Domingo 18.** En la iglesia de Epiphany con M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins. Por la tarde con Mama a ver a M<sup>me</sup> Outrey, Bina y sa chicka aqui. M<sup>rs</sup> Phillips y Miss Lee [?], Jinny M<sup>c</sup>Lane y Jenny Pendleton. Por la noche, ibanos Mama y you con los Hopkins, Miss Lee, M<sup>r</sup> Low. Ch. Russell en casa Loring y encontrandó la fastidiosa, concluimos la noche por la [???] de M<sup>rs</sup> Robeson donde habia mucha gente como de costumbre.

**Sunday 18.** To the Church of the Epiphany with M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins. In the afternoon with Mama to see M<sup>me</sup> Outrey, Bina and her daughter. M<sup>rs</sup> Phillips and Miss Lee, Jinny M<sup>c</sup>Lane and Ginny Pendleton. In the evening Mamma and I went with the Hopkins, Miss Lee., M<sup>r</sup> Lowndes & Ch. Russell to the Loring house and found it fastidious. We concluded the night at the [???] of M<sup>rs</sup> Robeson's where it was crowded as usual.

George F. Pendleton was the senator from Ohio. He is mentioned several times in Mrs. Blaine's book. [18] His wife was Ginnie or Jenny (both spellings appear in the journal and other sources) The Loring house is the house of Dr. George Bailey Loring(1817–1891), his second wife Anna (formerly Anna Smith Hildreth), and his daughter Sally by his first wife Mary Pickman Loring. George Loring is one of the more interesting characters to pass regularly through Amy's journal. Perhaps the most concise and precise description of him is that of Joan Maloney:

The man so admired by his contemporaries was, in fact, a splendid example of the venality of our Gilded Age. [90]

Maloney describes in detail Loring's abuse of his wife's fortune and his theft of his daughter Sally's inheritance, but more relevant here is his political and Washington D.C. side.

Tiring of medicine at an early age, he became active in Democratic Party politics and retired from his practice in 1850 when appointed postmaster of Salem, Massachusetts by President Franklin Pierce. Sensing the the political wind changes, he switched parties late in the Civil War, eventually winning election to Congress as a Republican in 1876. He was an early and eager booster for James G. Blaine. When Blaine became President Garfield's Secretary of State he arranged for Loring's appointment as Commissioner of Agriculture (on the day before Garfield's assassination), a position he held until 1885, when he and most Republican office holders were swept out by Grover Cleveland's defeat of James G. Blaine, who had won the nomination over the incumbent Chester A. Arthur. When the Republicans returned to power in 1888 with the election of Benjamin Harrison, Blaine was unable to find Loring the cabinet post he desired. He settled for the backwater post of Minister to Portugal.

Loring had a knack for supporting losers. In addition to promoting Blaine, he was an admirer of Jefferson Davis and later of George McClellan. He was a long time colleague of General Benjamin "Beast" Butler, a political Civil War general who did much to exacerbate the ill feelings between North and South during his administration of occupied New Orleans. He died in debt following a severe attack of diarrhea.

Mrs Henry Adams did not like Loring much. In her letter of 3 December 1882 to her father after mentioning she is having a dinner party for the George B. Lorings she asks

Will Aunt Eunice ever speak to me again if you tell her we are to dine with Dr. Loring? Neither Henry nor I ever spoke to him, but I called on his new wife last week; she's quite pleasing and we met so often that it has grown to be awkward not to call.

**L. 19** No fui fuera de casa excepto para ir a una gran recepcion de noche en casa de M<sup>tes</sup> Blaine para presentar el cuerpo diplomatico al successor de su mando, Señor Frelinghuysen, nuevo secretario del Estado. Me fueron present.

**M. 19.** I did not go outside of the house except to go to a grand reception in the evening at M<sup>tes</sup> Blaine's for the presentation to the diplomatic core of her husband's successor, M<sup>r</sup> Frelinghuysen, the new Secretary of State. I was presented.

**M. 20.** No sali. Visitabannos las Señoritas Ogden.

**T. 20.** Did not go out. The Misses Ogden visited us.

**M. 21.** No sali. Almorzó M<sup>tes</sup> Craig Wadsworth aqui.

ado[???] entre otros, Señor Frelinghuysen, el Viconde de Nogueiras.

**W. 21.** Did not go out. M<sup>tes</sup> Craig Wadsworth lunched here.

ado[???] among others, Mr Frelinghuysen and the Vicount de Nogueiras,

**Jueves 22.** Visit de los Señ. Lowndes y W. Blair y de la Señora M<sup>tes</sup> Keever?

**Thursday 22.** Visit by the Lowndes and W. Blair and by M<sup>tes</sup> Keever?

**Viernes 23.** Comprar varias cosas para la nochebuena.

**Friday 23.** Bought various things for Christmas Eve.

**Sab. 24.** Almorzó con nosotros M<sup>tes</sup> Wadsworth como cada dia de la semana.

**Saturday 24.** M<sup>tes</sup> Wadsworth lunched with us as every day of the week.

**Dom. 25** Me dió Mama un brazalete suyo (oro y cameo) un par [???] guantes y un platecillo de laca.

Me dió Helena un bolsillo. Le di 69 libros que tuve cuando era niña en Paris que justamente llegaron de allá con los muebles, y tambien juegos.

A Papa di dos alfileres de corbata en plata. El regalo de Mama aun no es comprado. Envié dos piastras a Abustin qui pasa las vacaciones con el tio Juan en Boston. Por la noche en Visita del Señor F. Roca de Togoeres. Casa Loring con Papa.

**Sunday 25.** Mama gave me a bracelet of hers (gold and cameos) a pair [???] gloves and a little lacquer plate. Helene gave me a change purse. I gave her 69 books that I had when I was a child in Paris that just arrived with the furniture, and also games.

To Papa I gave two silver stickpins. Mama's gift was not even bought. ??? to Augustine who spends his vacation with Uncle John in Boston. At night we visited M<sup>te</sup> F. Roca de Togoeres. The Loring's with Papa.

In a letter written on Christmas Day by M<sup>tes</sup> James G. Blaine to her son, she says

...I interrupted myself in my letter yesterday to take H to Mme Outrey's, whither she was to go to practice a carol which her children and Ethel Robeson and Max Heard are to sing to-morrow at eleven.

In the same letter she mentions that Sackville-West had brought his daughter to call on the 23rd and that it was her first call since her arrival in Washington on the previous day.

**L 26** V. de la Señorita de Nogueiras. A M<sup>tes</sup> Emory, Schuyler Crowninshield, Temple.

**Monday 26.** Miss de Nogueiras visited. To M<sup>rs</sup> Emory, Schuyler Crowninshield, Temple.

**Martes 27.** Visitas a los Ogden, Beale, Irving, M<sup>c</sup>Keever, Blaine, Worden, M<sup>c</sup>Lanes, Ferguson, Schenck, Davenport, D<sup>r</sup> John King.

**Tuesday 27.** Visits to the Ogdens, Beales, Irvings, M<sup>c</sup>Keever, Blaine, Worden, M<sup>c</sup>Lanes, Ferguson, Schenk, Davenport. Dr John King.

**Mier. 28.** A ver a M<sup>rs</sup> J. Davis, M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Slack, Min. Stout, Jenny Pendleton, M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins. Almorzó M<sup>rs</sup> C. Wadsworth con nosotros. Vis. de M<sup>rs</sup> Loring, Miss Loring, M<sup>rs</sup> Bancroft, Jinny M<sup>c</sup>Lane, Miss Cameron, M<sup>r</sup> Fox. M<sup>rs</sup> Ross Ray and M<sup>rs</sup> Alb. Ray. M<sup>r</sup> Davenport & W. Phillips.

Mrs and Miss Slack are probably Mrs William Hall Slack born Mary Kemble and their daughter Mary. Their identity is verified by newspaper articles and court cases many years later.<sup>18</sup> William Hall Slack deserted his wife and children Mary and Addie in March 1894 and went to live with his sister, Addie Slack Perrine, and her husband Lewis Perrine of Trenton, New Jersey, where he ceased to provide for the maintenance and support of his wife and children. In October, 1894, Mr. Slack requested that his wife permit their children, who had custody of the children, to visit him in New Jersey. Once in New Jersey, the children were detained by Mr. Slack in New Jersey in spite of Mrs. Slack's efforts for their return. He died in October 1895 of a heart attack. Prior to his death, he had rewritten his will appointing Lewis Perrine as the guardian of the children and appointing the Perrines as their custodians. The Perrine's continued to detain the children, claiming that Mrs. Slack was unfit as a mother. Mrs. Slack sued to recover her children and to disallow the will, but eventually abandoned the effort to overturn the will and instead filed suit for *Habeas corpus* jointly with her brother "to free the infant children of petitioner Slack from alleged illegal restraint" and to obtain "a decree awarding the custody of the children to their mother."

The case was complicated by the different jurisdictions and laws involved, but Mrs. Slack won the case.

**Wed. 28.** To see M<sup>rs</sup> J. Davis, M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Slack, Min. Stout, Jenny Pendleton, M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins. M<sup>rs</sup> C. Wadsworth lunched with us. Visits by M<sup>rs</sup> Loring, Miss Loring, M<sup>rs</sup> Bancroft, Jinny M<sup>c</sup>Lane, Miss Cameron, M<sup>r</sup> Fox. M<sup>rs</sup> Ross Ray and M<sup>rs</sup> Alb. Ray. M<sup>r</sup> Davenport & W. Phillips.

**Juev.** Al arbol de noche buena en la legaçion francesa. 3-5

**Thursday 29.** To the Christmas Eve tree at the French Legation, 3-5.

<sup>18</sup>Buckley v. Perrine, 34 A. 1054, 54 N.J. Eq. 285 (Ch. Div. 1896), New York *Sun*, 1/14/1896

**Vier. 30.** Amorzó M<sup>rs</sup> W. con nosotros. Vis. de M<sup>rs</sup> Peter Parker y su hijo. M<sup>lle</sup> de Chambrun, M<sup>rs</sup> Adams vinó à pedirme el favor de comer con ellas al lugar de M<sup>rs</sup> Cameron y de ir al teatro a' ver la "the Vokes" en "Cousin Joe" y "Fun in a fog." Amusante. Era la partida compuesta de los dos Adams, Señorita Bildt y Comió tambien. Miss Beal pero no iba al teatro porque estaba su madre doliendo.

**Fri. 30.** M<sup>rs</sup> W. lunched with us. Visit by M<sup>rs</sup> Peter Parker and her son. M<sup>lle</sup> de Chambrun, M<sup>rs</sup> Adams came to ask me the favor of eating with them at the place of M<sup>rs</sup> Cameron and to go to the theatre to see "The Vokes" in "Cousin Joe" and "Fun in a fog." Amusing. It was a party consisting of the two Adams, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> de Bildt, also Miss Beale ate with us, but she did not go to the theatre because her mother was in pain.

The Vokes family were a family of singers and comedians from England who performed pantomime theater, a type of participatory musical comedy stage productions, mostly performed during the Christmas season. Pantomime was mostly popular in Britain, but troops toured widely in the English speaking world. The Vokes made several tours to America, including visits to Boston, Pittsburg, and New York City as well as Washington DC. The members of the company consisted of a brother, three sisters, and one or two singer/actors who jointed the troop along the way. The siblings began performing as children two decades before they appeared before Amy and her friends in December 1881. "Cousin Joe" and "Fun in a Fog" were two of their their well known pieces. In M<sup>rs</sup> Henry Adams' *Letters* she writes on 1 January 1882 of the December 30 1881 peformance:

Friday some folks to dine, to adjourn to the Vokeses\_Mrs. Don Cameron and Aristarchi Bey, both ill, gave out just at the last, so I got Miss Heard and Laughlin, and M<sup>r</sup> de Bildt and Miss Beale were on hand. Tell the Gurneys I give in to "Fun in a Fog"; I nearly had hysterics. General Sherman sat in front mopping his tear-stained face.

Gregoire Aristarchi Bey was the popular Turkish minister.

**Sab. 31** A ver à las Señ. de Nogueiras y Hopkins, M<sup>rs</sup> Ruth, Miss Markoe, aqui.

**Sat. 31.** To see the Mrs de Nogueiras and Hopkins. M<sup>rs</sup> Ruth, Miss Markoe, here.

Mrs Henry Adams mentions two Misses Markoe who were nieces of a lady from whom she had bought a Joshua Reynolds painting, but she provides no further information about them. [3]

# Chapter 10

## 1882: Washington, D.C.

Amy spent most of 1882 in Washington D.C and the journal is mostly about the city and a few side trips. Notable is her father's frequent trips to New York City.

### 10.1 Enero

**Dom. 1 de Enero** En la Iglesia \_ A ver à las Levy y M<sup>rs</sup> Rulle. y M<sup>me</sup> Outrey. M<sup>r</sup> Woodb. Blair y W. Everett aqui.  
Papa á N.Y.

**Sun. 1 January** To church. After to the Levys and M<sup>rs</sup> ]??] and M<sup>me</sup> Outrey. M<sup>r</sup> Woodb. Blair and W. Hopkins here. Papa to N.Y.

**Lun. 2** Primero official del año. No estuvo en la Casa Blanca y no recibimos aqui, pero yo ibo sobre las cuatro en casa de M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins que recibia con Miss Worden. Quedó pasa la comida con M<sup>r</sup> J. Miller, Lowndes y Everett. Dejarón tarjetas aqui. Story[?], Viades[?], Roca, de la leg. española, Babcock, Clover, Henneberger, Strong, Marcomb, Paine, 2 Phillips, Lowndes, Upshur, Ferguson, King, Adams, Allen, Buchanan, Stephens, cuales[?] no conocíamos por la ciudad.

**Mon. 2** First official of the year. Did not go to the White House, and I did not receive here, because I went to the quarters in Mrs Hopkins house where Miss Worden was receiving. I left for the dinner with M<sup>rs</sup> J. Miller, Lowndes, and Everett. Left cards here: Viades, Roca, of the Spanish legation, Babcock, Clover, Henneberger, Strong, Marcomb, Paine, 2 Phillips, Lowndes, Upshur, Ferguson, King, Adams, Allen, Buchanan, Stephens, some of which we did not know for the city.

At that time the President still held an open house on the first of the year (or the second if the first was a Sunday). Anyone who wished could visit the White House and

greet the President.

**M. 3.** Vinó M<sup>lle</sup> de Nogueiras aqui\_ ibamos con ella à ver Miss West (France) M<sup>lle</sup> Martinez, Fava, Geo. Lorings, Lee. J. Kings, M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Lippitt, Miss Dodge & Miss Turnbull c<sup>d</sup>. Almorzó M<sup>rs</sup> Wadworth aqui.

**T. 3** M<sup>lle</sup> de Nogueiras came here\_ we went with her to see Miss West (France) M<sup>lle</sup> Martinez, Fava, Geo. Lorings, Lee. J. Kings, M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Lippitt, Miss Dodge & Miss Turnbull c<sup>d</sup>. lunched M<sup>rs</sup> Wadworth here.

### 10.1.1 Victoria West

This is the first evidence of a meeting between Amy Heard and Victoria West. Victoria had recently arrived on the day before Christmas in the United States as the daughter of the new (and never married) British Minister to Washington, Sir Lionel Sackville-West. Sackville-West was a career diplomat, having served as Secretary in Paris and as British Minister to Buenos Aires and Madrid before taking that office in Washington in 1881. He was the fifth son of the fifth Earl of Delawarr.

The long term liaison between the British diplomat and his Spanish gypsy dancer mistress was the subject of the book *Pepita* [120] by Vita Sackville-West. Official Washington had already decided to accept Victoria as the new hostess of the British Legation in spite of her unusual status, perhaps in relief of the previous rather dull occupants. The arrangement, however, proved a source of constant comment in diplomatic annals of the era. Despite her initial social handicap, Victoria would prove to be one of the most clever and adept hostesses in Washington of the time.

Victoria was about a year younger than Amy and Victoria spoke little English while Amy was fluent in French, having been raised in Paris while her father served as an agent for Augustine Heard & Co in the China trade. Their common language and age was a sufficient bond to form a friendship. In March “Miss West” becomes “Victoria” in Amy’s notebook and Victoria appears regularly from then on. The two traveled in similar circles and had many friends in common.

Baron Saverio Fava was the Italian Minister to Washington from 1881 through 1893. M<sup>rs</sup> Henry Adams found his wife the Baroness “lively and amusing.”

Later journal entries imply that Miss Lippitt was a daughter of Francis J. Lippitt, an attorney in Washington DC who had served in the Mexican American and later in the Volunteer Union Army, where he rose to the rank of Colonel and was promoted to Brevet Brigadier General on his retirement.

**M. 4** no salí.

Baronne de Fava y las Pattison y D. King vinieron.

**W.** Did not go out.

Baronne de Fava and the Pattisons and D. King came.

**J. 5.** Nevó todo el dia y no salí aunque me [???] las ogden para ayudar à su té.

**T. 5.** It snowed all day and I did not go out even though [???] me the Ogdens to help with their tea.

**V. 6.** No salí i no veó nadie.

**F. 6.** Did not go out and saw no one.

**Sab. 7** Vinó Mathilde de Nogueiras á vernos y fuimos con ella á dar vis. á las Lippitt, Dodge, Markoe, Barcas, Bile, Phillips. Vinó aqui M<sup>ts</sup>/ Jad. Cox y por la noche M<sup>ts</sup> Davenport y su hijo.

**Sat.** Mathilde de Nogueiras came to see us and we went with her to visit the Lippitts, Dodges, Markoes, Barcas, Biles, Phillips. M<sup>ts</sup> Jad. Cox came here and in the evening M<sup>ts</sup> Davenport and her son.

**Dom. 8** A ver á M<sup>ts</sup> Hopkins, D. King, Adams por la noche en casa Robeson con Davenport (y Mama) que vinó á buscarnos y volvió con nosotros. Me fueron presentado entre otros M<sup>f</sup> Brewster el Attorney General, demasiado horroroso para Cadogan de la legacion inglesa. Coolie.

Benjamin Harris Brewster (October 13, 1816 – April 4, 1888) was an attorney and politician from New Jersey, who served as United States Attorney General from January 3, 1882 to 1885. Cadogan of the English legation might have been Henry George Gerald Cadogan (1859–1893), a career British diplomat. He was Third secretary at Berlin (1883); second secretary at Munich (1885); and secretary of legation at Teheran (1890). He might have been a member of the delegation of Minister West in 1881 in Washington before being promoted to Third secretary in Berlin, but I have not found other validation of his being in Washington. I have not yet found a good explanation for the final part of the sentence. The strange comment “Coolie” might have been a reference to the discussion in early 1882 of an immigration act that would be signed by President Chester A. Arthur on May 1882 which explicitly excluded Chinese skilled and unskilled workers for a decade, the first federal act explicitly banning ethnic groups. Likely the Attorney General as part of the Cabinet was involved in the development of the act, which was widely regarded as a political act to curry voter favor in California and the other western states, where anti-Chinese sentiment was strong.

- Sun. 8** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins, D. King, Adams. The evening at the Robesons with Davenport (and Mama) who came to look for us and return with us. Among others, M<sup>r</sup> Brewster, the Attorney General, was presented to me, too horrible for Cadogan of the English legation. Coolie.
- L. 9** A ver à M<sup>rs</sup> Bancroft, M<sup>c</sup>Keever, M<sup>r</sup> West, Miss Long, M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins aqui. Baile en casa del ministro Mejicano (Zamacona). Almorzó M<sup>rs</sup> Wadsworth antes.
- M. 9** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Bancroft, M<sup>c</sup>Keever. Mr West, Miss Long, M<sup>rs</sup> Phelps again. Dance at the house of the Mexican minister (Zamacona). Lunched with M<sup>rs</sup> Wadsworth before.
- M. 10.** A ver M<sup>rs</sup> Cox. M<sup>m</sup>e & M<sup>lle</sup> & Mathilde de Nogueiras aqui. Comé con La Condesa Lowenhaupt. M<sup>r</sup> de Meissner me condujo á la mesa. Estaban alli M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Henry Adams, M<sup>m</sup>e de Meissner, M<sup>r</sup> & Miss West, Miss R[?]ooker, Miss Beal, Viliasonof ? de Bilt, Roca.
- T. 10** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Cox. M<sup>m</sup>e & M<sup>lle</sup> de Barca & Mathilde de Nogueiras here. Dined with the Countess Lewenhaupt. M<sup>r</sup> de Meissner took me to the table. Went to M<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> Henry Adams, M<sup>m</sup>e de Meissner, M<sup>r</sup> and Miss West, Miss Hooper, Miss Beal, Viliasons ? de Bildt, Roca.
- Mier. 11.** Vis. á las Freylinghuysens \_ Com<sup>de</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Upshur. M<sup>r</sup> Blaine à venir/ M<sup>rs</sup> Robeson's theatre-party to Miss Pratt ? saw "Our Bachelors" Robson & Crane. Amusing \_ Supper at M<sup>rs</sup> R.
- Wed. 11.** Visited the Frelinghuysens. Com<sup>de</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Upshaw, M<sup>rs</sup> Blaine came. M<sup>rs</sup> Robesons theatre party to Miss Pratt. saw "Our Bachelors" Robson & Crane. amusing \_ Supper at M<sup>rs</sup> R. [or B.?.]
- Jueves 12.** Aristarqui Bey, M<sup>m</sup>e & Mathilde de N, Capt. & M<sup>rs</sup> McCalla, Howells, Storys aqui. M<sup>rs</sup> C. W. almorzó con nosotros. A ver à Pendletons, Zamacones, Bayards. Comida de 16 dado por Col. Bliss à Mama, Sen. & M<sup>rs</sup> Hale, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins, Gen. & M<sup>rs</sup> Keever, Miss L. Frelinghuysen, Jinny M<sup>c</sup>Lane, M<sup>rs</sup> G. Loring & Commis. Ct Benst, Aristarqui, Me Conduzcó M<sup>r</sup> Hopkins à la mesa.
- The final "& Commis." probably means "& Commissioner" referring to M<sup>rs</sup> Loring's husband, Agricultural Commissioner George B. Loring.
- Thursday 12.** Aristarqui Bey, M<sup>m</sup>e & Mathilde de N, Capt. & M<sup>rs</sup> McCalla, Howells, Storys here. M<sup>rs</sup> C. W. lunched with us. To see the Pendletons, Zamacones, Bayards. Dinner for 16 given by Col. Bliss to Mama, Sen. & M<sup>rs</sup> Hale, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins, Gen. & M<sup>rs</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Keever, Miss L. Frelinghuysen, Jinny M<sup>c</sup>Lane, M<sup>rs</sup> G. Loring & Commis. Ct Benst, Aristarqui, M<sup>r</sup> Hopkins conducted me to table.

- V. 13.** Por la mañana en la ciudad. Malísimo tiempo y no salí por la tarde. Vinieron M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins y M<sup>r</sup> Lowndes.
- F. 13** In the city for the morning. Dreadful weather and I did not go out in the afternoon. M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins and M<sup>rs</sup> Lowndes came.
- Sab. 14** M<sup>rs</sup> J. Richetts y Roca aquí. A ver à la Condesa Lewenhaupt, las Sherman, Upshur, Kearny, Howell, [?] Ray, Outrey. Max vacunada por D<sup>r</sup> Wales.
- Sat. 14** M<sup>rs</sup> J. Richetts and Roca here. To see the Countess Lewenhaupt, Sherman, Upshur, Kearney, Howell, Alt. Ray, Outrey\_ Max vaccinated by D<sup>r</sup> Wales.
- Dom. 15** Por la mañana en la Iglesia, por la noche en la casa Nogueiras.
- Sun. 15** Church in the morning. Evening at Casa Nogueiras.
- Lun. 16** Almorzó con Ginny M<sup>c</sup>Lane, Jinny Pendleton, Miss Sherlock, Miss Schenk. Después con Mama à ver a las Pattisons, Navy Yard, M<sup>rs</sup> Bancroft Davies, M<sup>c</sup>Calla. \_ M<sup>r</sup> y M<sup>me</sup> Fava, Gen. M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Hunter, M<sup>rs</sup> Phillips, Miss Levy, M<sup>r</sup> Lee Phillips, M<sup>rs</sup> Barbour, Miss Davenport, M<sup>rs</sup> Stewart aquí. \_ Por la noche en casa Pendleton.
- M. 16** Lunched with Ginny McLane, Jinny Pendleton, Miss Sherlock, Miss Sherlock, Miss Schenk. Later, with Mama to see the Pattisons, Navy Yard, M<sup>rs</sup> Bancroft Davis, M<sup>c</sup>Calla. \_ M<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>me</sup> de Fava, Gen. M<sup>rs</sup> and Miss Hunter, M<sup>rs</sup> Phillips & Miss Levy, M<sup>rs</sup> Lee Phillips, M<sup>rs</sup> Barbour, Miss Dangerfield, M<sup>rs</sup> Stewart here. \_ At Casa Pendleton for the evening.

Bancroft Davis was nominated Assistant Secretary of State in December 1881, a position M<sup>rs</sup> Adams says he had refused under Blaine. That same month Chief Justice Horace Gray of the Massachusetts Supreme Court was nominated to become Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court by President Chester A. Arthur. Miss Shenck is likely the daughter of General Shenck.

- M. 17.** [???] la vis. de M<sup>rs</sup> Story. Bailé “Tuesday German” con Roca\_
- Tues. 17** [???] the visit of M<sup>rs</sup> Story . Danced the “Tuesday German” with Roca.

A German was a dance or cotillion, where the custom was that the women had turns asking the men to dance. Amy’s mother Jane De Coninck had danced the Monday German in Baltimore a half century earlier.

- M. 18** En la ciudad con Mama, à fer à D<sup>r</sup> Pope \_ M<sup>me</sup> Outrey, M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Rives, Cap. de la Chère, M<sup>r</sup> Bérard á vernos.

**W. 18** In the city with Mama. To see D<sup>f</sup> Pope. M<sup>me</sup> Outrey, M<sup>rs</sup> and Miss Rives, Cap. de la Chère, M<sup>f</sup> Bérard to see us.

Mrs. Rives is possibly Mrs. William Cabell Rives, the former Grace Sears of Boston, who was mentioned in the letters of Mrs. Henry Adams of 1 January 1882. Mrs. Adams had never spoken to her, but they had exchanged cards some time before. Mrs. Rives granddaughter Amélie Rives (later Princess Troubetzkoy) was a novelist. Amélie also crops up in *Mary Curzon*, the biography of Mary Leiter [98], about whom we shall hear more later. Her future husband, Lord Curzon, spent three days during August 1882 at “the house of a M<sup>rs</sup> Rives” in Virginia, “whose daughter Amélie he had met in England.” Curzon commented how “Upon me Amy shone with the undivided insistence of her starlike eyes” in his diary.

William Rives was American Minister in Paris during the 1830s.

**J. 19** M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss M<sup>c</sup>Ceney, M<sup>f</sup> & M<sup>me</sup> de Bille, D<sup>f</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Palmer, M<sup>rs</sup> Lam. Palmer, Jam. Palmer, M<sup>me</sup> Pollok, M<sup>me</sup> de Chambrun, los 3 Nog. aqui. A ver à Runk, Hunter, Stewart, Phelps, Knight, Delany, L. Palmer.

**T. 19** M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss McCeney, M<sup>f</sup> & M<sup>me</sup> de Bille, D<sup>f</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Palmer, M<sup>rs</sup> Lam. Palmer, Jam. Palmer, M<sup>me</sup> Pollock, M<sup>me</sup> de Chambrun, the Nog. here. To see Runk, Hunter, Stewart, Phelps, Knight, Delany, L. Palmer.

**V. 20** A ver à M<sup>rs</sup> Ricketts, Miss Turnbull, M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Rives. Bailé “Bachelor German” con Babcock.

**F. 20** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Ricketts, Miss Turnbull, M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Rives. Danced the “Bachelor German” with Babcock.

**Sab. 21** Llovía todo el dia, pero hube de ir à recibir con M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins. Vin. aqui Miss Robeson, Miss Pratt, Miss de Bildt.

**Sat. 21** It rained all day, but I had to go receive with M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins. Miss. Robeson, Miss Pritt, and Miss de Bildt came here.

**Dom. 22** Hizó tanto viento y frio que no salí Vis. de M<sup>f</sup> Lowndes.

**Sun. 22** There was so much wind and cold that I did not go out. Visit by M<sup>rs</sup> Lowndes.

**Mon. 23** Con Mama á ver D<sup>f</sup> Pope (segunda vez). a M<sup>rs</sup> Pollok, Mullen, & Grace. Vis. del Jays, Outreys, Schuylers, Coxes, Frelinghuysens, Shermans, Howels, Martinez, Biddles, Bancroft Davis, Stout. Por la noche “at home” en casa del min. español.

**Mon. 23** With Mama to see D<sup>f</sup> Pope (second time). To M<sup>ts</sup> M<sup>ts</sup>, Mullen, & Grace. Visits by the Jays, Outreys, Schuylers, Coxes, Frelinghuysens, Shermans, Howels, Martinez, Biddles, Bancroft Davis, Stout. For the evening “at home” at the home of the Spanish Minister.

Eugene Schuyler (1840–1890) was a lifelong diplomat. At this time he was U.S. General Consul at Bucharest. His wife was the former Gertrude Wallace.

**Mart. 24** A ver à las Biddler, M<sup>ts</sup> Lamb. Palmer, y en la ciudad. M<sup>ts</sup> Mackely y Lorings aqui.

**Tues. 24** To see the Biddles, M<sup>ts</sup> Lamb. Palmer and in the city. M<sup>ts</sup> Mackely and Lorings here.

**Mier. 25** A comprar bottines para Helena. A ver á Mathilde

**Wed. 25** To buy boots for Helena. To see Mathilde.

**Jue. 26** M<sup>f</sup> B. Morse aqui, Mathilde. A ver á M<sup>ts</sup> Sen. Hale. Comé en la legacion inglesa con Mathilde. Señoritas Barca, Martinez, Lowrie, Hooker y señores Roca, Bérard, Cadogan, Lowrie, Couet Brunetti, y Lord Geo. Montagu. Me conduzcó á la mesa el min. M<sup>f</sup> West, despues de la comida, baile.

George Francis Montagu (1855-1882), was Third Secretary of the British Legation [3].

**Thurs. 26** M<sup>f</sup> B. Morse here, Mathilde. To see M<sup>ts</sup> Sen. Hale. Dined at British Legation with Mathilde. Misses Barca, Martinez, Lowrie, Hooker and Mr’s Roca, Bérard, Cadojan, Lowrie, Count Brunetti, and Lord Geo. Montagu. I was conducted to the table of the Minister Mr. West. After dinner, dance.

**Fri. 27** A consultar D<sup>f</sup> Loring para mes ojos \_ y Mama para sus orejas\_ à ver M<sup>ts</sup> Schuyler and M<sup>ts</sup> Jay. Mama caió sobre la escalera y se holló de pie de modo que tiene que guardar la cama varios dias.

**Fri. 27** To consult D<sup>f</sup> Loring for my eyes. And Mama for her ears. To See M<sup>ts</sup> Schuyler and M<sup>ts</sup> Jay. Mama fell on the stairs and sprained her foot so badly that she will have to stay in bed for several days.

The Spanish “se holló” is the simple past of “se hollar” which literally means tread on her own foot. From context I have translated it as “spreained.”

**Sab.28** M<sup>rs</sup> Robeson, Min. Stout, M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Pitts, M<sup>rs</sup> and the Misses Emory, Worden, C<sup>t</sup> Lippe, M<sup>rs</sup> Wadsworth aqui. Yo à ver à las M<sup>rs</sup> Ceney, Barcas, Hopkins. Comida dada à Mama en la leg. francesa ibo con Papa y M<sup>rs</sup> Wadsworth. eran tambien M<sup>rs</sup>/ & M<sup>r</sup> Schuyler, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Jay, Misses Loring, Aldis Ginn. y M<sup>r</sup> L. Mathide de N. Baron A[?]rinos, M<sup>rs</sup> de Meissner, Perry Belmont, Willamov, Cadogan me conuzco à la mesa.

Miss Aldis was probably Helen Aldis (1849-1935) the fourth of six daughters of Judge Asa O. Aldis who served on the French and American Claims Commission. [3]

Gregoire de Willamov was the First Secretary of the Russian Delegation. [3] De Meissner was the Second Secretary

**Sat. 28** M<sup>rs</sup> Robeson, Minnie Stout, M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Pitts, M<sup>rs</sup> and the Misses Emory, C<sup>t</sup> Lippe, M<sup>rs</sup> Wadsworth here. I to the McCeneys, Barcas, Hopkins. Dinner given for Mama at the French Legation. With Papa and Mrs. Wadsworth. Also Mr and M<sup>rs</sup> Schuyler Mr and M<sup>rs</sup> Jay, Misses Loring, Ginny M<sup>rs</sup> L., Mathide de N., Baron Arinos, M<sup>rs</sup> de Meissner, Perry Belmont, [???], Cadigan took me to the table.

**Dom. 29** En la Iglesia. Comí a casa Nogueiras \_ con Conde Brunetti \_ despues hubó la acostumrada tertulia. Papa vinó á buscarme y llegavarme en casa Robeson.

**Sun. 29** To Church. Lunched at the Nogueiras' with Count Brunetti later to the usual social gathering. Papa came to find me and take me to the Robeson's.

**L. 30** Con Mathilde á ver á Miss West, Aldis, Waites, Millers, Emory. Vinieron aqui los Brownes, [? Aulich] Palmer, Pendletons, Lewenhaupt, [???], F. Adams, Babcock, Miss Porter, Misses Markoe, M<sup>r</sup> Blaine.

**M. 30** With Mathilde to see Miss West, Aldis, Waites, Millers, Emory. Came here: the Brownes, [???] Palmers, Pendletons, Lewenhaupt, F. Adams, Babcock, Miss Porter, Misses Markoe, Mr. Blaine.

Morrison R. Waite of Ohio was chief justice from 1874 through 1888.section

**Mar. 31** Yo malo, quedé en cama. Nievió todo el dia.

**Tues. 31** I was ill, stayed in bed. Snowed all day.

## 10.2 Febrero

**Mier. 1 Feb.** No salí sino por la noche á un “at home” en casa Bancroft donde me condujo<sup>1</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Wadsworth. Vinieron aqui Blaines, Dodge, Upshurs, Miss. M. Lee, Ogdens, Josie Taylor, Carters, Pattisons, Miss Witherspoon.

Josie Taylor’s father Alexander Taylor was the brother of Amy’s maternal grandmother Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck. Put another way, Amy’s mother Jane was Josie’s first cousin.

**Wed. 1 Feb.** Did not go out except for the evening to an “at home” at the Bancrofts to which M<sup>rs</sup> Wadsworth took me. The Blaines, Dodge, Upshurs, Miss M. Lee, Ogdens, Josie Taylor, Carters, Pattisons<sup>2</sup>, Miss Witherspoon came here.

**J. 2.** A recibir con las Pendletons \_ Mathilde y Miss Turnbull aqui, Ginny M<sup>l</sup>. y su sobrina[?].

**T. 2** To receive with the Pendletons. Mathilda and Miss Turnbull here, Ginny M<sup>l</sup>. and her niece.

**V.3.** A ver á les Cutts, Lojan, Porter, Ross Ray, Rathbone, Hooker, Grace, Miss & M<sup>f</sup> L. y Ginny. Por la noche al “Bachelor’s German” que bailé con un taft de Cincinatti, amigo de señor Pendleton que me llevó alli.

**F. 3** To see the Cutts, Lojans, Porters, Ross Rays, Rathbones, Hooker, Grace, Miss & M<sup>f</sup> L. and Ginny. In the evening to the “Bachelor’s German” where I danced with a Taft from Cincinatti, a friend of M<sup>rs</sup> Pendleton, who took me there.

**Sab. 4.** Nievó Sin pasar un instante todo el dia no obstante almorzó con Mathilde de N. y quedé con ella hasta pasada las cinco tocando el piano.

Papa volvió de N.Y,

**Sat. 4** Snowed without stopping for a moment all day. Nevertheless I lunched with Mathilda de N. and stayed with her until after 5, playing the piano.

Papa returned from N.Y.

**Dom. 5.** Por la tertulia de Nogueiras \_ con la Señora Martinez y Josefina.

<sup>1</sup>Amy wrote “conduzco” here, but I believe this is a mistake and it occurs multiple times. The Spanish *conducir* means to drive, take, or lead, as in a taking in a coach or leading or taking or escorting a dinner guest to a table, when “conduct” is also a good English translation. The simple past of *conducir* is “condujo.” The word “conduzco” is the first person present singular, which does not fit the context.

<sup>2</sup>Mrs. Pattison was a sister of Alexander Taylor’s wife Maria Louisa Webster

**Sun. 5** To the party at the Nogueiras \_ with Señora Martinez and Josefina.

**Lun. 6** Con Papa “to the House” donde encontramos Miss Lucy Frelinghuysen, M<sup>rs</sup> Oliver y sus hermanas, Rathbones, Señora M M<sup>c</sup>Lane, Hale, Kasson, Lowndes, Belmont. Almorzamos todos con Señ. Kasson. luego fuimos á ver las maquinas debajo para calentar, airar<sup>3</sup> etc. \_ luego con Papa. fui yo & ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Barbour y Miss Dangerfield. M<sup>rs</sup> Bancroft Ogdens. \_ M<sup>rs</sup> Robeson y Minnie Stout, Miss Levy, Peabodys, Crowninshields, M<sup>r</sup> R. Roges y Lowndes aqui,

**Mon. 6** With Papa “to the House” where we found Miss Lucy Frelinghuysen, M<sup>rs</sup> Oliver and her sisters, Rathbones, M<sup>rs</sup> McLane, Hale, Kasson, Lowndes, Belmont. We all lunched with Mr. Kasson. Afterwards we went to see the machines underneath for heating, [???], etc. Then I went with Papa to see M<sup>rs</sup> Barbour and Miss Dangerfield. M<sup>rs</sup> Bancroft Ogdens, M<sup>rs</sup> Robeson and Minnie Stout, Miss Levy, Peabodys, Crowninshields, Mr R. Roges and Lowndes[?] here.

At this stage it is difficult to identify exactly *which* Peabodys and Crowninshields Amy and her father visited, both families were old prominent Massachusetts families, especially with respect to Boston and Salem. There were also branches in New York. Their identity is discussed futher in the notes following the 9 February 1882 Journal entry.

**Mar. 7.** Miss Hooker, M<sup>rs</sup> F. Loring & M<sup>rs</sup> Boswell[?], Schuyler, Beale, Ruth. Dester aqui. y Miss Ruth, D<sup>r</sup> Gunnell. A ver F. Adam, Rathbones, Duncans, Biddles, Peabodys, Crowninshields.

Mama dejó su cuarto para la primera vez desde el 27 ultimo, para ir á comer con M<sup>rs</sup> Wadsworth. Papa volvió despues ä NY.

**Tues. 7** Miss Hooker, M<sup>rs</sup> D<sup>r</sup> F. Loring, M<sup>rs</sup> Boswell[?] , Schuyler, Beale, Ruth, Dester here and Miss Ruth, D<sup>r</sup> Gunnell. To see M<sup>rs</sup> F. Adam, Rathbones, Duncans, Biddles, Peabodys, Crowninshields. Mama left her room for the first time since the 27th, to go to dine with M<sup>rs</sup> Wadsworth. Later Papa returned from N.Y.

**Mier. 8** A ver á Mathilde, Josefina, Peabodys, Browne, Aulich Palmer, Frelinghuysens, Hunts, \_ Aqui D<sup>r</sup> James Palmer, Schenks, Ginny M<sup>c</sup>L. Lunes recibe de Juan una preciosa edicionita de “Ondine”\_

**W. 8** To see Mathilda, Josefina, Peabodys, Browne, Aulich Palmer, Frelinghuysens, Hunts. Here D<sup>r</sup> James Palmer, Schencks, Ginny M<sup>c</sup>L. Monday I received from Juan a precious little edition of “Undine.”

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<sup>3</sup> *airar* means to anger or annoy, it does not make sense here. Perhaps Amy meant to aerate

An undine is a water sprite, a nymph with the ability to assume human form. As with other spirits, they lacked a human soul. According to Paracelsus, when an undine married a mortal and bore a child, the fusion of natural and supernatural resulted in her gaining a soul. “Edicionita” has been translated as “small edition.” My guess is that the item being referred to is a small volume of the book *Undine* by Friedrich Heinrich Karl de la Motte Fouqué, the son of Huguenots who fled to Prussia from Normandy after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. His book, which was inspired by the writings of the Swiss physician Paracelsus, was extremely popular during the Victorian era, although it had been written much earlier in 1811. It happens that in 1882 an English translation of the book was published by Riverside Press, a subsidiary of Houghten Mifflin [93]. The book is indeed an “edicionita,” being a small volume in a green binding with attractive illustrations. In addition to the book, the story formed the basis of musical scores, operas, the Hans Christian Anderson tale of the little mermaid, one of the stories in Oscar Wilde’s collection of fairy tales, the 1938 play *Ondine*, by J. Giraudoux, and a modern saccharine Walt Disney Cartoon *The little mermaid*.

This journal entry contains the only appearance of the name Juan in Amy’s journals. The only Juan I know of in Amy’s life is Juan Valera, who arrives in Washington in 1884 as the Minister from Madrid and who is often mentioned in the later letters. This is the first evidence the two might have known each other before 1884, but at this time he was Spanish Minister to Lisbon. It is of course possible she is referring to someone named John, such as her brother, while writing in Spanish. But usually except for Christmas, presents come from friends or admirers, not siblings.

**J. 9** Llovió todo el dia y no sali hasta la noche para ir al baile de la legacion inglesa con Mama. M<sup>rs</sup> & Fanny Peabody que están aqui por algunos dias en casa de M<sup>rs</sup> Crowninshield. Bailé el cotillon con Chacon \_ Misses Aldis y Schurz aqui.

**T. 9** It rained all day and I did not go out until the evening for a dance at the British Legation with Mama. M<sup>rs</sup> & Fanny Peabody who were here for several days at M<sup>rs</sup> Crowninshield’s danced the cotillion with Chacon. Misses Aldis and Schurz here.

The entry “Mrs. & Fanny Peabody” requires some decoding. A first interpretation is that Mrs. Peabody is Mrs. George Peabody = Clarissa Endicott Peabody encountered in Subsection 9.3.1 and that Fanny is her daughter (1845-1895). This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that the Peabodys are staying with Mrs Crowninshield, who likely is Mrs Schuyler Crowninshield of 9.3.1 — and Schuyler Crowninshield was a first cousin of William Crowninshield Endicott, the husband of Mrs. Peabody’s daughter Ellen, Fanny’s sister. The Peabody/Crowninshield connection is unique and convincing, but it has a flaw. Mrs Peabody’s daughter Fanny in 1883 was no longer Fanny Peabody, but Fanny Peabody Mason, the name she took on when she married William Powell Mason, Jr., in 1863. But Powell and Fanny Peabody Mason had a daughter, also named Fanny

Peabody Mason (1864-1948) — who was close to Amy’s age. My guess is that “Fanny Peabody” is Fanny Peabody Mason the younger. There is also another possibility, Mary C. Endicott had a sister Fanny Peabody Endicott. But Fanny Peabody Mason the younger was Mrs. Peabody’s granddaughter and her mother had been born Fanny Peabody, so she seems the most likely choice.

There is yet another possibility, which I include as an example of the possible name and identity confusions of the time. At the time of Amy’s journal there was a person named exactly “Fanny Peabody” in Amy’s circle: Fanny Peabody born on 12 October 1860 (the same month and year as Amy’s birth), the daughter of Francis Peabody (1831-) and Helen Bloodgood Peabody (1834-1911) of Salem, Massachusetts who would marry her first cousin Endicott Peabody in 1885. Her name is also spelled “Fannie” in some family trees and articles, but the *Peabody Genealogy* (1909) by S. H. Peabody [104] spells it “Fanny.” Both Endicott and Fanny were, like George Peabody, descended from Joseph Peabody of Salem, but they were of significantly different generations. George’s father Joseph Peabody was Endicott’s great-grandfather. Endicott Peabody is most famous for founding Groton School in Groton, Mass., in 1844 and for being its Head Master and driving force (with significant help from Fannie) for more than a half century. During his leadership, Amy sent both her sons, Horace and Augustine Heard Gray, to Groton.

I think the connections make it plausible that this “genuine” Fanny Peabody without a distinct surname implies an identification with Amy’s “Mrs. & Fanny Peabody,” but Helen and Fanny Peabody had no close relationship with the Crowninshields, whom Amy’s Peabodys stayed with in Washington DC in 1883. In addition, I found no mention of any of the Endicott Peabody family in Washington DC in 1882. But the case is not closed, the Washington D. C. 19 June 19, 1885 issue of the *Daily Critic* reported that William Crowninshield Endicott, then the Secretary of War in the first Cleveland administration, attended the wedding in Salem of the Rev. Endicott Peabody and Miss Fanny Peabody and contributed flowers and plants from the White House Conservatory to the decorations. So although not in adjacent branches of the Endicott and Peabody families, the husband of Ellen Peabody (the daughter of George Peabody) felt close enough to Endicott and Fanny Peabody in two other branches of the Peabody family to travel to Salem to attend their wedding.

Miss Schurz is one of the then surviving daughters Agathe or Agatha (1853-1915 ) and Marianne (1856-1929) of Carl Schurz (1829-1906) and Margarethe Schurz (m. 1852, d. 1876). Carl Schurz was a German intellectual and revolutionary who emigrated to America where he became active in the new Republican Party and a prominent campaigner against slavery and corruption in government. He served as a Major General in the Union Army during the Civil War. After the war he was a journalist and politician, serving as a U.S. Senator from Missouri (1869-1875) and as Secretary of the Interior under Rutherford B. Hayes. Schurtz retired from the Interior Department in 1881 and moved to New York, where he became an Editor of the *New York Evening Post*. Schurz had an interesting

connection with Cuba as an activist against United States imperialism, specifically on the Cuban-Spanish-American War. Schurz denounced the war and United States acquisition of the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico as a battle of conquest which violated the intent and principles of the United States Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. He was an activist for the German-American Community in the United States the first German-born U.S. Senator. <sup>4</sup>

Both sisters were still living in Washington DC at the end of 1882 [3], but followed their father to New York eventually.

- V. 10** M<sup>rs</sup> Ashton, Gordon-Cumming, Duncans & M<sup>r</sup> Kasson aqui. \_ A ver á Posie Mason, Miss Mercer, Macfeely, Outrey, Miller (Hopkins) \_ Por la noche en casa. Loring (Commissioner.)
- F. 10** M<sup>rs</sup>/ Ashton, Gordon-Cummings, Duncans & Mr Kasson here. To see Posie Mason, Miss Mercer, MacFreley, Outrey, Miller (Hopkins)\_ For the evening at the Lorings (Commissioner).

Posie Mason is mentioned in the letters of M<sup>rs</sup> Henry Adams and listed in the index as “Mason, Harriet ‘Posey’”. On February 1882 M<sup>rs</sup> Adams writes regarding a tea party that there were

lots of pretty girls, Posey Mason looking as if the ball and chain were off her ankles; she was gay and gracious — she is paddling her own canoe as a guest of the Pendeltons.

George Loring was the Commissioner of Agriculture.

- Sab. 11.** A ver á los Hopkins, Ashton, Gordon-Cumming, Carter, M<sup>c</sup>Ceney, Phillips, tea-party at the “Wisery” \_ Peabodys, Biddles, M<sup>rs</sup> F.[? L] Carter, D<sup>r</sup> Shirley Carter, Miss Lela Mercer, M<sup>rs</sup> Bingham, Ricketts, P. Parker, Miss Lee, Miss Stoughton J. King, Lippits, Dodge, M<sup>r</sup> Rae, Rodgers, Kasson Aqui.
- Sat. 11** To see the Hopkins, Ashtons, Gordon-Cummings, McCeney, tea-party at the “Wisery” \_ Peabodys, Biddles, M<sup>rs</sup> F. Canter, Dr. Shirley Carter, Miss Lela Mercer, M<sup>rs</sup> Bingham, Ricketts, P. Parker, Miss Lee, Miss Stoughton, J. Kings, Lippitts, Dodge, Mr Ray, Rogers, Kasson here.
- Dom. 12.** M<sup>r</sup> Arthur Dexter, M<sup>rs</sup> Phillips, Misses Levy, Niurs[?], Stout, M<sup>c</sup>Lane, Jays, M<sup>r</sup> Strong c<sup>d</sup>.
- High tea at the Shenks with the Hales & Gen. Smith, y despues en casa Nogueiras.

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<sup>4</sup>[http://www2.hsp.org/collections/Balch%20manuscript\\_guide/html/sc\\_hurz.html](http://www2.hsp.org/collections/Balch%20manuscript_guide/html/sc_hurz.html)

- Sun. 12** M<sup>f</sup> Arthur Dexter, M<sup>es</sup>Phillips, Misses Levy, [???], Stout, M<sup>c</sup>Lane, M<sup>f</sup>Strong called. High tea at the Shenks with the Hales and General Smith. And later at the Nogueiras’.
- L. 13** Almorzó la Señorita Grace con nosotros. Por la tarde en casa de M<sup>es</sup> J. Davis, por la noche, recep. Rose[?] Ray, despues de la boda de su hija con M<sup>f</sup> Harrison, luego á musicale<sup>5</sup> de las Markoe y en casa Pendleton.
- M. 13** M<sup>es</sup> Grace lunched with us. For the afternoon at the house of Mrs J. Davis. For the evening, reception Rose[?] Ray, afterwards the wedding of his daughter with Mr Harrison, later to the Markoe’s musicale and to the Pendleton’s.
- M. 14.** A ver á Miss West, M<sup>es</sup> Gitting, Miss Mild[???] M<sup>es</sup> W. Moore, Prestons, Robeon, Knight. Baron de Arinos, M<sup>es</sup>/ Peabody, M<sup>f</sup> Blaine, W. Phillips & M<sup>es</sup> Hannah ? <sup>6</sup>aqui \_ Por la noche al ultimo German del “Tuesday Club” \_
- T. 14** To see Miss West, M<sup>es</sup> Gitting, Miss Mild[???], M<sup>es</sup> W. Moore, Prestons, Robeson, Knight. Baron de Arinos, M<sup>es</sup> Peabody, Mr Blaine, W. Phillips & M<sup>es</sup> Hannah ? here\_ For the evening the last German of the “Tuesday Club.”
- Miercoles 15** A tocar el piano con Mathilde de las 10 hasta las 12\_ Almuerzo con Ginny M<sup>c</sup>L. \_ (Misses West, Lela Mercer, M. Pendleton, Pie. Mason, Biddle, L. Williams, M<sup>f</sup> & M<sup>es</sup> W. Moore, M<sup>es</sup> Davenport, Gen. Beale, M<sup>es</sup> Oldfield, M<sup>es</sup> Big. Lawrence, Misses Chapman & Mercer.  
Por la noche en casa Wadsworth.
- W. 15** To play the piano with Mathilde from 10 to 12. Lunched with Ginny M<sup>c</sup>L. (Misses West, Lela Mercer, M. Pendleton, Pie. Mason, Biddle, L. Williams. M<sup>f</sup> & M<sup>es</sup> W. Moore, M<sup>es</sup> Davenport, Gen. Beale, M<sup>es</sup> Oldfield, M<sup>es</sup> Big. Lawrence, Misses Chapman & Mercer.  
For the evening, at the Wadsworth’s.
- J. 16.** Almuerzo en casa Lawrence. Misses Chapman, Mercer, Bidle, L. Emory, J. Pendleton, L. Williams, & M<sup>f</sup> Roth. Dexter\_ A ver á M<sup>es</sup> Robeson que estaba mala todo la semana. Por la noche en casa Frelinghuysen. \_ Señoritas Waite, Bissell, Meigs aqui.
- T. 16** Lunched at the Lawrence’s. Misses Chapman, Mercer, Biddle, L. Emory, J Pendleton, L. Williams & M<sup>es</sup> Arth. Dexter. To see M<sup>es</sup> Robeson who was sick all week. For the evening at the Frelinghuysen’s. Misses Waite, Bissel, Meigs here.

<sup>5</sup>“musicale” is an English word for a musical evening, the Spanish is “velada musical”

<sup>6</sup>later the trailing “h” and the question mark disappear, the name is “Hanna.”

- V. 17** A ver á M<sup>f</sup> Gittings, Outrey, ultimo Bachelors German con Strong. Llegó Ida. de N.Y. y fui con nosotros \_ Chacon, Roca, Ida, P. Mason, J. Pendleton aqui.
- F. 17** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Gittings, Outrey, final Bachelors German with Strong. Ida arrived from N.Y. and went with us. Chacon, Roca, Ida, P. Mason, J. Pendleton here.
- Sab. 18** Almuerzó Pendleton \_ A ver á Miss Turnbull de N.Y., Ida, M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins \_ M<sup>rs</sup>Lally M<sup>c</sup>Lane, M<sup>me</sup> y M<sup>lle</sup> de Chambrun, Miss Miller (Justice) M<sup>rs</sup> Story, M<sup>f</sup> Paine, Aristarchi, C<sup>ress</sup> Lewenhaupt, M<sup>rs</sup> Ferguson, aqui. Por la noche en casa Bancroft Davis (unos veinte jovenes para bailar).  
Papa vovió de N.Y,
- Sat. 18** Lunched at the Pendletons. To see Miss Turnbull of N.Y., Ida, M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins\_ M<sup>rs</sup> Sally McLane, M<sup>me</sup> and M<sup>lle</sup> de Chambrun, Miss Miller (Justice), M<sup>rs</sup> Story, M<sup>f</sup> Paine, Aristarchi, Countess Lewenhaupt, M<sup>rs</sup> Ferguson here. For the evening at the Bancroft Davis' (some twenty young people for dancing).  
Papa returned from N.Y.
- The note "Justice" suggests that Miss Miller is the daughter of Samuel Freeman Miller (1816–1890), an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (appointed by Lincoln in 1862).
- Dom. 19.** Lluvió tanto que no fui en la iglesia. Por la tarde á ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Willie Emory y por la noche en casa Robeson con Papa y los Minot.\_ M<sup>rs</sup> Gittings y Ida & Maj. Brooks aqui.
- Sun. 19** It rained so much that I did not go to church. In the afternoon to see M<sup>rs</sup> Willie Emory and for the evening at the Robesons with Papa and the Minots. M<sup>rs</sup> Gitting and Ida and Maj Booth here.
- L. 20.** Comida en casa Ogden. Baile en la leg. inglesa donde conducimos los Minot.
- M. 20** Dined at the Ogdens. The Minots took me to the dance at the British Legation.
- Mar. 21** Por la noche en casa Bancroft Davis. Amuerzo con M<sup>rs</sup> Wadsworth. Tea at the Wisery. A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Gittings, Ida, Miss Lee. \_ Bérard.  
Papa volvió á N.Y.
- Tues. 21** For the evening at the Bancroft Davis'. Lunched with M<sup>rs</sup> Wadsworth. Tea at the Wisery. To see M<sup>rs</sup> Gittings, Ida, Miss Lee\_ Bérard.  
Papa returned from N.Y.

This entry includes the second use of the term *Wisery*, but so far I have no indication as to its identity either via Web search or in the my usual sources of the time such as Adams and Blaine. This entry suggests it was a tea house or restaurant.

**M. 22.** de las Cenizas \_\_ en la iglesia. Josef. Martinez, Ida, D<sup>r</sup> Palmer, Lamb. Gittings, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins aqui

**W. 22** Ash Wednesday\_ At Church. Josef. Martinez, Ida, D<sup>r</sup> Palmer, Lamb. Gittings, Mr. & M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins here.

**J. 23.** A ver á D<sup>r</sup> Loring por la cuarta vez. Me quemó los ojos con nitrato de plata que los hizo doler mucho todo el dia, mas que el alumbré . Tambien. me reaplaió la elictricidad. Señores G. Dorr y A. Rives aqui. A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> D. King y su hermana Miss Rives, M<sup>rs</sup> Carter, Lawrence, Chapman, Mercer, H. Adams, Meigs, Brester, Blaine. Dodge, Markoe, M<sup>r</sup> Lane, Robeson.

**T. 23** To see D<sup>r</sup> Loring for the fourth time. He burned my eyes with silver nitrate which caused them to hurt a lot all day, more than the alum. Also he reapplied electricity. Mr. G. Dorr and A. Rives here. To see M<sup>rs</sup> D. King and her sister Miss Rives, M<sup>rs</sup> Carter, Lawrence, Chapman, Mercer, H. Adams, Meigs, Brewster, Blaine, Ogden, Markoe, M<sup>r</sup> Lane, Robeson.

G. Dorr was George Bucknam Dorr, the son of Charles Hazen Dorr and Mary Gray Ward Dorr of Boston. George would later gain fame as the founder of Acadia National Park. *Creating Acadia National Park* by Ronald H. Epp (2015) [56] provides an excellent biography of George Dorr and his founding of Acadia National Park, which turns out to be an important location in Amy's life. She became engaged to Russell Gray in Mary Dorr's house, called *the Old Farm*, which later became part of Acadia National Park, as is told in Chapter 11.

Mary Dorr was a second cousin of Russell Gray. She was a granddaughter of Samuel Gray of Salem, an older brother of William "Old Billy" Gray of Salem. William was Russell Gray's grandfather. Charles and Mary were married in 1850, the year of Russell's birth.

**V. 24.** A tocar el piano y almorzar con Mathilde. A ver M<sup>rs</sup> J. Davis, M. Stout, Bingham, Ida, la Iglesia.

Por la noche en casa Wadsworth.

**F. 24** To play the piano and lunch with Mathilde. To see M<sup>rs</sup> J. Davis, M. Story, Bingham, Ida, the Church.

For the evening at the Wadsworths'.

**Sab. 25.** A ver á J. Pendleton, Ida, Miss Soughtonh, en la Iglesia.

Comé en casa Dav. King. despues en c. Hopkins.

M<sup>r</sup> Drummond, W. Blair, D<sup>r</sup> Gunnell, Prestons (Häiti)

**Sat. 25** To see J. Pendleton, Ida, Miss Stoughton, at Church. Dined at the Dav. Kings. Later at the Hopkins, Mr. V. Drummond, W. Blair, Dr. Gunnell, Prestons (Haiti).

Stephen Preston was the Haitian Minister Plenipotentiary (ambassador) to the U.S. from 1870 to 1885.

**Dom. 26.** En la Iglesia. \_ Ida almorzó con nosotros. \_

Por la noche en casa Robeson.

**Sun 26** At Church. Ida lunched with us.

For the evening at the Robesons.

**Lun. 27.** No salí Vinó M<sup>rs</sup> Gordon-Cumming.

**Mon. 27** Did not go out. M<sup>rs</sup> Gordon-Cumming came.

**M. 28.** ” ” Vinieron M<sup>rs</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> J. Lodge, M<sup>rs</sup> J. Morris y Miss Lee, D<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Ch. Carter, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> H. Adams, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Ch. Dorr, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> J. Irving, M<sup>rs</sup> J. Lodge, M<sup>rs</sup> Schlesinger, M<sup>rs</sup> Jack Gardner.

**T. 28** Did not go out. M<sup>rs</sup> J. Morris and Miss Lee, D<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> Ch. Carter, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> H. Adams, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Ch. Dorr, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> L. Irving, M<sup>rs</sup> J. Lodge, M<sup>rs</sup> Schlesinger, M<sup>rs</sup> Jack Gardner.

Isabella Stewart Gardner (“Mrs. Jack”) was the wonderfully eccentric and wonderfully rich art collector who scandalized Boston for years and founded the Gardner museum. Possessor of two fortunes, that of her father and that of her husband Jack Gardner (a nephew of Sarah Russell (Gardner) Gray, Russell Gray’s mother), she roamed the world in general (and Italy in particular) in search of art treasures for her reconstructed Italian villa in the Fenway, then the swamps on the border of Boston. The famous collector and critic, Bernard Berenson, arranged for many of her purchases, which ranged from the sublime to the silly. The stories about her have become legend. Some examples: Upon moving to Boston and discovering that the aristocracy all belonged to the Episcopalian Church, she announced her conversion to Buddhism. While her villa was being built, she liked to watch while perched in a nearby tree. She kept a whistle handy in order to call the architect or others involved with the project, each responding to a specified series of blasts on the whistle. When told that the orchestra needed an audience to test

the acoustics of the concert hall before the opening concert, she was so reluctant to let anyone see the hall before the official opening that she invited the local school for the blind for the rehearsal. Unfortunately it was raining and a well-meaning janitor carefully arranged all of the raincoats, umbrellas, and rubber shoes he found randomly scattered in the entryway. It took hours for the children to locate their moved belongings. Good biographies of her are *M<sup>rs</sup> Jack* [132] and *Isabella Stewart Gardner of Fenway Court* [30].

M<sup>rs</sup> Schlesinger is possibly the wife of Sebastian Schlesinger, who according to M<sup>rs</sup> James G. Blaine was a “foreign banker.”

### 10.3 Marzo

**M. 1.** No salí. Vin. Ida y Miss Ogden \_

**W. 1** Did not go out. Ida and Miss Ogden came.

**J. 2.** Gin. M<sup>f</sup> L., M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins, Wadsworth aqui y Misses Williamson

A ver á Mathilde que estaba mala \_ en casa Lippitt para oír el general leer “Vatel,” Com. en un acto por Scribe. Por la noche en casa Frelinghuysen. Papa llegó de N.Y.

**T. 2** Gin. McL., M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins, Wadsworth here. Misses Williamson.

To see Mathilde, who was sick. To the Lippitt’s to hear the general read “Vatel,” Comedy in one act by Scribe. In the evening at the Freylinghuysen’s. Papa arrived from N.Y.

The *Evening Star* of Washington DC on 28 Oct.1882, reported that Gen. Lippitt had just completed a three- story brick house, an “elegant new home,” at a cost of \$ 6.500 in Jefferson Place. The article goes on to describe other recent houses in the vicinity including houses owned by Alexander Graham Bell, Senator Cameron, Senator Pendleton, and Representative Robeson. The *Daily Critic* of 27 June, 1882, names the owner of the house being built as Francis Lippitt, which indicates Amy’s general Pickett is attorney Francis J. Pickett, who argued cases before the U.S. Supreme Court and served in the Mexican War and Civil War, becoming a brevet brigadier general on retirement.

*Vatel, ou Le Petit-Fils d’un Grand Homme: Comédie-Vaudeville en un Acte* by Eugène Scribe was published with various co-authors in several editions, the original appearing in 1828.

**V. 3** Quinta vez que voy á ver á D<sup>f</sup> Loring \_ á decir adios á Ida hacer visitas con Victoria West. M<sup>rs</sup> Blaine y Miss Dodge, D<sup>f</sup> Peter Parker aqui.

**Fri. 3** Fifth time that I went to see D<sup>f</sup> Loring. To say goodbye to Ida, to make calls with Victoria West. M<sup>rs</sup> Blaine and Miss Dodge, D<sup>f</sup> Peter Parker here.

This entry is the first time that “Miss West” becomes “Victoria West.”  
At this point the entries cease to be for every day.

**Sab. 18** Vin. la tia Alice con su padre y Elsie de Baltimore para el dia.

**Sat. 18** Aunt Alice came with her father and Elsie from Baltimore for the day.

Aunt Alice is Alice Leeds Heard, Augustine’s brother John’s wife, and Elsie is her daughter, also named Alice Leeds Heard. The nickname Elsie was to help tell them apart. Alice’s father was the Rev. George Leeds, D.D. who at this time was the Rector of Grace Church in Baltimore, the church whose pastor had married Amy’s parents Augustine Heard, Jr, and Jane Leep (De Coninck) at Jane’s mother’s home in 1858.

**21 de Marzo** Comida en casa del general Meigs \_ primera vez que salgo por la noche desde que me puso D<sup>f</sup> Loring belladonna en los ojos \_

**21 of March** Dined at the house of General Meigs. First time that I went out for the night since Dr. Loring put the Belladonna in my eyes on the seventh of this month. Still I am too blind to read or do anything.

**23. Jueves** Puedo ver para leer y escribir pero son mis ojos demasiado debiles. Ibo ayer á la Camera con M<sup>ts</sup> Jay \_ oimos los Señores M<sup>c</sup>Lane, Kasson y Tucker sobre la cuestion Chinesa. Vinieron aqui M<sup>ts</sup> Robeson y Emily Ogston, Miss Loring y Miss Stoughton, M<sup>ts</sup> Cameron, M<sup>ts</sup> Davenport.

**23 Thursday** I can see to read and write but my eyes are still much too weak. Yesterday I went to the Camera with M<sup>ts</sup> Jay \_ we listened to the M<sup>ts</sup> McLane, Kasson and Tucker came. on the Chinese question. M<sup>ts</sup> Robeson and Emily Ogston, Miss Loring, and Miss Stoughton came here. M<sup>ts</sup> Cameron, M<sup>ts</sup> Davenport.

The “Chinese question” was the Chinese Exclusion Act, a United States federal law being considered by progress which would prohibit all immigration of Chinese laborers. The law was passed and then signed by President Chester A. Arthur on May 6, 1882. The law had been strongly promoted by California,

**24 V.** Vin. Señor Blaine, Mathilde. por la noche en casa del judge[?] Miller con Josefini Martinez \_ no salí \_

**24 F.** Mr. Blaine and Mathilde came. For the evening at the judge[?] Millers with Josefina Martinez\_ Did not go out.

**25. Sab.** Vin. Cap de la Chère, M<sup>ts</sup> Miller (Hopk), Schuyk, Lowery \_ por la noche en casa Wadsworth. Ahora no traigo mis antojos negros sino al sol\_ Aun no puedo ocuparme sino algunos minutos á la vez.

**25 Sat.** Cap. de la Chère, M<sup>rs</sup> Miller (Hopk), Schuyk, Lowery came. For the evening at the Wadworths. Now I do not bring my dark glasses except in the sun. Still I cannot occupy myself except several minutes at a time.

**22 de M.** Se marchó Papa para Cherry Creek \_

**22 March** Papa went away for Cherry Creek \_

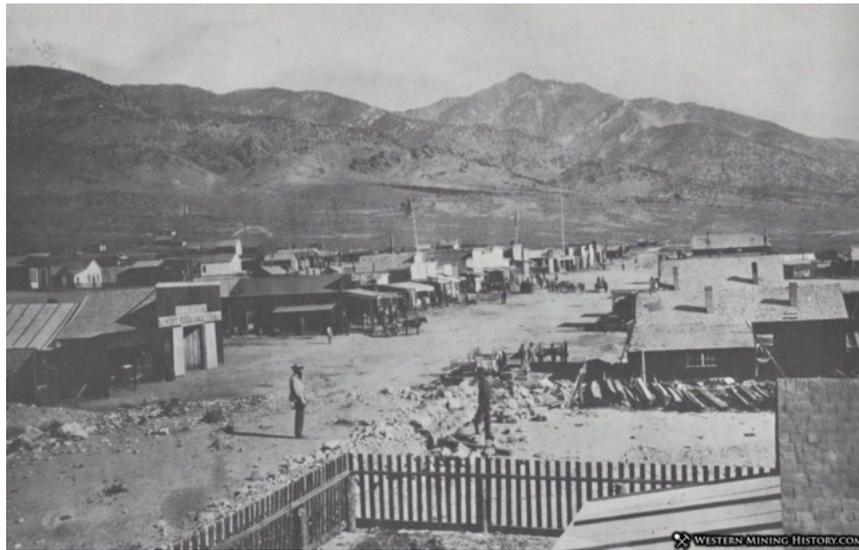


Figure 10.1: Cherry Creek, Nevada 1885

I searched the Web for Cherry Creek, and found a small town in western New York and an area in Maryland by that name, but neither had any apparent connection with the Heards. Then I searched my own hard drive as a long shot, knowing I had decades full of Heard stuff, and found the following entry in the Heard Collection at the Baker Library at Harvard<sup>7</sup>

Letters received from Augustine Heard, Jr. by Albert F. Heard in Biarritz from New York, Cherry Creek, Nevada, much about a patent for eliminating antimony from ore; California land; advises Albert to try America though he cannot contribute to his support; writes that Mary is dying, 1881-1882

Identifier: Reel 89-1300: R-601

<sup>7</sup>Heard Family. *Heard Family Business Records, 1734-1901: A Finding Aid*

Which places Augustine Heard Jr in Cherry Creek, Nevada, consistent with his 1882 departure from Washington, D.C. Several websites relate the history of historical mining town, including *Western Mining History*<sup>8</sup>, from which site the photograph of Cherry Creek, Nevada, in 1885 is taken. Briefly, Cherry Creek had been a boomtown during the early 1870s until the mines were exhausted, after which it became a ghost town, only to be revived with new discoveries in 1880 and have its peak boom 1881-1883, during which Augustine Heard, Jr. visited. The Mary mentioned is Mary Livingston, Albert Farley Heard's former wife.

## 10.4 Abril

The earliest entry for April is 15 April, which follows in the journal the out-of-order entry dated "22 de M" announcing Amy's father's departure for Cherry Creek, which followed the 25 March entry. So no page is missing, there were many days with no entries. The long period of no journal writings likely stemmed from her eye problems.

**15 de April** Puedó escribir una hora tres veces al dia\_ habiendo ganado dos minutos cada dia en mi letura\_ Ayer almorazarion Martha Silsbee, Mathilde, y Emily Ogston. que esta con su tia Robeson. Vin. M<sup>ts</sup> Hopkins, Woodworth[?Wadsworth?], Blatchford y Miss Jones Grattan y Miss Carter, señor Blaine \_ \_ Hoy salí con M<sup>ts</sup> Jay.

Lunch en casa Pendleton. Vinieron hoy M<sup>ts</sup> Schoenberger, Miss Torrey, Liz. Limzer, C<sup>t</sup> Lewenhaupt.

**15 April** I could write for an hour three times a day\_ having gained two minutes each day in my reading. Yesterday lunched with Martha Silsbee, Mathilde, and Emily Ogston who was with her aunt Robeson. M<sup>ts</sup> Hopkins, Woodworth, Blanchford, and Miss Jones Grattan and Miss Carter, Mr Blaine, M<sup>ts</sup> Jay came.

Lunch at the Pendletons'. Today came M<sup>ts</sup> Schoenberger, Miss Torrey, Liz. Linzee, C<sup>t</sup> Lewenhaupt.

**J. 20 de Abril** Permission del doctor de hacer todo lo y tanto que quiero. Lunch con Lola Mercer. A ver á M<sup>ts</sup> Jay y su hermana Sybil Kane, M<sup>ts</sup> Judge Miller. Vinieron aqui señor Blaine, M<sup>f</sup> & M<sup>ts</sup> Ferguson, M<sup>ts</sup> Park. Por la noche á Frelinghuysen.

**T. 20 April** Permission from the doctor to do as much and as soon as I wish. Lunch with Lola Mercer. To see M<sup>ts</sup> Jay and her sister Sybil Kane, M<sup>ts</sup> Judge Miller. Came here: Mr Blaine, M<sup>f</sup> and M<sup>ts</sup> Ferguson, M<sup>ts</sup> Park. For the evening to the Freylinghausens.

<sup>8</sup><https://westernmininghistory.com>

**V. 21** Lola Mercer, Miss Emory, M<sup>rs</sup> Hill, Maud Ledyard, M<sup>rs</sup> Hale. Salí con Mama por la mañana. Con Emilie Ogston en coche por la tarde.

**F. 21** Lola Mercer, Miss Emory, M<sup>rs</sup> Hill, Maud Ledyard, M<sup>rs</sup> Hale. Left with Mama for the morning. With Emilie Ogston by coach for the afternoon.

**Sab. 22** Al gran mercado con Mama y M<sup>rs</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Calla de las 10 hasta la una \_ por la tarde à ver à la Cond Lewenhaupt [~~M<sup>me</sup> Outrey crossed out~~] Miss Eustis, M<sup>rs</sup> Phillips.

**Sat. 22** To the grand market with Mama and M<sup>rs</sup> McCalla from 10 until 1. For the afternoon to see Count Lewenhaupt, Miss Eustis, M<sup>rs</sup> Phillips.

**Dom.23** Llovió, granizó y nevó todo el dia. No salí.

Vinó M<sup>rs</sup> J. Rogers

**Sun. 23** It rained, hailed, and snowed all day. I did not go out.

M<sup>rs</sup> J. Rogers came.

Rear Admiral John Rogers, USN, (1812–1882) was the superintendent of the Naval Observatory.

**Lun. 24** Almorzó Victoria West aqui. Sali con Mama á vis. á M<sup>me</sup> de Struve, Rives, J. Carter, de Chambrun, Pendleton. Gittings, Lee, Rogers, Motley, Wales.

Por la noche en casa Hopkins to meet M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Drummond.

**Mon. 24** Victoria West lunched here. Went out with Mama to make a visit to M<sup>me</sup> de Struve, Rives, J. Carter, de Chambrun, Pendleton, Gittings, Lee, Rogers, Motley, Wales. For the evening at the Hopkins to meet Mr and M<sup>rs</sup> Drummond.

John Lothrop Motley (1814-1877) was an historian, diplomat, and writer. [3] According to *Wikipedia*, he was a college roommate of Bismark at Goettingen. The Motley mentioned here might be his widow or an unmarried daughter.

**M. 25** Lunch en casa Hale (M<sup>rs</sup> Craig & M<sup>rs</sup> Jane Wadsworth, Miss Frelinghuysen, Turnbull, Travers, Gin. M<sup>l</sup>. á ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Miller (Wise) Knight, Cropper M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Frelinghuysen, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Drummond.

**T. 25** Lunched at the Hales. (M<sup>rs</sup> Craig & M<sup>rs</sup> James Wadsworth, Miss Frelinghuysen, Turnbull, Travers, Gin. M<sup>l</sup>. To see M<sup>rs</sup> Miller (Wise) Knight, Cropper, M<sup>rs</sup> and Miss Frelinghuysen, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Drummond.

- M. 26** Lunch en casa Blaine, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>me</sup> Gardini (Gerster) que cantó despues, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Drummond, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Whitney, M<sup>rs</sup> Cameron, M<sup>rs</sup> Arch. Hopkins, M<sup>rs</sup> Lawrence Hopkins, Capt. Bartlett. Por la noche baile en la legacion de Inglaterra. Vin. M<sup>rs</sup> Wadsworth y Miss Aldis.
- W. 26** Lunch at the Blaines. M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>me</sup> Gardini (Gerster) who sang afterwards. M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Drummond, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Whitney, M<sup>rs</sup> Cameron, M<sup>rs</sup> Arch. Hopkins, Miss Lawrence Hopkins, Capt Bartell. For the evening danced at the British Legation. M<sup>rs</sup> Wadsworth and Miss Aldis came.
- J. 27** " M<sup>me</sup> de Struve, D<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Shirley Carter, M<sup>rs</sup> Lowndes, Ginny, Josefina Martinez con quien salí en coche, M<sup>rs</sup> Pattison.
- T. 27** " M<sup>me</sup> de Struve, D<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Shirley Carter M<sup>rs</sup> Lowndes, Ginny, Josefina Martinez with whom I went out by coach. M<sup>rs</sup> Pattison.
- V. 28** Vis. á Turnbull.
- F. 28** Visit to the Turnbolls.
- S. 29.** Por la noche en casa Hopkins para ver á dos Indianas, Zuni jefes, oir el señor Cushing que se ha hecho uno de ellos para estudiar sus costumbres y su litteratura, y discutir el general Armstrong sobre la cuestion iniana. No habia jovenes, sino senatora y [???] politicos con algunas de sus mujeres. Almorzí en casa Robson, hice vis. á Miss Eustis, M<sup>rs</sup> Lawrence Hopkins, Condesa Lewenhaupt. M<sup>me</sup> de nogueiras aqui y señor Blaine.
- Sat. 29** For the evening at the Hopkins to see two Indians, Zuni chiefs, to hear Mr Cushing, who had become one of them in order to study their customs and literature, and discuss with General Armstrong the Indian question. There were no young people, only senators and other politicos with several of their women. Lunched at the Robesons. Paid visits to Miss Eustis, M<sup>rs</sup> Lawrence Hopkins, Countess Lewenhaupt. M<sup>me</sup> de Nogueiras here and M<sup>r</sup> Blaine.
- General Samuel Chapman Armstrong (1839–1893) was an educator and philanthropist as well as a soldier. He founded the Hampton Institute in 1868 in Hampton, VA, as an industrial school for African-Americans and led the school until his death.
- Dom. 30.** Vinieron señor Blaine, Emilie Ogston para despedirse, \_ Por la noche en casa Loring.
- Sun. 30** M<sup>r</sup> Blaine came. Emily Ogston came to say good-bye. For the evening at the Lorings'.

## 10.5 Mayo

- L. 1 de Mayo** Por la noche en casa Pollok. En coche con Col. Bliss.
- M. 1 May** For the evening at Pollok's By carriage with Col. Bliss.
- M.2.** Por la noche á la Casa Blanca, con los Hopkins.
- T. 2** For the evening at the White House, with the Hopkins.
- M. 3.** Vin. M<sup>rs</sup> W. Lowery, Miss Loring, M<sup>rs</sup> Richard Bingham. Inspiré[?] á leer con Josefina. Martinez.
- W. 3** M<sup>rs</sup> W. Lowery, Miss Loring, M<sup>rs</sup> Richard Bingham. Inspired to read with Josefina Martinez.
- J. 4.** A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Hale, Blaine, Sallie[?] Emory, Mercer, Chapman. Comida en casa Lewenhaupt. (M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> de Struve, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>me</sup> de Fava, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>me</sup> Outrey, (el me conuzcó) Willamov, Bening[?], Aristarchi Bey). Josefina aqui para leer.
- Th. 4** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Hale, Blaine, Emory, Mercer, Chapman. Dined at the Lewenhaupts. (M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>me</sup> de Struve, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>me</sup> de Fava, Mr & M<sup>me</sup> Outrey, (he conducted me) Willamov, Bening[?], Aristarchi Bey. Josefina here to read.
- V.5.** No salí.
- F. 5** Did not go out.
- S. 6** " "
- S. 6** " "
- Dom. 7.** " " Vin. Baron Schaeffer y señor W. Blair
- Sun. 7** " Baron Schaeffer and Mr. W. Blair came.
- L.8** En la ciudad con Mama. Vin. la Marquesa de Chambrun, señ. Blaine.
- M. 8** In the city with Mama. The Marquesa de Chambrun, Mr. Blaine, and Josefina Martinez came.
- M. 9.** A leer con Josefina. Calor atroz.
- T. 9** To read with Josefina. Atrocious heat.
- M. 10** No salí porque tuvé que esperar á Mama que conducía tarde que no saliera.

- W. 10** I did not go out because I had to wait for Mama who .was late in concluding that we would not go.
- J. 11.** De á Helena libros y cosas que tenia. A leer con Josefina. A ver á Mathilde y á le Cond. Lewenhaupt, salí en coche con M<sup>ES</sup> Wadsworth. Vin señ. Blaine, Ginny & Miss Williams.
- T. 11** Gave to Helena books and things that I had. To read with Josefina. To see Mathilde and Count Lewenhaupt. Left by coach with Mrs Wadsworth. Mr Blaine, Ginny, & Miss Williams came.
- V. 12.** Ethel Robeson y Carrie Story almorzaron aqui. Con Mama á ver á M<sup>ES</sup> & Miss Rodman (de Boston) M<sup>ES</sup> Pet. Parker, Pollok, Slack, Jay.
- F. 12** Ethel Robeson and Carrie Story lunched here. With Mama to see M<sup>ES</sup> & Miss Rodman (from Boston), M<sup>ES</sup> Pet. Parker, Pollok, Slack, Jay.
- Sab. 13.** A ver á Miss Knight, M<sup>ES</sup> Phelps & Hopkins. Miss Rodman aqui.
- Sat. 13.** To see Miss Knight, M<sup>ES</sup> Phelps & Hopkins. Miss Rodman here.
- Dom. 14.** En la Iglesia. Señ. Blaine aqui.
- Sun.14** To church. Mr .Blaine here.
- L. 15.** A ver á Mathilde y M. Stout, á leer con Josefina. Mathilde aqui. En la ciudad con Mamá.
- M. 15** To see Mathilde and M. Stout, to read with Josefina. Mathilde here. In the city with Mama.
- M. 16.** A leer con Josefina, á ver á M<sup>ES</sup> Phelps, Loring, Jay, Story, Miss Knight, Biddle, Worden  
Siempre buscando criados.  
Miss Levy y M<sup>ES</sup> Lowndes aqui. Mamá comió en casa Hill.
- T. 16** To read with Josefina. To see M<sup>ES</sup> Phelps, Loring, Jay, Story, Miss Knight, Biddle, Worden.  
Always looking for servants.  
Miss Levy and Miss Lowndes here. Mama dined at the Hill's.
- Mier. 17.** Vin. Señ. Bl. A la ver á Outrey. á ver á Frelinghuysen, G. Landeux con D<sup>E</sup> Shirley Carter.

**Wed. 17** Mr. Blaine came. To the Outrey's. To see the Freylinghausens, G. Landeux with D<sup>e</sup> Shirley Carter.

**J. 18** ” ” Lowery, Miss Eustis.

A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Aldis, Pendletons, Bayards, Ginny.

**Th. 18** To see Lowery, Miss Eustis. To see Mrs. Aldis, Pendletons, Bayards, Ginny.

**V. 19.** Vin. M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Anderson, Aulich Palmer, Pendleton, Señ. Bl.

A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Palmer (vieja) al convento de Conc. Im. para oír Max tocar en un trio con los Outrey.

Ví a Sister Angela, cuyo rostie[?] me interesó mas que cualquier que he visto en mi vida.

**F. 19** M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Anderson, Aulich Palmer, Pendleton, Mr. Blaine came.

To see M<sup>rs</sup> Palmer (the elder) at the convent of Immaculate Conception to hear Max play in a trio with the Outreys.

Saw Sister Angela, who interested me more than any that I've seen in my life.

Sister Angela was also known as Mother Mary of St. Angela and Mother Angela Gillespie. She was something of a religious celebrity and had been a childhood friend of James G. Blaine and was well-connected in Washington, D.C., Illinois, and Ohio. She gained fame as a nurse during the U.S. Civil War, including service on the first U.S. Navy hospital ship.

In [18] M<sup>rs</sup> James G. Blaine thanks her sons for having attended “Mother Angela's funeral” in March 1887.

**Sab.20.** A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins. Mathilde aqui pour tocar el piano. M<sup>rs</sup> Wadsworth almorzó aqui.

**Sat. 20** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins. Mathilda here to play piano. M<sup>rs</sup> Wadsworth lunched here.

**Dom. 21.** En la Iglesia. Vin. Señ. W. Blair, Bl., L. Phillips.

**Sun. 21** At Church. Mr. W. Blair, Blaine, L. Phillips.

**L. 22** A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Anderson. M<sup>rs</sup> Lawrence & Miss Chapman aqui para decir adios.

**Mon.22** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Anderson. M<sup>rs</sup> Lawrence & Miss Chapman here to say goodbye.

- M. 23.** Á Brentwood en el coche de M<sup>rs</sup> Loring ([??? looks like Afrie or Agrie). Por la noche á ver á M<sup>me</sup> Outrey.  
de la Chère y Beraford  
M<sup>rs</sup>W. Lowery aqui y M<sup>rs</sup> Gordon & Wagner. Favas,.
- T. 23** To Brentwood with the coach of M<sup>rs</sup> Loring. For the evening to see M<sup>me</sup> Outrey.  
de la Chère and Beraford  
M<sup>r</sup> W. Lowery here and M<sup>rs</sup> Gordon & Wagner.
- M. 24** A ver á Frelinghuysens ” Outrey.
- W. 24** To see the Frelinghuysens ’Outrey here.
- J. 25** Vin. Mathilde, Ginny, M<sup>rs</sup> Jay & Aldis. Nosotros á ver á las Pendleton, Allison, Hill, Robeson\_ \_ Se marcharon los Outrey.
- Th. 25** Mathilde, Ginny, M<sup>rs</sup> Jay & Aldis came. We went to see the Pendletons, Allison, Hill, Robeson. The Outreys left.
- V. 26** A ver á sister Angela que esta mala y no puedo recibirme, y a Mathilde.
- F. 26** To see Sister Angela who is sick and could not receive me, and Mathilda.
- Sab/ 27** Pic-nic de los Frelinghuysens á M<sup>r</sup> Vernon. 30 personas. Comida Pollok. Me condució Baron Schaeffer. Josefina aqui.
- Sat. 27** Freylinghuysen’s picnic at M<sup>rs</sup> Vernon’s. 30 People. Dined at the Pollacks. Baron Schaeffer conducted me. Josefina here.
- Dom. 28.** No salí.
- Sun. 28** Did not go out.
- L. 29** ” ” M<sup>me</sup> Martinez and Jos., M<sup>rs</sup> Machey, Thérèse de Chambrun.
- M. 29** ” ” M<sup>me</sup> Martinez and Jos., M<sup>rs</sup> Machey, Thérèse de Chambrun.
- M. 30.** A ver á Victoria West\_ Vin. aqui, M<sup>rs</sup> Campbell & Charlton, Josefina, D<sup>r</sup> Carter.
- T. 30** To see Victoria West\_ M<sup>rs</sup> Campbell & Charlton, Josefina, D<sup>r</sup> Landes came here.
- Mier. 31** Con Mama á ver á Frelinghausens, M<sup>c</sup>Lanes, M<sup>rs</sup> Nich. Fish, Countess Lowenhaupt, ????. Aqui Josefina, M<sup>r</sup> Bl., Leeds, C<sup>t</sup> & C<sup>te</sup> L.?
- W. 31** With Mama to see the Frelinghausens, M<sup>c</sup>Lanes, M<sup>rs</sup> Nich. Fish, Countess Lowenhaupt, Wads. Josefina here, Mr. Blaine, Leeds, Count & Countess L.?

Mrs. Henry Adams in a letter written 21 May 1882 mentions that she chatted with Mr. and Mrs. Nicholas Fish at a neighbor's party and that he had just received the Brussels mission. In her letter of 28 May, she makes further observations made at a picnic arranged by Miss Frelinghuysen at Mount Vernon with a mix of Americans and foreign diplomats:

Mr. and Mrs. Nick Fish were of the party; he is quiet and gentlemanly and his wife seemed to talk German and French glibly to the foreigners.

## 10.6 Junio

**J. 1.** A leer con J. á pagar M<sup>ts</sup> Aldis por medias que me compró su hija en N.Y. \$ 2.50. á ver á Sister Amgela. Vin. M<sup>ts</sup> Fish, M<sup>ts</sup> Bancroft Davis.

**T. 1.** To read with J. To pay M<sup>ts</sup> Aldis for the socks that her daughter bought for me in NY. \$2.50. To see Sister Angela, M<sup>ts</sup> Bancroft Davis.

**V. 2.** A ver á Mathilde, Min. Stourt & M<sup>f</sup> L.  
D<sup>f</sup> & M<sup>ts</sup> Carter aqui y Josefina.

**F. 2** To see Mathilda, Minn. Stout, & M<sup>f</sup> L.  
D<sup>f</sup> & M<sup>ts</sup> Carter here and Josefina.

**L.9.** <sup>9</sup> Bliss Pic Nic to Great Falls por el canal, que corre en bonito pais. (11 horas)

**S. 3** Picnic to Great Falls by the canal which passes by beautiful country. (11 hours)

From *Wikipedia*: Great Falls is a series of rapids and waterfalls on the Potomac River, 14 miles upstream from Washington, D.C., on the border of Montgomery County, Maryland and Fairfax County, Virginia.

**Dom. 4.** En la Iglesia. Vin Baron Schaeffer, M<sup>f</sup> Bl., Min. Stout. Volvió Papa del oeste.  
Fuí en casa Robeson con los Story.

**Sun. 4** To Church. Baron Schaeffer, M<sup>f</sup> Blaine, Min. Stout came. Papa returned from from the West.

Went to the Robesons' with the Storys.

**L. 5.** Vin. señ Bl.

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<sup>9</sup>The label for this entry should be [S. 3.] to be consistent with its neighbors.

- M. 5** Mr. Blaine came.
- M.6** A ver á M<sup>ES</sup> Mackay, Pollok, Story, Lowenhaupt, Martinez, Ferguson\_  
Comió M<sup>E</sup> Bl. aqui.
- T. 6** To see M<sup>ES</sup> Mackay, Pollok, Story, Lewenhaupt, Martinez, Ferguson.  
M<sup>E</sup> Blaine dined here.
- M. 7.** Se marchó Papa para N.Y.
- W. 7** Papa went away for N.Y.
- Ju. 8.** Por la mañana corrí, como todos estos dias á buscar recomendaciones de criadas.  
Con Mamá en la ciudad.
- Th. 8** For the morning I hurried, as all these days to look for recomendations for servants.  
With Mama in the city.
- V. 9** Comí con los Martinez. Vin. aqui, Ginny y su padre, M<sup>E</sup> Lowndes, M<sup>ES</sup> Robeson y Min.
- F. 9** Dined with the Martinez. Ginny and her father, Mr Lowndes, Mrs Robeson and Min. came.
- Sab. 10.** A ver á Mathilde. Volvió Papa de N.Y.
- Sat. 10** To see Mathilde. Papa returned from N.Y.
- Dom. 11** Vin. M<sup>E</sup> Bl. y su hijo mayor. Por le noche fuimos á ver á los M<sup>E</sup> L.
- Sun. 11** Mr. Bl. came with his oldest son. In the evening we went to see M<sup>E</sup> L.
- L. 12** Con Mama á ver á los Bl., de Chambrun.
- M. 12** With Mama to see the Blaines, de Chambrun.
- M. 13.** En la ciudad toda la mañana. Por la noche en casa Bliss. “Meeting of the Book Club.” Vin. aqui M<sup>E</sup> M<sup>E</sup>Lane.
- T. 13** In the city all morning. For the evening at the Bliss’ “Meeting of the Book Club.” M<sup>E</sup> McLane came here.
- Mier. 14** A despedirme de las Levy. En casa Frelingh. Vin. Jeanie Pendleton.
- Wed. 14** To the Levys say good bye. At the Freylinghausens. Jeanie Pendleton came.

- J. 15** Por la mañana conducí Max á la distribucion de premios en la academia de la Visitacion. Por la tarde, con Papá & Mamá á Quantico . Volvimos. (Todo erl Pic Nic) á las doce nos habiando marchado del muelle de la calle 7 á las 7.30.
- Th. 15** For the morning I conducted Max to the distribution of prizes at the Academy of the Visitation. For the afternoon, with Papa & Mama to Quantico. We returned (all of the picnic) at twelve, our having walked from the wharf to the street from 7 to 7:30.

The Washington DC History Center<sup>10</sup> describes the Academy of the Visitation near Dupont Circle as follows:

Designed by Adolph Cluss, the Academy of the Visitation for Young Ladies was erected in 1877 on an almost rural seven-acre block on Connecticut Avenue north of L Street. Initially only a day-student school, in time the Academy also accepted boarding students. In the three pavilions of the large building were classrooms, a student dormitory, a chapel, reception rooms, and living quarters for the nuns. As the area became more popular, the nuns gradually sold the unused lots of their now-valuable property. One, on the corner of M Street, was bought for the Demonet Building. By the early 1900s, enrollment at the Academy declined significantly because of the establishment of other more up-to-date Catholic schools in the city. By 1919, the school had closed and the property sold, for the construction of a large hotel – originally called the Walker, after its developer, but changed to the Mayflower by the time of its completion in 1925. The sisters of the Academy used the funds obtained to buy land on Old Georgetown Road in Bethesda to build the St. Jane Frances de Chatal cloistered convent.

As an undergraduate student in Massachusetts I once had a double date dinner in a restaurant at the Mayflower hotel, which was so formal and fancy it was unnerving, with waiters swooping in to replace pats of butter and fill glasses. Strange to think my grandmother and her sister had visited the building as young women 80 years earlier.

Quantico in 1882 was a tiny town in Prince William County, Virginia. by the Potomac River. In the twentieth century it became famous with the construction of a Marine training base which surrounded the town on all sides but the river.

**V. 16** Vinó Mathilde y los Hopkins. No salí.

**F. 16** Mathilde and the Hopkins came. I did not go out.

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<sup>10</sup>[www.DCHistory.org](http://www.DCHistory.org)

**S. 17** Por la mañana á pedir recomendaciones de cocinera. Por la tarde el “Soldier’s home” con Josefina, Laura y Max.

**Sat. 17** For the morning to ask for recommendations for a cook. For the afternoon at the “Soldier’s home” with Josefina, Laura, and Max.

Soldier’s Home National Historic Site was originally created as a permanent retirement home for enlisted soldiers in 1852, but it evolved to provide a country retreat and summer home for U.S. Presidents from Abraham Lincoln through Chester A. Arthur, the last president to reside there (who lived there in November and December 1882). of 1882,<sup>11</sup>

**D. 18.** No salí. Vin Ginny para decir adios y señ Bl. por la coche.

**S. 18** Did not go out. Ginny came to say good bye and Mr. Bl. for the evening.

**L. 19.** No salí Vin. Mathilde, M<sup>m</sup> de Chambrun y su hija, y señor J. Chew, y Miss L. Frelinghuysen.

**M. 19** Did not go out. Mathilde and M<sup>m</sup> de Chambrun and her son came, and Mr. J. Chew, and Miss L. Frelinghausen.

According to M<sup>rs</sup> James G. Blaine [18], John Chew was with the State Department in 1872 (V. II, p. 113) and delivered mail to her from her son Walker at the State Department.

**M. 20** Con Mamá á ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Ross Ray, Barcas, Turnbolls\_ Vinó Josefina. Tambien M<sup>r</sup> Bl. para llevarme á ver su nueva casa.

Se marchó Papá para N.Y.

**T. 20** With Mama to see M<sup>rs</sup> Ross Ray, Barcas, Turnbolls. Josefina came. Also M<sup>r</sup> Bl. to take me to see his new house. Papa went off for N.Y.

**21 Mier.** En buque de remos rio arriba con Thérèse de Chambrun, M<sup>rs</sup> Poore y J. Chew. Regresarón a cenar aqui y M<sup>m</sup> ce Chambrun.

**21 Wed.** In rowboat with Thérèse de Chambrun, M<sup>rs</sup> Poore and J. Chew We returned to dine here and M<sup>m</sup> de Chambrun.

**22 J.** Por la noche á ver á las Pendleton.

**22 T.** For the night to see the Pendletons.

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<sup>11</sup>“Soldier’s Home, Main Building (Sherman Building),” DC Historic Sites, <https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/items/show/562>

**23 V.** En buque con Richardson, Chew, y Helene.

**23 F.** In boat with Richardson, Chew, and Helena.

**24 S.** Vinó Josefina, J. Chew, Lowndes, ä la música detrás del White House.

**24 S.** Josefina, J. Chew, Lowndes came. To the music behind the White House.

**25 Dom.** Me quedó en cama todo el dia con dolor de cabeza y náuseas ocasionado, pienso, por el gran color que no me deja ni dormir ni comer.

Comimos Mamá y yo en la leg. de Inglaterra Con M<sup>r</sup> y M<sup>me</sup> du Puy de Lôme[?] y los secretarios Howard y Charlton. Vinó M<sup>r</sup> Bl. dos veces para despedirse y no le vimos.

**25 Sun.** I stayed in bed all day with a headache and nausea. Caused, I think, by the high fever which did not permit me to sleep or eat.

Mama and I dined at the English Legation with M<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>me</sup> du Puy de Lome and the secretaries Howard and Charlton. Mr Bl. came twice to say good bye and we did not see him.

**26 L.** Vinó Josefina á despedirse. Chew por la noche y nos conduzcó ä comer helado.

**26 M.** Josefina came to say good bye. Chew for the evening and he took us to eat ice cream.

**27 M.** Vin. Señores Hopkins y Lowery.

**27 T.** Mr Hopkins and Mr Lowery came.

**28 Mier.** A ver á Mathilde. Se marcharón los Martinez ayer para Longbranch. Vin. Baron Schaeffer.

**28 W.** To see Mathilde. The Martinez left for Longbranch. Baron Schaeffer came.

Longbranch is a locality in Silver Spring, Montgomery County, Maryland. I could not find a history, but at the time of this writing there is a Long Branch Local Park with a community garden, bridges, and recreational areas.

**29 Jueves** En buque de remos con M<sup>rs</sup> Story, M<sup>r</sup> Chew & M<sup>r</sup> Harnat[?], volvimos cerca de las once por hermosa luna. Vin. M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lane.

**29 Thursday** In rowboat with M<sup>rs</sup> Story, Mr Chew & Mr Harnat. We returned around eleven to a beautiful moon. M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lane came.

**30 V.**

## 10.7 Julio

**1 de julio** En buque de remos con Mamä, Chew y Poore. de las y hasta las 10 1/2. Volvió Papa de NY.

**First of July** Boat with Mama, Chew, and Poore from 7 to 10 1/2. Papa returned from NY.

**2. Dom** En la Iglesia.

**2 Sun.** To church.

**3. L** Fresco. En la ciudad con Max. Vin. M<sup>rs</sup> Green, M<sup>r</sup> & mrs M<sup>c</sup>Calla. A ver ä M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins que volvió del campo Sab. pasado.

**3 M.** Cold. To the city with Max. M<sup>rs</sup> Green, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Calla came. To see M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins who returned from the country last Saturday.

**4 M.** A ver á Victoria West y Thérèse Chambrun.

**4 T.** To see Victoria West, Thérèse de Chambrun.

**Mier.** En la ciudad. Papá á N.Y.

**5 Wed.** To the city. Papa to N.Y.

**6. J.** Admiral & M<sup>rs</sup> Carter y M<sup>r</sup> Lowery aqui.  
Al Soldier's Home con M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lane.

**6 Th.** Admiral & M<sup>rs</sup> Carter and Mr Lowery here. To the Soldiers Home with M<sup>rs</sup> McLane.

**7 V.** Al ver al "State Department" con Mamá y Max mostrado por Chew.  
Vin. M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Pendleton, M<sup>r</sup> Charlton, M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup> L.

**7 F.** To see the "State Department" with Mama and Max, shown by Chew. M<sup>rs</sup> and Miss Pendleton, Mr Charlton, Mr McL came.

**8. Sab.** Al White House con la señorita Frelinghuysen á ver la música que se toca en el jardin donde se pasea la muchedumbre.  
Vin. M<sup>lle</sup> de Chambrun y su hermano.

**8. Sat.** To the White House with Miss Frelinghuysen to hear the music played in the garden as the crowd passed through.  
M<sup>lle</sup> de Chambrun and her brother came.

**9 Dom.** No fui en la iglesia porque hacia demasiado calor. Vinó W. Phillips.

**9 Sun.** Did not go to church because it was too hot. W. Phillips came.

There is a break in the entries at this point and the next entry which occurs at the top of the next page is for 28 July. But the missing entries were recorded on the inside rear cover of the notebook. My guess that she finished the notebook with 9 July and continued on the cover, and then eventually incorporated another notebook to continue her entries. This only matters if you look at the original notebooks and try to match the narrative here. Eventually I hope to post pdfs of scans of the original notebooks on the my Website.

**10 Lun.** Vinó M<sup>e</sup> Hanna.

**10 M.** M<sup>e</sup> Hanna came.

**11 M.** En coche con el viejo M<sup>e</sup>L.

**11 T.** By coach with old M<sup>e</sup>L.

**12 M.** Vinó Chew.

**12 W.** Mr Chew came.

**13. J.** Sobre el rio con M<sup>e</sup> West y Victoria.

**13 T.** On the river with Mr West and Victoria.

**14 V.** A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins. Encontré Ade 3<sup>rd</sup> asistente secretario qu es tan sordo que no oye absolutamente nada que no se le dice en la oreja.

**14 F.** To see Miss Hopkins. Found Ade 3rd assistant secretary who is so deaf that he absolutely cannot hear anything unless it is said right in his ear.

**15 S.** Sobre el rio con Max, Chew y J. Poore.

Voió Papa de N.Y.

**15 S.** All day with Max, Chew, and J. Poore.

Papa returned from N.Y.

**16 D.** A la Iglesia. Vinó Mathilde y M<sup>e</sup> Hanna.

**16 S.** To Church. Mathilde and M<sup>e</sup> Hanna came.

**17 M.**

- 18 M.** Volvió Papa ä N.Y. Vin. Conde Lewenhaupt Marquesa de Chambrun y su hija.
- 18 Tues.** Papa returned to New York. Count Lewenhaupt and Marquese de Chambrun and her daughter came.
- 19 M.** En la ciudad con M<sup>e</sup>M<sup>e</sup>L. Vinó Chew
- 19 W.** In the city with M<sup>e</sup> M<sup>e</sup>L. Chew came.
- 20 J.** Vin. M<sup>ts</sup> M<sup>e</sup>Calla M<sup>e</sup> Lowndes & Hopkins. En la ciudad.
- 20 T.** M<sup>ts</sup> mc Calla M<sup>e</sup> Lowndes & Hopkins came. In the city.
- 21 V.** Vin. M<sup>e</sup> M<sup>e</sup>Lane y Conde Lewenhaupt y M<sup>ts</sup> Hopkins.
- 21 F.** M<sup>e</sup> M<sup>e</sup>Lane and Count Lewenhaupt and M<sup>ts</sup> Hopkins came.
- 22 S.** Vinó M<sup>e</sup> Hanna.
- 22 Sat.** M<sup>e</sup> Hanna came.
- 23 D.** En la Iglesia. Vin. W. Phillips y Chew.
- 23 S.** At church. W. Phillips and Chew came.
- 24 L.** Nos conduzcó Señor Hanna (Mamá Max y yo) ä visitar el Georgetown College d<sup>12</sup> Jesuiticos. Tambien á Arlington.  
Vinó Chew y M<sup>e</sup> M<sup>e</sup>L.
- 24 M.** M<sup>e</sup> Hanna took us (Mama, Max, and me) to visit the Jesuit Georgetown College. Also to Arlington.  
Chew and M<sup>e</sup> M<sup>e</sup>Lane came.
- 25 M.** Vin. Señores Lowery y Hanna.
- 25 T.** M<sup>ts</sup> Lowery and Hanna came.
- 26 M.** Vin. M<sup>e</sup> and M<sup>ts</sup> Hopkins y Chew. Volvió Papa.
- 26 W.** M<sup>e</sup> and M<sup>ts</sup> Hopkins and Chew came. Papa returned.
- 27 J.** Rosas de Chew. Vinó Hanna. Comé en casa Hopkins.
- 27 T.** Roses from Chew. Hanna came. Dined at the Hopkins with Mr. F.

<sup>12</sup>The bottom right corner of the page is torn off diagonally here the incomplete word is probably “de”.

At this point Amy's journal changes in three ways: The language reverts to English, she leaves Washington for Bellow Falls, Vermont, and her script becomes much easier to read. The latter may be due to a change in pen, but the script is thicker, bolder, clearer, and in a dark blue instead of black.

Bellows Falls is a small village in Vermont, known for its heritage railroad and its Victorian architecture.

**July 28** Left Washington 9:55. M<sup>r</sup> Chew & Hanna saw us off.

**29 Sat.** Arri Bellows Falls after 4 P.M. found Aug.<sup>13</sup> here.

**Sun. 30th** To church.

**Mon. 31** Walk to "table rock" with Aug. & Max. Papa to Boston and back. M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Janet King called.

An engraving of the view of Bellows Falls from Table Rock can be found at the Boston Atheneum at <https://cdm.bostonatheneum.org/digital/iiif/p13110coll5/666/full/full/0/default.jpg>.

### **Bellows Falls, Vt. August 1882**

**Tues. 1** Tea at the Kings.

**Wed. 2** Drove with Miss Janet K. & tea there.

Papã se marchó para N.Y. y el oeste.

14

**Th. 3** Dined at Kings.

**Fri. 4** Not out. Not well \_

**Sat. 5** Miss J. King called.

**Sun. 6th** Mama & I took 7 O'Cl. at the Kings.

On Monday 6 August Amy and family left Bellows Falls for Pittsfield Mass. and on to Stockbridge Mass. and returned to entries in Spanish.

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<sup>13</sup>Amy's brother Augustine

<sup>14</sup>Papa left for N.Y. and the West.

**Mon. 7<sup>th</sup>** Partimos de Bellows Falls á las 9:10 por Pittsfield donde pasamos sobre las cuatro, me vino Mathilde á ver en la estación. Lleguemos en Stockbridge, Mass. á las 6 menos cuarto. Tenemos cuartos en el Plumb cottage cerca del Stockbridge House donde comemos.

**Mon. 7<sup>th</sup>** Left Bellow Falls at 9:10. To Pittsfield where we stayed until 4. Mathilde came to the station to see me. We arrived at Stockbridge, Mass., at 5:45. We took rooms at the Plumb Cottage near the Stockbridge House where we ate.

According to *lostnewengland.com*

The origins of the Red Lion Inn date back to 1773, when Silas Pepoon opened a tavern here in the center of Stockbridge. Taverns in colonial America often used distinctive signs to identify themselves, and Pepoon's tavern sign featured a red lion with a green tail. Although its name would later be derived from the old sign, it was originally known simply as the Stockbridge House. In 1862, it was purchased by Charles and Mert Plumb, and in the decades that followed the hotel enjoyed success, with the Berkshires becoming a popular summer destination. During this time, the hotel was steadily expanded, and in 1891 it was renamed Ye Red Lion Inn. Five years later, though, the historic building was completely destroyed in a fire.

**Mar. 8.** A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> que vive aqui.

Por la tarde en coche con ella. El pais es muy bonito.

**Tues. 8** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Ogden Edwards, who lives here.

For the afternoon, in a coach with her. The country is very beautiful.

**Mier. 9** Vin. M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Henry Sedgewick. Me trajo Miss Edwards flores. Llegó Tia Amalia.

**Wed. 9** Mr & M<sup>rs</sup> Henry Sedgewick came, brought Miss Edwards Flores. Aunt Amalia arrived.

The mention of Tia Amalia rekindles the earlier Amelia/Amalia confusion as Amy had no "Aunt Amalia." There were Amelias in the Taylor descendants, but no Amalias. Amy's mother Jane's sister was Amelia Henrietta De Coninck born in Cuba in 30 July 1836 (who at some point married George Pelletier). So Amy did have an Aunt Amelia who might have used the alternative name Amalia. And there are reasons why she might have used the variation on her name. Amy's grandmother's brother Alexander Taylor had a daughter Amelia C. Taylor (born 29 March 1837 (in Cuba), who was Jane's first cousin and who married Rev. Arthur Mason (who presided over Amy's baptism). A first cousin

of Amy's mother (a cousin "once removed" or one generation older) might well have been called "Aunt." Likely "Aunt Amalia" in Amy's journal was one of these two women who were cousins of about the same age. But if Amy had two Aunt Amelias, it seems likely she would have renamed one to disambiguate them in her journals. In fact, during a visit of Amy and her parents to Stockbridge described in her journal later in this chapter, Amy encounters both Aunt Amelias.

The Aunt Amalia or Tia Amalia who crops up often in Amy's Washington Journal entries seems most likely to be Jane's sister Amelia, since Amelia C. (Taylor) Mason did not reside near Washington DC because her husband Arthur Mason did not have a parish there, his appointments were in Boston, New Haven, and New York City. They could and would join Amy and her parents in Stockbridge.

**Jueves 10.** A ver á las Edwards y Sedgewicks.

Vinó M<sup>es</sup> & Miss Butler.

**Thurs 10** To see the Edwards and Sedgewicks.

M<sup>es</sup> & Miss Butler came.

Mrs and Miss Butler can not be the immediate family of General Benjamin F. Butler because General Butler's wife Sarah died in 1876.

**V. 11.** Largo paseo, (á Laura's tower) con Miss Beale y varias chiquitas. Dejó tia Amelia.

**F. 11** Long walk. (to Laura's Tower) with miss Beale and several girls. Left Aunt Amelia.

Laura's Tower Trail is a scenic trail near Stockbridge. It is a little over 1 mile of moderate difficulty,<sup>15</sup>

"Aunt Amelia" is clearly written, it is not "Amalia." As earlier discussed, reinforces the likelihood that "Aunt Amelia" is used for Amelia C. (Taylor) Mason and "Aunt Amalia" is used for Jane's sister Amelia Henrietta De Coninck. Further reinforcement is given by the entry for the next day reporting the arrival of "Tia Louisa" – the sister of Amelia C. Mason and of Arther Mason, the husband of Amelia C. The walk might have been too strenuous for 46 year old Amelia C. (Taylor) Mason to keep up with the 20-somethings.

**S. 12** Vin. Tia Luisa, M<sup>e</sup> Arth. Mason. Miss Edwards. M<sup>es</sup> Edw. nos conduzcó (Mamá y yo) á Lenox. á ver á la tia Luisa y M<sup>es</sup> Ar. Mason.

**S.12** Aunt Luisa, M<sup>e</sup> Arth. Mason, Miss Edwards came. M<sup>es</sup> Edw. took us (Mama and I) to Lenox. to see Aunt Luisa and M<sup>es</sup> Ar. Mason.

<sup>15</sup><https://laurelhillassociation.org/trails-and-properties/lauras-tower-trail/>

The Louisa in Amy's life was Louisa W. Taylor, one of the seven daughters of Alexander and Maria Louisa (Webster) Taylor. Louisa was Amelia C. (Taylor) Mason's sister. Louisa never married and died in 1898. Amelia C. and Arthur Mason did have children, including Alexander Taylor Mason (b. 1859) who knew Amy in Washington, and Isabella Mason who married Mansel Van Renssalaer.

Sisters Louisa Taylor and Amelia C. (Taylor) Mason were first cousins of Amy's mother Jane, hence they were cousins "once removed" of Amy's and Amy considered them both as aunts. According to *English Language & Usage*<sup>16</sup> this is common usage.

**Dom. 13** En la Iglesia. No acaba de hablar Tia Amelia. Todas las noches, despues del té, tomó con Agustin y Élena, un paseito.

**Sun. 13** In Church. Aunt Amelia did not finish talking. Every evening, after tea, took, with Augustine and Max, a gentle stroll.

Agustin is a Spanish variation of Augustine, Amy's brother, and Elena is a Spanish variation on Helen, Amy's sister Helen Maxima (also called Helène and Max).

**L. 14** M<sup>rs</sup> Edwards nos conduzcó á volver la visita de las señoras Butler, y despues á pasear (en coche). M<sup>rs</sup> Tuckerman y M<sup>rs</sup> Becher aqui. Flores de M<sup>rs</sup> Butler.

**M. 14** M<sup>rs</sup> Edwards took us to return the visit of the M<sup>rs</sup> Butler, and afterwords sightseeing (by coach). M<sup>rs</sup> Tuckerman and M<sup>rs</sup> Becher here. Flores from M<sup>rs</sup> Butler.

**M. 15]** Tomemos todos el té en casa Edwards.  
Vinó Miss Laura Sedgwick

**T. 15]** We all had tea at the Edwards.  
Miss Laura Sedgwick came.

**Mier. 16** En coche con M<sup>r</sup> Sedgwick y su hija. té en su casa. A ver á las Butler.

**J. 17** x  
item[V. 18] A ver á las Tuckerman y M<sup>rs</sup> Willett.  
M<sup>rs</sup> Duane aqui.

**F. 18** To see the Tuckermans and M<sup>rs</sup> Willett.  
M<sup>rs</sup> Duane here.

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<sup>16</sup><https://english.stackexchange.com/questions/390446/your-parents-cousin-is-your-first-cousin-once-removed-but-is-it-common-to-call>

**Sab. 19** Noticia de la muerte del viejo principe Lapicke.

A ver á las Sedgwick y M<sup>rs</sup> Duane.

**Sat. 19** Notice of the death of the old Prince Lapicke.

To see the Sedgwicks and M<sup>rs</sup> Duane.

**D. 20** á la Iglesia. Vino M<sup>rs</sup> Sedgwick y su sobrina Nellie.

**S. 20** To church. M<sup>rs</sup>Sedgwick came with her niece Nellie.

**L. 21** Té en casa Sedgwick.

A Lenox con toda la failia 2-6.

A ver á la tia luisa, las primas,

**M. 21** Tea at the Sedgwick's.

To Lenox with all the family 2-6.

To see Aunt Luisa, the cousins, M<sup>rs</sup> Ch. Hoffman and Emily.

By "cousins," Amy probably meant whatever Mason children were there with their parents, but she does not specify

**M. 22**

**M. 23** Paseo en coche con M<sup>r</sup> de Neufoille.

**W. 23** Road in the coach with M<sup>r</sup> de Neufoille.

**J. 24** Max & yo á Lebanon Springs y al Shaker Pueblo con M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> de Neufoille, Juliet y M<sup>rs</sup> Parker. Parrtimos á las 9.30, Volvimos sobre las 7. M<sup>rs</sup> Butler me envió melotónes y flores.

**T. 24** Max and I to Lebanon Springs and to the Shaker house with M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> de Neufoille, Juliet and M<sup>rs</sup> Parker. We left at 9:30, we returned around 7. M<sup>rs</sup> Butter sent me peaches and flowers.

**V. 25 y S. 26.** No Sali, sino para ir al Stockbridge House donde tomemos. Tods los dias.

**Fri. 25 and S. 26** Did not go out, except to go to Stockbridge where we ate. All day.

**D. 27** En la Iglesia.

**Sun. 27** At church.

**M. 29.** Lunch para M<sup>rs</sup> Douglas Robinson, en casa Tuckerman. M<sup>rs</sup> de Neufuille me conduzcó allí y fuimos á pasear en coche despues Emily Hoffman, que habra venido para el lunch es querria ir á los amateurs minstrels cada noche, tomó el té con nosotros. Todos ä los “Minstrels” entre cuales era nuestro primo Alex Mason. Despues fui á la cena en casade M<sup>rs</sup> Doane.

**T. 28** Lunch for M<sup>rs</sup> Douglas Robinson, at the Tuckermans'. M<sup>rs</sup> de Neufuille took me there and we went by coach afterward. Emily Hoffman, who had come for the lunch and wanted to go to the amateur minstrels tonight, took tea with us. All to the “Minstrels,” among whom was our cousin Alex Mason. Later went to the dinner at the house of M<sup>rs</sup> Doane.

“Cousin Alex Mason” is the son of “Aunt Amelia,” Amelia C. (Taylor) and the Rev. Arthur Mason.

**M.30** Paseo en coche con M<sup>rs</sup> H.[“ or R] Sedgwick y su prima Laura S., té en casa Butler.

**T. 30** Went for a coach ride with Mr. H. Sedgwick and his cousin Laura S. Tea at the Butter house.

**J. 31** Vin. M<sup>rs</sup> Sedgwick y su hija “Blossom” Emily H. de Lenox á caballo, para convidarme á pasar la noche del 9, cuando hay un “hop.” A despedirme de las Edwards.

**W. 30** M<sup>rs</sup> Sedgwick and her daughter “Blossom” came. Emily W. from Lenox on horseback to invite me to spend the night of the 9th, when there will be a “hop.” To say goodbye to the Edwards.

## 10.8 Setiembre

**V. 1 – S.2.** ] Con tia Amelia á Niagara Partimos de Stockbridge en coche á las 10 menos cuanto para tomar el tren en State Line y llegamos á Niagara Falls sobre las 2 de la mañana. Fuimos al Cataract House.

**F. 1 – S. 2** With Aunt Amelia to Niagara. We left Stockbridge by coach at 9:45, to take the train in State Line and we arrived at Niagara Falls around 2 in the morning. We went to the Cataract House.

The Cataract House was a large and elegant hotel on the American side of Niagara falls from its construction in 1825 to its destruction by fire in 1945. It was a major stop on the route of the underground railway and was notable for the large number of African-Americans who worked there.



Figure 10.2: Cataract House (NYPL digital archives)

**Lun.4** De Niagara á las 7.25 á Saratoga sobre las 6. al Clarendon Hotel para la noche.  
á ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Pennington que se marche mañana.

**Mon. 4** From Niagara at 7:25, to Saratoga about 6. To the Clarendon Hotel for the night.  
To see M<sup>rs</sup> Pennington who leaves tomorrow.

Mrs. Pennington might be of the Pemington family of Baltimore, which included Mr. and Mrs. William C. Pennington, who were founding organizers and members of the German Cotillon [sic] Club in Baltimore in December 1856, Jane Heard and her sisters were also members.

The Clarendon Hotel was a popular tourist hotel in Saratoga Springs, New York, which had its own spring, Washington Spring, on the property. The hotel lasted until the early 20th century, when it was razed and bought by an adjacent church.

In an 1878 history of Saratoga Springs<sup>17</sup> it was reported that

The Clarendon, the only hotel in Saratoga Springs which is painted white, with green blinds, is a quiet summer home, frequented by people of culture and refinement, seeking rest and recreation. It will accommodate about three hundred and fifty people. The spring was purchased with the hotel property, and is situated on its grounds. Its waters are popular.

The same history also tells the story of the three grand hotels of Saratoga Springs — much larger, more elegant, and more expensive — which Amy visits and mentions in

<sup>17</sup>*History of Saratoga County, New York*, by Nathaniel Bartlett Sylvester <http://www.saratoganygenweb.com/Sylvester/chap28b.html>

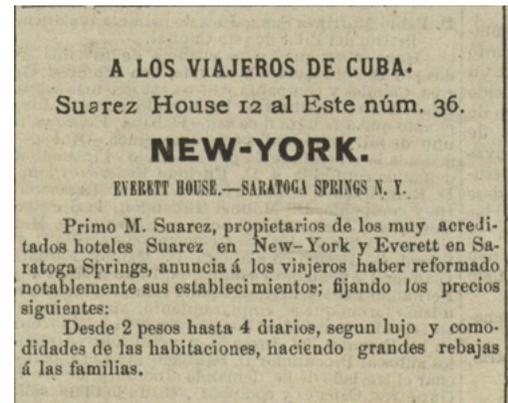
her journal: **The Grand Union**, completed in 1802 on what was later named Broadway; **United States Hotel**, also on Broadway was completed in 1824 and was described as one of the grandest hotels in the world, but it burned down in 1865 and was not rebuilt until 1874; **Congress Hall**, was founded in 1813 — also on Broadway — and was the third most famous of the grand hotels on Broadway, until it burned to the ground in 1866. The hotel was also rebuilt. It was during the absence of the two burned hotels that the Clarendon rose in prominence in the area, having been built and opened in 1860.

**M. 5.** A buscar cuartos que tomamos en el Everett. A la estacion á las 8 para encontrar á Mama, Aug. y Elena que venian de Stockbrige.

**T. 5** To look at the rooms that we took at the Everett. To the station at 8 to meet Mama, Aug., and Elena who came from Stockbridge.

The Everett House, now the Inn at Saratoga Springs, now claims to be the oldest continuously operating hotel in the area, having been in continuous operation in the same building since 1843, when it was opened as a boarding house. Perhaps it was not a coincidence that in the 1860s the hotel was popular for tourists from Cuba and by 1882 the hotel was leased Primo M. Suarez, who catered to Cuban vacationers for 35 years; he rebuilt the front of the hotel in 1887 in the High Victorian style that was fashionable at the time.<sup>18</sup>

The image shows an advertisement of the Everett aimed at Cuban travelers placed by Mr. Suarez in the *Gaceta de La Habana*, Num. 52-77, Marzo de 1885, p.20.<sup>19</sup> Cuban management might well have been relevant to the choice of the hotel for a family vacation in 1882 by the Cuban-born cousins Jane L. Heard, Louisa Taylor, and Amelia C. Mason — three of the granddaughters of Lemuel and Mary Taylor.



**J. 7** Empezamos todos á beber del “Hathorn Spring.”

Vinó M<sup>rs</sup> Ruggles á vernos.

**T. 7** We all started drinking the “Hathorn Spring.”

M<sup>rs</sup> Ruggles came to see us.

<sup>18</sup><https://goingplacesfarandnear.com/historic-inn-at-saratoga-captures-sense-of-place-gracious-victorian-style/>

<sup>19</sup><https://digitalcollections.library.miami.edu/digital/collection/cubanlaw/id/29091/>

Hathorn Spring is one of the most famous of the Springs of Saratoga in terms of health giving benefits. Henry H. Hathorn had involved with both the Grand Union and Congress Hall grand hotels and the surrounding property.

**V.8.** A ver á M<sup>ts</sup> John Gittings & M<sup>ts</sup> James G. y su hija en el “Grand Union” donde encontramos á M<sup>r</sup> West y Victoria. Par la noche á oír la musica en el “United States”, encontramos á M<sup>ts</sup> Geo. Bird y su hermana ? á M<sup>c</sup>Cont? M<sup>ts</sup> de Comey y á las señ. Thompson de Baltimore. Mama y yo en coche con M<sup>ts</sup> Ruggles.

**F. 8.** To see M<sup>ts</sup> John Gitting M<sup>ts</sup> James G. and her daughter at the “Grand Union” where we met M<sup>r</sup> West and Victoria. For the evening to hear the music at the “United States.” We met M<sup>ts</sup> Geo. Bird and her sister M<sup>ts</sup> ? and Mr Cont? Mr de Councy and the Thompsons of Baltimore. Mama and I by coach with M<sup>ts</sup> Ruggles.

**S. 9** Paseo con Agustin y Elena. Vin. las Thompson. Pof la noche en el “Grand Union” con las señ. Gitting y los West.

**Sat. 9** Strolled with Augustin and Elena. The Thompsons came. For the evening at the “Grand Union” with the Gittings and the Wests.

**Dom. 10** A la Iglesia. Vin. Miss Stocker y su sobrina, Mis Cox, M<sup>r</sup> West y Victoria.

**Sunday 10** To church. Miss Stocker and her niece Miss Cox, M<sup>r</sup> West and Victoria came.

**M. 13** Paseo á solar. Ayer paseo con Ag. y Max. Por la mañana en el “Grand Union”. Or la noche á ver á M<sup>ts</sup> & Miss Cox & Miss Stocker.

**W. 13** Yesterday strolled with Ag. and Max. The morning at the “Grand Union,” for the evening to see M<sup>ts</sup> & Miss Cox and Miss Stocker.

**J. 14** Vin. M<sup>r</sup> Taylor, Admir & M<sup>ts</sup> Carter. Suarez (que tiene la casa) los mando decir que la cerraba lunes 18.

**Th. 14** Mr Taylor<sup>20</sup> came, Admir. & M<sup>ts</sup> Carter. Suarez (who owns the house) told them to say that it was closing Monday 18.

**V. 15** Al Parco con Elena.n Vin. M<sup>ts</sup> Ruggles.

**F. 15** To the park with Elena. M<sup>ts</sup> Ruggles came.

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<sup>20</sup>Not clear who “M<sup>r</sup> Taylor” is. Alexander Taylor was long dead by this time and he had only daughters. Perhaps Amy means Alexander Taylor Mason?

**L. 18** Partimos de Saratoga á 8.40 AM. lleguemos á New York sobre las dos. en 6 casas de huespedes sin hallar cuartos. en fin al NY hotel, donde fuimos agradablemente sorprendidas.

despues de la comida por las de Nogueiras.

Agustin a Quincy.

**M. 18** We left Saratoga at 8:40 AM. We arrived at New York about 2. To 6 guest houses without finding rooms. Finally at the N.Y. hotel, where we were agreeably surprised After dinner to the Nogueiras. Augustine to Quincy.

These days, I shudder at the possibility of using Google or any other search engine to find any information on something like the “the New York Hotel.” I dimly recall the early days of searching (e.g., in powerful text editors like *Emacs*, where one could successfully search for an *exact* phrase, including capitalization, order, punctuation. Not in modern search engines, at least the ones I know about. The search described yields millions of hits, most having little to do with the exact phrase entered. All attempts to *not* look up general information on hotels in New York fail. Even adding “1882” separately is mostly ignored, unless it matches an address. End of rant.

After much looking I did find a brief mentions of “the New York Hotel” in New York City in *Tantor’s Guide Books: City of New York*, published by Tantor Brothers, Merrill & Co. in 1884: “At Waverley Place we find the New York Hotel, one of the oldest and best.”

A Web article on New York City in *The Late 19th Century (1850-1899)* by Stephanie Mach, Ashley Sena-Levine, Jacqueline Colognesi <sup>21</sup> provides more information on the hotel’s history.

As the upper class migrated to the fifteenth ward, exquisite hotels emerged along Broadway. The wealthy banker Matthew Morgan moved to the city from New Orleans in the 1840s and formed a partnership with New York merchant, Hickson W. Field. They purchased the entire block fronting Broadway between Waverly and Washington Places, and in 1843 erected the New York Hotel — at 721 Broadway — Greenwich Village’s first. In a letter to a friend concerning his new investment, Morgan illustrated the Fifteenth Ward’s desirability as a haven detached from the overcrowding of lower Manhattan, noting the New York Hotel’s location as “much preferable to the hotels in the lower part of Broadway, now almost inaccessible to any species of carriage except the omnibus.” Morgan and Field’s venture represented innovations in the City’s hospitality industry, as the New York Hotel offered the new amenities of indoor plumbing on every floor, bell boys, French chefs, individual room

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<sup>21</sup><http://creatingdigitalhistory.wikidot.com/late19thc>

keys, room service, and an a la carte menu. The Hotel's popularity soared during the 1850s, becoming a desirable lodging spot for America's Southern gentry. Amidst the political upheaval at the time of the Civil War, many considered the New York Hotel a nest of Confederate spies and conspirators.

**M.19** Seguimos buscando cuartos. Nos mudemos 12 W 10<sup>th</sup> St at Misses Cadle \$2 al dia. á ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Edw. Potter y empezemos lo que vamos á hacer todos los dias que estamos en la ciudad. Correrer las calles y los almacenes.

The Candles' housing arrangement seems to have been a boarding house of some sort, but I could find no trace of it online. The address and the name crop up occasionally in the journal and letters, but never in a very positive light. Its main attribute seems to have been that it was cheap and convenient.

**Tues. 19** Followed up looking for rooms. We changed from 12 W 10th St to the Misses Cadle at \$2 a day.

To see M<sup>rs</sup> Edw. Potter and we started what we were going to do all of the days we are in the city. Hurry through the streets and shops.

**Setembre**

**1882**

**12 W. 10th St N.Y.**

**M.20.** No salí' Vin. M<sup>r</sup> Wood y M<sup>rs</sup> Potter.

**W. 20** Did not go out. M<sup>rs</sup> Wood and M<sup>rs</sup> Potter came.

**D.24** A Trinity Church. (high) Vinó Ethel Potter.

A ver á Miss Morgan cor. 62 S<sup>t</sup> & 8th Av. con Tia Amalia. Todas á ver á la Tia Louisa 56 S<sup>t</sup> & quedemos para el té.

**Sun. 24** To Trinity Church (high). Ethel Potter came.

To see Miss Morgan at 62nd St and 8th Ave with Aunt Amalia. <sup>22</sup> All to see Aunt Louisa. 50th & stayed for tea.

**Mier. 27** Las Misses Routh aqui. Yo al N.Y. Hotel á ver á Mathilde y M<sup>me</sup> Chaffraix;

**Wed. 27** The Misses Routh here. I to the N.Y. Hotel to see Mathilde and M<sup>me</sup> Chaffraix.

**Vier. 29** Volvló Papa del oeste. Comi con M<sup>me</sup> Chaffraix.

**Fri. 29** Papa returned from the West. Dined with M<sup>me</sup> Chaffraix.

<sup>22</sup>Definitely written as Amalia, not Amelia.

Mme Chaffraix can be identified thanks to a letter she wrote to Amy on 17 September 1886 which is transcribed in Chapter 11. which places her in New Orleans and she signs as M. V. Chaffraix.

M. V. Chaffraix was Mrs. Desire Annet Chaffraix who was born in France as Marie Virginia Lulong according to her husband's 1912 will filed in New Orleans. Prior to World War I she spent a great deal of time in New Orleans where she was active in society. According to her New Orleans obituary <sup>23</sup> at the outbreak of hostilities "she returned to her chateau Montjoly in Chamaliere, France, where she remained until her death" on 6 February 1945 at age 97, so she was born around 1848. Her husband's will also referred to the Chateau de Montjoly, Commune de Chamalieres Puy-de-Dôme Department, he had been born in 1828. He was educated nearby in Yzeure in the Department of Alliers. According to his obituary <sup>24</sup> he came to the U.S. to New Orleans in 1848 as a young man and was active in business for many years in New Orleans, eventually becoming a major merchant and a partner in P.A. Giraud & Co. (P. A. Giraud was his cousin.) The company was active in the Cuban sugar trade, especially in purchasing Cuban sugar for shipment to northern U.S. refineries and Chaffraix often traveled to Cuba. It is possible that he met Lemuel Taylor or his children Alexander an Amelia during his visits. In the words of his New Orleans obituary, the

civil war necessitated the liquidation of the firm, and Mr. Chaffraix in 1861 left for New York, bearing important documents from the French consul, Count Mejan, to the French government, and thence went to France.

After the civil war, he returned to Louisiana and resumed his former business with a former partner in Giraud & Co., John Gandy, and following Gandy's death with William Agar. These companies continued to engage in the sugar and coffee commission business and Chaffraix returned to frequent travels to Cuba. Passenger lists at cubagenweb . com show that in 1868 he traveled there with his wife. Chaffraix retired from business in 1876. He and his wife traveled extensively thereafter, but maintained their house and social activity in New Orleans until his death in France in 1912. During his final ten years, his primary residence was the Chateau Montjoly, where his wife lived for the remainder of her life.

According to *The Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer*, 16 June 1915, in an obituary for William Agar, a business partner of D. A. Chaffraix, Chaffraix was "a French capitalist and guardian of Miss Lelong, who subsequently became his wife." Many Lelong in-laws were deeply involved in the business partnerships of Chaffraix and were his executors and included in his heirs. The article also points out that Chaffraix imported sugar from Cuba for Louisiana refiners as well as northern refineries both before and after the civil war.

<sup>23</sup>24 Feb 1945 *The Times* of Shreveport, Louisiana

<sup>24</sup>*The Times-Democrat*, New Orleans, Louisiana, 30 Apr 1912.

It is not clear how Marie's friendship with the much younger Amy began, but it seems likely it was through Amy's mother Jane either through the Cuban connection or through the French consular connections in New York. The 27 September 1882 visit to Mathilde and Mme Chaffraix at the N.Y. Hotel in New York City is the earliest mention of Mme Chaffraix in the Amy archives, but it seems likely that Amy had known her before and was seeking her out during a visit to New York.

## 10.9 Octubre

1777 Mass. Av.

**Dom. 1** A Grace Church. despues á ver a M<sup>me</sup> Noeffarath[?], que esta en Europe. Vin. Miss Morgan y M<sup>r</sup> [???].

**Sun. 1** To Grace Church. After to see M<sup>me</sup> [??], who was in Europe. Miss Morgan and M<sup>r</sup> [???] came.

**Lun. 2.** Lunch con la Tia Luisa. Á Central Park con Josie.

**Mon. 2** Lunch with Aunt Louisa. To ??? with Josie.

**M. 3.** Vinó Chew. al teatro de 14<sup>th</sup> S, "The Rivals" con Jefferson in "Bob Acres".

**Tues. 3** Chew came. To the 14th St theater. "The Rivals" With Jefferson in "Bob Acres."

According to *Wikipedia*, the Fourteenth Street Theatre was a New York City theatre located at 107 West 14th Street just west of Sixth Avenue. *The Rivals* was a comedy by Richard Brinsley Sheridan set in Bath, England. Squire Bob Acres is a character in the play, which also includes characters Mrs. Malaprop, Captain Jack Absolute, and Lydia Languish. Joseph Jefferson played the cowardly Acres character.

**Ju. 5.** A despedirme de M<sup>me</sup> Chaffraix.

**Th. 5** To say goodbye to M<sup>me</sup> Chaffraix.

**V. 6.** Dejamos N.Y. y llegamos en Washington. Papa á Boston. Tia Amalia con nosotros.

**F. 6** Quit N.Y. and arrived in Washington. Papa to Boston. Aunt Amalia with us.

**S.7.** Me dió Tia A. \$ 42. Con M<sup>r</sup> Hopkins á visitar la casa de M<sup>rs</sup> Miller 18<sup>th</sup> S para las Kings de Bellows Falls, V.

**Sat. 7** Aunt A. gave me \$42. With M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins to visit the house of M<sup>rs</sup> Miller. 18th St. For the Kings of Bellows Falls, Vt.

Amy's 22nd birthday.

**D. 8.** A S John's con la tia y Max.

**S. 8.** To St. John's with the aunt and Max.

**L. 9.** Vinó Conde Lewwenhaupt y M<sup>r</sup> Lowndes.

**M. 9** Count Lowenhaupt and Mr Lowndes came.

**M. 10** 'Vinó M<sup>r</sup> Lowery. Yo á ver á Victoria, encontré á Mathilde y anduvé con ella. Tia A. me lavó á pelo.

**Tues. 10** Mr. Lowery came. I to see Victoria. Met Mathilde and walked with her. Aunt A. washed my hair.

**M. 11.** Con Tia A. y Max al "Agricultural Dep." y bajo la quianza de M<sup>r</sup> Richardson. obtuvimos simientes para el Ingenio.

**W. 11** With Aunt A. & Max to the Agricultural Dept. and under the guidance of M<sup>r</sup> Richardson we obtained seeds for the Ingenio.

Mr. Richardson at the Agricultural Department is possibly Clifford Richardson (1856-1932) who was an agricultural chemist at the Department from his Harvard graduation in 1877 through 1887. He was the author of a Department report *The Chemical Composition of American Grasses* (1884) and a coauthor with George Vasey *The agricultural grasses and forage plants of the United States; and such foreign kinds as have been introduced*.<sup>25</sup>

The word *ingenio* means factory, but as seen often in Part I, in Cuba at this time it usually meant a sugar plantation with its own factory for refining the cane into sugar. This strongly suggests to me that Amy and Aunt Amalia are obtaining seeds and instructions for the visit to Cuba in 1883. This also suggests that this is Amy's aunt Amelia Henrietta De Coninck, Jane's sister, and not Amy's "aunt" Amelia C. (Taylor) Mason, Jane's cousin, since the latter never returned to Cuba following the departure of Alexander Taylor and his family from Cuba and their move to Connecticut before 1850. It is possible used the name "Aunt Amalia" for Jane's sister Amelia Henrietta to disambiguate it from "Aunt Amelia" Mason, who was "Aunt Louisa"'s sister and Jane's cousin. Since the use of the word "Ingenio" by Amy almost certainly refers to "Ingenio Santa Amalia," this explanation seems the best available.

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<sup>25</sup>Washington, Govt. print. off., 1889

**J. 12.** Vinó Thérèse de Chambrun. Volvió Papa.

**Th. 12** Thérèse de Chambrun came. Papa returned.

**V. 13** ” Mathilde.

” M<sup>e</sup> Wil. Phillips.

**F. 13** Mathilde came. Mr Phillips came.

**S. 14.** A ver á Mathilde y á Sister Angela. La madre me dio flores por ella.

**S. 14** To see Mathilde and Sister Angela. Her mother gave me flowers for her.

**D. 15** A “Epiphany”<sup>26</sup> con Max por la tarde con Mamá, á ver á la condesa Lewenhaupt.  
Vin. M<sup>tes</sup> Phillips y su hijo Lee.

**S. 15** To Epiphany with Max. For the afternoon with Mama, to see the Countess Lewenhaupt.

M<sup>tes</sup> Philips came with her son Lee.

**L.16.** Se marchó Tia Amalia. Yo fui 2 horas buscando criado. Max en la escuela de M<sup>tes</sup> Hilton 9 1/2 - 2 1/2

**M. 16** Aunt Amalia went away. I spent 2 hours looking for a servant. Max at M<sup>tes</sup> Hilton’s school 9 1/2 - 2 1/2

**M.17** Con Max á la biblioteca del Congreso. Tomé los 2 prim. tomos de las memorias de S<sup>t</sup> Simon y el “Roman d’un jeune homme pauvre” de Feuillet.

Se marchó Papa para N.Y.

**T. 17** With Max to the Library of Congress. I took the first two volumes of the memoires of St Simion and the “novel of a poor young man” de Feuillet.

Papa left for N.Y.

Octave Feuillet (1821 - 1890), an author referred to by Amy’s father in his letter to her in Chapter 12 published in 1858 a novel *Le roman d’un jeune homme pauvre*.

**M. 18.** A ver á T. de Chambrun donde encontré M<sup>e</sup> & M<sup>tes</sup> Pollok que me llevarón á casa.

**W. 18** To see T. de Chambrun where I met Mr and M<sup>tes</sup> Pollak, who took me home.

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<sup>26</sup>The Church of the Epiphany is an Episcopalian Church in Washington DC.

**J. 19.** Vin. Chew. No Salí.

**T. 19** Chew came. I did not go out.

**V. 20.** Vin. M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Aulich Palmer, Condesa Lewenhaupt.

**F. 20** M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Aulich Palmer and Countess Lewenhaupt came.

**Sab. 21.** " Miss Lee, M<sup>r</sup> Lowery, Paseo en coche con Vict. West.

**Sat. 21** Miss Lee and Mr Lowery came. Sightseeing in the coach with Vict. West.

**Dom. 22** Vinö M<sup>r</sup> Hanna.

**Sun. 22** Mr Hanna came.

**L. 23.** A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Johnson, Pollok, Phillips, Fay, Everett, Chambrun. Vin. M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Pollok á buscarme para salir en coche.

**M. 23** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Johnson, Pollack, Phillips, Fay Everett, Chambrun. M<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> Pollac came to see me to go out in a coach.

**M. 24.** D<sup>r</sup> Smithe me orificó<sup>27</sup> un diente. (dos horas)

**T. 24** Dr Smithe filled a tooth. Two hours.

**M. 25** Mamá y yo en coche con M<sup>r</sup> y& M<sup>rs</sup> Pollok.

Vin. M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Sidney Everett, Thér. de Ch. y el marq. de Potestád y Capt. Story.

**W. 25** Mama and I in coach with Mr & M<sup>rs</sup> Pollak.

M<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> Sidney Everett came, Thér. de Ch., and the Mrq. de Polestad and Capt. Story came.

**J. 26** Con Mamá á ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Anderson, Park, Irving, Davenport, A. Palmer, Lewenhaupt. M<sup>r</sup> de Geofroy aqui.

**T. 26.** With Mama to see M<sup>rs</sup> Anderson, Park, Irving, Davenport, A. Palmer, Lewenhaupt.

**V. 27** Con Capt. Story sobre el Washington Monum.

Vin. M<sup>rs</sup> Pollak, señores chey y hanna.

Volvió Papa de N.Y.

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<sup>27</sup>Amy wrote *orifio*, but context indicates she meant *orificó*, the past simple of *orificar* — to fill with gold.

**F. 27** With Capt Story to the top of the Washington Monument.

M<sup>rs</sup> Pollock, Mr Chew and Mr Hanna came.

Papa returned from N.Y.

**Sab. 28** Chew me envió flores y uvas. Recibí Prayer & its answer de Tia Amalia. A verâ M<sup>rs</sup> F. Loring, M<sup>rs</sup> L. Irving y M<sup>r</sup> Davenport aqui. La noche en casa Pollak con Papa y Mamá. Tertulia para el commandant Frangeul del “Canada” que nos llevó a America.

**Sat. 28** Chew sent me flowers and grapes. Received *Prayer & its answer* from Aunt Amalia. To see M<sup>rs</sup> F. Loring, M<sup>rs</sup> S. Irving and M<sup>r</sup> Davenport here. In the evening to the Pollocks with Papa and Mama. Gathering for Commandant Frangeul of the “Canada” that brought us to America.

*Prayer and its Answer* was a book by Samuel Irenæus Prime published by Charles Scribner’s Sons in 1882,

**D.29** A S John’s con la Cond. Lewenhaupt. Vinó M<sup>r</sup> Hopkins á buscar me para hablar aleman con un cierto Leo Saratoff, muchacho ruso de 16 años que decia haber defado sus padres en S Petersborgue no queria ir al colegio, y había venido á America pensando hallar un hermana suyo en Baltimore que le daría empleo.

**S. 29** To St John’s with Count Lewenhaupt. Mr Hopkins came to look for me to speak German with a certain Leo Saratoff, a Russian boy of 16 years who said he had left his parents in St Petersburg because he did not wish to go to school, and had come to America thinking to find a sister of his in Baltimore who could give him work.

U.S. Senate documents <sup>28</sup> mention a Leo Saratoff serving as a clerk in the War Department in the District of Columbia from 9 October through 27 October 1882. So his work for the government had ended two days before meeting Amy.. He appears again in the next entry.

**L. 30.** A ver á Victoria West y las Nogueiras. Volvió Mathilde conmigo. Vinó M<sup>r</sup> Hopkins despues de la comida. Encontré M. Williamov, el secretario de Rusia, que trató ese Leo Saratoff de impostor.

**M. 30** To see Victoria West and the Nogueiras. Mathilde came with me. Mr Hopkins came after dinner. Met Mr. Williamov, the secretary of the Russian Legation, who treated this Leo Saratoff as an imposter.

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<sup>28</sup> *Senate Documents, Otherwise Publ. as Public Documents and Executive Documents: 14th Congress, 1st Session-48th Congress, 2nd Session and Special Session, Volume 1, Part 1*

**M. 31.** Salí con Papa, comí en casa Hopkins.

Vinó M<sup>r</sup> Poore.

**T. 31** Left with Papa. I lunched at the Hopkins.

Mr Poore came.

## 10.10 November

**M. 1.** Vin. M<sup>r</sup> Hanna, Victoria, M<sup>rs</sup> Mackay, Fanny

A caballo con M<sup>r</sup>Hanna

**W. 1** Mr Hanna, Victoria, M<sup>rs</sup> Mackay, Fanny came to visit.

Horseback riding with Mr Hanna.

**J. 2** Al dentista para que rehaga lo que hizo el 24 del ultimo. Vin. M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Amdersom.

Adm. & M<sup>rs</sup> Howell, M<sup>rs</sup> Davenport. M<sup>r</sup> Aulich Palmer á llevarme en coche. Tomó Mama como no estaba yo en casa.

**T. 2** To the dentist so he could redo his work of the 24th of last month. Mr and M<sup>rs</sup> Anderson, Adm. and M<sup>rs</sup> Howell, M<sup>rs</sup> Davenport came. Mr Aulich Palmer came to take me for a coach ride. He took Mama as I was not at home.

**V. 3.** Vin. Judge y M<sup>rs</sup> James, Chew. Paseo con Thérèse de Ch.

**F. 3** Judge and M<sup>rs</sup> James, Chew came. Time with Thérèse de Ch.

**S. 4.** A ver á Miss Meigs, á G. M<sup>c</sup>Lane y Min. Stout que no han vuelto.

**S. 4** To see Miss Meigs, to G. M<sup>c</sup>Lane and Min. Stout, who had not returned.

**Dom. 5.** A la iglesia. Volvió Col. Bliss conmigo. Vin. Conde de Lippo y M<sup>r</sup> Hanna. Fuerón Papa y Mama ä casa Loring por la noche.

**Sun. 5** To church. Col. Bliss returned with me. Counte de Lippe and Mr Hanna came. Papa and Mama went to the Lorings for the evening.

**L. 6.** A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Polk, Turnbull, Ricketts, Pollok, Ray.

M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> H Adams aqui.

**M. 6.** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Polk, Turnbull, Ricketts, Pollok, Ray.

M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> H. Adams here.

- M. 7** En la ciudad á comprar tajido para un vestido para la criada Dora.
- T. 7** To the city to buy fabric for a dress for the maid Dora.
- M. 8.** En la ciudad con Mamá. Vin. M<sup>ES</sup> Parke.  
Papa á N.Y.
- W. 8** In the city with Mama. M<sup>ES</sup> Parke came.  
Papa to N.Y.
- J. 9.** Miss Polk aqui. Con Mamá á ver á Miss Lee, Baroness von Klenck, M<sup>ES</sup> D<sup>E</sup> Palmer, Slacks, James.
- T. 9** Miss Polk here. With Mama to see Miss Lee, Baroness von Klenck, M<sup>ES</sup> D<sup>E</sup> Palmer, Slacks, James.
- V. 10.** Con Mamá ver á M<sup>ES</sup> Robeson, Chambrun, des Puy de Lome, Eustis, Godoy, M<sup>C</sup>Lane.
- F. 10** With Mama to see M<sup>ES</sup> Robeson, Chambrun, du Puy de Lome, Eustis, Godoy, M<sup>C</sup>Lane,.
- Sab. 11.** No salí. Vinó M<sup>E</sup> Hannah y me trajó rosas.
- Sat. 11** Did not go out. Mr Hannah came and brought me roses.
- Dom. 12** No salí. Vinó M<sup>E</sup> Lowndes.
- Sun. 12** Did not go out. Lowndes came.
- L.13** Vinó Janet King, M<sup>E</sup> & M<sup>ES</sup> Pollok. Nació el hijo de M<sup>ES</sup> Hopkins.
- M. 13** Janet King, Mr & M<sup>ES</sup> Pollok came. M<sup>ES</sup> Hopkins son was born.
- M.14** Vin. Ginny y su prima Kitty M<sup>C</sup>Lane M<sup>ES</sup> Hall Slack & Miss Slack, Janet K. M<sup>E</sup> & M<sup>ES</sup> Godoy, J. Chew.
- T. 14** Ginny and her cousin Kitty McLane, M<sup>ES</sup> Hall Slack & Miss Slack, Janet K. Mr & M<sup>ES</sup> Godoy, J. Chew.
- M. 15** A ver á las King que vovieron conmigo y Miss Knight. Vin. M<sup>ES</sup> Worden, Admir. Carter y su mujer, los 3 Nogueiras, Lippe, Pedroso, Chacon, Miss Clymer, Baron de Klenck y su mujer.
- W. 15** To see the Kings, who came with me and Miss Knight M<sup>ES</sup> Worden Admir. Carter and his wife, the 3 Nogueiras, Lippe, Pedroso, Chacon, Miss Clymer, Baron de Klenck and his wife came.

Pedroso was the Spanish Attaché.

**J. 16.** M<sup>rs</sup> Johnston y Ginny M<sup>c</sup>L., M<sup>r</sup> Babcock aqui. A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Ferguson, Story, Agric. Loring, Leonard, Adams, Eustis, Rogers, Howell, Schenck.

**T. 16** M<sup>rs</sup> Johnston and Ginny McL., Mr Babcock here. To see M<sup>rs</sup> Ferguson, Story, Agric. Loring, Leonard, Adams, Eustis, Rogers, Howell, Schenck.

“Agric.” is an abbreviation for “Agriculture,” and at this time Dr. George B. Loring was the U.S. Commissioner of Agriculture. The word is likely intended to distinguish this Loring from the Judge.

**Nov. 17 V.** Al dentist me llenó por la tercera vez un gruesa diente á la izquierda por [???] <sup>29</sup> y un otro con oro a la derecha tambien por [???].

Vin. Thérèse de Ch., Condesa Lewenhaupt, M<sup>rs</sup> Judge Loring y su hija Mary.

**Nov. 17, F.** To the dentist to fill for the third time a thick tooth on the left [???] and another with gold on the right [???]

Thérèse de Ch., Countess Lewenhaupt, M<sup>rs</sup> Judge Loring and her daughter Mary came.

**S. 18** A ver á Ginny M<sup>c</sup>L. Min. Stout aqui.

**S. 18** To see Ginny M<sup>c</sup>L., Min. Stout here.

**D. 19** Vin. M<sup>r</sup> Munroe, Lowery, Blaine, Hannah, Misses Eustis & Polk, Levy. Con Mamá á casa Loring por la noche, Señ Roustan me fue presentado.

**S. 19** Mr Munroe, Lowery, Blaine, Hannah, Misses Eustis & Polk, Levy. came.

With Mama to the Loring for the evening. Mr Roustan was presented to me.

**L. 20.** Vinó M. de Bildt y las Señ. Frelinghuysen.

Conduje Max al dentista que le llenó un d.

**M. 20** M. de Bildt and the Frelinghuysens came. Took Max to the Dentist who pulled a tooth.

**M. 21** Con Mamá á dejar una tarjeta de pesame á Min. Stout para la muerte de su tio Señ. Wylie Aulick, á ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Clymer, Ruggles.

<sup>29</sup>The word is squashed and overwritten. It looks something like “atribá”, so a possibility is Amy meant “arriba” to indicate upper teeth, but elsewhere she clearly writes out double r’s.

**W. 21** With Mama to leave a sympathy card with Min. Stout for the death of her uncle Mr Wylie Aulick, to see M<sup>rs</sup> Clymer, Ruggles.

**M. 22** Con Tèrese de Ch. á recorrer la ciudad & buscando cocineras. Vin. Judge Loring, Cap. de la Chère.

**T. 22** With Thérèse de Ch. to look around the city for cooks. Judge Loring, Cap. de la Chère came.

**J. 23.** Vinó Thérèse de Ch. y Salió con nosotros á ver á las King, Field, Berrey, M<sup>rs</sup>L. Vin. M<sup>rs</sup> Rickets.

Comé en la legacion inglesa. (la Señora Godoy y su marido, Marques del Valle que me condujo<sup>30</sup> à la mesa, Lippe, Pedroso, Laurin; despues de la comida vin. y Dominguez; de la repub. Argentina, Chacon y Howard.

**T. 23** Thérèse de Ch. came and left with us to see the Kings, Field, Berry, M<sup>rs</sup> L. M<sup>rs</sup> Rickets came.

Dined at the English Legation (M<sup>rs</sup> Godoy and her husband, Marquis del Valle who took me to the table, Lippe, Pedroso, Laurin; after dinner Dominguez, of the Repub. of Argentina, Chacon, and came.)

**V.24** Por la mañana en la ciudad con Mamá.

Vin. Amiral y M<sup>rs</sup> Rogers, M<sup>rs</sup> Temple, Chacon y Pedroso.

**F. 24** In the morning in the city with Mama.

Admiral and M<sup>rs</sup> Rogers, M<sup>rs</sup> Temple, Chacon and Pedroso came.

**S. 25.** A ver á las Nogueiras, M<sup>rs</sup> Greene, King.

Vin. los Stevens, Vovió Papa.

**S. 25** To see the Nogueiras, M<sup>rs</sup> Greene, King. The Stevens came. Papa returned.

**D. 26** A la Iglesia. nevo y llovio. <sup>31</sup> Vin. M<sup>rs</sup> Edw. Crosby, Hanna, Chew.

**S. 26** To church. It snowed and rained. <sup>32</sup> Mr Edw. Crosby, Hannah, Chew came.

**L. 27.** Al Navy Yard á ver á las Pattison con mama.

Las emory y M<sup>rs</sup> Davenport aqui.

---

<sup>30</sup> Amy has "conduzco"

<sup>31</sup> Amy wrote nievó lluvió, perhaps she meant nieve y luvia, rain and snow.

<sup>32</sup> or "snow and rain"

**M. 27** To the Navy Yard to see the Pattisons with Mama. The Emorys and M<sup>rs</sup> Davenport here.

As previously discussed, the Pattisons are probably Commodore Pattison and his wife Serafina Catherine (Webster) Pattison, the sister of Maria Louisa (Webster) Taylor, the wife of Alexander Taylor, the brother of Jane De Coninck's mother. Thus the Pattisons can be considered "Taylor cousins" in a general sense.

**M. 28** Vin. M<sup>r</sup> John Field y la Marq. de Chambrun. Nievió todo la tarde.

**T. 28** M<sup>r</sup> John Field and the Marq. de Chambrun came. It snowed all afternoon.

**M.29** Vin. Janet King, M<sup>rs</sup> Capt. Story, Miss Polk,

A la primera recep. de la estacion en casa Frelinghuysen. T. en casa John Field para encontrar M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Story de Roma (el escultor))

**W. 29** Janet King, M<sup>rs</sup> Capt Story, Miss Polk came. To the first reception of the season at the Freylinghuysens. To John Field's house to meet Mr and M<sup>rs</sup> Story of Rome. (the sculptor)

**J. 30.** "Thanksgiving." A S J's Vin. M. de Geofroy, M<sup>r</sup> Blaine, M<sup>rs</sup> Jay. Papa, Mamá, Max y yo comimos at the Hopkins', con M<sup>r</sup> Lowndes & M<sup>rs</sup> Miller. A ver á Victoria, Miss Edgar, Ginny, Angela.

**T. 30** "Thanksgiving." To S J's. M. de Geofroy, M<sup>r</sup> Blaine, M<sup>rs</sup> Jay came. Mama, Max and I dined at the Hopkins, with Mr Lowndes and M<sup>rs</sup> Miller. To see Victoria, Miss Edgar, Ginny, Angela.

## 10.11 Diciembre

**V.1** Por la mañana en la ciudad con Mamá. A ver á las Stevens, Munroe, Hafner, Emory (de H).

Vin. los Sanford, Schenck, Berry, Story (de Roma), M<sup>r</sup> Laurin.

**F. 1** For the morning in the city with Mama. To see the Stevens, Munroe, Hafner, Emory (de H). The Sanfords, Shencks, Berrys, Storys (of Rome), Mr Laurin came.

**S. 2.** No salí, sino por la noche en casa Nogueiras donde van á recibir cada Sab. Vinó M<sup>r</sup> Hannah.

**S. 2** Did not go out, except for the evening to the Nogueiras, where they will be receiving every Saturday. Mr Hannah came.

- D. 3** No salí, sino por la noche en casa Loring. Papa se fue. Vin. Janet King, Thé. de Ch. M<sup>r</sup> W. Phillips & Wood. Blair.
- S. 3** Did not go out, except for the evening to the Lorings. Papa left.  
Janet King, Thé. de Ch., Mr W. Phillips, Wood, Blaine came.
- L. 4.** Vin. Janet King Baron von Schaeffer, Miss Beale.
- M. 4** Janet King, Baron von Schaefer, Miss Beale came.
- M. 5.** Vin. M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Clymer, M<sup>rs</sup> F. Greene, Miss Edgar.  
A la recep. Beale por la noche.
- T. 5** M<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> Clymer, M<sup>rs</sup> F. Greene, Miss Edgar came.  
To the Beale's reception for the evening.
- M. 6.** Vin. M<sup>rs</sup> Leonard, Misses J. Loring, Aldis, Ginny, M<sup>r</sup> Denaut, Chew. A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Jay, Wick. Hoffman, Adams.
- W. 6** M<sup>rs</sup> Leonard, Misses J. Loring, Aldis, Ginny, Mr Denaut, Chew came. To see M<sup>rs</sup> Jay, Wick. Hoffman, Adams.
- J. 7** A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Robeson. Vinó Arthur Carey.
- T. 7** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Robeson. Arthur Carey came.
- V. 8.** A ver á Mackay, Noble, Ashton, M<sup>r</sup> L. Lewenh., Lippitt, Dodge. Almorzó Carey aqui.
- F. 8** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Mackay, Noble, Ashton, Mr L. Lewenh., Lippet, Dodge. Carey lunched here.
- S. 9.** Al dentista con Max. Por la tarde á ver á Min. Stout, Miss Polk, M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins. Janet K. M<sup>r</sup> du Puy de Lome, Emory, M<sup>rs</sup> Jay, aqui.
- S. 9** To the dentist with Max. In the afternoon to see Min. Stout, Miss Polk, M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins. Janet K., M<sup>r</sup> du Puy de Lome, Emory, M<sup>rs</sup> Jay here.
- D. 10.** Vin. M<sup>rs</sup> Jay, M<sup>r</sup> Roustan, Denaut. Comí con M<sup>rs</sup> Jay y fuimos juntas en casa Loring.
- S. 10** M<sup>rs</sup> Jay, M<sup>r</sup> Roustan, Denaut came. Dined with M<sup>rs</sup> Jay and we went together to the Lorings.
- L. 11.** A ver á Miss Biddle, Levys, Ruthe, Min. Stout. Miss Stearns, (sobrina de M<sup>rs</sup> Noble) aqui.

- M. 11** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Biddle, Levys, Ruthe, Min. Stout. Miss Stearns (niece of M<sup>rs</sup> Noble) here.
- M. 12.** A ver á Miss Aldis, M<sup>rs</sup> F. Loring, Chambrun, Misses Biddle & Worden aqui.
- T. 12** To see Miss Aldis, Miss F. Loring, Chambrun. Misses Biddle and Worden here.
- M. 13.** A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Jay. M<sup>rs</sup> Ferguson aqui. A ver á Jefferson in “The Poor Gentleman” Biddle theatre party.
- W. 13** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Jay. M<sup>rs</sup> Ferguson here. To see Jefferson in “The Poor Gentleman.” Biddle theater party.

*The Poor Gentleman: A Comedy in Five Acts* by George Colman was first performed in Covent Garden in 1800. Probably Jefferson is Joseph Jefferson whom Amy saw act in New York in October.

- J. 14.** A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Jay, las Dominguez, Pendleton.  
Comí en casa Hopkins con M<sup>e</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup>Story, (escultor) y el secretario de la guerra, Lincoln.  
No fui en casa Bliss. Mamá estaba mala.
- T. 14** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Jay, the Dominguez, Pendleton.  
Dined at the Hopkins with M<sup>e</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> Story (sculptor), and the secretary of war, Lincoln. We did not go to the Bliss’, Mama was ill.
- V. 15.** En la ciudad con Mama. Vin. el conde de Fitz James, Mr. de Bildt, Janet King, M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Polk.  
Comí en casa Cameron (Lieut. & M<sup>rs</sup> Greenee, Miss Turnbull, Gen. M<sup>c</sup>Cook, M<sup>e</sup> Woods, Blair, M<sup>e</sup> Rae. (me conduzcó M<sup>e</sup> Greene.) Vin. gente despues.
- F. 15.** To the city with Mama. The count of St James, M. de Bildt, Janet King, M<sup>rs</sup> and Miss Polk came. Dined at the Camerons (Lieut. and M<sup>rs</sup> Greene, Miss Turnbull, Gen M<sup>c</sup>Cook, M<sup>e</sup> Woods, Blaire, M<sup>e</sup> Rae. (M<sup>e</sup> Greene took me to table.) People came afterwards.
- S. 16.** A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Jay y á Ginny. Por la tarde en casa Nogueiras. Vovió Papa. Vin. M<sup>rs</sup> Geo. (April) Loring y Miss L. Tomó Janet K. el lunch con nosotros.
- S. 16** To see Miss Jay and to Ginny’s. For the afternoon at the Nogueiras. Papa returned. M<sup>rs</sup> Geo. (April) Loring and Miss L. came. Janet K. lunched with us.
- D. 17.** A S<sup>John</sup>’s. Vin. Col. Hoffman Rev. D<sup>e</sup> Leeds y M<sup>e</sup> Hanna. En Casa Loring.

**S. 17.** To St John's. Col. Hoffmann, Rev. D<sup>r</sup> Leeds, and M<sup>r</sup> Hannah came. To the Lorings.

Recall from the note following Amy's March 16 entry that the Rev. George Leeds, D.D. was the father of the wife Alice Leeds Heard of Augustine Heard's brother John. The Rev. Dr. Leeds at that time was rector of Grace Church in Baltimore.

**L. 18** A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> (Justice) Miller, Temple, Brown, Allison, Blatchford, J. Wadsworth, J. Gardner, (Miss Howe) M<sup>c</sup>Keevers, Berreys, B. Davis, Bancroft, Edgars. \_ Marques dalla Valle, M<sup>r</sup> J Gardner, J. Field, M<sup>rs</sup>James. Por la noche en casa Pendleton.

**M. 18** To see M<sup>rs</sup> (Justice) Miller, Temple, Brown, Allison, Blatchford, J. Wadsworth, J. Gardner, (Miss Howe) Mr Keevers, Berrys, B. Davis, Bancroft, Edgars, \_ Marques della Vallé, M<sup>r</sup> J. Gardner, J. Field, M<sup>rs</sup> James. For the evening at the Pendletons.

**M. 19.** A comprar media libra de lana para corchetar unas enaguatas para el niño del doctor F. Loring. A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins, aqui Lorings.

Noche en casa Beale. Papa volvió de N.Y.

Vin. Miss Levy.

**T. 19** To buy a half pound of wool to crochet petticoats for the baby of doctor F. Loring. To see M<sup>rs</sup> Hopkins. Lorings here.

At the Beales for the evening. Papa returned to N.Y.

Miss Levy came.

**Mier. 20.** A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Brewster. K/ Davos. Frelinghuysen, Barca. Las Dominguez aqui.

**Wed. 20** To see M<sup>rs</sup> Brewster, J. David, Frelinghuysens, Barca. The Dominguez here.

**J. 21.** Primera Comunion á S John's.

Llegó Augustin de Quincy.

**T. 21** First communion at S John's.

Augustin arrived from Quincy.

**V. 22** Llegó John de Europa.

**F. 22** John arrived from Europe.

**S. 23** Llegó Papa de N.Y. Vin. M. de Willamov. A ver á Miss Polk y M<sup>c</sup>Lane.

**S. 23** Papa arrived from N.Y. M. de Willamov came. To see Miss Polk and M<sup>c</sup>Lane.

**S. 24** A S J. Vin. Janet King. Por la noche en casa Loring con Papa. Me fueron present. M<sup>e</sup> Nelson, Hoffman.

**S. 24** To S J. Janet King came. In the evening to the Lorings' with Papa. Mr Nelson and Hoffman were introduced to me.

**L. 25** Recibi para la Navidad de Mamá y Papa \$ 10. 1 par de guantes, largos, blancos, docena botones (bolas cristalinas) de Augustin una imagen y un mamotreto, de Max, alfileres dorados para el pelo, limpia uñas, laguito[?] de Tia Amalia \$ 10., de Victoria West, un humedecero de cristal para timbres, de Janet King, un vaso. Xmas Cards de Sala, Mercer, Nellie Fearon, Lolita W, de Bessie, de Lizzie Linzee, de Emily Bard.

A ver á Victoria W. M<sup>es</sup> Hopkins, Robeson. Ginny y su padre aqui.

Dí a Mama, libro de oraciones; á Papa, cesto (waste paper), á Max, cadena de reloj; á Agustín, botones de manjas, á John, "blotter", Envi "Xmas card" á Lady Wolff, M<sup>es</sup> Buckler, Bessie, M<sup>me</sup> Chaffraix, Ida, M<sup>es</sup> Brooks. De M<sup>e</sup> Harma, flores.

Count Sala was first secretary to the French Minister.

There were two women named Bessie in Amy's life, but context suggests the Bessie referred to in this entry is Amy's correspondent Elizabeth (Bessie) Woodville of Baltimore and Biarritz, who will be introduced in some detail in Subsection 12.1.1 in Chapter 14 in notes following her 1 December 1883 letter from Biarritz to Amy in Cuba. The other Bessie was Russell Gray's half-sister Elizabeth (Bessie) Chipman Gray, my father's "Aunt Bessie." Amy refers to Bessie Gray as "Miss Gray" in her journal and Bessie Gray signs herself formally as "Elizabeth Chipman Gray" in her rare letters to Amy. In correspondence, usually context disambiguates the Bessies. An added clue here is that Bessie's name is preceded by "Mrs. Buckler" — likely Bessie's mother Mary Buckler Woodville, whose tumultuous marriage to the artist Richard Caton Woodville ended in an acrimonious divorce in London, with Mary returning to Baltimore with her two children. Mary later lived with her daughter Bessie for many years in Biarritz.

**M. 25** Received from Mama and Papa for Christmas \$10, a large pair of white gloves, a dozen buttons (crystal balls), from Augustin an image and a tome, from Max, gold pins for my hair, nail cleaner[???], From Aunt Amalia, \$10. From Victoria West, a crystal moisturizer for stamps. From Janet King, a vase. Xmas cards from Sala, Mercer, Nellie Fearon, Lolita W., Bessie, Lizzie Linzee, Emily Bard. Flowers from Mr Harna.

To see Victoria W., M<sup>es</sup> Hopkins, Robeson. Ginny and her father here.

I gave a book of orations to Mama, a waste paper basket to Papa, a watch chain to Max, sleeve buttons to Augustine, a blotter for John. Sent Xmas cards to Lady Wolff, M<sup>es</sup> Buckler Bessie, M<sup>me</sup> Chaffraix, Ida, M<sup>es</sup> Brooks.

**M. 26** Vin. M<sup>rs</sup> Berry y su hijo, Miss Clymer, M<sup>rs</sup> Jay, D<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Brown, M<sup>r</sup> Bustamente, Hopkins.

Con Mamá á ver á M<sup>rs</sup> Cox, Godoy, Castalano, G. Loring, Kings, Biddles. Por la noche in casa Beale con Mamá y John.

**T. 26** M<sup>rs</sup> Berry and her son, Miss Clymer, M<sup>rs</sup> Jay, D<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Brown, Mr Bustamante, Hopkins came.

With Mama to see M<sup>rs</sup> Cox, Godoy, Cabalano, G. Loring, Kings, Biddles. For the evening at the Beales with Mama and John.

**Mier. 27.** Vin. Miss Markoe, Edw. Crosby, M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Edgar.

Por la noche en casa Wil. Emory, tomamos á Crosby.

**Wed. 27** Miss Markoe, Edw. Crosby, M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Edgar came.

For the evening at Wil. Emory's house, we ate at Crosby's.

**J. 28.** A ver á M<sup>rs</sup> McClellan, Cameron, Pendleton, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> John Davis, M<sup>r</sup> Fred. Phillips, Com. & M<sup>rs</sup> temple, M<sup>rs</sup> Phelps, M<sup>rs</sup> Levellon Brown.

Janet K., Crosby aqui. Juan á Cambridge hacer vis. a su[?] casa[?].

Comí en casa Barca con Victoria W., (que me conduzcó) Misses Mathhews & Sturgis, M. M. Dalla Valle que me conduzcó a la mesa, Chacon, Peredia, Pinto, Bustamente.

**T. 28** To see M<sup>rs</sup> McClellan, Cameron, Pendleton. M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> John Davis, M<sup>r</sup> Fred. Phillips, Com. & M<sup>rs</sup> Temple, M<sup>rs</sup> Phelps, M<sup>rs</sup> Levellon Brown.

Janet K., Crosby here. John to Cambridge. [???

Dined at the Barca's with Victoria W., who took me. Misses Mathews & Sturgis, M.M. Dalla Vale we took me to the table. Chacon, Heredia, Pinto, Bustamante.

**V. 29.** No Salí. Vin. Aristarchi Bey, M<sup>rs</sup> Cox, Bancroft, los Brewster dejarón tarjetas.

**F. 29** Did not go out. Aristarchi Bey, M<sup>rs</sup> Cox, Bancroft, the Brewsters left cards.

# Chapter 11

## 1886: Marriage Journal & Letters

The 1881 and 1882 journals are the only complete ones that survived, but a partial journal survived for 1886, the eventful year when Amy Heard married Russell Gray on 3 November. This chapter also collects several letters written to Amy relevant to her marriage which are more at home in this chapter on her journals than in later parts grouping her letters from the West sisters or from family members in Korea or the broader grouping of letters from family and friends. The journal entries are given both as transcribed French (as she wrote them) followed by my English translations when the originals are in French or Spanish. Notes provide background information about the locations and people writing or mentioned.

All of the letters in this chapter could have been placed in Chapter 14 within its chronological order, but gathering them here instead provides a focus on a single important event, permits the journal entries and relevant correspondence to be woven together in a rare case of contemporary letters and journal entries, and reduces the size of Chapter 14 by removing a few letters from friends and family received in 1886-7 relating to Amy's marriage.

### 11.1 Juillet

Bar Harbor  
Juillet 1886

### July

V. 16 **Juillet** Quittai le Belmont aux insistances de Mme Dorr, chez laquelle j'allai passer quelque temps. Mme A.A. Low, sa mère, y est.

---

**F. 16 July** Quit the Belmont at the insistence of Mrs Dorr, to whose house I went to spend some time. Mme A. A. Low, her mother, was there.

The Belmont was built in 1879 near the corner of Mount Desert and Kebo Streets. It burned down in the great Bar Harbor fire of 1947. Mrs Dorr was Mary Gray Ward Dorr, the wife of Charles Hazen Dorr of Boston and the mother of George B. Dorr, who later founded Acadia National Park. The Dorr house was called Oldfarm or Old Farm. It was reputedly the first well-built house in Bar Harbor. The guest list of the house is in the Bar Harbor Historical Society. In addition to Amy Heard and Russell Gray, the list includes Chester Arthur, Julia Ward Howe, William James, and the elder Oliver Wendell Holmes, who wrote a poem memorializing the house [62]. The house looked out over what is now Dorr's point and its foundation is now Acadia Park land, a short walk from the Nannau-Seaside Bed and Breakfast. The house was torn down by the Park Service in 1951, ostensibly because the wiring was bad.



**The Belmont Hotel in Bar Harbor**



**Oldfarm**

Charles and Mary Dorr also had a house in Boston at 18 Commonwealth Avenue, where Amy often stayed, as will be seen from her correspondence. The history of the house can be found at [backbayboston.com](http://backbayboston.com). Mary Gray Dorr (born 1821) was a granddaughter of Old Billy Gray, as was Russell Gray, so Mary and Russell were second cousins, but Mary was almost thirty years older than Russell. Mary's father Samuel was baptized in 1760, while Russell's father Horace was born in 1800 (Billy's youngest son).

**Sam. 17** Arr. M. Russell Gray.

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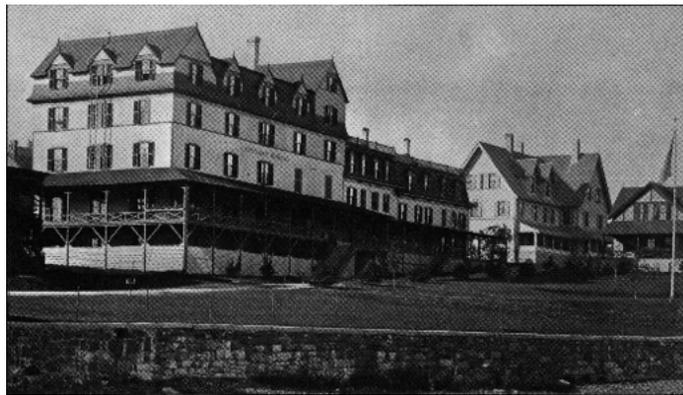
**Sat. 17** Russell Gray arrived.

**L. ou M.** Arr. de M. Low qui emmène sa femme & ses enfants ds un jour ou deux.

---

**M. or T.** Arrival of Mr Low who brought his wife and children for a day or two.

According to the membership list for the Mount Desert Reading Room kept in the Bar Harbor Historical Society, Russell Gray joined on 19 July for one week with the sponsorship of G. B. Dorr. The club had been formed in 1881 from the old Oasis Club for the promotion of “literary and social culture,” but it was best known for its providing a means for the visitors to evade Maine’s prohibition on alcoholic beverages[62]. Members were reputed to sit around, sipping highballs while discussing the stock market and gossip. Writing in the *Boston Transcript* of 1896, Professor Barrett Wendell of Harvard described Bar Harbor as having the “best conversation in America” [41]. Russell Gray’s brother John C. Gray, a Harvard Professor of Law and cofounder of the Boston Law firm of Ropes and Gray, also was a member for the summer. Amy Heard’s father Augustine became a member in August, giving the Belmont as his address. The final location of the Reading Room is now subsumed by the Bar Harbor Motor Inn, and the restaurant of that establishment maintains the name.



**The Newport Hotel in Bar Harbor**

**Sam. 24** Ascension de “Newport” avec M. Gray.

---

**Sat. 24** Went up to the “Newport” with Mr Gray.

The “select Newport was built in 1869 on site just south of the present-day Agamont Park, near the parking area” [62]. It was torn down in 1938.

**Mar. 27** Dép. de M. Gray. Mon retour au Belmont.

---

**Tues. 27** Departure of Mr Gray. My return to the Belmont.

---

**Jeu. 29** Tableaux vivants au Rodick pr l’église Catholique. Moi en Jeanne d’Arc au supplice. Souper Del Monte après.

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**Thurs. 29** Tableaux vivants at the Rodick presented by the Catholic Church. I was Jeanne d’Arc, supplicant. Dined at the Del Monte afterwards.



**The Rodick Hotel in Bar Harbor**

The Rodick House was the largest hotel in Bar Harbor (and Maine), housing some 600 guests at peak season. During the peak of Bar Harbor in the Gilded Age, reservations for high season were typically made two years in advance. The Rodick was particularly renowned for its lobby, called the “Fish Pond,” where young people met members of the opposite sex. Contemporary accounts suggest that Bar Harbor gave young people a far greater freedom from chaperones than did Newport [62].

It deteriorated into seediness in the 1890s and was demolished in 1906.

**Sam. 31** Dr Longstreth me fait commencer une cure de lait. 2 cuillerées a ??? par heure exclusivement. Ds deux ???, double dose. Ds 8 hours, recommencer à manger nourriture simple & surtout très régulièrement. faiblesse extrême

---

**Sat. 31** Dr Longstreth made me begin a milk cure. 2 spoonfuls per hour exclusively. After 2 ???, double dose. After 8 hours, begin again to eat food that is simple and above all very regularly. Extremely week.

## 11.2 Août

Août

**Sa. 14** Retour de M. Gray fiancelles.

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August

**S. 14** Return of Mr Gray engaged.

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**M. 17** Dép. de Russell.

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**T. 17** Russell's departure.

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Word of Amy's engagement spread quickly to friends and family, most rapidly locally by Russell and more slowly to her distant correspondents.

Letter from Henry Cabot Lodge, East Point, Nahant  
to Russell Gray, Esq, Bar Harbor,  
Mt. Desert Maine  
congratulating him on his marriage to Amy Heard

Aug - 17th  
1886 -

*East Point*  
*Nahant*

Dear Russell —

I cannot say I am surprised: Your extremely convivial manner when you were here awakened all my worst suspicions.

But I am greatly delighted & congratulate you most heartily & without stint.

From all I hear & know I should say that you were one of the luckiest of men of course most deservedly so.

Please give my kindest regards & warmest congratulations to Miss Heard also for although I would not flatter you I think she too is to be congratulated. I should also insist that without the tedious formalities of acquaintance Miss Heard at once place me among her oldest & most devoted of friends. That this will be strictly logical your philosophical mind however beclouded now will readily discover.

We are hoping to see you both very soon.

Always affectionately & Sincerely

Yrs

H. C. Lodge

Letter of congratulations to Russell Gray  
Barr Harbour, Mount Desert, Maine  
from Justice Oliver Windell Holmes  
Beverly Farms

Beverly Farms  
August 18 1886

Dear Gray

I am interested not only in Miss Heard but in you and I am delighted at the news you so kindly write me. If I could have played the matchmaker I would have done it and I congratulate you both on what I hope and believe will prove the most fortunate as well as greatest step in both your lives.

I look forward to the winter with greater happiness for what you tell her and congratulate myself as well.

????  
 OWHolmes

Russell Gray  
 P.S. As I do not trust "Bar Harbor" — the only address you give — I shall send this to Boston.

Later Mrs Holmes says trust it — after my letter had been directed.

---

Letter of thanks to Amy at the Belmont in  
 Bar Harbor, Mount Desert, Maine  
 from Russell's mother Sara Russell (Gardner) Gray  
 Nahant

---

Miss Amy Heard

Hotel Belmont  
 hfil Bar Harbor

Maine

Postmarked AUG 19 1886 Boston.

My Dear Amy

How can I thank you sufficiently for making my boy so happy — In his true happiness is all my desire. I am willing to give up even the stay & staff of my declining years for his sake hoping & believing that my loss will be his great gain, & that in the acquisition of a dear daughter his happiness will be reflected up on me — time will tell after[?] if I am likely to prove the traditional dragon — & now I wish to ask when you will come & see me fr little visit As Russell will tell you that it is quite out of my power to go to you. We shall be at Nahant for several weeks to come — & I will gladly welcome you when most agreeable to yourself — You must arrange with Russell when that will be —

Will you kindly present my regards to your Father & Mother & take a great deal of love to yourself from Yrs Affctly

S.R. Gray

Nahant

Aug. 18<sup>th</sup>

P.S. I shall write to your Mother in a day or two to ask when she will be willing to spare you to me.

**Notes:** As mentioned in Chapter 7, Sarah Russell (Gardner) Gray was born on 20 September 1807 and died in Nahant on 23 Sept. 1893. She was 78 years old when she wrote this note to Amy.

**J. 26** A Nahant

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**Th. 26** To Nahant.

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**V. 27** Quitté Nahant rejoignant Papa & Mama à B.  
& venant à N.Y. 28 W. 18<sup>th</sup>.

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**F. 27** Left Nahant. Rejoined Papa & Mama at B. Left for N.Y. 28 W. 18<sup>th</sup>.

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Letters from Isabella Stewart Gardner  
to Amy and Russell congratulating them on their engagement.

Letter addressed to Augustine Heard for Amy Heard  
39 Nassau St, New York, from Vienna. Address crossed out and replaced by The Belmont,  
Bar Harbor, Maine, which was in turn crossed out and replaced by the original address.

Vienna  
August 30

Yours, I have just received, Amy, very dear & altogether delightful cousin (that is to be). \_\_\_\_

I want to write to you a few red hot & immediate words, although in one moment they must go to the post. I am so glad, that I feel you must know it, & my brain is continually busy with fancies about the future, in all of which I see great happiness for two people I care much for — you & Russell — & in which I hope I see that your lief & mine will be much together. Please tell me your plans, everything. Not one but will be of the greatest interest to

Affy yours

I.S. Gardner

My kindest regards to your friends.

---

My best love to Aunt Sarah

Vienna

Aug 30

Dear Russell

I am proud of you & so pleased. We have just arrived here & find our letters. Fancy my hands hovering over you with blessings & good wishes.

I am awfully fond of her & it is a pure delight to me that you & she are of one mind. (At least in one sense!) and please be of one mind in affection for me — I deserve it. I am skipping all over the floor with pleasure & these polished floors make it almost dangerous to be so glad about anything. We sail Nov. 6; Please don't be married before I get there. And don't you ever think of anything but living somewhere in my immediate vicinity —

Always Affy yours and gratefully (for the new cousin)

I.S. Gardner

Please find a moment & pull Mr. Smith (???) out of that funny little Mrs. Amory Faurenar's clutches. I don't want to have him contaminated.

---

## 11.3 September

Letter from Geneviève Marshall.

Postmarked 4.IX.86 Bern, Switzerland.

Mailed to Amy care of Miss West, British Legation, Washington, États-Unis d'Amérique

Forwarded to the Belmont Hotel, Bar Harbor, Mount Desert, Maine

then to 39 Nassau St, New York

Légation d'Angleterre

Berne 3 Sept 1886

My dear Amy

Sir Francis Adams tells me that he has heard from some friends that you are engaged to be married.

This news made me happy. I take a lively interest in anything connected with you and I am very, very glad to think that you have decided to marry. I am sure that your "fiancé" is very nice in every way. Your being engaged to him is a sufficient proof of it. I know you are not "banale" in your likes and dislikes, and a man chosen by you must possess many qualities.

I am most anxious to hear from you and I sincerely hope to get a letter soon.

My last letter, written about a year ago, and a christmas card, both sent to the address you gave me, never got an answer. This time I hope I may get a good "dédommagement."

I was waiting to write again, since a long time, but life flies in such a way that putting off from one month to the next, a year has past between my letters.

Last year, in Paris, I talked a great deal about you with Mlle Nougiras. I was very glad to hear details about you. She likes you very much and always answered me most sympathetically.

I sang a great many duets with her, which was a great pleasure to me. She went back to Washington this summer.

If you have seen her, she will give me news about you. next month when we go back to Paris. I think she is going to "débuter" soon.

We are in Switzerland since a month and have had a charming time, staying principally with Sir F. Adams.

It is a great delight for me to be here, in the middle of this beautiful nature, and to rest thoroughly from the long Paris winter with its work and its worldliness.

I paint a great deal now, principally portraits and though I love to do it, still, I enjoy my holiday very much. How I should like to do you, when we meet again. I have sometimes very pretty models, amongst my friends.

Now, my dear Amy, write to me soon. Let me know when the marriage is to be and tell me all about your "fiancé."

Papa and Mama send you their most affectionate "félicitations."

As for me, dear friend, I rejoice at your happiness and hope it may be as great as you deserve. Je vous envoie un tendre baiser and I remain yours very affectionately.

Geneviève Marshall

Sir F. Adams sends you many congratulations.

**Notes:** Sir Francis Ottiwell Adams (1826-89) was a career British diplomat. He began as an attaché to British mission in Stockholm in 1854, was transferred to St Petersburg in 1856 and then to Paris in 1862, where he became 2nd Secretary. He was transferred to Washington in 1864, back to Paris in 1868, and then promoted to Secretary of the

Legation in Edo, Japan, from 1868 to 1872. He returned to Paris 1874-1881 and served as Acting Minister when Lyons was not present. He was Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty, Berne (1881-1888). Adams wrote books on the history and politics of Japan and Switzerland.

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9 September 1886 letter from William Caleb Loring, Torquay  
Russell Gray Esq<sup>re</sup>

30 Court Street

Boston

Massachusetts

U.S.A.

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Torquay Sept. 9 1886

Dear Russell

You are probably tired to death of letters telling you, that you are the finest fellow and Miss Heard the most charming girl in America. So I shall content myself with sending you my best wishes for the happiness, which is in store for you.

Be so kind as to give Miss Heard my best regards, until I can present them in person. And meanwhile introduce me to her as one of your protogés in the law, the foundation of whose legal career was laid by you.

Mrs Loring sends her regards and is delighted to hear the good news.

Yours sincerely

William Caleb Loring

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**Notes:** William Caleb Loreing (8/24/1851-9/8/1930) was a contemporary lawyer, close to Russell in age who graduated from Harvard College in 1871 and then became a partner in the law firm of Ropes & Gray, the firm of Russell's half-brother John Chipman Gray and John Codman Ropes. In 1899 Loring was appointed to the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, succeeding Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes when the latter was elevated to the U.S. Supreme Court. Torquay is a seaside resort town in Devon, England, sometimes called the English Riviera.

Letter from Thérèse de Chambrun

10 Sept. 1886

(88 rue de Varenne, Paris)

Ma chère Amy,

Je m'empresse de répondre à votre dernière lettre pour vous dire combien vous avez été gentille de m'écrire pour m'annoncer votre engagement, et aussi pour que vous sachiez la part et l'intérêt que je prends dans tout ce qui vous touche et tous les vœux que je fais pour votre bonheur.

Je suis bien fâchée qu'une si longue distance me sépare de vous car j'aurais bien aimé assister à votre mariage; quoique je n'aie pas abandonné tout espoir de revoir l'Amérique cette année j'ai bien peur de ne pas y être avant l'hiver. Mais soyez en sûre je penserai bien à vous. Votre lettre ma chère, est bien incomplète, vous savez qu'une amie curieuse a besoin de toutes sortes de détails\_\_\_ mais il faudra que j'attende patiemment pour cela, que vous avez matériellement le temps d'écrire n'est-ce pas?

Ma mère me charge de toutes sortes de bons souhaits pour vous, et me charge de vous féliciter de vous fixer définitivement dans votre pays. Voilà une petite insinuation pour sa propre fille — Je suis dans ce moment à la campagne chez ma grand-mère où je mène une vie des plus tranquilles — avant de venir ici j'ai de faire une charmante visite à une de mes cousines qui habite un superbe château en Normandie, là je me suis beaucoup amusée, la maison était pleine de gens agréables et nous faisons toutes sortes de parties de plaisir.

Pierre est venu me chercher et nous avons visité Rouen ensemble; cette ville est pleine de choses superbes et intéressantes de sorte que nous en avons beaucoup joui. J'ai entendu dire par mes correspondantes que Victoria West avait passé par Paris, si j'avais été là j'aurais probablement su où la trouver car de la revoir avant d'être un vrai plaisir pour moi. Écrivez-moi aussitôt que vous en avez le temps ma chère amie. J'espère vous revoir bientôt, encore mille vœux bien sincères pour votre bonheur je vous embrasse bien tendrement.

Thérèse

Mes amitiés à votre famille.

---

Letter to  
Miss A. Heard  
Care of Augustine Heard Esq.  
39 Nassau St. New York

Postmarked 8 September Arnay-le-Duc

There is no indication of the sender on the envelope and the letter is signed simply Mary. The author is writing to congratulate Amy on her upcoming marriage and impart some wisdom based on her own marriage of nine months earlier.

In December 2020 I realized that Mary from the Chateau de Mercey must be Mary Lhomme born Parrot, daughter of Mary West (Taylor) Wieland, Amy's grandmother Amelia

W. (Taylor) De Coninck's sister. Refer to the death announcement of Mary Wieland and the discussion thereafter in Chapter 8.

Coincidentally, I began the transcription and translation of this letter during a European trip, part of which was spent on a hotel barge on the Burgundy canal. The Côte d'Or is an area in Burgundy, not far from Dijon Ville, where our barge trip began.

Chateau de  
Mercey par Arnay-le-Duc

(Côte d'Or)  
France  
7 7<sup>me</sup> 1886

Chère amie, Je reconnais que je suis absolument coupable vis-à-vis de toi; voici tout à l'heure ou plutôt aujourd'hui neuf mois que je suis mariée et je ne t'as pas écrit une ligne. Tu es bien gentille et indulgente dans ta lettre et je l'en remercie du fond du coeur en te disant ma vieille affection.

Toi aussi, tu te décides à sauter le pas; c'est dur et très dur de prendre ton élan, et je sais que tu l'as senti comme moi — en fin ce que je peux te dire et maintenant par expérience personnelle, c'est qu'il vaut mieux, à tout prendre, en finir ainsi. On est d'une utilité efficace à un être auquel fatalement on s'attache, puis d'autres intérêts vraiment se mêler à existence et on se dit alors que Dieu le voulait. Je ne te dis pas, ce serait mentir absolument, qu'il n'y a pas des heures où l'on regrette cette communion avec un "Ideal" qu'on aime d'autant plus qu'on l'a placé plus haut; mais d'un autre côté il en est d'autres où l'on a certaines jouissances — donc, pas de regards vers le passé, c'est évidemment ce qu'il faut.

Juste un an après moi, chère amie tu vas lier l'indissoluble. Tu verras ce qu'il en coûte au dernier moment, mais Dieu est là! et on a tout les énergies nécessaire —

Ce qui me dérouté un peu c'est que tu ne me donnes aucun détail, ni sur la façon dont tu as connu M. Russell Gray. Comment il est physiquement et moralement. Si tu fais faire ta photographie et lui la sienne soit avant, soit après votre mariage, envoie moi un spécimen de chaque, tu seras bien gentille. J'en ferai autant dès que mon mari et moi nous serons fait faire, mais il m'en n'était pas question dans la situation dans laquelle je me trouve — j'attends un Baby dans un mois à peine, et c'est là l'immense soutien des heures lourdes, si il en est. — Je te souhaite d'avoir les mêmes espérance que moi —

Tu me demandes des détails sur ma vie, et je recule à t'en donner en un pareil moment, où tu dois être très absorbée. enfin comme tu devines tous les voeux que mon affection fait pour ton bonheur complet, absolu, si il y a moyen, je vais te parler quelque peu de moi — Tu sais que Mons Theurihomme ??? avait une propriété d'agrément en Bourgogne, ou voici 3 mois que nous y sommes installés. C'est la campagne dans toute l'acceptation du

mot, et pas d'autre ressources que celles qu'on a sous son toit. Mais nous ne sommes pas seuls, Maman est avec nous depuis deux mois \_\_\_\_ Mon père est venu passer 2 semaines \_\_\_\_ Mes cousins Parrot dont l'ainé est sous Lieutenant de Cavalerie est ici pour 15 jours, et au milieu de cela des allées et venues perpétuelles d'amis de mon mari. La maison est très très grande, et j'ai de nombreuses chambres à donner de sorte qu'on me réjouit en venant. Le parc est très joli et tout très confortable, emt arraggé. Mon B Père aimait le confort et s'y entendait. Etant souvent très fatiguée, je trouve bien la tenue de la maison un peu lourde. Mais que pense-tu? Chaque oeuvre ici bas \_\_ à son poids. à l'heure où je t'écris les ???? ont ???? à la gare, une série et rass???ient une autre, pour une semaine encore, car dans 15 jours je regagne Paris, (6 rue de Thalsbourg) pour y attendre les événements, notre installations à Paris suffit amplement à mon bonheur; mais elle est très modeste; c'est une question bien secondaire; n'est-ce pas il s'agit que l'oiseau soit heureuse dans sa cage. Mon mari a des habitudes très sédentaires, il travaille beaucoup, tout en ayant pas une profession déterminée et ayant la vue extrêmement faible, qui ne lui permet pas d'écrire ou de lire à la lumière artificielle, je suis assez tenue, lui servant de secrétaire et de lecteur.

Il a des goûts fort peu mondains, et nos sorties de "vrai monde" ne sont pas très nombreuses; mais comme il a énormément de relations nous sommes néanmoins souvent de ci de là. Plustôt de l'intimité qu'autre chose. Cet hiver j'ai été très entr????, étant presque toujours malade. Mon père est ravi de son gendre; mais il prétend que c'est son gendre qui est son b père à lui, ayant beaucoup plus de sérieux que lui tu le reconnais bien là. Quant à Maman, elle est aussi heureuse que possible, elle a trouvé dit-elle l'Idéal, et il y a une entente parfaite, le sorte que même la vie en commun est rendue très agreable. J'ai pu le constater ici \_\_\_\_ Tu penses si la perspective d'être grande-mère réjouit Maman, elle fait des tricots sans fin, et ???? une layette????.

Mais finalement assez parler de moi; Je suis désolée de penser que tu ne viendras, même pas en cette circonstance en France.

M. Russell Gray ne peut donc pas distraire deux mois, il n'en faudrait pas plus \_\_\_\_ Si par hasard vous voyez que les choses s'arrangent pour que vous poussiez le faire, préviens-moi d'avance pour que je me rejouisse.

Et maintenant chère amie et ???? aimée je t'embrasse comme je t'aime en te disant que Dieu est avec nous j'en ai la foi vive \_\_\_\_ Il nous conduira. Encore des tendresse de ta

Mary

Maman<sup>1</sup> me dit qu'elle decrit à ta mère<sup>2</sup> pour les felicitations officielles, mais qu'elle me charge spécialement de t'embrasser tendrement et qu'elle pensera beaucoup à toi.

---

<sup>1</sup>Mary (Wieland) Parrot

<sup>2</sup>Jane Leep De Coninck Heard, Mary Parrot's niece

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Dear friend, I realize that I am absolutely guilty vis-à-vis you; here it is immediately or rather today nine months since my marriage and I have not

**Note:** did not finish translation. Original found and scanned. 8/30/22

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Letter from Geneviève Marshall  
from Thumerhof , Switzerland

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From Geneviève Marshall  
Miss Amy Heard  
Care of Augustin Heard

39 Nassau Street  
New York

Etats-Unis d'Amérique

Postmarked Thum 14IX86-4, Basel 14IX86-11, New York SEP 24 86

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Thurs le 14 Sept 86  
Thumerhof

My dear Amy

Your letter reached me the day after I had written to you. I was very very glad that you told me yourself of your marriage, and indeed I was expecting it. I suppose you are very busy preparing for the great day, but nonetheless I would have liked your letter to have been a little longer, and to contain more details. However, I must be content with what I get and hope in the future\_\_\_\_. I cannot understand why you say: "Je ne peux m'empêcher de vous faire part de mon mariage ...". Why, my dear Amy, do you say that? I am, I know, a very bad correspondent, but I am also a very true friend, and I never forget, even when I do not write. This time, though, I have been waiting for a letter from you since a year, so that you must forget any past silence. I very often think about you and speak about you, and anything connected with you interests me to the utmost.

If you knew me a little more, you would never suspect me of forgetfulness. Unfortunately you principally know me through my letters, and I am afraid that they are not one

of my good points. I hope, dear friend, that after this, you will sit down and write to me a long good letter.

Tell me all about your happiness. I am so glad to know that you are happy. There is so little real happiness about the world that I always feel delighted when some of it comes to my friends. It is so nice that a “fiancée” should speak of her joy; in France, you know, I don’t see much of that. In that respect, as in many others, I feel very thankful not to be a French girl.

I wonder if you will make a trip to Europe, when you are married? That would be so nice. If not, I am afraid our next meeting will have to be postponed for a long time.

I should think you would like living in Boston. After what I hear, there are many resources there, and society has a different cachet from the rest of America.

Anyhow you will enjoy having your own home. It must be so nice to arrange one’s house and one’s life for all the time to come, and to be able to think that it is all for ever.

If you are photographed now, as a fiancée, (which you ought to do) on account of distant friends, do not forget me.

I have just the one I have of you, in a very pretty malachite frame, and look at it very often tu revois. Dear Amy, I send you un bon baiser and beg you to believe me always your attached friend.

Geneviève

Write to me to Paris.

I sent my last letter to you to the British Legation; care of Miss West, as I did not know where to address.

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Miss Heard  
 Care of Augustine Heard Esqre  
<sup>st</sup>39 Nassau Street  
<sup>st</sup>New York  
 1777 Massachusetts Ave.  
 Washington DC  
 Postmarked Bangalore 29 EP 86, Bombay OCT 1, New York, NOV 1, 86

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*Georgie*

Bangalore  
September 23. 1886

My Dearest Amy

I was first going to write and thank you thousand times for your dear letter and to announce to you the arrival of my little daughter on the 5<sup>th</sup> of August when I received your 2<sup>nd</sup> letter last night with the delightful news \_\_ I am so glad dearest Amy and wish you every joy \_ My wish for you is that you should be as completely happy as I am and as you deserve to be, then you will be very happy \_ I am sure that you would only have chosen a very charming man and it shows his good taste in choosing you. I will send ??? my little offering at the first opportunity, but long before then I hope to have a long and detailed account of every thing and where you are to live.

Is he a countryman of yours etc? No dear, I have never heard of any box arising at Cheshire Street from America, but many have arrived since my departure as I left the day of my wedding it is 'probably there'. I thank you dear friend a 1000,000 times and you know how I shall value it don't you?

My next mail you shall have a photograph of myself and child and as soon as I can get one, one of my husband. Again a 1000 congratulations.

Yours Affectly  
Georgie

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As Amy's marriage to Russell Gray approached, September ended and October began with the only two letters extant to her from him. The letters, especially the October letter, bely the family legend of Russell being a rather austere, scholarly, quiet man in the shadow. The letters include practical considerations for their future home at 39 Marlborough St., but they are also remarkably expressive of emotion, love, and concern for Amy on Russell's part. When these letters were written, Russell Gray was 36 and Amy Heard was 25.

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Miss Heard

28 West 18<sup>th</sup> St  
New York

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Boston Sept. 30<sup>th</sup>

I am so occupied this morn!

My Dearest, pressing shipping tradesmen who don't come when they are bid, trust this note will be a short one probably, but I will make up another time. Your letter this morning ought to have something now of a reply – a ??? ??? I to write all that it suggests to me \_\_\_ I don't know when anything has moved me so much – Surely I should be a most worthless wretch if I did not try to improve & become less undeserving of such affection. I will try. my love, my darling, my treasure, all my life long!

And I don't want life to last any longer than I can keep your love \_\_\_ I did not, to be sure, think of your taking my little confusion of selfishness (though honest enough) so very seriously – but I love you all the better for it, my own heart's delight!

Pls, tell me all you think! I want to know everything – but I hope your thoughts are pleasant sometimes – Don't be down-hearted! it isn't for long!

About the house – y<sup>r</sup>command as to to hooks in bath-room are duly noted. Do you want hooks & shelves in closet put up higher back & both sides, or only back & right side? B. thinks you p<sup>d</sup> the latter \_\_\_ She & Mamma think end curtains in back room could be made over to look ??? respectable for a spare room, at much less expense than any kind of decent new ones – but this you ??? decide for yourself, meantime they shall come[?] down, as everybody seems to agree that they can't stay as they are \_\_\_

\_\_ At this point, interval of an hour, during which I have run down to a remote coal wharf & ordered fuel \_\_\_ it is go in tomorrow & so are the sumps \_\_\_ then all the dirty work will be done & over with ??? to clean & paint \_\_\_ From what you say I take it you have had but little thought of fuel. It's quite cold here now –

always yours

RG

## 11.4 October

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Miss Heard

28 West 18<sup>th</sup>St

New York

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Boston Oct. 1<sup>st</sup>

1:30 P.M.

There are two short periods in each day, my Dearest. w<sup>ch</sup> lighten life considerably — one when I come to my office in the morning! & read y<sup>t</sup> latest hurriedly & the other when I read it quietly all alone after dinner & enjoy it properly \_\_\_\_ Today I had two to ponder over.

Dearest, I wish I had one every five minutes! But don't feel I called upon to write 2 a day when I do —

I know it gives you pleasure to give me so much delight, but don't tire yourself — Don't be disappointed ??? when you don't receive two a day, there isn't always time, but we shall not fail \_\_\_\_

My family ask me if you have heard any more of the piano? I reply that I understand it has been mentioned in y<sup>t</sup> correspondence with Mrs. D. that you have given her to understand that you don't need or want it just at present r till more fully furnished otherwise.

That is discreet, isn't it? My mother says she hopes you clearly comprehend that she is getting the house linens ? She says it w<sup>d</sup> be a pity if your mother should do any thing in that way, & so have too much. I said you understood, but she wants me to mention it, so I do.

A whole mountain ??? of wood & coal is now in 39 — Also the chimneys are swept. Likewise some ??? ?? ??? ??? moreover the plumber has fixed ??? & ???, & after the manner of his kind, has proposed to do a lot of other things, some of which I shall permit him. I have ??? on the whole to have an expert go thru 'the plumbing' tho I don't believe there is anything wrong. I can't feel quite easy without taking every precaution for y<sup>t</sup> health & comfort. I called on Max today — she was not talkative, or ??? was — or both — anyhow I ??? to her of domestic affairs w<sup>d</sup> must interest her butr ??? —

She says she knows more about house-keeping than you do — still I don't think I sh<sup>d</sup> prefer her for a wife!

This quarter-day[?] brings bills in profusion! I wish you had all the money I have wasted on myself — but it's worse to think of the time I have lost, ?? the years without you, and disguising myself in a vain shadow — no one knows for I never told, how weary I have been of it all, nor ho I have been inclined to put a shimmering end to it. But it will be ended now in another way, when I get you, my hope, my trust, my comfort, my support, my own love!

In the mean time it is hard. When you are not with me I am oppressed with the dreadful past. Your letters relieve me for the moment, but I long so for your presence!

Don't be uneasy about me, this is a blue day with me, but as you say it is better to write as we are feeling, is it not?

You won't find me cheerful company always, you know, but always your own loving

*R G*

---

5 October 1886 from Josefina Martinez in Santiago Chile

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Santiago, Chile  
42 Moneda  
Octubre 5/86

Que grace noticia me da Ud querida Amy! i cómo me alegro de ella! créame amiga mia que su felicidad me interesa verdaderamente, i que le desao sea mui completa. Ud me dice que su novio es de Boston, i que se casarian en Washington, hablá y Ud dejado de ser Miss Heard a la hora de ésta, como no estoy segura de ello, me dirijo a Ud todavia ??? su nombre de soltera. Có desearia verla para felicitar la personalmente! i ??? el gusto de conocer ce ??? esposo ? con lo que Ud me dice de él, veo que es digno de Ud i que debe considerarse un hombre mui feliz de haber conseqedo su cariño.

Como Ud vé, yo estoy en mi pais desde ??? cinco meses, lo ?? encontrado mucho mejor de lo que yo espe?raba desfines de mi larga aceseneè a la sociedad mui agradable; pero hay a pesar de esto, cómo deseo volver a Europa! espero que no tardas ã mucho tiempo en realizars mi deséo, que es tambien el de toda mi familia. Es mui agradable volver a su país i ver sur antiguos amigos, pero eso de sentirse tan lejos del viejo mundo, i del centre de la civillacion es mui desagradable. Desde que sus llegado ??? estado mui ocupadas comó Ud comprenderá, arreglando la casa, los deberes de sociedad porque llegamos en inedio del invierno en a sido todo el mundo está en la ciudad es la época de los fiestas.

Sabia que Mathilde piensa à bracerse canta?? de proffesion , ojalá su prozecto tenga buen éxito, lo crèe Ud?

Tengo confianza en lo que Ud. me dice que su presente felicidad no la hará ?? sus amigas, que gran cosa es la sincerci amistad querida ??? que pocas veces sa en?? a en este monde! Espero que no me hará mucho espresas su contestacion i que me dará Ud noticias de su boda i de su nueva residencia.

Mamá me encarga su felicite ??? cordialmente de su part i le correspond sus rec??idos. Memorias a su madre i a Max.

Ud querida  
receba los mejores ???  
de su ??? ???  
Josefina Martinez

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Santiago Chile  
42 Moneda  
October 5, 1886

What great news you are giving me my dear Amy, and how happy that makes me. Believe me, my dear friend that your happiness is truly of my interest and I wish for you that that happiness would be fully complete. You are telling me that your fiancée is from Boston, and that you will be getting married in Washington, possibly you are no longer Miss Heard by the time this letter reaches you. I am not sure of that, so I am addressing you by your maiden name. How much I would like to see you, to congratulate you in person and at the same time to have the pleasure of meeting your husband. By what you are telling me about him, I can see that he is worth of your love and that he must consider himself a very lucky man to have obtained your love. As you can see, I have been back in my country for 5 months now. I have found that everything here is better than I thought it would be after my long absence, the social life is pleasant, but “wow”! in spite of this I would like to be back in Europe! I hope it will not take long for my dreams to come true, which is as well my family’s wishes. It is very pleasant to be back in this country, to see old acquaintances and friends, but at the same time, I feel very far removed from the “Old World”, being far away from the center of civilizations is very uncomfortable.

Since we got back, we have been very busy, as you can imagine, fixing the house and all the duties of social life because we came back in the middle of winter when everybody is in the capital celebrating holidays.

Did you know that Matilde is thinking about becoming a professional singer? I hope her project will be successful. What do you think?

I am confident of what you are telling me about your present happiness, and that it would not make you forget your friends. What a beautiful thing it is to have true friendship, my dear Amy, as only a few times it can be found in this world! I hope I do not have to wait long for your response to my letter, and that you will let me know about your wedding and your new residence.

My mother tells me to cordially congratulate you, and she returns your greetings. Remembrance to your mother and Max.

And you my dear, receive my best warm wishes

Fondly

Josefina Martinez

**Notes:** Josefina informs Amy that their common friend Mathilde de Nogueiras has decided to become a professional singer.

## 11.5 November

Amy Heard married Russell Gray (1850–1929) in Washington on 3 November 1886.

On November 3 1938, 52 years later, she dictated a letter to her son Horace, my uncle, including a reminiscence about her wedding day:

This morning 52 years ago, M<sup>rs</sup> Carnegie, then Mary Endicott, was dressing me for my marriage, wrapping me up in her White Opera Cloak, for it was cold & gloomy, but when your father & were at the altar, sunbeams broke through and rested on our heads. I always felt it was as a blessing. Two years later she & “Joe” (Mé Chamberlain) were married at St. Johns in Washington.”

### 11.5.1 Mary C. Endicott

Mary Crowninshield Endicott (1864-1957) was introduced in Subsection 9.3.1. She was born in Salem, Mass., to William Crowninshield Endicott (1826-1900) and Ellen Peabody (1833-1927). Ellen Peabody Endicott was an eminent society hostess in Boston and later in Washington D.C.

William Crowninshield Endicott and Ellen Peabody Endicott also had six other children in addition to Mary, including Fanny Peabody Endicott, who crops up in the next Journal entry (not to be confused with the two Fanny Peabody Masons or Fanny Peabody Peabody).

Mary C. Endicott (which is how she signed her letters to Amy) was a friend of Amy’s and of Victoria West. Later in this book — but earlier in time — an 1885 letter from Mary to Amy mentioning Victoria describes her own life as a Washington hostess and later letters treat her eventual marriage the British Diplomat Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914) after his successful negotiation of the British-American Fisheries Treaty.

A great deal of information can be found on Mary by online search. She was a great celebrity of her time. A fascinating illustrated online biography *Mary Endicott: Puritan Princess* with a sense of humor can be found at the *Streets of Salem Website*<sup>3</sup>. It presents her story as that of the inverse American princess. Instead of the usual story of the rich middle class American girl marrying the poor British aristocrat, Mary with her Endicott, Crowninshield, and Peabody ancestors was about as aristocratic as Americans could get, and the British diplomat — Joseph Chamberlain — she married was neither poor nor an aristocrat. Socially Mary married beneath her, but it seems to have been a truly romantic story until the early death of Chamberlain in 1916.

In 1918 she married William H. Carnegie, the Dean of Westminster, who died in 1836. Mary died in 1957.

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<sup>3</sup><https://streetsofsalem.com/tag/mary-endicott/>

Mary's father William C. Endicott, Sr., served as a justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court 1873-1882 and in 1885-1889 he was U.S. Secretary of War under Grover Cleveland. His private secretary during his cabinet service was Albert Farley Heard, Amy's uncle.

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Nov. 4th 1886

**Th. 4** Arr<sup>d</sup> 39 Marlbor. St. after 6 PM.

**Sat. 20** Eliza Glamlee entered as cook 12 AM at \$5 a week.

## 11.6 December

**1r ou 2 Déc.** Mary Endicott déj. avec moi.

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**1 or 2 Dec.** Mary Endicott lunched with me.

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**4 Sam.** Dîner Powell Mason (M, Mme, Mlle), Mme Whitman, Mary End., Mess. Whister, Percy Lowell, Johns, Whister me cond.

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**4 Sat.** Dinner Powell Mason (Mr, Mrs, Miss) Mrs Whitman, Mary End., Mr. Whister, Percy Lowell, Johns, Whister took me to table.

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Powell Mason is William Powell Mason, Jr. (1835-1901). His biography can be found in Eliot's *Biographical History of Massachusetts* (1918) [54] and other online sources. Educated as a lawyer, he was appointed aide-de-camp on General McClellan's staff during the Civil War. His subsequent career was in business administration with several financial institutions in Boston. He married Fanny Peabody (1845-1895), daughter of George Peabody of Salem, on 25 November 1863. Their daughter, also named Fanny Peabody Mason, was born 18 November 18 1864. Fanny Peabody was a sister of Ellen Peabody, Mary

Endicott's mother, so Mary Endicott and Fanny Peabody Mason the younger were first cousins. Not strictly relevant to the story, but providing a nice "small world" example involves the cousins and Mary and Fanny and another first cousin, Clara Endicott Sears the daughter of Mary Crowninshield Peabody (a sister of Fanny and Ellen Peabody). In their youth the three cousins made a pact that they would never marry because marriage was too restrictive a life. Mary Endicott broke the pact (twice, actually), but Sears forgave her.

As a personal note, during a lull in the Covid pandemic, I visited a beautiful park that Clara Endicott Sears founded – now called *Fruitlands* – in Harvard, Mass. (the town not the University). Both the story of the three cousins and the following quote regarding Fruitlands are from Elisa Rolle's Website.<sup>4</sup>

Sears was born to a wealthy Yankee family in Boston in 1863. Her parents were Knyvet Winthrop Sears and Mary Crowninshield Peabody. Sears was educated at private schools in Boston and by tutors in Europe. She authored several historical works as well as poetry, romantic works and popular songs for World War I. In 1910 Sears purchased a summer estate in Harvard, Massachusetts, which included the farmhouse that was part of a failed Transcendentalist community known as the Fruitlands or consociate family. After restoring the house, and collecting numerous materials, Sears opened the building as the Fruitlands Museum in 1914. Her research about the experiment brought her into contact with the last of the Harvard Shakers. When the Shaker community in Harvard closed in 1918, it was purchased by Fiske Warren a proponent for a single tax enclave. Sears bought the first building built by the Harvard Shakers, a 1794 office building from the Harvard Shaker Village from Warren and moved it to her property; it opened in 1922. Sears also worked with Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University in acquiring a Native American collection to display at the museum. Sears transferred all the museum assets to Fruitlands and the Wayside Museums, Inc., in 1930. By this time the property included about 458 acres. Also during the 1930s, she collected early 19th-century primitive portraits and built a gallery to display them in 1939. She also collected Hudson River School paintings and other America folk art for the museum. Sears was awarded a gold medal by the National Society of New England Women in 1942.

Percy Lowell was Percival "Percy" Lowell (1855 - 1916), the astronomer unfortunately best known for his theory that the seemingly straight lines observed on Mars were constructed by intelligent beings. Percy's uncle John "Jack" Gardner married Isabella Stewart

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<sup>4</sup><http://www.elisarolle.com/queerplaces/ch-d-e/Clara%20Endicott%20Sears.html>

Gardner, often called "Mrs. Jack," who are mentioned in the next entry. Jack Gardner was a nephew of Sarah Russell Gardner, the mother of Russell Gray and sister of Mary Gardner Lowell, the author of the travel diary of 1831-2 Cuba.

**8 Mer.** Dîner John Gray avec les Jack Gardners., Amory G. & Swift.

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**8 Wed.** Dined at John Gray with the Jack Gardners, Amory G. & Swift.

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**Fri. 10** Dined at the Dorrs. (Dr and Mamie Watson, the Barrett Wendells, Dr Wendell took me to table, Geo. Dorr on the other side).

**Sat. 11** Morton Prince dined. (Clara Bayson, Peabody.) Aunt Alice to lunch.

**Tues 14** First time at the Sewing Circle "Centennial" at Nora Lear's.

**Thurs 16** Dined at Roger Wolcotts. So invited by the Lowells. Mme Vaughn, her brother H. Parkman, Mr and Mrs Cabot Lodge, Mr and Mrs Teddy Wharton.

Henry Cabot Lodge was the senator from Massachusetts and close friend of Teddy Roosevelt. As a small boy, my father broke into the Lodge compound in Nahant. When caught by the Secret Service and hauled before the Senator and President Roosevelt to be asked what he had come for, he replied that he wished to attend the U.S. Naval Academy and he was seeking an appointment. An amused President suggested he try again in a few years. He did, and was subsequently appointed to Annapolis by Lodge.

Mrs Teddy Wharton could be Edith Wharton, who married Edward Wharton of Boston in 1885. Often referred to as "the female Henry James." I prefer to think of Henry James as the male Edith Wharton.

**Fri. 17** Dined at the Cabot Lodges, Misses Mottey & Clara Payson, Miss Sargent & Hooper.

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17 December 1886 Letter from M. V. Chaffraix in New Orleans

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A.D. 17 Dbre 1886

Bonne année

Ma chère Amie

En arrivant à la Nouvelle Orlean, je m'empresse de vous écrire, pour vous exprimer tout le bonheur que j'ai d'apprendre votre mariage, puisque vous avez trouvé celui, qui a été digne de vous épouser.

Depuis longtemps j'attendais votre visite ayant formé en secret des souhaits pour une personne de ma famille à votre égard. Dieu en a voulu autrement!

Je serais bien heureuse de vous revoir! quand aurai-je ce plaisir. Je n'ose pas espérer que ce soit bientôt. Car, je ne pense pas aller à Boston qui est, cependant la seule ville d'Amerique que j'aimerais habiter, tant j'admire ses rues, son architecture et le savoir faire des femmes charmantes que j'y ai connues.

Vous avez donc à venir me faire une visite! Qu'elle soit longue, alors. Nous serez certaine de me rendre heureuse.

Veuillez présenter mes compliments à Monsieur votre mari et réserver pour vous, Bien Chère Amie, l'assurance que de loin, comme de près je serai toujours

votre toute dévouée

M. V. Chaffraix

71 North Rempart

**Dec. 21** Dined at Madame Lowell's.

**25 Sat.** Dined with the John Gray family.

**26 Sun.** Lunch Frank Amory (the Cabot Lodges). Fanny Mason and Will Otis.

**28 Tues.** Dined with Arth. Robet at the Somerset. (Mme. Wil. Fay, Annie Rotch, Dr Bigels.

**30** Lunched with Miss Jack Elliott, Mrs Geo Lee, Higgenon, Arth. Cabot.

**31** Dined at Frank Lowell's.

Frank Lowell was Francis Cabot Lowell (1856-1911), one of the many individuals by that name, the original being the namesake of Lowell, Massachusetts. Frank was a lawyer and had been private secretary to Russell Gray's half brother Horace Gray Jr. when the latter was a justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts 1880 - 1882.

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Undated letter from Lise Rosen. Content and its neighbors in the original stack of letters suggests 1886 after Amy's wedding, so it is a good choice to close this chapter. Lise Rosen was introduced in Subsection 13.5.1 in notes following her being mentioned by Victoria West in her 31 March 1885 letter.

The letter holds interest for several reasons: it is the only letter in the collection from Lise Rosen, who was the Baroness Rosen — the wife of the Russian diplomat Baron Rosen; it reinforces the connection among the Rosens with Isabella and Jack Gardner; and it mentions (without sufficient detail) an awkward social moment among the Rosens, Grays, and Gardners.

Curious about the address, I did some searching of the archives of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum archives at their Website, and discovered that there are several letters from Russell Gray to Belle Gardner using the Court Street Boston address. 30 Court Street in 1885 was the post office address of Russell Gray and Henry W. Swift, attorneys.

Mrs Russell Gray  
30 Court Street

Boston

Mass

No postage or date on envelope.

Le Lundi  
Beverly  
Beach Hill

Je viens de recevoir mon poste carte et vous remercie beaucoup — chère amie. J'ai été bien plus fâchée que vous de la courte visite que j'ai été obligée de vous faire. D'abord notre arrivée pendant votre diner m'a beaucoup déconcertée et je ne comprends pas pourquoi Mrs Gardner était si pressée de partir ensuite. J'ai préféré Beverly à Brookline à cause de votre voisinage lorsque Mrs Gardner nous a donné le choix, — mais comme vous voyez je n'en ai pas trop profité.

Ici il fait vraiment délicieux — mais ma santé n'est pas meilleure et j'ai eu de la peine à quitter le lit ce matin. En conséquence j'ai hâté de rentrer.

Nous avons ici plusieurs personnes charmantes que je suis privée de vois à cause de notre si court séjour — mais nous sommes un peu inquiets d'avoir à laisser la cottage et tous les gens si longtemps[?] vous suivre h????.

Demain nous prenons le train de New York après un déjeuner chez le D. Bigelow.

Mrs. Gardner sait que je vous ai porté ces deulettres [deux lettres]

Si vous voulez encore des bons hommes le prochaine fois que j'ai une occasion pr la Russie je tacherai d'en avoir, — j'ai crû choisir ce que je trouvais le mieux car ceux ci sont plus transparent et votre mère les préférait. —

Mille tendresse et tout à vous

Lise Rosen

Serrez le main de votre mari pr moi.

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**Notes:** The Thursday 12 January 2023 issue of the *Gloucester Daily Times* in the Associated Press “Today in History” column had a short note” which read:

In **1910**, at a White House dinner hosted by President William Howard Taft, Baroness Rosen, wife of the Russian ambassador, caused a stir by requesting and smoking a cigarette — it was, apparently, the first time a woman had smoked openly during a public function in the executive mansion. (Some of the other women present who had brought their own cigarettes began lighting up in turn.)

**Part III**  
**Letters**

# Chapter 12

## Cuba Letters: 1883 – 1886

This chapter collects letters involving Santa Amalia, the family sugar plantation in Coliseo, near Matanzas, in Cuba, which had been originally acquired by Lemuel Taylor. in 1821 and by 1883 remained the property of the heirs of Taylor and De Coninck, specifically the heirs of Lemuel's daughter Amelia W. Taylor De Coninck and his son Alexander Taylor.

The chapter begins with letters written to Amy at Santa Amalia by her father Augustine during her trip with her mother Jane and her mother's sister Amelia Henrietta De Coninck in 1883-1884, at which time Jane's youngest sister Mary resided at the plantation with her husband Thomas Donaldson Johnston. Two other letters written to Amy at Ingenio Sta Amalia by two close friends are also included, although the connection with Cuba is simply that the letters are sent to Amy during her visit there. The unifying theme of the 1883 letters is Amy's time in Cuba.

The remainder of the letters are to Amy from her parents regarding Cuba, especially her father's 1886 trip to Cuba and the later return to Cuba from New York by Mary and her husband in the hopes of improving her failing health.

### 12.1 1883

18 November 1883 Letter from Georgie at 4 Chesham Street to Amy in Cuba.

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4 Chesham Street

November 18 1883

4 Chesham Street

November 18, 1883

Dearest Amy

I never felt so enclined<sup>1</sup> to talk to you as when I received your letter yesterday but a horrid neuralgic head-ache kept me on my bed all day and some-one to dinner in the evening prevented my writing to you. A thousand thanks for all your kindness ab<sup>t</sup> gron[?]. You have indeed done all you could and if there is nothing to be done, it does not matter. He will see you have done your best and it is impossible to do more than speak about him as you have so kindly done. I am very grateful indeed to you and think you the kindest girl in the world. I heard all the difficulties that attend the requests[?]<sup>2</sup> and L<sup>d</sup> M. being about 70 engaged himself to a M<sup>rs</sup> Kingscote<sup>3</sup> married for a month ?? said they were supposed to be engaged every-one sent presents. every-one asked them about together when a week before the wedding it turned out that she was married to an unprincipaled man who had threatened to murder her if she owned she was married and who wished to get presents and money etc. out of L<sup>d</sup> M. She must have been a very bad person also for it appears that her first husband Captain Laurel had gone to get shot in Zululand so as to escape her.

<sup>1</sup>archaic spelling of inclined

<sup>2</sup>This is the final line of the first page of the letter and it is damaged and not clearly legible, but this rendering is as close as I was able to get.

<sup>3</sup>See the Notes following the letter. Mrs. Kingscote is probably Mary the wife of Major Henry B. Kingscote. She was born Mary Hamilton and her first husband was Capt. Walter Glyn Lawrell of the 4th (Queen's Own) Hussars, who died in 1880.

Of course this was a great shock to him and she disappeared from the scene when to the astonishment of every-one a month after he marries this woman's sister a

(2)

girl of about twenty five – in a long time no-one could make it out and looked upon her much as they looked upon her sister and no-one received her – then her nice conduct became apparent and gradually he got to know her slightly their last minutes at home. She helped to nurse Cecil while we were away and he got to know her intimately and then she told me her story. How L<sup>d</sup> Maimesbury had asked her to marry him years before he asked her sister and she had refused because he was so ??? and when her sister what a shock it was to her she made up her mind to make up for it by marrying him – and now she has got[?] quite fond of him and is a a very good wife – If one read this in a ??? one would say it was impossible.

It is very funny house to stay at – The ??? old man seems to have nothing to do with her and she is bright[?] and everything that is girlish and pretty. She had been educated in great part abroad and her ?? stiff English was ??? she has horses and dogs and composes beautiful songs and is quite a different element in the house. Perhaps it is foolish of me to have bored you with this long story – but it is strange is it not –

I agree with you about Honell, he has wearied me too and I have read nothing more by him. –

I have read very little of Heine but what I have read I think lovely – I am going to buy his “S?nch der siede,” which they say every-one ought to have. I send you a ??? that is so lovely in this little ??? is ??? I think so much as the ??? floating along ??? We are indeed growing old dear girl. I Am twenty this ??? month. You are a few months younger I think ?

Yes dear friend – ??? perturbed more perturbed than I have ever been. I am as miserable as a person can be I think and if it were not for occupation and the firm conviction that it cannot last long I think I should ??? down. But it is not any one particular thing nor an absurd “chagrin du coeur” so please don't think so, but an odious phase of feeling. Besides since my trip abroad London and England with its stiff ways and smoky streets and ??? ?? aristocracy is most distasteful to me. I am champing my bit that is the truth – there are many things I should like to talk over with you but they are things that can only be said from mouth to ear. Do not give much weight to what I say. I am ??ting on your words. That one must not weigh the importance or non-importance of one's words but talk on paper & in that case of course one often talks nonsense –

My plans cannot be spoken of till they are more developed.

Thanks for your good wishes !

I liked Besant's book.

My old friend of 90 is an old neighbor in the country, an old lady who in her yough was very artistic and brought out Moschells and Medelssohn.

I have answered every question I think and wearied you with a much longer letter

than yours — and as usual all about myself mais que faire ?

You also much write me a long letter about your life in Cuba and I will write and tell you how I divide my time.

Do you keep a diary ?

If you do not would it not be rather fun to write

one beginning on the 1st of January. One with the impressions and ??? of your daily life, but with nothing so intimate that ?? ??? show it to each other. then ???[aps]? a year if we do not meet we could at least send it to each other. I have always had a repugnance to sentimental diaries but I think that no we are so old no-one could accuse of romantic??? and there is much of interest in what one reads people one meets – ??? life would be particularly interesting – How useful your Spanish will be to you now ! I have been reading M<sup>r</sup> ???[looks like Tsaaio] and like very much but there is something ??? ??? English girl marrying ?illegible lin

Yr very aff<sup>t</sup> friend

Georgie

**Notes:** This letter was contributed to the collection by Kathe Gray DeWitt. In the packet of letters Kathe gave me, there was an empty envelope from London to Amy at Sta Amalia in Cuba and what appeared to be two separate letters written on different letter paper of different sizes: one is a single page with a return address of 4 Chesham Street and a date of November 18, 1888. Chesham Street is in London S.W. near Belgrave Square. It was included in the London S.W. postal zone in 1844 when the London Districts were created <sup>4</sup> and remains so (although the basic districts have been further partitioned since and a few others have disappeared by merger). The letter is written upon both sides, but the final sentence is incomplete. The address is a giveaway of the partially identified author — a woman named Georgie who sent three letters to Amy from Chesham Street and from Bangalore. We encountered her 1886 letter in Chapter 11 combining Amy’s Journal of that year with the letters to her relating to her marriage. This early letter also partially solved the empty envelope mystery since the envelope was postmarked 19 November, the day after the letter fragment, and it is postmarked LONDON S-W. Chesham Street was in the S-W postal section of London at the time. Furthermore, the script “Cuba” in the dated fragment and on the envelope appear to be written by the same hand. The “u”, “b”, and “a” and the connections or lack thereof are identical and the capital “C”s are almost identical, with slightly more flourish on the envelope.

It should be noted that Amy’s correspondent Josefina Martinez was also living in London in 1883, and her address 72 Cromwell road was also in London S.W. But the envelope of her 11 June 1883 as reproduced in Section!14.2 shows the script “Miss Heard” in the

<sup>4</sup>[https://www.stampsoftheworld.co.uk/wiki/London\\_SW\\_\(GB\)](https://www.stampsoftheworld.co.uk/wiki/London_SW_(GB))

address to be far more ornate than the November envelope, The style and appearance of the script on the November letter well match Georgie's.

Later letters suggest that Georgie is about the same age as Amy and married a British citizen, possibly a diplomat, civil servant, or army officer. I have not learned her family name nor details of her life. Her stories are clearly about London Society. It is not clear how or when they met, but the Gus did business for Augustine Heard & Co. in London when he led the European office in the 1860s and the family lived in Brighton in 1876 following the collapse of AH& Co.

The letter relates a bizarre bit of society gossip, about a young woman becoming engaged to an elderly Lord M. and then receiving many presents of cash and other things, only to have it discovered that she is already married. After the discovery she promptly disappears, but her younger sister who is shocked by the scandal and tries to make amends, ends up become the Lord's wife instead and proves to be an admirable wife. Perhaps surprisingly, the story is consistent with recorded history. Georgie names the elderly noble as Lord Maimesbury, and the timing and story match that of James Howard Harris, 3rd Earl of Malmesbury, GCB, PC (25 March 1807 – 17 May 1889).

Lord Maimesbury's first wife died in 1876. He married his second wife, Susan Hamilton, on 1 November 1880 when he was 73 years old and she was only 26 when the marriage took place and she became the Countess of Maimesbury. Susan was the daughter of John Hamilton of Fyne Court, Somerset. John had been born John Cross had changed his name as part of his receiving an inheritance. John's older daughter Mary, b. 4 Dec. 1874 married first Capt. Walter Glynn Lawrell of the 4th (Queen's Own) Hussars, who died in 1880. Again this coincides with Georgie's tale. *The South Africa Campaign 1879* by J. P. Mackinnon and S.H. Shadbolt (1880) telling the story of the British officers killed in the Anglo-Zulu War has been updated by Ian Knight and Dr Adrian Greaves and can be found online <sup>5</sup> which in a memorial to Capt. Lawrell describes his death by gunshot wound in a battle on 28t November 1879 following closely on the end of the Anglo-Zulu war, but considered in the original book to be an extension of that war. The memorial ends with "Captain Lawrell married, in December 1874, Mary, daughter of John Hamilton, Esq., of Tyne [Fyne] Court, Somersetshire."

Mary married secondly Major Henry B. Kingscote, who is named by Georgie as the husband pressing his wife (Mary) to become engaged to and seek gifts from Lord M. As Georgie recounts, the younger sister Susan married the Lord and they remained together until his death in 1889. Susan remarried in 1896 to Major-Gen Sir John C. Ardagh. The basic information is taken from *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry* By Bernard Burke <sup>6</sup>, but Georgie's letter adds colorful detail to the recital of the facts and

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<sup>5</sup>[https://www.anglozuluwar.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Part\\_1\\_-\\_Zulu\\_War\\_Introduction.pdf](https://www.anglozuluwar.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Part_1_-_Zulu_War_Introduction.pdf) accessed 2 January 2023

<sup>6</sup>Burke Publishing Company, 1925

dates. Georgie asks Amy for stories of her time in Cuba, but sadly we have nothing written by Amy of her visit to Sta Amalia.

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1 December 1883 from Bessie (Elizabeth Woodville) in Biarritz to Amy in Cuba.

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Villa Paquerette  
Biarritz Dec 1<sup>st</sup>

Your letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> has reached me – & has nearly broken my heart \_\_ Why, my darling, though I have been most remiss about writing you I have not been so much so as you suppose. I wrote you two letters to Mt. Desert, one from Baden \_\_ they seem never to have reached you \_ & I am sorry - for I see you are pained at my silence. \_ & now before I say another word – let me assure & reassure you that there is no one in all this world so dear to me as you \_\_ nor anyone who loves you more truly than I do. A day never passes but that you are in my thoughts. Indeed you are so identified with the brightest & happiest days of my life that I could not forget you without losing the few illusions left to me. So, my dearest Amy, away with all dark thoughts. I love you as truly & as tenderly as ever \_\_ It is true that I have left you a long time without news \_\_ partly from my wish to spare you – for I have been a great sufferer I can assure you – My poor back has given me great pain – so much so that to sit still for more than a few minutes seemed an impossibility after I have spent the day on my feet – or in keeling any other posture having become agony. I saw the leading Paris surgeons but none would operate fearing to touch the spinal marrow at last one sent me to Divonne – near Geneva – to bathe the cold douches<sup>7</sup>. they nearly drove me wild at first. I had to summon all my courage to continue them but they have done me good. I took two a day for six weeks. & then went to Baden Baden to see a Swede, who has a great reputation he cures all diseases (he says) by massage. it was a trying ordeal. & he nearly killed me. than ?? such again. but now I am better & begin to feel that I will soon be well – so do not worry. all I tell you has been \_\_ & is no more. & I am better. So please do not worry. I can sit down quite comfortably & have gained flesh \_\_ all my friends say I look well.

So it is well my sad little letter did not reach you – dearie.

I can scarcely realize that you are this day darting for Cuba – Was not this decision sudden. Will you sit down dear “Duchess” & write me all that is on your heart – tell me what decided this step – if you can \_\_

I trust no trouble has come to you – or yours – in all that touches you – is near to me – I hardly know where to begin to tell you all that has happened in these long months –

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<sup>7</sup>here the meaning of douches is cold baths with jets of water at spas

You probably do not even know that X has had his long desired wish, & has been to his own land. he went last July & stayed three months there.

His permits got him into Warsaw, but he had much trouble once there. & it looked at one time as though he never would get out — at least for years. but he came back a few weeks since safe & sound. Somewhat disillusioned I fear — as we all are after a long & weary waiting he says but little on the subject & you know I never ask ??? . he looks well and is always the same for his friends his first question almost was for you — & he ??? looks for your news — you have in him a friend one seldom makes in a life time. I believe if he lost his faith in your goodness. There would be but little left in him he is very sad just now at the death of “Duchess”, All the old ??? are dying out — one by one — his old horse he had shot. & our poor little Roughio [?] has gone stone blind indeed the years roll by — & I can hardly realize how many I have spent in this place —

His house is nearly finished it is a pretty little cottage - - not somehow now that I leave it. it seems like all else he has longed for — a shadow — I wonder ??? of true friendship. Whether anything is real in life ! — The old Princess is building a fine house — it looks very handsome But X says inside will be hideous if left to her taste. I fancy she is even more impossible since ??? old means death ??? ??? & hopeless at times, I fancy now that he has his papers en regle — that he will spend much of his time in his own land —

We are only back in Biarritz since a week — we find it as usual. But few people as yet. But lovely weather such sun sets. They make me long for you to enjoy them with me.

Please darling sit yourself down & tell me all you can about yourselves — I cannot but feel anxious — fearing that this sudden trip to Cuba May have been occasioned by ??? perhaps of some kind. You are not ill, are you ? —

I promise you a letter every week now. So make me forget, forgive my long silence. — if you could know how I have suffered you would overlook all & everything on my part. A letter seemed a gigantic undertaking.

Give my fondest love to your mother with a heart full for your dear dear self. Believe me ever & always your true  
Bessie.

**Notes:** This letter was contributed to the collection by Kathe DeWitt, a first cousin once removed, that is, she is the daughter of my late first cousin Horace Gray, the son of my father’s brother Horace.

The envelope for this letter is lost and it is dated only by day and month - 1 December -, but it is made clear that the letter is sent to Cuba during Amy’s visit, which implies the year is 1883 — the year Amy traveled with her mother Jane Leep De Coninck Heard and aunt Amelia Henrietta De Coninck to visit the Ingenio Santa Amalia in Coliseo in the Province of Matanzas, Cuba. It emerges in the letter that the Cuban voyage was hastily arranged and Bessie, the author of the letter, wonders about Amy’s health. The concern is probably

founded both on Cuba's nineteenth century reputation of a benign and restorative climate and as a destination for medical tourism and on Amy's life long delicate health. Hindsight suggests, however, that it was Amelia Henrietta's poor health that influenced the decision, plus the desire of both Jane and Amelia to see their sister Mary Taylor (De Coninck) Johnston .

Bessie's address in this, her earliest extant letter to Amy, is *Villa Paquerette* in Biarritz. *Pâquerette* is French for "daisy." As will be considered later in some detail, her long term residence in Biarritz from 1884 on was at the Chalet Haltura, which was also called the Châlet Woodville. I have not found the Villa in what little online history of Biarritz I have found with the exception of a 1925 announcement of an auction of antique furniture being held there.

Bessie's letters are among the most difficult in the collection to transcribe because of awful penmanship, thin paper allowing ink seepage, and what a personal shorthand that abbreviates or leaves out letters. Although much improved from initial attempts, there remain many illegible portions.

Divonne is Divonne-les-Bains, which *Wikipedia* says " is a spa town situated on the border with French-speaking Switzerland, between the foot of the Jura Mountains and Lake Geneva."

The immediate mysteries of this letter are the identities of Bessie herself and of the occasionally mentioned individual referred to only as X. The 1883 letter provides few clues, but later letters reveal Bessie's identity and together with 1888 newspaper articles suggest a strong candidate for X. It makes the story less mysterious to reveal some of the details now regarding Bessie – deferring the solution of the mysteries of identity to later in the chapter in Section 14.8.

### 12.1.1 Elizabeth (Bessie) Woodville

So who exactly was Elizabeth (Bessie) Woodville? History fans, especially of the Wars of the Roses, will recognize the name: Elizabeth Woodville was the controversial wife of Edward IV of England. The Bessie of the nineteenth century was born 19 August 1856 in Dusseldorf Germany to Richard Caton Woodville (Sr.) (1825-1855) and his first wife Mary Buckler<sup>8</sup> Caton Woodville was a painter of some fame who had moved to Europe at age 20 with his new wife Mary Theresa Buckler, the daughter of a prominent Baltimore doctor. Both of Bessie's parents were from Baltimore, and Bessie would maintain a presence in Baltimore society while living most of her life in Europe. Bessie's companion for much of her adult life was Miss Susan (Sue) Williams of Baltimore, who also lived at Haltura. In Maryland the two lived together in Sue's family rural mansion *Hermitage*. Susan died in

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<sup>8</sup>Information from Bessie's 1921 passport application. That our Bessie is this Bessie will follow from letters and newspaper articles, she never mentions her last name in her own letters.

1919, after which Bessie remained in Biarritz until her death there in 1927. More later.

Unlike most of Amy's correspondents, Bessie's father was not a diplomat or politician — he was an artist. But Bessie hardly knew him as he abandoned his wife and two children for a fellow art student, with whom he moved to Paris and then London, where he married her. He died only two years afterwards of a Morphine overdose. But like most of Amy's correspondents, she was involved in the "Society" of the era, which for this work has the happy consequence of providing several fascinating (if inconsistent) articles published about her.

### 12.1.2 X

Bessie's letter reveals that X was a friend of both Bessie and Amy, that he had a residence in Biarritz, and that his recent visit to his homeland required formalities in Warsaw suggesting that his origins lay in what is now Poland.

In 1883 Poland did not exist as a sovereign nation — the ancient kingdom of centuries earlier had been partitioned into zones governed by other powers: Germany (following the creation of the German empire in 1871, before that much of modern western Poland was under Prussian control), Russia, and Austria. The section under Russian control included Warsaw along with much of eastern modern Poland and parts of modern Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine. The governments of each region were actively involved in absorbing the occupied areas into their own national culture and culture as well as political and military structure.

Bessie hints that X is connected to royalty as he is quite familiar with an "old Princess" and her new house. If his homeland is in the region of the ancient Kingdom of Poland controlled by Russia, then one might suspect that the old Princess is his mother and that she is from the Russian-controlled region of partitioned Poland.

I am reasonably convinced that X was François Xavier Michel, Prince Sapieha (1845-1889), aka Ksawery Franciszek Sapieha or simply — as in the press in his youth — Prince Xavier Sapieha. Ksawery is the Polish equivalent of the French Xavier, and Franciszek is the Polish equivalent for François and the English equivalent for Francis. François-Xavier was a popular French name derived from a Catholic saint, as was Ksawery Franciszek of the same saint. Web searches for either the Polish or French names (without the Michel) will result in vastly more hits on our Xavier's father, François-Xavier Sapieha (or Ksawery Franciszek Sapieha) (1807-1882). But it is the younger Xavier who is of interest during 1883-1889.

Xavier (the younger) correlates with Bessie's letter: X is the first letter of his name as used in the press (examples are cited in Section 14.8), he fits the implied connection with nobility, and his homeland in 1883 is ruled from Warsaw.

Xavier's branch of the Sapieha family was descended from Polish-Lithuanian nobility, that is nobility of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, formally known as the Kingdom

of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 16th and 17th century Europe. By 1883, most of this region was included in the Russian portion of partitioned Poland, but family branches had spread to France and Spain.

These details will matter later in the discussion of the international press gossip columns linking Bessie to two European princes, one from the East (Slavic) and one from the West (German) portions of late nineteenth century Poland.

Letter to Amy Heard at Sta Amalia from her father Augustine Heard in NY  
dated Dec 17 1883

M<sup>lle</sup> Amy Heard  
Ingenio S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia  
Coliseo  
Cuba

Dec 17 1883 Union Club,  
Fifth Avenue & 21<sup>st</sup> Street

My Dear Amy,

It was very kind in you to sit down at once, tired as you were, on arrival – to report yourselves on the plantation, & I appreciate the effort you must have made. But you might have taken it more at your ease for your letter only arrived today. at the same time with your mother's posted 5 days later. There was no ?? ??? on Saturday as usual.

I'm glad your first impressions were favorable, & only hope you may be able to keep them up. Your mother says you don't like the horses, which I quite understand. Many are hardly horses at all in our sense of the word, but they serve a useful purpose. If you can't have yr huit-ressorts<sup>9</sup>, a hansom cab isn't a bad thing to fall back on. What a deuce[?] of fire alarms you seem to have had! You'll soon get used to all that & be as cool about them as your Aunt Amelia.<sup>10</sup> but they are certainly a disturbing element in life.

I am sorry to lrn you were sick at sea. It must have been a dreadful "grind" – but I dare say you would you would cross the Atlantic without suffering.

<sup>9</sup>a 19th century horse carriage with double suspension

<sup>10</sup>Jane Heard's sister Amelia Henrietta (De Coninck) Pelletier.

Oh! the Cadles! I am still there, & you know how happy I must be. I don't like the have leave[?] for it is comparatively cheap, & I don't feel that I can throw away any money on myself – while you are in Cuba. When John<sup>11</sup> makes a fortune, we will see, if we are in a way to see. I am afraid my chance has gone by. Here is a letter from John, come this morning. He says he is not happy, but in the main he is. He is laying out money which will keep him where he is for the next 10 years if they are successful, as of course he hopes they will be. Nothing from France yet about his Mine. I send yr mother John's letter which you will see. My great objection to his scheme is that it does keep him in that barbarous country: but I think I feel it more than he does, except at times when he is blue.

I want him near me, with me: I feel it every day. But as I have sowed, so must I reap & I appreciate now whch the failing of my own father & mother must have been with my far away life. Children don't think of this till too late. It is only brought home to them when they become parents in turn. This putting one's boys away when they are young cuts later when habits are formed. I feel that my father had acted wisely as regarded the formation of my own character in sending me away from home, & I worked my boys to have what I thought the the same advantage. It no doubt strengthens ??? ??? be questioned perhaps whether other things of equal imprtance are not sacrificed. How does it strike you?

?? mother Cadle still holds me in affection & reserves popes noses & all her simple delicacies for my palat. I am afraid I am not so grateful as I ought to be & I would gladly nestle under some other wing. Now that you have been in Cuba some little time, I hope you will give me some details of your daily life. What are you doing? What are you reading? What are you writing? Have you begun your book? & your letters on Cuba highways & byways & all its belongings? What are your impressions now? Are you beginning to be sorry & ennuyée. Write & exercise the spirit of the [???]. Tell me about them if you have them & in the act of telling [??? will fall off. – 19" – I have just been through "An ambitions Woman" by Edgar Fawcett<sup>12</sup>. A tale of NY Society. It is called clever, & is the best book he has written, but is as a whole very weak. He has no dialogue, does not know how to conduct a conversation, & he uses twice the number of adjectives he should. But his description is sometimes strong & good & the action is animated.

I am doing nothing but wait – the most demoralizing of all occupations & I feel every day as a lambeau<sup>13</sup> of my entity were being peeled off, & I dare say I am.

Tomorrow I dare say I shall get another letter from you, but this will have already been posted, & the letter ??? may form the ground work of a No. 2 .

Meanwhile que Dieu vous ait son sainte [???].

Ever your affy

A.H.

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<sup>11</sup>Amy's brother John

<sup>12</sup>Published in 1883

<sup>13</sup>fragment

**12.2 1884**

Letter to Amy Heard at Sta Amalia from her father Augustine Heard in NY  
Postmarked January 2 1884

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M<sup>lle</sup> Amy Heard  
Ingenio S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia  
Coliseo  
Cuba

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11 Jany 1884 Union Club,  
Fifth Avenue & 21<sup>st</sup> Street

It is very pleasant, my darling Amy, to have your affectionate words as a stimulus & a greeting. I feel in the wretched life I am leading, as if I needed all the ??? I can get, for I am very lonely & often downhearted. But in my children have an ample source of delight. Aug. is developing into a fine fellow, & gives good promise of great joy. And John is full of intelligence, & heart – though his ways of being are so different from mine the we often jar. It is no doubt as much my fault as his. I am impatient, set in my ideas, & from the fact that I have always been my own master, I dare say I have become domineering. With all the vexations & disappointments, too, of many years I am grown hasty & petulant, & probably a very disagreeable man to get on with. However I try to mend, & shall get perhaps to be a decent fellow about the time I must make my long goodbye. Max is a cheering sunbeam, & you have only given me souci,<sup>14</sup> in that I can not make for you the happy life I should like. You have always been a source of unspeakable delight to me & whatever else may happen to me, I merit in my affection, to be called a happy man.

I have nothing of any interest to tell you. My days are as monotonous as yours, & I haven't the pleasure of breathing the open air. I have written your mother to see if you cannot find a decent horse to ride – not only to give you a tolerable mount, but to relieve you & her from any dependence on Mr. Johnson & his wife. <sup>15</sup> I should think you might

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<sup>14</sup>care

<sup>15</sup>Jane Heard's sister Mary Taylor De Coninck married Thomas Johnston of Baltimore in 1881, so Mrs. Johnson is likely Mrs. Johnston and is Amy's Aunt Mary and it appears that the Johnstons were the managers of Ingenio S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia at the time of Jane and Amy's 1883-4 visit. Mary died in Cuba in 1886, but she was also in New York earlier in 1886.

find something, & I dare say you would be able to sell it without much loss when you leave.

You speak of a case of books in the office. I never knew there was any such case there. The only one I have in mind was in the bedroom on the left as you come into the front door. There were novels without end, & I dare say much else, which I never got to the bottom of.

I am delighted to hear you still keep the freshness and the character of your first impressions. I feared that ennui would have taken their place ere this, but if you have managed to run through a month without suffering, you will be able to endure into the end. Your Aunt Mary's departure will create a distraction and bring quiet, but I am not sure you will not miss the piquancy of her interruptions & her conversations. I don't think I should, but we are not all alike!

So you think there is no temptation to your thoughts on paper — because there is nobody to talk back! — Why not create your antagonist too? Play a double handed game, where both are sure to win. I have no doubt you will get interested in it if you try, but I won't scold if now & then you will bestow some of your charity on me. I am amused at the chosen(?) library of a young woman of fashion in retreat — Froissart & an Encyclopedia! — des ??? ???!

I have done nothing but newspapers lately. I began the "Breadwinners" the other day, which has a certain reputation, but was not in the humor to get far. Octave Feuillet<sup>16</sup> has printed in the *Revue*<sup>17</sup> a mash — what shall I say — not charming, but yet charming, artistical gem of a story, called "La Veuve".<sup>18</sup>

It is really a piece of art & a most refreshing contrast to the hash of crude inanities poured out by the press. It is as nearly perfect in form & taste as anything I have seen for many a long day. If I see it published in a book form, I shall get it. It is in the two last numbers Dec 1 & 15 I think of the *Revue*. Is your neighbor La Ferti literary?

On this I kiss you on both cheeks & I wish I could hold you to my heart.  
Good night. A.H.

## 12.3 1886

4, 7 March 1886 letters from Jane in NY

<sup>16</sup>Octave Feuillet (8/11/1821-12/29/1890) was a French novelist and dramatist and member of L'Academie Fran caise.

<sup>17</sup>*Revue de Deux Mondes*

<sup>18</sup>"La Veuve" was published in two parts in the Livraison du 1<sup>er</sup> Décembre and Livraison du 15 Décembre 1883, Soixantième Volume of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

Envelope postmarked 7 March includes letters dated 4 March and 7 March.

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Miss Heard  
c/o Mrs Dorr  
18 Commonwealth A<sup>ve</sup>

Boston Mass

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New York March 4<sup>th</sup>

Chère Amy

Une heure après ton départ je me suis rendue chez Tante <sup>19</sup> que j'ai trouvée très souffrante. Après maintes supplications au mari<sup>20</sup> qu'était de fort mauvaise humeur je lui ai dit d'aller de suite chercher le médecin D<sup>r</sup> Allen Lomi??? \_\_ ce qu'il a fait à la fin — Hier j'ai été savior le résultat de la consultation. Il lui a dit "M<sup>rs</sup> Johnston you are a sick woman, you must have had enlargement of the liver, & now it is shriveling up \_\_ the swelling and hardness is water you must be rubbed a great deal & be nourished, & you must go to Cuba, to a warm climate.

You cannot get well here \_\_ Quoique il l'envoie à Cuba où le mari ne veut pas aller. Le médecin lui a plu il l'a trouvé très intelligent & ??? . \_ Elle dit qu'elle transpire beaucoup la nuit, qu'en le levant sa robe de nuit est trempée, mauvais signe. Elle espère partir à la fin du mois. Je prie Dieu que Papa sera de retour avant qu'elle ne s'en aille. Elle devrait faire son testament avant de partir ne souffle pas mot à propos de ce sujet à Jean pr<sup>21</sup> le moment.

Le matin j'ai demandée à Cadle de ??? faire faire du beef tea pr tante qui était malade et elle m'a demandée ce qu'elle avait et que je le lui ai dit elle a répondu on n'en guérit pas, et c'est vrais. J'ai passée la matinée chez Tante hier et en rentrant j'ai trouvé un mot de Nellie avec les billets. Elles avaient un engagement et un autre de Lily Howard renvoyant le sien. J'ai invitée la plus jeune des Sedgwick qui a été enchantée. Elle était d'une élégance surprenante, vraiment très bien.

Nous sommes allées et retournée à pied. Il n'y avait pas de cars hier dans toute la ville. Pr aller chez Tante j'ai ?? en chemin de fer ce qui m'a couté 20 sous! Mlle Sedg. m'y a conduit et donnée toute les explications pr le retour. Le concert était charmant M<sup>rs</sup> Nice & Ward qui devait assister à la représentation du soir au Metrop. se sont déclarées enthousiastes.

Nellie a fait dire hier de laisser le paquet avec la domestique qu'elle viendrait peut être

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<sup>19</sup>Amy's Aunt Mary, Jane's sister Mary Taylor De Coninck Johnston

<sup>20</sup>Thomas Donaldson Johnson.

<sup>21</sup>pour

le chercher aujourd'hui mais elle n'est pas encore venue 2 · /2. M<sup>lle</sup>Robbins était très belle dans sa robe de satin blanc recouverte d'une superbe dentelle le voile était très beau et très bien mis. Elle a 25 ans et son mari en a 23 il est très sage et très riche. La mort de D<sup>r</sup> Gaspar Griswold lui a enlevée deux de ses demoiselles d'honneur. Elles étaient très liées avec M<sup>e</sup> G. la pauvre veuve. Il a été enterré ce matin\_ 5 h moins le quart. Emily Ogsten a passé plus d'une heure avec moi je ne l'ai jamais vue plus belle qu'aujourd'hui Son deuil lui est seyant. Elle a parlé de M<sup>e</sup> Hellyar en termes pas trop flatteur – et trouve qu'elle a fait grd tort à Victoria.

9<sup>30</sup> Nellie est venue cet après midi et a emporté la pelotte.<sup>22</sup> Emily Ogsten a passé une bonne heure avec moi cet après midi. Son deuil lui va bien. J'ai trop sommeil je vois que je me répète. Dimanche \_ je monte de mon déjeuner et je prends ma plume pr te dire que j'ai été à la reception Johnston; M<sup>lle</sup> Ashmore présidait au thé. On a chanté l'inconnu pr moi avait une voix agréable. M<sup>me</sup> Waterbury m'a prié de lunch avec elle aujourd'hui à 1<sup>30</sup> Après le lunch J'irai porter le beef tea a Tante. Quand le coeur t'en dit écrit un mot à Tante. Elle a bien mauvaise mine et me parait très faible. Elle dit que pendant trois jours elle n'a rien pu prendre pas même son café.

Tout est si mauvais au Percival \_\_ <sup>23</sup>

Dimanche soir

J'ai passée la matinée le ménage fait a écrire a Jean et à Oncle Albert à qui J'ai envoyée une énorme enveloppe venant du "Century", <sup>24</sup> un article à publier. Il était adressé à Papa mais je crois que c'est de la plume de l'Oncle.

J'espère qi'il arrivera à bon port. J'ai pris le lunch chez M<sup>me</sup> Waterbury en compagnie de sa fille et ses deux petits fils \_\_ de la je suis rentrée chercher mon bocal de beef tea que la Cadle m'a fait faire pour Tante. Je le lui ai porté.

Elle en a pris deux fois pendant que j'y étais\_ Elle a été hier avec son mari trouver le médecin pouvant à peine se trainer\_\_ "The swelling had increased so much & I was so wretched I cd not stand it any longer." Elle lui a demandé is it dropsy & he replied yes. Le mari se tient tout près pour entendre ce que nous disant

il ne nous quitte pas d'une minute ce qui m'agace extraordinairement. Je ne puis me rappeler si je t'ai expédié une lettre ou .non je ne veux pas dire celle de Victoria mais un de mes épitres ?? intéressant ! Ce que tu mi dis d'Hélène est fort intéressant. Je suis enchantée de la savoir si bien et si heureuse\_ Prions Dieu que la bonne tante lui épargne l'épreuve par laquelle nous passons ici – Je suis fatigué et je te dirais bonsoir.

J'ai oubliée tes messages à M<sup>me</sup>Ward je ne finis même pas me rappeler !! Pardonne à ta vieille mère et aimes la toujours

<sup>22</sup>No such word is in the usual dictionaries, perhaps Max meant "pelote", a ball.

<sup>23</sup>Possibly the hotel listed in the 24 October 1886 *New York Times* in the add under "City Flats to Let: Furnished": THE PERCIVAL. 230 West 42d-st., near Broadway, One suite three rooms, bath, and toilet, first floor; American plan; private table if desired.'

<sup>24</sup>*Century Magazine*

JLH

Mille choses aimables de ma part pr M<sup>me</sup> Dorr.

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**Notes:** According to his obituary in the 5 March 1886 *New York Times*, Dr. Gaspar Griswold died at age 29 at his residence, No. 251 Madison Avenue, on 4 March of peritonitis. His wife was born Katherine Cowlin and they married in 1882.

Cuba was a popular spot for “medical tourism” during the latter half of the 19th century and many Americans went there for the warm climate and Fresh air. Jane makes it clear that Mary’s husband did not want to return to Cuba. Mary did leave for Cuba close to the end of the month, according to a later letter from Jane to Amy Aunt Mary and her husband left just before the end of March, departing New York on 3 April, after the return of Amy’s father from Cuba top New York.

Sadly, the change of climate was insufficient for Mary’s recovery and she died in Cuba later in the year.

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New York March 4<sup>th</sup>

Dear Amy

An hour after your departure I went to your Aunt’s who I found very ill After many entreaties to her husband who was in a very bad mood I told him to go quickly to search for the doctor Dr. Allen Lom??? \_\_ which he finally did – Yesterday I learned the result of the consultation. He told her “M<sup>rs</sup>Johnston you are a sick woman, you must have had enlargement of the liver, & now it is shriveling up \_\_ the swelling and hardness is water you must be rubbed a great deal & be nourished, & you must go to Cuba, to a warm climate.” \_\_ Although he is sending her to Cuba where her husband does not want to go, the doctor pleased her he found her very intelligent & ?? . . \_ She said that she was sweating a lot during the night, that when getting up her nightgown was soaked, bad sign. She hopes to leave at the end of the month. I pray God that Papa will return before she leaves. She should make her will before departing/ Don’t breathe a word of this to John for the moment.

This morning I asked Cadle to have beef tea prepared for Aunt who is sick and she asked me what she had and ?? I told her about it and she she responded that it is incurable, and it is true. I spent the morning at Aunt’s yesterday and on returning I found a word from Nellie with the bills. They have an engagement. and another of Lily Howard sending back hers. I invited the youngest of the Sedgwicks who was delighted. She has an enchanting elegance, truly very good.

We went and returned on foot. There were no cars yesterday in all of the city. For

going to Aunt's I took the train which cost me 20 cents! Miss Sedgwick conducted me there and gave me all the explanations for the return. The concert was charming. Mrs Nice. & Ward who were supposed to attend the evening performance at the Metropolitan declared themselves enthusiasts

Nellie did tell me yesterday to leave the packet with the domestic that she would perhaps come looking for you today but she has not yet come 2/2 . Miss Robbins was very beautiful in her dress of white satin covered with a superb lace the veil was very handsome and well put on. She is 25 and her husband is 23 he is very smart and very rich. The death of Dr. Gaspar Griswold deprived her of two of her maids of honor. They were very close to Mrs. Griswold. He was interred this morning at a quarter to 5. Emily Ogsten spent more than an hour with me I have never seen her more beautiful than today. Her mourning is becoming. She talked of Mrs. Hellyar in terms that were not flattering – and finds that she had done great wrong to Victoria.

<sup>9</sup><sup>30</sup> Nellie came this afternoon and took away the pelotte. Emily Ogsten spent a good hour with me this afternoon. Her mourning becomes her. I am too sleepy I see that I repeat myself.

Sunday \_ I rise from my lunch and take my pen in order to tell you that I was at the Johnston reception; Miss Ashmore presided at the tea. L'inconnu was sung for me by someone with an agreeable voice. Miss Waterbury asked me to lunch with her today at 1<sup>30</sup>. After lunch I am going to take the beef tea to Tante. When your heart tells you write a word to Tante. She looks very bad and it seems to me she is very feeble. She tells me that for three days she has been unable to consume anything, not even her coffee.

Everything is so awful at the Percival. \_\_

Sunday evening

I spent the morning after finishing the housework writing John and Uncle Albert to whom I sent an enormous envelope from the *Century*, an article to publish. It was sent to Papa but I believe that it is Uncle's pen.

I hope that it will arrive safe and sound. I had lunch at Mrs. Waterbury's and her daughter and her two small grandsons. \_\_ from there I returned to look for my jar of beef tea which Cadle had me make for Aunt. I took it to her.

She twice had some of it while I was there\_ She was there yesterday with her husband to find the doctor scarcely able to crawl. "The swelling had increased so much & I was so wretched I could not stand it any longer." She asked him "is it dropsy" & he replied yes. The husband kept quite near in order to hear all that we were saying.

He did not leave us for a minute which annoyed me extraordinarily. I can not recall if I expedited a letter to you or not, I do not mean to say the one from Victoria but one of my interesting epistles !

What you tell me of Hélène greatly interests me. I am delighted to know she is so well and so happy. \_ Pray God that the good aunt spares us the ordeal we are enduring here – I am tired and will say goodnight to you.

JLH

A thousand friendly wishes from me to Mrs. Dorr.

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7 March 1886 letter from Jane, likely sent together with her 4 March letter.

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Monday March 7<sup>th</sup>  
28 W. 18<sup>th</sup>

Chère Amy

Je reçois à l'instant une lettre de Papa qui annonce son arrivé à la Havana le 4 Mars à l'hotel San Carlos at 8 hr – in possession of my luggage & am going now to see Ramon Williams the Consul” <sup>25</sup> \_\_\_ “I am a puzzle to myself. For the last few weeks it has been an impossibility for me to speak or write or do anything, & I have been quite alarmed about myself. I did not thank Amy for that book simply because I cd not. I am feeling perhaps a little better now, but am still good for nothing & I look forward with positive dread to arriving & being called upon to see & talk to people.

Je l'avait grondé parce qu'il ne t'avait pas remercié que tu lui a donné le lire –

J'ai pris le lunch chez la Tante Louise qui fait excellent. Toute la famille était absente à l'exception de Lou. Je lui ai priée d'aller voir le médecin de Tante qu'elle connait et qui a été celui de M<sup>e</sup> Schoeberger Savoir ce que le médecin pense de l'état de Tante. Hier elle était encore plus gonflée et Tante Louise dit que sitot que l'eau arrive au coeur ou aux poumons on meurt\_ Je n'y ai pas été cet après midi il pleuvait et j'avais déjà eu des ??? toute la journée\_ les petites douches continuent\_ M<sup>lle</sup>Hammerslley no 2 est arrivée ce soir et occupe ta chambre et ta place a coté de moi à table. Je t'ai expédiée ce matin une lettre d'Amelia <sup>26</sup> que dit Victoria de son séjours au Canada. Tante Louise dit que le père de M<sup>c</sup>Kim qui a épousé Julia Appleton est un menuisier à New Jersey !!

Le pauvre Monsieur Livingston n'est pas descendu depuis ton départ. Il va beaucoup plus mal je crains. ne dire pas. Il y a eu deux morts dans ces maisons d'en face. Cet homme qui était toujours à la fenêtre en est un. Il a été enterré aujourd'hui.

As tu vu les Linzee ? Quand revient M<sup>rs</sup> Jack et les voyageurs de Bermude \_\_ Edith m'a dit que M<sup>rs</sup> Bowler n'est plus catholique \_\_ Bien des choses aimables a ton hôtesse et mille choses affectueuse a M<sup>rs</sup> Swett. Rien de nouveau

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<sup>25</sup>Ramon O. Williams was appointed U.S. Consul-General at Havana in 1884 and was continued during the successive administrations of Presidents Cleveland and Harrison. In 1890 he was recalled to Washington by order of Secretary Blaine. "New York State's Prominent and Progressive Men," Compiled by Mitchell C. Harrison, Volume II, published by the New York Tribune, (1900)

<sup>26</sup>Probably Amalia.

Jouis de tout ce que tu peux et aime bien ta  
vieille mère

JLH

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**Notes** Edith is Edith Bell, a neighbor and friend of Louise Bowler's in Bar Harbor, and like Louise a correspondent of Amy's who will be introduced in more detail later.

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Dear Amy

I just received a letter from Papa who announces his arrival at Havana on 4 March at the Hotel San Carlos at 8 AM

⋮

(see above)

I complained to him because he had not thanked you for giving him the book to read.

—

I had lunch at Aunt Louise's house which was excellent. The entire family was absent except for Lou. I asked her to go to see Tante's doctor whom she knows and who was Mrs. Schoenberger's doctor to know what the doctor thinks of the state of Tante – Yesterday she was even more swollen and Tante Louise said that as soon as water arrives at the heart or lungs one dies\_ I did not go there this afternoon it rained and I had already had some ??? all day – the little showers continued – Miss Hammersley no 2 arrived this evening and occupies your bedroom and your place beside me at table. This morning I expedited to you a letter from Amalia who speaks of Victoria's stay in Canada. Aunt Louise says that the father of McKim who married Julia Appleton is a carpenter in New Jersey !!

The poor Mr. Livingston has not come down since your departure. I fear he is much worse. don't talk of it. There have been two deaths in the houses facing us. The man who was always at the window is one of them. He was interred today.

Have you seen the Linzees? When will Mrs Jack and the voyagers from Bermuda return? Edith told me that Mrs Bowler is no longer Catholic. All best wishes to your hostess and a thousand affectionate wishes to Mrs. Swett. Nothing new

Enjoy everything you can and love well your  
old mother.

JLH

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Letter to Amy Heard from her father Augustine Heard  
dated 17 March 1886.

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Hotel El Louvre  
Matanzas 17 Mch 1886

My Darling Amy,

Last night about 9 o'clk I received your charming letter of the 5<sup>th</sup>, & much good it did me, for I had just come from a very unsatisfactory talk with my *abogado*<sup>27</sup>, who had been told by Mariano Lima that he refused my offer & would commence suit immediately *et même deux!*<sup>28</sup> He has not the remotest chance of gaining any thing himself, but it is a case of *chantage pure*.<sup>29</sup> He can put me to great annoyance & expense, & he threatens to do so, if I won't give him some money. You saw a letter I wrote John last week, no doubt. The Pelletiers demand \$4000. I have offered them 1000, & have not changed. All our researches have only strengthened my position, & I had waked up the lawyer last night to free him to intimate to Lima that if he did not accept my offer sharp I would withdraw it & I was rather surprised at the information.

Your letter was an agreeable distraction & this morning I find the alarm was false. Lima & P. have since told Gonzales they would accept \$1500, which is rather a come down from \$4000 & about as low as I have expected to bring the payment. Since found out that they were ready to make such an iniquitous demand, & could push me to much annoyance & expense without cash to themselves.

Yes, Mama told me of your achievement & of the fearful cold you had in NY after my departure. She feels your absence much, but she is very glad to have you enjoy yourself. Of course it will not do to overstay your welcome, but I suppose you can get another room at Cable's, if your old one is occupied, when you want to go back!

Your list of occupations looks attractive & certainly outruns my own worldly demands. My sole dissipations here have been a dinner chez Peralta & a momentary apparition at a Masqued ball at the Liceo to which I had an invitation from the Prest. It was Carnival time & there were 6 balls that evening, but this one was enough for me. I was the only the ??? in a ??? ???. The crowd was great, the ?? was intense, & I only staid about 10 minutes. About 1/2 the women were masked, & the rest powdered & painted. It was too full for dancing ??? some was attempted.

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<sup>27</sup>lawyer

<sup>28</sup>and even two!

<sup>29</sup>pure blackmail

I am tolerably well off at this hotel — but oh! I am so tired of it. I went 1 day to the Sta Amalia but my relations with the Pelletiers are not such as to make me anxious to have more to do with them than is necessary. As soon as I have settled this matter with Lima, I shall give Paneho his congé. The estate is in a deplorable condition & Peralta<sup>30</sup> is in despair at P.'s inefficiency.

I rejoice at Max's pleasure. Give her a kiss for me. Wish I could see the dear child. Susan & William are very good to her.

My health is rather better, but I am not worth much.

Remember me to the Dorrs.

& ??? me

??? affy A.H.

Of course you  
will give my love to John + my brothers

I have just seen my lawyer. He says for the last few days he has been sure that 1500 w<sup>d</sup> settle the matter, & perhaps if I wait a few days 1000 may be accepted, but he can't feel sure of it. Meanwhile we are dealing with a man without scruple who has it in his power to do much injury & to cause much expense. I have the same feeling & I have authorized him to make it 1200, if he can get the offer from Lima i.e. in this way. Say to him — “if you will authorize me to say to Mr Heard that you will take 1200 in full of all demands I will try to get him to give it.” — You can imagine my disposition d'esprit towards the Pelletiers. There must be also a fee to the lawyer, & my exps here. Tell this to John. —

8 Mch tell him to this I have just settled the matter for \$1000 — papers to be signed & and money paid on Monday & I shall leave here on Thursday a week from today. They stick me with abt 100 more that I should have had to pay any way, a lucky accident. ??? Carlos in my way this morning. & he is an ass. He ??? to the 1000 & promised Lima shd meet me Chez La Calle.

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**Notes:** The hotel El Louvre in Matanzas still exists, from a Cuban tourism website:

Hotel El Louvre is a boutique hotel in the historic centre of the town of Matanzas. Founded in 1879, this emblematic building used to be the pride of the “The Athens of Cuba”, as Matanzas was named during its successful time as Cuba's culture capital. It was during this time of economic wealth, where the local sugar and coffee barons acquired enormous profits and collected extraordinary fortunes that the Louvre was born, eventually becoming national and

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<sup>30</sup>There is an envelope addressed to Aug Heard % Messrs Almira y Peralta, Matanzas, Cuba, dated 3/3/86. The firm is listed as “Almirall, Peralta” under the heading *Sugar and Molasses* in Matanzas in the book *Commercial Cuba* by William Jared Clark, Charles Scribner's Sons, NY (1898)

international reference for those visiting Matanzas. El Louvre was characterized in its time for its luxury, good taste and for the exquisiteness of its services.

Amy's father mentions "Susan & William" as Max's hosts. Their identity was a mystery until summer 2022 when I discovered from the Hanson Heard Genealogy [69] that a Heard descendant named "Susan" married a "William" and was residing at 63 Beacon St. in Boston in 1885 and earlier. Susan Heard Swett was born Susan Heard Winthrop (1837-1886). Her exact birthdate is not known, but the Massachusetts Death Records record her death of heart disease on 4 September 1886 at age 46. The 1880 Federal Census showed Susan living at 63 Beacon St. with her husband William Bourne Swett, whose occupation is listed as "living on own money." Susan's occupation was listed as "keeping house."

Susan was a second cousin in of Max and Amy's father Augustine Heard II – Susan and Augustine II were both grandchildren of John Heard, the first financially successful Heard in Ipswich. Susan's mother was born Frances Maria Heard and Frances' father John Heard was a brother of Augustine Heard II's father George Washington Heard.

Susan married William Bourne Swett (1832-1888) in 1858 in Boston. Swett owned 63 Beacon Street in Boston. W. B. Swett and 63 Beacon St. were listed in the 1886 and 1997 *Boston Bluebook*. Max made a mistake with the address, but the next letter to Amy from her father shows the correct address of 63 Beacon St. <sup>31</sup> Recall from Chapter 7 that William Bourne Swett was a great grandson of Billy Gray. So like Amy and Russell their marriage was a match between a descendant of Luke Heard and a descendant of Billy Gray.

18 March 1886 letter from Jane in New York to Amy at 16 Commonwealth, Boston

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Miss Heard

18 Commonwealth A<sup>ve</sup>

Boston Mass \_\_

Postmark NEW YORK MAR 19

86

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New York March 18<sup>th</sup>

Chère Amy,  
 On veut de monter cette lettre a ton adresse, qui t'adresse Miss Heard Esqre ?  
 En rentrant de chez Tante ou j'ai passée la matinée à emballer j'ai trouvée ta lettre qu'apprenant que tu vas chez M<sup>e</sup> Gardner en l'absence de M<sup>e</sup> Dorr \_\_ Vraiment tu as de la

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<sup>31</sup>The property information on 63 Beacon St. was provided by the Webmaster of [backbayboston.com](http://backbayboston.com) based on Boston civic records.

chance tout s'arrange pr [pour] le mieux. J'ai été passée voir le Docteur ce matin qui m'a dit que Tante ne pouvait pas guérir. Il lui donnait trois – 6 mois. Je ne pense pas qu'elle se croit si malade. Elle part sans femme de chambre disant qu'il y a un couvent à la Havane où elle en trouvera une. Il serait certes difficile d'en trouver une ici qui parle l'espagnol. J'ai eu une bonne visite de Baron Rosen hier. Il dit que sa femme n'est pas venue avec lui parce que sa père qui est vieux était très malade – Qu'il l'attend ici et qu'il n'est pas nommé à Sofia. Il aime mieux être ici – Il a beaucoup vieilli – et il est très blanc très pale. Il est content d'être ici dit-il mais comme les Russes sont très flatteurs, il est difficile de savoir s'il disent vrai où non. Emily Ogsten est venue me voir hier et aujourd'hui je l'ai rencontrée.

M<sup>e</sup> Hoffman m'a apportée ma dentelle noire cet après midi. Elle a du venir pendant que j'étais chez elle. M. Hof. et Emily étaient avec elle disent les vieilles d'ici. J'ai été voir M<sup>e</sup> Farley qui m'a invitée a diner Samedi. M<sup>e</sup> H. me reconduira. Ce ne sera pas gai mais toute distraction m'est utile. J'ai eu une lettre de Papa hier qui espère partir par le prochain bateau ce qui l'amenerait ici Lundi prochain. Sa voix est très faible "hardly audible" Ce monstre de Carlos n'a pas encore rabattre de ses prétentions. Ils exige \$4000 et Papa lui en offre \$1000. Il n'a pas droit à autant. J'ajoute ces quelques lignes ce matin le 19 avant de courir chez Tante. Adieu. Je voudrais t'embrasser. Engraisse tu un peu? J. L. H.

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New York March 18<sup>th</sup>

Dear Amy,

I am sending this letter to your address, who addresses you Miss Heard Esqre ?

On returning from your Aunt's where I spent the morning packing I found your letter learning that you are going to Mrs Gardner's in the absense of Mrs Dorr \_\_ Truly you are lucky evey thing is working out well. I went to see the doctor this morning who told me that Aunt could not be cured. He gives her three – 6 months. I do not think that she believes herself so sick. She leaves without a maid saying that there is a convent in Havana where she will find one. It will certainly be difficult to find somebody here who speaks Spanish. I had a good visit by Baron Rosen yesterday. He says that his wife did not come with him because her father who is old was very sick – That he is waiting here and that he was not named to Sofia. He likes it better here – he has aged a lot – he is very white very pale. He is content to be here he says but as the Russians or so flattering, it is difficult to know if he is speaking the truth or not. Emily Ogsten came to see me yesterday and today I saw her again.

Mrs Hoffman brought me my black lace this afternoon. She had to come while I was at her house. Mr. Hoffman and Emily were with her the old women here say. I went to see Mrs. Farley who invited me to dinner Saturday. Mr. H. will take me. It will not be fun, but

every distraction helps. I had a letter from Papa yesterday who hopes to leave by the next boat which should bring him here next Monday. His voice is very feeble “hardly audible” This monster Carlos has not yet cast aside his pretensions. He demands \$ 4000 and Papa offers him \$ 1000. He has no right to so much.. I add these few lines this morning the 19th before running to Tante’s house. Adieu. I would like to embrace you. Fatten you up a bit ?  
J. L. H.

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1 April 1886 and 7 April 1886 letters from JLH in New York to Amy at the Dorr’s in Boston. Found together in common envelope.

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Miss Heard  
18 Commonwealth Ave.

Boston

Mass

Postmarked New York APR 7 86

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New York April 1<sup>st</sup>

Chère Amy

Les quelques lignes d’hier son arrivées au moment où je partais pour emballer chez Tante. <sup>32</sup> Je viens de rentrer après quatre heures exténuée de fatigue ayant emballé toute la matinée et n’ayant pas eu de lunch. Demain j’y retourne et en attendant j’ai des commissions à faire pr elle ne t’étonne pas si je ne t’écris pas \_\_\_ Ils partent pr Cuba Samedi <sup>33</sup> \_\_\_ Papa va mieux à mauvaise mine décidément. Mais il est encore faible et a besoin de grds [grands] soins. Tante m’a donnée la broche en diamants de ta grand mère <sup>34</sup> pr toi disant “since it is hers after I die & I don’t wear it she aught as well have it” — Je n’ai pas eu le temps de la nettoyer et J’ai eu peur de la confier à Jean de crainte qu’il ne la perde — ne lui dit pas cela.

Papa attende ma lettre pr le mettre à la poste.

M. How est venu me voir hier il dit que tu est très fêtée et que beaucoup de monde va à B.H. cet été.

M<sup>e</sup> Paussen[?] m’a fait une longue visite hier elle voulait des renseignements a prpos de B.H. où elle a l’inter ??? d’aller

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<sup>32</sup>Tante Mary, Jane’s sister Mary Taylor De Coninck Johnson.

<sup>33</sup>3 April

<sup>34</sup>Amelia W. De Coninck

Embrasse Hélène  
 pr moi            et écris moi qd [quand] tu peux et aime toujours ta vieille mère  
 J.L.H.

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**Notes** Gus wrote to Amy from Cuba on 17 March 1886, so it was Tante Mary, Jane's sister, and her husband Thomas Johnston who were returning to Cuba on 3 April. The "ils" were Mary and some one else, not Gus.

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New York April 1<sup>st</sup>

Dear Amy

The several lines of yesterday arrived at the moment when I was leaving for packing at Aunt's house. I just returned after four hours exhausted by fatigue having packed all morning and not having had lunch. Tomorrow I return there and in the meantime I have errands to run for her. Don't be surprised if I do not write to you \_\_\_ They leave for Cuba Saturday \_\_ Papa is still feeble and and has need of great care. Aunt gave me the diamond broche of your grandmother <sup>35</sup> for you saying "since it is hers after I die & I don't wear it she aught as well have it" — I have not had the time to clean it and I fear that cofiding it John would risk its being lost — don't tell him that.

Papa is waiting for my letter to put it in the post.

Mr. How came to see me yesterday he says that you are much celebrated and that many are going to Bar Harbor this summer.

Mrs Paussen made me a long visit yesterday she wanted information about Bar Harbor where she would like to go.

Embrace Hélène  
 for me            and write to me when you can and always love your old mother.

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7 April 1886 from Jane at 28 W. 18th in NY

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New York April 7<sup>th</sup>  
 28 W. 18<sup>th</sup>

Chère Amy,

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<sup>35</sup>Amelia W. De Coninck

Je ne puis pas me rappeler si je t'ai écrit depuis le départ de Tante \_\_ Il me semble pourtant me rappeler vaguement de t'avoir envoyée quelques lignes Lundi. A l'heure qu'il est elle doit être à la Havane.

D'après ta dernière du 4 il me semble que tu ne peux pas te plaindre de l'hospitalité des Bostoniens. Ou te gate !! M<sup>e</sup> Dorr entre autres \_\_ Il est venu pr toi une invitation de M<sup>e</sup> John?? Kane pour une musicale Samedi à 4 h \_\_ Une invitation au mariage de M<sup>lle</sup> Jeanne Bigelow le Avril à l'église et aujourd'hui la carte de M<sup>e</sup> Albert G. Browne pr un thé le 16 Avril. – M. Browne est le Rédacteur du Herald N.Y \_\_ Papa a rapporté de chez lui une trentaine d'exemplaires du Courrier des Etats Unis où J'ai lu la mort de Bressant un des grd acteurs du "Théâtre Francais" – Te rappelles tu si nous avons fait venir un "errand boy" vaguement je crois me rappeler qu'à propos d'un billet pr l'Opéra et puis pr porter ton sac le jour de ton départ. Réponds par retour de courrier. J'aurais bien aimé regarder par la parte de la porte voir le ruine que tu faisais tandis que M<sup>e</sup> Dorr assistait á ta toilette!!

Je ris en y pensant. Je ne suit pas sortie depuis le départ de Tante excepté tout à l'heure jusqu'a la 21<sup>ème</sup> qd [quand] la pluie m'a obligée à rentrer. fallait rendre la visite de M<sup>e</sup> Clendinnin et de M<sup>le</sup> Morse M<sup>le</sup> Greene et sa fille sont ici depuis une huitaine. Elles occupent la chambre de M. Marsh avec un gnd [grand] chien qui y dort muselé.

Demain je vais luncher chez M<sup>e</sup> Tiffany. Elle m'a écrit avant hier elle dit "very quietly" donc Je suppose que ce sera en famille.

Je désire beaucoup qvoir une photographie d'Hélène cabinet size que content elles à Boston.

J'aimerais les envoyer une à sa marraine et à Tante Parrot.

Croit tu revenir ici avant notre départ pr. B.H. -- Quand tu vois M<sup>e</sup> J. Hagers et sa mere dis leur bien des choses de ma part. Demain le 8 n'est-ce pas le jour de l'arrivée de Lela et Addie? Lou Taylor a été très malade. Elle était sur la chaise longue Lundi pr la première fois. Pendant une dizaine de jours on lui donnait une petite cuillerée de whiskey toutes les heures. La famille dit that great weakness about the heart is the trouble après le médecin. Papa a pris le thé chez les Browne Dimanche soir où M. Nadal y était. Il s'était inquiet au près de ton père le jour précédent au Club de l'époque de ton retour.

As tu des nouvelles de M. Samsson ? Les deux petites têtes blondes bouclées à la fenêtre d'en face avec le petit baby me donne des distractions et comme il est 5<sup>30</sup> h \_\_ Je te dirai adieux. bien des choses de ma part pr M<sup>l</sup> Dorr que ne doit pas trop te gâter ??? As tu des nouvelles de

Lundi

Victoria – Le jour que j'ai été voir Lou on m'a gardée au lunch. M<sup>e</sup> Schoenberger m'a emballée !! Je n'est jamais été plus étonnée de ma vie. Alice a engraisée Je ne lui ai jamais vu si bonne mine – Les ??? d'Old Point Confort où il y avait huit cent personnes à l'hotel qu'est très bien tenu Cuisine excellente – – – ??? Papa adieux –Ecris moi quelle toilette du mets quand tu me parles des invitations et aime toujours et beaucoup

Ta mère affectueuse  
JLH

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**Notes:** This letter is rich in friends and family. Tante Parrot was born Mary Wieland, the daughter of Mary Taylor — the elder sister of of Jane’s mother Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck. So Tante Parrot is a first cousin of Jane’s, and hence an “aunt” of Amy in a general sense. Victoria is Victoria West. Mr. Shoenberger was J.H. Shoenberger, the husband of Alice E. Taylor, who was was also a first cousin of Jane — Alice’s father Alexander Taylor was the brother of Jane’s mother Amelia W. (Taylor) DeConinck. Lou is Louisa W. Taylor, another daughter of Alexander Taylor and hence also a first cousin of Jane. Louisa never married.

The Old Point Comfort Hotel’s long history is told in *Hotels at Point Comfort/Fort Monroe* <http://www.virginiaplaces.org/parktour/pointcomforthotel.html> (accessed 4 December 2022) with further illustrations in *Souvenir of Old Point Comfort and environs* by W.H. Kimberly. (1889) <https://archive.org/details/souveniroidpoi00kimb/page/n3/mode/2up>.

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New York April 7<sup>th</sup>  
28 W. 18<sup>th</sup>

Dear Amy,

New York April 7<sup>th</sup>  
28 W. 18<sup>th</sup>

I can not remember if I wrote to you since the departure of Aunt \_\_ It seems to me perhaps I remember vaguely having sent several lines Monday. At this time she should be in Havana.

After your letter of the 4th it seems to me you can not complain of the hospitality of the Bostonians. Where you are spoiled !! Mrs. Dorr among others\_\_ An invitation from Mrs. John Kane for a musical Saturday at 4PM \_\_ An invitation to the marriage of Miss Jeanne Bigelow at the church and today the card of Mrs Albert G. Browne for a tea 16 April. – Mr. Browne is the Editor of the N.Y. Herald.\_\_ Papa retrieved from him thirty samples of the Courrier of the United States where I read of the death of Bressant, one of the great actors of the “French Theater” – You remember if we we had had an “errand boy” come. I vaguely recall that with respect to an Opera ticket and then to carry your bag the day of your departure. Respond by return mail. I would have loved to watch from the crack in the door the ruin you made while Mrs Dorr assisted with your dressing !!

I laugh thinking about it.

I have not gone out since the departure of Tante except for a little while ago until 9PM

when the rain forced me to return.

It was necessary to return the visit of Ms Clendennin and of Miss Morse Mrs Greene and her daughter are here since a week ago. They occupy the bedroom of Mr. Marsh with a big dog who sleeps there muzzled.

Tomorrow I am going to lunch at Mrs. Tiffany's. She wrote to me day before yesterday to say "very quietly" so I suppose that it will be with the family.

I wish very much to have a "cabinet size" photograph of H el ene which shows them in Boston. I would like to send them to her godmother and Aunt Parrot.

Do you believe you will return here before your departure for Bar Harbor – When you see Mrs. J. Hagers and her mother give her my regards. Is not tomorrow the rth the day of the arrival of Lela and Addie? Lou Taylor has been very sick. She was on her chaise longue Monday for the first time. During a dozen days she was given a little spoonful of whiskey every hour. The family says that great weakness of the heart is the trouble according to the doctor. Papa took tea at the Brown's Sunday evening where Mr. Nadal was. The day before at the Club he expressed concern to your father about when you would return.

Have you news of Mr. Samsson ?

The two small curly blond heads with the little baby in the window facing us are distracting me and since it is 5<sup>30</sup> \_\_ I will say goodbye. Best wishes from me to Mrs. Dorr who should not spoil you too much.

Do you have news of Victoria – The day that I went to see Lou, they kept me for lunch. Mr. Shoenberger was great fun !! I have never been so estonished in my life. Alice has put on weight, I have never seen her look so good. – The Old Point Comfort where there were eight hundred people at the hotel which was very well set up. Excellent cuisine – – – ??? Papa goodbye – Write me which dishes when you talk of the invitations and love always and much

Your affectionate mother

JLH

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11 April 1886 from JLH in New York to Amy at the Dorr's in Boston.

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Miss Heard  
18 Commonwealth Ave.

Boston

Mass

Postmarked New York APR 14 86

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New York 14 April

Chère Amy

L'intervalle entre ta dernière lettre et celle qui m'es parvenue cet après midi m'a semblé bien long. Elle est arrivée au moment où Je me trouvais bien seul et bien triste et m'a servi de tonique moralement.

Qui est judge Holmes le poète et père de M<sup>e</sup> Sargent <sup>36</sup> qui demeure près de M<sup>e</sup> Swett et qui émule le caquetage d'une pie. J'ai été voir M<sup>e</sup> Woolsley Borland au "Bre??t" cet après midi sans la trouver et chez M<sup>e</sup> Morton que j'ai rencontrée encore une fois hier chez M<sup>e</sup> Roberts et qui a été très aimable.

L'idée ne m'était pas venue qu'une femme du monde puisse user 9 cols de fourrure. Je croyais que c'était une collection et je voulais savoir de quelles fourrures elle était composée \_\_ Je ne connaît que, le Reyard Bleu \_\_ La Zibeline, le Loutre de mer l'[h]ermine. Elle doit être connaisseur M<sup>e</sup> Jack en cela comme en bien des choses, Etait-tu invitée chez M<sup>e</sup> Swett en l'absence de M<sup>e</sup> Dorr seulement. Ta chambre ici sera libre le 23, Paques vient la Dimanche le 24. Je n'ai pas besoin de te dire que je serai très heureuse de te revoir.

Notre invitation pr[pour] le mariage de M<sup>lle</sup> Chapman (et Mortimer) à l'église de 26 Avril à midi est venue ce matin \_\_ Peux tu croire que hier J'ai été a pied jusqu'à la 4/<sup>ème</sup> rue et que J'en suis revenue saine et sauve jusque chez M<sup>e</sup> Roberts où une pluie torrentielle m'a retenue puisqu'après 6 h. le ??? m'a ramenée. J'avais le waterproof du cocher. <sup>37</sup>

Il m'aurait été impossible de tenir le parapluie \_\_ une vraie bourrasque \_\_ Elle part pr Londres Samedi en fuit. M<sup>lle</sup> William a louée pr elle pr the "season" Lord T???'s ??? 20 Grosvenor Sqre with the housekeeper who has been in his service 20 years. Elle parle de cela avec un entrain qui fait du bien à entendre. Au nous d'Aout, elles ses deux soeurs l'accompagnent voyageront \_\_ pr revenir ici a l'automne. J'ai recue une lettre de Tante Marie<sup>38</sup> ce soir. Le voyage s'est bien passé. Elle ne s'est pas levée qu'en arrivant. "T.J. was devoted beyond expression ladies maid every thing". "The stewardess was most devoted & as I was so constantly fed I thought I hd come out strong."

M<sup>e</sup> Bances et sa fille ont passées trois heures avec elle. Elles on été tout ce qu'il y de plus aimable ????. M. Bances se retire des affaires Ils vont habiter her Chateau in the Pyranees & pass their winter in Madrid. The Pedrosos had their furniture seized for debt the day of their ball some gentleman came & pd the debt but she says they live on borrowed money people are very tired of it. Et Pedroso que l'on croit riche à Washington.

Tante était sortie à la Havane faire quelques emplettes. provisions de bouche \_\_ plus loin elle dit "if I can get better I will here but I doubt any thing but sufferings for me I have

<sup>36</sup>Mrs. Turner Sargent was the daughter of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., the poet and author, who was also the father of Judge Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.

<sup>37</sup>*Le Petit Robert* defines cocher as "Celui qui conduit une voiture à cheval." Synonyms are conducteur and postillon.

<sup>38</sup>Jane's sister Mary

not as much oppression.”

une note triste!!!

Comment vont tes yeux. Tu n'en parle pas dans ta dernière. Quelle toilette avait tu aux diners Dorr? Adieu et bonne nuit Embrasse Hélène pr moi. Il me tarde de la voir\_\_

Ta mère aff\_\_

JLH

Papa s'est trop fatigué aujourd'hui et sa voix y en ressenti. Il peut à peine parler \_\_ il a pourtant beaucoup gagné depuis son retour.

New York 14 April

Dear Amy

The interval between your last letter and that which reached me this afternoon seemed very long to me. It arrived at a moment when I found myself quite alone and very sad and served me as a moral tonic.

Who is judge Holmes the poet and father of Mrs Sargent who lives near Mr Sweat and who imitates the cackle of a magpie. I went to see Mrs Woolsley Borland at the “Bre???” this afternoon without finding her and at Mrs. Morton's who I met once already yesterday at Mrs Roberts and who was very friendly.

The idea had not occurred to me that a woman of the world could use 9 fur collars. I believed it was a collection and I would like to know of what furs it was composed. \_\_ I only know, the Blue Fox, Sable, otter, ermine She must be a connaisseur Mrs Jack in that as in so many things.

Were you invited to stay with Mrs Swett in the absence of Mrs Dorr only. Your bedroom here will be free the 23rd. Easter comes Sunday the 24th. I do not need to tell you that I will be very happy to see you again.

Our invitation for the marriage of Miss Chapman (and Mortimer) at the Church 26 April at noon came this morning \_\_ Can you believe that yesterday I was on foot up to 4th Street and that I returned safe and sound up to Mrs Roberts' where a torrential rain retained me until after 6. The ??? brought me back. I had the waterproof of the conductor.

It would have been impossible to take the umbrella. A real storm \_\_ She leaves for London Saturday in flight. Miss William has rented for her for the “season” Lord T???'s ??? 20 Grosvenor Square with the housekeeper who has been in his service 20 years. She speaks of it with enthusiasm which is good to hear. In the month of March, his two sisters accompanying him will take a voyage to return here in the autumn. I received a letter from Aunt Marie this evening. The voyage passed well. She did not get up until they arrived. “T.J. was devoted beyond expression ladies maid every thing”. “The stewardess was most devoted & as I was so constantly fed I thought I had come out strong.”

Mrs. Bances and her daughter spent three hours with her. They were as helpful as can be imagined. Mrs Bances is retired from business and they are going to live at her Chateau in the Pyranees & pass their winter in Madrid. The Pedroso had their furniture seized for debt the day of their ball some gentleman came & paid the debt but she says they live on borrowed money people are very tired of it. Pedroso who are considered rich in Washington.

Aunt went out to Havana to do some shopping for provisions. Later she says "if I can get better I will here but I doubt any thing but sufferings for me I have not as much oppression."

A sad note!!

How are your eyes? You do not speak of them in your last. What do you wear at the Dorr dinners? Goodby and goodnight. Embrace Hélène for me. I miss seeing her.

Your affectionate mother

—

JLH

Papa is too fatigued today and his voice shows it. He can scarcely speak. \_\_\_ and yet he has gained a great deal since his return.

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# Chapter 13

## West Letters: 1884 – 1891

### 13.1 1884

This is the earliest letter in the collection from Victoria to Amy.

Letter to Miss A. Heard care of Mess. J.J. Cisco & Son  
59 Wall Street, New York.

*Tout le  
monde se  
réjouissent de  
votre arrivée*



British Legation  
Washington, D.C.  
7 Mai /84

Ma chère Amy,

Enfin je suis bien contente de savoir que vous viendrez “pour sûr” demeurer avec nous.

J’aurais aimé que vous fussiez ici pour les courses; cela vous aurait amusé; mais je crains d’après votre lettre que vous ne pourrez pas. Vous me demandez de vous fixer le jour qu’il me serait le plus agréable de vous avoir. Le plus tôt sera le mieux.

Peut-être aurez-vous quelques commissions et emplettes à faire à New York; donc vous désirez probablement avoir un peu de temps libre. C’est pour cela que je préférer que vous fixiez vous-même le temps de votre arrivé.

Nous sommes encore ici pour une grande partie de l'été; ainsi donc vs pouvez venir quand bon vous semble. Et surtout arrangez-vous de ??? à rester aussi long-temps que possible; vous devez au moins nous donner 19 jours ou 3 semaines, si cela vous est possible permis.

J'espère que Mount Desert ne vs attires pas trop; c'est pour cela que je veux vs. garder. Je désire faire d'avance un arrangement avec vous: que vs. soyez tout à fait libre de votre temps, comme si vous étiez chez vous. Je sais qu'il y a des hôtes qui veulent toujours faire des programmes pour leurs invités, et de cette manière, leur être fort désagréables. Mais comme je veux que vous ayez avec nous "a nice time", j'espère que vs accepterez cette condition et que vs vous distraierez autant que possible.

Il n'y a pas grand chose maintenant; on se repose. Mais on se voit dans l'intimité; nous sommes à la maison une fois par semaine le soir pour le corps diplomatique seulement; nous commencerons probablement mardi prochaine.

Nous ferons de longues promenades en voiture; Papa vient de nous acheter un petit "panier" que je conduis moi-même, comme nous aurons alors le temps de bavarder!

Au revoir, chère Ami, et à bientôt. Faites-moi savoir tout de suite quand vs venez.

Votre sincère amie,

Victoria

Les courses commencent le 14 et durent jusqu'au 17 moi. Etes-vous tentée? ...  
Milles amitiés à votre maman.

*Everyone  
is delighted with  
your arrival*

British Legation  
Washington, D.C.  
7 May /84

My dear Amy,

Finally I am well pleased to know that you are coming to stay with us "for sure." I would have liked for you to be here for the races; that would have amused you; but I fear from your letter that you will not be able to. You ask me to fix the day that would be the best for me to have you. The sooner the better.

Perhaps you have some errands and purchases to make in New York; then you will probably desire a little free time. It's for that reason that I would prefer you to fix yourself the time of your arrival. We are still here for a large part of the summer; thus you can come when it seems good for you. And above all arrange things so as to remain as long as possible, you must at least give us 19 days or three weeks, if that is permitted.

I hope that Mount Desert does not attract you too much; it is for that reason that I want to keep you. I wish to make in advance an arrangement with you: that your time should be completely free, as if you were in your own home. I know that there are hosts who always want to make programs for their guests, and in this manner, they are quite disagreeable. I want for you to have with us “a nice time,” I hope that you will accept this condition and that you will amuse yourself as much as possible.

Nothing much is going on now; one rests. But we see each other in private; we are at home one night each week for the diplomatic corps only; we will probably begin next Tuesday.

We take long carriage trips; Papa just bought us a little “wagon” which I drive myself; how we will then have the time to gossip!

Au revoir, dear Amy, and a bientot. Let me know soon when you are coming.

Your sincere friend,  
Victoria

The races begin the 14th and last until 17 May. Are you tempted?

**Notes:** Mount Desert Island is a summer resort off the coast of East central Maine which now forms part of Acadia National Park. The resort first gained popularity with academics



**Victoria Postcard in Seven Oaks**

and artists who journeyed there for summer vacations, but sadly the paintings produced by the artists popularized the resort which began to draw the social and wealthy and rival Newport in its “cottages,” if not in its hotels, which were notoriously non-luxurious for the time. Amy apparently accepted Victoria’s invitation as she received a letter in January 1885 with “British Legation, Washington, D.C.” as her address.

Letter from Victoria West at the British Legation in Washington  
to Amy Heard at 262 Fourth Avenue, NY.  
Dated 23 December 1884.



23 Décembre

Ma chère Amy,

J’ai juste une minute avant de sortir pour vous envoyer mes meilleurs souhaits pour Noël. Quant à ceux pour la nouvelle année, je sais que j’aurai le plaisir de vous les dire verbalement.

Je vous attends la semaine prochaine, et je compte que vous me ferez savoir le jour et l’heure de votre arrivée ici. Vos amis vous attendent avec beaucoup d’impatience, et surtout celles qui habitent à la Légation Britannique.

Monsieur Valera trépigne de plaisir en pensant que vous serez ici bientôt.

Je crois que Madame la femme devrait en être avertie!

Papa donne un grand bal à Flora le 6 janvier. Et nous allons chez la Présidente le matin du 1er.

Au revoir, ma chérie, j’ai tellement à faire que je ne sais où donner de la tête.

Votre amie

Victoria

Mille bons souhaits à tous les vôtres.

23 December

My Dear Amy,

I have just a minute before leaving to send you my best wishes for Christmas. As for those for the new year, I know that I will have the pleasure to give you them orally. I await

your arrival here next week, and I trust that you will let me know the day and the hour. Your friends await you with great impatience, especially those who inhabit the British Legation. Monsieur Valera jumps with pleasure thinking that you will be here soon. I believe that Madame his wife should be warned of it! Papa is giving a grand ball for Flora on 6 January. And we are going to the White House the morning of the first.

Au revoir, ma cherie, I have so much to do that I don't know what to think.

Your friend,  
Victoria

A thousand best wishes to all of yours.

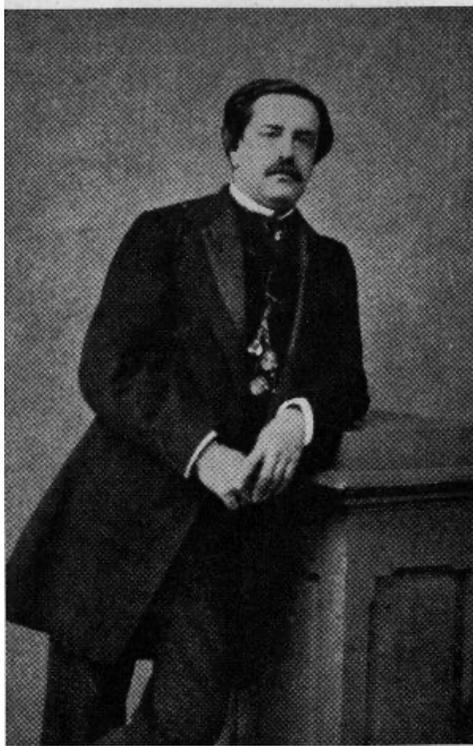


Figure 13.1: Juan Valera y Alcalá Galiano

**Notes:** don Juan Valera y Alcalá Galiano, 1824–1915, was the minister of Spain to the United States from January 1884 until 1886. Valera was also a poet and novelist as well as a diplomat. His novels were not known as being particularly good, but he was a pioneer of what was to eventually develop into a Spanish school of fiction. His best known novel was *Pepita Jiménez*. He had a reputation as a womanizer. His wife, Dolores Delavat, was twenty years his junior and remained conveniently in Spain, so he was free to socialize extensively. One of his reputed mistresses was Katherine Lee Bayard, the daughter of the secretary of state from 7 March 1885 through 6 March 1889, Thomas Francis Bayard, and the sister of Amy's friend Mabel Bayard Warren. In January 1886, three days after Valera's transfer orders, Katherine committed suicide.

Valera was born on 18 October 1824, so he was 59 when in 20 January 1884 he arrived in Washington DC and moved into 14 Lafayette Square, close to the White House. He wrote his friend Menéndez Pelayo “y hasta me llaman *handsome*, que tengo hermosos ojos,” observers remarked he looked younger than 50.[21] He would serve in the position until being named Minister to Brussels on 25 January 1886, a position he would assume in 11 May. Katherine Bayard, the daughter of the Secretary of State, committed suicide 16 January, apparently after being informed by Valera of his imminent departure. According to his biographer, Valera had fallen in love with Catherine soon after his arrival in Washington.

**13.2 1885**

Letter from Amalia West at the British Legation  
to Amy Heard at 262 Fourth Ave., NY.  
Dated 19 March 1885.

An undated note card with another short letter was in the same envelope. Amalia (b. 1868) was one of Victoria's younger sisters. Amalia's reference to herself as the "second bébé" indirectly refers to Amy's sister Max (Helen Maxima Heard) whose numerous letters to Amy were signed Bébé during their youth.

Washington  
17 Mars 1885

Voici la lettre ma bonne Amy, que vous m'avez donnée à garder hier au soir et que vous avez oubliée. Comme je suis triste! Vous voila partie peut-être pour longtemps!

Espérons que non. Il faut revenir bientôt, il ne faut pas laisser votre second bébé tout seul comme cela. Vous savez qu'il vous aime beaucoup encore plus que jamais. Lundi soir au théâtre mon plaisir était gaté tout simplement Chère Amy pour ce que vous nous quittez. Mon Dieu! Comme c'est donc triste que les départs je le déteste. Les personnes que vous aimez s'en vont toujours et celles pour lesquelles vous n'avez aucune amitié ne d'en vont jamais. Si j'étais grande j'irai à New York vous voir et nous nous amuserions bien ensemble. L'autre soir quand je suis rentrée à la maison j'ai trouvé votre Papa et mon Papa tous les deux installés dans un fauteuil au coin du feu ayant l'air de beaucoup s'amuser à ce qu'il paraît cars ils avaient l'air tout étonné de me voir rentrer si tôt. Votre Papa est très gentil je l'aime bien il me faisait l'effet d'être scandalisé à table lorsqu'on parlait de flirtation. Ça m'amusait beaucoup.

Je suis obligée de finir lettre ma bonne Amy cela m'ennuie beaucoup car j'aimerais continuer mais malheureusement je n'ai plus de temps.

Je vous embrasse bien fort.

Votre petite amie qui vous aime tendrement.

Amalia West (tournez)

Bien des chose de ma part à votre Maman et à votre Bébé. N'oubliez pas surtout votre Papa.

Encore un bon baiser. Comme vous êtes gentille!

Flora et Victoria vous embrasse bien.

---

Washington  
17 March 1885

Here is the letter my dear Amy, that you had given me to keep yesterday evening and that you had forgotten. How sad I am! You are suddenly gone, perhaps for a long time! We hope not. You must return soon, you cannot leave your second bébé all alone like that. You know that she loves you much more than ever. Monday night at the theatre my pleasure was spoiled simply, dear Amy, because you left us. My God! It is because they are so sad that I hate departures. The people that you love always go away and those for whom you have no friendship never go away. If I were grand I would go to New York to see you and we would amuse ourselves together. The other night when I returned home I found your papa and my papa both installed in arm-chairs in a corner by the fire appearing to be very amused by what appeared because they had an astonished air to see me return so early. Your papa is very nice. I like him well. He gave me the impression of being scandalized at the table when a flirtation was being discussed. That greatly amused me. I am obliged to finish the letter, my dear Amy. That greatly saddens me because I would like to continue, but unhappily I have no more time.



**Amalia West**

Je vous embrasse bien fort  
Your petite amie who loves you  
tenderly.  
Amalia West

Good wishes on my part to your Mama and your Bébé. Above all, don't forget your Papa. Again a big kiss.

How gentaille you are!

Flora and Victoria send their love.

---

*Note accompanying the previous letter.*

A.W.

British Legation  
Washington

Ma bonne Amy,

Je sens qu'il faut que je vous écrive un tout petit mot et ça m'aurait été impossible de laisser finir la journée sans vous écrire.

Il me semble qu'il y a si longtemps que je ne vous ai pas vue. Comme je voudrais vous embrasser. Voyez tout de même chère. Amy combien je vous aime, je vais au theatre tous les soirs de cette semaine. Je devrais être gaie n'est pas? Et bien, je suis triste. vous devinez pour quoi je n'ai pas besoin de vous le répéter. y'apprends de nouveau mes leçons dans votre chambre alors quand je suis là – je suis heureuse!

Je n'ai pas revu Monsieur Valera depuis que vous avez quitté il doit être aussi bien triste. Plus de papier il faut que je termine en vous embrassant bien fort.

Votre petite amie qui vous aime tendrement.

Amalia West

---

A.W.

British Legation  
Washington

My dear Amy,

I feel that I must write you a small word and it would have been impossible to let the day finish without writing you. It seems to me a long time since I have seen you. How I would like to embrace you. You see all the same dear Amy how I love you. I am going to the theatre every night this week. I ought to be gay, shouldn't I? And yet I am sad,

you can guess why. I do not need for you to repeat it. I learned again my lessons in your bedroom then when I was there—I am happy!

I have not received Monsieur Valera since you left. He also should be very sad.

No more paper. I must finish and send you a kiss.

Your petite amie who loves you tenderly. Amalia West

**Note:** Gentaille seems to be a made-up word among the West sisters and Amy, perhaps a diminutive of gentille or nice.

Letter from Victoria West at the British Legation in Washington  
to Miss Heard at 262 4th Ave, NYC.

Dated 22 March 1885



Washington  
22 Mars 85

Ma bien chère Amy,

Je vous réponds de suite à cause de votre petit boîte que Canfield viendra prendre Mardi ou Mercredi prochain. Tenez-la prête, voulez-vous? Je la remettrai a Mr Roustan, et vs me direz à qui il doit l'envoyer à Paris.

Vous ne me ennuez en me demandant de vous faire vos petites commissions, ainsi ne vs genez en rien.

Je crains bien ne plus pouvoir aller à N.Y. à cause des changements de nos domestiques; il faut que je soit l'a pour surveiller moi-même, surtout au commencement. J'ai arrêté définitivement le maître d'hôtel des Freylinghuysens et leur blanchisseuse; il reste à trouver une bonne cuisinière: grosse affaire. Ces détails de ménage m'assomment! De plus, il faut acheter un autre cheval!

Je dois donc sacrifier mon plaisir d'aller à N.Y. et de vs y revoir, ma chère amie. J'espère que vs vs amuzerez bien à Boston. Si vs pouvez revenir passer un mois du printemps avec nous; par exemple, Mai avec Mme de Struve et Juin avec nous.

Tâchez d'arranger cela; ce serait si gentille!

Notre diner au Président a été bien, ainsi que la petite soirée qui l'a suivi. Nous donnons demains un diner au Reuterskiöld; Mme de Stuve a eu l'amabilité de me demander si c'était un diner de fiancelles! ... Elle est incorrigible.

Théo a été beaucoup mieux que dans cette abominable piece de Lundi.

La fille de Tambour Major était charmante.

Au revior, ma bonne; écrivez moi dés que vs aurez le temps. Nous vs enverrons souvent des nouvelles de la maison et de vos amis. Je n'oublierai pas votre commision pour Mr Valera, qui a l'air à présant d'un corps sans âme.

Milles bons souvenirs a votre Maman.

Toujours votre meillieure amie.

Victoria

J'espère que votre frère reussira bien.

22 March 85

My very dear Amy,

I am responding to you quickly because of your little box which Canfield will come to take next Tuesday or Wednesday. Have it ready, will you? I will return it to Mr. Roustan, and you tell me who he should send it to in Paris. You do not bother me by asking me to do your little errands, so do not bother yourself about it.

I am afraid that I can no longer go to N.Y., because of changes in our domestic servants; it is necessary that I be there to survey them myself, especially at the beginning. I definitely captured the maitre d'hotel of the Frelinghuysans and their laundress; there remains finding a good cook: a big affair! These difficulties of the household bore me to death! What's more, it is necessary to buy another horse. I have to therefore sacrifice my pleasure of going to N.Y. and of seeing you again, my dear friend. I hope that you have fun in Boston. If you could come back to spend a month in spring with us; for example, May with Mme de Struve and June with us.

Try to arrange that; it would be so nice!

Our dinner with the President was good, as was the small soiree which followed. Tomorrow we are giving tomorrow a dinner for the Reuterskiolds; Mme de Struve had the amiability to ask me if it was an engagement dinner!... She is incorrigible. Theo was much better than in the abominable play of Monday. The daughter of Tambour Major was charming. Au revoir, my dear; write me as soon as you have the time. We will send you often news of the house and your friends. Do not forget your errand for Mr. Valera, who now has the air of a body without a soul.

A thousand good memories to your mother.

Always your best friend.

Victoria

I hope that your brother succeeds well.

**Notes:** Theodore Justin Dominique Roustan was French Consul-General in Tunis when the French protectorate was established there. He was French minister at Washington from 1882 to 1891, replacing M. Outrey who had been a good friend of the Sackville-Wests and Amy. Roustan was reputed to be very much in love with Victoria West.

Stealing domestic servants seemed to be a popular sport in Washington at the time.

Frederick Theodore Fruylinghausen (1817–1885) was senator from New Jersey from 1866 to 1869 and from 1871 to 1877. He succeeded James G. Blaine as Secretary of State, his appointment being sent to the Senate on 12 December 1881. He and his daughters frequented Mrs. Henry Adams' circle, as did Amy and Victoria. Mme de Struve was the wife of Charles de Struve, the Russian minister to Washington, 1882–1892. Reuterskiöld was the minister from Sweden and Norway. Although at this time the President was Grover Cleveland, the reference to the President is to Chester A. Arthur, the just-previous president since Lionel Sackville-West gave a farewell dinner party for him in March 85 with all of the West sisters attending.



**Victoria West c. 1885**

Letter to Amy from Victoria  
dated 31 March 1885.



31 Mars

Ma chère Amy,

Je vs écris de suite pour vous dire que j'ai reçu votre lettre et votre oncle, Mr A. Heard. Je l'ai trouvé très agréable et je me suis faite aussi gentille que possible.

Je regrette qu'il vienne pendant la Semaine Sainte, où nous ne pouvons pas l'inviter à venir manger du poisson avec nous.

J'ai vu en effet mon portrait dans le graphic; je suis étonnée qu'on m'ait fait aussi bien.

Qu'est-ce que vous avez bien pu dire sur moi au dîner des Rosen? Toujours la même vieille histoire de ce pauvre Mr Roustan. Ici on recommence à m'ennuyer, et on dit partout que nous nous marions au moi de Mai. Je vous assure, ma chère amie, que ce n'est pas vrai, vs pouvez croire que si jamais j'étais fiancée, je vous le dirais de suite. Les T. Bell sont enchantés d'aller en Hollande.

J'espère que votre oncle réussira dans ce qu'il vient chercher ici. Il m'a dis de vs faire ses amitiés.

Les petites jouent au tennis; il fait un superbe jour d'été.

Au revoir, ma Bonne; milles sincères amitiés.

Toute à vous  
Victoria

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31 March

My dear Amy,

I am writing you quickly to tell you that I have received your letter and your uncle, Mr. A. Heard. I found him very agreeable and I made myself as nice as possible. I regret that he is coming during holy week, when we cannot invite him to come eat fish with us.

I saw, in effect, my portrait in the graphic; I am astonished that I was made so well.

What were you will able to say about me at the Rosen dinner? Always the same old story of this poor Mr. Roustan. Here one begins to bore me, and one says everywhere that we are getting married in May. I assure you, my dear friend, that it is not true; you can believe that if ever I am engaged, I will tell you about it immediately. The I. Bells are enchanted to go to Holland.

I hope that your uncle will succeed in what he came to search for here. He asked me to give you his best wishes.

The little ones play tennis; it is a superb summer day.

Au revoir, my dear; a thousand sincere good wishes.

Tout a Vous,  
Victoria

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**Notes:** The uncle is Albert Farley Heard, (1833–1890) (Subsection 6.4.6 who had been active in Augustine Heard and Co. For several years he officially represented the Chinese Government in Russia.

The Rosen dinner was given by the Baron and Baroness Roman Romanavich Rosen.

Baron Roman Romanavich Rosen was a Russian diplomat. He was the Russian Chargée in Japan 1877–1883 following a tour in Belgrade. He was reputed to be calm and not given to bluff, an honest and reasonable man with a “German way of thinking.” He was known for his “noble stubbornness.” He was the architect of the Rosen–Nishi agreement of 1898 between Russia and Japan. (See *Balance of Intrigue* [86].) He became Consulate-General of Russia in New York City in 188 and in 1888 was appointed the Russian Charge d’Affaires in Washington. His wife Lise was one of Amy’s correspondents. She is described later following a letter from Amalia which mentions here. The primary fame of Baroness Rosen seems to be an annual mention in the “Today in History” column in some local papers for 12 January:

In 1910, at a White House dinner hosted by President William Howard Taft, Baroness Rosen, wife of the Russian ambassador, caused a stir by requesting and smoking a cigarette.

– It was, apparently, the first time a woman had smoked openly during a public function in the executive mansion. (Some of the other women present who had brought their own cigarettes began lighting up in turn.)

Bell was Isaac Bell, Jr. (1846-1889). He had just been chosen ambassador to the Netherlands, a position he held from June 1885 to April 1888. The “Jr” is a little misleading as in his family line there were something like 15 men sharing the name “Isaac Bell,” and their numbering is not consistent in the literature. He may have, however, had an indirect link on Amy’s story. This Isaac Bell had a brother, Edward Rogers Bell (1825-1900) and a sister Mary Ellis Bell, who later married Henry Farnum. Edward Rogers Bell had a daughter Edith Bell (1857-1946), who was a frequent correspondent of Amy’s and, with her Aunt Mary Ellis (Bell) Farnum, were neighbors of two other frequent Amy correspondents, Alice Bowler and Louise Bowler of Cleveland. It seems likely that Amy’s early connections with these regular correspondents (Edith, Alice, and Louise) occurred during her time in Washington D.C. through Isaac Bell’s family.

Letter to Miss Heard, 262 Fourth Avenue, NY,  
from Victoria West at the Washington Delegation.

Dated 2 April 1885.



2 Avril

Ma chère Amy,

Je vs envoie, dans un paquet séparé, vos gants et ceux de votre Maman.

J'espère que c'est ce que vs vouliez; s'il y a erreur, ce n'est pas de ma faute. Il n'en est pas venu pour moi; donc je n'ai pas pu me tromper. Maintenant, soyez bien gentille et laissez-moi vous en faire cadeau; c'est l'œuf de Pâques que je veux vous offrir, ma bonne et chère amie. N'allez pas ma refuser surtout.

Monsieur Roustan me charge de vous dire que son correspondant au Ministère doit quitter Paris au mois d'Avril pour ne venir qu'en Mai; donc il faudra que vous attendiez jusqu'à ce moment-là pour votre boîte.

Savez-vs que Miss O'Donnell et Mr Robert Hinckley sont fiancés, and qu'il en est de même pour Daisy Stewart et un jeune Anglais nommé Liddell? Ces deux engagements sont sûrs et annoncés par les parties contractantes. Quant au mien! tra la la ...

Je suis toujours libre. Tio est venu nous voir Mardi soir et m'a donné de bonnes nouvelles de vous.

Nous avons été visiter les Eglises, car c'est le Jeudi Sainte. Nous étions en landau, car nous essayons le nouveau cheval, une vieille rosse dont on veut 425 dollars. N'est-ce pas une honte?

Mille bonnes amitié

Victoria

Mr Emory vient de recevoir l'ordre à la minute de partir ce soir pour Panama. La pauvre femme est désolé.

2 April

My dear Amy,

I send you, in a separate package, your gloves and those of your mama. I hope that it is what you would like; if there is an error, it is not my fault. It did not come for me; thus I could not have been fooled. Now, be very nice and let me give you a present; it is an Easter egg that I want to offer you, my good and dear friend. Above all do not go and refuse me.

Monsieur Roustan charges me to tell you that his correspondent at the Ministry has to leave Paris in April to not return until May; thus it will be necessary for you to wait until that moment for your box.

Do you know that Miss O'Donnell and Mr. Robert Hinckley are engaged, and that it is the same for Daisy Stewart and a young Englishman named Liddell? These two

engagements are sure and announced by the contracting parties. As for mine! tra la la ....

I am still free. Tio came to see us Tuesday evening and gave me good news of you. We visited the churches because it was holy Thursday. We went in a carriage, because we were trying the new horse, an old red for which they wanted 425 dollars. Isn't that a shame?

A thousand good wishes,  
Victoria

Letter to Miss Heard, 262 Fourth Ave., NY,  
from Victoria West at the Washington Legation.

Dated 3 April 1885.



Samedi  
Vendredi  
3 Avril 85

Ma chère Amy,

Quoique je sois bien occupée aujourd'hui, je vs réponds de suite car vs m'avez écrit d'une manière qui me montre que vs seriez content d'avoir un mot avant que vs quittiez pour Boston.

Je crois que vs vs êtes un peu exagère ce que l'on dit sur votre compte à propos de Mr Valera.

Franchement, je n'ai jamais entendu mal parler de cette liaison. On vs taquine un peu, voilà gout. Nous sommes de si bonnes amies que je n'hésiterais pas une minute à vs donner un bon avis si le cas était échéant et si j'avais vu qu'on associait votre nom avec celui de Mr V. on on fait de celui d Mrs Helyar avec T., ou de moi avec Mr R. Je vs jure qu'il n'est rien de la sorte, et que vs pouvez être sans crainte. Dorénavant quand on dira un mot au sujet de vs deux j'agirai selon vos instructions. Je comprends comme il est désagréable qu'on parle ainsi; je suis aussi une victime de ces bavardages, quoique j'écrive avec précaution de me montrer dans le monde avec Mr R. C'est tout ce que je peux faire; et je ne me ferai pas un ennemi d'un de mes meilleurs amis!

Je crois que la Bnne Rosen est une gentille personne très éprise de son mari. Voulez-vs lui donner mes bons souvenirs?

Votre oncle est revenu nous voir; malheureusement, j'étais sortie..

Je suis enchanté de la bonne opinion à mon égard.

Je dirai à ce pauvre Mr Roustan ce que vs avez décidé pour votre broche. Dites-moi franchement aussi si on a parlé bien mal à son sujet et au mien. Quant à vs, vs pouvez vs rassurer. Je vs tiendrai toujours au courant. Vs savez bien qu'on dit que vs avez eu un amour malheureux, et que votre expression parfois bien triste vient de ce souvenir pénible. Je soutiens toujours la contraire. Il me semble que tout le monde voudrait que que j' épouse Mr R., on oublie la différence d'âge et la manque total de fortune des deux côtés; il n'a que ses appointements. Il est vrai que, (comme vs me disiez, taquine) nous faisons très bon m]enage ensemble et que je suis sûre qu'il ... m'aime bien. Enfin, enfin, qui vivra vivra! ...

Tout ceci sont des secrets; je vs raconte ce que je peux. J'espère que vs serez rassurée complètement, ma bonne Amy.

Répondez-moi bientôt pr me le dira; et connez-moi votre nouvelle adresse. Toujours votre amie dévouée

Victoria

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Friday  
3 April 85

My dear Amy,

Although I am very busy to day, I am responding to you quickly because you have written me in a manner which shows me that you would be content to have a word before you leave for Boston.

I believe that you exagerrate a little what is being said on your account a propos Mr Valera.

Frankly, I have never heard ill spoken of this liason. You have been teased a little, that's all. We are such good friends that I do not hesitate for a minute to give you good advice if the opportunity arises and if I had seen someone associate your name with that of Mr V. as they do with that of Mrs Helyar with S. or me with Mr R. I swear to you that it is nothing of the sort, and that you can be without fear. Henceforth when one word is said on the subject of you Amy, I will act according to your instructions. I understand how disagreeable it is when one speaks so; I am also a victim of these gossips, however I avoid with caution showing myself in the world with Mr. R. It is all that I can do; and I will never make an enemy of one of my best friends!

I believe that Baroness Rosen is a nice person, very much in love with her husband. Will you give her my best wishes?

Your uncle came again to see us; unhappily, I was gone. I am enchanted by his good opinion of me.

I will tell this poor Mr Roustan what you have decided for your two-sided broche.

Tell me frankly also if people are speaking ill of him and of me. As for you, you can reassure yourself. I will keep you always current. You know well that it is said that you have had an unhappy love, and sometimes that your very sad expression comes from a painful memory. I support always the opposite. It seems to me that everyone wants me to marry Mr R.; one forgets the difference in age and the total lack of fortune on both sides; he has only his appointments. It is true that, (as you would tell me, tease) we do very well together and that I am sure that he ..... loves me well. Finally, finally, who will live will see! ...

All of these are secrets; I tell you what I think. I hope that you will be completely reassured, my good Amy.

Reply soon to tell me; and give me your new address.

Always your devoted friend,  
Victoria

**Note:** Mrs. Helyar was the wife of a secretary of the British Legation.

Letter to Miss Heard, 125 Marlborough Street, Boston,  
forwarded to Care of John Heard Esq., Ipswich, from Amalia West, British Legation.

A.W.

British Legation  
Washington  
3d Mai 1885

Voila bien longtemp, ma bonne Amy que je ne vous ai pas écrit mais cette semain j'ai eu beaucoup à faire. Vous devez vous demander: "Qu'est ce que j'ai eu à faire pour que je ne trouve pas même un petit moment pour vous écrire?" Je me sens coupable car, toute cette semain Flora et moi n'avons fait que de jouer tennis avec mon fiancé, Monsieur Mesia and Mattie Mitchell. Vous devez alors comprendre que je n'ai pas eu un moment

pour écrire des lettres. Je dois répondre à tout le monde et je n'ai pas encore commencé. Je suis charmée que vous aimiez nos photographies. J'espère que quelque fois elles vous rappelleront vos petites amies qui vous aiment bien et qui pensent bien souvent à vous.

Vous êtes bien gentille!

Imaginez-vous ma bonne Amy que hier au soir j'ai été à une soirée chez Mme de Struve. C'était une espèce de petit concert où tout le monde invité chantait en chœur toute sorte de petits chansons. J'ai été invitée parce que soi-disant il n'y aurait pas beaucoup de monde. Mais il y en était rien de ce "pas beaucoup de monde" c'était une vraie soirée où je me suis bien amusée. Ce soir je vais à un petit souper chez Monsieur Mesia, donné en l'honneur de Miss Mathie Mitchell, là alors il n'y aura presque personne, nous trois, Mathie, Papa, et puis les deux secrétaires de la légation d'Espagne y seront. Cela va être bien amusant. Vous devez penser que je suis mondaine! Cela me fait rien, je vous aime tellement!

Monsieur Valera vient nous voir jouer tennis. Il est si gentil!

Flora vous écrira bientôt . Nous aimons vous écrire séparément cela vaut mieux je crois et nous fait plus de plaisir.

Mes amities à votre Bébé.

Je vous embrasse bien fort.

Votre petite amie qui vous aime beaucoup.

Amalia West

Flora vous embrasse.

A.W.

British Legation  
Washington  
3 May 1885

It has been a long time my good Amy since I have written you, but this week I have had much to do. You should ask yourself "What have I done in order to not find even a tiny moment to write you." I feel guilty because, all this week Flora and I have only played tennis with my fiance, Monsieur Mesia and Mattie Mitchell. You should thus understand that I have not had a moment to write letters. I should reply to everyone and I have not begun.

I am charmed that you like our photographs. I hope that some time they will remind you of your petites amies who love you well and who think of you very often. You are very gentille!

Imagine my good Amy that yesterday evening I had had a good evening at the house of Mme de Struve. It was a kind of little concert where everybody invited sang in choir all sorts of little songs. I was invited because supposedly there would not be many people. But there was none of this “not many people.” It was a real soiree where I had a lot of fun. Tonight I go to a little supper at Monsieur Mesia’s, given in the honor of Miss Mattie Mitchel, there there will be hardly anyone, we three, Mattie, Papa, and then the two secretaries of the Spanish Legation will be there. That is going to be very amusing. You should think that I am very worldly! That is nothing, I love you so! Monsieur Valera is coming to see us to play tennis. He is so nice!

Flora will write you soon. We like to write you separately. That is better I believe and gives us more pleasure. Good wishes to your Bébé.

Je vous embrace bien fort.

Your petite amie  
who loves you a great deal  
Amalia West

Flora sends you a kiss.

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**Notes:** Juanito Mesía de la Cerda was Juan Valera’s nephew, the son of his sister Ramona. Mesía was referred to as extravagant and insupportable, he stirred up a great deal of commentary in Washington Society, almost all of it bad. His reputation for womanizing was supported by his own letters to his friends in Spain [21], and Valera complained about him in his own letters, “Mi sobrino don Juanito anda mucho con algunas señõritas que le hallan sobrado ameno.”

Amalia later refers to him as having gone crazy in China and being sent back to the U.S. in a straitjacket. Amalia is referred to as never having had a serious relationship with a man. This letter suggests that she was indeed romantically linked with the fey Mesia. The photographs referred to likely include those pictured earlier of Amalia and the three West sisters.

Mattie Mitchell is mentioned in *Famous American Belles*[105], p. 272. She later became Duchess de Rochefoucauld by marrying François, the fifth Duke (1853-1925). She was the daughter of a Senator from Oregon and reputedly took \$300,000 into her noble marriage.

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Letter to Miss Heard, 125 Marlborough Street, Boston,  
from Victoria West at the British Legation.

Dated 8 May 1885 Victoria did not sign the letter, but it is her handwriting. Flora added the last line.



8 Mai 1885

Chère Amy,

C'est mon tour à vous écrire en réponse à votre bonne longue lettre. Vous amusez vous toujours autant à Boston?

J'ai été passé deux jours à Baltimore pour voir la Birmess c'était très joli; il y avait des costumes magnifiques, et si je n'avais pas eu si mal aux dents je me serais bien amusée. Ici c'est toujours la même chose; nous jouons tennis presque tous les jours avec Mattie Mitchell, Mesia, et Bouton de Rose qui est revenue de Baltimore New York plus moqueur et plus taquin que jamais. Il n'est plus si gentil avec moi; son séjour à New York l'a gâté.

Mardi prochaine, nous aurons les courses pour quatre jours. Jeudi dernier nous sommes allées avec notre bande ordinaire à un concert pour entendre chanter Miss Thursby qui a une bien jolie voix. On voit très peu Monsieur Valera. maintenant car il est toujours souffrant. Mesia nous donne des petits soupers de temps en temps; pauvre bébé il [est] bien bon. Si vous pouvez seulement le voir dans sans costume de tennis comme il est drôle. Il a l'air tout a fait d'un petit garçon. Nous allons avoir un autre attaché à notre Legation. Il est marié. Il ne sont pas encore à Washington mais ils sont a New York. Nous allons aller pour cet été a New London tous ensemble. Cela sera bien plus amusant.

Au revoir chérie Amy. Amalia me charge de vous embrasser bien bien fort et moi je fais de même.

*Bien des choses à votre Bébé. Votre petite amie. Flora S. West.*

---

British Legation

8 May 1885

Dear Amy,

It is my turn to write you in response to your good long letter. Do you always amuse yourself enough in Boston? I had passed two days in Baltimore to see the Birmess. It was truly very nice; they had magnificent clothes, and if I had not had such tooth aches I would have had a lot of fun. Here it is always the same thing; we play tennis nearly every day with Mattie Mitchell, Mesia and Bouton de Rose who came back from New York mocking and more teasing than ever. He is no longer so nice with me, his stay in New York spoiled him!

Next Tuesday, we will have races for four days. Last Thursday we went with our usual band to a concert to hear Miss Thursby, who has a very pretty voice, sing. Monsieur Valera is seen very little now because he is always suffering. Mesia gives us little suppers from time to time; Poor Bébé, she is very good; if you could only see her in her tennis costume, how droll it is; she has the exact air of a little boy. We are going to have another attache in our Legation. He is married, they are not yet in Washington but they are in New York. We are going to go to New London together. That will be much more enjoyable.

Au revoir dear Amy. Amalia charges me to embrace you very, very strongly and I do the same.

*Good wishes to your Bébé. Your petite Amie. Flora S. West*

Letter to Miss Heard, 125 Marlborough Street, Boston,  
forwarded to Care of John Heard Esq., Ipswich, from Amalia West, British Legation

*A.W.*

British Legation  
Washington  
3 Juin 1885

Pas encore de réponse à ma lettre ma bonne Amy, je commence à croire que vous m'oubliez. J'espère que je me trompe.

Vous n'avez pas une idée combine je voudrais avoir une petite lettre de vous pour me montrer que vous pensez encore à votre petite amie. J'attribue ce long silence à ce que vous devez être bien occupée à faire vos préparatifs pour Mount Desert. Nous partirons pour New London à la fin du mois prochain et y resterons jusqu'à Octobre. Je vous écrirai très souvent une fois là bas mais à condition que vous en fassiez de même. Il y aura toute une "party" de diplomates, ce qui rendra notre séjour plus agréable. Tous les Struve s'en vont en Russie le mois prochain et mon fiancé s'en va aussi pour le mariage de sa soeur. Donnez mes meilleures amitiés à votre 2eme bébé. Comme je voudrais être à sa place pour deux minutes afin de vous embrasser.

Ecrivez moi bientôt ma bonne Amy. En attendant je vous embrasse de tout mon coeur.

Votre petite amie  
qui vous aime bien  
Amalia West

P.S. Vous m'excuserez je vous prie pour l'adresse qui est fort mal écrit et taché mais mon papier-buvard a raté son office.

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A.W.

British Legation  
Washington  
3 June 1885

Still no response to my letter, my good Amy, I am beginning to think that you forget me. I hope that I am wrong. You have no idea how much I would like to have a little letter from you to show me that you still think of your petite amie. I attribute this long silence to the fact that you are very occupied making your preparations for Mount Desert. We leave for New London at the end of next month and will stay there until October. I will write you very often once there but on the condition that you do the same. There will be quite a party of diplomats there which will render our stay more agreeable. All the Struves go away to Russia next month and my fiance goes also for the marriage of his sister. Give my best wishes to your 2nd bébé. How I wish to be in her place for two minutes in order to embrace you.

Write me soon my good Amy. In waiting I embrace with all my heart.

Your petite amie  
who loves you well  
Amalia West

P.S. You will excuse me please for the address which is very badly written and stained but my blotter failed to work.

**Notes:** Amalia never married the fiancé whom she refers to or anybody else.

### 13.3 1886

Letter to Miss Heard, 28 West 18th Street, NY,  
from Amalia West. dated 28 February 1886.

A.W.

British Legation  
Washington  
28 Février 1886.

Quel gentil petit mot Jolaille, que celui que [vous] avez mis dans la lettre de Flora. Au premier abord, elle ne l'avait ps vu, quand j'ai vu que vous lui écriviez une si longue lettre et que votre petite amie n'avait rien je me suis mes en colère contre vous en disant, que vous ne m'aimiez plus. Mais comme j'ai été vachée, lorsque Flora allait déchirer son enveloppe y a regardé et trouvé votre petit mot qui m'a fait tant de bien. Pourquoi Jolaille avez vous souligné "sans y penser"? Aurais je, sans le savoir, conquis un des ces coeurs masculins qui sont généralement si durs à vaincre?

S'il en est ainsi vous devriez m'avertir, j'aimerais savoir à qui ce coeur appartient! Mais comme je vous l'ai dit je ne le croirai jamais. Pauvre Jolaille, je suis bien peinée d'apprendre que vous êtes inquiète de votre Papa, Cuba lui fera du bien j'en suis sûre. La maison me parait si triste depuis que Papa et Victoria sont partis ils me manquent beaucoup et serai bien contente quand ils reviendront. L'autre soir Flora et moi sommes allées dîner chez Mmme Reutershiöld en famille. C'était bien gentil de sa part de nous inviter. Après le diner nous avons chanté tous les airs de la Mascotte avec Monsiuer Pedroso et Monsieur Reutershiöld. Malgré cela j'étais bien triste. Comme Victoria est heurese de vous avoir vu. C'est moi qui aurait bien vouler être à ca place!.

Au revoir ma  
Jolaille mille baisers  
de votre petite amie

Amalia West

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A.W.

British Legation  
Washington  
28 February 1886

What a nice little word, Jolaille, that which you put in the letter to Flora. At first she did not see it. When I saw that you wrote her such a nice long letter and that your petite

amie had nothing, I became angry with you, saying that you no longer loved me. How mad I was. Then Flora was going to tear up the envelope and found there your little word which made me all better. Why Jolaille have you underlined “without thinking of it.” Had I, without knowing it, conquered one of these masculine hearts which are generally so hard to vanquish?

If it is so you should warn me, I would love to know to whom this heart belongs! But as I told you I will never believe it. Poor Jolaille, I am very pained to learn that you are worried about your Papa, Cuba will do him good, I am sure of it. The house seems so sad since Papa and Victoria left. I miss them a great deal and would be well content when they return.

The other night Flora and I went to dine at the house of Mme Reutershiold. It was very nice on her part to invite us. After the dinner we sang all of the airs of the Mascotte with Monsieur Pedroso and Monsieur Reutershiold. In spite of that I was very sad. How happy Victoria is to have seen you. It is I who would have well wanted to be in her place!

Au revoir my Jolaille. A thousand kisses.

From your petite amie  
Amalia West

**Notes:** “Jolaille” like “gentaille” does not exist in any dictionary I have. There is a suffix -aille which adds a sense of multitude and a pejorative sense to words, e.g., mangeaille for a quantity of mediocre food; but this does not seem to fit the affectionate use of these words. Victoria later refers to her father as Jolaille. Perhaps these are home-made words based on “gentille” and “jolie.” La Mascotte is Gilbert and Sullivan’s *Sorcerer*.

Letter to Miss Heard, 18 Commonwealth Ave., Boston,  
from Amalia West, British Legation.  
Dated 6 March 1886.



British Legation  
Washington  
6 Mars 1886

Vilaine Jolaille que ne me répond jamais!  
Si je ne savais pas que vos yeux vous faisaient mal, je me facherais!  
Victoria et Papa sont enfin arrivés at Ottawa, après avoir été arrêtés en route à cause de la neige, le train ne pouvait plus avancer. D’après ses lettres elle a l’air de bien s’amuser.

C'est votre petite Malia qui voudrait être là bas!

C'est assomment d'être la troisième, mais d'un autre côté si je me l'étais, je ne servais pas votre préférée, et cela ne ferait jamais.

Nous allons nous lancer la semaine prochaine tous les soirs, depuis mercredi jusqu'à Samedi nous irons au théâtre voir "Judic". Il faut aussi que nous ayons un peu d'amusement. J'aime tellement être en l'air. Cette jeunesse comme vous l'appellez est frivole quelquefois, mais elle vous aime bien. Tout le monde a été très gentil à Boston pour Victoria je suppose qu'elle vous aura écrit toutes les nouvelles. Comment va votre Papa? Et vous ma bonne Jolaille comment cela va? Vous ennuyez vous beaucoup? Se je vous avez vous seriez bien gaïe car je ne vous permettrais pas d'être triste, à quoi cela sert? à rien du tout.

Malgré ce raisonnement je le suis presque toujours. belle avance, je n'ai personne pour me consoler! Ma Jolaille n'est pas là!

La vieille Endicott va bien, Flora est allée avec elle bien souvent aux bals et aux soirées. Mme Endicott n'est pas bien elle a mal à la gorge.

Les yeux de Mme Boumy sont à peu près la même chose, elle ne peut pas s'en servir.

Mille baisers de votre petite amie que vous aime.

Amalia

---

British Legation  
Washington  
6 March 1886

Villainous Jolaille who never replies! If I did not know that your eyes were bad, I would become angry! Victoria and Papa finally arrived in Ottawa, after having been stopped en route because of the snow, the train could advance no farther. After her letters she has the air of having a good time. It is your little Amalia who would like to be there! It is deathly boring to be the third, but on the other hand, if I were not that, I would not be your favorite, and that would never do. We are going to throw ourselves into every night next week, since Wednesday up to Saturday we are going to the theatre to see "Judic." It is also necessary for us to have a little amusement. I so love to be in the air. This youth as you call it is frivolous sometimes, but it loves you well. Everyone was very nice in Boston to Victoria. I suppose that she will have written you all the news. How is your Papa doing? And you my good Jolaille, how are you doing? Are you very bored? If I had you I would not permit you to be sad. What does that serve! Nothing at all. In spite of that reasoning, I am sad almost always. Good advance, I have no one to console me! My Jolaille is not there!

The old Endicott is doing well, Flora went with her very often to balls and soirees. Mme Endicott is not well, she has a sore throat. The eyes of Mme Boumy are about the same, she cannot use them.

A thousand kisses from your petite amie who loves you.

Amalia

**Notes:** Mme Endicott is Ellen Peabody Endicott, the wife of William Crowninshield Endicott and the mother of Amy and Victoria's mutual friend, Mary Crowninshield Endicott, who is described in Subsection 11.5.1

Judic was a popular actress who played with the Opéra-Bouffe company, the "long established darling of the boulevards." In the *Annals of the New York Stage* she is referred to as "perhaps the most artistic representative of the species ever seen in this country." She was "recognized by connoisseurs as a comedienne of the first rank. As the Herald repeatedly pointed out, she depended, not, like previous performers of this school, on winks and kicks and flirting of skirts, but on genuine comedy touches and sustained working out of character and situations." The *Annals* goes on to say that "On October 6th [1885] the new star made a big hit (at least with the discriminating) in *La Femme á Papa* ..."

Mrs. Henry Adams refers to her in a letter also containing a diatribe against Sara Bernhardt. She mentions Judic in "Femme á Papa" in a letter from Paris to her father on 28 December 1879. She describes her as "very good," but says that she had never seen a "draggier, sillier, longer dose of nonsense" than the play.

Madame Boumy is pictured with the West sisters in the photo shown earlier.

Letter to Miss Heard, 18 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, MA,  
from Amalia West in the British Legation

British Legation  
Washington  
9 Mars 1886

Ma Jolaille,

Comme je suis gentille, je vous écris bien souvent, bien souvent, et vous, vous ne m'écrivez plus du tout.

Nous avons reçu des nouvelles du Canada, où Victoria je vous assure s'amuse bien, elle est beaucoup fêtée et Lord et Lady Lansdowne sont très gentils pour elle.

Jolaille, est ce vrai que pauvre le perdre son père? J'ai lu cela dans les journaux d'aujourd'hui, Mon Dieux j'espère bien que ce n'est ps vrai!

Pauvre Dora Miller vient de perdre son père, que c'est donc triste la mort. Ne nous en allez pas Jolaille!

Demain soir nous commençons notre semaine de théâtre, je me rejouis d'avance. Nous commençons bien le Carême, mais vraiment il faut saisir l'occasion aux cheveux. Nous serons bonnes tout le reste du Carême. Votre bébé va-t-il bien?

Au revoir Jolaille. Je vous embrasse bien fort.

Votre petite amie.

Amalia West

British Legation  
Washington  
9 March 1886

My Jolaille,

How gentaille I am to write you so often, and you, you no longer write me at all. We have received news from Canada, where Victoria is having fun, I assure you, she is much feted and Lord and Lady Lansdowne are very good for her. Jolaille, is it true that poor Greger lost his father? I read that in today's paper, My God I hope that it is not true.

Poor Dora Miller just lost her father. How said death is. Don't you ever go away, Jolaille!

Tomorrow evening we begin our week of theatre, I am already rejoicing. We will begin Lent, but it is truly necessary to seize the occasion. We will be good for all the rest of Lent. Is your bébé well?

Au Revoire, Jolaille. Je vous embrasse bien fort.

Your petite amie,  
Amalia West

**Notes:** There was a Senator John Franklin Miller from California who died in 1886 (b. 1831); perhaps the father of Dora. Greger was a rich young secretary of the Russian legation according to Mary Alsop. Lord Lansdowne (Henry Charles Keith Petty-Fitzmaurice) had been Governor General of Canada since 1883, following long service in the British Government including the House of Lords, Lord of the Treasury under William Gladstone from 1869 to 1872, undersecretary of war from 1872 to 1874, and undersecretary of state for India in 1880. His wife was the former Lady Maud Evelyn Hamilton.

From Victoria to Miss Heard, 18 Commonwealth Ave., Boston,

Date is probably 11 March 1886 since the letter is dated Thursday and it was found with the Sunday 14 March 1886 letter.

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*Government House  
Ottawa*

Jeudi

Ma bien chère Amy,

J'ai une minute à moi ce matin, aussi je me dépêche de vous envoyer un mot, écrit avec une plume à oie, car nous sommes dans une maison Anglaise. Les Lansdownes sont tout ce qu'il y a de plus aimables pour nous; ils sont charmants. Les aides-de-camp aussi. Un d'eux a épousé une nièce de Lady L., Lady Florence Anson; elle est très jolie, mais très timide.

J'étais fameusement intimidée quand je suis arrivée; mais maintenant, je me sens plus "at home."

Nous avons eu un grand diner de 24 personnes hier au soir; nous aurons un grand bal ce soir un autre diner demain, "a tobagganing and skating party" Samedi; et je ne me rappelle plus le liste. Vous voyez qu'on rend bien soin de nous ici; c'est si distingué; le tout ensemble; cela vs ferait plaisir à vois, vous qui aimez les choses grandioses!

Je ne sais pas jusqu'à quand nous resterons, je pense que nous partirons Mercredi ou Jeudi.

Maintenant, j'ajouterai un mot sur ma visite à Boston. Tout la monde a été très amable; nous avons diné avec Mr Guild et les Minot; j'ai rencontré une masse de monde dont je ne me rappellerai jamais les noms; J'aurait bien aimé rester là plus long temps. Quel dommage que je n'ai pas pu voir votre frère; il est venu quand j'étais sortie; Max et moi avons échangé deux mots et un baiser. She is such a fine girl, et un tint ravissant. – Je ne sais pas si nous resterons plus d'une nuit à N.Y. à notre retour; je vs tiendrai au courant. Dites à votre frère combien je regrette ne pas l'avoir vu, j'aurais bien voulu voir votre Maman aussi.

Au revior ma chère; on m'appelle pour partir en vaisseau; je vs quitte à regret.

Votre amie  
Victoria

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*Government House  
Ottawa*

Thursday

My very dear Amy,

I have a minute to myself this morning, so I am hurrying to send you a word, written with a goose plume since we are in an English house. The Lansdownes are as friendly as could be for us; They are charming. The aides-de-camps also. One of them married a niece of Lady L., Lady Florence Anson; she is very pretty, but very timid.

I was famously intimidated when I arrived; but now I feel more “*at home*” We had a grand dinner with 24 people yesterday evening; we will have a grand ball this evening, another dinner tomorrow, “*a tobagganing and skating party*” Saturday; and I forget the rest. You see how they take great care of you here; everything is so distinguished; you would be pleased to see it, you who love grandiose things!

I do not know how long we will stay, I think that we leave Wednesday or Thursday.

Now I will add a word on my visit to Boston: everyone was very friendly; we dined with Mr. Guild and the Minots; I met a mass of people whose names I never remember; I would have well liked to stay there longer. what I pity that I was unable to see your brother; he was busy when I left; Max and I exchanged ten words and a kiss. She is such a *fine girl* and has ravishing color. -- I don't know if we will stay more than one night in N.Y. during our return; I will keep you current. Tell your brother how much I regret not having seen him; I would have well liked to see your mother also.

Au revoir, my dear. I am being called to go. I leave you with regret.

Your friend,  
Victoria

**Notes:**

Lord Lansdowne was the Governor General of Canada. Victoria went regularly in winters to visit them. They were well known for their love of sledding and tobagganing. In Victoria's “Book of Reminiscences,” which she wrote in 1922, she remembers one of her favorite games which Lady Lansdowne had taught her—rubbing her bare feet in the thick rugs and then lighting a gas burner with her nose or shocking others with her touch. The Minot family is mentioned in both Mrs. Henry Adams' letters and in Cleveland Amory's *The Proper Bostonians* [9]. Max is Amy's sister, Helen Maxima Heard.

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Letter to Amy Heard at 18 Commonwealth Ave., Boston,  
from Amalia West at the British Legation.  
Dated 14 March 1886.

A.W.

British Legation  
Washington  
14 Mars 1886

Ma Jolaille,

J'ai parfaitement compris ce que vous m'avez dit dans votre lettre à propos du genre masculin, mais cela je crois ne me fera pas changer d'idée. Je suis entêtée pour ce sujet là. C'est moi qui étais étonnée de voir que vous étiez à Boston!

Voilà qui est ennuyeux d'être malade!

C'est comme la malheureuse Victoria qui a été aussi malade au Canada et là bas la maison est pleine de jeunes gens le plus terrible de tout c'est qu'il y avait aussi Hardinge qui a toujours soin de lui dire quand elle est malade "Je suppose que vous ne sortirez pas du tout aujourd'hui avec un air de garde malade. Cela agace Victoria. Oh! Les femmes! Je suis bien contente que votre bébé ne sait pas ce que c'est d'être triste c'est bien heureuse pour elle! La maman ne peut pas en dire autant! Nous nous sommes bien amusées cette semaine. Judic est ci charmante et gracieuse. Toutes les pièces qu'elle a jouées sont très jolies et ses rôles lui sont bien. C'est dommage que tout soit fini le seul plaisir que nous avons eu on est de revoir Papa et Victoria et Monsieur Hardinge aussi, je l'aime bien, il est très gentil pour moi. Ils reviennent tous Mercredi, jour que j'attends avec impatience.

Au revoir Jollaille. Mille baisers de votre petite amie.

Amalia West

p.s. Comment va votre père? S'est-il remis de ses fatigues?

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British Legation  
Washington  
14 March 1886

My Jolaille,

I perfectly understood what you told me in your letter a propos the masculin gender, but I don't think that that will make me change my mind. I am stubborn on that subject. It is I who was astonished to see that you were in Boston! See who is said to be sick!

It is like the unhappy Victoria who was so sick in Canada and there the house is full of young men. The most terrible of all is that there was also Hardinge who always takes care to tell her when she is sick "I suppose that you will not leave at all today" with the air of a nurse. That irritates Victoria. Oh! Women! I am well content that your bébé does not know what it is to be sad. It is very happy for her! Her mother cannot tell her enough! We have had a good time this week. Judic is so charming and gracious. All of the plays that she has done are very pretty and her roles suit her well. It is a pity that all will be finished. The only pleasure that we had known is to receive Papa and Victoria and Monsieur Hardinge also. I love him well, he is so nice for me. They all return Wednesday, a day I await with impatience.

Au revoir Jolaille. A thousand kisses from your petite amie.

Amalia West

How is your father? Has he recovered from his fatigue?

**Notes:**

Charles Hardinge was on Sackville-West's staff as a junior legation secretary in Washington and was reputed to be madly in love with Victoria. He later became Lord Hardinge of Penshurst. His grandfather was Governor General of India and Field Marshall, his father was a member of Parliament. Charles was later the head of the Foreign Office during the reign of Edward VII.

Letter to Miss Heard, 18 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass,  
from Victoria West, Government House, Ottawa.

Dated 14 March 1886.

*Government House  
Ottawa*

Dimanche 14 Mars

Ma bien chère Amy,

Quel dommage que nous n'allons pas nous rencontrer à New York à mon passage! Cependant ce qui me console un peu est de penser que vous avez "a good time" à Boston.

Je regrette tellement que nous ne nous soyons pas rencontrés dans nos visites là; je vous ai déjà dis cela dans une lettre que j'ai envoyer à New York et que, j'espère, vous aurez reçu.

Dans cette lettre, je vous ai parlé de mes premières impressions qui ont été excellentes mais qui sont encore meilleures, car Lady Landsdowne est la bonté même, et son mmari est charmant ainsi que le reste du "household", comme on les appelle. Pendant notre visite, que nous terminons demain, cela n'a été qu'une succession de fêtes et de diners; cependant nous sommes beaucoup plus tranquils depuis le Mercredi des Cindres, car les Canadiens sont très strictes pendant le Carême.

Nous serons à Washington Mercredi soir, nous arretons à New Yourk pour passer la nuit de Mardi. Je suis bien fâchée d'avoir manqué Judic à Wash. Monsieur Roustan m'avait gardé une place dans sa loge pour chaque représentation; mes soeurs sont allées chaque soir; c'est du joli! Mai je n'ai rien dit, car les pauvres petites m'ont écrit qu'elles s/ennuyaient tout sans nous; il leur faut bien quelque distraction.

Je serai vraiment bien contente de les revoir, quoique je termine notre visite avec beaucoup de regrets, car tout le monde a été si gentil pour nous.

Vous auriez beaucoup aimé la fête de ??? de Samedi le 13, c'était tout à fait féerique.

Dites mille choses très aimable de ma part à Miss Minot et à mes amis de Boston, j'aimerais tant retourner parmi eux, et cela est vraiment sincère, car on a été si aimable pour moi pendant notre visite. Est-ce qu'ils ont trouvé agréable mon fidèle serviteur, Mr Hardinge? Il est aux anges ici, avec les vieux amis de collège, les aides-de-camp! Mon Jolaille est de très-bonne humeur, car on a bien traité sa Vicky!

Au revoir, ma chère Amy, mille amities à votre frère; croyez toujours à ma bien sincère affection.

Votre amie  
Victoria

*Government House  
Ottawa*

Sunday 14 March

My very dear Amy,

What a pity that we did not meet in New York during my passage! Nevertheless what consoles me a little is to think that you had "a good time" in Boston. I regret so that we did not meet during our visits there; I have already told you that in a letter that I sent to New York and that, I hope, you will have received.

In this letter, I told you of my first impressions which were excellent, but which are still better, because Lady Lansdowne is goodness itself, and her husband is charming as well as the rest of the “household” as they are called. During our visit, which we end tomorrow, it has been nothing but a succession of parties and dinners; nevertheless we are much more tranquil since Ash Wednesday because the Canadians are very strict during Lent. We will be in Washington Wednesday night, we stop in New York to spend Thursday night. I am quite angry to have missed Judic in Washington; Monsieur Roustan had saved me a place in his loge for each performance. My sisters went every night; isn’t that nice! But I did not say anything, because the poor little ones wrote me that they were sad without us; they have to have some distraction.

I will be truly well content to see them again, however I end our visit with many regrets, because everyone has been so nice to us.

You would have really loved the party of ?? of Saturday the 13th; it was truly a fantasy.

Give a thousand good wishes from me to Miss Minot and to my friends in Boston; I would like to return among them; and that is truly sincere, because they were so friendly to me during our visit. Did they find agreeable my faithful serviteur, Mr. Hardinge? He is with the angels here, with his old college friends, the aides-de-camp! My Jolaille is in very good humor, because everyone has well treated his Vicky!

Au Revoir, my dear Amy. A thousand good wishes to your brother; believe always in my very sincere affection.

Your friend,  
Victoria

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Letter to Miss Heard, Commonwealth Ave., Boston.

from Amalia

Dated 27 March 1886.



British Legation  
Washington  
Samedi Soir  
(27)

Ma Jolaille,

Voilà bien longtemps que je n'ai pas causé avec vous, on dirait que je deviens paresseuse! Mais cela n'est pas, j'attendais une lettre de vous tous ces jours-ci qui n'est pas venue à mon grand regret. Quand je vois votre écriture Jolaille, je suis bien heureuse, vos lettres sont toujours si gentilles.

Nous sommes de nouvelles tous ensemble, je suis joliment contente, je m'ennuyais à périr quand, tout notre monde était au Canada. Aujourd'hui, je suis gaie comme un pinson je ne sais pas ce qui va m'arriver mais c'est mauvais signe avec moi que cette gaieté folle. Tant pis j'en profite. Comment va votre petite santé Jolaille? Vous êtes vous amusée où vous restez?

Nous jouons tennis avec Bouton et Monsieur Hardinge toutes les fois que le temps nous le permet. Je m'en donne avec mon partner qui est comme de juste Mr. H. Tout nouveau tout beau! Terrible femme que je ferai si je continue!

Il est vrai qu'il est fort gentil pour moi et je ne sais pas pourquoi je ne lui rendrais pas la pareille. Ce soir Miss Meigs donne une partie de théâtre en l'honneur du Comte Leyden qui va partir pour Athens la semaine prochaine. Ses jeunes gens payent les loges et les jeunes filles le souper. Toutes ~~doivent~~ sont habillées soit en bleu ou en blanc les couleurs de la Bavière je crois. Chaque jeune fille lui a travaillé un petit ouvrage quelconque qui sera donné au souper. C'est assez gentil n'est-ce pas? Comte Sala s'est embarqué aujourd'hui pour l'Amérique de sorte qu'il sera ici bientôt. Je serai contente de le revoir. Avez vous lu dans les journaux que Secretary Manning est très malade et qu'on craint pour sa vie? Ne serait-ce pas terrible s'il venait à mourir? Toutes ces morts m'effrayent terriblement.

Demain soir nous avons 4 Anglais à dîner au grand ennui de Victoria je ne descendrai pas j'en suis pas fchée!

Mme Boumy a été voir Dr Loring l'autre jour qui lui a dit que ses yeux allaient beaucoup mieux. Pauvre femme, je suis contente pour elle car elle venait à ne plus voir que deviendrait elle? Elle a demandé de vos nouvelles je lui en ai donné avec plaisir ça me faisait du bien d'entendre votre nom. Votre père est-il remis de ses fatigues?

Jolaille, vous devez m'écrire maintenant et ne pas tardez à le faire. Flora Victoria vous envoient un bon baiser et Mme Boumy bien des choses. Le "Jolaille" qui est a coté de moi me charge to be remembered to you. il est toujours le même et me demande bien souvent si je reçois de vos nouvelles.

Je vous embrasse bien fort.

Votre petite amie  
Amalia West

British Legation  
 Washington  
 Saturday Night  
 (27)

My Jolaille,

Well, here it is a long time that I have not spoken with you, one might say that I am becoming lazy! but that is not it, I was waiting for a letter from you all these days which did not come to my great regret. When I see your handwriting, Jolaille, I am very happy, your letters are always so nice.

We are all newly together, I am extremely content, I was bored to death when everyone was in Canada. Today I am gay like a finch. I do not know what is going to happen to me, but this crazy gaiety is a bad sign with me. Too bad that I profit from it. How is your little health, Jolaille? Are you having fun or are you resting? We play tennis with Bouton and Monsieur Hardinge every time that the weather permits. I give myself some with my partner who is like the sharp Mr. H. *Tout nouveau, tout beau!* What a terrible woman I would be if I continue!

It is true that he is very nice for me and I do not know why I am not the same to him. This evening Miss Meigs is giving a theatre party in the honor of Count Leyden who is going to leave for Athens next week. His young men paid for the seats and the young women for the dinner. All were dressed either in blue or in white, the colors of Bavaria, I believe. Each young girl wrought some little work for him which was given at the supper. That is nice enough, is it not? Count Sala embarked for America today so that he will be here soon. I will be happy to see him again. Have you read in the papers that Secretary Manning is very sick and that they fear for his life? Won't it be terrible if he dies? All of these deaths frighten me terribly.

Tomorrow night we will have 4 Englishmen to dinner to the great worry of Victoria. I will not descend. I am not angry about it!

Madame Boumy saw Dr. Loring the other day who told her that her eyes were much better. Poor woman, I am happy for her because she was beginning to no longer see. What was becoming of her? She asked for news of you. I gave it to her with pleasure. It makes me feel good to hear your name. Has your father recovered from his fatigue?

Jolaille, you must write me now and not wait to do it. Flora and Victoria send you a big kiss and Madame Boumy good wishes. The "Jolaille" who is at my side charges me to be remembered to you. He is always the same and asks me very often if I receive news of you.

Je vous embrasse bien fort.

Your petite amie  
 Amalia West

**Notes:**

Miss Meigs may be a daughter of General Meigs of Washington. A daughter of General Meigs married Archibald Forbes, an English war correspondent who knew the Blaines and Oscar Wilde. Count Casimir von Leyden was a secretary in the German Legation who arrived in Washington in 1883. Daniel Manning (1831–1887) was the successor of S. J. Tilden as leader of the NY Democrats in 1877 and was instrumental in gaining Grover Cleveland the nomination for Governor of New York and U.S. President. He was appointed secretary of the treasury in 1885 and resigned in 1887, supposedly because of ill health. The real reason, however, was reputed to be Manning's continued friendship with Tilden, who was trying to be the power behind the throne.

Letter to Miss Heard  
from Victoria West, British Legation, Washington.  
Dated 31 March 1886.



Washington  
31 Mars 86

Ma bien chère Amy,

Je me hasarde à envoyer cette lettre chez Mrs Dorr, quoique j'ai bien peur que vous ne soyez plus chez elle; mais enfin, je pense qu'on va l'enverra.

J'ai été bien occupée depuis mon retour; je trouve toujours tant à faire à la maison. L'association reste beaucoup chez elle, mais je vois davantage nos amis; il y a encore pas mal de diners; on en a donné une masse au Comte Leyden.. Vous avez peut-être entendu parler du souper Meigs; toute la ville en parle, car la pauvre fille a eu la maladresse d'inviter 6 jeunes filles (dont une et Mme Cameron) et 6 Messieurs à un souper chez elle pour le Cte Leyden en les priant de payer chacun leur part. C'est maladroit, petit et commun, n'est-ce pas? J'étais de cette partie.

Le souper était très bon et très gai; au dessert, on a fait une distribution de cadeaux au Cte Leyden qui est devenu très nerveux et a failli en renverser la table. Nous avons fait chacun une petite ouvrage comme souvenir; le mien était une petite pelote en pluche rouge, avec ses initiales, sa couronne et la date brodée dessus.

Une autre chose dont on a beaucoup parlé st le bal poudré de charité que Mrs Whitney devait donner demain pour le Mi-Carême. Il paraît qu'elle était dans tous ses états

car personne de la bonne société ne voulait y aller; bien des personnes ne voulaient pas avoir l'ennui de se poudrer; les 5 dollars qu'on devait payer pour y aller passaient encore! Heureusement que la grand-mère de Mrs Whitney est morte hier, et qu'alors le bal n'aura pas lieu. J'en suis joliment content.

Nous avons eu un diner d'Anglais dimanche; parmi eux, un très jeune Lord Russell que vous verrez probablement à Boston, car il y va plus tard. Il était Samedi chez Mrs Loring qui était dans la fou de pouvoir le présenter à tout le monde, car vous connaissez sa manie.

Voilà quelques-une des nouvelles; je suis bien contente de celles que vous m'avez données de vous, et qu'on soit si gentil pour vous à Boston. Je sais par experience comment on peut y être aimable; vous pouvez dire et redire pour moi à mes amis de Boston combien je leur suis reconnaissante de tout ce qu'ils ont bien voulu faire pour vous. J'ai écrit à Miss Minot pour la féliciter; ce n'est pas le coutume en Angleterre d'envoyer des fleurs comme à Boston; je vous le dis de la part de Mr Hardinge, avec ses respectueux hommages.

Je viens de recevoir à l'instant un joli paravent que Lord Lansdowne vient de m'envoyer comme cadeau; c'est bien aimable à lui, n'est-ce pas? On peut y mettre 3 douz. de photographies. J'aimerais tant en avoir deux de vous, chère Amy.

Au revoir, ma chère et bonne amie; croyez toujours à ma très sérieux affection.

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Washington  
31 March 86

My very dear Amy,

I am taking the chance of sending this letter to the house of Mrs. Dorr, however I fear that you will no longer be staying with her; but I think that it will be sent to you.

I have been very occupied since my return; I find always everything to do at the house. Society remains at the house, but I am seeing more of our friends; there are yet enough dinners; a mass of them were given for Count Leyden. You have perhaps heard tell of the Meigs supper; the entire city is talking about it, since the poor girl made the blunder of inviting 6 young girls (of which one was Miss Cameron) and 6 young men to a supper at her house for Count Leyden and asked them to each pay for their part. It is maladroit, petty, and common, is it not? I was with this party. The supper was very good and very gay; at dessert a distribution of gifts was made to Count Leyden, who became very nervous and knocked over the table. We each made a little work as a souvenir; mine was a little red plush ball, with his initials, his crown, and the date embroidered on the outside.

Another thing which has been much talked about is the charity powdered ball that

Mrs. Whitney was supposed to give tomorrow for mid-lent. It seems that she is beside herself because no one in good Society wants to go; most people did not want the bother of powdering themselves; the 5 dollars that one had to pay to go was even more! Happily the grandmother of Mrs. Whitney died yesterday, and hence the ball will not take place. I am very content.

We had an English dinner Sunday; among them, a very young Lord Russell whom you will probably see in Boston, because he goes there later on. It was Saturday at Mrs. Loring's who was in the madness of power presenting him to everyone, because you know her mania.

There you have several bits of news; I am very content with those that you gave me, and that people are so nice to you in Boston. I know by experience how friendly they are there; you can say and resay for me to my friends in Boston how much I recognize all that they wanted to do for us. I wrote to Miss Minot to thank her; it is not the custom in England to send flowers as in Boston; I tell it to you on behalf of Mr. Hardinge, with his respectful compliments.

I just received this instant a lovely folding screen that Lord Lansdowne just sent me as a gift; it is very friendly of him, isn't it? One can put 3 dozen photographs in it. I would so love to have two of you, dear Amy.

Au revoir, my dear and good friend, believe always in my very serious affection.

Victoria

**Notes:** Miss Mary Cameron was the daughter of Lizzie Cameron, a niece of General Sherman and a good friend of Victoria's.

Flora Paine Whitney was the wife of William C. Whitney, the Secretary of the Navy under Grover Cleveland. He was on the cabinet with Secretary of State Thomas Francis Bayard and Secretary of War William Endicott. The Whitneys were reputed to be the most fun-loving of an otherwise conservative and sober administration. They were elegant and rich enough to entertain lavishly. She was supposed to have entertained over 60,000 people during her stay in Washington. She, along with M. Rouston, was later to be one of the few to see the Sackville-West's final departure from Washington following the Murchison affair.

Letter to Miss Heard, 18 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass,  
from Victoria.

The envelope is marked "urgent."

Dated 13 April 1886.



British Legation  
Washington  
13 Avril 86

Ma bien chère Amy,

Juste un mot pour vous demander un renseignement: ce serait de me faire savoir quand Miss Minot va se marier, si c'est vrai que ce sera la semaine de Pâques? Comme elle a été tout ce qu'il y a de plus aimable pour nos à Boston, et que je voudrais lui montrer d'une manière ou d'une autre combien j'ai apprécié sa bonté, j'ai pensé lui faire venir un éventail simple, de Paris, comme "wedding present". Donnez-moi votre avis là-dessus, chère amie; vous savez combien j'aime faire quelque chose d'aimable pour les gens qui ont été gentils pour moi.

Continuez-vous bien vous amuser? écrivez-moi ce que vous faites et quels sont vos projets.

Nous avons toujours l'idée d'aller en Europe au mois de Juillet; comme j'aimerais vous revoir avant notre départ!

Je viens de finir un livre qui peut-être vous amuserait: "nos grandes dames d'aujourd'hui"; cela parle des plus grandes dames chiques de Paris, la manière dont elles vivent, etc.; le tout ensemble est très distingué; cela va avec nos idées extravagantes; c'est si bon, le grand lux, n'est-ce pas? Nous nous entendons si bien là-dessus.

On me dit que le mariage de Miss Minot est plutôt un mariage de raison que d'indinclination; est-ce vrai?

Vous et moi ne voudrions pas nous marier ainsi! ...

Et peut-être ... peut-être que nous le ferons un jour!

Au revoir, ma bonne Amie; dites-moi que je vs demande pour le mariage et le petit cadeau.

Toujours votre toute dévouée  
Victoria

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British Legation  
Washington  
13 April 86

My very dear Amy,

Just a word to ask you for some information; it is to let me know when Miss Minot is going to be married, is it true that it is going to be Easter week? Since she has been as friendly as possible to us in Boston, and since I would like to show her in one manner or another how much I appreciate her good wishes, I thought to arrange for her to receive a simple fan, from Paris, as a “*wedding present*” Give me your opinion on it, dear friend; you know how much I love to do something nice for people who are nice to me.

Are you still having fun? Write me what you are doing and what are your projects. We still plan to go to Europe in July; how I would like to see you again before we leave!

I just finished a book which perhaps would amuse you: *Our Grand Ladies of Today*, it speaks of the grandest chic ladies of Paris, the manner in which they live, etc.; all together it is very distinguished; it goes with our extravagant ideas; it is so good, the grand luxury, isn't it? Underneath we understand it so well.

I am told that the marriage of Miss Minot is rather a marriage of reason than of inclination; is it true?

You and I would not like to marry so!...

And perhaps ... perhaps we will do it one day!

Au revoir, my good friend; tell me what I ask for the marriage and the little gift.

Always your devoted friend,

Victoria

The Misses West left Washington for England for the summer with their companion, Mademoiselle Louet. They returned to Washington in the early autumn.

## 13.4 1887

Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray,  
care of Mrs. Horace Gray, Nahant, Mass,  
from Amalia in Paris.

A.W.

Hotel de l'Empire  
7, rue Dannon  
Paris  
19 Juillet 1887

Voilà ma bonne Jolaille vos commissions de faites. tous vos gants sont achetés et j'espère qu'ils sont exactement tel que vous le désiriez. Votre lettre m'a fait bien plaicir

et je vous assure que vous êtes pour moi toujours ma Jolaille et pas autre chose. Je suis bien fâchée d'apprendre que vous n'aimez pas les bébés, mais quand on se marie il faut s'attendre à l'amour maternel viendra ça j'en suis sûre. Je ne puis m'imaginer ma bonne amie mère de famille, quand je pense à vous étant à la maison comme jeune fille cela m'est impossible de croire que vous ne l'êtes plus. et pourtant, je suis la première à trouver que pour vous la meilleure chose était de vous marier. Oui, ma bonne Jolaille c'est ce qui vous fallait, car vous n'étiez pas heureuse qui est la personne qui le sache mieux que moi. Je meurs d'envie de vous revoir, mais je suppose que cet hiver se passera sans vous avoir vue, c'est bien triste pour moi, qui vous aime tant. En fin, c'est un plaisir en vue pour plus tard. Depuis que nous sommes à Paris, nous avons eu pas mal d'amusements tous nos amis et amies sont si gentils. Au garden party de "Lord Lyons" notre ambassadeur ici. J'ai vu cette jolie fille dont vous avez le portrait, je crois que son nom est Mlle Marshall. Je ne sais pas comment cela s'écrit, mais en tout cas elle est bien jolie! Ce garden party était bien beau, c'était en l'honneur du jubili de la Reine, il faut dire aussi que la maison se prête si énormément à embellir n'importe quoi que se sont, c'est si beau et si grand. C'est moi qui voudrait voir un jardin comme celui d'ici, à Washington. Vous me souhaitez ma Jolaille, d'avoir un jour un bon marié comme le vôtre, mais moi aussi je le souhaite. Mais ils sont si rares, pour le moment il n'y a pas question de mariage pour votre petite Malia, tout ceux qui m'ont fait un bien de coeur cet hiver sont si pauvres, qu'ils ne peuvent se marier, et pourtant ils feraient de bien bons maris, enfin c'est que mon temps n'est pas encore venu il faut avoir de la patience dans ce monde mais vous pouvez être sûr que vous serez ma Jolaille la 1ere personne qui le saura, car à vous je vous dirai tout. Paris en ce moment est bien tranquille tout le monde est parti, nous n'avons pas l'intention d'aller nul part, il fait si frais ici, même un peu trop frais. Nous revenons à Londres le mois prochaine et le 19 Septembre nous nous embarquons pour l'Amérique. Papa devait venir avec nous au moins nous rejoindre, mais les fisheries et autre question l'ont empêché, le pauvre Jolaille a été désappointé il s'était mis dans la tête qu'il viendrait ce qu'il ce que est beaucoup pour lui, enfin l'année prochaine nous le ferons partir en même temps que nous, comme cela nous serons sûre de l'avoir. Quel nom donnerait vous au nouveau petit ou nouvelle petite arrivée? Comment va Max? Cela sera bientôt son tour de se marier. Voilà aussi son frère qui se marie, et quant à bien cet événement?

Et bien au revoir ma Jolaille. Je vous quitte car il faut que je sorte pour essayer mes robes, en voilà un ennui! Ecrivez-moi bientôt!

Mille baisers  
de votre petite Malia

qui vous aime

Bien de chose à votre mari

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Hotel de l'Empire  
7 rue Dannon  
Paris  
19 July 1887

Voila, my good Jolaille, your errands are done, all of your gloves are bought and I hope that they are all exactly what you desire. Your letter gave me much pleasure and I assure you that you are always my Jolaille and nothing else.

I am really angry to learn that you do not like babies, but when one marries it is necessary to wait for them and as you say maternal love will come, I am sure. I cannot imagine my good friend mother of a family, when I think of you being at the house as a young girl, it is for me impossible to believe that you are no longer there, and perhaps, I am the first to find that for you the best thing was to marry. Yes, my good Jolaille, you had to do it, because you were not happy. Who knows better than I. I am dying of longing to see you again, but I suppose that this winter will pass without having seen you, it is very sad for me, who loves you so. In the end, it is a pleasure postponed until later. Since we have been in Paris, we have had a not bad time, all of our friends are so nice. At a garden party of "Lord Lyons" our ambassador here, I saw this pretty girl whose portrait you have, I believe that her name is Miss Marshall. I do not know how that is written, but in any case she is very beautiful, it is in the honor of the Jubilee of the Queen. It is necessary to say also that the house encourages the embellishment of everything, it is so beautiful and so grand. It is I who would like to have a garden like the one here, in Washington. You must wish, my Jolaille, that one day I will have a good husband like yours, but I also wish it, but they are so rare, for the moment there is no question of marriage for your little Malia, all of those who have given me a bit of heart this winter are so poor that they cannot marry, and perhaps they would make good husbands. My time just has not yet come and I must have patience in the world. But you can be sure that you will be my Jolaille the first person who will know, because of us I will tell you everything. Paris at this moment is quite tranquil, everyone has left, we do not have the intention of going anywhere, it is quite cool here. Even a bit too cool. We return to London next month and on 19 September we embark again for America, Papa should have come with us or at least joined us, but the fisheries and another question prevent it. The poor Jolaille is disappointed. He got it into his head that he would be able to do what had become so important for him. Perhaps finally next year we will make him leave at the same time as us, like that we will be sure to have him. What name will you give to the new little boy or girl who is coming? How is Max? It will soon be her turn to marry. Voila also your brother who is marrying, and when does this event take place?

And well, au revoir my Jolaille, I leave you because I have to leave to try my dresses, and there, a worry! Write me soon!

A thousand kisses from your little Malia

who loves you

Good wishes to your husband.

**Notes:** Mrs. Horace Gray was Russell's mother, formerly Sarah Russell Gardner (1807–1893). Her sister, Elizabeth Pickering Gardner, married Horace's brother John Chipman Gray. Her nephew was John Lowell Gardner, whose wife was the noted "Mrs. Jack" Gardner or Isabella Stewart Gardner, the eccentric who collected art and founded the Gardner Museum in Boston[132]. Mrs. Jack was also a friend of Mrs. Henry Adams & visited the Heards in Washington.

The Jubilee is the celebration of the fiftieth year of Queen Victoria's reign. The Fisheries Question was a long standing dispute between Britain and America on the rights of U.S. fisherman to fish in Canadian waters. V.'s father had struggled with the issue for several years. It was finally resolved by treaty in 1887–1888. The British negotiator for that treaty was Joseph Chamberlain, who met Victoria's friend Mary Endicott during the negotiations and later married her. Lord Lyons had been the British abassador to France in 1886 when Victoria's father was appointed Secretary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the embassy. Miss Marshall is Geneviève Marshall.

Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray care of Mrs. Horace Gray, Nahant  
from Victoria West.

Forwarded to 39 Marlborough, Boston.

Hotel de l'Empire  
7 rue Dannon  
Paris  
28 Août

Ma bien chère Amy,

Je me demande bien souvent comment vous allez, car il y a longtemps que nous n'avons pas eu de vos chère nouvelles.

Vous serez étonnée de nous savoir encore; mais commes nous avons remis notre voyage au Amérique, nous en profitons pour rester à Paris un peu plus longtemps. J'ai fait votre commision de gants, et j'espère que vous en serez satisfaite, chère amie.

Vous n'avez pas une idée comme j'ai été désappointée quand j'ai su par Lady Darby, que le Minstre des Affaires Etrangères ne pouvait accorder à Papa son conjé; car il a dû être médiateur dans des conférences allemandes-américaines. Je n'ai pas voulu aller à Londres sans lui; même pour la Jubili, quoique ma cousine, Lady Galloway, nous avait invitée chez elle. Mais je vous assure que nous ne nous sommes pas ennuyées ici; tout le monde a été d'une amabilité extrême, surtout Lord Lyons et les jeunes gens de notre ambassade. J'ai vu une fois la belle Miss Marshall dont j'admiraient tant le photog. que vs aviez; elle était à la grande partie de jardin que Lord Lyons a donnée pour le jubilé. Je la trouve bien belle.

Je n'ai pas vu Mme Outrey; elle viendra ici probablement vers le 15 Septembre.

Vous serez amusée de savoir que Mr Valera que j'ai vu à Bruxelles et ici, m'a chargée des souvenirs les plus aimables pour "les yeux de velours"; il a toujours la plus profonde admirations pour vous, ma chère. C'est du folie! ... même maintenant que vs voilà femme mariée et presque mère de famille.

Comme j'aimerais jouer avec votre petit bébé qui, j'en suis sûre, sera charment; j'aime tout les bébés; et cependant je me sens de plus en plus éloigné du mariage! J'aime mieux rester avec mon Jolaille, que me manque énormément. Dire que'il y a environs un an, vs m'écriviez pour m'annoncer votre "engagement." Comme le temps passe.

Je ne vs raconte pas grand chose de ce que je fais; je laisse cela à Amalia; elle vs dira nos nombreuses parties de théâtre et pic-nics. Nous n'avons pas voulu aller dans aucun grand bal, sans avoir Papa avec nous, beaucoup de charmants petits diners ici. Nous nous embarquerons le 8 Octobre et nous serons à Londres le 15 Sept. Donc, chère amie, si vs avez encore d'autres commissions m'ne faire faire, je m'en charge et les ferai toujours avec beaucoup de plaisir.

Au revoir ma bonne et chère Amy. J'attendrai la grande nouvelle avec beaucoup d'interêt; je vous souhaite tout ce qu'on peut désirer en semblable occasion.

Miller baisers et amitiés de  
Votre amie  
Victoria

---

Hotel de l'Empire  
7 rue Dannon  
Paris  
28 August 1887

My very dear Amy,

I wonder often how you are doing, because it has been a long time since we have had your dear news.

You will be surprised to learn, but as we have accomplished our voyage in America, we are profiting from it by staying in Paris a short while longer. I have done your errands for gloves and I hope that you will be satisfied with them, dear friend.

You have no idea how disappointed I was when I learned from Lady Darby that the Minister of Foreign affairs could not give Papa his vacation because he had to be mediator at the German-American conferences. I did not want to go to London without him, even for the Jubilee; although my cousin, Lady Galloway, invited us to her home. But I assure you that we are not bored here; everyone has been extremely amiable, especially Lord Lyons and the young people of our embassy. I saw once the beautiful Miss Marshall whom I admire as much as the photograph of her that you have; she was at the grand garden party that Lord Lyons gave for the Jubilee. I find her very beautiful. I did not see Madame Outrey, she will come here probably towards the 15<sup>th</sup> of September.

You will be amused to know that Mr. Valera whom I saw in Brussels and here loaded me with the fondest memories for “the eyes of velvet”; he has always the profoundest admiration for you, my dear. Well! . . . even now that you are a married woman and almost the mother of a family. How I would like to play with your little baby who, I am sure, will be charming; I like babies enough; and nevertheless I feel further and further from marriage! I prefer to stay with my Jolaille, whom I miss enormously. To think that it is almost a year since you wrote me to announce your “engagement.” How the time passes!

I will not tell you of any great things that I am doing; I will leave that to Amalia; she will tell you of our numerous theatre parties and picnics. We did not want to go to any grand balls without having Papa with us. On the other hand, we have been to many charming small dinners, because we have not a few friends here. We will embark on 8 October, and we will be in London 15 September. Thus, dear friend, if you have still other errands for me to have done, I will do so with a great deal of pleasure.

Au revoir, my good and dear Amy. I will await the grand news with much interest. I wish you all that one can desire on such an occasion.

A thousand kisses and good wishes  
from  
your friend,  
Victoria

**Notes:**

Lady Darby is the Countess of Darby, Victoria’s aunt, Lionel Sackville-West’s sister, and daughter of the fifth Earl de la Warr. Lady Galloway is the Countess of Galloway. Madame Outrey was the “winsome” wife of the former French minister to the U.S.A. (Outrey was minister in Washington in 1882.) The baby to come is Horace Gray, born

11 October 1887. His namesake was either Amy's father-in-law or her brother-in-law, the U.S. Supreme Court Associate Justice and former Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court. Oddly enough, in another letter Justice Gray refused to be Godfather to his namesake. Valera was minister to Brussels in 1886–1887.

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Letter to Mrs. Russel Gray, 39 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass.,  
from Amalia West.  
Dated 21 October 1887.



British Legation  
Washington  
21st October 87

Eh! bien ma bonne Jolaille qui est ce qui vous arrive? Voila une éternité que je n'ai pas eu de vos nouvelles. Etes-vous souffrante? Est-ce que l'évenement a eu bien? Nous venons d'arriver d'Europe il y a quelques jour, depuis lundi soir après une assez bonne traversée. Nous nous sommes bien amusées en Europe et nous avons été presque tout le temps à Paris. Cependant je suis content d'être retour quoique je trouve une fière difference. Tout est si tranquille. J'ai vos gants, et quant vous les voudrez vous n'avez qu'à le dire et je vous les enverrai. J'espère qu'ils sont tel come vous les désirez. J'en rassorti la couleur aussi près que possible.

Il me darde d'avoir de vos nouvelles. We all are so anxious!

Pensez-vous venir à Washington cet hiver? J'espère que oui, il y a si longtemps que je ne vous ai vue! J'ai vu Madame Outr'e <sup>ou Outrey!</sup> à Paris cet été, elle m'a demandé de vos nouvelles. Sa fille est tout à fait jolie, Victoria me dit qu'elle me ressemble un peu, c'est flatteur n'est ce pas Jolaille?

Allons il faut que je vous quitte j'ai tellement à faire, mais je vous rëcrirai bientôt et plus longuement.

Mille amitiés de mes soeurs et mille baisers.

de votre petite Malia.

Quand est-ce que aurai-je une scène d'amour?  
J'en ai tellement besoin d'une!

---

British Legation  
Washington  
21 October 87

Well! My good Jolaille, what has happened to you? It is an eternity since I have had news of you. Are you suffering? Has the event taken place? We just arrived from Europe several days ago, since Monday night, after a good enough crossing. We had a good time in Europe and we were in Paris nearly all of the time. Nevertheless I am content to have returned however different I find things. All is so tranquil. I have your gloves, and when you want them you have only to say and I will send them to you. I hope that they are what you desire, I restocked the color as nearly as possible.

Your news is late. *We all are so anxious!*

Are you thinking of coming to Washington this winter? I hope yes, it is so long since I have seen you! I saw Madame Outrey in Paris this summer, she asked me about you. Her daughter is quite pretty. Victoria tells me that she resembles me a little, it is flattery, isn't it Jolaille?

I have to leave you now because I have so much to do, but I will write again soon at more length.

A thousand best wishes from my sisters and a thousand kisses from

your little Malia.

When will I have a love scene? I have so much need of one!

Letter to Amy from Victoria.

Dated 22 October 1887.

*There is a note in English in the upper left corner, likely written by Amy:*

*Do not  
return*

Washington  
22 Octobre 1887

Ma bien chère Amy,

J'ai appris seulement hier au soir la grande nouvelle! Ah! Comme je vous envie! Tut mes meilleurs souhaits et qu'une bonne fée répande ses dons à profusion sur le cher petit bébé.

Nous lui envoyons une petite couverture bien chaud qu'Amalia et moi nous lui avons fabriqué. Flora aussi lui envoie son cadeau.

Tout cela est bien modeste, mais nous espérons que ce sera utile.

Nous venons de revenir d'Europe, après une assez bonne traversée.

Je ne veux pas vous fatiguer par une longue lettre, chère amie.

Comme j'aimerais être auprès de vous!

Mille baisers pour vous et la petit bébé qui doit être si gentille,

Votre aimie sincere

Victoria

Samedi

J'espère que vos gants seront bien comme vs les désiriez.

*Now Lady Sackville-West  
Mother of the writer V.S.W.  
(Mrs. Harold Nickolson)*

*Do not  
return*

Washington  
22 October 1887

My very dear Amy,

I learned only yesterday the grand news! Ah! How I envy you! All my best wishes and may a good fairy shower his gifts in profusion on the dear little baby.

We are sending him a little coverlet that is very warm that Amalia and I made for him. Flora also is sending him his gift. All of that is very modest, but we hope that it will be useful.

We just returned from Europe, after a good enough crossing. I do not wish to fatigue you with a long letter, dear friend. How I would like to be close by you!

A thousand kisses for you and the little baby who must be so gentille.

*(The text is gentille with the "a" marked out.)*

Your sincere friend  
Victoria

Saturday

I hope that the gloves are as good as you hoped for.

**Note:** A note underneath Victoria's signature, likely written by Amy, reads: Now Lady Sackville-West, mother of the writer V.S.W. (Mrs. Harold Nicolson.)

Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray, 39 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass,  
from Victoria West in Washington.

12 November 1887.

12 Novembre

My bien chère Amy,

J'ai reçu avec beaucoup de plaisir votre petit mot au crayon. Nous sommes bien contentes que les petits cadeaux que nous vous avons envoyés vous aient plu. C'était pour tant si peu de choses! Mais s'ils peuvent être utiles, ils auront atteint leur but. C'est si gentil à vous, chère amie, de nous avoir écrit si tôt. C'est bien drôle de vous entendre parler de votre fils!

Je voudrais tant te voir car il doit être "gentille à Jolaille"! Hier matin j'ai été voir la petite fille de Mme de Reutershiöld. Elle est très mignonne, et j'ai joué avec elle. Du rest; vous savez combien j'aime les bébés. Je suis sûre que j'aimerais beaucoup le vôtre.

J'ai eu à faire ces dernières jours, pour préparer un e petite soirée dansante pour le jour de naissance de Flora. Enfin c'est passé! et bien passé! Elle a eu des masses de ravissantes fleurs et quelques cadeaux. Tous Jolies.

Je dis à Amalia de vous raconter la petite soirée et de vous parler de Miss Adèle Grant, qui est fort belle. Elle a la taille de Mrs Helyar.

Je crois que les "girls" ici ne sont pas très contentes de ce qu'elle vienne passer l'hiver à Washington.

Je n'est pas fait une note séparée de vos gants, mais je pourrais cependant le faire. Mais cependant, chère amie, comme je ne suis pa pressée pour le paiement, vous pourrez quand vous aurez un moment, les regarder et voir ce qu'ils coûtent car c'est toujours marqué dans les gants. J'espère qu'ils seront "satisfactory."

Je vois Miss Endicott assez souvent, car je la trouve charmante. Cette famille vous aime beacoup. Miss E. dinait avec nous hier au soir. Nous avons parlé de vous ensemble.

J'aimerais tant pouvoir aller à Boston cet hiver, si nous allons au Canada. Ce serait pour vous revoir, chère Amy, mai j'ai bien peur que ce ce cera si difficile, car le dernière

fois que nous l'avons fait nous avons eu masses de désagréments et Jolaille n'aime plus cette route. Mais espérons tout de même que je pourrai le convaincre car je vous assure que j'aimerais beaucoup revoir ma bonne amie.

Je vous quitte en vous embrassante. Le petit bébé aussi.

Votre Sincère Amie  
Victoria

Si vs entedez encore dire que je suis fiancée, n'en croyez rien.

---

12 November

My very dear Amy,

I received your little penciled note with a great deal of pleasure. We are very pleased that the little gifts that we sent pleased you. It was for such little things! But if they can be useful, they will have achieved their goal. It was so nice of you, dear friend, to write us so soon. It is really droll to hear you speak of your son! I would like so much to see him because he must be "gentaille a jolaille"! Yesterday morning I saw the little daughter of Mme de Reuterskiöld. She is very cute, and I played with her. Moreover, you know how much I love babies. I am sure that I would love yours.

I had much to do these last few days to prepare a little evening dance party for Flora's birthday. At last it happened! and happened well! She had a mass of ravishing flowers and several gifts, all pretty.

I am asking Amalia to tell you about the little party and to talk to you about Miss Adel Grant, who is very beautiful. She has the figure of Mrs. Helyar. I believe that the "girls" here are not pleased that she has come to spend the winter in Washington.

I did not make a separate note of your gloves, but could nevertheless do it. But nevertheless, dear friend, as I am not in a hurry for payment, you can do it when you have a moment to look at them to see what they cost because it is still marked in the gloves. I hope that they are "satisfactory"

I see Miss Endicott often enough, because I find her charming. This family loves you a great deal. Miss E. dined with us yesterday evening. We talked of you together.

I would so much like to go to Boston this winter if we go to Canada. It would be to see you again, dear Amy, but I am quite afraid that it will be so difficult, because the last time that we did it we had masses of difficulties and Jolaille no longer likes that route. But hope that all the same I will be able to convince him because I assure you that I would very much like to see again my good friend.

I leave you with an affectionate kiss, for the little baby also.

Your sincere friend  
Victoria

If you hear again that I am engaged, do not believe anything.

---

Letter to Amy from Amalia.



British Legation  
Washington  
12 Novembre 1887.

Ma bonne Jolaille,

Je suis si contente que vous avez aimé les petits cadeaux, vous n'avez pas une idée comme votre petit mot m'a fait plaisir. Il y avait si longtemps que je n'avais pas vu votre écriture. Hier, nous avons eu une petite soirée dansante for Flora's birthday, elle a 21 ans, et je vous prie de croire qu'elle en est fière, à propos de cette petite soirée, je voulais vous dire que Miss Endicott m'a dit qu'elle avait reçu quelques lignes de vous, et que vous alliez de mieux en mieux ce qui m'a fait plaisir.

Je meurs d'envie de voir Bébé, et l'idée que ma Jolaille est une maman me fait rire, je ne peux me représenter Jolaille avec un Bébé cela m'est impossible. Ah! Je serai joliment contente le jour que je vous reverrai il y a eu un ans le 4 Novembre que je vous ai dit adieu. Je me rappelle ce jour là si bien c'est comme si c'était hier. Je vous vois encoree entrer dans la voiture suivie de Mons. Gray qui nous enlevait bnotre bonne Jolaille, je ne l'aimais pas à ce moment là. Comme le temps passe vite, c'est incroyable! Le prochain événement sera Max qui se marira à son tour, et puis toute la famille sera casée.

Miss Endicott m'a dit que votre frère n'était pas encoree marié j'étais sure que cela avait eu lieu. Comment allez vous nommer bébé?

J'espère de tout coeur qu'il aura vos beaux yeux. Sala me le disait l'autre jour, et cela m'a fait penser à Mons. Valera qui disait toujours "ces beaux yeux dè velours." Son neveu Mesia est fou, on la ramenait de Chine avec la camisole de force. Voilà ce qu'on dit est-ce vrai, ou non c'est ce que je ne sais pas, mais je suis partée à le croire.

Au revoir ma bonne Jolaille bien des choses de ma part pour Mons. Gray et pour vous mille baisers.

Votre Petite Malia

qui vous aime

---

British Legation  
Washington  
12 November 1887.

My good Jolaille,

I am very pleased that you liked the little gifts, you have no idea how your little word gave me pleasure. It has been so long since I have seen your handwriting. Yesterday, we gave a little evening dancing party for Flora's birthday, she was 21, and I beg you to believe that she was proud. A propos this little soiree, I would like to tell you that Miss Endicott told me that she had received several lines from you, and that you were getting better and better, which made me happy.

I am dying of envy to see Baby, and the idea that my Jolaille is a Mama makes me laugh, I cannot picture Jolaille with a Baby, it is impossible. Ah! I will be incredibly happy the day I see you again. It was one year on November 4 since I told you goodbye. I remember that day so well, as if it were yesterday. I still see you entering into the carriage followed by Monsieur Gray who took our good Jolaille away from us, I did not like him at that moment. How the time passes quickly, it is incredible! The next event will be Max who will marry in her turn, and then all of the family will be broken. Miss Endicott told me that your brother was not yet married, I was certain that that had taken place. What are you going to name the baby? I hope with all my heart that he will have your beautiful eyes. Sala was telling me the other day, and that made me think of Monsieur Valera who always said "These beautiful eyes of velvet."

His nephew Mesia is crazy, he was brought back from China in a straight jacket. That is what is being said. I don't know if it is true or false, but I am inclined to believe it.

Au revoir my good Jolaille. Best wishes from us to Mr. Gray and for you a thousand kisses.

Your little Malia

who loves you

---

Letter to Amy from Amalia.

26 November 1887.

**Amalia**

*Amalia**BRITISH LEGATION*26 Novembre  
1887

My Jolaille,

Un petit mot puisque j'ai le temps. Je sais que vous en serez contente. Quant à moi, j'attends avec impatience le jour où vous pourrez m'écrire quelques lignes. J'ai causé longtemps l'autre soir avec Miss Endicott à propos de vous, et moi qui ne l'aimait pas dutout je l'aime beacucoup maintenant. J'en était si jalouse, c'était effrayant. La sison a deja commencé ici, nous sortons tos les soirs de cette semaine, des theater parties, des diners, une petite dance, et pour le boutquet une réception que nous donnons Samedi le 26 pour Chamberlain. Il est ici, et dine ce soir à la maison. Notre Jolaille st fort occupé et cela m'ennuie de le voir sortir tous les soirs à cause de tous ces vilains Irlandais qui détestent Chamberlain Je ne suis pas dutout rassurée. Comment allez vous Jolaille faites-vous des progrès? Et Monsieur Bébé? Comme je voudrais le voir, il doit être aussi Jolaille et gentaille. Dites moi s'il a vos yeux! Ces beaux yeux dès velours. Que pensez-vous du mariage de Suzanne Bancroft? Je crois que vous la connaissez? Elle s'est mariée en secret à jenuue homme de 21 ans. Mons. Carroll, unte très bonne famille de Baltimore. Cela a crée une sensation à Washington. Je ne vous dis que cela, on n'en a parlé, du reste c'était le sujet de conversation de tout le monde pendant toute une semaine. Elle a eu ce qu'elle voulait se faire parler d'elle. La Légation a été toute refaite cest été, c'est magnifique maintenant et votre chambre est remplie de robes de cartons etc. achats que nous avons faits à Paris.

Au revoir Jolaille

Je vous embrasse bien fort.

Votre petite Malia qui  
vous aime beaucoup

Mes scènes d'amour ou sont elles? Mons. Gray me les a prises.

British Legation  
26 November  
1887

My Jolaille,

A little word because I have the time. I know that you will be content with it. As for me, I wait with impatience the day when you can write me several lines. I chatted a long time the other evening with Miss Endicott a propos you, and I who did not like her at all. I like her a lot now. I was so jealous of her, it was frightening.

The season has already begun here, we go out every night this week, *theater parties*, dinners, a small dance, and for the bouquet a reception which we give Saturday the 26th for Chamberlain. He is here, and dines this evening at the house. Our Jolaille is very busy and that saddens me to see him leave every evening because of all these Irish villains who detest Chamberlain. I am not at all reassured. How are you doing Jolaille? Are you making progress? And Monsieur Baby? How I would like to see him, he should also be Jolaille and gentaille. Tell me if he has your eyes! These beautiful eyes of velvet. What do you think of the marriage of Suzanne Bancroft? I believe that you know her? She was married in secret to a young man of 21. Monsieur Carroll, a very good family of Baltimore. That caused a sensation in Washington. I tell you only what I have been told, the rest is the subject of everyone's conversation during the entire week. She has had what she wanted to be spoken of her.

The Legation has been completely redone this summer, it is magnificent now and your room is full of dresses of cartons etc. purchases that we made in Paris.

Au revoir Jolaille.

Je vous embrasse bien fort.

Your little Malia who  
loves you so much.

My love scenes, where are they? Mr. Gray took them from me.

Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray from Victoria West,  
postmarked 30 November 1887.

B.L.  
Mercredi



Merci beaucoup pr l'argent (9.78) que j'ai fait toucher à matin. Vous êtes toujours la bien venue pour toute espèce de commissions et je tâcherai toujours de les faire de mon mieux.

Je voudrais beaucoup beaucoup voir votre “Marc”. Celle de Mme de Reuterskiöld est tres “gentaille”, quoique pas jolie. Elle ressemble à sa mère! La pauvre femme a l’air assez malheureuse que Whitney la d’élaisse. Je trouve que c’est mal de flirter ainsi quand on est mariée, mais elle est tout de même à plaindre car on dit qu’elle l’aime vraiment. Aimez-vs toujours autant votre mari? On doit être bien heureuse dans son ménage quand on est très aimé

Ne croyez pas, chère aimie, que je sois fiancée sans que je vs le dise moi-même; ne ne l’ai jamais été!

Je reçois assez souvent des nouvelles des nouvelles de Mr. Hardinge. Mr H.B. vient de me dire qu’il a obtenu son divorce (gardez cela pour vous.) Je l’ai vu a Paris; il était toujours la même. Il paraît que jeun Tyson est fiancée depuis quelques jours à une très jeune et très jolie fille de Baltimore. Il ne me l’a pas dit, mais je crois que c’est vrai. Jesse Browne est toujours en Europe; son retour est incertain! . . .

Nous sommes très occupés en ce moment de Mr Chamberlain, à qui nous avons donné une grande reception Samedi dernière.

On dirais que la saison est commencée tellement il y a des diners. On a aussi organisé la “Dancing Class.” La première réunion a eu lieu chez Emily McLean (Beale) qui a une très belle installation.

Je vs quitte, chère Amy, pour aller au mariage d’une des Miss ???.

Les petits sont très occupés aujourd’hui avec une caisse de robes de Mme Laborde qui vient d’arriver; elles vous envoient mille baisers et vs écriront bientôt.

On parle encore beaucoup de Suzanne, personne n’a l’air de l’aimer et on ne sait pas si elle va venir ici cet hiver; il est question d’un voyage en France; irait-elle avoir son autre fiancé?

Au revoir, ma très chère amie

Votre affect Victoria

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B.L.  
Wednesday

My very dear Amy,

Thank you very much for the money (9.78) which I got this morning. You are always welcome to request any sort of errand and I will always try to give them my best efforts.

I would like very, very much to see your “Marc.” That of Madame de Reuterskiöld is very “gentaille,” however un-pretty. She resembles her mother! The poor woman has an unhappy enough air this year. It appears that Whitney has deserted her. I find that it is bad to flirt so when one is married, but she is all the same to be pitied because it is said

that she really loves him. Do you still love your husband as much? One should be very happy a home when one is well loved.

Do not believe, dear friend, that I am engaged without hearing it from me myself. I have never been!

I receive often enough news of Mr. Hardinge. Mr. H.B. just wrote me that he has obtained his divorce (keep that to yourself.) I saw him in Paris; he is always the same. It appears that young Tyson has been engaged for several days to a very young and very pretty young woman of Baltimore. He has not told me, but I believe that it is true. Jesse Brown is still in Europe; his return is uncertain!...

We are very busy this moment with Mr. Chamberlain, for whom we gave a grand reception last Saturday.

One would say that the season had begun there are so many dinners. Also a “*Dancing class*” has been organized; the precious gathering took place at the house of Emily McLean (Beale) who has a very beautiful installation.

I leave you, dear Amy, to go to the marriage of one of the Misses {?}

The little ones are very busy today with a chest of dresses from Madame Laborde which just arrived; they send you a thousand kisses and will write to you soon.

Suzanne is still talked about a great deal; no one seems to like her and no one knows if she is going to return here this winter; it is a question of a trip to France; is she going to see her other fiance again?

Au revoir, my very dear Amy.

Your affectionate Victoria

**Notes:** Emily Beale is often mentioned in the Adam’s letters and the Alsop book. She was a close friend of Lizzie Cameron. The dancing class that she organized is described in Alsop’s book (p.68). It was to teach the Washington men the latest steps. It took place in the legation ballroom or in the Whitney ballroom or the McLean ballroom and became a Washington institution. Jesse Brown is referred to by Alsop as an old suitor of Victoria’s.

The word “marc” is an old unit for measuring gold and silver, when the context suggests a word for boy, baby, or infant. So I suspect I am misreading it, it is some invented word like “gentaille,” or a combination of the two.

Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray, 39 Marlborough, Boston,  
from Victoria West.

Dated 22 December 1887.



Washington  
22 December

Ma bien chère Amy,

Mille bons souhaits pour Noël et la nouvelle année de la part de votre sincère amie.

Euillez faire tous mes compliments à votre frère à propos de son mariage; il a choisi une charmante femme et elle m' beacoup plu l'amie quand elle était ici à l'époque de votre mariage. Je regrette encore aujourd'hui que je n'ai pu assister à cette cérémonie. Et j'aimerais tellement voir votre "gentaille Marc". Boston est si loin, chère Amy. Mrs Cameron pense aller à Boston au commencement de Janvier; je lui donnerai mille commissions pour vous. Elle est si jolie cette année avec ses cheveux coupés courts et tout frisés!

J'ai eu beacucoup à faire dernièrement, car nous avons beaucoup reçu en l'honneur de Mr chamberlain et de la "Fisheries Commission", ce qu ne nou empêchera pas d'avoir un bal le 4 janvier! Ah! Ma chère, comme cela m'ennuie, de donner un bal! ...J'aime bien mieux passer ma soirée avec mon vieux Jolaille que j'aime toujours la même chose et avec qui je fais des scènes d'amour.

Mr Chamberlain a fait une excellente impression sur les Washingtoniens; il a beacoup de tact et de charmantes manières.

Il est à Ottawa en ce moment, mais il reviendra bientôt. Et la corvée recomencera pour moi.

Veillez dire bien des choses de ma part à Mrs Lan??? (Grace Minot) et à votre mère.

Il n'y a rien de vouveau dans mes petites affaires personnelles. J'ai de temps en temps de bonnes nouvelles de Mr H, qui est encore à Sofia. Il me dit que sa vie y est bien triste.

Mon Jolaille qui me voit vs écrire à son bureau, me ??? de ne pas l'oublier auprès d'Amy. Qu'est-ce que votre Mari di de cette familiarité.

Au revoir, ma très-chère.

Je suis toujours votre amie.

Victoria

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Washington  
22 December

My very dear Amy,

A thousand good wishes for Christmas and the new year from your sincere friend.

Please give all my compiments to your brother a propos his marriage; he has chosen a charming woman and she was very friendly to me when she was here for your marriage.

I still regret today that I could not attend that ceremony. And I would so like to see your “gentaille husband.” Boston is so far away, dear Amy. Mrs. Cameron is thinking of going to Boston at the beginning of January; I will give her a thousand errands for you. She is so pretty this friend with her hair cut short and all frizzy.

I had a lot to do finally, because he has a great deal of tact and charming manners. He is in Ottawa at this moment, but he will return soon. And the drudgery will begin again for me.

Please give my regards to Mrs. Lan?? (Grace Minot) and to your M.

There is nothing new in my little personal affairs. From time to time I get news of Mr. H, who is still in Sofia. He tells me that his life there is quite sad.

My Jolaille who sees me writing you at his desk asks me to not forget him to Amy. What does your husband say of this familiarity?

Au revoir, my very dear. Always your friend.

Victoria

*Note:* I have not been able to find anything out about Grace Minot except that there is a picture of her in the Mrs Henry Adams photograph archive at the Massachusetts Historical society. In her *Letters*, Clover Adams mentions the Minot family but does not provide any specifics.

Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray, 39 Marlborough,  
from Victoria.  
Dated 26 December 1887



Monday

Chère Amy

Merci mille fois pour la jolie “Xmas card”; cela nous a fait bien plaisir.

J’ai eu des masses de jolis cadeaux, surtout de Mrs Hitt qui m’a donné un encrier et un “sealing-set” en argent. J’ai eu 32 cadeaux! C’est tout comme si je me mariais! Nous avons pass’e un bon Noël.

Je suis occupée à finir les invitations du bal, mais je ne voulais pas laisser passer la journée sans vous envoyer quelques lignes pour vous dire combien nous avons trouvé jolis les 3 petites têtes d’anges.

Samedi, Mr de Lavenörn (l'ami de Mme d R) a ue une espèce de tombala où on gagnait de jolis objets; tos ceux qui y étaient invités devaient apporter quelque chose. Cela s'est fort bien passé et a été très amusant.

Au revoir, ma bonne amie. Je suis contente que votre soeur vienne, mais j'aimerais bien mieux que vous veniez aussi.

Parle moi un peu du mariage de votre frère. Je suppose que les jeunes gens étaient et sont fort épris.

Mille baisers et remerciements de nous trois.

Votre amie  
Victoria

J'embrasse les petits mains du Mioche

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Monday

Dear Amy

Thank you very much for the pretty "Xmas card"; we liked it very much.

I had masses of pretty presents, especially from Mrs. Hitt who gave me an ink bottle and a silver "sealing-set". I received 32 presents! It was as if I were getting married! We had a good Christmas.

I am busy finishing the invitations for the ball, but I did not want to let the day pass without sending you several lines to tell you how beautiful we found the three little angel's heads.

Saturday, Mr. de Lavenorn (the friend of Madame de R) had a sort of tombala where one won pretty objects; all who were invited brought something. It went very well and was a very amusing evening.

Au revoir, my dear Amy, I am happy that your sister is coming, but I would like it much better if you were coming also. Tell me a little of your brother's marriage. I suppose that the young people were and are quite infatuated.

A thousand kisses and thanks from us three.

Your friend  
Victoria

Kiss the little hands of Mioche for me.

**Notes:**

Mrs. Hitt may be Mrs. Robert Roberts Hitt of Illinois. He was the Secretary of the U.S. Legation in Paris in 1877, the Assistant Secretary of State before 1881 (a Blaine appointee),

and a member of congress from 1882–1892. In Henry Adams's eye he was "rich, but socially of little use." de Lævenörn was the Danish Minister.

## 13.5 1888

Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray, 39 Marlborough St., Boston,  
from Victoria.

Postmarked 23 January 1888.

*Victoria*

*BRITISH LEGATION*

Lundi

Ma bien chère Amy,

Je viens de me faire faire quelques photos et quoique j'en ai promis des masses, je vous en envoie deux pour faire votre choix; Vous seriez bien tentille de me renvoyer celle que vous ne garderez pas; j'en ai tout à donner que je ne peux vous en offrir qu'une, et de bon coeur. Vous êtes la première servie. Je n'ai pas été très bien depuis notre bal qui a bien réussi, aussi n'ai-je pu que dîner en fille, et s'occuper peu de Max. Je vais la voir aujourd'hui et lui demander de me venir un jour pour que je puisse lui donner un petit lunch en son honneur. Elle est si gentille. Je m'oublierai jamais la charmante manière dont elle m'a aidée à mettre mes overshoes l'autre soir chez un de ces "lively receptions" des Loring. Là, j'ai pu eu le plaisir d'entendre parler de vous par Mr Arthur Rotch qui m'a paru charmant garçon, fort sympathique. Je l'ai chargé de vous dire bien des choses. Miss Gray que j'ai été vu ??? m'a aussi donnée de vos nouvelles, et du petit bébé, que j'aimerais tant voir; j'aurais voulu faire le voyage de Boston rien que pour faire sa connaissance; quel dommage que votre maison ne soit pas encore meublée et que je ne puisse pas vous faire une petite visite.

Voyez comme je vous parle franchement chère amie, mais vous ne vous en fâchez pas, dites?

Vous me demandez si quelqu'un fait la cour à Mary Endicott. Mr Chamberlain est extrêmement assidu auprès d'elle; mais Miss E. ne veut pas qu'on en parle. Quel sera le résultat de cette flirtation? Quien sabe?

Le pauvre Walter King a été fort malade et près de mourir; mais je ne crois pas que Mary ni lui était épris l'un de l'autre.

Mme Cameron a-t-elle eu du succès? C'est dommage qu'elle flirte tant avec Cte Sala! Je ne l'ai pas vue depuis son retour. Moi je ne flirte avec personne; Roustan me supplie toujours de l'épouser, mais je lui ai déclaré que jamais je ne me marierai avec lui.

Mr. Jesse Brown est malade à Paris; on ne me taquine plus à son sujet, mais on m'a bien taquiné au sujet de Mr Rotch parceque nous avon parlé deux soirs de suite ensemble. On est si bête a Washington! On en a dit qu'il est très flirte. Moi, je ne m'en suis pas percu, car nous avons causé sur toutes sortes de sujets. Comme je vs dis, je l'ai trouvé extrêmement sympathique. Vous plait-il? Il parait beacucoup aimer votre mari. Je vs en prie, chère Amy n'en soufflez un mot à personne, car on fait des montagnes d'un rien.

Vous me connaissez trop bien pour savior que je ne suis pas flirte, mais comme il a de la fortune et qu'il ne m'a pas quittée deux soirs de suite, vs comprenez comme les gossips on marcher leur train; autant plus que l'on disait que Miss Grant faisait énormément de frais pour lui. Elle est ravissante.

Répondez-moi bientôt au sujet des photos; j'espère qu vs en aimerez une.

Les Reuterskiöld sont nommés à Constantinople. On ne sait pas encore qui les remplacera.

Je m'occuperai de Max ce soir au german, dont le monde la trouve très gentille.

Avec mille baisers ??? les petits, je suis toujours

Votre amie devouée  
Victporia

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Monday

My very dear Amy,

I have just made several photos for myself. Although I had promised many, I am sending you two to make your choice; it would be very kind of you to return to me the one that you do not keep; I have so many to give that I can only offer you one, and that willingly. You are the first served. I have not been very well since our ball, which was a great success. Also I have been unable to dine in town and spend time with Max. I am going to see her today and ask her to fix a day when I can give her a little lunch in her honor. She is so nice. I will never forget the charming way in which she helped me put on my overshoes the other night at one of these "*lively receptions*" at the Lorings. There I had the pleasure of hearing you mentioned by Mr. Arthur Rotch, who seemed to me to be a charming boy, very nice. I charged him to give my best regards to you. Miss Gray, whom I had seen, also gave me news of you and of little baby, whom I would like to see; I would like to make the voyage to Boston just to meet him; what a pity that your home is not yet furnished and that I cannot visit you. You see how I speak frankly to you, dear friend, but it does not make you angry, does it?

You asked me if someone is courting Mary Endicott. Mr. Chamberlain is extremely attentive close by her, but Miss E. does not want anybody to know about it. What will be the result of this flirtation? Who knows?

Poor Walter King has been very sick and near death; but I do not believe that either he or Mary is in love with the other.

Has Madame Cameron been successful? It is a pity that she flirts with Cte Sala! I have not seen her since her return. Me, I do not flirt with anyone; Roustan begs me always to marry him, but I have declared to him that I would never marry him.

Mr. Jesse Brown is sick in Paris; I am no longer teased about him; but I am much teased about Mr. Rotch because we talked two nights in a row. People are so stupid in Washington! I am told that he is quite a flirt; I did not see it, because we chatted about all kinds of subjects. As I told you, I found him very nice. Do you like him? He seems to like your husband a great deal. I beg you, Amy, to not breath a word to anyone because people make mountains out of nothing! You know me well enough to know that I am not a flirt; but because he is rich and did not leave me for two nights in a row, you understand how gossip spreads, all the more because Miss Grant was making a great effort to please him. She is ravishing.

Write me soon on the subject of the photos; I hope that you will like one.

The Reuterskiölds were named to Constantinople. We do not yet know who will replace them.

I will spend this evening with Max tonight at the german. Everyone finds it very nice.

With a thousand kisses for the little ones.

Your devoted friend,  
Victoria

### Notes:

Arthur Rotch was born in Boston in 1850 and died in Beverly in 1894. He was an Architect and a descendent of seventeenth century whaling merchants. He graduated Harvard in 1871; studied architecture at M.I.T. and at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. He was a benefactor of the achitectural departments at Harvard and M.I.T. The Rotch family and the Gray family would connect years later, the mother of my cousin Francis Calley Gray (his great-great-great-grandfather is my great-great-grandfather) was a Rotch and he has served on the board of directors of the Rotch House in New Bedford, a house occupied for a time by the whaling ancestors of the family.

In the book *Mrs. Jack* there is a reference to the marriage in 1896 of one of Mrs. Jack's admirers, Ralph Curtis, to to a beautiful young widow, Mrs. Arthur Rotch, whose first husband had died after only a year of marriage, leaving her a fortune. She was Lisa Colt, heiress to a firearms fortune of her own. She was said to have been the recipient of much attention from Edward, Prince of Wales, in 1895. In the small world department, Edward's

long term and semi-official mistress, Alice Keppel, was the mother of Violet Keppel, who would have a torrid affair with Victoria's daughter Vita that would become the subject of Nigel Nicolson's book *Portrait of a Marriage*[99].

The "bachelor's german" was an elaborate cotillion in which men and ladies alternated choosing partners, giving a favor to their choice.

Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray from Amalia.

British Legation  
Washington  
29 Janvier 1888.

Ma bonne Jolaille,

Je n'ai pas encore répondu à votre lettre du 16 qui m'annoncé une si grande nouvelle, ne ne l'ai dit à personne pas même à mes soeurs elles n'en savent absolument rien. Quand est-ce que pensez vous venir? Comme je serai heureuse et contente de vous revoir de vous embrasser encore une fois! Je n'ose ye penser il me semble que c'est trop de bonheur pour que cela arrive. Max vient nous voir souvent, elle est bien gentille plus je vois plus je m'attache à elle.

Nous faisons tout ce que nous pouvons pour elle, mais n'est-ce pas ennuyeux, nous voilà en deuil pour 15 jours. Une de nos tantes est morte mais une tante par alliance. Elle aurait pu attendre presque à la fin de la saison. Cette mort a dérangé tous nos plans. Nous avons un gentil petit déjeuner, donné en l'honneur de Max, qui nous a fallu remttre, mais pour réparer notre désappointement au lieu d'un déjeuner nous avons un tant petit diner Mercredi auquel Max viendra.

Nous restons encore tranquilles pendant toute cette semaine et nous reparaissions dans le monde lundi le 6. Je n'en suis pas fâchée surtout que nous connaissions fort peu cette tante. Hier après midi nous avons Max en traineau, il fait un temps admirable pour cela, mais un froid qui vous pénètre jusque dans la moëlle des os. Je crois qu'elle s'est bien amusée. Dans le monde, à vous dire vrai je crains qu'elle ne s'amuse pas beaucoup, les hommes cette année à Washington sont si peu aimables qu'il nous est difficile même pour nous d'avoir un good time. Ils sont tous terriblement gatis par ces bêtes de filles qui leur courent après cependant chez Mme B. Davis Mardi dernier elle s'est bien amusée, c'était un gentille petite danse auquel très peu de monde y était invité. "Very select and quite right too." Les James sont de bien braves gens si distingués. La plus jeune des filles est bien jolie! J'attends une visite de Max cette après midi, je vais lui faire un petit cadeau. L'autre jour chez les Endicott elle avait une superbe boucle en grenat, que votre frère a

désignée lui même, elle m'a dit qu'elle adoré cette pierre, pour lui faire plaisir je vais lui donner un petit bracelet de même qui ira fort bien avec sa boucle. N'ayez pas peur Jolaille quoique j'aime beaucoup. Max, ce n'est bien à comparer avec vous. Si j'étais un homme et avec la façon dont je vous aime on dirait que je suis "in love". Gare à Mons. Gray! Un grand secret Jolaille. Je crois Chamberlain fort pincé de Miss Endicott, il ne la quitte pas d'une semelle dans le monde, quant il n'est pas avec elle, il est distrait, ennuyeux comme tout pour la personne qui lui parle en un mot, il est tant à fait épris, surtout ne dites rien car je ne voudra pas que cela se repète. Je ne sais pas si elle est épris.

Je ne la comprends pas Mary dutout même. Les noms de mes deux flirts sont: Commandant Lottin le français, et l'american Lieut. Babcock. Ils sont tous deux bien gentils.

Au revoir ma Jolaille à bientôt

Je vous embrasse de tout mon coeur

Votre petite Amalia

qui vous aime

Excusez ce papier mal coupé.

Max est venu déjeuner ce matin avec nous, elle prie de vous embrasser de sa part ce que je fais de grand coeur.

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British Legation  
Washington  
29 January 1888.

My dear Jolaille,

I have not yet responded to your letter of the 16, which announced such great news, I have not told anyone not even my sisters. They know absolutely nothing. When do you think you are coming? How happy and content I will be to see you again, to embrace you once more! I dare not think of it, it seems to me to be too much happiness for that to happen. Max comes to visit us often, she is very nice. The more I see her the more attached to her I become.

We do all that we can for her, but isn't it tiresome, us being in mourning for 15 days. One of our aunts died, but an aunt by marriage. She could have waited until the end of the season. This death has upset all of our plans. We were having a nice breakfast in Max's honor, which we had to put off, but to repair our disappointment in place of a breakfast we are having a little dinner Wednesday to which Max is coming. We remain tranquil during this week and we reappear in the world Monday the sixth. I am not angry about it above all because we hardly knew this aunt. Yesterday afternoon we even had Max for a

sleigh ride, it was admirable weather for that, but a cold which penetrated to the marrow. I believe that she had a good time. In the world, to tell you truly, I fear that she is not very happy, the men this year in Washington are so little likeable that it is difficult even for us to have a good time. They are all terribly spoiled by these stupid girls who chase them. Nevertheless at the house of Mme. B. Davis last Tuesday she had a good time, it was a nice little dance to which very few were invited, “very select and quite right too!” The James, all good people and so distinguished. The youngest daughter is very pretty! I am waiting for a visit from Max this afternoon, I am going to give her a little gift. The other day at the Endicotts she had a superb garnet buckle, which your brother himself had designed. She told me that she adored this stone. In order to make her happy I am going to give her a little bracelet of the same stone which will go very well with her buckle. Have no fear Jollaile, however much I love Max, it is nothing compared with you. If I were a man and with the fashion which I love you, one would say that I am “in love.” Mr. Gray beware! A grand secret Jolaille, I believe that Chamberlain is quite stricken with Miss Endicott, he does not leave her for a second in public. When he is not with her, he is distracted, boring as everything for the person who says a word to him, he is completely in love. Above all don’t say anything because I would not like that to be repeated. I do not know if she is in love. I do not understand Mary, not at all. The names of my two flirts are: Commandant Lottin the Frenchman and the American Lieutenant Babcock. They are both very nice.

Au revoir my Jolaille, a bientot.

Je vous ebrasse de tout mon coeur

Your little Amalia  
who loves you

Pardon this poorly cut paper.

Max had breakfast with us this morning. She asked me to kiss you for her, which I do happily.

**Notes:** Major Lottin was the Military Attaché to the French Ministry in 1997.

Letter to Amy from Amalia.  
Postmarked 20 February 1888.

Hotel Britanique  
Cannes

Ma bonne Amy,

j'étais si contente de reevoir de vos nouvelles et de voir que vous allez beaucoup mieux, maintenant en voilà pour quelque temps j'espère. Vous allez reprendre toutes vos forces et vous serez plus forte que jamais!

Je m'amuse beaucoup à Cannes, je n'aurais jamais pensé que je m'y serais tellement amusé, tout le monde est charmant pour moi. Je sors énormément et je viens d'avoir eu un succès énorme dans une petite comédie française qu'on a jouée chez une dame ici, si je croyais tout ce qu'on me dit je serais joliment orgueilleuse!

Je rejou la comédie le 23 de ce mois et encore plus tard pendant le Carême. Flora va dix fois mieux et peut même sortir dans le monde le soir elle me mène dans les bals et les soirées, c'est si drôle d'être chaperonné par elle.

Je vois rarement les Outrey, Madame est à Paris suprès de sa mère qui est fort malade. Adeline va beaucoup dans le monde mais sans vouloir vous faire de la peine, je vous dis tout franchement que je ne l'aime pas elle fait trop d'embarras une vraie petite Américaine dans un genre, du reste je crois qu'elle ne ni a pas eu odeur de sainteté. Monsieur Outrey est charmant c'est lui qui j'aime le mieux. C'est tout une autre vie que celle que je mène ici, mon entourage a gagné au change, j'ai beaucoup d'amies les jeune filles sont si gentilles pour moi.

Victoria marche aussi de sont coté, je ne suis jamais avec elle. Je vous dirais en secret que maintenant je me suis fait une règle de ne jamais aller dans le monde avec elle, car j'ai toujours remarqué qu'en étant avec elle je ne m'amuserais jamais. Ce n'est pas histoire de jalousie mais c'est histoire de ne pas s'entêter comme une crouûte de pain derrière une malle. Quand je suis seule cela marche beaucoup mieux, donc, je vis avec Flora et je sors avec elle de notre coté.

Il y a un monde fou ici, le 14 il y a la bataille des fleurs, il parait que cela est très jolie je me réjouis d'avance, ne ne sais pas si j'y prendrai part en tous cas je la verrai.

Il y a beaucoup de bals et de soirées mais pas de diners, du moins on m'invite rarement. Pourvu que je danse c'est ce qu'il me faut et ça j'en ai assez.

Nous allons à Nice pour deux bals le 14 et le 1er Mars. à vrai dire je n'ai pas une minute à moi. Nous avons un temps splendide. Voilà 3 semaines que le soleil s'est montre tous les jours, c'est un climate superbe.

Je connais presque tout le monde, mais ce qui m'ennuit le plus est que les français font bande à part ainsi que les Anglais c'est si sot je trouve! Votre villa Alabama existe encore. Je ne sais pas qui est ce qui l'habite. Le 28 de ce mois je vis à un bal costumé. Je serai en bergèr de Wathau. Cela m'ira je crois, et Flora en "Folie". à propos de Flora, ce n'est pas ce que je pensais. Je m'étais trompée quoiqu'elle en avait tous les symptômes. J'ai reçu une longue lettre de Max qu a l'air d s'amuser elle était encore à la campagne. Il parait que Washington est très gai que Miss Leiter est la belle et que Barclay notre nouveau secrétaire flirte avec elle. Est-ce vrai de "l'engagement" de Willie Endicott?

On fête sa soeur en Angleterre on l'aime beaucoup.

Au revoir ma bonne Jolaille. Je vous quitte pour aujourd'hui en vous embrassant bien

fort. Amitiés à votre mari.

Votre petite amie qui vs. aime.

Malia

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Hotel Britanique  
Cannes

My dear Amy,

I was so pleased to receive your news and to see that you are much better now and will be for some time I hope. You are going to regain all of your strength and you will be stronger than ever. I am having a wonderful time in Cannes. I never would have thought that I would be so happy there, everyone is charming for me. I go out a great deal and I just had an enormous success in a little French play that was put on in some woman's house here. If I believed everything people told me I would be wonderfully proud! I replay the play on the 23rd of this month and again later during Lent. Flora is ten times better and can even go out. Each night she takes me to balls and soirees, it is so *drole* to be chaperoned by her. I rarely see the Outreys, Madame is in Paris close to her mother who is quite sick. Adeleline goes out a great deal, but without wanting to cause you pain I tell you quite frankly that I do not like her. She does too many embarrassing things, a true little American of the genre. What's more I believe that she does not live like a saint.

Monsieur Outrey is charming, it is he whom I love the best. It is a completely different life that I lead here, my entourage has gained much from the change, I have many friends. The young women are so nice to me. Victoria is also well in her way; I am never with her. I will tell you a secret that now I have made a rule for myself to never go out with her, because I have always noticed that when I am with her I never have any fun. It is not a story of jealousy but it is a history of not tormenting myself like a crust of bread under a hammer. When I am alone it goes much better, thus, I live with Flora and I go out with her in her way.

It is a crazy world here, the 14th there is a battle of flowers, it appears that it is very pretty and I am already happy. I do not know if I will take part, but in any case I will see it. There are many balls and soirees, but no dinners, at least I am invited rarely provided that I dance. That is what is required and what I have had enough of.

We are going to Nice the 14th for two balls. And the first of March I truly will not have one minute to myself. We have splendid weather, for 3 weeks it has been sunny every day! It is a superb climate.

I know almost everybody, but what bores me the most is that the French keep to themselves as well as the English. I find that so stupid! Your villa Alabama still exists. I

do not know who lives there. The 28th of this month I am going to a costume ball. I will be a shepherd of Watteau. That will do me, I think, and Flora in "Folie." A propos Flora, it is not what I thought. I was fooling myself however much she had the symptoms.

I received a long letter from Max who seems to be amusing herself. She is still in the country. It appears that Washington is very gay, that Miss Leiter is the belle, and that Barclay our new Secretary flirts with her. Is it true the "engagement" of Willie Endicott? His sister was feted in England, she is much loved.

Au revoir my dear Jolaille. I leave you for today with all my love. Good wishes to your husband.

Your petite amie who loves you.

Malia

**Notes:**

Miss Leiter is Mary Victoria Leiter, who later married George Nathaniel Curzon, the future Viceroy of India, and became Baroness Curzon of Kedleston. Her biography may be found in *Famous American Belles of the Nineteenth Century* [105] and in *Lady Curzon*[98]. Her father was Mr. Levi Z. Leiter, who aquired a great fortune in the dry goods business. The Leiter family moved to Washington in 1881. They lived for several years in the house on Dupont Circle that James G. Blaine had lived in.

Letter to Amy from Amalia.

British Legation  
19th March 1888



Ma bonne Jolaille,

Qu'est-ce que vous devez penser de moi? Je vous avais promis de vous écrire le plus tôt possible et je ne l'ai pas encore fait, vous m'excuserez du reste vous avez vu Victoria pas mal à Boston, elle est revenue enchantée de sa visite et de son cottage à Beverly, ce nom ne me plait pas énormément. Je n'aime pas l'idée d'y passer l'été, mais enfin du moment que Papa est content c'est tout ce qu'il faut, et puis nous faisons les deux, L'Europe et Beverly.

Je me console en pensant aux deux mois que je passerai à Paris. Papa en revenant m'a parlé de vous, et quant à Victoria ce n'était "Comme il est gentille le bébé d'Amy!" toute la journée. Elle me dit que la maison est si jolie si confortable. En un mot elle nous en a peint un charmant tableau.

Voulez-vous dire a Max que j’attends une réponse à ma dernière lettre, et embrasse la bien pour moi! Quel ouragan nous avons eu ici! Comme je me suis donc ennuyée pendant trois jours, pas moyen de sortir pas de lettres, de journaux enfin nous étions en prison et vous savez que cela ne me convient pas du tout, il me faut de la vie autour de moi et il n’y avait pas un chat dans les rues.

C’était une ville morte. Victoria n’a pu revenir avant Vendredi soir elle était “snowed up” in New York, Papa était content tant de chose l’attendaient ici! Imaginez vous la Baronne de Rosen qui va avoir un Bébé, elle a pris du temps. C’est tranquille ici c’est horrible le monde semble dormir, ils sont assommant. Max et mieux. Où elle est elle s’amuserait ici j’en suis sûre.

Au revoir ma bonne Jolaille Mille baisers de votre petite amie

Amalia

Ecrivez bientôt n’est-ce pas?

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British Legation  
19th March 1888

My dear Jolaille,

What must you think of me? I promised you to write as soon as possible and I have not yet done it, please excuse me. Moreover you saw Victoria recently in Boston. She returned enchanted with her visit and with her cottage in Beverly, this name does not please me enormously. I do not like the idea of spending the summer there. But in the end if Papa is content it is exactly what is necessary, and we will do them both, Europe and Beverly.

I console myself a little thinking of the two months that I will spend in Paris. On returning Papa spoke to me about you, and as for Victoria, it was “How gentaille he is, Amy’s baby!” all day.

She tells me that the house is so pretty and so comfortable. In a word she painted for us a charming tableau.

Would you tell Max that I am waiting for a response to my last letter, and kiss her for me! What a hurricane we had here! How I was bored for three days, no means of leaving, no letters or newspapers. We were imprisoned, and you know that that does not suit me at all. I need life around me and there was not a cat in the street. It was a dead city.

Victoria could not return before Friday night. She was “snowed up” in New York. Papa was content, enough things awaited him here! Imagine the Baroness de Rosen who is going to have a baby; she took her time. It is tranquil here. It is horrible, the world

seems to sleep, they are boring. Max is better. Wherever she is she has fun. Here I am sure of it.

Au revoir my dear Jolaille. A thousand kisses from your petite amie.

Amalia

Write soon, yes?

### 13.5.1 Lise Rosen

La Baronne Rosen was the wife of Baron Rosen, born Elizabeth Alexievna Odinzow. Information from the Isabella Gardner Museum <sup>1</sup> shows that she was a good friend of Isabella and Jack Gardner, giving her a Russian Easter egg pendant which is now in possession of the museum. The Museum web page says the following about the Rosens and the pendant:

These pendants were given to Isabella by Baron Roman Romanovich Rosen, a diplomat for the Russian Empire, and his wife Elizabeth. The Bolshevik Revolution forced the Rosens to flee Russia in 1917. The pendants were most likely an Easter gift— perhaps as a celebration of the Rosens’ own “rebirth” after settling in America and starting a new chapter in their lives.

Provenance:

Gift from the Russian diplomat Baron Roman Romanovich Rosen (1847-1921) and Baroness Elizabeth Rosen (Elizabeth Alexievna Odinzow, a bout 1865-1956) to Isabella Stewart Gardner by 1921.

Lise Rosen (*Lise* is a nickname for *Elizabeth*) was one of Amy’s correspondents, writing from *Beach Hill* in Prides Crossing, Beverly, Massachusetts — a summer cottage owned and frequented by Isabella and Jack Gardner. <sup>2</sup>

Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray from Victoria West,  
9 April 1888

*Victoria*

*BRITISH LEGATION*

<sup>1</sup><https://www.gardnermuseum.org/experience/collection/11585>

<sup>2</sup><https://www.gardnermuseum.org/experience/collection/11552>

Lundi

Ma bien chère Amy,

J'ai reçu ce matin votre petit mot, et je ferai vos commissions avec le plus grand soin. Dites à Mrs Amory que je serai enchantée de la voir ici.

J'ai une grande nouvelle à vs dire, ma bonne amie. Flora est vraiment fiancé à Mr. Salanson et le mariage se fera à Paris au mois de juin; naturellement sans grande cérémonie, puisqu'il vient de perdre sa mère.

Elle vs écrit un mot à ce sujet. Vous pensez ce que nous avons à faire et à écrire avant notre départ. L'engagement sera annoncée aujourd'hui; vous êtes, comme de juste, une des premières à le savoir. Flora a l'air enchanté.

Dites la à votre maman dans votre prochaine lettre.

C'est toujours la même chose, vous le savez bien, avec le bel Arthur. Je l'ai vu il ya une quinzaine, car il a passé pour Washn pour aller en Floride. Il n'y a rien ma chère. Je trouve que c'est déjà bien assez qu'une se marie; moi je reste avec mon Jolaille.

Au revoir, chère amie. Nous nous embarquerons le 21 du mois.

C'est donc aurevoir. Donnez moi de vos nouvelles à Paris.

Nous vous revenons à Nahant, j'espère.

Toujours votre amie

Victoria

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 Monday

My very dear Amy

I received your brief note this morning, and I will run your errands with the greatest care. Tell Mrs. Amory that I will be enchanted to see her here.

I have great news to give you, my dear friend. Flora is truly engaged to Mr. Salanson and the marriage will take place in Paris in June; naturally without a large ceremony, because he just lost his mother. She is writing you a note about it. Think of what we have to do and write before our departure. The engagement will be announced today; you are, justly, one of the first to know it. Flora seems enchanted. Tell your mother in your next letter.

It is always the same thing, as you well know, with the beautiful Arthur. I say him a fortnight ago, because he passed through Washington on his way to Florida. There is

nothing my dear. I find that it is already quite enough that one gets married; me, I will remain with my Jolaille.

Au revoir, dear friend.

We are embarking on the 21st of the month.

It is therefore goodbye. Send me your news in Paris.

We will see you again in Nahant, I hope.

Always your friend,  
Victoria

Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray from Flora West,  
9 April 1888.

9 Avril

Chère Amy,

Il faut bien que je vous annonce moi même la bonne nouvelle. Je me marie cet été avec un diplomate français Monsieur Salanson. Je suis sûre que vous serez contente n'est ce pas? Je me marie à Paris, mais très tranquillement, car comme vous savez il vient de perdre sa mère, et cela aura lieu en Juin.

Ecrivez moi bien vite pour me dire ce que vous en pensez. Je suis très heureuse.

Mille baisers  
Flora S. West

P.S. Excusez la demie feuille mais j'ai tellement de lettre à écrire.

9 April

Dear Amy.

I have to tell you the good news myself. I am getting married this summer to a French diplomat, Monsieur Salanson. I am sure that you will be pleased, yes? I am getting married in Paris, but very quietly, since as you know he just lost his mother, and that will happen in June.

Write me soon to tell me what you think. I am very happy.

A thousand kisses,  
Flora S. West

P.S. Forgive the tiny note, but I have so many letters to write.

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Letter to Jane Heard from Victoria. Sent care of Mrs Russell Gray, 39 Marlborough Street, Boston, Mass from the British Legation in Washington

British Legation  
11 Avril 1888



Bien Chère Mrs Heard,

Notre courrier vous rapportera votre broche lundi, et si vous avez quelques commissions à lui donner pour moi, n'hésitez pas à le faire.

J'avais écrit à Amy que je me faisais le plaisir de lui offrir les quelques paires de gants qui sont venus dernièrement pour vous comme un petit cadeau pour Pâques. J'espère bien que vous ne me ferez la peine de me les refuser.

Je regrette tant que ma chère Amy soit partie. Si, au moins, je pouvais espérer qu'elle reviendrait bientôt!

On l'aime tellement à Washington; moi je me mets en tête, et je vous assure que je serai toujours une amie bien dévoué à votre fille.

Avec mille bonnes amitiés, Croyez-moi aussi, Votre petite amie

V.S. West

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British Legation  
11 April 1888



My dear Mrs Heard,

Our courier will bring back your broche Monday, and if you have anything to give him for me, don't hesitate to do so.

I had written to Amy that I would give myself the pleasure of offering her the several pairs of gloves which came lately for you as a little gift for Easter. I hope that you will not refuse them.

I very much regret that my dear Amy has left. If only I could hope that she would return soon! People in Washington love her so; I am at the front of the line, and I assure you that I will always be a devoted friend to your daughter.

With great friendship, believe me also, your petite amie.

V.S. West

Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray from Amalia.

*Amalia*

*BRITISH LEGATION*

19 Avril 1888

Ma Jolaille,

Quelques lignes avant que je quitte Washington, pour vous dire au revoir. Vous ne m'avez jamais répondu à ma dernière lettre et si je ne savais pas que vous étiez encore souffrante je me serais fâchée. Nous partons demain après midi et Samedi matin nous nous embarquons à une heure. Pensez à nous ma Jolaille quand nous serons sur l'eau.

Je ne puis m'imaginer que Flora va se marier, comme elle va me manquer, moi qui a toujours été élevée avec elle. Elle a déjà pas mal de cadeaux mas c'est à Paris qu'elle en aura.

Je suis plus excitée qu'elle et il faut voir quand des paquets arrivent. L'autre jour en défaisant une boîte je me suis cassée 2 ongles, imaginez vous que c'était une boîte clouée et que je l'ai défait avec mes mains tant j'étais pressée de voir ce qu'il y avait dedans. Je vous écrirai en arrivant à Paris et je vous donnerai toutes les nouvelles au sujet de Flora.

Au revoir ma Jolaille. Je suis très pressée. Mille baisers de votre petite Amalia.

Kind regards to Mr. Gray.

19 April 1888

My Jolaille,

A few lines before I leave Washington, to tell you Au Revoir. You never responded to my last letter and if I did not know that you were still suffering I would be angry. We leave tomorrow afternoon and Saturday morning we embark at one o'clock. Think of us my Jolaille when we are on the water. I cannot imagine that Flora is going to be married, how I am going to miss her, I who was always raised with her.

She already has quite a few presents, but it is in Paris that she will have them. I am more excited than she is and it is necessary to see them when the packages arrive. The other day when undoing a box I broke two fingernails, imagine that it was a nailed box and that I was in such a hurry to see what was within that I undid it with my hands. I will write you when we arrive in Paris and I will give you all of the news on Flora.

Au revoir my Jolaille. I am very rushed. A thousand kisses from

your little Amalia

Kind regards to Mr. Gray.

Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray from Amalia,  
forwarded to Bar Harbor, Maine,  
care of Miss Bowles.

Beverly,  
Cove Hill  
18th July 1888

Ma bonne Jolaille,

Je sais que ne n'ai pas été gentille en ne vous écrivant pas pour vous donner tous les détails du mariage de Flora, mais si vous saviez comme j'ai été malade vous ne diriez rien. C'était bien mon intention de vous écrire, et de vous donner tous les détails mais je n'en ai vraiment pas pu le faire. Flora s'est mariée le 18 Juin à la Chapelle des Passionistes Avenue Hoche la cérémonie était bien simple à cause que Mons. Salanson était en deuil, personne a été invité excepté la famille. Quant aux lettres de faire part, Jolaille, nous en avons envoyé seulement qu'en France pour faire plaisir aux Salanson, n'étant pas la mode anglaise d'en envoyer nous ne l'avons pas fait ainsi, Jolaille, ne pensez plus que c'était un oubli. Le jeune couple pour leur lune de miel sont allés en Suisse où ils n'ont pas fait

long feu car Flora était un peu souffrante et de trimbaler d'hôtel en hôtel l'a fatigué trop ils sont donc rester juste quinze jours. Y'en étais bien contente car je croyais bien ne pas la revoir avant notre départ, elle est revenue juste trois jours avant cela fait que je l'ai vue installée dans sa maison, j'ai arrangé son salon avec elle et je me suis embarqué le 7 Juillet le coeur content de l'avoir revue.

Elle doit être en ce moment à la campagne à Villers-Cotterets. Son beau père à une maison de campagne et c'est là qu'elle passera l'été. Ensuite elle restera l'hiver à Paris et au mois d'avril prochaine je m'en vais la rejoindre et rester jusqu'au mois d'Octobre. Elle était si jolie le jour de son mariage. Sa robe était très simple mais si jolie, elle était en peau de soie (un nouveau genre de faille) et tulle avec des bouquets de fleurs d'oranger. Son beau-père lui a donné pour cadeau une enarine étoile en diamants et le jour de son mariage elle retenait son voile. Nous n'étions pas demoiselle d'honneur à cause du deuil ma robe était bien simple, et elle de Victoria aussi.

Nous voici à Beverly depuis Lundi soir, nous sommes arrivées à New Yourk Dimanche matin après une traversée assez désagréable pourtant je n'ai pas été malade.

Je crois bien que j'irai à Nahant vous voir! et je serai bien contente de vous revoir.

Beverly est bien joli et notre petit cottage tout en étant petit est fort joli et la vue est superbe. Nous dominons la mer c'est bien joli, nous resterons ici jusqu'au mois d'Octobre de là nous rentrerons à Washington.

Victoria vous explique tout de sujet de vos laines j'espère que vous en serez contente. Je me suis bien seul sans Flora et j'ai eu tant de chagrin quand je m'en suis séjournée qu'après j'ai été malade pendant près d'une semaine cela fait que mon séjour a Paris n'a pas été assez agréable qu'il aurait dû.

Ne soyez plus fâchée, Jolaille. Je suis pardonnée, n'est ce pas? Je vous écrirai souvent maintenant et je vous raconterai toutes les nouvelles. Pauvre Jolaille encore souffrante, je vous plains, voilà ce que c'est que de se marier cependant c'est bien bon d'avoir un bon mari qui vous aime.

Au revoir ma bonne Jolaille.

Je vous embrasse bien fort.

Votre petite amie qui vous aime]]  
Amalia

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Beverly,  
Cove Hill  
18th July 1888

My dear Jolaille,

I know that I have not been nice in not writing you to give you all the details of Flora's Marriage, but if you know how sick I had been you would say nothing. It was truly my intention to write you and to give you all of the details but I was truly unable to do it. Flora was married the 18th of June at the Chapel of the Passionists on Avenue Hoche. The ceremony was quite simple because Mons. Salanson was in mourning, no one was invited except the family. As for the announcement letters, Jollaile, we sent them only in France to give pleasure to the Salansons, it not being English custom to send them. That was why we did not do it Jolaille, think no longer that it was something forgotten. For their honeymoon the young couple went to Switzerland where they did not stay long because Flora was suffering a little and to cart around from hotel to hotel tired her too much. Hence they stayed only fifteen days. I was quite contented since I had believed that I would not see her before our departure, she returned just three days before, with the result that I saw her installed in her house. I arranged her living room with her and I embarked the 7th of July, my heart contented at having seen her again.

She should be at this moment in the country at Villers-Cotterets. Her father-in-law has a country house and it is there that she will spend the summer. Afterwards, she will stay the winter in Paris and next April I will join her there and stay with her until October. She was so pretty the day of her marriage. Her dress was very simple but very pretty, she was *at peace* with herself (a new genre of fault) and dressed with bouquets of orange flowers. Her father-in-law gave her as a gift an enormous star of diamonds and the day of her marriage she wore her veil. We were not maids of honor because of the mourning. My robe was very simple and that of Victoria also.

We have been here in Beverly since Monday night, we arrived from New York on Sunday morning after a rather disagreeable voyage, even if I had not been sick. I do believe that I will go to Nahant to see you! And I will be quite happy to see you again.

Beverly is quite pretty and our little cottage even being so small is very pretty and the view is superb. We look over the ocean. It is very pretty, we stay here until the month of October and after we return to Washington. Victoria will explain to you everything regarding your woolens. I hope that you will be content with them. I am really alone without Flora and I was so sad when I was separated from her that after I was sick for nearly a week my sojourn in Paris was not so agreeable as it should have been.

Don't be angry any longer, Jolaille. I am pardoned, am I not? I will write you often now and I will tell you all of the news. Poor Jolaille still suffering, I am complaining to you, voila, that is what it is to marry. Nevertheless it is very good to have a good husband who loves you.

Au revoir my good Jolaille. Je vous embrasse bien fort.

Your little friend who loves you  
Amalia

---

Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray from Victoria,  
forwarded to Bar Harbor.  
Postmarked 19 July 1888.  
Hence likely Wednesday, 18 July 1888.

Cove Hill  
Beverly Mass.

Mercredi

Ma bien chère Amy,

J'ai votre laine et j'espère que les nuances sont bien rassorties. Je ne peux pas vs dire combien il nous a été difficile de trouver les laines!! L'adresse de la dame que vs m'avez donnée a été inutile. J'ai dû aller dans plusieurs magasins qui en ont envoyé toute espèce de couleurs accepté celles que je voulais. Les laines ne sont pas encore déballées car nous venons d'arriver. Je vous les envoi immédiatement, et je vous prie de les accepter comme un petit cadeau; c'est un bagatelle. J'ai plusieurs choses pour votre Maman, entr'autres une pendule qui est lourde. Où est votre frère à présent? Je ne sais pas où lui envoyer ses affaires.

Beverly a l'air si joli et si tranquille. C'est bien agréable ce tranquillité après le bruit de Paris et de Londres. Le lendemain du mariage de Flora, je suis partie immédiatement pour Londres où je suis restée jusqu'à mon départ chez ma sousine, Lady Galloway.. Je suis beaucoup allée dans le monde; j'ai déjeuné et diné en ville tous les jours except deux fois; une de ces fois, c'était parceque Lady Galloway donnait un grand diner en l'honneur du duc d'Aumale. Vous comprenez si j'ai besoin de repos!

J'ai peur que Amalia ne s'amusera pas beaucoup ici; et cependant nous avons déjà des invitations!

Amalia vs donnera les nouvelles de la petite marieée! Elle a l'air très heureux; on la gâte beaucoup chez les Salansons. Son mari est si épris d'elle!

J'espère que votre mari et votre gentaille marc son bien. Et vous-même, ma bonne amie!

Jolaille me demande à qui j'écris; je liu dis que c'est à vous. Alors de suite: "Dis bien des choses à Amy! de ma part".

Au revoir, ma très chère Amy. Mille baisers de votre sincère amie.

Victoria

J'ai vu Mme Outrey qui m'a beaucoup demandé de vos nouvelles. Adeline est devenu très Jolie.

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Cove Hill  
Beverly Mass.

Wednesday

My very dear Amy,

I have your yarn and I hope that the tints are well restocked. I cannot tell you how difficult it was to find these yarns. The address of the woman which you gave me was useless. I had to go to several stores which sent me every sort of color except those which I wanted. The yarns are not yet unpacked because we just arrived. I will send them to you immediately, I beg you to accept them as a little gift; it's a trifle. I have several things for your mother, among others a pendulum which is heavy. Where is your brother at present? I do not know here to send her things.

Beverly has an atmosphere so pretty and tranquil. The tranquility is very enjoyable after the noise of Paris and London. The day after Flora's marriage, I left immediately for London where I stayed until my departure at the house of my cousin, Lady Galloway. I went out a lot; I lunched and dined in town every day except two times; one of those times it was because Lady Galloway gave a grand dinner in the honor of the Duke of Aumale. You will understand if I have need of rest! I fear that Amalia will not be very happy here; and nevertheless we have already many invitations! Amalia will give you news of the little wife! She seemed very happy; she was very spoiled at the Salansons. Her husband is so in love with her!

I hope that your husband and your gentaille child are well. And yourself, my good friend!

Jolaille asks me whom I am writing to; I tell him that it is to you. There follows: "Say good things to Amy on my behalf."

Au revoir, my very dear Amy, a thousand kisses from your sincere friend.

Victoria

I saw Mme Outrey who asked me often about you. Adeline has become very pretty.

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Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray, 39 Marlborough.  
from Amalia



Cove Hill  
Beverly  
Mass  
22 Septembre/88

Ma bonne Jolaille,

J'ai reçu votre dernière lettre à Lenox. Cela va vous étonner n'est ce pas. Eh bien oui Jolaille je suis allée à Lenox pendant une semaine.

Je vous assure que je me suis bien amusée et que je m'en suis donné après la tranquillité de Beverly le monde m'a paru charmante et quoique tout le temps de mon séjour j'ai souffert du mal de dent je me suis tout de même amusée. J'ai été à trois bals dont l'un était un bal poudré tellement joli, j'étais si drôle avec les chevreuse poudrés mais cela m'allais joliment bien ainsi qu'à Victoria, il y a eu aussi un petit cotillon qui était joliment gai Dieu que je me suis amusée j'ai dansé comme une petite folle toute la soirée jusqu'à 4 heures du matin. J'ai été aussi à plusieurs diners et déjeuners et tous les jour Mrs Whitney chez qui V. était (moi j'avais des cambres dans un cottage avec Mme Cameron) m'envoyait son phaïton avec une jolie paire de chevaux pour conduire moi-même j'étais si contente et très chic. Mme Whitney a donné une si jolie fête champêtre mercredi matin on a eu le déjeuner sur la pelouse à des petites tables et il y avait trio bands of music. C'était bien reussi, en un mot. Je me suis bien amusée et suis redevenue la même. Nous pensons rester ici encore trois semaines et puis no filerons Victoria et moi nous nous arrêterons à New Your et irons faire visite à Mrs Trevar pendant quelques jours sur le Hudson River j'en suis enchantée je deviens tout à fait gaïe. Flora m'écrit et me dit de vous envoyer son love ellee est très heureuse et devient tout à fait femme de ménage.

C'est si drôle pour Flora. Comment va votre mioche je le plains pauvre petit de souffrir des dents. Je me rends compte un peu de ce qui c'est.

V. et Mme Boumy vous envoient bien des choses et moi ma bonne Jolaille je vous embrasse bien fort.

Je suis si fachée de ne pas vous avoir revue.

Votre petite Malia  
qui vous aime

---

Cove Hill  
Beverly  
Mass  
22 September/88

My dear Jolaille,

I received your last letter in Lenox. That will astonish you, will it not? Really, Jolaille, I went to Lenox for a week. I assure you that I had a good time and that I gave it to myself. After the tranquility of Beverly the outside world was charming and even though I suffered from a toothache during the entire time of my visit, I was nonetheless happy. I went to three balls of which one was a pretty enough powdered ball, I was so funny with my powdered hair, but that went quite well for me and for Victoria. There was also a little cotillon which was wonderfully gay. God did I have fun. I danced like a little fool all night until 4 AM. I also went to several dinners and lunches and every day to Mrs. Whitney at whose house V. was (as for me, I had rooms in a cottage with Mme Cameron). She sent me her carriage with a beautiful pair of horses to conduct me, I was so pleased and very chic. Mme Whitney gave such a pretty rural party Wednesday morning. Lunch was served on the lawn at little tables and there were three bands for music, it was a great success. In a word, I had a great time.

We are thinking of staying here for three more weeks, and then we take off. Victoria and I will stop in New York and we are going to visit Mrs Trevor for several days on the Hudson River. I am enchanted with the idea. I am becoming quite gay. Flora writes me and tells me to send you her love. She is very happy and is becoming quite a housewife. It is so funny for Flora.

How is your mioche? I pity him his suffering with tooth aches, I understand a little what it is like.

V. and Mme Boumy send you good wishes. And I, my good Jolaille, je vous embrasse bien fort. I am so angry at not having seen you again. é Your little Malia who loves you

---

Letter to Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray,  
39 Marlborough Street, Boston Mass.  
From Victoria  
Postmarked 31 October 1888

*Victoria*

*BRITISH LEGATION*

Mercredi

Ma bien chère Amy,

Vous verrez dans les journaux ce matin la jolie conduite du Président; il a tellement peur de la presse et de perdre son élection qu'il a envoyé à Papa son passeport.

Lord Salisbury ne voulait pas rappeler Papa pour une bêtise parielle; aussi le gouvernement anglais va être content! ...J'espère que cette acte inconsidéré du Président n'amènera pas des conséquences graves, car c'est comme une insulte qu'il fait à l'Angleterre, ne renvoyant son ministre plénipotentiaire pour avoir écrit une lettre privée et confidentielle qu'on a eu l'infamie de publier et d'interpréter d'une manière différente. Vs connaissez trop bien mon Jolaille pr savoir combien il est un "gentleman" – dont le monde est furieux ici de cette décision; je reçois des marques de sympathie de tous côtés. Je regrette beaucoup de quitter ce pays que j'aimais sincèrement; vous le savez. Quant à me marier, ma bonne amie, je n'ai pas le courage de le faire! (J'ai encore eu dernièrement un excellent parti!

Je ne sais pas encore quand nous partirons, car nous avons tant de préparations à faire! Nous irons tout droit à Paris voir Flora, puis ensuite en Angleterre, mais nous n'habiterons pas Knole pendant l'hiver. Amalia veut rester à Paris avec Flora; Papa et moi voyagerons probablement, ou nous irons tous passer l'hiver à Cannes. C'est peu probable que Papa acceptera un nouveau poste qui lui sera certainement offert, car avant ce malencontreux incident, il parlait de se retirer.

Knole ne rapporte que 35.000 dollars par an au lieu de 50.000 comme on lui attribue et pendant 2 ans, à cause des droits de succession à payer à l couronne, nous n'aurons que très peu. Après nous serons "all right"! Je déplore beaucoup notre départ subit et inévitable. Mais vous serez toujours ma bonne amie, chère Amy; je vs donnerai souvent de mes nouvelles, car je ne veux pas que v m'oubliez.

Croyez à ma très sincère affection. Baisers d'Amalia et souvenirs de Boumy et de Jolaille.

Votre amie Victoria

Je me suis occupée de vos cartes.

---

Wednesday

My very dear friend,

You will see in the papers this morning the pretty conduct of the President; he is so afraid of the press and of losing his election that he has sent Papa his passport. Lord Salisbury does not want to recall Papa for such foolishness; so the English government is going to be content! I hope that this inconsiderate act of the President does not lead to grave consequences, because what he does is like an insult to England, sending back his minister plenipotentiary for having written a private and confidential letter which someone had the infamy to publish and to interpret in a different manner.

You know too well My Jolaille to know how much he is a “gentleman.” Everybody here is furious with this decision; I receive notes of sympathy from all sides. I very much regret leaving this country which I sincerely love; you know it. As for my marrying, my good Amy, I do not have the courage to do it! (I have lately had an excellent suitor!)

I do not yet know when we will leave, because we have all of the preparations to do! We will go straight to Paris to see Flora, then next to England, but we will not stay at Knole during the winter. Amalia wants to stay in Paris with Flora; Papa and I will probably travel, or we two will go spend the winter at Cannes. It is not probable that Papa will accept a new post which will certainly be offered to him, because before this inopportune incident he was talking about retiring.

Knole brings back only 35,000 dollars per year in lieu of the 50,000 attributed to it and for two years we will have only very little money because of having to pay the rights of succession to the crown. After we will be “all right.” I very much deplore our sudden and inevitable departure. But you will be always my good friend, dear Amy; I will often give you my news because I do not want you to forget me.

Believe in my very sincere affection. Kisses from Amalia and remembrances from Boumy and Jolaille.

Your friend,  
Victoria

I am occupied with your cards.

**Notes:**

This letter was written as the so-called Murchison affair was breaking. Victoria’s father, Lionel West, was British minister to the U.S. (There was not yet an embassy.) He had the bad judgment to reply to a personal letter seeking advice in the upcoming election. The letter was supposedly written by a former British citizen in California, but it was apparently actually written by the then Editor of the Los Angeles Times. West replied that he thought that Cleveland was more sympathetic to British interests and therefore was the better choice. The letter was published and in the ensuing scandal the U.S. government demanded West’s removal. Diplomatic relations between Britain and the U.S.

were temporarily suspended. Cleveland lost the election. Diplomatic annals of the time refer to West's "meddling" in U.S. politics, but it looks more like entrapment and poor judgement than active interference.

Lionel West had just become Lord Sackville on the death of his brother Mortimer and returned to England via France to live the rest of his life at Knole, the family estate. Knole was at that time the largest English estate still in private hands. Victoria later married her cousin Lionel Sackville-West and became Lady Sackville on the death of her father. The rights of succession are the British death duty or inheritance tax on major estates.

Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray at 39 Marlborough  
from Amalia.

*Amalia*

*BRITISH LEGATION*

6 Novembre / 88

Ma bonne Jolaille,

Je suis si contente de trouver un petit moment pour vous écrire. Voilà déjà plus d'une semaine que je vis dans un excitemment complet. Je ne me suis jamais vu à la pareille. Je ne puis m'imaginer que je vais quitter l'Amerique pour de bon, au première abord j'étais complètement broken-hearted mais maintenant j'en ai pris mon parti et je me sens presque contente de m'en aller rejoindre Flora. Ne trouvez-vous pas que toute cette affaire est ridicule et combien mon Jolaille a été maltraité? Je n'en reviens pas, j'en suis encore toute indignée. Maintenant que je vous ai un peu ouvert mon coeur, je vais vous parler un peu buisness. Victoria me prie de vous dire que vos cartes et les plaques sont envoyées chez Mme Amory Lawrence avec un tas d'échantillons donc Mme Amory Lawrence vous les enverra, ces échantillons sont pour elle et Victoria a pensé mettre vos cartes et les plaques dans le même paquet n'ayant pas de messenger ici pour les porter à la poste et avoir le postage payé par le gouvernement. Nous sommes un peu en l'air; le moyen le plus sur était de les envoyer en même temps que cette boite d'échantillons comme cela vous n'aurez rien à payer. La petite facture est aussi envoyée Mme A. Lawrence vous donnera tout cela.

Ou est Max? Il faut que je lui écrive pour lui annoncer notre départ cela m'ennuit de quitter toutes mes amies mais le monde est petit On se retrouve toujours du moins je me console ainsi. Comment allez-vous ma bonne Jolaille?

Ecrivez-moi dès que vous aurez un petit moment vous ferez plaisir

à votre petite amie  
bien affectionnée

Amalia

---

6 November / 88

Ma bonne Jolaille,

I am so content to find a moment to write you. It has already been more than one week that I have lived in complete excitement. I have never seen anything like it. I cannot imagine that I am going to leave America for good. At first I was completely broken-hearted, but now I have taken my part and I feel almost content to go away to rejoin Flora. Do you not find this whole affair ridiculous and how badly my Jolaille has been mistreated? I will never return, I am still completely indignant. Now that I have opened my heart to you a little, I am going to discuss a little business with you. Victoria asked me to tell you that your cards and plaques were sent to Mme Amory Lawrence with a few samples which Mme Lawrence will show you, these samples are for her and Victoria thought to put your cards and placques in the same package not having a messenger here to carry them to the post office and have the postage paid for by the government. We are a little in the air, the most sure means was to send them at the same time as this box of samples. That way you will have nothing to pay. The small bill was also sent. Mme A. Lawrence will give you all of that. Where is Max? I have to write her to announce our departure. It moves me to to leave all my friends, but the world is small. We will always find each other again. At least so I console myself. How are you my good Jolaille? Write me as soon as you have a moment. You will give pleasure

to your petite amie  
bien affectionnée  
Amalia

### 13.6 1889

Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray from Victoria.

Dated 1 March 1889

Hotel Britannique  
Cannes  
Alpes-Maritimes  
11 Mars 89

Ma bien chère Amy

Vous n'avez pas une idée quel hiver agréable nous passons ici; et l'amabilité que nous avons rencontrée chez tout le monde. Cannes a été très gai surtout pendant la visite de trois semaines du Prince de Galles. Il a été la bonté même pour nous, surtout, je crois, à cause de la lalencontreuse affaire Murchison. Papa et moi avons été ivités à tous les diners qui ont été donnés en l'honneur du Prince. Je l'ai donc vu presque tous les jours; on dit qu'il est tout à fait rangé maintenant; je l'ai trouvé parfaitement correct pas du tout flirt et plutôt paternel qu'autre chose à mon égard. Il m'a invitée 3 fois d'aller à Nice avec sa "party" pour les Batailles de Fleurs et la Bataille des Confetti. Nous étions 8 chaque fois, et nous sommes énormément amusés, surtout pour les confetti, ou Bataille de Bonbons. Nous étions tous défuisés en dominos rouges, avec des cornes sur la tête, dans une superbe char rouge. Le Prince est si populaire.

Cela me semblait assez drôle, le soir du Mardi Gras de me promener à son bras dans la foule à Nice, comme de simples bourgeois. Il nous a donné de bien jolies broches comme souvenir et sa photographie.

S'il avait essayé de flirter, je me serais bien gardée, mais la manière dont il m'a traitée ne peut que faire beaucoup de bien à ma position social. — Vous voyez, chère Amy, comme je vous donne des détails. Je crois que nous resterons encore un mois dans ce beau pays dont Papa raffole; les fleurs et le soleil sont magnifiques, ainsi que le paysage. Nous connaissons tout le monde et dînerons presque tous les soirs en ville. Mme Outrey a été appelée précipatement à Paris par une grave maladie de sa m]ere qui est bien agée; c'est une congestion des poumons; Adeline est très jolie. Elle (Mme O.) m'a beaucoup parlé de vous et d'une manière très affectueuse. Comment vont votre mari et vos petits mioches?

Nous nous partons tous très bien, même Flora qui s'est tout à fait rétablie; je n'ai pas l'espoir de devenir tante. C'est si dommage! Mais ce sera pour plus tard!

Faites mes amitiés à votre Mere aux Rotch, Mrs A. Lawrence, Mrs F. Amory et à mes bons amis de Boston. Vous pouvez m'écrire ici, car je ne peux pas être à Paris avant la fin d'Avril. Comme je serais contente si je pouvais vous y voir. — Au revoir tout de même.

Chère amie, Amalia doit vous envoyer sa petite botte de nouvelles, c'est pour cela que je ne vous parle pas d'elle. Mille baisers de la part de mon Jolaille pour vous et pour votre mari.

Je suis toujours votre aimie

Victoria

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Hotel Britannique  
Cannes  
Alpes-Maritimes  
11 March 1889

My very dear Amy,

You have no idea what an agreeable winter we are passing here; and the friendship that we have encountered in everyone's home. Cannes has been very gay, especially during the three week visit of the Prince of Wales. He was kindness itself to us, especially, I believe, because of the unfortunate Murchison affair. Papa and I have been invited to all of the dinners which were given in honor of the Prince. I therefore saw him almost every day; it is said that he is completely domesticated now; I found him perfectly correct, not at all a flirt, and more paternal than anything else in my regard. He invited me 3 times to go to Nice with his "Party" for the the Batailles de Fleurs and the Bataille des Confetti. We were 8 each time; and we had an enormously good time, especially for the Confetti or Bataille de Bonbons. We were all disguised in red clothes, with horns on our head, in a beautiful red chariot.

The Prince is so popular. It seemed so droll to me, the evening of the Mardi Gras, to walk in his arms in the crowd in Nice, like simple Bourgeois. He gave us some very pretty broches as souvenirs along with his photograph. If he had tried to flirt, I would have been very guarded, but the manner in which he treated me could only do great good to my social position—you see, dear Amy, how I give you details.

I believe that we will stay one month more in this beautiful country that Papa adores; the flowers and the sun are magnificent, as is the countryside. We know everyone and we dine almost every evening in the city. Mme Outrey was suddenly called to Paris by the grave illness of her mother, who is very old; it is a lung congestion. Adeline is very pretty. She (Mme Outrey) spoke to me a great deal about you in a very affectionate manner.

How is your husband and your little mioches?

We are leaving everything very well, even Flora who is completely reestablished; I do not have the spirit to become an aunt. What a pity! But that will be for later!

Give my good wishes to your mother and to Rotch, Mrs. A. Lawrence, Mrs. F. Amory, and to my good friends in Boston. You can write me here, because I will not be in Paris before the end of April. How content I would be if I could see you there. Au revoir, anyway.

Dear friend, Amalia should send you her little bit of news, it is for that reason that I did not write about her. A thousand memories from my Jolaille for you and your husband.

I am always your friend.

Victoria

**13.7 1891**

From Victoria, postmarked 28 March 1891.  
The final letter in the collection.

28 Mars

**KNOLE,  
SEVENOAKS,  
KENT**

Ma bien chère Amy,

Je viens vous demander de vos chères nouvelles.

Les miennes sont excellentes et je continue à mener la vie la plus heureuse. Nous n'avons guère bougé de Knole cet hiver, malgré le froid rigoureux; mais nous sommes si confortables dans notre vieille maison que nous y sommes restés malgré beaucoup de projets de voyage. Amalia est la seule qui ait pris son vols vers le midi; elle a passé 6 semaines à Cannes avec des amis; du reste, elle vous a peut-être écrit. Elle vient juste de retourner à Paris, où elle passera quelsque temps avec flora dont le petit Lionel croit en âge et en sagesse! — Moi, je n'ai pas de petit Lionel en vue, et je ne m'en fait pas d'ennui pour le moment; je suis tellement heureuse avec mon mari que je ne désire bien de plus en ce monde.

Nous venons de passer 10 jours à Londres chez Mr. et Mrs Cheston (Miss Howell, de Washington.) J'ai toujours été liée avec elle, maintenant plusqu'autrefois, et c'est une bonne aimie d'Amérique, ce pays que je n'oublie pas. Nous avons été au théâtre tous les soirs et nous nous sommes vraiment bien amusés à Londres; mail il n'y a pas de danger que ns allions à Londres pour la "Season".

Je deviens de plus en plus sauvage et n'aime guère le monde; ce qui est agréable est d'avoir nos amis en visite à Knole, et nous en avons presque toujours des Samedi au Lundi. De cette manière, nous avons revu beaucoup d'amis d'Amérique, des deplomates aussi.

Mrs Amory Lawrence m'a donné des nouvelles de Boston derni]èrement; j'ai toujours le plus grand plaisir à recevoir des lettres me donnant des "news". Donnez-m'en de vos enfants; comment vont vos parents en Corée? Sous seriez bien gentille de m'envoyer des timbres de Corée, chère aimie; j'ai commencé un collection quand j'étais toute petite et je n'ai pas un seul timbre de ce pays-là; quand Vs en aurez des Américaines à m'envoyer même des timbres de 1, 2, 3, etc ents, donnezles moi; voulez-vous? Ceux-là ne seront pas

pour ma collection; j'en ai besoin de beaucoup pour autre chose. Ainsi, veuillez me mettre de côté tous ceux que v. pourrez, Américaines ou autres?

Papa me demande de le rappeler à "Amy"; il fs appele toujours comme cela.

Bien des choses aimable à votre mari, et "much love" from me.

Votre sincère amie

Victoria Sackville West

28 March

**KNOLE,  
SEVENOAKS,  
KENT**

My very dear Amy,

I recently asked you for your cherished news. Mine is excellent and I continue to enjoy the happiest life. We have scarcely budged from Knole this winter, in spite of the rigorous cold; we are so comfortable in our old house that we remain there, in spite of many planned voyages. Amalia is the only one who has taken flight to the South; she spent 6 weeks in Cannes with friends; she has perhaps written you of the rest. She has just returned from Paris, where she spent some time with Flora whose little Lionel grows in age and in knowledge! - Me, I do not have little Lionel in view, and I am not bored for the moment; I am so so happy with my husband that I desire nothing more in this world.

We just spent 10 days in London with Mr. & Mrs. Cheston (Miss Howell of Washington.) I have always gotten on with her, now more than formerly, and she is a good friend from America, this country that I will never forget. We went to the theatre every night and we were very happy in London; but there is no danger that W will go to London for the "season."

I become more and more savage and scarcely like the world; what is agreeable is to have our friends visit us at Knole, and we have them nearly always from Saturday to Monday. In this manner we have seen again many friends from America, some diplomats also.

Lastly, Mrs. Amory Lawrence gave me news of Boston; it is always the greatest pleasure to receive letters giving me "news." Give me some of your children; how are your parents doing in Korea? You would be very nice to send me some Korean stamps, dear friend; I began a collection when I was quite small and I do not have a single stamp from that country; when you have some American stamps to send me, even the 1,2,3, etc. stamps, give them to me, will you? Those will not be for my collection; I need many for something else. Thus, would you please set aside for me all that you can American or others?

Papa asks me to remember him to "Amy"; he remembers you always like that—  
Best wishes to your husband, and "*Much love*" from me.

Victoria Sackville West

**Notes:**

Also refers to visits by Victoria's American friend Molly Cheston in January 1890, before the announced engagement of Victoria to her Cousin, Lionel Sackville-West, her father's namesake and heir. She refers to another visit by Cheston in early 1891 (as well as to visits by Mrs. Cameron and the Joseph Chamberlains.) Her sister Flora's son Lionel was born in March 1890. Victoria and her Lionel were married on 17 June 1890 at Knole. Amalia and Victoria became increasingly estranged as Amalia became more bitter at being unmarried and unloved.

In a letter to the London Times dated 31 January 1956, Victoria's daughter Vita wrote that Victoria during her pregnancy with Vita in 1892 amused herself by papering a small room at Knole with stamps arranged in strips and patterns. During a 1985 visit to Knole I inquired if the room still existed with Victoria's stamps, but I was told that the stamps had been removed when the room had been renovated a few years earlier. It is somewhat sad to consider the destruction of bits of history with a personal connection. I would have varnished the stamps to preserve them!

# Chapter 14

## Family and Friends Letters: 1878 – 1891

### 14.1 1878

From Augustine Heard Jr. (AH2) to his daughter Amy.

This is the earliest letter I have from AH2 to Amy, aged 17 at the time. Parents guiltig distant offspring for inadequacy of news probably goes back to the origins of written language.

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Miss Amy Heard

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Ipswich  
16 Sept. 1878

My Darling Amy

If I were to judge by the length of your epistle, I am afraid I should come to the conclusion that you looked on writing to your old Papa as rather a bore, but we won't "insist" lest it should come out that I guessed true, which would be a dreadful disclosure. How is it that you find nothing to say! I am confidant that wise little head of yours runs over with reflections on yourself & your surroundings, which would interest me infiniment, & bring me the wherewithal to soar out of the atmosphere of the perplexities & anxieties which tiie me down to this material life.

At any rate for a moment I might breath a pure air & forget the daily vexations. Who know but under your sweet influences I might tread some of those pleasant paths you told me of last month, & know my romantic dreams in yours. As it is I tread my weary round,

always the same, & it is getting irksome to see my hair growing grey at it.

John ran back today to Cambridge to get himself ready for the new term but he does not really recommence his studies till the 26<sup>th</sup>. He has enjoyed much his three months here, & I am glad to say he leaves pleasant memories behind him.

This will reach you about the time of your birthday. God send you many & always happy ones, my darling. You are a treasure that we love to cherish, & I would that your feet might now tread in pleasant paths.

We can hardly hope for that, but you can always spread happiness around you, if you choose! & you always do. Somehow, as I think, the old Persian verses come to my mind as Sir W<sup>m</sup> Jones gives them \_\_\_\_

On mother's knees a naked, newborn child,  
I saw thee weep, when all around thee smiled.  
So live, that sinking in thy last long sleep,  
Thou, too, mayst smile when all around the weep.

Did you know them? I think they are very pretty and they must have had some merit to have stuck in my ramshackle memory.

Well, \_\_ I don't know that I have anything more to say, though I suppose I could meander on for an hour. It is always pleasant to recall your image, & I wish with all my heart, you were sitting there by me in the body \_\_\_\_

Kiss Max & believe me

Ever yours affy

A.H.

**Notes** Sir William Jones (1746-94) was a British orientalist and linguist known for influencing the fad for Persian poetry in the late 18th century, including his translations of the Persian Poet Hafiz.<sup>1</sup> Gus quotes a slight variation of a poem "On Parent Knees a Naked New-born Child" attributed to Jones, who attributes it to an unknown Persian poet.

On parent knees, a naked new-born child,  
Weeping thou sat'st while all around thee smiled:  
So live, that sinking to thy life's last sleep,  
Calm thou may'st smile, whilst all around thee weep.

<sup>1</sup>See, e.g., *Oriental Jones: A biography of Sir William Jones (1746-1794)* by Garland Cannon, Asia Publishing House, Bombay (1960).

## 14.2 1883

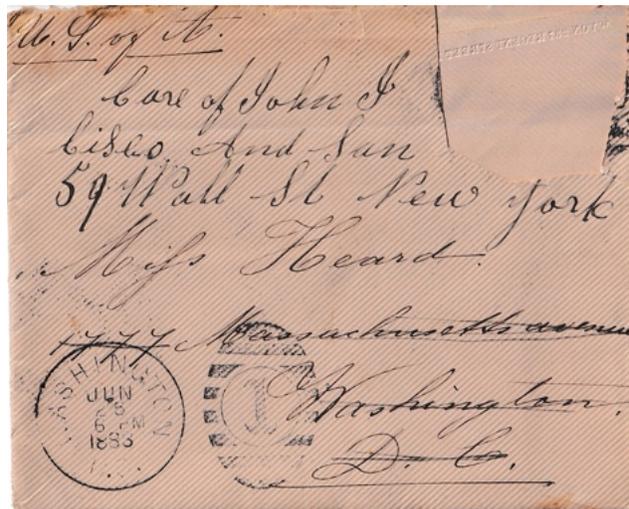
11 June 1883 from Josefina Martinez in London

This letter is important for several reasons. It is one of the earliest dated letters from her family and friends, it is one of only three letters in the collection written in Spanish – most of the letters are in French or English and a few in German, it continues the story of the Washington diplomat circle Amy wrote about in her journal, and it demonstrates some of the difficulties in transcribing 1880s script written in what can be called an orthogonal style – writing the letter the letter in one orientation and then rotating the letter and writing over the original lines in new lines at right angles. The page images are shown in Fig. 14.1.

It is an efficient savings in paper and postage, but at first glance it his very hard to read. With practice, however, the human mind acquires skill in focusing on only one of the writing dimensions at a time. To make the point for this letter the page images are shown and the reader is invited to compare them to the transcription and translation. As my Spanish is much inferior to my French (three years in high school over a half century ago + occasional reviews for travel Spain and Cuba compared with over 4 decades with the Alliance Française in Palo Alto and Boston and several small sabbaticals in France), I found this letter quite difficult.

11 June 1883 from Josefina Martinez in London

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he cantado en la opera  
 esta estacion.  
 esta noche en una  
 comedia tuse al teatro  
 de hablar de Udo con  
 guiso, se dijo Udo  
 con Sir Henry Wolff.  
 hablando de Udo de su  
 hija que esta actual-  
 mente en la casa de  
 Udo que Udo me  
 habia hablado una  
 vez de una amiga  
 inglesa de ese nombre.  
 le pregunté si se dio  
 el nombre de Udo;  
 luego me dijo que si,  
 me preguntó con  
 interés por Udo, si me  
 12 Cromwell road  
 London  
 Junio 11/83

Querida amiga Ana:  
 Gracias por su  
 buena carta, su  
 muy simpatico relato  
 me ha gustado mucho  
 tiene la misma expresion  
 que tiene su  
 pizarron cuando  
 esta sin decir.  
 Supongo que Udo esta  
 en ya en el pais  
 de marcharse al

no asiste nunca, pero  
 si la familia de  
 Udo, toda la familia  
 real. Udo me gusta  
 mucho, el golpe de  
 vista del salon de  
 baile es magnifico,  
 con su puesto al  
 no asiste mas que  
 de prima de la Udo  
 gracias. A la semana  
 tendra lugar el primer  
 state concert que  
 son siempre muy  
 buenas, pero siempre  
 casan los primeros  
 cantantes, es es que  
 el vivo oír al Udo a la  
 Patti, que es un

de las cosas buenas  
 que le gustan a Udo  
 todavia, pero me  
 dice que me gusta  
 mucho, el golpe de  
 vista del salon de  
 baile es magnifico,  
 con su puesto al  
 no asiste mas que  
 de prima de la Udo  
 gracias. A la semana  
 tendra lugar el primer  
 state concert que  
 son siempre muy  
 buenas, pero siempre  
 casan los primeros  
 cantantes, es es que  
 el vivo oír al Udo a la  
 Patti, que es un

Figure 14.1: 11 June 1883 letter from Josefina Martinez

72 Cromwell Road  
 London  
 Junio 11/83

Querida amiga Amy

Gracias por su buena carta i su mui simpático retrato, me ha gustado mucho, tiene la misma expresion que tiene su fisonomia cuando está sin reirse. —

Supongo que Uds estarán ya en visperas de marcharse al campo. donde va Ud a ir ?

Nosotros estamos en el height of the season; es mui entretenido aquí, pero tal vez hay un poco demasiado que la acer ahora que han comenzado las garden parties i las carreras. Ya ha tenido lugar el princes state ball en el palacio de la Reina, ella no asiste nunca, pero si la princesa de Gales et toda la familia real. Esto me gusto mucho, el golpe de vista del salon de baile es magnifico, i por impuesto allí no asiste mas que la crema de la aristocracia. — Mañana tiene lugar el princes state concert que son siempre mui buenas, pues siempre cantar las primeras cantatrices, asi es que espero oir allí a la Passí, que aún no ha cantado en la opera esta estacion.

La otra noche en una comida tuve el placer de hablar de Ud. con quien ? se dirá Ud. — con Sir Hery Wolff. Hablándome él de su hija, que está actualmente en Kansa, recordé que Ud me había hablado una vez de ma amiga inglesa de ese nombre i le pregunté si conocia a la familia Heard; luego me dijo que si i me preguntó con interés por Uds, i me pidió al mismo tiempo que le diera <sup>2</sup> sus respetos cuando le escribiera.

Ud me pregunta en su carta como me gustan los inglesas. pues ahora que los conozco mas de cerca me gustan mucho mas, al principia parecen mui frios, como Ud sabe, pero después se hacen más agradables.

Aún no conozco ninguna muchacha que puedo considerarla como amiga, solo los strato en sociedad i ahí Ud comprende de no se puede formar uno concepto de como serán en la intimidad.

He oido de las cambios que han habido en el círculo diplomático de Washington, i de la próxima partida de las Barcas. —

Y las Nogueiras? creo que ellos no tienen esperanza de moverse todavía, por lo que es Mathilde creo que no le disgustará.

Yo estoy deseando que llegar pronto el verano es decir Agosto por que después de nuestro viaje iremos a las aguas del Continente, i probablemente a Biaritz también.

Escribame pronto, i recibo muchos cariños de mio papá i de su sincera amiga

Josefina Martinez

**Notes** The banking firm of John J Cisco & Son of New York mentioned on the envelope

<sup>2</sup>imperfect subjunctive of “dar”

which had its headquarters at 59 Wall St. failed in January 1885. See, e.g., <https://bankingjournal.aba.com/2019/11/the-ordeal-of-hetty-green/>.

Sir Henry Drummond Wolff (1830-1908) was a British politician and diplomat, serving in Parliament 1874-1885 and later as Minister to Madrid, finishing his career as minister to Teheran. According to Winston Churchill prior to his visit to Cuba in 1895<sup>3</sup> in 1895 “I wrote to my father’s old friend and Fourth Party colleague, Sir Henry Wolff, then our Ambassador at Madrid, asking whether he could procure us the necessary permissions from the Spanish military authorities. The dear old gentleman, whose long-acquired influence at the Spanish Court was unrivaled in the Diplomatic Corps, of which he was the doyen, took the greatest trouble on my behalf.”

Possible connections between the Wolff and Heard families are suggested in a 25 December 1882 entry in Amy’s Journal mentioning a Xmas card sent to Lady Wolff, in a 1 June 1885 letter from Gus to Amy when he comments he has forwarded at her request an article written by Amy to Miss Wolff.

Dear friend Amy

Thank you for your good letter and your very nice portrait I very much liked it it has the same expression as your physiognomy when it is not laughing —

I suppose you are already on the eve of your departure for the countryside. where are you going to go?

We are in the height of the season; it is very entertaining here but perhaps there is a little too much to do it now that the garden parties and races have begun. The princes state ball has already taken place at the palace of the Queen, she never attends, but the princess of Wales and the whole royal family do. This pleases me a great deal, the first impression of the dance hall is magnificent, and no one is more imposing there than the cream of the aristocracy. — Tomorrow will take place the princes state concert, which are always very good, since the best singers sing, so it is I hoped to hear there at the Passé which still has not had singing in the opera this season.

The other night at a dinner I had the pleasure to talk about you with who? you would say — with Sir Henry Wolff. Talking to me of his daughter, who is currently in Kansas, I remembered that once you had spoken to me of my English friend of that name and I asked him if he knew the Heard family; later he told me yes and asked me with interest about you all and asked me at the same time if I would pay them his respects when I wrote to them.

You ask me in your letter how I like the English. Well now that I know them up close I like them much more. At first they appear very cold, as you know, but later they become

<sup>3</sup>Churchill, Winston. “My Early Life in Cuba.” *International Journal of Cuban Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2008, pp. 12-19. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41945986>. Accessed 21 Nov. 2022.

more agreeable.

Still I do not know any girl whom I can consider as a friend, except for the strata in society and there you understand one is not able to understand being intimate.

I have heard of the changes that have taken place in the diplomatic circle of Washington and of the near departure of the boats.

And the Nogueiras ? I believe that they have no hope of moving yet, so that I think Mathilde is not upset.

I am looking forward to the arrival soon of summer that is to say August because after our voyage we are going to the waters on the Continent and probably Biarritz also.

Write to me soon, and receive much love from my father and from your sincere friend.

Josefina Martinez

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### 14.3 1884

10 November 1884 from Augustine Albert Heard, Amy's brother, in Cincinnati

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*Ohio & Mississippi R'y Co*

OFFICE OF **GENERAL PASSENGER AGENT**

*Cincinnati, O. Nov 10-84*

My Dear Amy

M<sup>r</sup>Bowler surprised me very much on Wednesday by calling at the office. I dined at his house yesterday and enjoyed it thoroughly. M<sup>rs</sup>Bowler, I quite fell in love with and agree with you that she is charming. She was awfully kind, begged me to make her house my headquarters and in a word was tout ca qu'il y a de plus aimable.

Do please come out here. I know you would have a good time and I am awfully anxious to see you. However in case you do not come I'll see you in a month as I have obtained a fortnights vacation and shall run on to New York about the twelfth of next month; though I shall stay over a few days in Baltimore.

I declare there is nothing new here. The election of Cleveland is the absorbing topic and we are quite excited.

I went to a leap year party the other day and had an awfully good time.

Love to all.

Affy yours

Augustine

---

**Notes** Mr. and Mrs. Bowler's are Mr. and Mrs Robert Bonner Bowler Jr., as will be discussed at some length shortly when an 1885 letter from Alice Bowler at Mt. Storm reveals *which* of the two couples named Bowler in Cincinnati at the time are being referred to.

From Amy's brother John Heard Jr. Transcription and translation by Helmut Walravens.

Miss Heard  
262 Fourth Avenue  
New York City

N. Y. Donnerstag — Nov. den 27sten 1884

Liebstes Schwesterchen —

Ich erfahre soeben daß du diesen Winter hierher auf Besuch kommst, wann aber, habe ich nicht gehört — ob es vor oder nach Deinem Besuche nach Washington. — Deine zukünftige Schwester möchte Dich so gern bei ihr im Hause haben und sagt Du hättest ihr versprochen bei ihr zu weilen falls du nach Boston kämst; sie freut sich schon darauf. Sie sagt du seiest reizend für sie und schriebest ihr solch' liebliche Briefe, und deshalb muß ich dir danken.

Schlecht sieht alles aus und wär es nicht für meine Lieben so weiß kaum was ich anfangen würde; ich verbringe aber jetzt beinahe jeden Tag eine Stunde bei ihr und damit sind mir die einsamen oder 23 anderen bezahlt. Nur traue ich mich nie zu lange und zu weit in die Zukunft zu schauen. Alles scheint so fern! so zweifelhaft. — Was man so leiden kann das weißt du genau, und besser als ich —

Ich befürchte daß meine Geliebte ein gar trauriges Leben führt. — Die Sorgen des ganzen Hauses liegen auf ihren Schultern und wie ich sehen kann muß sie um ihrer Schwester willen viel erdulden und leiden. — So lieblich, aufopfernd, selbstvergeßlich ist sie daß sie darüber nie klagt, aber immer versucht, trotz(t) der unfehlbaren Undankbarkeit die darauf folgt, die Unannehmlichkeiten im Leben der anderen auszugleichen. —

Aber siehe da! mit dem Egoismus aller Liebhaber schreibe ich nur über meine Angelegenheiten. — Schreibe mir wie es dir geht — was du anfängst — was du vor hast — ob du von drüben gehört hast — und manches über deine Gedanken und Gefühle. Ich komme gegen den 20sten Dec. nach N. Y. — Wo wirst du sein?

Dein Bruder  
John Heard jr.  
13 Walnut Street  
Boston

Ich schreibe auf altem Venezianischen Handpapier — darum so schlecht.

Thursday – Nov. the 27th 1884

Dearest Sis – I have just learned that you are coming here this winter to visit, but I have not heard when – whether it will be before or after your visit to Washington.— Your future sister wants you so much to stay with her and says you promised to stay with her if you came to Boston; she is looking forward to it. She says you are lovely to her and write her such sweet letters, and so I must thank you.

Everything looks bad, and if it were not for my loved ones I hardly know what I would do; but now I spend an hour with her almost every day, and that pays for my lonely hours or 23 others. Only I never dare to look too long and too far into the future. Everything seems so far away! so doubtful.— What one can suffer so that you know exactly, and better than I – I fear that my beloved leads a very sad life. – The worries of the whole house lie on her shoulders, and as I can see, she must endure and suffer much for the sake of her sister. – So sweet, self-sacrificing, self-forgetful is she that she never complains about it, but always tries, in spite of the unfailing ingratitude that follows, to compensate for the inconveniences in the lives of others. –

But see! with the egoism of all lovers, I write only about my affairs.— Write me how you are— what you are starting— what you are up to – whether you have heard from over there – and some things about your thoughts and feelings. I am coming to N. Y. about the 20th of Dec. – Where will you be?

Your brother  
John Heard Jr.  
13 Walnut Street  
Boston

I write on old Venetian hand paper – that is why so bad.

29 November 1884 from Alice Bowler, Mt. Storm, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Miss Heard  
262 4<sup>th</sup> Avenue  
New York

Mt Storm  
Nov 29<sup>th</sup>

My dear Amy,

I have been expecting your promised letter giving me your address (as soon as you were settled) but it has not come & so I will wait no longer but get your brother to send this for me. Well this same brother has doubtless told you that we have become great friends but he does not know that I find him a very nice fellow & that I have that same feeling that your mother spoke of having for me namely that I have always known him & that when he is with us he is one of us.

Now dear Amy your brother & I have been comparing notes and I find that he expects to go on to New York about the fifteenth of next month & return by the first of January & I want you to come with him as I suppose you would want to be at home where he is. If however you are cramped for room in your apartment & it would be more agreeable for you to come to us earlier I should be ready & good[?] to have you.

I want you to make me a good long visit so therefore did not wish you to come before Xmas if you wished

[page] We have had a very charming autumn as regards the weather & as my knee has kept pretty well & I have been comparatively free I have been very comfortable.

Do pray give my best love to your mother & Max when you write & pray present my very warm regards to your father & for yourself keep a large ??? of love & a kiss from the ???.

Let me hear from you very soon that I may certainly expect you for I must not be disappointed.

In the hope of soon seeing you

yours affectionately  
Alice

address \_\_

Mrs R. B. Bowler  
Cincinnati  
Ohio.

This is ??? sufficient

Mrs Pendleton desires her kind regards to you & yours

The gentlemen are in the City.

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**Notes** Mrs R. B. Bowler is Mrs Robert Bonner Bowler II born Alice Bernard Williamson (5/5/1851-11/7/1935). She married Robert Bonner Bowler in London in 1877 at the home of her parents. Soon thereafter Robert and Alice moved to his home in Cincinnati and in 1885 he was involved with the management of the Kentucky Central Railway which had been founded by his father. According to the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, December 17, 1880<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup><http://www.diggingcincinnati.com/2013/02/mount-storm-estate-and>

“Mount Storm” is the lovely and beautiful home of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Bowler, in our handsomest suburb, Clifton. It is the old family mansion of the Bowler family. The old English home, odd in share and architecture, but spacious, with wide corridors, reception, and drawing-rooms, its little “lodge” at the gate, the wonderful conservatory and the magnificent grounds surrounding all are familiar to most Cincinnatians. They are familiar, because the gates of this aristocratic home are never closed, and every visitor who drives to Clifton “takes a turn” through the broad avenues of the grounds to get a glimpse of the beautiful views of the valley below, as well as to look at the velvety lawns, the rare plants and flowers in the conservatory or the statuary in the alcoves. This attractive place was a scene last evening of great brilliancy for the fashion, beauty and elegance of our Queen City and suburbs were gathered there... The brilliant gas jets of parlor and hallways were reflected in the rich stained glass with which many of the windows were filled, and the prism’d gleams of light lent their aid in rendering a kaleidoscope of wondrous beauty ... The entire residence was most lavishly decorated with rare plants, bright flowers and buds, exotics, evergreens and smilax, the perfume of which filled the air.

A collection of photos of the house may be found at <http://www.diggingincincinnati.com/2013/02/mount-storm-estate-and-park.html>. The house was torn down in 1917.

The original Robert Bonner Bowler’s origins were in Rhode Island, both Providence and Newport.

Another Bowler correspondent of Amy’s was Alice’s husband Robert’s sister Louise Foote Bowler (3/26/1861-5/15/1933). Beginning in 1882, Robert and Alice along with their married siblings George Pendleton Bowler (1846-1878) and his wife May Williamson Bowler (b. 1846), Alice’s sister, built a summer “cottage” *Chatwold* on Schooner Head Road in Bar Harbor Maine. More on Louise and Chatwold later when the crop up in Amy’s letters. For the moment it is noted that the ownership was shared and exchanged among the siblings, but by 1892 it was fully owned by Louise who bought out the others as an investment.

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4 December 1884 from Augustine Albert Heard, Amy’s brother, in Cincinnati

Miss Heard  
262 Fourth Ave  
New York City

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-park.html

123 W. 77h St  
Cincinnati  
12-4-84

My Dear Amy

I expect to be with you so soon that I don't feel very much like writing but I suppose I must answer your last.

M<sup>rs</sup> Bowler gave an evening tea the other evening to which I was invited. It was not wildly exciting the people being mostly married. It was given to M<sup>rs</sup> E. A. Pendleton, who begged me to remember her to you and Mamma in my next letter. I am not quite sure whether she sent her love or not.

However I met somebody else who knows you and says she is awfully fond of you who was quite gracious to me on the strength of my relationship to you.

Do you remember Miss Ellis? Says she met you and saw a good deal of you at Newport.

M<sup>rs</sup> Bowler tells me she has written to you and wants you to come out here when I return. Can it be managed?

As to passes. I shall consider myself lucky if I get one all the way to New York.

I can get one to Baltimore but owing to the little unpleasantness between the B& ORR and the Penna. I doubt if I get one to New York. I intend coming home over the Erie R.R. and my pass is assured me for that.

I shall leave Cincinnati Monday evening Dec. 15<sup>th</sup> Stay in Baltimore two days and get to New York Thursday night.

No I don't know any people in N.Y. and as you predict I daresay I shall not be wildly dissipated whereas here I cut several good parties. However

"There is no place like home."

Love to all

Yrs

AAH

11 December 1884 from Amy's brother John Heard Jr. Transcription and translation by Helmut Walravens

13 Walnut – Dec. 11 – 84. Boston

Liebes Schwesterchen. –

Ich weiß wahrhaftig nicht warum es mir immer so schwer kommt meinen Brief an Dich anzufangen – wahrscheinlich weil ich dir gewöhnlich immer etwas mehr als einen dummen Plauderbrief schreiben möchte und mich daher nicht immer ohne vorige Arbeit

fähig denke. — und fange ich einmal an vor dem Pulte nachzudenken und zu phantasiren so ist die Gelegenheit fort und ich muß auf Morgen verschieben was ich heute hätte ausrichten können und sollen.

Über den letzten Satz deines Briefes habe ich viel und lange nachdenken müssen. — ich glaube aber daß du wirklich keine Gründe zur Beängstigung hast wenn sie auf nichts weiteres ruht als auf sein Schweigen — und weiter gibst du mir keine Auskunft. Ich meinte du hättest ihm verboten an dich zu schreiben. — Einmal hast du es durch mich verboten. Er arbeitet jetzt und ist wahrscheinlich auf dem Wege — und will jetzt noch nichts sagen um dich zu überraschen. — So denke ich mirs. — Ich weiß aber so wenig — Er hat mir nichts gesagt und du so wenig — Ich habe alles errathen müssen. — und weiß heute nicht wie ihr zusammen gestanden und wie ihr heute steht. Was sagt Bessie? Wenn ich etwas thun kann so sag es mir Liebchen; und wenn ich etwas thun muß so bin ich bereit morgen aufzubrechen — Nur, bitte sage mir doch etwas mehr — dir habe ich nichts verborgen warum solltest du es mir? Addie scheint glücklich zu sein und wenn ich mit ihr bin so bin ichs auch. Nur muß ich zuweilen, wenn ich an die lange Zukunft, die öde Zukunft eh wir heirathen können denke den Muth verlieren — und es wird mir kalt um's Herz. — Ich komme den 21sten oder 22sten —

Dein Bruder John

13 Walnut — Dec. 11 — 84. Boston

Dear Sis. —

I really don't know why it is always so difficult for me to begin my letter to you — probably because I usually want to write you something more than a silly chit-chat letter and therefore don't always think myself capable of doing so without first doing some work. — and once I start thinking and fantasizing in front of the desk, the opportunity is gone and I have to postpone until tomorrow what I could and should have done today.

I had to think about the last sentence of your letter for a long time. — But I believe that you really have no reason to be afraid when it rests on nothing more than his silence — and you give me no further information. I thought you had forbidden him to write to you. — Once you forbade it through me. He is working now and is probably on his way — and doesn't want to say anything yet to surprise you. — That's what I think. — But I know so little — he has told me nothing and you so little — I have had to guess everything. — and don't know today how you stood together and how you stand today. What does Bessie say? If I can do something, tell me, dear; and if I must do something, I am ready to set out tomorrow — Only, please tell me something more — I have hidden nothing from you, why should you hide it from me?

Addie seems happy, and when I am with her I am happy. Only sometimes, when I think of the long future, the dreary future before we can marry, I lose my courage — and

my heart grows cold. — I come the 21st or 22nd —  
Your brother John

---

**Notes:** Addie was Adeline “Addie” Wheelwright Lewis, whom John married 15 December 1887. See Subsection 6.6.4. There are two Bessies in Amy’s journals and letters: Russell Gray’s half sister Elizabeth Chipman Gray and Elizabeth (Bessie) Woodville, a correspondent of Amy’s who mostly divided her life between Baltimore, Maryland, and Biarritz, France. Context usually makes clear which Bessie is being referred to. Bessie Woodville was not a relative, but was the much closer friend of Amy. John lived in Biarritz during a period when Bessie Woodville was in residence there, and the evidence is that the Heards visited her in Biarritz during their time there in 1877. Bessie Woodville was introduced in Subsection 12.1.1 and will be treated at more length in the notes following her 18 March 1885 letter to Amy.

Letter from Max (Bébé) Heard in Boston to Amy in New York, 16 December 1884

Miss Heard

262 Fourth Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

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Boston

Le 16 Dec. /84

Eh bien ma petite Mams<sup>5</sup> tu ne vas donc plus m’écire? J’entends ici et là parler de toi à des assemblés, des réceptions etc., et tu ne m’en dis rien du tout. Tous les jours je me dis “j’en aurai une bien sure, aufourd’hui”, mais presque deux semaines que je n’en ai eu. N’oublie pas de répondre à propos de la photographie de la petite fille car Jean attend la réponse avec impatience. Je t’ai aussi demandé un conseil pour le cadeau de Coco. Il fait un temps superbe depuis hier après midi et si chaud qu’avec un petit paletot d’été j’ai trop chaud et je n’ai pas encore mise mes flanelles d’hiver.

Je vais beaucoup mieux car j’ai commencé l’huile de foie de morue et je bois à peu près cinq grands verres de lait par jour.

J’enverrai probablement par Jean un paquet que tu ne dois pas ouvrir avant Noël. Quand est ce que Aug. arrive?

Déjeuner est servi maintenant.

embrasse la famille et écris bientôt a ton

Bébé

---

<sup>5</sup>*Mams* is likely a sisterly abbreviation for *Mam’selle*, French argot for *Mademoiselle*.

Well my little Mam'selle so you are not going to write to me? I hear hear and there talk of you at assemblies, receptions etc, and you tell me nothing at all. Every day I tell myself "Surely I will have one today," but it has been nearly two weeks since I last received one. Do not forget to respond about the photograph of the little girl because John impatiently awaits the response. I have also also asked for advice on the gift of Coco.

The weather has been superb since yesterday afternoon and so warm that with a little summer cardigan I was too warm and I still have not put on my winter flannels.

I am doing much better because I began cod liver oil and I am drinking about five tall glasses of milk each day.

I will send you probably by John a package which you should not open before Christmas. When will Aug. arrive?

Embrace the family and write soon to your  
Bébé

**Notes** Jean/John is Max and Amy's brother John Heard, Jr. Aug. is their brother Augustine Albert Heard. I have no idea who Coco was.

From Amy's brother John Heard Jr. Transcription and translation by Helmut Walravens,

Wednesday night  
Dec. 17 1884  
Liebchen

Tavern Club  
1 Park Square

Mich freuts, ich kann Dir nicht sagen wie sehr, zu erfahren, daß Deine Furcht nicht begründet war. — Was kann ich weiter ? — Du scheinst eben so große Schwierigkeit zu fühlen als ich wenn wir von unseren heiligeren Leidenschaften sprechen sollen. — Man muß den richtigen Augenblick erwarten, und heute Abend finde ich ihn nicht. Hier schreibe ich eine Zeile um Dich zu bitten Freitag um vier Uhr Nachmittags —line zu besuchen (73 Madison Avenue) und ihr meinen Brief zu reichen. — Ich werde glaube ich Dienstag oder Mittwoch kommen da ich noch einige Tage mit meiner Geliebten zubringen möchte. — Denn bald müssen wir uns auf Gott weiß wie lange trennen. — Wahrhaftig wenn ich daran denke wirds mir kalt ums Herz. — Sage nicht daß ich erst Dienstag oder Mittwoch komme, sonst wollten sie warum [?] wissen.

Dein Bruder  
Johann  
Miss Heard  
262 Fourth Avenue

New York City

---

Wednesday night

Dec. 17 1884

Tavern Club

1 Park Square

I am pleased, I cannot tell you how much, to learn that your fears were not justified. — What more can I say? — You seem to feel as much difficulty as I do when we are to speak of our more sacred passions. — One must wait for the right moment, and tonight I will not find it. Here I am writing a line to ask you to visit Adeline (73 Madison Avenue) on Friday at four o'clock in the afternoon and hand her my letter. — I think I shall come on Tuesday or Wednesday as I wish to spend a few more days with my beloved. — For soon we must part for God knows how long. — Truly, when I think of it, my heart grows cold. — Don't tell them I'm not coming until Tuesday or Wednesday, or they'll want to know why.

Your brother

John

---

## 14.4 1885

Letter from Max (Bébé) Heard in Boston to Amy in Washington, D.C., 28 January 1885. She was 16 when she wrote this letter to her sister.

Miss Heard

British Legation

Washington, D.C.

---

Boston

Jan 28<sup>th</sup>/ 85

Eh bien! Petite Mams tu m'as donc tout à fait oublié? Voilà bientôt trois semaines que je n'ai eu de tes nouvelles. Il me semble qu'Amalia et Flore ont pris ma place! Maman aussi ne m'a pas écrit depuis le départ de Papa.

Quand arrive-tu?

Comme Coco a vieilli!

J'ai eu une lettre de lui l'autre jour et on dirait vraiment qu'il a quarante ans. Demain je vais avoir un petit dinner de jeunes filles, entre autres Olivia Cushing qui est grande comme un montagne. As tu vu Ethel Robeson? Comment porte elle ses robes?

Tu devrais voir ma robe neuve!!! Je ne m’y connais plus. Pas que c’est agaçant; maintenant qu’il y a de la neige et un temps superbe pour aller en traîneau M<sup>r</sup>Sargent est encore malade cela fait que je dois rester à la maison et voir les autres. Voilà presque deux mois qu’il a une mauvaise bronchite dont il ne peut pas se débarrasser.

Je t’envoie quelque chose, que j’ai écrit, que j’aimerais que tu corrige si tu as le temps. La maîtresse a dit que c’était “très bien” et n’y a rien corrigés/

Ecris bien vite à

Bébé

Qui t’embrasse bien fort.

Well! Petite Mam’selle  
so you have in fact forgotten me? It is already three weeks since I have heard from you. It seems to me that Amalia and Flore have taken my place! Maman also has not written me since Papa left.

When do you arrive?

How Coco has aged!

I had a letter from him the other day and one would truly say that he is forty. Tomorrow I am going to a small dinner of young girls, including among others Olivia Cushing who is as tall as a mountain. Have you seen Ethel Robeson? How does she wear her dresses?

You should see my new dress!! I no longer knew myself. Not that it’s annoying; now that there is snow and superb weather for sledding Mr. Sargent is still ill which means I have to stay at home to see others. It is already almost two months that he has a bad bronchitis which he can not shake.

I am sending you something that I have written, which I would like you to correct if you have the time. The mistress said it was “very well” and did not correct anything.

Write very soon to

Bébé

Who warmly embraces you

10 February 1885 letter from Augustine Heard Jr. to Amy.

N.Y. Feby 10 1885

My Darling Amy

You should have seen our enthusiasm tonight at the receipt & reading of your letter with Georgie’s enclosures. I should like to have seen you, when your eye first ranged

over her note. What a conflict of feeling! and it was not all puzzlement & confusion & ennui! You must have felt a certain, & a vivid gratification. After a little practice the habit of writing will come & you will be surprised at your present reluctance. Your article was very nicely written, but not so nicely as your everyday letters. Try to make your public effusion as natural & easy as these. Strike out every thing that is stiff or stilted or formal. Be unaffected & informed without being slipshod. But your natural style is good enough for anything. Your hastily letter about Mr Wadsworth was chef d'oeuvre, & you will never surpass it. It is not to be imitated & I mention it to show that you have only to find yourself to your natural ?? & dash to attain very pleasant & satisfactory results.

You can take up & rewrite a past of your own experiences; & you can now find some use for your ??? & habits of observation.

It will be very pleasant too to pick up \$50 a month or 20, but to do this you will will have to write two or three articles. I fancy they omit any lunch. Two guineas a column or something like that, & you can easily make up a column a week for the present.

I don't think there is much danger or your name getting out of the editor is told you don't want it known. It is not customary to tell names, and the surest way is naturally not to let him know, & just now perhaps till you get more at home with it you might let Georgie act for you. The order or cheque might be made to her ??? & endorsed by her to you \_\_ or in blank & sent in a registered letter like a Bank note. \_ or in a postal order. After a while you will find it more convenient probably to deal directly. But if you are going to send more than the "ladys" column, you will require her intervention. Good night

Giving us all great pleasure

\_\_ yours affy AH

12 February from AH Jr.

262 Fourth Av. N.Y. 12 Febr 1885

My darling Amy,

I was most agreeably surprised on coming home this afternoon to find your new "article" lying on my table. It is really a decided improvement on the other in ease of style & interest of matter & I congratulate you on your success. I have ventured to mark one or two words. "Harbinger" is evidently a mistake in writing for "harbo[?]." I don't exactly like manner. manner dis??? to themselves. it is hardly "manner" that you mean, but line, walk of life, some other word.

Here there is more[?] sympathy Interest than you describe as fact[?] in Washington for the Egyptian inbroglio & qu[?] whether you wd not put in a word of appreciation of the fighting quality of John Bull & his always coming out well in difficult situations, with a word of pride in our descent from the same.

It might touch a chord of affection on the other side.

Who is your Miss F.? or is she purely imaginary?

Your mother is quite charmed with your talent, & will be talking of her literary daughter, if I don't ??? her ???.

As I supposed, you can evidently knock off an article a week! & keep ??? occupied in negotiations with new editors.

You must change your signature for each new journal. S. can do it for you, if you give her the ???.

Yrs fndly

A.H,

I don't know whether you meant one to forward this direct to England, but I don't recollect the addr, so it must go back to you.

Your mother has had a note from Mrs. Pinchot that owing to illness she has given up her Southern trip, ??? to Washington, where she will be at the Arlington from Saturday till Monday & hopes to see you. She arrives[?] on[?] Saturday morning & will take on a parcel to you.

14 February 1885 Letter from Mary C. Endicott in Washington, D.C. to Amy in New York.

Miss Heard  
28 West 18<sup>th</sup> Street  
New York, N.Y.

Postmarked Washington Feb 15, 1885

1313 Sixteenth Street  
February 14<sup>th</sup>

Dearest Amy

I wonder if you have as beautiful a Sunday in New York as we have here \_\_ it is simply delicious a flood of sun shine & the air as balmy as spring. A great relief after the rain. The last week I have been constantly on the 'go' \_\_ besides our regular engagements a good many things accumulated during our second week of moving[?] \_\_ Fate seems to be against us for on Tuesday last we were to have had a reception for the Army & Navy & at four that afternoon had to recall our invitations owing to the death of Gen. Hancock.

Did you ever know any thing like our ill luck it has been the same thing with everything we have undertaken. Next Tuesday we hope to accomplish it, but it puts off the other receptions we mean to give. Last week we had a nice visit from Lizzie Prescott, & now we are expecting some if not all of the Mason family \_\_ Fanny has been coming for three days but the roads[?] were so bad she could not get off. I wanted her for the

Diplomatic Reception at the White House. It was quite a brilliant spectacle, & I enjoyed it very much for one had plenty of people to talk to. The night was fearful, torrents of rain, but in spite of it we managed to get in & out without spoiling our new gowns. I sported my green tulle,<sup>6</sup> which looked very pretty, but was frightfully hot.

This poor letter has many interruptions\_\_\_ this is the third time I have taken up my pen. The ladies Whitehouse was delightful the other night. I danced with Mr. Berry & the, & the Whitehouse was very gay & everyone was in the spirit of it\_\_\_ We stayed till the last gasp, & enjoyed it immensely. Last night I dined at the Bradleys (Justice).\_\_ Miss West was there looking very pretty \_\_ I do think she is so attractive. Pedroso took me into dinner & had many pleasant things to say about you. Afterwards I went to the Loring's, where all one's friends were there found, & which was especially agreeable. I always like their receptions so much\_\_\_ Ever since Washington grows more attractive, I now know lots of people & find many of them charming\_ Such a crowd as we have on Wednesdays\_\_\_ last wee we had quite 1000. I find it very amusing for they change so quickly that one does not have a chance to become bored\_ It is much worse for Mama, who is stationary but she does not mind it, & bears the standing very well, but as you know she has a way of rising to the occasion.

I hear that a great many Boston People are coming soon \_\_\_ just now New Yorkers abound. On Thurs we have a dinner to which Mrs. Roberts is coming. I am constantly hearing about our relationships. It is very late & I really must seek my ??? for I must be up early\_\_ Mama sends much love to you all. Do write & tell me about yourself. I dare say this is a very scrappy epistle, but forgive it dear\_\_

I am ling[?] in a hurry & my mind is suffering for it. With much love

Ever affectionately

Mary C. Endicott

**Notes:** Mary C. Endicott was introduced in Subsection 11.5.1, along with the Mason family, including Fanny – Mary's cousin.

21 February 1885 from Josefina Martinez in Lisbon

Miss Heard

<sup>st</sup>care of Augustine Heard

<sup>st</sup>39 Nassau St., New York

Russian Legation, Washington, D.C.

<sup>6</sup>a soft, fine silk, cotton, or nylon material like net, used for making veils and dresses. *Oxford Dictionary of English*

Lisboa. Febrero 21 / 85

Querida Amy

Ud se estrenará que le escriba desde Lisboa siendo que en mi ultima carta le decia que nos ibamos a pasar el invierno a Italia, pero cuando estabamos en Paris en viaje para Roma, recibo papá una comunicacion de su gobierno pidiendole que aceptara una mision especial a Lisboa, es decir en un Congreso universal que se ha reunido aquí. asi es que en lugar de marcharnos a Italia, nos pusimos en camino a Madrid, donde nos quedamos una semana i de allí a Lisboa en donde hemos estado ya tres semanas.

Esta ciudad es mui pintoresca i con un clima delicioso, la vista del Lago es lindisima, i sobre todo viniendo del norte, hace mui buena impresion ver los campos i jardines cubiertos de verdura i flores en medio del invierno. Está mui animado esta ciudad con motivo de haber ahora tantos diplomaticos reunidos, i como todos están como huespedes de la nacion, han habido i siguen habiendo muchos fiestas en su honor i la jente se conduce con mucha cortesia, principiando por la familia real. Aún no se sabe cuanto tiempo mas dure este congreso, pero probablemente no pasará de dos semanas mas. Alna vez<sup>7</sup> concluido esto nos irémos a Andalucia i Granada i de allí a Italia, porque aùn papá no ha tomado su lisencia.<sup>8</sup> — Laura mi hermana quedó en el convento en Paris, i mi hermano anda con nosotros como secretario de papá, en gran parte por su salud, que estaba mui delicada en Inglaterra. — A Londres no sabemos todavia cuando volverémos, papá no piensa quedarse mucho tiempo mas ahí, él desea volver a Chile para atender a negocios mui importantes, que tiene prediente allá, pero todavia no no ha resuelto nada definitivo sobre su ida, porque tal vez sea neccessario que se guide en Lóndres por negocios diplomáticos, o que tenga que ir en mision diplomática a Roma en algunos meses mas. Ya ve Ud. que nuestra vida está tambien por el momento bastante incierta a mi me gustaria muchó quedarme en Europa i sobre todo en Lóndres, que es al lugar que mas me gusta, en donde me encuentro mas at home, pero eso no depende desgraciadamente de mí, aunque a mis padres les gusta mucho tambien la vida en Europa, sin embargo no se pueden descuidar otras cosas i nuestra ida no seria tampoco para no volver. Cuando me ecsriba dirijas siempre a 29 Old Burlington street. London. que de allí me has mandaran a donde esté.

Espero con mucho placer el viaje por Andalucia, me interesan mucho estos paisés, sobre todo Españ que tiene tanta semejanza on el mio.

Madrid me gustó, pero no es lo que yo me imaginaba, lo mas notable que hoy que ver allí, es el museo de pinturas que segun la opinion general no tiene rival en el mundo.

Ha vuelto Ud a New York ? espero que lo pasaria mui bien en sus visitas de Washing-

<sup>7</sup>an abbreviation of “alguna vez”

<sup>8</sup>Probably the intended word was “licencia” meaning an official approval for an action.

ton. Me ha hecho gracia la idea de Mathilde de cantar una opera, i sobre todo como Ud dice en eel carácter de esclava con la cara pintada; ella tiene bonita voz, pero me parece que no es bastante artista; que su voz no está cantar en opera, espero que haya tenido éxito sin embargo.

Conozco la literatura de Becquer me gusta mucho, tambien de leido algunos obras del S<sup>e</sup> Valera.

Acabo de leer un libro mui interesante, titulado John Inglesant, por Shorthouse, es una romance filosáfico mui bien escrito i de mucho fondo, si Ud lo lee creo que le gustará. Asi como a Ud la gusta leer en español, me gusto a mi leer en ingles o frances. la literatura española me interesa poco, conozco las obras clásicas i los romances no me gustan en mi idioma curioso no es verdad ? El ??? español tampoco me ha gustado, las piezas antiguas son mui exajeradas, i las modernas no son de mucho mérito. —

Mi madre me encarga recuerdos para la suya i para Ud. —

Escribame pronto, i creame siempre

suya af<sup>ma</sup>

Josefina Martinez

**Notes:**

Mathilde was Amy's friend Mathilde de Nogueiras. Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer was a Spanish romantic poet. Valera is Juan Valera, Spanish author and Minister to Washington. *John Inglesant* was a novel by Joseph Henry Shorthouse, published in 1881.

Lisbon. February 21 / 85

Dear Amy

You will see that for the first time I write to you from Lisbon. In my last letter our decision was to spend the winter in Italy, but when we were in Paris on our way to Rome, Papa received a communication from his government asking him to accept a special mission to Lisbon to represent the country at a universal congress that has gathered here. So instead of going to Italy, we set out for Madrid, where we stayed a week and from there went to Lisbon where we have already been for three weeks.

This city is very picturesque and has a delicious climate, the view of the lake is beautiful, and above all coming from the north, it makes a very good impression to see fields and gardens covered with green and flowers in the middle of winter. It is very lively this city which now has so many diplomats gathered, all as guests of the nation. There have been and there are still many parties in his honor and people behave with much courtesy, especially by the royal family Still no one knows how much longer the congress will last, but probably not more than two more weeks. At some time it will conclude and then

we will go to Andalusia and Granada and from there to Italy, because papa hasn't yet obtained his license. — Laura my sister stayed in the convent in Paris, and my brother goes with us as papa's secretary, in large part for his health, which was very delicate in England. — We do not know yet when we will return to London, papa does not think we will spend much more time there, he wants to return to Chile to participate in very important negotiations, but still nothing definitive has been resolved about his departure, perhaps because it is necessary to be guided by diplomatic matters in London, or go on a diplomatic mission to Rome in a few more months. Already you see that our life at the moment is rather uncertain.

I would really like to stay in Europe and above all in London, which is the place that most pleases me, where I feel most at home, but unfortunately it does not depend on me!. My parents also like very much life in Europe, however they cannot neglect other things and our departure will not be to never return. When you write to me, always address to 29 Old Burlington street, London, which reaches me wherever I am.

I look forward with great pleasure to the trip through Andalusia. These countries interest me greatly, above all Spain, which so resembles my own country.

I liked Madrid, but It is not what I imagined. The most notable sight there today is the museum of paintings, which in public opinion has no rival in the world.

Have you returned to New York ? I hope that your visits to Washington went well. Mathilde's idea of singing opera is funny, above all as you say in the role of a slave with painted face. She has nice voice, but it seems to me it is not artistic enough. Her voice is not educated enough to sing in opera, nevertheless I hope that it it was a success.

I know the writing of Becquer greatly pleases me, I have also read some of the works of S<sup>r</sup> Valera.

I just read a very interesting book, titled *John English*, by Shorthouse, it is a philosophical romance very well written and with a lot of background. If you read I think you will like it. As you like to read in Spanish, I like to read in English or French. Spanish literature little interests me. I know the classics; the romances are not pleasing in my language. Is it not curious? I do not like like Spanish ??? either. The old pieces are very exaggerated, and the modern do not have much merit. —

My mother asks me to send her regards to you and yours . —

Write me soon, and always believe me

yours affectionately

Josephine Martinez

Letter from Max (Bébé) Heard in Boston to Amy, 5 March 1885.

Boston  
Le 5 Mars 1885

Mamms,

Que crois tu que ton Béb  a re u ce matin? M<sup>lle</sup> B b  a re u deux gros bouquets de superbes violettes d'un jeune hmme. Qui crois tu? Wille Otis jr. Pas que c' tait gentil de sa part? Il a entendu dire que je ne me portais pas bien alors il est all  tout de suite m'envoyer des fleurs.

Addie Lewis dit que tu viendra probablement vers le 15?

M<sup>me</sup> Bowler n'ait pas du tout populaire. "She is so vulgar!" Et il parait qu'au bal elle porte ses robes tellement d collet s qu'on a peur de la regarder.

Tout le monde est tr s aimable pour moi et s'interessent   ma gu rison. M<sup>me</sup> Sargent vient me voir tous les jours ainsi que plusieurs autres de mes amies.

J'esp re pouvoir aller   l' cole lundi prochain. Aujourd'hui je suis sortis deux fois, une demie heure   la fois.

D p che toi bien de venir.

B b 

Une de mes violettes.

Boston  
5 March 1885

Mamms,

What do you think your B b  received this morning? Mademoiselle B b  received two huge bouquets of superb violettes from a young man. Who do you think? Willie Otis jr. Is it not gentlemanly of him? He had heard that I was not feeling well and he immediately sent me flowers.

Addie Lewis says that you are probably coming around the 15th?

Mrs. Bowler has not been at all popular. "She is so vulgar!" And it appears that at the ball she wore a dress so low-cut that one was afraid to look at her.

Everyone is very friendly to me and is interested in my getting better. Mrs Sargent comes to see every day as well as several other of my friends.

I hope to go to school next Monday. Today I went out twice, each time for a half hour. Hurry and come.

B b 

One of my violets.

8 March 1885 from John Heard Jr.  
Transcribed and translated by Bernd and Sabine Girod.

Liebes Schwesterlein, Ich habe meinen zweiten Artikel eben fertig geschrieben und morgen früh geht er ab an Addie die ihn verbessern wird und direkt an Lippincott schicken. Sie schreibt mir sie hoffe Dich bald zu sehen – Du seiest zu jeder Zeit und auf die längste Zeit stets willkommen. – Ich gehe jetzt nach Canada d.h. sobald der Schnee vom Boden verschwunden ist. Inzwischen werde ich in 10-12 Tagen nach Boston gehen, mich dort bereit halten sogleich abzu[witschen?] – Wenn die Sache in Canada gut ist, so haben wir alles Geld um zu heirathen gleich!!! - Es ist hier nicht auszuhalten. - Wenn ich zu Hause bin halten Sie es so warm, dass ich die ganze Zeit in einem Bade sitze und weder essen, schreiben, noch lesen kann. Ich leide fuerchterlich, die ganze Zeit. Ich muss Dich bitten, fuer mich etwas zu

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thun, d.h., wenn Du es kannst. Ein Freund von mir geht zu Gilder dem Editor der Century Zeitschrift um fuer mich Artikel ueber Biarritz u.s.w.zu bekommen. Diese sollten mit Skizzen illustriert werden – und ich möchte Dich bitten wenn Du uns Sz[...] in [...] kannst und mir die 3 Skizzen von [dorten?] die in meinem oder in deinem Zimmer waren aus dem Rahmen zu schneiden (von hinten) und mir Dir hierher zu bringen. Wie kommst Du mit Deinen Artikeln vorwaerts?

Hoffentlich sehen wir uns bald

Dein John

Von den Büchern (meinen) die hier sind welche willst Du behalten und mit Dir herum[...]. – Ich meine ich könnte einigen davon wegnehmen um sie aus dem Wege zu schaffen und nach Ipswich bringen. – Dein Bruder

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Dear little sister, I just finished my second article and tomorrow morning it goes off to Addie who will correct it und send it directly to Lippincott. She writes me that she hopes to see you soon – you are always welcome any time and for the longest time. – I go to Canada now, i.e., as soon as the snow has disappeared from the ground. In the mean time, I will go to Boston in 10 – 12 days and be ready to instantly rush off. – If the thing in Canada is good, we will have all the money to marry immediately!!! – It is unbearable here. – When I am at home, they keep it so warm, that I sit in a bath the whole time and can neither eat, nor write, not read. I suffer terribly, the whole time.

I have to ask you to do something for me, i.e., if you can. A friend of mine goes to Gilder, the editor of the Century magazine, to obtain for me articles about Biarritz etc. These should be illustrated with sketches – and I would like to ask you whether [...] you could cut 3 sketches [...] that were in my room or yours out of their frame (from behind) and bring them here with you. How are your articles coming along? Hopefully we see each other soon.

Yours John

Of my books that are here, which ones do you want to keep with you? I think I could take some of them away so they are out of the way and bring them to Ipswich. — Your Brother.

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10 March 1885 from Jane Leep Heard in New York to Amy in Washington D.C.

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Miss Heard  
c/o Geo. B. Loring Esqre  
132 NW H St.  
Washington D.C.

New York 10 Mars/85

Chère Amy

Papa qui vient de rentrer s'habiller pr sortir à la hâte dit Tell Amy it is much wiser for her to leave while they all are anxious to have her remain. Je suis disposée à croire que tu ferais mieux de suivre l'itinéraire tracée dans les lettres précédentes Ni Louise<sup>9</sup> ni Addie<sup>10</sup> ne seront contente to be thrown over. Je ne le serais pas à leur place. Il est bon aussi d'être un peu connue à Boston immédiatement après avoir été si fêtée que tu l'as été à Wash.

Si Mr Gardner répète son invitation accepte la.

Nous quittons nos appartement! le 4 Avril je crois que tu t'y trouveras mieux ici que chez Cadle et que tu feras ton triage et emballage mieux ici que chez les C.

Je crois entre nous strictement que l'envie de te revoir influe la décision de Papa qui a dit hier soir à table hanker & hunger to see that child. lequel sentiments j'ai appuyée emphatiquement. Les Rulles sont très hospitaliers mais ils sont aussi très changeable et il vaut mieux que tu partes sans désenchantement de part et d'autre.

Je n'ai pas pu t'envoyer une dépêche étant trop souffrante pour sortir et il n'y avait personne que je pouvais envoyer. J'ai reçu la lettre à onze heures la ???

J'espere que tu trouveras ma plaque, mes boutons jais. Je pense aussi qu'il vaut mieux apporter la robe grenat.

Papa qui a vu Kimbell <sup>11</sup> de retour aujourd'hui de Wash ou il a été reçu par M<sup>r</sup>& M<sup>me</sup>Endicott most charmingly

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<sup>9</sup>probably Louise Bowler, a regular correspondent of Amy's in the mid 1880s.

<sup>10</sup>Wife of Amy's brother John

<sup>11</sup>Spelling is difficult to read in this letter, but it is clear in Gus' letter on the same day describing the same meeting.

K attribuait leur accueil to the connection existing bet himself & yr father avait rendezvous avec K qui lui avait dit “whatever there is that E. can ??? his influence obtain for you you are sure to have” but what there is Dieu Sait. Je te dis tout ce que je sais. We have no plans. It was I who decided that we shd go to Bar H.

My head throbs at the latest dances.

Adieu JLH

---

Dear Amy

Papa who just returned to dress to leave in a hurry says “Tell Amy it is much wiser for her to leave while they all are anxious to have her remain.” I am disposed to believe that you would do better to follow the itinerary traced in the previous letters. Neither Louise nor Addie will be content to be thrown over. I would not be in their place. It is also good to be a little known in Boston immediately after having been as celebrated as you were in Washington.

If Mr Gardner repeats his invitation, accept it.

We are leaving our apartment! on April 4. I believe that you will find it better here than at the Cadle’s and you will better do your packing here than there.

I believe between strictly between us that the desire to see you again influenced Papa’s decision — yesterday evening he said at the table that he “hankered & hungered to see that child.” Which sentiments I emphatically pressed. The Rulles are very hospitable but they are also very changeable and it would be better if you left without disenchantment on either side.

I was not able to send you an expressed as I was suffering too much to leave and there was no one whom I could send. I received the letter at 11 on the ???

Papa who saw Kimbell on returning today from Washington where he was received by Mr and Mrs Endicott most charmingly.

K attributes his welcome to the connection existing between himself and your father had a rendezvous with K who had told him “whatever there is that Endicott can ??? his influence obtain for you you are sure to have” but God knows what there is. I tell you all that I know We have no plans. It was I who decided that we should go to Bar Harbor.

My head throbs at the latest dances.

Adieu JLH

---

10 March 1886 from Gus at the Century Club

Postmarked Washigton DC Mar 11

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Miss Heard  
 care of Hon. Geo. B. Loring  
 1521 K St  
 Washington

D.C.

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**THE CENTURY**  
**109 EAST FIFTEENTH STREET**

10 Mar 1885

Dear Amy

I dash off a line while waiting here for Kimbell to say that I hunger & thirst to see your bonny face again. We old folks <sup>12</sup>have been jogging tant bien que mal, & concerning ourselves with picturing the pleasures in which you are & have been taking part; when the time draws nigh, the desire becomes too strong for silence.

I was in the house a minute just now & Mama read me part of your letter ab<sup>th</sup> returning to the Struves. It did not seem quite clear to me whether you were to return to them (from here?) in May, or go to them from the Lorings' & stay till May ? \_\_ which seems long! . Without wishing to influence your pr??? which in the spot is better than mine, I cannot keep thinking your first plan is the best, & it is well to leave while they are wishing you to stay — as you said yourself in your earlier letter. Especially if you propose to accept Mrs ??? invitation to go to see her in Boston —

I had to break this off at the middle of the last hope as K came in. I have been to Mrs Roberts, where they were asking for your news, & am now scratching this off at the Union Club preparatory to rushing up with it to the Fith Ave Hotel to work. It is already 6.<sup>20</sup> so good night. Yrs affly A.H.

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15 March 1885 letter from Louise Bowler in Boston to Amy in Washington D.C.

Miss Amy Heard  
 1521 K. St  
 Washington D.C.

71 Beacon Street

Sunday March 15  
1885

My Dear. Amy

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<sup>12</sup>Gus was 57 when he wrote the letter

I telegraphed you yesterday that the Dr has ordered us South as soon as Baby can be moved a point which we cannot now decide.

His convalescence is very slow one day we think he is better & then again worse. You cannot tell how distressed I am not to have you but sister felt I had better write you frankly as she may be obliged to move any day & then perhaps not for weeks. You will forgive me will you not & believe what a distress it is to me to miss having you with me. In the first place I have long looked forward to this visit for there are so many things I wish to talk over with you & also a good many things & ideas with which I know you would sympathize & for which I must with no sympathy here. I cannot tell you how sorry I am for myself & I only hope I have not greatly changed your plans. My sister was so positive you could come by March 20<sup>th</sup> that I wrote urging you to come then. I now wish I had hesitated a little longer for I fear I have greatly deranged you.

You would be distressed could you see our poor boy, he is a shadow of himself & too ill to sit up yet\_ \_ \_ I can give you no news of Maxima, I have hardly seen any one for three weeks.

Always your loving & distressed friend  
Louise Bowler

Louisa's sister Jane Hunt Bowler (1850-1856) died in childhood, so she must be referring to her sister-in-law Alice Bernhard (Williamson) Bowler, Mrs. Robert Bonner Bowler II, (1851-1935), another correspondent of Amy's. It is not obvious who the ill male Baby referred to is, Louise did not get married until 1890, when she married Mr. John Callender Livingston of New York. They had a daughter Louise Alida in Paris in 1893. So likely the Baby mentioned in the letter is the son of Louisa's "sister" Alice, which would be Robert Bonner Bowler III (1880-1952).

Louisa's Boston address of 71 Beacons St. is not listed in *Back Bay Boston* because it was considered part of Beacon Hill and was never considered part of the Back Bay.

16 March 1885 letter from Georgie to Amy in NY

4 Chesham Street

March 16 1885

My Dearest Amy

You must be surprised at not hearing from me. I have received your last article & two letters, have corrected the letter 7 and forwarded it.

The delay in my letter has been this. The editor did not insert your article in the first

number (Feb:19) but in the next (Feb:26) he however omitted to send me the one of Feb. 26 & I expecting it to appear in the first number was astonished at its non appearance \_\_ hence a correspondence which has caused delay \_\_ I now send you the results containing your article \_\_ They will only send me a cheque for the several articles together \_ Father says that is the usual thing & I will forward it the very moment I receive it. Please send me as much as you can at a time not only because the paper appears every week but because I might perhaps get things into other papers, although this one is ??? a key ??? sale \_\_ There is an article in it on ??? by my cousin. Please send anything. A short biography of some American actress or author an account of art in America in fact any thing \_\_\_\_ Now let me put business aside and ask you how you are my sweet friend. Life seems to me nothing but a great hurry in which you do every thing that you do not want to do & nothing that pleases you. I try to keep to work, but one's ??? and correspondence and duties increase so that is almost impossible \_\_ I feel torn on every side\_

All my ??? ?? the pie at once and the "question du mariage" worries me ??? my coming to any conclusion. Whenever I am just in the ??? of the fatal step I realize that it is not my well being & I ??? back. Don't repeat this for it sounds as if I am a terrible ??? It is not that at all but I daresay you have experienced it and understand. We have had a great grief in the death of my mother's step-father to whom she was devoted. Such a dear old man! I have no time for more

Your loving friend  
Georgie

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**Notes:** I have not yet found a last name for Georgie or a name for the weekly periodical where Amy seems to have published articles and letters for a small payment. Her father refers to a "lady's" column and to Amy's wish to not have her name revealed. Georgie's letter suggests the nature of the articles and some information about publication dates, so perhaps more searching or transcriptions will yield further information.

18 March 1885 from Bessie in Chalet Haltura, Biarritz, to Amy in New York.

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Via Queenstown  
Miss Heard  
% Augustine Heard Esq

39 Nassau Street  
New York.

United States. America

Postmarked BIARRITZ 19 MARS 85, PARIS 20 MARS 85, NEW YORK MAR 30

Haltura

Biarritz March 18<sup>th</sup>

Your letter came just at twilight the other day, My darling. X was sitting with me & we were talking of you – as indeed we always seem to be doing. It was a dear letter – the secret message to X. was much appreciated & we both were silent after I had read it. The tender[?] wishes seem so vain – when put into words – While the longing of the heart for our dear absent one is always eloquent. I can assure you \_\_\_ It seemed odd to read of our[?] Independence, & we both thought I said how precious would have been one of your ??? free days. Could we but have realized just one uninterrupted one – in the days gone forever \_\_\_ We got along here as usual. Biarritz is a bigger place \_\_\_ We are older. Voila tout. I wish Time could teach the lesson one supposes it should \_\_\_ but our old X cannot be cheerful – & he makes himself & those who care for him very unhappy at times. with his changed ??? ideas \_\_\_ He will smile when I tell him that he has the same old feeling about men for whom one never gives a thought & who are from circumstances rather more disagreeable than otherwise.

It is a pity.\_ for it takes so much out of the present & which of us can think of what this Torture may bring. – I am sure this winter has been a strange one – & not unpleasant.\_ I am sure as they say the kindness should satisfy the needs but must touch the recipient. I look back with no little satisfaction to the welcome I met with when I was at home. What they say of Mrs Robeson <sup>13</sup> is true & yet I do not think she gets as much out of life as so clever a woman should. She holds to things which seem to me so small, & to a woman of her age. I should think would mean nothing – her love of admiration is what I cannot take in \_\_\_

Yes, I suppose Washington is changed now, like by a magic wand – & the prominent characters of the last few years will sink into oblivion & a new phase has begun. \_ It makes me pause for a moment & I think of how empty it all is.

I am grieved at what you write me of Max. I presume she has improved[?] her strength & I fear Boston is a trying climate for a girl of her age.<sup>14</sup> I never thought Max would be very robust with her choices. I hope she will later[?] ??? in hand – cod liver oil is not a bad thing for her I should say \_ that you had better propose it very ??? & take

[line illegible] & rainy weather here next winter. I was not joking it would do you all good & not cost half as much as New York – I can put two of you up in our house.

The picture Mrs Robeson has of the house is a very bad one – & gives a very poor idea of it – you shall have a better one – when I have another taken \_ & I will send the view of the other side of the house –

<sup>13</sup>See Mrs Henry Adams' comments about Mrs Robeson in the notes for Amy's 1881 journal.

<sup>14</sup>16

We have taken in an extra bit of land – which is a vast improvement,

X will I presume be returning to his native land again this spring. I do not deter him – I almost hate to have him go. – ???, ??? along in Paris his own selfish way. He is a regular old bachelor & club man. He has not been there for over a year. I fancy the “old gal” is even more difficult than after her house is built. ??? chaos within. X says it never will be in order. He lives at the club – but lunches with us every day.

Mama is not well – she has advanced gout & suffers a good deal. She cannot walk at all.

How is your Maman ? & is she still living in New York – Give her my dear love. I think of her very often. I wish I could see her again – I never have gotten used to doing without her here – & I miss her sadly.

Old Madame de Mont??? is very fading – but Mademoiselle has grown into a pretty woman & looks wonderfully young –

I could run ahead for only so long – but I must say goodnight darling for I have still another letter to write before going to bed.

Write me soon.

With a loving kiss

Your dear friend

Bessie

**Notes:** Queenstown is a port in Ireland which at the time served as a primary transfer point for international mail between the U.S. and Europe.

Bessie’s identity as detailed in Subsection 12.1.1 can be traced to the handwritten heading “Haltura” and the Biarritz postmark of this letter, which lead to the Woodville family and eventually to Elizabeth (Bessie) Woodville of Baltimore and Biarritz.

Later letters from Bessie have a stamped monogram saying *Châlet Haltura*, which identifies her residence as a nineteenth century Villa named both as Châlet Haltura and Villa Woodville according to the *Rapport de Presentation Ville de Biarritz, Direction Regionale de L’Environnement d’Aquitaine, Service Departemental de l’Architecture des Pyrenees Atlantiques, Zone de Protection du Patrimoine Architectural Urbaine et Paysager (Z.P.P.A.U.P.)*

<sup>15</sup> The house was at 10 Rue Pringle in the Quartier Bon Air of Biarritz. The word *Haltura* means “height” in Basque.

The Z.P.P.A.U.P. report equates the Châlet Haltura to the Villa Woodville in the late nineteenth century and provides the address. Specifically the report mentions “Villa Woodville (Haltura)” in Les Grands Domaines Biarrots 16th - 18th centuries. The villa is shown on rue Pringle in an 1884 map. It is in the Quartier Bon Air of Biarritz, where the houses were built in the “chalet” style. Villa Woodville was listed as one of “Les grands domaines de la fin XIXè In the Plan Ardouin-1884.”

The specific connection to Bessie made by her correspondence to Amy from Haltura and the Château [sic] Haltura is reinforced by Baltimore Social Registers reporting Bessie

<sup>15</sup>ZPPAUPBIARRITZ02-rapportdepreËsantation-partie1.pdf

as residing with Miss Susan Williams of Baltimore at the Châlet Haltura in Biarritz and many newspaper articles that will be detailed later. In addition, later letters from Addie to Amy will refer to Bessie in Biarritz.

X was introduced in Subsection 12.1.2 This letter confirms he is a close friend of Bessie's who also knows Amy, talks and dines regularly with Bessie, is not young, and spends time in Paris. Bessie's saying that "the 'old gal' is even more difficult now that her house is built" correlates with her 1883 letter referring to the "Old Princess" whose new house is being built. Because of his dislike of the new house, X is living at his club, lunching with Bessie and her mother every day. Another implication of this is that X's father is no longer with his mother – either dead or divorced.

Letter from Max (Bébé) 21 March 1885

Miss Heard  
262 Fourth Ave

New York  
N.Y.

Postmarked Boston Mass. Mar 21 85

Samedi

Boston  
le 21 Mars/85

Ma chère petite Mams,  
Viendras-tu la semaine prochaine?

Tante Susan m'a demandé<sup>16</sup> de t'écrire et de te demander si tu pouvais luncher ici Samedi, le 28 Mars et de lui répondre aussitôt que possible?

La semaine d'après étant la semaine sainte elle ne veut pas donner un lunch à cette époque.

Comprends tu 'te Mams?

As-tu reçu une lettre d'Addie Lewis? Elle est venu me voir avant-hier et a dit qu'elle allait t'écrire de venir aussi tôt que tu pourras.

As tu vu des modes pour les chapeaux de paille? Je veux faire change la forme de mon chapeau de paille brune pour aller avec ma nouvelle robe. Si tu as des idées donne m'en. \_\_\_ La tante t'écrirait elle même seulement ses doigts sont tellement enflé avec le rheumatism que cela lui est impossible.

Il fait un vrai temps de chien. Froid, un vent à tout casser et une poussière!

Je ne savais pas que tu connaissait M<sup>me</sup> Jack si bien!

Embrasse tout le monde et n'oublie pas le lunch

Bébé

<sup>16</sup>The word is crossed out and over it is written "mié," but I can find no such French word

---

Saturday

Boston  
21 Mars./85

My dear little Mam'selle

Are you coming next week?

Aunt Susan asked me to write to you and to ask if you can lunch here Saturday, 29 March, and to respond to her as soon as possible?

She does not want to give a lunch the following week since it is Holy Week.

Do you understand Mams?

Have you received a letter from Addie Lewis? She came to see me the day before yesterday and said that she was going to write to you to come as soon as you are able to.

Have you seen the new styles for straw hats? I want to change the shape of my brown straw hat to go with my new dress. If you have any ideas give them to me. — Aunt would write to you herself only her fingers are so enflamed with rheumatism that that is impossible for her.

We are having filthy weather. Cold, wind to break everything, and dust.

I did not know that you knew Mrs Jack so well!

Embrace everyone and do not forget the lunch.

Bébé

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**Notes:** Mrs Jack is Mrs Jack Gardner, Isabella Stewart Gardner.

The identity of "Aunt Susan" in Boston with whom Max was staying was a mystery at first. Augustine Heard Jr. had no surviving sister and Jane's sisters were Amelia Henrietta De Coninck and Mary De Coninck. None of Gus' brothers had wives named Susan and Jane's brother never married. So there was no "Aunt Susan" in any strict sense, but as explained in the notes following AH II's 17 March 1886 letter from Cuba to Amy, Aunt Susan was the second cousin of Amy's father.

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27 May 1885, Letter from Augustine Heard, Union Club  
Miss Heard

63 Beacon St

Boston  
Mass

Union Club,  
Fifth Avenue & 21<sup>st</sup> Street

Darling Amy,

Your letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> was indeed balm to the wounded soul. My spirit is wounded enough, & there is no balm like tender affection. It made the tears rise to my eyes to read your loving words, & my heart is full of thankfulness. I should like to get away, & sometimes I am disposed to say \_\_ any where “out of the world” \_\_\_ but I don’t know that it would do any good.

One can’t run away from one’s anxieties. “Care rides behind the horseman” is one of the wisest of sayings. Perhaps some day fortune will smile, though perhaps the jade thinks she has done enough for me in giving me the sweetest of daughters! forgetting that my anxieties are an ??? comet[?] as much as on my own. Well, we must march along as we can, supporting one another. Give my love & thanks to Cousin Susan. She is always thoughtful & kind.

Geo Baldwin told me last night that Mrs. Bowler was afraid little Georgie was going to lose his sight, & he would remain through the summer in charge of Dr Knapp. She would stay near him, & they would not go to Bar Harbor. She said Miss B has returned to Boston Sunday. So you have probably fuller & later news from her.

Nothing new with me.

Ever your assy  
with kisses for Max  
A.H.

Letters 1 June 1885 and 8 June from Augustine Heard to Amy in Ipswich in single envelope.

AUGUSTINE HEARD,  
39 NASSAU ST.,  
NEW YORK,  
Postmarked Jun 10, New York

Miss Amy Heard  
Ipswich  
Masstts

1 June 1885

My Dear Amy,  
I must write in a hurry today & will begin by saying that I find your article very

interesting & forward it to Miss Wolff as you direct. Has the lady ??? published any thing since that first article? I have seen nothing, & what has Georgie done with the other pieces? If they are not going to pay you for your efforts, it would be well to look for another task master who perhaps will.

Ipswich will give you a quiet opp'y to review your literary career & prospects & form your plans.

Whether I shall be able to get down to Bar Harbor with you & talk over there possibilities of the future, I hardly know yet. I shd. I should like immensely to go, and I think it might do my health some good, but whether I can make up my mind to tear my self away from the chance of ??? here ( & after all it is but the ??? chance) O cant yet make up my mind. Have you now seen or talked with a D<sup>r</sup>. about Max? & who is her D<sup>r</sup>. ? If I go to Boston, I shall try to see him myself. I shall send a couch down, which with the bath salon will be a relief to all hands. Mrs Sturgis's daughter is to be married tomorrow. Rather strange she has sent us no cards. Forgotten, I suppose.

Mama is very glad you are going to Salem. Brandy ??? & will be cared for. I am glad to see you are coming back from your ??? against the ???. They are sterling people.

I must say Goodbye \_\_

Ever yours

A.H.

New York, 8 June 1885

My Dear Amy

I am glad to see you have had the sense to take my remarks about your prose, as simply suggesting which might or might not be applicable; \$ will not let me interfere to seriously wioth what you meant to say. There is a rash difference between thy ordinary circus tricks & the true haute école \_\_ What is Aunt Alice doing to the old house? She can't be improving it.

No, I don't think petty annoyances increase one's patience \_\_ they are on the contrary ??? likely to tear[?] it out, & fortun???

2 June 1885 letter from Max in Boston to Amy in Ipswich

Miss Heard  
c/o John Heard Esq.

Ipswich

Mass.

Boston  
le 2 Juin /85

Sunninnums,

Veux tu m'envoyer l'adresse de M<sup>me</sup> Bowler aussi tôt que possible 'te plait.

Je n'ai rien fais depuis que tu es partis. Samedi j'allais au Country Club avec M<sup>me</sup> Gray et puis il a commencé pleuvoir et elle n'a pas voulu aller. J'ai eu un mauvais refroidissement hier et ne me laisse pas sortir. J'ai mal partout!

Comment est-ce où tu es?

Jean part demain pour la mine au Canada.

L'oncle attend la lettre pour la mettre à la boite. Je t'embrasse bien fort et j'envoie mon love à tout le monde

Bébé

Would you please send me the address of Mrs. Bowler as soon as possible.

I have none nothing since you left. Saturday I was going to go to the Country Club with Mrs. Gray and then it began to rain and she did not want to go. I had a bad chill yesterday and it did not let me go out. I ache all over!

How is where you are?

John leaves tomorrow for the mine in Canada.

The uncle awaits the letter to put it into the box. I send a big hug to you and my love to everyone.

Bébé

5 June 1885 letter from Adeline (Addie) Wheelwright Lewis who counts as both friend and family to Amy in Ipswich. Born in 1858 in Roxbury, Mass., before it was incorporated into Boston, she married Amy's brother John Heard Jr. on 15 December 1887.

Miss Heard  
Care of John Heard Esq.

Ipswich

Massachusetts

Friday — 5<sup>th</sup>

June

My Dear Amy \_\_

You think me very forgetful or at least hopelessly negligent to have allowed so many days to pass without sending you a line of greeting? I do not know exactly why but I will begin when I said goodbye to you \_\_ I had six very nice days in Jamaica Plain & a very satisfactory afternoon with John.

Saturday I passed the morning with him & then went to Wellesley again for Sunday \_\_ You know how it rained! But I felt all the better for it & passed the whole morning in the woods. A wet day in the country makes me long for Thoreau to dig in the ground with me & burrow around generally. As I could not have him & Mr. Abbott in superior English garments would not dig and burrow I had to satisfy myself with picking violets sitting on wet rocks & curbing my desire to roll in the grass\_\_ What is more enchanting than the odor of wet spring ground! Altogether I had a delightful day and enjoyed the drenching \_\_ Monday I came home after a long ride in the country and passed the afternoon & evening with John. & we were very happy. \_\_ Tuesday he went, as you know. I later read a little \_\_ sewed a great deal. Paid a few visits ?? bringing my journal to today. Amy ?? has been at home again for a few days between Lenox and Swampscott & we have had a first chat together. This is so much better for her ??? \_\_

Now I have a new friend Helen Tower from Philadelphia whose cousin I visit very often. She has joined the Sisterhood of St Margaut and henceforth I will be seen constantly accompanied by this benevolent hood, cap & cape of this little sister. I do not dare mention this to Father as his excitement would be boundless. She looks so peaceful and happy so satisfied & free from any of the doubts & misgivings of this complex world. It seems strange the differences of life within and without those thick walls & what a refuge for tired souls \_\_

Ida comes tomorrow morning having delayed a few days. She first missed a tea at the Parkman's for Katie ??? who has come home from from Paris\_\_ This time they will stay. I saw Dr. Appleton yesterday — On his way to ??? London . He asked for "little Miss Heard" — are you indignant — you very dignified strong person? Mr. Longfellow has been[?] a day for ??? & said many flattering things \_ & sent some messages of regard. Since I have missed Mr. Albert Heard. strong disappointment. Yesterday I had a few hurried lines from John in Montreal & I hoped to hear again today. but but there was no news in his letters. he having just arrived. Yesterday too I took a little walk with Jessie Motteys who asked for you & later Mr Meyers joined me looking quite radiant enough to refute the world's charge that he is horrid. Harry Mercer is to be his best man. But Mr. Meyers is beginning to feel nervous, knowing his happiness & knowing that he has started for Virginia.

I did not mean to write such a long letter. My back aches & yet my pen runs on. it must be stopped. but not till I tell you how often I have thought of you in the few happy days I have just passed, wishing — oh so deeply & earnestly — that this Autumn may bring some comfort & happiness to you. John said he talked with you thinking on the subject

but with an undercurrent. I did not ask much lest I might say something I ought not. He said you were far from well. Are you worrying. On what is it dear child. I hope you do not fall to them yet perhaps it ??? better to ??? that a ??? than that you are thinking & wearying yourself in that way \_\_

Good by dear, with my kind love.

Ever affectionately yours

Adeline W. L\_\_

Tell me about your visit. How you are enjoying it\_ & remember me to Mrs. Heard. I hope you are able to cheer her.

Amy dear. I shall be so glad to see you Friday\_\_ We have no engagement & you must come to luncheon at 2 & to stay with us as just as much as you can\_\_ Do not ??? ??? ??? I am hors du combat & writing lying on my back. So pray excuse this one. scrawl. I feel like mis-spelling my words for I have just finished such a solemn book of Mr. Tom Perry's <sup>17</sup> revealing such inexhaustible knowledge that I feel rebellious & hopeless & as though the only thing left for such a vacant mind as mine is to grow more so , & act as a balance to Mr. Perry

—  
dear Amy  
Ever lovingly  
Adeline

Don't you think it would be nice to write this way altogether  
I like it.

Amy dear your letter was so sweet so welcome & touches me  
So dear child \_\_ Every night I pray for your happiness.

Do come early Friday ensuring that I may see you alone for a little. I have had nothing more from John. I am so tired of being disappointed. Something must come tomorrow.

I sent a letter from Washington ??? Ruminations upon Cristina Rossetti's poems. <sup>18</sup> Death becomes. no it is wrong to use that as a comparison but really they are the dreariest things I have seen on this beautiful earth. I think them positively wicked & am sure they must do harm at night to the suppressed. they have less than no excuse for being.

#### 14.4.1 The Sisterhood of Margaut

is probably the Society of St. Margaret since Margaut looks like a mix of two spellings Margot and Margaux of a nickname for Margaret and because it turns out the Society has a

<sup>17</sup>Thomas Sargeant Perry (1845-1928) was an American editor, academic, literary critic, literary translator, and literary historian. He was renowned for his knowledge of English and European literature and wrote many articles and books on the subject.

<sup>18</sup>Christina Rossetti (1830 – 1894) was a Victorian poet of mystical, religious, and children's verse. The subject of death permeates her work to the point that she has been referred to as "the poet of death, the poet of the death-wish."

history that strongly correlates with Adeline's description in her letter and its description of a religious Sisterhood in Boston in 1885. The following is an excerpt from the history page of the Society <sup>19</sup>

The Society of Saint Margaret was founded as a nursing order in 1855 by the Reverend John Mason Neale to care for the poor and ill in the countryside in Sussex, England. They also taught and evangelized as there was opportunity. This work was so original and exciting that many were drawn to support and join the Sisterhood. As the demand for the help of the Sisters grew, daughter houses were established in Aberdeen (1864) and London (1866). In 1873, the Sisters of St. Margaret came to Boston to act as superintendents at Children's Hospital. Not limiting themselves to the work of nursing, the Sisters established a School of Embroidery, an Altar Bread Department and a Parochial School in connection with the Church of the Advent. From the very beginning the Sisters did a great deal of visiting among the sick and the poor, including serving the hungry from the soup kitchen at the Church of the Advent. In 1881, the first long term work outside of Boston was established in Montreal where the Sisters had been nursing in an epidemic of smallpox. In time, other works were developed: in Washington, DC; Philadelphia, PA; Newark, NJ; Bracebridge, Ontario; Lexington, KY, and Port-au-Prince, Haiti.

In 1883, the Sisters moved to Louisburg Square on Beacon Hill, Boston. This location was used as a Convent and a small private hospital. It also served as a place for others to come for retreat and spiritual guidance, and the Daily Office and Eucharist were celebrated in our chapel.

## 14.5 1886

Many of the letters of 1886 related to Amy's engagement and marriage to Russell Gray and are collected in Chapter 11 along with her *Journal* entries for that year. A few 1886 letters to Amy relevant to Cuba are included in Chapter 12. This section includes 1886 letters dealing neither with Cuba nor Amy's marriage.

20 February 1886 from Lousie Bowler in Aiken

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Aiken Feb. 20<sup>th</sup>  
1886

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<sup>19</sup><https://societyofstmargaret.org/history-of-the-society-of-st-margaret/>

My dearest Amy

Your letter which reached me yesterday has covered me with shame & confusion. I had no idea dear of the suffering you have gone through, nor of the uncomplaining tediousness which only your heroic self could bear \_\_

Poor child you know you have my sympathy \_\_\_\_

I wish I could write you a bright amusing letter \_\_\_\_

What can I do? I ride here daily with Louie Eustis who is a sweet child not older than Robert in Knowledge or experience but gentle & amiable then with ??? Lyon who is far too clever for me who looks upon me as so much her inferior, and then you have all my society. Mr & Mrs Frank Shaw who are so much in love with each other that they like to be together always, a Mr & Mrs Woolsey who have a plantation, with a dear old farm house with faftered ceilings & panelled rooms & quaint carved furniture also a Mr & Miss Jackson Spinster & bachelor from Boston who have another plantation here & this constitutes society. We meet at church and at occasional teas \_\_

I feel much lie a novel of rural life & simplicity \_ I know the oats are frozen & I am sorry the wheat crop does not primse well & again I watch the weather \_\_\_\_

Sister has not been very well. She has devoured any number of books & has practised to such an extent that her voice is perfect – – –

We are both of us looking forward with intense enjoyment to the Carnival in New Orleans. We go there March 1<sup>st</sup>. I have not heard a word from the Morris nor have they renewed their invitation for me to stay with them. You see how little there is in my life ar present.

The climate here is perfect & I fall back upon myself & the sunshine for amusement. You do not mention Mrs Heard I trust she is well. It was much grievest[?] to hear of Mr. Heard's ill health. I do hope you have no serious cause for anxiety. Poor friend you have had a hard time but better things are sure to be in store for you \_\_ You know our clouds cannot last foreever and my dear you have had such dark ones \_\_ Amy dear friend I wish you would believe sincerely I care for you & how often I feel "with" you the true meaning of sympathy. I would willingly bear part of the burdens if I could thus lift them from you.

Always your true friend

Louise Bowler

**Notes:** Aiken is a town in South Carolina. According to *Wikipedia*, In the late 19th century, Aiken gained fame as a wintering spot for wealthy people from the Northeast. Other letters suggest that Louise and her "sister" – actually her sister-in-law Alice – were in Aiken for the health of Alice's son Robert.

2 March 1886 letter from Max in Boston to Amy in New York.

2 March 1886 letter from Max  
Miss Heard  
28 West 18<sup>th</sup>

New York  
N.Y.

---

63 Beacon St<sup>t</sup>  
March 2<sup>nd</sup>

Sweettums!

Bébé si contente. Je ne pourrai jamais attendre jusqu'à vendredi! Je viendrai te voir ou de très bonne heure (9 heure) ou après mon lunch c'est à dire trois heures. L'école m'empêche de venir avant. Si tu pouvais m'écrire par quel train tu part jeudi je pourrai peut être avoir le temps de te voir alors.

Tu verras à la carte que je t'envoie que je t'attends à ma réception où tu verra la jeunesse de Boston de l'âge de quinze ans jusqu'à vingt cinq. Malheureusement il n'y a aura pas de messieurs.

Vendredi soir je vais chez M<sup>me</sup> Brimmer, theatricals, une occasion pour porter ma robe rose. J'ai tellement froid que je puis à peine écrire.

J'ai vu Victoria à peu près cinq minutes dimanche n'ayant pas pu sortir samedi.

Le temps a été affreux cette semaine et il ne semble pas vouloir s'améliorer.

Je te conseille d'apporter au moins une robe décolletée car tu pourrais en avoir besoin pour quelque grand diner.

Embrasse Maman bien fort et toi, à vendredi.

Bébé

---

Bébé so content. I will never be able to wait until Friday! I will come to see you either very early (9 AM) or after lunch that is at 3PM. The school prevents me from coming earlier. If you could write me by what train you leave you Thursday I could possibly have the time to see you then.

You will see by the card that I am sending you that I await you at my reception where you will see the youth of Boston aged 15 to 25 years. Unhappily there will be no men.

Friday night I go to the house of Mrs Brimmer, theatricals, a chance to wear a pink dress. I am so cold that I can scarcely write.

I saw Victoria for about five minutes Sunday not having been able to go out Saturday.

The weather was awful this week and it seems to to me it does not want to get better.

I counsel you to send at least one dress décolleté since you may have need of one for some grand dinner.

Give Mama a warm embrace and you, on Friday.

Bébé

**Notes:** On the rear of the envelope is written in pencil at the top

M<sup>r</sup> Aug. Heard  
c/o Messrs Almira y Peralta  
Matanzas  
Cuba

possibly passing on AH's Matanzas address during his 1886 Cuban visit.

9 March 1886 letter from Augustine Albert Heard in Cincinnati

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|                                |                        |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| 18 Commonwealth Ave.<br>Boston | Miss Heard<br><br>Mass |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|

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Le 9 Mars – 1886  
Cincinnati O

Ma chère Amy

Je ne t'ai pas écrit plus tôt parce que j'ai voulu t'écrire une longue lettre, et que ce soir pour la première fois j'ai pu trouver le temps et être en même temps de bonne humeur.

Merci mille fois de toutes les avis que tu me donne a propos de livres; je n'aurai malheureusement pas le temps maintenant de lire ce que tu me recommandes car j'étudie tous les soirs à peu près deux heures et après les huit heures de travail qu'on me paye tu comprends que je suis bien plus près à me coucher qu'à lire. Il y a quelque temps que l'idée m'est venue de me faire avocat, et la semaine dernière j'ai commencé mon cours. On m'encourage de tout cotés, quoique on se moque un peu de moi. Monsieur Bowler m'a promis de me prêter les livres nécessaires.

M<sup>me</sup> B. et lui me comblent de bienfaits; au moi d'Avril je vais passer un moi chez eux a 'Clifton' "pour mieux étudier", dit Madame B. Tous les matins, en me levant de fort bonne heure je peut attraper un train et arriver en ville avant huit heures, et le soir Je arriverais vers six heures.

Après le diner on m'a promis de me laisser lire et étudier tant que je voudrais.

Ils m'appellent, depuis quelque temps, par mon petit nom, et tu ne sais pas quel effet ça me fais.

Dis-moi candidement est-ce-que j'ai perdu mon français?

J'espère bien que non, je reconnais parfaitement l'avantage que me donnent les langues, quoique je n'en ai pas encore profiter.

De temps en temps je lis quelque chose en français. Il n'y a pas longtemps que j'ai fini "Bellah" et "Julie de Treseur" par Feuillet, et maintenant je suis en train de lire *Les Misérables*; qui est magnifique. Si tu n'a jamais lu ce chef d'oeuvre je t'aviserai fortement de le faire au plutôt possible.

Ça ne fais de la peine que tes yeux [ne] tu fasses souffrir, et j'espère que dans ta réponse à cette effusion tu me diras qu'ils son rétablis.

Je me promets une visite à N.Y. et à Boston au mois de Juin. Encore trois ou quatre mois avant que je puisse partir mais je commence déjà à y penser beaucoup.

Embrasse bien Maman de ma part et ne me fais pas attendre longtemps de tes nouvelles.

Ton petit frère

Augustin

My dear Amy

I have not written you earlier because I wanted to write a long letter, and tonight for the first time I found the time and at the same time in a good mood.

A thousand times thanks for all the advice you have given me about books; unfortunately I will not have the time now to read what you recommend Every night after my eight hours of paid work I am studying about two hours and you understand I am far more ready to go to bed than to read. Some tie ago the idea came to me to become a lawyer, and last week I began my class. Everyone is encouraging, although they make a little fun of me. Mr. Bowler promised me to loan me the necessary books.

He and Mrs. Bowler provide me many benefits; I April I am going to spend a month at the 'Clifton' "to better study," says Mrs. B. Every morning, getting up very early I can catch a train and arrive in town before 8 AM, and in the evening I arrive around 6 PM.

After dinner they let me read and study as much as I would like.

They call me by my nick-name, and you don't know what effect that has on me.

Tell me candidly have I lost my French?

I very much hope not, I perfectly recognize the advantages that languages give me, although I have not yet profited from them.

From time to time I read something in French. Not so long ago I finished *Bellah* and *Julie de Treseur* by Feuillet, and now I am reading *Les Misérables*; qui est magnifique. If you have never read this masterpiece I will advise you strongly to do so as soon as possible.

It is only worthwhile if it does not make your eyes suffer, and I hope that in your response to this effusion you will tell me that they are restored.

I promise myself a visit to N.Y. and Boston in June. Still tree or four months before I

will be able to leave but I begin already to think a lot about it.

Embrace Mama warmly on my part and do not make me wait long for your news.

Your little brother

Augustin

17 March 1886 from Edith Bell in New York

Miss Heard  
c/o Mr. Charles Dorr

18 Commonwealth Avenue  
Boston

Mass

Postmarked New York Mar 17 86

March 17 86

42 W. 21<sup>st</sup> St.

Dear Amy:

I have waited in vain for a line from you & will be forced, I fear to class you in the same category with Louise. No doubt you are much on the run, but still I thought a word would ere this be forthcoming. Since you left I have been if possible more hurried than ever, & now the dentist, dressmaker & strangers divide my time. Little Miss Leffingwell is staying with us & what with daily church & sundry lectures I have barely had a moment to devote to correspondence. I have heard nothing from Louise beyond mutual friends who inform me that in all probability the whole family will spend the summer abroad & will rent our dear "Chatwold." Can you fancy anything ??? beyond my power.

I go to a little dinner on Friday & have other little engagements ahead. Do write me, Amy dear, about yourself, what you are doing & enjoying & above all when you are coming home.

Perhaps we may meet in Boston for we shall leave here the first week of May, but don't tell this to Eugenia should you see her. How is Yr. Hostess?

Give my love to Helène & do let me hear from you soon.

We both send love. We have begun a charming book on French salons. What do you think of Ed. Pendleton's?

Excuse haste, but my Aunt is calling me.

Yours lovingly

Edith


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**Notes:** The address is that of Charles Hazen and Mary Gray Dorr. I do not know who Eugenia is.

22 March 1886 Letter from Adeline Wheelwright Lewis from Hamilton, Bermuda.

Miss Amy Heard  
 Care William Swett Esq.  
 62 Beacon St.<sup>20</sup>  
 Boston  
 U.S.A. Massachusetts

postmarked Hamilton, Bermuda, MR 22 86

---

My Dearest Amy I am truly ashamed to send you such a scrawl in answer to your sweet & charming letter, but I have been so busy this week in swimming, sailing etc that I have managed but little writing.

Yesterday I was taken ill, and I have suffered so much from that in my life. I was simply in torture, the result of putting my feet in the water. To-day ??? when we went sailing. It was so tempting & the water so blue that I ??? foolishly \_\_ I have passed a fiendish night — and I am so weak I can hardly write a line, but knowing you may need to know my plans, I will scratch off these few lines to say that I expect word to leave here on the 8<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> (it is uncertain which day the steamer will go) of April., reaching home the middle of that month, then I shall be hors du combat a few days afterwards, so that I shall not be really at all settled until May 1<sup>st</sup>. I hope that you will be in Boston when I return for I shall be so glad to see you, & I hope very much to have you with me, but I can't exactly name a date as I do not know how things are at home. The doctor told Lizzie <sup>21</sup> before I left that I was not to have any home details written to me & though I trust every thing goes smoothly yet I do not really know any thing. Lizzie has written about a friend of hers from Detroit, whom she has asked for a visit, but I don't know when \_\_ I hate to send such an unsatisfactory & indefinite note for I know how hard sit is to make one's plans all fit in, & I would wish to help if I only could, but I am so much in the dark that I must wait until I get home to make my plans more definitely. I hate to send off such a miserable note & I fear is unsatisfactory, but indeed dear Amy I send enough love to counterbalance

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<sup>20</sup> Addie makes a mistake in the address, it should be 63 Beacon St., the house next door. See the discussion of "Aunt Susan" in the notes on the 21 March 1885 letter from Max.

<sup>21</sup> Lizzie is probably Adeline's sister Elizabeth Sumner Lewis (1851–1916)

a great deal. John writes me to get some dark stockings for you. I will wait for further instructions & then try to get what you would like, but I doubt if I can find anything\_\_ there is nothing to buy here, & not more than one of anything\_

I am too tired to write any more so goodbye dear little sister  
or I hope au revoir

Evr affectionately

AWL

Hamilton  
March 22<sup>d</sup>

**Notes:**

Adeline was clearly under stress as she wrote this letter, and the implication is that her family had sent her to Bermuda for health reasons and to escape problems at home. The likely reason is that Addie's mother Susan Heard (Winthrop) Swett was quite ill, she would die a few months later on 4 Sept. 1886. She was well enough host a dinner party at home on 14 Feb. 1886 <sup>22</sup> and to entertain "a number of ladies at lunch" at her home on Friday 16 April <sup>23</sup>.

## 14.6 1887: 39 Beacon St. and first son

At the end of 1886 through much of 1887 Amy was involved with her marriage and her household. No letters to her survive during most of the first half of 1887, but beginning in late June she had many letters from friends and family given here and, specifically from the West sisters, in Chapter 13. A primary topic was the impending and actual birth of her first child, Horace gray who arrived in Boston on 11 October 1887.

26 June 1887 letter from Bessie in Chalet Haltura, Biarritz, to Amy in Boston

Via Queenstown  
Mrs Russell Gray  
<sup>st</sup>39 Marlborough Street

Boston  
Mass

50 State St.  
United States. America.  
Postmarked BOSTON JUL 9 1887

<sup>22</sup> *The Boston Globe* Feb 15 1886

<sup>23</sup> *The Boston Globe* Apr 18 1886

Chalet Haltura –  
June 26<sup>th</sup>

My Dearest Amy –

I ought to have sent you a line to tell you of my safe arrival to this side of the pond long before this –

but the days have flown by since my return – I have had so much to do, that I feel quite horrified to think that it is three weeks today since I landed –

As voyages usually are – the ship was crowded – I had a horrid room – & was very bad with an ulcerated throat, which made me fear diphtheria & a watery grave – I can hardly realize that I have seen you dearest – it all seems like a dream. Even my trip – now that I am again back in my old place, with my same old existence, seems to have been an impossibility. I found Mamma very poorly, her pretty house has been hardly used by the winter tenants who left it dirty & abused – So her her renting has been a doubtful gain.

[line illegible] where ? shall be in disorder all summer – as we are taking advantage of the confusion to have a large window ??? out from the salon \_\_\_ so you may think of me in the the midst of confusion & discomfort.

X met me at Havre – & this was a delightful surprise to me. I spent a few days in Paris with Mrs Hunt, I was glad to get back to this dear place again for I am fond of it & almost think how beautiful it is when I have been away anytime. Your Mother looked so well & young & handsome. I only saw her for a few minutes but it was a great pleasure to me to have had a glimpse of her. I suppose you are by now at Nahant .. I do hope you are feeling better & stronger & are able to move about a little more \_\_ If only up some stairs. & above all, keep up your courage \_\_ I know how happy you will be with a dear little Baby. I cannot imagine anything so dear to a mother's heart as her own child & I am sure you will be a doting Mama,

I shall eagerly wait for the news. So do not leave me long in suspense – of course I have had to tell all about it - - your husband – your house – etc. & it made me very glad to be able to say so much that was nice – for I am sure Mr Gray, apart from all else, is good & kind – & this is what we women like best of all. I am but an old ward of circumstance you see. & mind me well that a single existence is not the happiest lot\_\_ Mais que voulez vous! There are not enough men “to go round” – so some of us must be left in the cold\_\_

Do not let that pretty little fiancée of John's forget her promised photo– I have made several people most envious of him merely by a verbal sketch. Give My love to her & tell her how very sweet I thought it of her to bring me the lilies the day I left Boston \_\_

I must not forget to tell you how good & kind Mrs Whittier was to me on the steamer.

I would have been very forlorn but for her. She was everything to me – even when I might have had diphtheria – she came to my stateroom & did for me like a sister of mercy – I shall never forget her. I arrived at[?] nine today and I am due at Mrs Bradshaw's to

a lunch\_ So I close with tender love & a kiss my darling for you. & my very tenderest regards to Mr Gray.

Believe me yours always.

Your loving

Bessie

**Notes:** Bessie and X remain good friends, but no new clues.

29 June 1887 letter from Max in Bar Harbor to Amy

M<sup>rs</sup>Horace Gray

Nahant

Mass.

For Mrs Russell Gray

The Belmont  
le 29 juin

Ma chère petite Mams,

Nous voici enfin installé ! Pour commencer nous ne sommes arrivé que dimanche matin à cinq heures moins un quart, obligé de passer la nuit à Portland. Depuis notre arrivée nous n'avons fait que déballer.

Pense donc Maman a apporté presque tous les bibelos et tous les vieilles photographies fanies de Washington en plus de ce que nous avons l'année dernière ! Et quatre nouveaux vases qu'elle vient d'acheter.

J'ai ma vieille chambre qui est très chaude et beaucoup en évidence car elle est sur la devant de la maison et à le soleil jusqu'à une heure de l'après-midi.

L'endroit est encore très désert et la maison presque vide. cela se fait plus sentir parcequ'eile est beaucoup plus grande mais pas encore plus agréable. Les Bates, M<sup>r</sup>How, M<sup>r</sup>et M<sup>me</sup>Draper, fille et garçon, M<sup>me</sup>Whitney et enfant, M<sup>me</sup>Horton, petit garçon Ned Gray et les enfants Chadwick composent notre monde.

M<sup>me</sup>Chad. et M<sup>r</sup>et M<sup>me</sup>Whistler arrive cette semaine, les Beechman aussi je crois. M<sup>me</sup>Gray et les enfants, la semaine prochaine.

La jeune fille, Lucy Draper, est gentille et intelligente quoique plus jeune que moi de deux ans.

Le soir nous prenons le thé chez Lynam[?] avec M<sup>me</sup>Sturgis. Hier je suis allé voir les Linzee et Edith qui ont demandé de tes nouvelles et t'envoient leur "love". Louise est venue pendant mon absence. Je regrette beaucoup car j'aurais aimé la voir. Maman m'a donné une très jolie bague ce matin. En rubis, très pale, un peu plus grand que mon émeraude, □ à peu près de cette grandeur \_\_ entouré de petits diamants □ de cette grandeur!

Malheureusement elle est si grande qu'elle ne reste pas bien mise et elle ne resterait pas du tout si je n'en mettais pas une autre devant. \_\_

Il fait un temps magnifique mais très Chaud \_ \_

J'ai beaucoup de couture à faire, mais j'ai voulu t'écrire un mot pour ne pas le remettre plus longtemps. Maman t'écrira un de ces jours, demain peut-être.

Ton Bébé

M<sup>lle</sup>Stocker vient passer quelques  
temps

**Notes:** The "petit garçon Ned Gray" was probably Edward Gray, born 1877, who later would write two books about his ancestor William "Old Billy" Gray. This Edward was the son of Mr. and Mrs Edward Gray. The senior Edward Gray was a somewhat distant cousin of Russell Gray – Edward's grandfather William Rufus Gray was the elder brother or Russel's father Horace Gray. If the child Edward Gray is already at the residence, it would appear that the expected M<sup>me</sup> Gray is his mother, Mrs. Edward Gray.

Here we are finally installed! To begin we only arrived Sunday morning at a quarter to five, obliged to spend the night at Portland. Since our arrival we have done nothing but unpack.

Just imagine Mama has brought nearly all of the knick-knacks and in addition all of the old faded photographs of Washington in addition to what we had last year ! And four new vases which she has just bought.

I have my old bedroom which is very warm and very visible because it is in front of the house and in the sun until 1 in the afternoon.

The area is still very deserted and the house almost empty. That is more felt because it much bigger but not much more agreeable. The Bates, Mr. How, Mr. and Mrs. Draper, daughter and boy, Mrs. Whitney and child, Mrs. Horton, small boy Ned Gray and the Chadwick children make up our world.

Mrs. Chadwick and Mr. and Mrs. Whistler arrive this week, the Beechmans also I believe. Mrs Gray and the children, the following week.

The young girl, Lucy Draper, is nice and intelligent although she is younger than I am by two years.

This evening we are having tea at the Lynam's with Mrs. Sturgis. Yesterday I went to see the Linzees and Edith who asked for your news and send you their "love." Louise came during my absence. I regret it a great deal because I would have loved to see her. Mama gave me a very pretty ring this morning. With rubies, very pale, a little larger than my emerald. □ approximately this size \_\_ surrounded by small diamonds □ of this size!

Unhappily it is so large that it does not stay where it is put and it won't stay at all unless I put another behind it.

The weather is magnificent but very hot. \_ \_

I have a great deal of sewing to do, but I wanted to write you a word in order put it off longer. Mama will write you on of these days, perhaps tomorrow.

Your Bébé

M<sup>lle</sup>Stocker came to spend some time.

5 July 1887 letter from Gus in N.Y. to Amy

Mrs. Russell Gray  
Care of Mrs. Horace Gray

Nahant

Masstts

39 Nassau St  
N.Y. 5 July 1887

Dear Amy,

Summon your recollections & tell me about the Pignatelli family, they called themselves I think, or the Head of the family did.

Prince Pignatelli d'Aragon.

Why Prince ? Why Pignatelli ? Why Aragon ? Are they French, Italian, or Spanish?

What children were there? I recollect one boy married the daughter of ??? de Rochefoucauld. What was her maiden name, by the way ? Rubold & the name of her first husband? Cavendish?

And Rochefoucauld. Which Rochefoucauld? Not Besaccia of course, but I think there was a double[?] name.

Then there were 2 daughters, one Carmen – became D<sup>ss</sup> de Frias. What was the name of the other?

And a younger brother, Jack he was called. Was that his name?

You wonder what has provoked these inquiries. Partly curiosity. I saw a phot. of the D<sup>ss</sup> de Frias in a window yesterday & last night I dined with F. A. St??t, who is Pres<sup>t</sup> of the Nicaragua Canal Co. He told me he had received a letter from a man who signed himself

Prince Pignatelli d'Aragon

asking on the part of a syndicate he had organized for stock in the Canal Co, & he asked me who it coult be.

This brought the family up to my mind, & I thought you might be able to give the information who would have the right to sign the name? & is it likely the name of that family we knew in Biarritz. Would it be the father, or ?? ?? the son?

Recall your souvenirs & let me know at your liesure & convenience.

I suppose you are at Nahant & not suffering from the heat which has made NY almost insupportable these later days. What is your address there ?

[later, different pen]

I find my darling Amy, at my office your note of the 30 which gives your address, & I am delighted to see you have made the trajet sans encombre.

Pray thank Mrs. Gray for her kind invitation which I shall be happy to avail my self of in due time. I cannot yet say when, but will give notice in advance. I have sent for your money. I am afraid there may be trouble af<sup>r</sup> the separation, but we will be ??? treasurer who wrote the name in pencil did not know you are a married woman. In addition to this 28.00 you are entitled to a part of John's, amounting to 28. with 10% interest. \_ I have asked M<sup>f</sup>B to send me a check for all so that I might divide it properly, but I doubt if he cN. I will write you again when I hear from him.

I hardly know what to tell you ab<sup>t</sup> storm slippers — or ??? slippers more properly. My last pair came from Vantines, but that is not the plan. There is a shop in Front St., & I will try to get the number to add. This Henry C. Parke, 186 Front St. I am pretty sure.

I long to wee your bonnie face again. It seems an age since I saw you. & I yearn for you!

What a ??? for Russell to have a cord just ??? It is harder to bear in hot weather. —

Yours Evr

A.H.

### 14.6.1 Prince Pignatelli de Aragon

Amy's father's letter provides a wonderful example of one of the fascinating detours and puzzles that crop up in a collection of vintage letters. Gus asks of Amy what she recalls

of the Pignatelli family they knew in Biarritz because a friend of his has inquired what Gus might know of a mysterious “Prince Pignatelli of Aragon” who has approached him regarding a financial deal. Gus’ friend is concerned, and Gus’ tone suggests suspicion and skepticism. Gus recalls (somewhat vaguely) several particulars of the family.

It would have been amusing to read Amy’s reply, but in its absence the Web, especially newspapers.com, provides a probable fairly complete answer to the inquiry. While the details provided by Gus are not quite exact, they provide unique clues that lead to a likely solution. Several old newspaper articles touch on the colorful history of the family, the most complete story is given in an article “Prince Pignatelli Wins an Heiress at Last” which was printed in several papers in 1915<sup>24</sup>. The following account is drawn principally from this article, with some additional information from some genealogical snooping which proved consistent with the article and complemented a few parts.

As Gus surmises, the mysterious “Prince Pignatelli d’Aragon” is either a father or son the Hearsd knew in Biarritz in the late 1870s. Luis Pignolli and his son Ludovico, both of whom overlapped the Hearsd in Biarritz during the 1870s and both of whom styled themselves with the quoted title, naturally suggest themselves. The evidence is that it was the father, Luis, that approached Gus’ friend. The Pignatellis were an ancient Italian House and at the time any male relative of the Italian royal family could claim the title of “Prince” (“Principe” in Italian). The family had man many branches inside and outside of Italy, and the males usually styled themselves as Prince. Ludovico did not visit the United States until 1911, so it was likely the father, Luis, whom Gus remembered from Biarritz and who his friend encountered. So the focus here is on Luis.

Luis was a Spanish subject and a member of the Spanish branch of the family. Gus was sharp to question the “de Aragon” in the title as well as the Spanish or Italian origin. The Princes Pignatelli who added “de Aragon” to their title were descended from from Prince Hector Pignatelli and his wife Dona Giovanna, the daughter and heiress of Prince Diego d’Aragona – a small town in Sicily, not Aragon, the ancient province of Spain. Luis’ ancestry had no connection to the ancient royal family of Aragon and later Spain. Furthermore, Prince Diego d’Aragona was the last of his line, his daughter did not carry the royal title of Aragona with her. Simply put, Gus was correct in his suspicion, Luis (and Ludovico) had no right to add “de Aragon” to their princely title – it was both incorrect and intentionally misleading. Of course it continues to be used in online family trees, regardless.

The identification with Luis Pignatelli is further supported by other clues provided by Gus, although some details differ. Drawing on the cited articles and *Debvrett’s Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage, and Companionage*: in 1877 Luis married an Englishwoman, Emily Frances Cavendish (born 1852). Emily Frances was the daughter Daughter of Cap-

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<sup>24</sup>e.g. the Minneapolis *Star Tribune*, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, and the *Austin American* on 23 May, and The San Francisco *Examiner* on 30 May

tain George Henry Cavendish of the First Life Guards and Emily Victorine Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir William Rumbold. George's wife Emily divorced him and in 1866 and married Count Gaston de Rochefoucauld, in "whose villa in Biarritz, familiar to Americans who have visited that popular French seaside resort, her daughter married Prince Luis Pignatelli." The daughter was Emily Francis Ida, b. 1852.

Ludovico Pignatelli d'Aragona was born to Luis and Emily Frances Pignatelli on 2 January 1878. He proved to be far more colorful than his father and built a reputation as a womanizer and gambler. He was deported from France for illegal gambling and was often in the press because of his courtships of American heiresses, a suicide attempt, and his problems with U.S. immigration.

The bottom line is that Luis Pignatelli's story correlates well with the names and places mentioned by Gus, although the details do not match exactly. There were many people calling themselves "Prince Pignatelli" at the end of the nineteenth century, but only Luis and his son used the "de Aragon" addition, and the son was declared by U.S. Immigration in the early 19th century to have had no visible means of support other than gambling.

6 July 1887 B  b   to Amy in Nahant

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M<sup>rs</sup>Russell Gray  
c/o M<sup>rs</sup>Horace Gray

Nahant

Mass.

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Belmont  
le 6 juillet

Ma ch  re petite Mams

Un petit mot seulement pour te montrer que ce n'est pas parce que je n'ai pas encore re  u ta r  ponse    ma lettre, mais parce que nous avons eu une chaleur si tropicale depuis quelques jours que ce n'est qu'avec le plus grand effort que j'ai rien fais. Nina est arriv  e depuis quelques jours et se d  clare enchant  e. M<sup>me</sup>Ned arrive ce soir quoique son mari est ici depuis huit jours – plus d  sagr  able que jamais. \_

Louise est venue nous voir avant hier et elle   tait presque jolie. Les vilaines taches sur sa joue ont presque disparus et elle a beaucoup engrais  e ce qui lui ???    merveille.

Elle m'a invit  e    passer quelques jours    le fin du mois quand sa cousin M<sup>lle</sup> Livingston sera avec elle. <sup>25</sup> M<sup>me</sup> Chadwick t'envoie ses meilleurs amiti  s.

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<sup>25</sup>Possibly related to Louise's future husband John Callender Livingston of New York

Que crois tu? J'ai commencé aujourd'hui à lui faire la lecture à haute voix en Français! Le livre à pour titre Marc le Nihiliste et à juger des premiers quatre ou cinq chapitres il est intéressant. Mattie Buchman et ses amies font presque plus de bruit que l'année passée si s'était possible.

M<sup>me</sup> Whistler et son mari sont ici pour l'été. Elle est gentille et quand Maman est allé prendre le thé chez M<sup>me</sup> Pendleton, j'ai passé une très agréable soirée à causer avec elle et sa soeur, une petite bossue. Nous avons d'abord causé broderies – et elle en a donné de bons conseils pour mon morceau sur du satin blanc \_\_ et de choses et d'autres \_\_ enfin beaucoup de M<sup>lle</sup> Woodville qu'elle a connue à Baltimore et de *Mellor* qu'ils ont connus à Nice! \_\_

Lippe est ici mais nous ne l'avons vu qu'à distance et Distance lends enchantment to the view. \_\_<sup>26</sup>

Voilà que je bavarde et je néglige mes autres devoirs qui ne finissent jamais au contraire ils augmentent tous les jours. –

Mes amitiés à Russell et un bon baiser pour toi, Sweetums.

Bébé

Nous avons une bonne salle de bains, avec de l'eau chaude et froide, au bout du couloir et des lumières électriques qui ont une manière de s'étendre dans un clin d'oeil et de vous laisser dans une obscurité complète, ce qui est quelquefois gênant. \_\_

**Notes:** Nina was the nickname of Anna Sophia Lyman Mason Gray, the wife of Russell Gray's brother John Chipman Gray. Mrs Ned was probably Mrs. Edward Gray, Elizabeth Gray Story Gray. Mr and Mrs Edward Gray were the parents of Edward Gray born 1877, the author of two books about William "old Billy" Gray [66], [65].

6 July 1887 from Max in Bar Harbor.

Belmont  
6 July

My dear little Mams

A small word only to show you that it is not because I have not yet received your response to my letter, but because we have had a heatwave so tropical for several days that it was only with the greatest effort that I could do anything. Nina arrived several days

<sup>26</sup>Quote usually attributed to Mark Twain, usually interpreted as meaning that distance in time or space makes things look better than they were or are.

ago and declared herself enchanted. Mrs Ned arrives this evening although her husband has been here for eight days – more disagreeable than ever. \_

Louise came to see us yesterday and she was almost pretty. The ugly marks on her cheek have nearly disappeared and she has gained weight which [suits] her marvelously.

She invited me to spend several days at the end of the month when her cousin Miss Livingston will be with her. Mrs Chadwick sends her best wishes.

What do you think? Today I began reading French aloud! The book is entitled *Marc le Nihiliste*<sup>27</sup> and judging by the first four or five chapters it is interesting. Mattie Buchman and her friends make more noise than last year if that is possible.

Mrs. Whistler and her husband are here for the summer. She is nice and when Mama went to have tea at the Pendleton's, I spent an agreeable evening talking with her and her sister, a little hunchback. We first talked about embroidery – and she gave me good advice for my piece of white satin \_\_ and of one thing and another \_\_ finally much about Miss Woodville <sup>28</sup> whom she knew in Baltimore and of the Mellors whom they knew in Nice \_\_

Lippe is here but we have not seen him except at a distance and and Distance lends enchantment to the view. \_\_

Voilà I gossip and I neglect my other duties which never finish, on the contrary they grow every day.

My best wishes to Russell and a sweet kiss for you, Sweetums.

Bébé

7 July 1887 letter from Gus in N.Y. to Amy

AUGUSTINE HEARD,  
39 NASSAU ST.,  
NEW YORK

Mrs. Russell Gray  
c/of Mrs. Horace Gray

Nahant

Mass<sup>ts</sup>

<sup>27</sup>by Ivan Aleksandrovic Gontcharof, translated into French by Eugene Gothi (1886)

<sup>28</sup>Elizabeth (Bessie) Woodville

July 7. 1887

My Dear Amy,

Thanks for your full chronicle of the Pignatelli family. It has just what I wanted, but I would not have asked so much, for fear of fatiguing you.

I shall be on the look out for Russell tomorrow or next day. I wish I could go back with him, but I shall not be able to, & indeed I may not have till I ??? This is the hottest day yet, but I keep my health very well. Your Balt. Savings Bank balance amounts with your share of what stands in in John's name to %57.12, & for safety's sake I enclose you a cheque for it.

Your mother in a letter this morning speaks of her having had a call from John Gray & his wife. I hope they are nicer to you then they seem to be to me: tho I never saw them at all at the wedding. — give my compliments to John & to your belle-mère & to Bessie —

Yours evr affly A.H.

12 July 1887 letter from AH2 in N.Y. to Amy in Nahant

AUGUSTINE HEARD,  
39 NASSAU ST.,  
NEW YORK

Mrs. Russell Gray  
care of Mrs. Horace Gray

Nahant

Mass.

N.Y. 12 July 1887

Dear Amy,

I have your note of the 10<sup>th</sup>. I had supposed that the heat had made Russell give up his trip to N.Y., as hearing nothing from him I called at the University Club & was told that he was not there, had not been there & was not expected.

I enclose the back cover of John's Bank book, which will explain your interest in the deposit in his name. The \$13. deposited for you in 1867 grew to \$28.85. On the 31 Dec '67, Jown owed you 10<sup>16</sup> plus interest 3% from Ap<sup>l</sup> or 30<sup>cts</sup>, altogether \$10.46. At this time the deposit in his name was \$ 56.02 so that you were entitled to  $\frac{1046}{5602}$  of the am<sup>t</sup> at his

credit when it was withdrawn, or 157.41. This was 28.<sup>27</sup> & added to 28.85 = \$57.12. Do you understand?

I wish I could get away. I am beginning to feel as if I ought to go, but some business has been presented to me lately & as long as there is a chance of my getting any money out of it, I do not leave. I don't suppose I shall get anything out of it, but there is a chance.

Ask Russell who is M<sup>r</sup> G. M. Barry – lawyer of Boston – & what & if he knows any thing ab<sup>t</sup> the “International Railway ??? Co.”. M<sup>r</sup> B. has come to ask me to help him form a syndicate to front his comp'ys – between you & me . ??? the information is between you & me. Not floating the company!\_\_

I will try to get Rudd?? Group. I should like to have a laugh. I did not think much of Mr. L?k & ??? “Aylshire” –

Yours affy  
A. H.

What is Russell's address in Boston?

15 July 1887 letter from Max to Amy in Nahant

M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray  
c/o M<sup>rs</sup> Horace Gray

Nahant

Mass

The Belmont  
Le 15 juillet

Ma chère petite Mams

Tu dis que je commence enfin à causer sur papier – c'est peut-être parce-que je n'ai pas grande chance de faire autrement. Depuis ta lettre j'ai fais à peu près deux douzaines de visites - au moins - mais avec ça qu'une invitation. Un lunch aujourd'hui chez M<sup>me</sup> Place. Il est que rien n'a encore commencé. Les hops commencent la semaine prochaine. Les yachts sont ici en ce moment celui de M<sup>r</sup> J. Coolidge parmi les autres mais il n'a pas vu bon de m'inviter à bord. Les Sturgis devait y aller hier. Il faisait un vrai ouragan et cela n'en pas du être très agréable.

M<sup>lle</sup> Morris t'envoie son “very best love”. Elle se marie en Octobre et va demeurer à Boston donc elle conte sur toi. \_\_\_ Je m'occupe tant bien que mal à lire et coudre mais les soirées sont longues et ennuyeuses. Je viens de finir le petit châle rose qui fait pendant au bleu. El est mal fait mais il n'en sera pas moins chaud j'espère.

M<sup>lle</sup> Stoeker t'envois son 'love'. Elle n'est pas mal, un peu bavarde.  
Bébé \_\_

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The Belmont  
15 July

My dear little Mams

You say that I begin finally to talk on paper – It is perhaps because I do not have much occasion to do otherwise. Since your letter I have made about two dozen visits – at least – but with that only one invitation. A lunch today at Mrs. Place's. Nothing has yet begun. The hops begin next week. The yachts are here at this moment, that of Mr. J. Coolidge among others, but he has not seen fit to invite me on board. The Sturgis were supposed to go yesterday. There was a real storm and it would not have been very agreeable.

Miss Morris sends you her "very best love." She is getting married in October and is going to live in Boston so she counts on you. \_\_ I occupy myself as best I can in reading and sewing but the evenings are long and boring. I just finished a small pink shawl which matches the blue. It is badly made but I hope it won't be any less warm.

Miss Soeker sends you her 'love.' She is not bad, a bit talkative.

Bébé \_\_

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Augustine Heard Jr in New York to Amy in Nahant, Mass.

c/o Mrs. Horace Gray, Nahant, Mass,  
from Augustine Heard Jr.

July 18 1887

Dear Amy,

I don't think I have replied to your letter of the 14th. Of course I will bring on a pair straw slippers – grass slippers – for Russell, if I can find any, but after ?? fully ?? ?? the two or three shops where they often have them. I walked down this morning to ?? the importer who always has them, and was disgusted at being told he was "out". He is expecting some "before long" however, and they may come in time. 10 1/2 inches is not such a tremendous size. I think I want that & I haven't a very big foot. But the China slippers are small.

Your mother seems to be much disturbed at Max's "independence." How far does it go? And does it make her unlady like, or is it simply the result of our old fashioned ideas about young women?

19<sup>th</sup>

I was interrupted at this point, & you have given so novel a turn to my ideas by your letter of day before yesterday, just received, that I shall find it difficult to catch the old thread It is a serious matter — this naming a first born, & if it is a boy, I would suggest calling him after his father — if there is no other one of the name in this new generation. That name ought to unite you both! What has the *raison d'être* of that? in his case.<sup>29</sup> I don't recollect any very peculiar name among the Belgians. Jean, Henri, Auguste, Fernand, François et ainsi de suite

connection { Van Iseghem, Van der Heyde,  
De Coninck, Dutremez, Serruys

that as you suggest I will write and inquire; Some of the girls' names may be more peculiar, but I hardly think it. Pauline, Rose, Mathilde. However, I have no doubt as Russell says, they will be delighted to supply any information they can give. It is rather odd that you don't know more about them, the Belgian relations, but they were not people to be ashamed of. Many were leaders in that part of the country. Jean Van Iseghem was deputy a great many years & bourgmestre till he died; & a very good fellow to boot. I knew him better than any of the others as we had to meet a good deal when I was so much in Brussels twenty years ago. I ought to have moved to B. and settled there then. I could have gone into any monde and known everybody; but unluckily all my life I have never been able to do anything for social advancement. I always felt that I was as good as any body else & I could go into any society I pleased or rather I never thought anything about it. I simply did; & it was not till I lost all my money that I found out what a poor devil I was without it. It was a sad waking up; but I hardly think that the difference would have been so great in any place in Europe, as I have found it in New York. Here a poor man has no right to live. And I don't think gained anything else when the money went. I was as fond of my children before as I could become after, and I only got a knowledge of the miseries of poverty — Which I don't think has done my any good!

But I can't talk with you all day. — Love to Russell

Yours evr

AH

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<sup>29</sup> Amy and Russell name their first born son *Horace* a name shared by Russell's father and his half-brother.

*Jean Van Iseghem was probably Jean Ignace Van Iseghem, also called Jean-Ignace Antoine Van Iseghem or Jean I. Van Iseghem, was likely a relative of Amy's through her maternal grandfather Francis De Coninck, whose sister Jeanne Françoise Jaqueline married Gus' friend Jean's father, Jean Joseph Van Iseghem. As Gus says, he was a long time deputy and served as Bourgmestre of Ostend and held many honors.*

*Godfroid Joseph Dutremez married Rose Louise De Coninck, another sister of Francis. I have not, however, been able to find out anything further about him.*

*Surruids is probably Henri François Serruys (11/9/1796 – 11/12/1883) was a politician and mayor of Ostende. So he was an important person, but I have found no evidence that he was related to Amy.*

22 July 1887 letter from Max in Bar Harbor to Amy in Nahant

M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray  
c/o M<sup>rs</sup> Horace Gray

Nahant

Mass

The Belmont  
Le 22 juillet

Ma chère petite Mams

C'est comme tu dis drôle que Maman et moi nous t'écrivions toujours par le même courrier car elle ne me dis jamais qu'elle a l'intention de le faire. Maintenant que tu as le châte tu dois bien voir qu'il est pour le mioche et pas pour toi. Tu as écrit à Papa demandant les noms de famille masculins. Tu ne fais donc pas de préparatifs "feminiens"?  
— Non, je n'ai pas plus d'invitations et je ne suis pas aller sur les yachts bien que M<sup>e</sup> Coolidge soit revenu. Il a invité Nina mais je ne l'ai pas vue depuis pour lui demander si c'était agréable. Hier nous avons fait des visites de 10 heures et demie jusqu'à une heure moins un quart, et en voiture encore.

Hier soir j'ai été au Malvern <sup>30</sup> voir danser. J'y ai causé un peu avec Emily Ogston. Nous avons parlé de toi et elle va t'écrire.

Lundi dernier nous avons eu notre premier "hop". J'ai dansé avec M<sup>e</sup> Helyar. Il est tombé deux fois mais heureusement pas avec moi. M<sup>e</sup> Gordon Prince est tombé aussi. M<sup>e</sup> et M<sup>me</sup> Cabot Lodge y étaient et avaient l'air de bien s'ennuyer! Je m'étonne un peu que

<sup>30</sup>The Malvern hotel was build in 1882 and burned down in 1947.

Louise ne dise plus rien de ma visite car il y a déjà plusieurs jours que M<sup>lle</sup> Livingston est ici. Mardi je prends le lunch avec Edith. \_

Je ne vois jamais M<sup>lle</sup> Morris depuis que j'y ai été avec Maman. Je n'ai jamais vu son fiancé mais Louise dis qu'il est tout petit peu ordinaire. \_ Je continue ma lecture à M<sup>me</sup> Chadwick et je viens de commencer un autre livre autour d'une source par Gustave Droz.<sup>31</sup> L'a tu lu et en sais tu quelque chose? Il y a une tas de jeune fille dans la maison mais elles sont toutes ou plus jeunes ou plus âgées que moi et d'autant plus il n'y en a pas une à mon gout et certainement pas au tiens. —

Il faut maintenant que j'écrive un mot à Papa. Que lui dire?

Ton Bébé no 1 —

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The Belmont  
22 July

My dear little Mams

It is as you say drole that Mama and I always write by the same mail since she never tells me that she has the intention of doing so. Now that you have the shawl you will see immediately that it is for the little one and not for you. Yu wrote to Papa asking about masculin family names. You do not then prepare for "feminin"? \_ No, I have not received any more invitations and I am not going on the yachts even though Mr. Coolidge has returned. He invited Nina but I have not seen her since to ask if it was agreeable. Yesterday we made visits from 10:30 until 12:45, and by car again.

Yesterday evening I was at the Malvern to see the dancing. There I chatted with Emily Ogston. We talked about you and she is going to write to you.

Last Monday we had our first "hop." I danced with Mr. Helyar. He fell twice, but happily not with me. Mr. Gordon Prince also fell. Mr and Mrs. Cabot Lodge were there and had the air of being very bored! I was a little astonished that Louise says nothing more of my visit because Miss Livingston has already been there for several days. Tuesday I will have lunch with Edith. \_

I never see Miss Morris since I was there with Mama. I have never seen his fiancé but Louise says that he is quite small, a little ordinary. I continue my reading to Mrs. Chadwick and I just began another book by Gustave Droz. Have you read it and do you know something of it? There are a bunch of young girls in the house but they are all either younger or older than I and all the more since there is not one to my taste and certainly not to yours.

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<sup>31</sup> Antoine Gustave Droz (6/9/1832-10/22/1895) was a French artist and writer, *Autour d'une Source* (*Around a Spring*) was published in 1865.

Now I have to write a note to Papa. What do I say to him?

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27 July 1887 letter from Albert Farley Heard to Amy in Nahant

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M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray  
c/o M<sup>rs</sup> Horace Gray

Nahant

Mass —

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Washington July 27 87

Dear Amy,

Your little note touched me deeply for I know how badly out of sorts you have been & are, and I can imagine from my own horror of packing the fatigue & worry attendant upon your move to Nahant. That you should have thought by writing to me at such a time, & in your own trouble, have found a moment to sympathize with my bit of luck was indeed what I ought to have expected from you. I had no doubt of the sympathy, but I did not look for its manifestation, which is all the more welcome & grateful.

Yes, my dear niece I am clerk of the fourth class in the War Department, detailed as private Secretary to the Secretary of war, the position is at present one in which there is next to nothing to do, so that I shall have ample time to get broken in & accustomed both to the work & to the place before the pressure begins —

Mr Endicott & wife are here – the daughter is away – I have seen him every day of course, but madam I have only met the day of my arrival at lunch, when she was gracious & cordial. It is so hot that I presume nobody pretends to be at home, even if they are in town, & nobody either cares to be received. —

I have spent my leisure hours either panting on the club verandah, or hunting for ???, – & move today for the second time. – I'll send you my address when I have any, meanwhile write me Secretary's Office  
War Dep. —

I am very sorry I did not see you in Boston before leaving, as I had no time to spare after coming up from Ipswich.

Are you very fond of Anne Johnson? She came to see me yesterday, et s'est extasiée on your account —<sup>32</sup>

A ?cnt Seaton Munroe would seem to have or to have had, a ??? for you, from the way

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<sup>32</sup>I can only guess what AFH means here.

he ??? forth the ?? ???, \_\_ Is he, was he, a favorite? — Il faut une ???, en tant que cela se soit possible la carte au pays ici afin que je m’y reconnaisse. Not at length, but a word here & a word there. Meanwhile, que Dieu vous vit su sa Saite garde —

Remember me to Mr Gray & with love

affectionately yours

A.F. Heard

**Notes:** The U.S. Secretary of War in 1887 serving President Grover Cleveland was William Crowninshield Endicott, who served in the office from March 1885 through March 1889. See Subsection 9.3.1. The family was well known to the Heards.

Letter from Louise Bowler at Chatwold 28 July 1887.

**Chatwold,  
Mt. Desert.**

July 28<sup>th</sup>

1887

My Dear Amy

Forgive my long silence but you know what my life is here & how full of cares & responsibility & how very little time I have.v34

Maxima has been out staying with us for two days fresh & bright as a rose & it was a little like a tiny bit of you \_\_\_\_

We had all the virgins out to luncheon as in the olden days and tried to enjoy ourselves  
\_\_\_\_\_

I have seen Belle Morris once or tice her fiancé is here all the time, she is to be married in October & going to Boston to live in a flat she counts upon seeing ?? ??? ???? if ?? as she knows no one in Boston.

Her father has given her a house here on their Hull’s Cove land. I have not met Mr Barnes but on dit or rather Miss Stauffer says he is charming. He comes from Albany & has only lived in Boston recently \_\_\_\_\_. He is very ugly & 6 feet 4 \_\_\_\_\_

Miss Stauffer enquires for you affectionately dear she even seems to have known you very well. Mrs Dorr I have not seen. Yr ??? ?pson comes next week \_\_\_ The Linzies[?] had a fair F. day for the library and it was most successful \_\_\_\_\_.

My cousin Miss Livingston is staying with me so I have frequented pops & dances & tennis tournaments and really become giddy \_\_\_\_\_

Mrs Jimmy Scotts death has cast a gloom over the Philadelphia Community. The maidens at Rodicks bemoan Mr Higgins approaching marriage and his bridal trip abroad which will take him entirely away from Bar Harbor. Mr Woodward of course entertains & drives a tandem this year & some pretty girl is always to be seen it it.

\_\_\_\_\_We are to have the Whitneys next month & a horde of new people\_\_\_\_\_  
 You would hardly know the place \_\_\_\_\_so changed is it this year, a buck board stand in front of the Belmont.

All the houses on Mt Desert St with bamboo shades & awnings & dozens of blue hydrangeas, subdued light & afternoon tea on the piazzas\_\_\_\_\_

The St Sauveur with a house of prints parlors all decorated & utterly eclipsing the splendor of the formal Miss Work\_\_\_\_\_

And five or six phaetons in town!!!\_\_\_\_\_

You know dear dear friend I am not often frivolous but I thought a little gossip in sedate Nahant might do you good. So if my stupid letter wearied you throw it in the fire. but know one thing. I love you dearly & think of you often & pray for the welfare & the tiny stranger. Yr happiness I Know will come with the arrival of the Baby & be more complete & perfect than you can ????. Many remembrances to Mr Gray & Believe me always

Lovingly Yr friend  
 Louise

*Mrs Jimmy Scott was Mrs. James P. Scott. On 21 July 1887 the New York Times reported*

*PHILADELPHIA, July 20.—Cable dispatches were received in this city to-day announcing the sudden death, in London, England, last night, of Mrs. James P. Scott, who has been for some years the undisputed social leader of this city. Only very vague particulars of Mrs. Scott's death have been received.*

*The article mentioned that often the Scotts spent their summers at their cottage in Bar Harbor, Maine, and that she was called "Bessie." According to the book *Bar Harbor and Mount Desert Island* compiled by Dr. W.B. Lapham, Third Edition (1888) [82], Mr. and Mrs. James P. Scott of Philadelphia owned Muller Cottage.*

*The St. Sauveur Hotel on Mt. Desert St. in Bar Harbor was rebuilt in 1872, having burned down previously. The name was from the early French name for the harbor and the French colony founded there. It was named after the nearby harbor. [82] According to *Bar Harbor\_ The Hotel Era 1868-1880* [122]*

*The Saint Sauveur furnished yachts and rowboats, and promised fresh fruits and vegetables for "mealers."*

*The "tiny stranger"/"Baby" was my uncle Horace, born in Boston 11 October 1887.*

*In summer 1887, Louise was a resident of the Bowler family cottage Chatwold in Bar Harbor, Maine. Chatwold had a famous career and there is a wealth of material and illustrations of it on the Web<sup>33</sup>, but almost all of it deals with a later and far more famous owner — Joseph Pulitzer, who*

<sup>33</sup>See, e.g., <https://househistree.com/houses/chatwold>



Figure 14.2: Chatwold in 1883

*purchased the property and house in May 1894 following a summer lease in June 1893 from the owner, Louise Bowler Livingston. Pulitzer significantly expanded the building, and it is hard to find images of the house before his changes. Fig. 14.2 is a rare exception. The photo is from *Artistic Country-Seats* by George William Sheridan (1886) which was republished in a Dover edition in 1982 edited with a commentary by Arnold Lewis.*

*Chatwold dates from 1882 when two Bowler brothers George and Robert and their wives the Williamson sisters May and Alice, respectively, built the 26 room summer home on 14 acres to the east of Schooner Head Road immediately south of Bear Brook. By 1893 it had been purchased by the sisters' sister-in-law Louise Bowler Livingston.*

*The house was demolished by the Pulitzer family in 1946.*

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1 August 1887 letter from Max to Amy in Nahant

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M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray

c/o M<sup>rs</sup> Horace Gray

Nahant

Mass —

The Belmont  
le 1<sup>er</sup> août

Chère petite Mams,

Il y a quelque temps que je te dois une lettre et j'ai été un peu paresseuse ????. La semaine dernière je suis allé à deux lunch, chez Edith et chez Louise où j'ai passé deux jours très agréablement. Vendredi les Van Buren ont donné un "heliotrope tea." Toutes les dames devaient aller en robes de cette nuance ou en blanc et des rubans héliotrope. C'était passeblement ennuyeux ainsi que celui de M<sup>me</sup> Lee le lendemain. — Le soir nous avons un hop et mercredi un grande réception l'après midi et un "soirée dansante", au club. Je pense mettre ma robe point d'esprit. — Quelqu'un a volé la petite boîte d'allumette en boule de la table à écrire du salon. Maman est au désespoir. — Je t'envoie un petit coupon du New York Times que je voudrais que tu lise jusqu'au bout!

Il fait une chaleur tropicale et tout le monde est de mauvaise humeur.

M<sup>me</sup> Apthorp arrange un bal costumé pour le douze. 1.50 d'entrée. Or ça et le club il n'y a rien que des réceptions; toutes plus stupides les unes que les autres. — Il faut maintenant je me coucher car je suis un petit peu souffrante.

J'écrirai bientôt et plus longuement.

ton Bébé qui t'embrasse  
bien fort. \_\_

**Notes:** The New York Times article mentioned and included in the letter was entitled "The father of forty-one: A Pennsylvania Hunchback's family of children" begins with "Harrisburg, Penn. July 25" and tells of the story of the recent death of John Heffner from a railroad accident who had been a local celebrity because of his fathering 41 children by three wives. The article appeared in *The New York Times* on 26 July 1887 and can be found on the NYT Time Machine (which unfortunately does not seem to function much of the time).

8 August 1887 letter from Gus to Amy in Nahant

M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray

c/o M<sup>rs</sup> Horace Gray

Nahant

Mass

Aug. 8. 1887

*Mt. Desert Reading Room.*

Dear Amy

You see I have got here at last. I arrd<sup>34</sup> on Saturday & found your mother & Max well as usual. I find she knew of Susan's legacy. I asked her. She says W<sup>m</sup> told her a good while after S.'s death. I inquired why she had not told you or Max of her, & she said she had made it a rule never to say anything she heard Max ??? all in the habit of talking freely before her, & she thought it was only right. She did not say so, but very likely she had been cautioned. I did not tell her that I knew it: & perhaps it is as well not to let her know.

She is going out all the time & seems very happy. I cannot take her to be a young woman! She always seems to me — now as ever — as a child. Swett did not say anything to me about her going back. He seems very fond of her, but her going into the world appears to trouble him constantly & I don't really think he can make up his mind whether he wants her or not.

M<sup>rs</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Culla is going to Europe. I think there is a possibility that he may go with her, & , if he does, very likely he will ask Max to go. He said to me frequently he thought it would be a great thing for her: & he was sorry Susan was not still here to look after her & take her.

He thinks M very bright & very unselfish. I will tell you ab<sup>t</sup> her independence & her manners after I have seen more of her. I can hardly say now. The Belmont is better then it was. It is very cold here & I don't ??? ??? like it. This will do for today.

Love to Russell & regards Mrs. Gray & Bessie. I called on Mrs John Gray yesterday but she was out. Saw Posie M. & was very much surprised. She has no beauty and no manners.

Yours evr

A.H.

Your mother was delighted with your letter, but says as I have written today she will defer her answer.

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**Notes:** Susan was Susan Heard Winthrop Swett, daughter of Francis Maria Heard who was the sister of Augustine and George Washington Heard. So Susan was a first cousin of Augustine Heard Jr. and considered Amy's "Aunt Susan" of Amy in general sense. Susan died at Lenox, Mass., 4 September 1886 at the age of 46. Amy had often stayed with Susan and her husband William Swett at their Boston House at 63 Beacon St.

8 August 1887 letter from Max to Amy in Nahant

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<sup>34</sup>arrived

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M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray  
c/o M<sup>rs</sup> Horace Gray

Nahant

Mass

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Aug. 8. 1887

Le 8 août

Je sais bien que je suis coquine, Sweetums. J'ai le vouloir mais pas la patience. Il y a tant de petites choses qu'on peut bien dire mais qui ne valent pas la peine d'être écrites. Cette dernière semaine Bonnie Lyman et Helene Burnham ont été ici et je me suis beaucoup amusée avec elles, je les ai mené avec moi chez plusieurs personnes. Samedi soir elles et M<sup>r</sup> Little ont donné un petit dîner de dix. M<sup>me</sup> L. Mason Bonnie, Helen, M<sup>lle</sup> Henshaw et moi, \_ M<sup>r</sup> Little, Grui. Winthrop Ch. Minot, M<sup>r</sup> Harry Grant et Rob. \_ composaient le dîner.

Au lieu de cartes nous avons chacun lu un livre de dix sous. Le mien intitulé A Tom Boy.

Après beaucoup de monde est arrivé et nous avons dansé jusqu'à minuit. Je suis revenue seule avec les deux M<sup>r</sup> Cheney.

Le club mercredi était très ennuyeux. La foule était telle qu'on ne pouvait pas danser et j'ai regretté d'avoir mis ma robe point d'esprit.<sup>35</sup> Oui, je pense aller au bal costumé vendredi comme "Frost." Ma robe point d'esprit, les cheveux poudrées et j'ai écrit à Boston pour de la poudre brillante et des glaçons en verre. Le sera jolis je crois et très simple\_\_ Le matin nous sommes allés chez M<sup>me</sup> Place. La music était bonne mais autrement ce n'était pas très agréable. Cet après midi je vais à un tennis tea chez les Codman et a soir nous avons notre dernière sauterie.

Demain nous allons dîner chez les Cheney. Je m'amuse pas mal maintenant mais ça me fatigue beaucoup d'être sur pied tout le temps car je me couche tard tous les soirs. — Comment vas tu, mieux?

Papa a très bonne mine je trouve \_\_ Ecris quand tu peux et je tâcherai de mieux me conduire.

Bébé

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10 August 1887 letter from Jane (& Gus) in Bar Harbor to Amy in Nahant

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M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray  
c/o M<sup>rs</sup> Horace Gray

Nahant

Mass.

Postmarked LYNN AUG 11 87

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<sup>35</sup>point d'esprit fabric is a finely woven net lace with irregularly spaced oval or square dots.

## Bar Harbor

stJuly August 10<sup>th</sup>

Nous rentrons (Papa et moi) d'une bonne visite chez les Morris. J'ai vu pr le première fois Monsieur qui ressemble à un Anglais. Son père était Anglais et très commun me dit m<sup>e</sup> Stauffer hier. M<sup>le</sup> Stauffer a demandé de tes nouvelles et dit des choses aimables sur toi compte. Elle<sup>M<sup>le</sup> L</sup> a reçu ses cent mille piastres<sup>(Gilders)</sup>. Quelqu'un me disait l'autre jour que probablement elle les attendrait longtemps "but as it was a direct legacy it had to be pd<sup>36</sup> at once d'après M<sup>e</sup> Morris \_\_ "Belle" se marie le 13 October. Sa mère m'a fait promettre d'assister à la cérémonie nuptiale qui doit avoir lieu le 13 Oct. à Westchester.

Belle m'a dit qu'elle serait très chagrinée si je ne venais pas \_ Aussi qu'elle ne connaissait pas une âme à Boston et que son futur[?] n'y connaissait personne. ?? Monsieur Bowen que nous avons rencontré à dîner hier soir, chez les Cheney m'a dit que "Barnes" n'avait pas su se créer des amis à Boston et a vrai dire qu'il n'était pas très bien vu \_ Belle a un peu peur de son isolement là mais je lui ai dit, que tu étais là et que tu connaissais tout le monde de Boston & ??? ...ce qui 'a eu' l'air de la soulager.

Elle ne se connaît pas en ménage, n'ayant jamais rien fait à la maison. Je lui ai dit que toi non plus tu n'en savais rien ??? que tu étais un modèle maintenant. La dernière lettre est écrite de ta plus belle écriture ce qui me fait croire que tu te portes décidément mieux.

Oui Je savais que M<sup>e</sup> était morte et je suis convaincu que je t'ai fait part de sa mort. Cela[?] de M<sup>e</sup> Evans que je l'ai appris.

The Pau\_ites do not speak of her as a model of virtue & those who know her history wonder that Childe shd have ever married her.

Je suis très sensible à l'appréciation de M<sup>lle</sup> Cans et je me demande pas mieux que de le croire. Le jeune ??? et M<sup>lle</sup> Draper que n'a pas encore 16 ans sont allés se promener sur les rochers hier après midi. Elle le dérangait de quelques pas tout en causant, ne recevant pas de réponse à sa question elle retourne et ne le voyant pas rebrousse chemin pr le trouver étendu sur sa face sur un rocher qu'elle ne peut atteindre. Elle revient sur ses pas crie de toutes ses forces et couvre de toutes ses paniques[?] trouver les autres de la partie. Ceux là arrivent mais ne pouvant l'atteindre ils s'ont tout chercher deux pêcheurs qui parviennent à le pêcher et le mettre dans un ?? buck board et le ramenne dans un état d'insensibilité. Peut tu concevoir de quel état se trouvait cette pauvre enfant qui est très délicate.

Je ne me rappelais pas qu'il faisait si humide à Nahant. Nous avons parlé de M<sup>e</sup> Chaffraix hier mais ces dames ne m'ont pas dit qu'elle viendrait ici. Helène est allé au bal du Club mais ne s'y est pas amusé. Il y avait foule et elle a peu dansée/ M<sup>e</sup> Leeds as une réception cjez elle cet après midi ce qu'ayant oubliée j'ai acceptée une invitation à faire une promenade avec M<sup>lle</sup> Stocker. M<sup>lle</sup> Parpin[?] est de retour à Bar Harbor et après le thé ici le de l'arrivée de Frank Bates [??? looks like Kangaroo]. M<sup>e</sup> Bates m'a dit qu'il s'était arrangé pr venir par le même train qu'elle \_\_\_\_\_d'autres me disent qu'elle est ici depuis quelque temps \_\_\_\_\_ "How" est parti ce matin sur le Creedence avec une quarantaine de personnes n'oubliant pas M<sup>e</sup> de Bates – qui m'a annoncé son intention

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<sup>36</sup>paid

il y a quelques jours – to return ??? as he was not up to lunch. Il a l'air bien malade le pauvre homme et bien soucieux

Il y a bal costumé chez Lyman ces ??? à Mardi – je crois – Helène y va as icicle c'est un secret atout[?] il ne faut pas en parler encore. Je tombe de sommeil qui qu'il n'est pas ??? ??? \_\_\_\_\_ Papa a beaucoup meilleure mine que qd<sup>37</sup> je suis partie de N.Y. Les premiers jours de son arrivée ça ne m'a pas tant frappée. Il était trop fatiguée.

Q<sup>d</sup> crois tu que je serais grand mère et qd t'installe tu à Boston. Je vais te dire adieu ne pouvant plus me tenir. Je tombe de sommeil et il n'est que que 4<sup>30</sup>. \_\_ Love to Russell \_\_ M<sup>lle</sup> Stauffer[?] désire beaucoup savoir comment est l'homme que tu as épousé ne peux ?? pas m'envoyer sa photographie pas pr elle mais pr moi. Mille choses affectueusement aimable a M<sup>e</sup> G. et a Bessie dont le souvenir me devient bien doux pensant combien elles te chargent et t'aiment. Tu es bien heureuse de te trouver dans un milieux si digne et si élevé. T'en aime pas mieux tes vieux parents  
JLB –

The day is as nearly perfect as can be made \_\_ & I am getting a little stronger.

Have you seen the Lion de Flandre? I didn't know whether your mother is descended from that Peter D C, but there is no reason why she should not be – qui sache?

The other names I gave you are what is called “Eminently respectable,” but I don't know whether there is any nobility among them.

Mrs. Farnum & Edith whom I saw an hour ago tell me they can find nobody to fill your place \_\_ “There is nobody like Amy!” “Very true,” I replied, “and if you do find somebody, keep her near for all the time.” \_\_

Mrs Stauffer told me your mother was her idea of a grand dame Française & she seemed dreadfully out of place in the common American Horde! \_\_\_\_

– **Note written by JLH on first page at a right angle to the main text:** –

M<sup>e</sup> del Calvo nièce d'Emily Stocker est chez les Del Monte depuis une dizaine de jours. Ces dames sont fort à la mode cette saison. La nièce a des manières très gracieuses et est bonne musicienne.

17 August 1887 letter from Gus in Bar Harbor to Amy in Nahant

Mrs. Russell Gray

Care of Mrs. Horace Gray  
Nahant

Mass.

Postmarked Bar Harbor AUG 17 87

Belmont, Bar Harbor  
Aug 17 1887

<sup>37</sup>quand

Dear Amy,

We haven't heard from you for a long time, & wonder how you are going on. & whether you are having as cold weather as we. I have slept under a blanket every night since I have been here & generally under two of them, which for me ??? much. Dances & parties of all kinds are going on every day & Max seems to like it more than you used to do. She is quite a young woman now, & I look at her curiously as a strange development. I wish she could be with you more & get your quiet manner. She is ??? & ???, almost, in her movements but not lady like, though I am afraid she might become so ??? bnd surroundings. She has greatly iproved in her French & was quite surprised & pleasantly to hear her carry on a conversation with Lippe the other night. She had passed two or three hours with me when Max came in from a hop about 12 & had him to herself.

We have seen the Morris's once or twice & they ??? great affection : but though they have had some yacht parties they have not invited us, & I didn't like it, as they seem to count on you to keep their daughter in Boston. It is not very Christian I suppose, but that kind of reciprocity doesn't suit me, & I hope you will not do any thing for him you are not compelled to. Your mother is very much annoyed & justly. How Charley was of one of these parties & consulted me about it, as he thought "of course I was going" . - I believe M<sup>r</sup>. Barnes the groom, does not enjoy the hrsh reputation.

I enclose a slip from the NY Times of yesterday. If you have read Sir And. Dieke's articles on the Political Condition of Europe you would better understand the solemn footing which underlay the King's remarks. He feels from them & from the discussion of them that England would repudiate the guaranty of the neutrality of Belgium which may harm their ??? the ??? of her security, & that B. must in the event of a war \_\_ or the approach of war. Between France & Germany. look out for her. suf. \_\_ The support of England is a broken word as Denmark has reason to find.

Dd Coninck you see is still a name to swear by.

Good bye - Remember me to Mrs Gray & Bessie.

Love to Russell

Yrs ever

A.H.

BRUSSELS, Aug. 15.—King Leopold unveiled statues of Breydel and de Coninck at Bruges to-day. In a long oration the King lauded the patriotism of Breydel and de Coninck, and urged his hearers not to slumber, as modern political oscillations were becoming more formidable and wars more terrible. Those whom wars surprised, he said, were lost.

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M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray

c/o M<sup>rs</sup> Horace Gray

Nahant

Mass.

Postmarked Bar Harbor AUG 19 1887

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Chère petite Mams,

Il y'a longtemps que je ne t'ai écrits, je crois, et je sais que'il y a un siècle que je n'ai eu de tes nouvelles.

Que fais tu toi ? Moi je vait a des receptions et des hops sans fin mais avec tout ça m'ennuie à mourir la plus part de temps. Mercredi pourtant je me suis assez amusé à un hop que Messrs. How & Draper ont donné. J'ai peu danser ca je me suis fais mal aux pied droit ce qui m'empêche de bien marcher ou danser. D<sup>r</sup> Longstreth<sup>38</sup> dit que ça prendra probablement longtemps à guérir car je l'ai négligé depuis le mois de mai et que c'est allé de mal au pire \_\_ c'est amusant.

Pour revenir à nos moutons, j'ai rencontré pas pour chance M<sup>r</sup> Brooks (Fred) qui est toujours agréable et nous avons causés sur la véranda. Aujourd'hui j'ai diné avec M<sup>me</sup> Gray (Nina)<sup>39</sup> mais elle est si étourdie et distraite qu'il est presque impossible de lui parler. Pour cette après midi il y a deux receptions

– How et Rotch, et ce soir un hop extra au Louisburg. Je renonce à tout ces plaisirs à cause de mon pied mais sans trop de chagrin.

Lundi il va y avoir un “???” au S<sup>t</sup> Sauveur.

Mercredi une partie sur le Cora \_\_ les Morris

et Vendredi un cotillion chez Louise où je pense passer la nuit. — Qu'est-ce que c'est que ce “fence” en français ? Lippe et moi nous cherchons depuis plusieurs jours sans trouver. A propos de Guise aussi – il dit que l'une se prononce pas et moi je dis que si – c'est dans Noël et Chansal.  
 \_\_\_\_\_<sup>40</sup>

L'autre soir au hop M<sup>mes</sup> Sturgis, Drayton, Hau?? et Turner Sargent ont danser le Virginie reel. M<sup>me</sup> Sargent a même valsé. \_\_ La vielle demoiselle Shannon est morte ce qui fait que M<sup>r</sup> How et M<sup>r</sup> Draper sont partis de suite.

Hier il faisait très froid et il a plut du matin jusqu'au soir sans interruption. Aujourd'hui il a fait chaud et lourd et ainsi de suite nous n'avons jamais deux jours pareils.

Je suis assez fatigués donc au revoir. N'oublies pas de répondre aux questions que je t'aie faites. Comment vas-tu ? Quand pense tu retourner en ville ?

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<sup>38</sup>Probably Dr. Morris Longstreth of Philadelphia who had a cottage in Bar Harbor in 1886. [82]

<sup>39</sup>Mrs. John Chipman Gray, Russel's brother's wife

<sup>40</sup>Probably refers to *Leçons d'analyse grammaticale, contenant des préceptes sur l'art d'analyser* (1871) or *Abrégé de la grammaire française, ou extrait de la Nouvelle grammaire française* (1879) by François Noël and Charles Pierre Chapsal or to one of their other books on French grammar.

Ton Béb  afft  <sup>41</sup>

Dear little Mams,

It is a long time since I wrote you, I believe, and I know that I have not had your news for a century. Me, I go to receptions and hops without end but with all of that I am bored to death most of the time. Yet Wednesday I was amused enough at a hop which Mrs How and Draper gave. I danced little because I hurt my right foot which prevents me from walking or dancing well. Dr. Longstreh says that it will probably take a long time to heal because I have neglected it since May and that it has gone from bad to worse \_\_ it is amusing.

To return to the subject, Not by chance I met Mr Brooks (Fred) who is always agreeable and we chatted on the veranda. Today I dined with Mrs Gray (Nina) but she is so absent-minded and distracted that is nearly impossible to talk to her. There are two receptions this afternoon – How and Rotch, and this evening an extra hop at the Louisburg. I renounce all of these pleasure because of my foot but without much sorrow.

Monday there is going to be a “???” at the St. Sauveur.

Wednesday a game on the *Cora*.

and Friday a cotillion at Louise’s where I am thinking of spending the night. – What is a “fence” in French? Lippe and I have searched for several days without finding it. Regarding Guise also – he says it is not pronounced and I say that it is. It is in No l et Chansal. \_\_\_\_

The other evening at the hop Mrs Sturgis, Drayton, ??? and Turner Sargent danced the Virginia reel. Mrs. Sargent even waltzed. \_\_ The old demoiselle Shannon died which caused Mr. How and Mr. Draper to leave quickly.

Yesterday it was very cold and it rained from the morning until evening without interruption. Today it is hot and heavy and so on we never have to similar days.

I am fatigued enough to say au revoir. Do not forget to respond to the questions I asked of you. How are you doing? When do you think you will return to town?

Your devoted B b 

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21 August 1887 letter from Gus in Bar Harbor to Amy in Nahant

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Mrs. Russell Gray

Care of Mrs. Horace Gray

Nahant

Masstts

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<sup>41</sup>Abbreviation of affectionn  = devoted

Monday  
Aug. 21, 1887

*Mt. Desert Reading Room..*

My Dear Amy,

I received Yesterday yours of the 18<sup>th</sup> & I was pained to see what an effort it had been for you to write it. Much as we enjoy hearing from you, we are reluctant to have our pleasure at so great a cost to you. I understand very well how you feel about the Morris's, & it is natural enough. After writing you the other day, we received an invitation from them to go for a sail in the "Cora" next Wednesday. I presume it will be a species of omnium gatherum,<sup>42</sup> where we shall meet all the world of BH, & we ought to be thankful to be included. I will tell you what we find it. They have had several Sunday lunches, 10 or 12 people at a time, & I am told they have been pleasant. There is a good deal going on here in one way & another, but we are rather "out of it" – Max strained her foot some time ago, & lately it has been giving her trouble so that she can't dance with any pleasure. She must keep quiet for a time or the evil may become chronic. I understand from D<sup>f</sup> Longstreth, however, that she will be all right after a time & with a stut spring in her shoe.<sup>43</sup>

By the bye, returning to the Morris's, for a moment. We were so "friendly" as you speak of & Mama was saying you could introduce Belle, before we heard anything about those yacht parties. Don't you recollect there was something of the some kind last year, & then you discovered some reason for it. It was this reflection of last year which made the same thing now so disagreeable.

You will be interested in the "Lion de Flandre", but I think I told you that we don't know whether there is any descent from the old Peter in your mother's blood\_ Tho there is no reason why there shdn't be. I shall try some day to write & ask. The other names I gave you are "respectable" enough, but I don't believe they belong to the nobility – as I have said before.

I can't tell you much ab<sup>t</sup> Belle's health. I think she is much as she was & that she still wears the same dresses, but your mother will perhaps add a line to say. I don't hear anything of their seeing or knowing any of the Bostonians here. but we shall probably discover in this yachting party who their friends are.

Max's manners are rather more like Mrs. Gray's than yours, though I suppose I afflict her bitterly, if I were to tell her so.

The G??s – Delia & ??? are in Europe & do not receive this year, but Mrs. Musgrave has taken their place –

Dancing in the bowling alley is an innovation for the afternoon in Bar Harbor, but some of the young people seem to like it. I was there yesterday & Mrs. M. whom I made my farewell bow, asked me to come in the morning so that we "could have a good talk." If I ( & she ) were younger, I should think I had made a conquest !.

The bell has rung some time ago, so good bye with love to those about you.

Yours ever

A.H.

<sup>42</sup>A collection of miscellaneous people or things (*Oxford Dictionary of English*).

<sup>43</sup>Perhaps Gus meant an orthopedic "strut spring" analogous to those used in shock absorbers.

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22 August 1887 letter from Bessie to Amy at 39 Marlborough

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Mrs. Russell Gray

39 Marlborough Street  
Boston  
Mass.

United States America

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Aug 22<sup>nd</sup>

**CHALET HALTURA  
 BIARRITZ**

My Dearest Amy,

Yours of the 8<sup>th</sup> reached me but yesterday, & the very sight of your handwriting caused my heart to beat much faster. ?? ??? that you were promoted to pen & mail made me hope you were stronger & better than when I left you. You are not, however, very satisfactory as to your health. I only hope that very soon you will be getting back health and strength & feel some compensation for your long suffering waiting.

I am grieved darling that that my letter should have proved a disappointment. Written words are seldom what we would wish them to be! \_ & are very unsatisfactory at best. But your affection must always read between the lines. & see that friends such as we are – never let go of you \_\_ Not keep you shut up close in our hearts, the ??? of the daily – word[?] Since I have seen you – & can place you in your new surroundings the ??? of it all has worn off. determined ?? ?? return to introduce you into the daily talks as of old. I wish I could give the better account of X. he is not ill. But seems so nervous & overwrought – I often wonder if this is not a very exciting climate to some natures –

I have so settled down to the daily routine of my life here that it seems a dream.

– My flying trip across the ocean \_\_ & my hasty peep of you.

I am sorry you were not so well after my visit, I had wanted to act as a tonic to you. & hoped that Mr. Gray would be so pleased \_\_ that he would have been glad to have seen me – Remember me to him always most kindly \_\_ No one who loves you \_\_ & is so good to you as he \_\_ could be of indifference to me \_\_ I remember Dr Bigelow very well & have heard so much of him from his cousin, Mrs Mason \_ that I almost feel as though I really know him but I only met him a few times at her house. He interested me, however, as being quite different from anyone I ever knew and I can quite appreciate that he & Mr Gray would be friends \_\_ I am sure that since you are well again – you will enjoy the intellectual surroundings.

You will find in Boston that I shall be afraid to show myself, ??? ??? & ignorant ! \_\_

There is not much in this place – as for ??? – Outside of beautiful winter nature to elevate or instruct.

I have ??? to homely pursuits. Looking after my garden & plants is a great resource & the kitchen department is my cure. I am turning out a good cook & even at this moment the one thing that carries me off from misery is to go & watch the tomato catsup which is on the fire! –

Mamma was glad you liked the pin cushion & was so interested to hear all about Max! & your house\_\_ She is never very strong \_\_ & says she is growing very old \_\_ & she has aged; which thought always brings a tightening feeling around my heart. Forget that I am keeping pace. But my heart feels so young \_\_\_ I trust may always be so \_\_ This place feels very gay. But I keep out of it all, & seldom leave my hill to for the dusty hot town. How often I was ?? ?? up on the Verandah where I have a hammock & chairs of all kinds for comfort \_\_ & where I spend all my spare time, as the heavy blinds to shut out the sun \_\_ & the wind of mountains & sea from it is really sublime. I hope your Mother & Max are enjoying Bar Harbor. I was inundated with questions about you all, from the remaining people here who ??? ??? – Which of them old M<sup>dme</sup> ??? being 95 years old! \_\_\_ She is still a wonder of intelligence though she lives in the last century \_ or rather ?? ??? of people who died ages ago. Just as though I was one of them \_\_

I will send you a photo in a few days. It will make you laugh. X wanted to have “Rosie” his dog – photo’d & as I had gone to Frois <sup>44</sup> about some pictures he had done of me & which I will send you one of & X came in – I went with him to see about his dog & while he was there we had a photo done of us all. Mine is horrid, but his is so good that I had three struck off\_\_ & send you the third \_\_ as soon as Frois sends them. You shall have it. Keep it for yourself & not in evidence as it would perhaps look foolish to anyone else \_\_

Now I must close \_\_, or the Catsup will be spoiled.

I will write you soon again darling. I shall look eagerly forward  
to the great news in September. God bless . keep you \_\_ dear \_\_ & ??? many fond kisses

Believe ever & always

Your Loving

Bessie

P.S. Please thank Miss Lewis for her photo – she sent me – I would have written her a line but she gave me no address. The picture is not half so pretty as the original.

**Notes:** During their October 1877 visit to Biarritz, Max, Amy, and Jane all had Frois photograph them for carte de visites. Bessie implicitly assumes that Amy knows about the photographer, which provides circumstantial evidence that the Heard family knew Bessie when they stayed in Biarritz.

The mysterious X is revealed as a dog lover who had his dog Rosie’s photo taken with Bessie and himself by the famous photographer .

<sup>44</sup>Paul Frois (1834-1894) was a painter and photographer in Biarritz who produced many carte de visites (CDVs) as well as scenic portraits of Biarritz and the Basque coast in the late nineteenth century.

28 August 1887 letter from Gus in Bar Harbor to Amy in Nahant

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Mrs. Russell Gray

c/o Mrs. Horace Gray  
Nahant  
Masstts

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*Mt. Desert Reading Room..*

Aug 29 1887

Dear Amy,

Nothing from you since my last, & I don't know that I have any thing very much to make a letter out of. I thought however I would revive your mind about the Morris party. You will be wanting to hear about it as I promised to write. Well, there is nothing to say for it didn't come off. On that afternoon it rained in torrents -- mais, torrents! & I have not heard of any one attempting to go on board, though they issued 100 invitations -- So "they say"

You wonder at my handwriting, but would not if you were here. It is so cold that I can hardly hold a pen & I have been wearing winter gloves all the morning. Coming home, I find your note of yesterday. I am glad to see you are better than you were. Of course it will be well to remain out of town as long as you can, but you don't want to overdo it. -- It was a pity about the Morris party. I can't imagine who the 100 people are who Mrs Preston (Miss Sauffer's sister) told me had been invited. The only person, I have heard of were that family, ourselves & How Everyone I have asked said "no" -- I don't hear of any "put-off" & fancy it is all over for the moment! Indeed Mr. P. said the "Cora" was to be such ??? for some purpose which she did not know.

Max is going to a cotillon <sup>45</sup> on Miss Bowler's <sup>46</sup> tonight, but cannot dance. She will stay all night. She has not had so many invitations as she would have had if she had been willing to make more calls, & had not been so entirely satisfied with our Boston set. Her mother is in despair at her independent ways, & I confirm I could wish she was more like you. She is very brusque & sometimes really cassante <sup>47</sup> without meaning to be. -- The fault of bad surroundings. You must keep her more with you, when you are well & strong again. She's very "Swett", which is not unnatural. <sup>48</sup>

I haven't fixed any time for leaving yet. I shall probably stay a week or two longer.

It is blowing a gale today & very cold. A ??? ??? is going on, & they have got all the wind they can take care of.

????? has a reception & I shall try to get out there. I always liked her, you know. There was to have been a canoe parade this PM followed by a reception by M?? Whitney, but the wind must

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<sup>45</sup>Usually spelled "cotillion"

<sup>46</sup>Chatwold

<sup>47</sup>curt, brittle

<sup>48</sup>Probably an illusion to the political activities of her "Aunt Susan" -- Susan Heard Swett, who was a strong feminist with respect to women's education and employment, if not for suffrage.

postpone the former, tho we can always talk french & perhaps the reception will not suffer.

Goodbye. Let us hear from you when you feel like writing.

Love to Russell & greetings to Mrs. Gray & Bessie. <sup>49</sup>

Yours evr

A.H.

28 August 1887 letter from Albert Farley Heard in Ipswich to Amy in Nahant

Mrs. Russell Gray

Nahant

Mass \_\_

Ipswich Aug 2 87

Dear Amy

I hoped to have had a day free that I might run over to Nahant for a glimpse of you before my return to Washington, but my vacation is very short and bad weather has cut one off already of several days. My time, only a fortnight is rapidly coming to an end and what is left is slipping away with most uncomfortable speed so that I fear I must forego the pleasure of seeing you & trust to paper to tell you of my disappointment.

I trust you have had a pleassant summer and are well. I should like to have occular demonstration of it, but the lettles leisure I have had has been devoted to recuperating from the effect of Washington heat. I hear good news of you, and as you know, my best wishes are always with you.

Remember me to M<sup>r</sup> Gray, and be assured of my heartfelt affection.

All here are well & send you love.

Ever & sincerely yours

A.F. Heard

3 September 1887 letter from Louise Bowler, Chatwold, to Amy in Nahant

Mrs Russell Gray

c/o Mrs Horace Gray

<sup>49</sup>Context implies Mrs. Gray is Russell's mother Sarah Russell (Gardner) Gray, Mrs. Horace Gray, and Bessie is Russell's half-sister, Elizabeth Chipman Gray. This Bessie is definitely not the Bessie of Amy's correspondence since that Bessie's mother is still living in 1887, while Bessie Gray's mother, Harriet Upham Gray, died in 1834.

Nahant

Mass.

**Chatwood,  
Mt. Desert.**

My dear Amy

I was very very glad to hear from you dear and take my first free moment in which to write to you. \_

You ask me about myself what can I tell? \_m I shall stay just as late as I am able to here and afterwards I hardly know. Edith has asked me to pay her a long visit in November in New York so that most of the month I will be there \_\_ I suppose I will spend Christmas with my brother and as far as I can form any plans I will spend a month or six weeks in Washington, all ??? is rather vague & en l'air \_\_ Shall I tell you of the people & things here. It has been very gay & dissipated. Many new people & fine clothes \_\_ of your friends Major Doyles[?] who has been blue & tired, Mr Higgins who always enquired for you, who drives his four-in-hand & an English coach & since his engagement appears in ???

I saw a friend of yours here the other day Mr Endicott. He is staying with Dr. Mason I think \_\_ You know I never hear much gossip so I can hardly ??? you greatly of Mrs Dorr I have seen nothing. She has markedly ignored my existence & I hear says when my name is mentioned – I know no such person – I have really only seen Edith Bell & the Hunts intimately as I have not met any congenial spirits \_\_\_\_\_

You say little about yourself dear but if you are happy what more can be wished \_\_\_\_\_

I have such fits of the blues I hardly know what to do sometimes. All the world seems as dark & gloomy as possible.

If I write longer I will give you an insight into my moods & you hardly need that now dear friend \_\_\_\_\_Mrs Watson promised to call & tell me all about you but she never came. Perhaps she was not permitted but I was very sorry \_\_\_\_\_A great deal of love for you dear & heartfelt wishes for you & your future. You know ho I think of you & pray for you.

Lovingly

Louise

Sept. 3<sup>d</sup>

1887

I have seen little or nothing of Belle Morris she is to be married Oct 13<sup>th</sup>?

[Comment written in the margin of the letter, at a right angle to the main text] Enid Hunt says her fiancé improves on acquaintance. a very agreeable man.

*Edith Bell (1857-1946) was a correspondent of Amy's and a summer neighbor in Bar Harbor of Louise Bowler's. Edith was the niece of Mrs. M.E. Farnum, who in 1887 owned Abendruh Cottage in Bar Harbor. The following information is taken from Bar Harbor Cottages:*<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup><http://www.vfthomas.com/Mainecottages/HancockCounty/BarHarborcottageshome.htm>

*Abendruh - north side of Albert Street (now [2014] Albert Meadow)*

*1887 March 17 issue of Bar Harbor Record: "Abendruh, Mrs. M. E. Farnum's cottage, on Albert avenue, will be repainted by Moore & Pendleton this spring. (p. 3, col. 1)"*

*1904: owned by Edith (Mrs. Leonard E.) Opdycke*

*As will be seen shortly, while the work on the house was in progress Edith and her aunt moved in with Louise at Chatwold. Mrs. M.E. Farnum was Mrs Henry Farnum, born Mary Ellis Bell (1818-1894)<sup>51</sup> It took a long time to track down identity and family information on Edith, her traces were mostly in Bar Harbor records and in New York museum records, where she donated many art works later in life. Edith married on 12 October 1893 Leonard Eckstein Opdycke<sup>52</sup> (1858-1914). Opdycke was a well-known and well-connected New York lawyer, author, publicist, and social philanthropist<sup>53</sup> Abendruh still exists as a summer rental cottage.*

*Leonard would later die of a gunshot wound at Abendruh in 1914, which can be found in the literature of the time being described as an accidental death while cleaning the gun or as a suicide.*

*Edith Bell was the daughter of Edward Rogers Bell and Caroline (Farnum) Bell, and Mary Ellis Bell was the sister of Edward Rogers Bell and hence indeed Mary was Edith's aunt in the strict sense of the word. Mary was also Edith's aunt in a second, more general sense since Carolyn's brother was Henry Farnum of Philadelphia, Mary's Husband — siblings Edward and Mary Bell had married siblings Caroline and Henry Farnum. I did not find this connection clearly stated in any single source, but it follows from consistent (but individually incomplete) information in multiple sources, including /freepages.rootsweb.com and findagrave.com/memorial. Adding to the confusion was the fact that Mary Ellis Bell was the name of Edith's grandmother, her aunt, and her niece.*

*Edith and her aunt Mary apparently had a tradition of traveling together to Bar Harbor in the summer. The 20 June 1886 Philadelphia Times in an article headlined*

### *THE SUMMER FLIGHT*

*People Who Have Leisure to Spend  
the Summer Out of Town.*

### *FRESH NEWS FROM THE RESORTS*

*All About the Fashionable Hotels and Their  
Many Guests*

*included in the section on Bar Harbor the names "Mrs. M.E. Farnum and Miss Edith Bell."*

<sup>51</sup>Information from [https://collections.mcny.org/asset-management/2F3XC5I4RXWI?FR\\_=1&W=791&H=792](https://collections.mcny.org/asset-management/2F3XC5I4RXWI?FR_=1&W=791&H=792) regarding a donation of a photograph of the Parlor of 41 West 21st Street in New York owned by Mrs. Farnum and later by her niece.

<sup>52</sup>often misspelled Opdyke

<sup>53</sup>*Who's Who in New York (City and State) 1914*, Edited by William F. Mohr

*Enid Hunt* The *Enid Hunt* mentioned in the marginal note is probably *Enid Dumaresq Hunt*, one of the daughters of the Boston artist *William Morris Hunt* and *Louisa Dumaresq (Perkins) Hunt*. *Enid* married *Samuel Slater* in 1891 (and divorced in 1899). Their story is sketched at the *Back Bay Houses* website <https://backbayhouses.org/293-beacon/>

*I can not resist expanding on the story, both because it is a good story and because it demonstrates how interesting some people in Amy's crowd were. The 22 December 1891 issue of the International Herald Tribune*

*Woman Weds Her Sister's Husband's Son*

*A few years ago, when Mrs. W. C. Whitney was at the social helm, musicales were so numerous and fashionable that the two leading spirits in this revival of artistic taste were obliged to give their own at ten o'clock in the morning. Generally they were engaged somewhere else at every other seasonable hour of the day or evening. These clever young women were the daughters of Mrs. W. Morris Hunt, of Boston. They came here and revolutionized the amateur tastes so far as dramatic, musical or artistic matters were concerned. Their father was a famous painter in his day, and back of him there were three or four generations of Massachusetts culture. Trade and all the rest of the nineteenth-century progressiveness did not come into their life at all. Now one of the sisters has married, and the other is about to wed, men whose wealth has been accumulated by toil.*

*At Miss Enid Hunt's marriage on Thursday night, at St. John's Church, to Mr. Samuel Slater, of Providence, R.I., his father, Mr. Horatio Nelson Slater and his new wife, who was Miss Mabel Hunt, will smile benignly on the nuptials. The latter will wear her wedding dress, to everybody's intense gratification. There never was a stepmother-in-law and step-daughter-in-law who thought so much of each other as these two sisters, and the way Mrs. Slater, Sr., has lavished presents on the future Mrs. Slater, Jr., is marvelous.*

4 September 1887 letter from Max in Bar Harbor to Amy in Nahant

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M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray  
c/o M<sup>rs</sup> Horace Gray

Nahant

Mass

Postmarked Bar Harbor Sep. 4

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The Belmont  
Sept 4<sup>th</sup>

Ma chère petite Mams, ce n'est pas parceque j'ai été fâché de tes conseils — je ne dis pas sermon — que je n'ai jamais répondu à ta lettre. Tout ce que tu m'as écrit m'as déjà été dit bien dix fois. J'ai pressé moi-même et j'ai tâché de faire un effort. C'est difficile — et je n'ai pas encore réussi — j'essayerai encore —

J'ai vu M<sup>lle</sup> Watson jeudi et elle nous a dit que tu ne rentrais en ville que le 15 de ce mois. N'est ce pas plus tard que tu ne puisais? Je n'ai encore aucune idée de ?? que je vais devenir cet hiver

mais M<sup>me</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Calla devait aller au '63' hier et je pense lui écrire demain et lui demander si M<sup>r</sup> Swett m'attend.

Papa va à merveille il s'amuse assez. \_ Jean m'as envoyé une photographie d'Odette de sa part.

Je suis un peu désappointé car elle n'est pas aussi jolie que je croyais mais en tout elle n'est pas beaucoup changée. \_ Je me suis beaucoup amusé au cotillon de Louise bien que je n'ai pas pu danser à cause de ma pied. M<sup>me</sup>E. Pendelton a aussi donné une petite soirée dansante mardi dernier ou je me ?? aussi beaucoup amusé.

M<sup>lle</sup> Morris désire être ??? à ton bon bon ????. Elle part le 10 pour New York où elle va faire faire son trousseau et changer de de façon (en robes) –

Elle se marie le 13 octobre dans leur maison de campagne à trois heures de l'après midi. "It is to be extremely quiet" mais elle aura huit demoiselles d'honneur. As tu des nouvelles d'Addie ou de Jean dernièrement[?]? est-ce décidé à propos de la noce? Je voudrai lui faire un joli cadeau mais je ne sais vraiment que faire!

Ma broderie sur satin blanc que je t'ai montré va être très belle et ferait un ravissant paravent pour le salon en ais je l'ai destiné à Mairaine et je n'ai pas du tout envie de changer d'idée.

Nous avons vu tulips[?] superbe mais l'endroit est presque désert.

Major Douglas t'envois ses amitiés. – Il faut maintenant que j'écrive à Odette mais j'écris si mal que j'en ai peur! Maman t'embrasse aussi qui moi – bien fort petite Mams.

Bébé

Edith Bell visiting Chatwold to Amy at 39 Marlborough.  
Postmarked Bar Harbor Me. Sep 14 1887

Mrs Russell Gray  
39 Marlborough St.

Boston  
Mass.

"Chatwold"

Bar Harbor  
September 13<sup>th</sup>

Dearest Amy

Here I am installed in Chatwold and my Aunt too! Are you not surprised? I am. Mr & Mrs Bowler left Louise a week ago and she suggested we should come & take their place as chaperons & companions. So my dear old Aunt packed up and moved out and "Abendruh" is being gradually dismantled & will close the end of the month. While While we stay on to look after Louise. How curiously things come about after all. I am occupying Louise's own room & Auntie Mrs B's. While Louise [?? illegible lines] children

We are all very happy together & dear Louise is and peace and contented. The place has cleared out rapidly & they are none but cottagers left, but we see enough of them and nearly every day

someone lunches or teas here. Yesterday Mrs Hale & your mother lunched with us. The ladies[?] seemed very chirpy handsome spoke of you most affectionately.

We tease my Aunt very much over the delight she finds in your Father's society. he has called many times to see her & your mother says it is thoroughly reciprocated. I am glad you moved successfully back to your home & hope you found things in order that a long eventful w[?]inter opens before you.

How deeply I trust dear that all will go well with you! We shall probably remain here until Louise goes down perhaps the middle of October and then Boston will see us for a few days, so I shall look forward to seeing you then. Louise comes to us in November for a long visit.

I will try & do what I can for Maxima, but it is delicate ground for a stranger. Louise chooses her freinds for their qualities & charitably closes her eyes to their deficiencies. She is too true & clever a girl to be deceived & remains always the same loyal friend to her "stand-bys." Among which I am sure [?], she always numbers you. She has no plans for the winter whatever as yet and has to live from day to day as she never knows what a morning may bring forth. I believe Mrs B. will remain all winter in Europe with George. While Robert returns to school. I know nothing further of Mr Barnes. Her family are perfectly satisfied & her father gives her a million on her wedding day. She has already hat that amount now they will be comfortably off.

Mr. Hov. has not been well all summer but I see his picnic mania has revived so he must have have recovered. The Whitneys were the golden egg as lobng as they stayed here, but I fancy they were not induced to buy any land. Tell me something good to read. Goodbye dearest Amy We all send love.

Yr. ever devoted friend Edith

*Mrs. Bowler is probably May Taylor (Williamson), George Pendleton Bowler's wife (and Alice's sister). Robert is probably Robert Bowler III (1880-1935), the son of George's brother Robert Bowler II and Alice.*

18 September 1887 letter from Max in Bar Harbor to Amy at 39 Marlborough

M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray

39 Marlborough S<sup>t</sup>

Boston

Mass.

Postmarked Bar Harbor Sep.18

The Belmont

Le 18 sept.

Chère petite Mams,

Il y a longtemps que je ne t'ai écrits mais depuis lundi dernier cela en as été vraiment impossible, cela fait déjà une bonne semaine de passéee. Non contente d'être boiteuse je me suis fais très mal

au pouce de la main droit c qui m'a empêché de rien faire.

Même maintenant j'écris avec difficulté comme tu vois. \_\_\_\_

Il est décidé que je reourne au 63 en tous les cas pour puisque tout l'hiver à l'exception de un mois ou deux pendant la haute saison quand j'espère pouvoir aller chez les James. L'oncle ne veut pas que j'aille aux bals à moins que je ne puisse passer la nuit chez une de mes amies ce qui n'est pas toujours facile a arranger. Mme M<sup>c</sup>Calla et deux des enfants vont aussi passer l'hiver au 63 les deux cadettes étant au couvent de St Margaret <sup>54</sup> dans Chestnut ct. \_\_\_\_ Je ne sais pas si cela me plais tout a fait. D'un cote oui, de l'outre not \_\_\_\_

Papa et moi nous alons très bien mais Maman n'as pas bonne mine et ne l'est pas très bien portée depuis quelques temps. Il n'est pas encore question de partir. Lippe est maintenant un interne[?] et est dans notre salon le plupart du temps. Il ne perd pas à être pour l'Europe au mois d'octobre.

Nous avons un temps superbe et c'est dommage que tu ne puisse pas en profiter. J'ai hâte que toute cette affair sont passée.

Papa vient de me quitter. Il ne t'écrit pas parcequ'il a mal aux doigts et me prie de te dire qu'il a décidé – de rester un peu plus longtemps car cet air lui fait du bien. Si je trouve quelqu'un qui veut bien le charger de moi je partirai peut être le première.

Je crois que Papa et Maman ??? passer un ou deux semaines à Boston en route pour N.Y. Ils allent probablement au Bellevue.

Ma main est fatiguée je dois la reposer.

a bientôt Mams

Bébé

Comment va M<sup>f</sup> Lewis ?

**Notes:** Max refers to the Bellevue Hotel in Boston, which in 1887 was located on Beacon Hill at 17 Beacon St. The only famous (or infamous) Belleville in New York at that time was the famous hospital, and 1887 was the year that reporter Nellie Bly feigned insanity to be admitted for ten days and published a damning inditement of patient treatment in her article "Ten days in A mad-house" published in the *New York World*. In that era Bellevue was almost synonymous with Bedlam.

Letter from Louise at Chatwold to Amy at 39 Marlborough, postmarked 24 Sept. 1887

Mrs Russell Gray  
39 Marlborough St.

Boston

Mass.

<sup>54</sup>See Subsection 14.4.1, this is Sisterhood of St. Margaut, the same group of Episcopalian nuns that Addie refers to in her letter of 6 June 1885.

**Chatwold,**  
**Mt. Desert.** Sept 23<sup>d</sup>

My dear Amy

As the end of the month draws near I begin to think I will hear hear very soon of you and yours dear heart how I hope you will not suffer too much \_\_\_\_\_

I send you this day a tiny spread for the baby and a baptismal spoon which though not very beautiful has the necessary ??? the ships guarded by an apostle which is to carry it safely through life according to old legends \_\_\_\_\_

Edith & Mrs Farnum are with me now & you are our constant theme \_\_\_\_\_

Shall I tell you of the world & its doings \_\_\_\_\_

Mrs Barten Harrison is doing an amount of autumnal entertaining she has som English ??? staying with her. Sir Peter & Lady Lilly of New Brunswick & a Mrs ??? of London & we are shown them as sights \_\_ Then Edith & I ??? taken to long walks & we try all the men left in the place. Mr Phelps a would be clever son of Austin Phelps of Andover \_\_\_\_\_but we found him of George Dorr to Miss Da?? which I rather fancy is true though not announced \_\_\_\_\_

My warmest wishes as you know are with you dear & with a great deal of love from your affectionate friend

Louse Bowler

October 26 1887 letter from Horace Gray Jr. in Washington D.C. to Russell Gray, his half-brother.

Russell Gray Esq

39 Marlborough Street  
 Boston, Mass.

1721 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE,  
 WASHINGTON, D.C.

Oct 26/87

Dear Russell,

Many thanks to Amy and yourself for your kind note. But it is quite out of the question that I should be sponsor to your son, for two reasons:

First. I absolutely declined to be godfather to this boy when he and Mina requested it.

Second. My reasons then hold good now – that real parents are a divine institution, and what the Church calls godfathers and godmothers are a human contrivance, and that I cannot, in person or by proxy, take the requisite vows, without either profaning a religious ceremony by intending not to keep them, or else undertaking what I think is during the life of either parent a mischievous office.

As to the name, were I younger or likely ever to be married, I should repudiate having any possible son of mine undergo the annoyance that I did in my youth. But as things are, I have no wish on the subject. No nephew could, by reason of his name, be more or less dear to

His Affectionate Uncle

Horace Gray

Russell Gray Esq

---

8 October 1887 Louise Bowler at Chatwold to Amy at 39 Marlborough

Mrs Russell Gray  
39 Marlborough St.

Boston  
Mass.

Oct. 8<sup>th</sup> 87  
Chatwold

My dear dear friend

How shall I thank you for your sweet letter & you how gladly I keep the trust, how I will be its true God-mother praying that if it is a boy he will grow up a true and noble spirit such as we need in this world, but if it be a girl only telling her & be a second edition of her mother. \_\_\_\_\_Dear, do you know the great compliment you have paid me for I believe in the obligations in their fullest extent the responsibility one takes if anything happens to the parents \_\_\_\_\_You have made me very happy to-night in thus giving me a share in your great happiness & I fancy all the responsibility will consist in making it give some love to its mothers old maid friends \_\_\_\_\_You entirely reconcile me to my fate in not being named Barbara dear little mite. how I wish I could hold it now & pray our Heavenly Father & bless it now & always \_\_\_\_\_There is nothing you could have done to so prove to me your warm friendship and I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

\_\_\_\_\_We leave here next Friday for Boston and I will spend several days with Mrs Farnum & Edith at the Brunswick Hotel & then I go to Mrs Frank Lawrence in Long Wood for a week or ten days

\_\_\_\_\_I wonder shall we see you when I first come to town or will the small miss Barbara just-arrived & doctors & nurses are always forbidding people \_\_\_\_\_Will? Well we will wait patiently & if they

are hard hearted I will journey on from New York to visit my god-daughter & catch a glimpse of the dear mother.

God bless you both from yours with a thankful heart.

Louise

13 November 1887 letter from Mary C. Endicott in Washington D.C. to Amy at 39 Marlborough

To

Mrs Russell Gray

39 Marlborough Street  
Boston  
Mass.

1313 Sixteenth St.  
November 13

Dearest Amy

Thank you so much for the little note, it was such a pleasure to know that you were well enough to write me a few lines \_\_ It should have been answered ere this but I have been so busy ever since I came home, with the thousand & one odds & ends which we always find to do, before settling down for the winter. People are coming back to town by degrees & every day the streets some familiar face for the first time. Night before last the first festivity took place at the Legation to celebrate Flora's birth day. I dined there first, the only other girl, & the secretaries of the French Legation. In the evening about forty people came in, & we had a little dance, which was very nice \_\_ I always enjoy dancing in that way, for being fond of "tripping on the light fantastic." I like plenty of room to do it in. Mrs. Archibald Forbes is back, & very amusing. I found her the other day breakfasting at Ingrams. She seems to be devoted to her husband & happy in her life abroad. The poor man has been very ill for months, but since he came here is improving I believe. I dined one night with Mrs. John M<sup>c</sup>Lean in their new house or rather old one renovated. You know they have the Fish house, & have done it over, & added a huge room, 60 ft. by 33 \_\_ In it is that superb carving which Howard had in N.Y. for so long. The walls are lined with book cases, & the only trouble is the finish is not in keeping with the wonderful carving of the old work. He talks of having a ball & certainly it would be a delightful room for it. Your uncle <sup>55</sup> drops in for a cup of tea every now & then & very pleasant it is to see him.

<sup>55</sup>Albert Farley Heard, who was at this time private secretary to Secretary of War William C. Endicott.

Every Sunday I stay at home, & have the lunch set semi-foreign semi-American. \_\_ The Wests all seem very well, & to have enjoyed their summer immensely. Amalia has buried the hatchet entirely & the other night quite took me under her special protection. She is sweet I think, such an interesting little thing. Now my dear, the hour for church approaches & I must close our little chat. I begin to think it doubtful if I get on to Thanksgiving, as I hoped to do. I want Mama to go, & let me stay with Papa, as I fear he can't get off. So if I do not come then there is no knowing when I shall see you, & the son! The young gentleman whose acquaintance I am most anxious to make. Remember me to Mr. Gray, & with much love,

Ever affect<sup>ately</sup>

Mary C. Endicott

Forgive the untidy appearance of this effusion.

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1 December 1887 letter from Gus in N.Y. to Amy at 39 Marlborough

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Mrs Russell Gray

39 Marlborough Street  
Boston  
Mass.

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28 West 18<sup>th</sup> St.  
N.Y. 1 Dec. 1887

Dear Amy

Here is the key for the trunk which I shall send you by express tomorrow. Your mother will write you ab<sup>t</sup> the contents, & you & Max ought to be profoundly grateful to her for the way she has worked in your behalf. Not one woman in 10000 w<sup>d</sup> have done so much. The 3 trunks from Ostend were delivered yesterday evening. No keys of course. I found a key that w<sup>d</sup> open one, & took the lock off another. Those were emptied last evening & the third yielded to the persuasion of a locksmith this morning!

There's a lot of furn –

Some books & plated dishes for John.

An envelope addressed to Max containing \$160.

It is nearly midnight. So goodnight pleasant dreams –

My ??? to my grandson.

Does he begin to “take notice” yet ?

Yrs A.H.

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1 December 1887 letter from Jane in N.Y. to Amy at 39 Marlborough. Included in same envelope as the letter from Gus.

---

Venedi

Chère Amy Je dois t'écrire au grd galop ce matin le décembre va sonner.

Je n'ai pas fait le partage des affaires dans la malle que l'Express doit venir chercher tout à l'heure. Je me fie à ton jugement pr faire le patages des fourrures et le reste. Rappelle toi que nous sommes pauvres et pas à même de donner à Hélène ce qu'elle aimerait et devrait avoir en fait de fourrures. Il y a 4 plats en argent que Tante Marie <sup>56</sup> a legué à Jean, il y aussi des livres (tous) à lui.

Press les serviettes de toilette de coté pour Papa qui les veut. Je les rapporterai à mon retour du mariage. <sup>57</sup> Ne te fatigues pas trop à déballer fais venir Hélène et qu'elle le fasse à moins que tu ne préférer le faire plus tranquillement. Je n'ai pas fait de liste du contenu de la malle.

J'ai été obligé de faire tout cela tellement à la hâte avec des interruptions sans cesse et sans place pr trier Tu m'écriras comment tu trouves tout cela – Je suis tout contrariéré de ma stupidité apparente en envoyant ces serviettes mais en réalité c'est au compte de ma surdité qu'il faut porter cela. Je grelotte Adieu. écris moi et parle moi longuement de mon petit fils que je meurs d'envie d'embrasser. Je crois que je l'aime plus que toi.

Mille choses aimabler pr toute ton famille M<sup>e</sup> G. & Bessie .

Quel cadeau de noce fais tu à Addie à l'occasion de son mariage. M<sup>e</sup> Bowler est venue me voir avant hier. Elle m'a fait une bonne longue visite et m'a demandé de tes nouvelles avec vif intérêt. Louise et Edith sont ??? le bon precedent et L\_\_ parle of her God child d'une manière affectueuse no living woman shall take that child to the font but me "I love it" .

JLH

[Note written at right angles at the top of the first page.]

Si vous ne voulez pas la robe de drap noire donnez la à Kate[?] de ma part, je l'ai bien negligée tous ces temps ? et les galets[?] de fleurs. Je ne les veux pas. Il y avait encore quelque chose pr elle mais je ne peux en rappeler.

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11 December 1887 letter from Louise in N.Y. to Amy at 39 Marlborough.

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Sunday Dec. 11<sup>th</sup>  
1887. –

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<sup>56</sup>Mary Taylor De Coninck Johnston (1834-1886)

<sup>57</sup>Jane's son John Heard Jr. married Adeline (Addie) Wheelwright Lewis 15 December 1887.

Dear Amy

It is just five months since the baby's arrival into this world to-day, and I wish I could see him and mark the improvement that time has made in his appearance — I suppose he has given evidence of some extraordinary power either intellectual or physical already & I miss all his Babyhood — And you my dear, has the strength come back? there are a thousand questions I long to ask — I sent you by Express a cup I have finally found for your first born, an old german mu[g] with a curious inscription rudely carved, I trust the spell may remain with the cup & prove true — It will be followed by a very simple and primitive Christmas gift for him — The colors may attract his eyes and the rude notes cultivate his ear, if he develops an early musical talent perhaps "Cousin Mary" will se fit to fulfill her promise —

I have been going the rounds of giddy social life here in New York \_\_\_ a surfeit of Grand Opera where one goes in low-necked dresses to see the people and to talk gossip — Did you ??? know Kitty M<sup>c</sup>Lane of Baltimore, the breaking of her engagement to Mr Ludlow is the talk of the day —

I expect to leave here the end of the week for Philadelphia en route to Cincinnati where I shall spend Christmas and reach Washington Jan 7 or 8 where Aunt Charlotte and I will spend 2 or 3 weeks, then I shall take up my abode in Philadelphia for a time \_\_\_

These are my plans as far as I can foresee them.

2

I have been having also a little literary feast here in New York. I met Thomas Nelson Page the other day and found him delightful, he talked so easily & sensibly on the *Union* question in the face of a lot of old Southerners, representing himself as the modern South, the outgrowth of the Civil War. —

Speaking of war I have just finished the recollections of Mr Washburn with all his facilities for observation. I dont believe he could have entered into the details of the Commune he refers to them so little; he takes so much more the political aspect of the times\_

I probably bore you to death but I know it would be a greater bore if I told you of Mrs Tracy's marriage & Mrs Dodge's lunch & Mrs Pyne's dinner and yet my unsettled life, my present situation, all requires me to lead this sort of social life, and makes me thankful even to enjoy this unmolested.

— Baby has entirely recovered and I fancy he & Sister will remain on in New York some time

Goodbye dearie, kiss my Baby tenderly from yours in all tender affectionate feelings.

Louise

---

**Notes:** Thomas Nelson Page (1853-1922) was a lawyer and author from Virginia, known primarily for his writings contributing to the Lost Cause mythology of the American South, slavery, and the Civil War, especially of the alleged nobility of the plantation owners and the contentment

of slaves. His novels promoted the fantasy of an Antebellum paradise along with extreme racist stereotypes of post-slavery African-Americans.

Elihu B. Washburn (1816-1887) was an American politician and diplomat, serving as United States Minister to France from 1869 to 1877, remaining in Paris during the Franco-Prussian war and Paris Commune. He wrote about his experience in his two volume *Recollections of a Minister to France* published in 1887 by Scribner.

24 December 1887 letter from Mary C. Endicott to Amy at 39 Marlborough.

Christmas Eve \_\_

Dearest Amy

How sweet of you to send me a card!\_

I assure you I was delighted, for it was most unexpected. When you have so many new things to think about.

Excuses are always a mistake, else you would hear many about my not having written for so long – You know pretty well, what my my life is, & now every day the channel is becoming more & more crowded. For the season there has been more going on than usual this year it seems to me \_\_ particularly in the way of dinners \_\_ then a revival of the Dancing Class of several years ago.

These have been very pleasant, all the more so for being more or less limited as to members. Fancy the excitement caused by ???’s marriage! The world had made itself so busy over her affairs previously, that it was funny to see how their heads stopped shaking & they were silenced \_ No one was more suprised than I, never having dreamed that she was interested in Mr. Carrol \_ Fortunately the families on both sides were wise enough to accept it at once & they want to stay in the winter with Gov. Carroll. After three weeks they came back. Mr. Bancroft gave a large reception for them. Now they are nearly on the other side having sailed a week ago \_ It was the best thing the could do, to get out of the way. –

When they come home the ??? ??? wonder will long have been ??? \_\_ Various of our festivities have been in honour of Mr. Chamberlain who has made a charming impression. & we are all glad that he is coming back in January. I had heard he was agreeable, but was quite unprepared for any one so attractive. The Wests all seem to be flourishing. The invitations are just out for their Ball on the 4<sup>th</sup>.

You would be amused to see Amalia \_\_ She has become most affectionate, & really is sweet. We went to Mt. Vernon on the “Dispatch” one day on a party given for Mr. Chamberlain, & she rarely left my side. The other night we asked her to dine quietly with only Spring-Rice & ??? man & she was sweet.

I chaffed her about her old jealousy, which she acknowledged quite frankly. She certainly is a most loveable little thing. Margaret Terry or rather Mrs. Chenler has come here for the winter, a delightful addition. I went to see her the other day & she asked all sorts of questions about you, & expressed much interest in learning what I could tell her. She has a dear little baby two months

old. How is the son ? I do want to see him so much. I hear Max is coming on for a visit to Miss James. She will enjoy Washington I think, & the season is so short. I suppose it will be Jany[?] \_\_\_ I have just received a large piece of embroidery from one of the Chin??? & Ma & I both had tea & lychees l from the Minister. Is it not amusing?

Now my dear I must say good-night for it waxeth late. With all good wishes for you & yours in the coming year.

Every fondly

M.C.E,

**Notes:** Suzanne is Suzanne Bancroft, daughter of George Dwight Bancroft, who on 15 November 1887 married Charles Carroll, the son of a former governor of Maryland. Both were from prominent society and political families and the marriage was a surprise to most who knew them.

25 December 1887 letter from Edith Bell in New York to Amy at 39 Marlborough.

Mrs Russell Gray

39 Marlboro Street.

Boston

Mass.

41 West 21<sup>st</sup>St.

Dec. 25. '87.

Dearest Amy:

What better way of passing Xmas Day then in sending you my fondest greetings ?

I have thought much of you during this Xmas.tide and have been with you in spirit in the daily unfolding of your little son's life. I wish I could see him while he is still a baby.

Louise calls him hers, & demands the same interest I should bestow on you.

Dear Louise, it is one of the brightest ties in her life and I think it has given her a happier view of things.

Your tender wishes in the sweet verses went to my very heart, I only hope dear, they can be even partially realized. It was just like you to put your own dear self into their their expressions & I shall often refer to them during the coming year with all its uncertainty. We both enjoyed Louise's visit so much. She was a new life in our little house and after a while she filled her niche so completely that we wondered how we ever did without her. Now she has left us after three months of close intercourse & we miss her bitterly. We had such good times together & she seemed more like a girl that ever before. Her friends kept her very much on the go, & it seemed to do her good. And you have been having a wedding in the family! I hope soon to call on your

mother & then I can hear something of it. Since Louise left us we have settled down again to our regular ???

life. My poor Aunt grow more restless as her blindness increases & so I am much with her in her walks[?] & in her spare moments. So without accomplishing much visible work I am very busy all this time. We had much that we should enjoy discussing with you. – I know from Louise that you are not one of the ordinary young mothers, with whom baby-dom and baby-news are all of life. Dear Amy I should love to seem him so with his tiny ways daily developing, every expression measuring so much. I am curious to know what ??? you decide upon. And how very nice you are so well & able to have him so much with you. It is everthing not to miss an hour of his babyhood. Louise tells me you are coming to Chatwood next summer; I do hope you will, for then I can have a chance of seeing you. Just thyink I have only had one short hour with you since your marriage.

I hope you will have the very happiest New Year possible with plenty of health and comfort with your new blessing. Give him a loving kiss from me, & with kind regards to Mr Gray in which my Aunt joins. Believe me ever,

your true & loyal friend

Edith

30 December 1887 letter from Louise

Mrs Russell Gray

39 Marlboro Street.

Boston

Mass.

Mt. Storm  
Dec 30<sup>th</sup> 1887

My dear Amy

The sweet little card from the Baby reached me on Christmas morning. it was very sweet in you to send me a gift from my “God-son” \_\_\_

Alb Heard came on Saturday to spend his vaction of three or four days at Mt. Storm & it was a great pleasure to see him \_\_ We talked of you & I told him all about his nephew –

He is working very hard & looked thin otherwise perfectly well \_\_ I am leading a perfectly monotone life, my Aunt Mrs Schenck is very ill and not expected to live from hour to hour, she has been an invalid for so long that it does not come unexpectedly, but of course it is terribly sad for her family \_\_ I shall stay here much longer and not go to Washington in the event of my Aunt’s death as I shall be in mourning \_\_

The little old Berlin Cup I intended for you, I thought you would require so many things upstairs bouillon etc that you could use it daily –

I received a charming little note from Mrs ??se several days ago \_\_ Alice and all the family join in love to you and pray remember me most kindly to Mr Gray \_\_

My godson you know has my warm love always \_\_ I hope & trust you will keep well & strong this winter.

Always your sincere friend.

Louise Bowler

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## 14.7 1888: Second son

A common topic in the correspondence in 1888 was the coming and then arrival of Amy's second son, Augustine Heard Gray, who was born on 10 November 1888. A continuing topic from the previous year was the infancy of her older son, Horace Gray. These topics provided a motivation for the correspondence which ranged over a wide variety of topics important to family and friends.

10 January 1888 letter from Max

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M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray  
39 Marlborough St.

Boston

Mass

Postmarked JAN 10 WASHINGTON

Small note on back of envelope: Amalia t'envoie ses amitiés et baisses

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1824 Mass. Ave.

Jan. 10<sup>th</sup>

Chère soeur

J'aurai dû t'écrire il y a deux jours pour te remercier de ta bonne lettre mais le temps passe si vite!

Nous nous levons très tard presque tous les jours et ?? toute l'après midi se passe à faire des visites ou à des réceptions. Le soir nous sortons ou bien nous nous couchons de très bonne heure pour nous rattrapper un peu. Je m'amuse pas mal quoique je connaisse encore très peu de monde. Victoria a été très gentille mais Mary E. qui m'as conuîte au County Club m'as laissée toute seule pendant trois quart d'heures et ne m'a pa présenter une seule personne, ni M<sup>me</sup> ni le père.

Après quelque temps j'ai trouvé une amie et nous sommes resté ensemble le plupart du temps. Le Bachelor's Cotillon hier soir était très joli et je me suis beaucoup amusée grâce a Greger qui a eu pitié de moi et m'as présenté plusieurs personnes avec des noms aussi difficile à prononcer qu'à écrire. Il est si gentil ! Il a l'air d'un grand bébé de bonne humeur. \_ Amalia et Flora s'amusent beaucoup et je les voit partout mais Victoria sort très peu. \_

Aujourd'hui il y a des thés et de visites à faire, demain un concert, encore de thés — il n'y a que ça ce me semble \_\_\_ et le bal chez les Leiter. Jeudi un lunch chez les Aldis, M<sup>me</sup> Dearing nous a invité à recevoir avec elle et puis le réception du Président dans la soirée.

Comme c'est triste la mort de M<sup>me</sup> Perkins.

Le lunch est servis donc au revoir pour le moment.

Un baiser au bébé.

Ta soeur aff<sup>mée</sup>

**Notes:** This is the earliest letter from Max addressed to Amy as "chère soeur" instead of a pet name. Max closes the letter with a signature of "ta soeur aff<sup>mée</sup>" instead of "Bébé." These are signs that Max nearing 20 and Amy being a mother has changed the tone of the correspondence.

The Washington D.C. *Evening Star* reported in the Society Notes that on Saturday 14 January 1888 that President Cleveland had hosted a White House reception for diplomats the previous Thursday, 12 January. Many familiar names from Amy's journals and correspondence crop up in the notes, including Mr. Greger mentioned in this letter and Joseph Chamberlain, Senator Cameron, Dr. G. B. Loring, Mr. W. C. Endicott, Jr. and Miss Endicott, Minister Sir Lional West, Mrs. and Miss. Leiter.

19 January 1888 letter from Max in Washington D. C.

M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray

39 Marlborough St.

Boston

Mass

Postmarked JAN 19 WASHINGTON

D<sup>r</sup> Leonard  
 envoie ses  
 amitiés

1824 Mass. Ave.  
 Jan. 19<sup>th</sup>

Dix minutes, chère soeur, avant de m'habiller et dont je m'impressionne d'utiliser pour t'écrire un mot. J'ai toujours le même refrain que je m'amuse beaucoup et n'ai pas dit tout envie de m'en aller; heureusement il n'en est pas encore question M<sup>me</sup> James m'a donné un thé hier après midi. La maison était très jolie avec des plantes et des fleurs. Il n'y avait pas foule et je me suis beaucoup amusée. Jeannette Newbold une amie de Kathy qui demeure à la campagne a passé la journée et la nuit. Lou ??? nous a conduite au théâtre voir Hermanie.<sup>58</sup> C'était très amusant.

Cet après midi je vais verser le thé chez M<sup>me</sup> Pollok après H. et moi irons à un autre chez M<sup>lle</sup> Spofford. Samedi lunch chez les Evarts, visites et Sallie Loring dans la soirée \_\_ Lundi le Bachelor's German, mardi soirée dansante chez M<sup>me</sup>M<sup>c</sup>Cullough et les Bancroft Davis.

Je vois les West de tous les temps. Elles t'envoient leurs amitiés et mille doux affectueuses.

Ne trouve-tu pas drôle qu'elles ne m'aient pas invité à dîner ni un lunch ? Victoria a mauvaise mine et se plaint d'avoir des douleurs un peu partout et d'être toujours fatiguée. Moi je vois qu'elle se serre trop. Amalia et Flora s'amusent énormément. Elles dansent bien mais elles ont l'air si mince qu'on s'attend à les voir casser en deux. \_\_ Je n'ai pas encore eu l'occasion de porter ta robe rose et j'en suis au désespoir. Elle est si jolie. L'as-tu portée ici ?

Mes dix minutes sont écoulées donc au revoir. Ecris-moi un petit note de temps en temps. Comment vas-tu maintenant ?

Baisers

M —

25 January 1888 letter from Max in Washington D. C.

M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray  
 39 Marlborough St

Boston

Mass.

Postmarked JAN 26 WASHINGTON, D.C.

1824 Mass. Ave.  
 Le 25 jan

Chère petite Mams,

<sup>58</sup>The theater piece is likely *Hirminie* performed by the Redmund-Berry Company which was touring the U.S. The play dealt with the early days of Napoleon's rise to empire.

Je suis contente d'apprendre que tu commence à aller un peu dans le monde. Amuse toi et tu reprendra tes forces bien plus vite. Je ne me suis jamais couché si tard étant sortie que depuis que je suis ici et pourtant j'ai ???aissée. Je ris beaucoup et m'amuse. Hier soir nous sommes allés chez M<sup>me</sup> Bancroft Davis où nous nous sommes énormément amusées. Mais j'ai été très désappointé aujourd'hui. Victoria allait me donner un petit lunch \_\_ deux jeunes filles et plusieurs messieurs \_\_ mais le mort du Vicomte de Nogueiras l'en a empêchée car tous les diplomates sont en deuil. \_\_ Madame Sackville tante des West et aussi morte très subitement hier ce que les empêchera d'aller dans le monde pendant un mois. Victoria est si gentille! Amalia aussi et je les aime davantage chaque fois que nous nous voyons. Flora je ne vois que très rarement et nous ne nous discours à peine quelques mots. \_\_ Le Cotillon avant hier était assez amusant. Je l'ai dancé avec M<sup>r</sup> Cabot; pas trop amusant lui ! Je ne suis pas fâché d'apprendre que M<sup>me</sup> M<sup>c</sup>C. part mais j'aierai beaucoup avoir quelques détails. Pourquoi et quand part-elles. Est elle beaucoup plus malade Renoncera-t-elle entièrement à aller Europe ? L'oncle ne m'écrit rien et il me conseil de rester aussi longuetemps que je n'ai jamais été a tant de thés et de receptions de en a vu que depuis que je suis ici \_\_ trois et quatre dans une après midi et cela presque tous les jours. Cette après midi nous avons reçu chez M<sup>me</sup> Endicott qui a demandé de tes nouvelles ainsi que Mary \_

Demain nous avons 15 ou 20 visites à faire et un thé chez monsieur Burnett et Sigourney Butler. \_ Ils donnent des petits thé de 15 et 20 personnes de temps en temps qui on le réputation d'être très agréables.

Vendredi nous en avons trois en plus des visites et la réception de M<sup>me</sup> Whitney. Nous irons très tard pour ne pas être fatiguées quand on commencera à dancer – après minuit.

J'ai tellement connu que je n'y vois plus si me coucherais à huit heures et dance et ??? il n'y manque que quelques minutes je t'embrasse bien bien fort en te souhaitant une bonne nuit. . Embrase le ??? [Bri(smear letters)ion].

8 February 1888 letter from Max in Washington D. C.

M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray  
39 Marlborough St

Boston

Mass.

Postmarked JFEB 9 WASHINGTON, D.C.

Amalia t'embrasse  
Nous devenus bonnes  
amies. –

1824 Mass. Ave.  
Le 8 fevrier

Chère Soeur,

Il y a longtemps que je te dois quelques lignes mais le temps passe si vite que je ne fis rien que m'habiller pour sortir. \_ Cette semaine est naturellement très gaie comme c'est la fin de la saison. Je m'amuse toujours mais ??? ??? jeudi prochaine c'est à dire demain en huit. Victoria m'as donné un petit dinner il y a quelques jours composé de la famille, Greger, Routhorosky, M<sup>e</sup> Berry et moi. Il n'y avait pas du tout de formalité et nous étions tous très gais. Vers dix heures et demie je suis allée à un petit musical chez les Matthews. \_\_ Lundi soir était le dernier des Bachelor's Cotillon's. Je me suis énormément amusée bien que mon cavalier n'était pas des plus intéressants, M<sup>e</sup> Caldwell. Nous nous sommes couchés à quatre heures et demie.

Hier soir M<sup>me</sup> Bradley a donné une soirée. Foule terrible et une chaleur accablante et un homme pour toutes les cinq femmes. Cette après midi nous avons reçues chez M<sup>me</sup> Fairchild. Hattie a versé le chocolat et moi le thé. C'était très amusant et beaucoup de drôle de personnes ont causé avec moi.

Une dame m'a dit "you look as pretty & wise as the children of light." Beaucoup de personnes me prennent pour Mary Endicott ou trouve que je lui ressemble beaucoup. D'autres me disent que je te ressemble beaucoup et on m'appelle Amy de tous les côtés ??? dans les journaux. \_\_ Je n'ai plus d'yeux. Je dois tout me servir de mon lorgnon et la lumière des gag[?] que je n'y vois guère.

Victoria est allé à New York hier passer quelques jours.

Emily Hoffmann a passé quelques jours avec les Leiter mais je ne 'lai su que la veille de son départ et n'ai pas eu l'occasion de causer avec elle. \_\_

Vendredi nous recevons chez M<sup>me</sup> Pollok dans l'après midi, le soir nous allons chez les demoiselles Henry voir une petite comédie. Samedi un lunch chez M<sup>me</sup> Charles Bell plusieurs thé et visites à faire, réceptions de M<sup>me</sup> Fairchild et Loring. Dimanche M<sup>me</sup> Robeson dans l'après midi et un high tea chez M<sup>me</sup> Ashtore. Lundi réception des Bayard.

Ce soir nous allons chez les Matthews et il doit être l'heure de m'habiller. Comment vas tu maintenant ? Tu devrais prendre quelque tonique. Le mioche va bien je suppose.

Je ne sais quel galimatias j'ai fais de cette lettre mais je suis assez fatiguée et comme j'ai déjà dis mes yeux se font trop trop sentir.

toute à toi —

M —

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25 March 1888 letter from AH in N.Y.

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M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray  
39 Marlborough S<sup>t</sup>

Boston

Mass.

Postmarked JFEB 9 WASHINGTON, D.C.

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Union Club,  
Fifth Avenue & 21<sup>st</sup> Street

Sunday, Mch 25 1888

Dear Amy,

I arrived quietly on time this morning after a very fair night, but I am not feeling particularly chipper. I suppose I can hardly take such liberties with myself in the way of traveling \_\_ or anything else for that matter — as I could 20 years ago.

I have been thinking a good deal now what you said of ??? Farley being companion of Miss Bowler, & if what I find, & I am afraid I was rather inconsiderate & hard hearted. If I were you I think I would tell Louise first the facts of the case & let her see ???if she wants to, & decide. You can say to L. you can't recommend her personally because you don't know her personally, but you have every reason to believe that what you are told ab<sup>t</sup> her is true, & you are told so & so. I have never heard that there was, & I do not believe there is a shadow on her reputation or conduct, but she has had the misfortune of marrying a rascal who ran away from her, & left her destitute. as I know having come to her assistance in Paris & sent her home.

In fact you can conscientiously make every good story for her, & you might say to L. that, though you would be gratified if she were to be pleased with her appearance & took her, you would be much more annoyed if she didn't like his \_\_ if she kept her one moment. Simply because of your recommendation & because she was a relative of yours.

Your mother agrees with the above & adds the remark, which is very just \_\_ that ??? having been through much tribulation would appreciate the quiet happy life chez Miss B. & would be likely to contribute to the content & happiness of her employer. She would not be ??? to take offence and ???, & though her demeanor might be shy & diffident ??? ??? ??? the ??? of adversity that would also ??? with brighter prospects.

Your mother starts out tomorrow to investigate some new addresses of baby cloths\_ French. which she has just heard of, & is only sorry she can't put on her bonnet & sally forth for the purpose this afternoon.

We find your portrait handsome but red.

Love to Russell

Yrs evr

A.H.

17 April 1888 letter from Mary C. Endicott in Washington D.C.

To

M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray  
39 Marlborough Street

Boston

Mass.

Postmarked APR 18 WASHINGTON, D.C.

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April 17<sup>th</sup>

Dearest Amy,

Since I saw you I have pursued the even tenor of my way with few interruptions \_\_ for with the quiet life we are leading there is not much to distract me.

I must say it is rather a relief than otherwise to be mistress of one's own time after all the hurry & scurry of the winter. Our one excitement has been Flora West's engagement. They came to tell us before it was formally announced, which was very nice of them! She seems very happy \_\_ quiet but with a happier expression in her face than I have ever seen there. I know her fiancé very slightly. So I can not tell you much about him. This speaks well for him, I think. Grace Amory is here & it was pleasant to see her again.

I often think of you & hope for you that your forebodings have come to naught. If you are able, do drop me a line & let me know how you are. I hope you have better weather. Here it is lovely, though rather cool. The spring flowers & shrubs are all coming into bloom, & the air is sweet with their fragrance in the squares. It is barely possible that later on I may make a flying visit home \_\_ if so I shall see you, but it is uncertain as our plans always are. With much love

Ever affect<sup>ately</sup> yours

Mary C. Endicott.

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20 April 1888 Letter from Edith Bell in New York

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Mrs. Russell Gray  
39 Marlborough Street

Boston

Mass.

Postmarked NEW YORK APR 20 88

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41 West 21<sup>st</sup>.  
April 20.

My dearest Amy.

It is so long since I have heard anything from you that I begin to wonder how you are getting along. Louise wrote me that the baby was to be christened last Sunday and your father told me yesterday that it had taken place. So I hope you have by this time recovered from all the excitement attending it. My Aunt is incurable, a heavy cold & unending hacking cough have combined to

reduce her strength and she longs for a change of air. It seems impossible to attain it as my Lidi is still with us and next week another Aunt comes to stay & thus the duties of life follow one another.

Louise I have heard nothing from for some time but suppose she might be in Washington. Your Jacki[?] looks so well, we had quite a long talk together at Gen Sherman's reception yesterday. He is looking forward with eagerness to going to Bar Harbor.

I have been very much on the go lately, shopping with May and seeing lots of people, sewing reading aloud & so this wheel goes round. Three weddings come off next week, and as many ??? amusements.

It is almost stifling at times trying to fit a breach of an unoccupied hour. I can only write you of generalities for you can imagine what I mean & the details of conventional weddings, receptions & lunches you can supply.

Today I take my Aunt to a Philharmonic Concert & then later to a Wagner Exposition by Damrosch, the same that he gives in Boston. We hope to get off to "Abendruh" the first of June as we must have a bit of a road laid out.

We are rather anxious about the sale of the next lot ??? & fear that a second house may be put on the lot. It promises to be very gay there this summer but ??? among new faces.

And how are you dear ? & when you can, write of the christening, I should love to have been there & hope for a glimpse of the family when we rush thru Boston.

My love to the Darling & ??? Mr. Gray.

Your ever loving friend

Edith

**Notes:** The Wagner exposition was likely a performance by Walter Damrosch who would later form an Opera company in New York primarily for the promotion of German opera, Wagner's work in particular. As a trivia connection with Amy's story, in 17 May 1890, Damrosch married Margaret Blaine, James G. Blaine's daughter. Amy knew the Blaine's well and Blaine was instrumental in securing the Korean Minister post for her father.

Abendruh Cottage was an historic Bar Harbor summer home.

20 April 1888 Letter from Louise in Washington

M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray

39 Marlborough Street

Boston Mass.

Postmarked Washington D.C. APR 27 88



1325 N.H. Ave  
April 27<sup>th</sup> 1888

My dearest Amy,

Will you forgive my long and really unavoidable silence. You know what a gay place Washington is and if one plunges in the whirl how hard it is to find one moment. . \_\_\_ They tell me here very flatteringly that the Capitol of the ??? is enjoying a second season on our account, at any rate I have never known such fêtes & festivities and the weather has been glorious perfect sunshine, with cool temperature \_\_ every day \_\_ The Misses West left the day after I arrived but their father the August Minister came to a ball Wednesday night given by M<sup>rs</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lane in my honor and I had quite a pleasant little chat with him – –

I think the whole chinese legation has captured me, their costumes and manners are fascinating & I thoroughly enjoyed a good waltz with D<sup>r</sup> ???, although every couple on the floor stopped with one accord to see me dancing with a “heathen Chinese,” his pig-tail wound deftly around me & his silver white brocade & pea green satin making an exquisite contrast to my ball gown –

I have quite fallen in love with Washington, I have had so much done for me since I have been here \_\_ I confess I am disappointed in the foreigners. I do not think we have the finest here \_\_\_ M<sup>r</sup> Greger of the russian legation is one of the most agreeable I have met among the young men –

I leave here with regret May 7<sup>th</sup> and expect to stop one day in Philadelphia on my way to Cincinnati \_\_ Alice writes me Augustine has spent a day & night with them & looks very well & much better than when I saw him -- How is my beloved GodSon

[written at write angles over text on first page]

My love to him & his dear Mother from her very affectionate friend.

Louise Bowler

20 May 1888 Letter from AH in New York

AUGUSTINE HEARD

55 LIBERTY ST.

NEW YORK.

M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray

39 Marlborough Street

Boston Mass.

Postmarked New York MAY 20 88

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Sunday, May 20  
55 LIBERTY STREET.

Dear Amy,

It is an age since we heard from you & I suppose it is in a great degree our fault, as I don't believe either your mother or I have signified our wish to have a line from you for about the same period. It has been troubling me the past week, & I don't mean to let another Sunday go by, without confession. –

How are you & what have you been doing ? \_\_ Our life flows along pretty much in the same tracks & you know what they are. I have had an occasional attempt to let a cottage, & after a great deal of time & trouble I find that Fox has been applied to first, & he gets the money while I do most of the work.

I telegraphed Russell this morning to find out if Mrs. Hunt would rent her cottage & how much to Mrs Pulitzer wife of the "Sorld". She wants a large one & is not satisfied with any that have been offered. After convincing her that Mrs. Lyon's w<sup>d</sup> answer, I found out that Fox had apparently been before me, tho' I thought Mrs. L had confided it to me alone. So I am trying to act Howard's house, but after some negotiations they want so preposterous a price \$8500, that Mrs. P. won't probably take it, & perhaps ??? w<sup>d</sup> do.

For 1000 à 1500 I could get for Mrs. H. What w<sup>d</sup> suit her well enough, I suppose.

She could have the Haibul Cottage for 700 where Mrs Morris was as the Rosens are going to Washington & won't be able to go down. That is by a long way the cheapest cottage in B.H. & as Mrs H has a trap it w<sup>d</sup> do for them very well.

I have no idea what Bake paid Mrs H but I suppose 2000 or 2500 & dare say Mrs P. w<sup>d</sup> pay 3000. Very likely more, but she has never seen B.H.

We are packing up slowly, but it will be certainly the 1 June before we get away.

Max writes us charming news of Swett, or rather we hear them from other sources chiefly, John Senior & John Junior.

It looks as if his time had "well nigh come" – Your mother says she thinks of you all the time, & longs to se her bébé. She is always hard at work & somehow never seems able to write – though she wonders why you don't.

I have just rec<sup>d</sup> [smeared out name]'s let saying he c<sup>d</sup> not ??? Mrs. Hunt's address & I shall reply – "Try Woodpecker Milton Blue Hills. C.H. Fiske ?? Congress St. ???." Ask him how much ?

In haste

Yrs

A.H.

I have had to come to my office 'to get Fiske' address & am writing there.

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**Notes:** Mrs Pulitzer is presumably the wife of Joseph Pulitzer, who eventually will lease and

then by Louise Bowler's Bar Harbor cottage Chatwold. One wonders if Gus, who is intimately involved in Bar Harbor Real estate, will eventually score a commission on that rental or sale. Given his apparent perpetual poverty it would seem not.

3 July 1888 letter from Elizabeth Chipman Gray in Nahant to Amy at Chatwold

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Mrs Russell Gray

Care of

Miss Bowler  
Chatwold  
Bar Harbor  
Maine

Postmarked JUL 3 1888 NAHANT MASS

---

Dear Amy

Mama<sup>59</sup> wishes me to thank you for your letter received this morning which she will answer in a few days.

I hope you will continue to keep us informed of all your doings. She thinks you had much better accept all invitations. As for ??? <sup>60</sup> – from your account of his progress, I shall expect to see a beautiful little creature come tripping in a month hence, whom I shall have difficulty in recognizing as the comical little mortal who was grasping at every support when he left us \_\_ I only hope he will not lisp a greeting in some foreign tongue \_\_

I was glad to hear the ?? gown was such a success & arrived in time, and I hope it will take the wind out of the sails of the ??? night-gown \_\_ I thought it looked very pretty when I saw it over the chair at Chagot's \_\_ I hope the corsets also came and were satisfactory & will prove very useful \_\_

We have not had even a a warm day since you left, and very often a fire. John & Nina came down to Mr Guilds for Sunday & lunched with us on that day \_\_ they are coming down for a visit with Eleanor on the 12<sup>th</sup>. I suppose about that time we shall also receive a visit from Russell \_\_ Perhaps it would be as well for him to try this time telegraphing to Nahant, as I am told all messages are forwarded by telephone \_\_

I saw Kibby to day & have given him the white paper sent by Russell & asked him to make inquiries at Lynn \_\_

It is particularly strange that we never received the message, as I went to town on Wednesday &, before leaving Lynn on my return asked Kibby's man to inquire at the Telegraph Office for a

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<sup>59</sup>Sara Russell Gardner Gray, Russell's mother. Elizabeth Chipman Gray's mother was Horace Gray's first wife, Harriet Upham.

<sup>60</sup>This scrawl is used at least three times and clearly refers to Horace, but it is not clear what the name or nickname is, but it might be Hg.

message for us, as I did also the next day. Was it the Western Union or some other service & made several rather discouraging visits to town, but I think he has a few things under weight as you may imagine, it was no very easy thing to find chairs which we both considered comfortable though I must say his views of the proper size for a sofa were more reasonable than Russell's \_\_\_\_

He has now I suppose gone on his travels or will do so tomorrow.

I understand that Dr Watson has taken a house for Mr Perkins & themselves in the Village St. so you will probably see a good deal of his wife.

The Endicotts are still backing in Washington and profess I understand to be comfortable \_\_\_\_ That very hot Saturday I believe they did find oppressive, & Mr Endicott dismissed the clerks in the War Office as the thermometer in the room, where they were at work stood at 105 or 102, but I am pretty sure Mrs Peabody said the former \_\_\_\_

Tell Russell that if he sees the Living age or Blackwood commend to his notice an article on Longo v. Samoa, describing that wonderful circumstance of which Miss Gordon Cumming told us, & at which he has always scoffed \_\_\_\_

People who stay at home have always laughed at the wonderful things seen by travelers from Herodotus down, & they lost the opportunity of learning a great deal which those with a willing ear, like myself, have profited by \_\_\_\_

The boat professes to run as usual this year, but having, what the expressman calls, a less courageous captain, stayed up on Sunday & Monday on account of the East Wind which made something of a swell \_\_\_\_

My own opinion is that something happened to the machinery on Saturday, as, with a perfectly smooth sea they were an hour & a half coming down, & that they were obliged to stay up for repairs.

I have now got to the end of my paper so must bid you Good Bye with love to Russell & a kiss for ?? [H?] & kind remembrances to Miss Bowler & Miss Wingate,

Always affectionately yours

E.C. Gray

Nahant  
July 3<sup>rd</sup>

**Notes:** John and Nina are Russell's brother (and Elizabeth Chipman Gray's half-brother) John Chipman Gray and Nina was his wife. Eleanor was the daughter of John and Nina. She would later marry Henry DuBois Tudor, whose sister Mary would marry Roland Gray, the son of John Chipman and Nina Gray. As a college undergraduate in the early 1960s I attended Eleanor's funeral.

June 7 1888 Letter from Adeline in Boston to Amy in Nahant

M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray  
c/o M<sup>rs</sup> Horace Gray

Nahant Mass.<sup>stts</sup>

Postmarked Boston JUNE 7 1888

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Monday

[day is covered by a rectangular piece of cloth pinned to the paper]

Dearest Amy, I send the material and pattern [to] you. Some of my ???covers are edged with coventry ruffling such as I send to you. Others with trimming like the sample, which comes from M<sup>rs</sup> Matthews at about ten cents a yard I think \_ The ruffling at about a dollar and a quarter a piece\_

Pray excuse this scrawl, full of mistakes, but I have [been] interrupted in writing it. I find a delightful note from Lela \_\_ and I like Hubert very much, though the conversation was composed chiefly of yea, yea, & nay,nay, as we are neither of us accomplished linguists. You said you wished the pattern of my shoe bag, I think. And now I have said enough of myself excepting to wonder that you had not heard I had been ill, for your father & mother knew it, though not the reason – yet from your mother’s letter, giving me advice from her own experience on a miscarriage, I was afraid she must fancy she knew the cause, in spirte of John’s careful wording of his letter \_ Probably she did not & I am very glad after all, I do not suppose you saw them very often at Bar Harbor, being so far apart. Poor M<sup>r</sup> Swett – I can hardly believe we shall never see him again! There will be a great many to miss him \_\_ I have not been able to go to ??? more than once. John has been twice I think.

And in answer to a note M<sup>rs</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Call said he had been in a collapse, but she did not speak of catalepsy \_\_ What is Max doing ? Will she come down for the funeral if he dies now ?

You must tell me now what you hear from Biarritz. I am always so interested & I should feel so much sympathy \_\_ He cannot give up the post entirely, even in a happy future. for one thing by no means blots out and then, even if it is the present and one’s daily life \_\_ There is something which keeps one’s memory very fresh & green and when this associated with health & happiness & romance, no wonder we always find a corner for it in our hearts \_\_\_ Do tell me what you have heard, from Miss Woodville I suppose -- Tomorrow Lela and Von Karborn[?] are coming to pass the night –

You can imagine my excitement \_\_

I shall be moved to the lounge, so that I can see him & I am so excited & so happy at the thought. I love Lela so dearly & I always have the tenderest feelings for her. Almost all the gay happy times of my life since I was a child have been with her. And yet no one is more sympathetic in ??? than she is. We understand ??? and this so well. There is never any need for talking – you see I am very happy at the thought but how sad I shall feel afterwards \_\_ My father & mother were always very fond of each other & that alone would draw any one to my heart \_\_

Please write to me dear little sister how you are yourself in detail, you say you are insensible & have been so \_\_ I think you ought to take every precaution during the seventh month, if you do not wish to run the risk of an illness like

[written vertically on the right side of page] mine – Am I not right ? How I long to see you – In September, I will try – Lovingly Adeline

??? - \_\_ Tuesday -

My dearest Amy \_\_ I can sit up for a few minutes, so I will write to you, as I have two letters from you & both very welcome ones. my letter answered your first one & crossed it [in the mail] . Excepting about the ??? ??? ?? I shall buy them, in a few days, & send them to you, for the shoe bag & cover\_ I am trying to get well & strong, but it seems but it seems to be a very tedious proceeding - Yesterday Dr. Hall ? and I had some displacement, which makes my heart sink, but perhaps that may account for the mishaps \_\_ Certainly you may ask Dr. Green any thing, but he did not come out until the worst was over\_\_\_ Dr\_ Hall for whom I sent, which waiting, says that I had a severe cramp, & he says I had to suffer much more than in a confinement \_\_ I did not quite understand why, but I think because there was so little resistance to meet the pain & on account of the cramps.

These nineteen hours I did suffer agonies & my idea of pain now is quite different from my previous conception of it\_ You ask what I John says \_\_ he is very much disappointed & very good to me - always so sweet & thoughtful \_

He was very much surprised, for he had little faith in Dr. Green's opinion of my condition.

**Notes:** The letter reveals the Addie's miscarriage and incidentally that her mother-in-law Jane and told her of her own own experience with a miscarriage. Jane's mother Amelia W. De Coninck also had a miscarriage, a still-born daughter in Dunkirk, France, in December 1841.

Miss Woodville in Biarritz is Elizabeth (Bessie) Woodville of Baltimore (8/29/1856-8/5/1927) who was born in Dusseldorf to the painter Richard Caton Woodville, Sr. and his wife Mary Buckler, both of Baltimore. She died in Biarritz in the Châlet Haltura, which was also known as the Villa Woodville. Although she spent most of her life in Europe, she was well known in Baltimore Society and charitable organizations. She also spent time in Washington D.C., where she knew the Endicotts.

23 August 1888 from Gus in Bar Harbor to Amy in Nahant

Mrs. Russell Gray

Nahant

Massts

hfil

Bar Harbor

Aug 23<sup>d</sup> 1888

Dear Amy,

You are always thoughtful & considerate; I did not see your note suggesting our going to 39 till we came back after the event, but Russell wil have told you what in fact you know from your mother's letter, that we took advantage of it as far as was necessary. We drove there at once from

the boat, & made our dressing. Max got a bath & was greatly refreshed by it. She will probably write you about it, if she has not already done so.

She got a terrible shaking up on the trip back. We started in a calm, but ran into a gale of wind ab<sup>t</sup> midnight, & danced a dance efferénée<sup>61</sup> for the rest of the time.

The ship behaved very well & we got in only 3 hours later, but it was not pleasant. I slept thro<sup>62</sup> till 6 oclk, but the last few hours were very uncomfortable, & Max will probably not forget her journey. We went out to Mt Auburn, & were back again at 39 at 3 1/2. Your uncle John & Aunt Alice came back with us to 39, but soon went off to their train, & John J<sup>r</sup>, was with us till nearly an hour of leaving, 5 oclk. I had a letter last night from Aug. just a few hasty lines, to say he was worked o death, but expected to get away to Medford Sept<sup>f</sup> 14.

So be wise get some vacation after all.

I had never heard a syllable of Prince X's affliction till you mentioned it. Where is he & who has charge of him ? – It is a painful thing to think of, but I cannot say I regret it much. I should like to blot out all recollection of that group \_\_ Miss Woodville & her mother & Prince X. \_\_ I never fancied any of them, & only accepted a fait accompli, \_\_ in the intercourse that existed when I came back. However all that is de l'histoire ancienne, now.

Russell & had some words ab<sup>t</sup> Swett's testamentary dispositions, & I asked him to give me any information he might learn. He thought it likely S. w<sup>d</sup> leave Max something handsome, but I expressed the contrary opinion. I did not expect so shady a confirmation as is apparently given to it by a letter I found here from W<sup>m</sup> Minot dated 21<sup>st</sup>. In this he says Susan had left Max \$5000. & asked me what is to be done about it. Now as M. knows perfectly what S. has done, it seems probable that if he had left her anything he would have deferred saying anything ab<sup>t</sup> Susan's legacy & have killed two birds with one stone.

Of course this is not conclusive but the probability of my supposition being carried is strong.

—

I trust turn to something else & with love to Russell & a kiss to the bambin<sup>63</sup> from both of us

—

I remain

Yours ever

A.H.

I just hear there was a robbery last night at Mr. Geo Robbin's. There have been a good many such stories here this summer.

Private ball of the ??? last nights they say very . Of course we did not go.

**Notes:** Gus provides the first description of Bessie Woodville's X as "Prince X" and mentions his distaste for X, Bessie, and Bessie's mother (Mary Buckler Woodville). He also observes that the connection between Amy and the Woodvilles and X is an old one which he at best tolerates.

<sup>61</sup>wild

<sup>62</sup>through

<sup>63</sup>French for small child or toddler

The addition of the title “Prince” narrows the field of candidates for Bessie’s X, and society and gossip columns published widely in December 1888 name two specific candidates for the mystery man in Bessie’s life.

It is not clear what “the Malown” refers to. In Paris there is an “Hôtel le Malown” and it can be found as both a place and family name, but I found nothing by that name near Boston in 1888.

30 Aug 1888

Dear Amy,

I suppose you will have heard that Swett left Max the life interest of 20,000. This with the \$ 5000. from Susan will make her safe for life, & is an immense relief to me. Max had a letter last night from Lucien Sargent announcing the fact, & is naturally very much pleased.

I should be glad to see the will, & dare say I shall have a chance one of these days. <sup>with a word</sup> I sprained my right hand yesterday & write with difficulty. So goodbye & much love from us and <sup>to the Grays</sup>

Yrs A.H.

We passed the morning your mother & I with Mrs. H. Hunnewell & Mrs. Gordon Dexter, who have been here a month — Mrs. H. asked if Max was as pretty as you were & said she recollected you well dining with her at Newport & what an impression your beauty made on her! — I told her Max was growing pretty, as she is. It is astonishing how much she has gained in appearance within a year.

30 August 1888 letter from Max in Bar Harbor to Amy in Nahant

M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray  
c/o M<sup>rs</sup> Horace Gray

Nahant  
Mass

Postmarked BAR HARBOR AUG 30 1888

Le 30 août

The Belmont

Ma chère petite Mams j'étais sur le point de t'écrire mais cette fois ci pour l'annoncer une bonne nouvelle, quand j'ai reçu ta lettre. La bonne nouvelle que tu peut-être déjà as est rien moines que l'oncle m'a légué un life interest in twenty thousand dollars ce qui me donne un revenue de \$1200. par an; joint au revenu de la somme que tante Susan m'a légué me fait à peu près un total de 1500 cents piastres<sup>64</sup> par an. Pense donc tout ça à moi seule. Je n'en reviens pas! Papa est si

<sup>64</sup>dollars in Canadian French

content lui aussi car il a eu beaucoup de soucis dernièrement.

Il faut absolument que ton deuxième enfant soit une fille car je rêve déjà le plaisir de la dot de ma filleule par un petit billet de \$100. \_\_

Mais pense donc un peu comme je serai riche car je ne le suis pas encore. Cela prend environ un an je crois pour arranger les affaires!

Oui j'ai renoncé à mes visites non sans un peu de regret surtout comme je voulais beaucoup revoir Amalia. Elle me fait de la peine \_ cette petite elle est si triste. Les lettres sont toujours charmantes et me font beaucoup de plaisir \_\_ Je suis sûre qu'elle sera contente de ma bonne fortune.

—  
Quelle horrible nuit nous avons passés en revenant de Boston\_ !Nous avons eu une tempête affreuse, et quatre heures et demie de retard sans rien à manger. Il faisait aussi très froid j'ai tant souffert après que j'en ai été malade au lit pendant trois jours et le médecin est venu deux fois dans un jour. Je suis complètement rétabli maintenant et passe mon temps très agréablement. Mon pied aussi va beaucoup mieux. \_ Plus de visites plus de hop et plus de réceptions. En revanche je sors en voiture \_ et en canot etc. tout tranquillement. Malheureusement mon jeune homme part cette après midi \_\_ Braggiotti. \_\_

Les Rosen raffolent tellement de leur bébé que cela devient par fois insupportable. Maman aussi est en extase. Elle est tellement petite que je n'ose pas la toucher et elle n'est pas à comparer avec ton mioche. Il doit presque pouvoir marcher, le tiens n'est pas? Est ce qu'ils parle du tout?

Aug. a écrit à Papa qu'il pensait venir le 15 du mois prochain, chez Jean, mais Jean écrit qu'il n'en sais rien encore. Addie va ou est déjà à Mattapoisett passer quelque temps avec des amis. J'espère pouvoir m'arrêter à Ipswich à mon retour comme Tante Alice<sup>65</sup> m'a dit de venir quand je pourrai.

Maman va assez bien et Papa aussi; mais elle n'aime pas sortir et faire ses visites seule. La plupart du elle n'en fait pas alors quand elle rencontre par hasard quelque'une qu'elle a oublié cela la mets dans des transes mais ne corrige pas. \_

Mme Bates donne une espèce de petite musicale auquel nous sommes invités. Maman mettra tout ses beaux atours<sup>66</sup> mais moi je n'irai pas. — Les deux frères Mercer sont ici depuis quelques jours mais ils ne m'ont pas beaucoup ennuyés de leur société. Ils repartent ce soir je crois.

En fait de nouvelles il n'y a rien que je sache. Je vois si peu tes amies que je ne puis rien t'en dire autre \_ qu'elles s'amuse passablement.

Maman et Papa t'embrassent bien fort ainsi que le mioche. Je m'y joins aussi cela va sans dire.

Raconte moi donc un peu sur le conte des Prince X. Comment et pourquoi il est devenu fou; et quand. Où est il ? \_

J'ai d'autres lettres à écrire il faut donc que je me ???

Mes amitiés à Russell et mille baisers pour toi de ton affectionnée petite soeur.

<sup>65</sup>Max's aunt Alice Leeds Heard, wife of Gus' brother John and mother of Amy's cousin Elsie. Elsie would be the last Heard descendant to occupy the Heard House in Ipswich when she died in 1953.

<sup>66</sup>ornement, vêtement

**Notes:** The “jeune homme” Max names as Braggiotti was likely one of the sons of Mrs. F. Braggiotti of 208 Beacon Street who was reported in the 2 August 1885 *Boston Sunday Globe* to have gone with her sons to Bar Harbor, and backbayboston.com confirms that that address was owned from 1865 through 1898 by “Martha C. Braggiotti, wife of François/Francis Braggiotti, under a marriage settlement trust.” The Braggiottis did not occupy the house during all the time the house was owned by the family. They had two sons close to Max in age. Isidore was born 1 November 1864 in Paris. Francis Jr. was born at 208 Beacon St. 14 December 1868.<sup>67</sup> Francis Sr. died in 1893, but Martha continued to live at 208 until December of 1897, she moved to the Hotel Vendome in Paris. Sadly soon after in January 1898 she heard of the death of her son Francis in Los Angeles and died herself shortly after. The two were buried at Mt. Auburn together.<sup>68</sup>

Max mentions the mysterious “Prince X” and she adds the detail that he became crazy in 1888.

7 October 1888 letter from Max in Ipswich sending birthday greetings to her sister.

M<sup>rs</sup> Russell Gray  
39 Marlborough<sup>st</sup>

Boston

Mass.

Postmarked IPSWICH OCT 8 1888, BOSTON OCT 8 88

Ipswich

Oct. 7<sup>th</sup>

Pardon chère soeur dene pas avoir écrit plus tôt. Ce n’est pas que j’oublie car j’ai souvent pensé à toi et j’ai aussi été sur le promis d’écrire plusieurs fois, mais quelque chose est toujours survenu pour m’empêcher \_\_\_ ou une billet à répondre de suite, une visite et que sais-je même ici on ne peut rien faire sans interruption. \_\_\_ j’ai passé la journée de lundi avec Amalia. Je lui ai trouvé très bonne mine mais elle était au désespoir avec la mort de son oncle Lord Sackville, ce qui l’empêche de faire plusieurs visites qu’elle avait en eu et d’aller dans le monde pendant trois mois. Tu sais comme elle aime le monde et à samuser!

Il pleut tout le temps et nous ne faisons pas grand chose. Une petite promenade de temps en temps et une visite a quelque vielle tante, cousin ou amie. Assez drôle en somme quelquefois.

Vendredi nous sommes allé au “hunt breakfast” chez Bud Appleton. Il n’y avait que des femmes, une demie douzaine de l’autre sexe peût-être \_\_\_ et ce n’était pas très gai. Ils s’amusent vraiment comme s’ils étaient à un enterrement.

<sup>67</sup>According to *Massachusetts, U.S., Town and Vital Records, 1620-1988* François Braggiotti was born at 208 Beacon to François and Martha.

<sup>68</sup>Francois Braggiotti obituary. Sunday, 30 Jan 1898, *The Boston Globe*, page 24.

Et toi ? Tu te fais vieille <sup>69</sup> ma petite Mams quand j'y pense c'est aujourd'hui ton jour de naissance. Je t'en souhaite bien d'autres surtout s'ils t'apportent santé et bonheur – car tu ne peux guère l'être étant toujours souffrante.

As tu jamais lu le Right Honorable ? Je viens de la finir et l'ai trouvé très intéressant. Addie est partie pour un peu de changement d'air – très anglais – je ne suis donc pas aller chez elle avant le vingt. Ma visite chez Fanny est aussi tombée dans l'eau – je resterai donc ici jusque alors. La fille de service est partie ce que fait que nous n'avons que la cuisinière mais nous faisons toutes les trois un jeu d'ouvrage et les affaires marchent assez bien. Tante Alice <sup>70</sup> je peux dire toute la famille est charmante pour moi.

Le jour baisse et je n'y vois plus. Elle est bien courte ma lettre mais je l'enverrai tout de même étant sûre qu'elle ne sera pas mal reçu.

Mille baisers pour toi et la mioche et mes amitiés à Russell. –

Ta soeur

13 October 1888 letter from Gus in Bar Harbor

Mrs. Russell Gray

39 Marlborough St.

Boston

Mass. , Postmarked BAR HARBOR, 14 OCT 1888

<sup>st</sup> FRENCHMAN'S BAY AND MT. DESERT LAND AND  
<sup>st</sup>WATER COMPANY (Sorrento)

<sup>st</sup>55 LIBERTY STREET

AUGUSTINE HEARD

Bar Harbor

<sup>st</sup>New York. Oct 13 1888

Dear Amy,

Your mother can hardly restrain her impatience to see the ??? of her grandson. She is always talking a<sup>t</sup> his twinkling feet, & your letter about his running ab<sup>t</sup> has stirred her to her depths.

She is hard at work packing, & we are really beginning to think of moving. We are almost the sole survivors, but I would rather stay here all winter than go back to Cadle's!

Aug is a fine fellow as you say. I am quite proud of him, as indeed I am of all my chicks. But as you say we were not in the habit of looking to him as the model ??? man of the family. I don't know what to say ab<sup>t</sup> my hand . ? did not seem to attach much importance to it. I only know

<sup>69</sup>il se fait vieux = he's getting on

<sup>70</sup>Alice Leeds Heard, the wife of Gus' brother John.

I cannot do much with it. The thought of the 38 notes apropos of a 2<sup>nd</sup> girl makes me shudder. Thank Russell for his note.

I enclose his last  
letter

Yrs ??? A.H.

25 October 1888 letter from Louise. No envelope.

The writing is faded and faint and several key words are illegible and context alone does not (yet) reveal them.

Oct 25<sup>th</sup> 88

My dear Amy

I received your wee note & was glad to learn by its contents you are still able to write \_\_\_\_

I think it rather shabby in you to imply my Godson or his respected parents could be a burden & still more shabby to try to prevent his receiving[?] his gift — Don't bring him up ??? a ??? ??? he is a dear fellow & his ??? ??? At least we shall remember the day on which he gave pleasure to us all by giving us a new object to love —

The weather is glorious here & I am off in five minutes for a long drive so this is only a line of remonstrance.

Farewell Yours with love  
Louise

4 November 1888 letter from Mary C. Endicott

To  
Mrs. Russell Gray  
39 Marlborough Street

Boston

Mass.

Postmarked GACK BAY STA. NOV7, 1888, BOSTON, MASS NOV 8 1888

Dearest Amy

I am on my way home for a flying visit to Grand ??? of one night, & felt time should be too short to get to see you, I should prefer to tell you in person after all the rumours you will not be surprised perhaps when I tell you that I really am engaged to Mr. Chamberlain.

We sailed yesterday & by the end of the week I trust will be in Washington. Then within a few days we hope to be married very quietly. The ceremony will be so private that we shall give no invitations, though I hope some of my family will feel like coming on. If it were possible need I tell you what pleasure it would give me to have you present — under the circumstances it seems out of the question. I fear there is no chance of my seeing you before I leave for we shall sail before the month is over \_\_ but in the days to come I hope you will some times let me hear from you.

Though my new home will be so far away none of the links with the old one must be severed, & I depend on my friends to help me to keep them fast. For yourself dear Amy I hope all will go well with you, & that you are going to be much stronger.

You see now why I feared I might be absent when you should want me —

May I still fill the place of god-mother though I can not be present. I should like so much to have that tie with you. The engagement is not to be announced until Wednesday, so I must beg you not to mention it before then. Please remember me to Mr. Gray, & feeling sure of your sympathy with me in my happiness

Ever fondly yours

Mary C. Endicott.

**Notes** An amusing story of the romance, rumors, and marriage of Mary and Chamberlain along with many photos and newspaper clippings is given in by Donna A. Seger in her blog *Streets of Salem*.<sup>71</sup> Unfortunately for Mary, the rumors and press coverage resulted in a very non-private ceremony.

22 November 1888 letter from Mary Endicott Chamberlain

To  
Mrs. Russell Gray  
39 Marlborough Street

Boston

Mass.

Dearest Amy —

Before leaving the country I must write a line to send you my love & to thank Mr. Gray for writing to inform me of the birth of my godson. \_\_\_ I hope you have been getting on well dear girl \_\_ \_

I am leaving with Mama to send to you a little blanket which I have knitted this summer for the baby, & trust that it will keep him warm \_\_\_ Many many good wishes go with it to the little fellow \_\_\_ I told your wish to William & he was much pleased that you should want him to stand

<sup>71</sup><https://streetsofsalem.com/tag/mary-endicott/>

for the child \_\_\_ With much tender love dear Amy \_\_\_  
Ever effectually your friend  
Mary E. Chamberlain

---

**Notes:** William is probably Mary's brother William Crowninshield Endicott, Jr., (1860-1936).

## 14.8 Bessie & the Prince

This section continues the focus on 1888, but combines the contents of letters with newspaper articles and columns of December 1888 that link Bessie with not one, but at least two princes with Polish connections. There were numerous articles, but many were identical or nearly so, so clearly they had common origins. While as in modern times, there was "fake news" that was just hearsay or gossip and was often simply wrong. But sometimes even gossip has some truth in it, and in the case of Bessie and the Prince, many similarities between the clues in the letters and the published stories stand out and lead to a primary suspect.

Two of the earliest articles reporting an imminent marriage of Bessie Woodville with a Polish Prince are shown in Fig. 14.3. These are typical of the two variations of the story that were reported

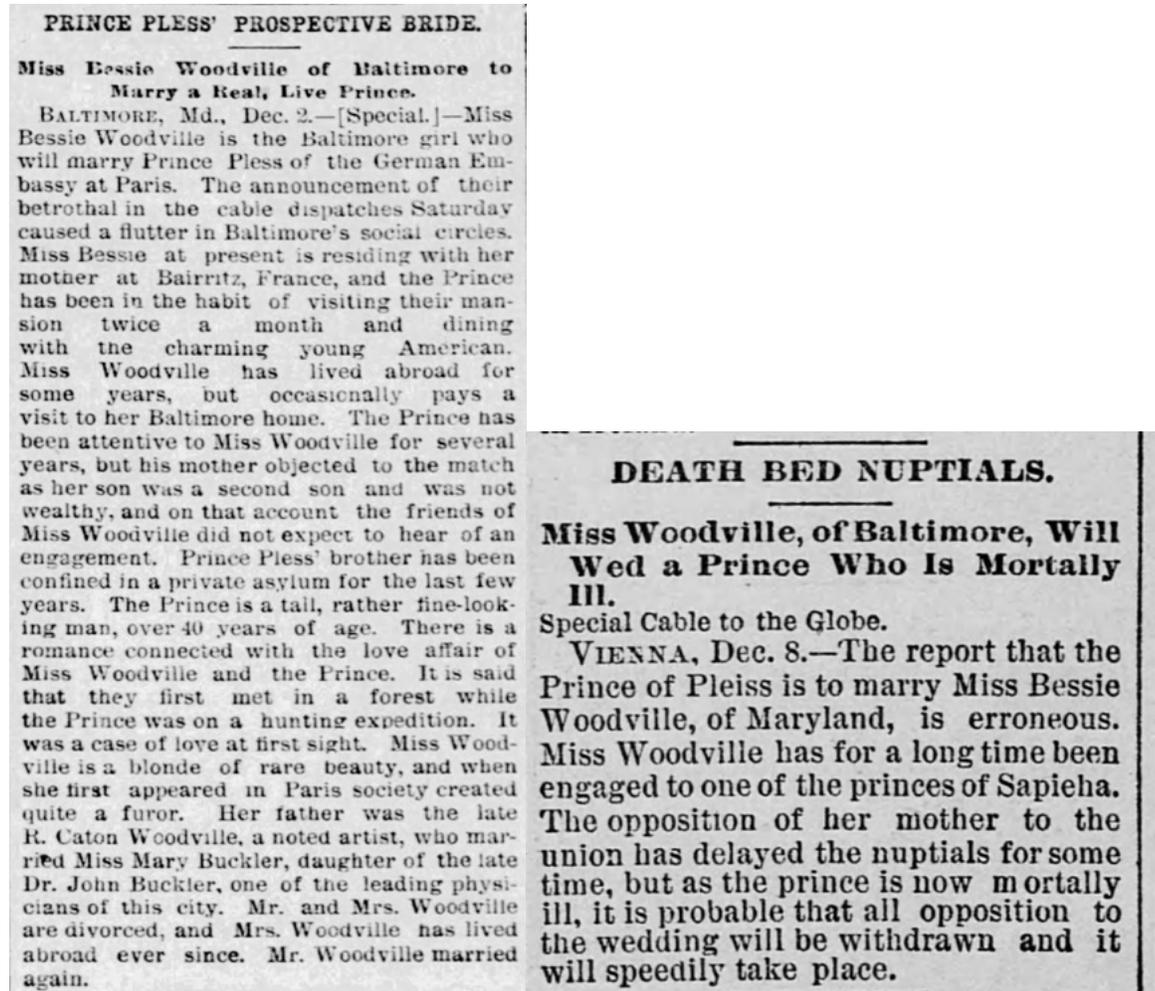


Figure 14.3: 3 December: *Chicago Tribune*

9 December: *St. Paul Globe*

widely, not always with exactly the same wording but often quite similar to one of the two shown. Often things were paraphrased, added, or omitted. So most of these stories came with one of two common sources, communicated “by cable” and then circulated widely among affiliates.

Context and genealogical material suggest that Prince Pless in the *Tribune* article was Hans Heinrich XV of Hochberg, 3rd Prince of Pless (1861-1938) born at Pless Castle (Schloss Pless) in Pless, now known as Pszczyna in Poland. From 1871 until the end of second world war, it was part of the German portion of partitioned Poland. Heinrich XV was a diplomat in the German delegation in Paris and he is the only Prince of Pless that approximates the *Tribune* article, but his history was not consistent with many of the published details or Bessie’s letters. He was five years

younger than Bessie and I can find no evidence that he or his family ever had a house in Biarritz. Unlike the description in the article, he was not poor — he was filthy rich because of the family possessions in Silesia in the German portion of Poland. At the time of interest, his father was still alive and he so Heinrich XV was not yet formally a prince. From 1852 to 1885 he was traveling the world and involved in hunting trips (including North America), he was not hanging out lunching in Biarritz. The bottom line is he does not seem a likely candidate for Bessie's X even though some of the description of the article is plausible. Of course he might have known and been friends with Bessie since rumors sometimes contain some truth, but his connections were all German/Prussian and not Polish, Warsaw had nothing to do with the Hochberg family.

On the other hand, the *Globe* article scores many more points of correlation with the accumulated facts in Amy's letters and newspaper articles. The article provides several candidates with "princes of Sapieha." Indeed there were many branches of the Sapieha family originally from Lithuanian nobility and hence consistent with X as described in Bessie's earlier letters. Only a few of these were of an age and location consistent with Bessie's letters.

To describe this passel of princes, we begin with the parents as given by *The Peerage* website.<sup>72</sup> The same names crop up in many online family trees with variations, but *The Peerage* provides a good starting point.

#### **Parents of Three Princes**

François-Xavier Sapieha (10/4/1807-8/2/1882), Prince Sapieha, and Countess Ludwika Pac-Malachowska, Princess Sapieha. The names are taken from both [geneanet.com](http://geneanet.com) and [thepeerage.com](http://thepeerage.com). Many Web pages and family trees list this pair with some variations. François-Xavier is often found without the hyphen or as simply Xavier and sometimes the family name is given as Sapieha-Kodenski to distinguish his branch of the Sapieha family. Most entries for him say he died in France (usually Paris), some say Spain. But the Spanish location is Pais Vasco, Spain, which simply means Basque country — and Biarritz is in the French Basque region near the border with Spain. Those that mention the location of his internment agree it as Biarritz, now in France near the border with Spain. Some family trees say that Xavier and Ludwika were married in Warsaw 19 November 1840.

François-Xavier was (and remains) a common name in France, often attributed to the name of a Catholic saint. A little Web searching quickly reveals that the Polish name Ksawery is a variation on the French Xavier and Franciszek is similarly the Polish equivalent of François in French or Francis in English. Thus the French François-Xavier Sapieha is equivalent to Ksawery Franciszek in Polish.

#### **Sons of Prince François-Xavier Sapieha and Ludwika Pac-Malachowska:**

Louis Benoît Joseph Sapieha 1841-1937  
 Ksawery Franciszek Sapieha 5/24/1845-10/8/1889  
 León Kazimierz Sapieha 1851-1904

François-Xavier also had a son by his first wife, but that son was deceased before Bessie's reference to X.

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<sup>72</sup>[thepeerage.com](http://thepeerage.com)

By 1883 when Bessie's earliest surviving letter mentions X, the three surviving sons of François-Xavier Sapiéha were all entitled to the title of Prince following the 1882 death of their father in Biarritz. Of these three princes, the middle son is by far the best fit to X as described in Bessie's letters. First note that as discussed above, Ksawery Franciszek Sapiéha was essentially François-Xavier Jr. In the Biarritz regional press during 1882-1889 the younger François-Xavier crops up as simply "Xavier Sapiéha" as exemplified in the article "Bloc-Notes Prisien: Un duel de moins" in the 20 May 1884 edition of *Le Gaulois: littéraire et politique*<sup>73</sup> which refers to "le prince Xavier Sapiéha est à Biarritz" and there is no confusion with his father since the senior Xavier died in 1882.

© GeneaService.com - Série 17- Décès Région Parisienne 1883-92

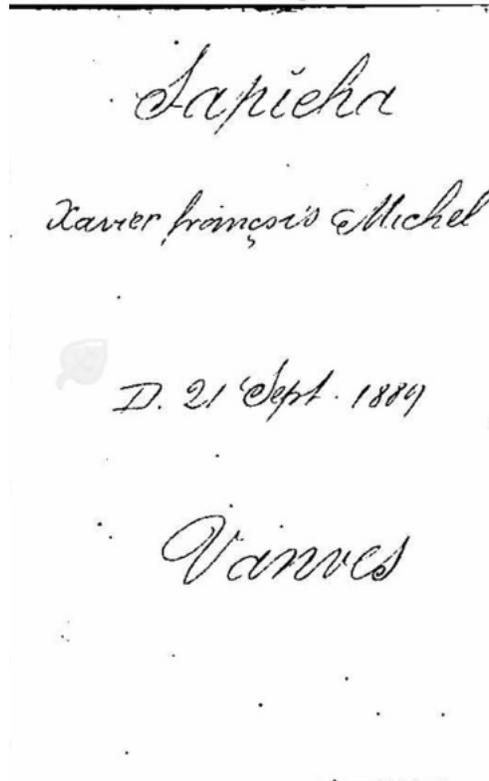


Figure 14.4: Xavier (Ksawery) Sapiéha  
Death Notice, born on 24 May 1845

in Vanves, a suburb of Paris. Vanves, however, had a well known hospital at that time specializing in mental disorders, as is explained in a short brochure entitled *Retreat at Vanves, near Paris, for the reception and recovery of ladies and gentlemen afflicted with disorders of the mind: under the immediate direction of Drs. Voisin et Falret* authored by Antoine-Martin Bureau-Riofrey and published in 1841.<sup>74</sup>

Following the lead of *Le Gaulois* I will henceforth refer to the younger François-Xavier as simply Xavier, which immediately suggests a reason for Bessie's mysterious companion being named by simply his first initial. Nowadays the symbol  $X$  is commonly used to represent an unknown quantity, be it mathematical or human. The use of  $X$  in mathematics indeed extends back centuries and was used in other sciences by the nineteenth century, but Bessie was no mathematician or scientist and I do not think that that the use of the letter  $X$  in particular for an unknown quantity was common outside of the sciences during the Gilded Age. Using the first initial of the familiarly used first name, however, seems quite natural. Admittedly this connection is only a conjecture, and more solid evidence is at hand.

Xavier died in 1889, which is consistent with the expressed concern about his health in 1888 in the letters and in the *Globe* article, which explicitly expresses public knowledge of dangerous life-threatening illness. But Max's letter gets more specific and suggests an associated mental illness. Strong support that this is a reference to Xavier is provided by a document from *Paris & Vicinity, France, Death Notices, 1860-1902* published online at *Ancestry.com* and shown in Fig. 14.4. The document states the death of Xavier François Michel Sapiéha on 21 September 1889

<sup>73</sup>Bibliothèque nationale de France gallica.bnf.fr

<sup>74</sup>Available at Archive.org <https://archive.org/details/b30358590/mode/2up>

This supports Max's letter regarding X's mental breakdown and failed health, facts I could not find published elsewhere. There is no evidence that Bessie married her dying friend.

The Sapieha family was wealthy. Their mansion in Biarritz *Domaine de Sapieha* av. de la Marne was completed in 1885 [13], so it is consistent with the with the new house of the "old Princess" in Bessie's letters.

Xavier or Ksawery Franciszek Sapieha was born on 24 May 1845 Vysokaje in the Brest region of modern Belarus, which was part of the historic Grand Duchy of Lithuania which was included in the Russian controlled portion of historic Poland in the 1880s. So indeed Warsaw would have been the key city for him to visit for permission to visit his homeland, as Bessie recounts.

## 14.9 1889

6 June 1889 letter from Mabel Bayard Warren at Mattapoisette, Mass.

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For  
Mrs Russell Gray  
39 Marlborough Street

Boston

Mass.

Postmarked BACKBAY JUN 9 1889

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Dear Amy

I was very hurried when I wrote, I meant to give you my address. I wanted to hear from you in order to treat you – I thought from not hearing, that you were again in Dr. Putnam's clutches \_\_ (scarcely applicable to the mild little creature)

I am busy busy – I have had Mrs Warren on my hands to amuse (?) & all my sewing to do \_\_\_\_ And it has rained ! However today is fair and I have washed my hair.

Tomorrow I go to town\_\_

If I have a moment you shall see me. If not this must suffice \_\_\_\_ Will you & Mr Gray come down on the 14<sup>th</sup> for Saturday & Sunday?

I will write you what train to take when I see the new schedule\_\_ Write me when you have any tirednesses. Remember that they mean nothing but mortal mind Whereas you are Immortal Mind \_\_ A thought of God – and cannot be affected by any such unreality.

Some day you will see. I hope you can come on the 14<sup>th</sup>.

In great haste

Mabel Bayard Warren

June 6<sup>th</sup>

Mattapoisett

Box 182 Mass

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**Notes:** Mabel Bayard Warren was born Mabrel Ashton Bayard on 31 March 1861 in Wilmington, Delaware, she died in Boston on 9 May 1924. She was the daughter of Thomas F. Bayard, Sr., who was a U.S. Senator, Secretary of State, and Ambassador to the United Kingdom. She married attorney and art collector Samuel Dennis Warren(1852-1910) in 1883.

Mattapoisett is a coastal town in Plymouth County, Mass. It is east of New Bedford on Buzzards Bay.

25 June 1889 from AH in Bar Harbor to Amy in Nahant

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Mrs. Russell Gray  
 c/o Mrs. Horace Gray  
 Nahant

Mass<sup>ts</sup>

Postmark BAR HARBOR JUN 25 1889

---

Belmont  
 Bar Harbor  
 June 25 1889

Dear Amy,

We arrived ??? tranquilly Sunday morning after a very smooth pleasant passage & have been regretting ??? since that you were not with us. The weather is superb. Bright sunshine, but cool & delightful. I met Mrs. Dorr yesterday & she said she still hoped you might change your mind & come down. The object of my note now is to urge you to make an effort to come. It would do you a world of good to change your surroundings, & to breathe this air, and you would go back to your babies with renewed health & pleasure. Russell, too, would be all the better for it. Come if you possibly can.

The season I cannot say much about. I am told that the Malvern & the Louisburg are full, but there is nobody here & Manchester looks the picture of despair. Even the ???s have given o sign so far, & D<sup>r</sup> Chapman told me yesterday he did not think they w<sup>d</sup> come. Mrs. C. is not well, & the desire of the D<sup>r</sup> is not enough.

I saw ??? Mary yesterday & she took me over her new house It is very nice & commodious. The old D<sup>r</sup> is enchanted with the plan & talks as if he had invented it – which is very pleasant.

Your mother joins me in love & good wishes to all, & kisses to the bambinos. Yrs

A.H.

---

29 July 1889 from AH in Bar Harbor to Amy in Nahant

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Mrs. Russell Gray  
 c/o Mrs. Horace Gray  
 Nahant

Mass<sup>ts</sup>

Postmark BAR HARBOR JUL 29 1889

---

Bar Harbor  
 July 29. 1889

Dear Amy,

We were delighted to get your letter the other day, as we always are with anything from you. I shall try to bear my blushing honors with becoming humility, & I hope the youngster will be none the worse for the name he is to bear. I think you ought to have called him Russell for his father. It is a pretty name & deserves continuation. Perhaps you think there will be ample opportunity, but under the circumstances, I hope it will be some time before you have another christening ! You must give yourself a chance to ??? [looks like "recouil", perhaps "recoil"] ! "Abondonner de bien ne ??? pas", they say, — but after all "il faut une raison" —

Max is in bed today with a lame back. She was suffering a good deal of pain yesterday evening, & we made her keep quiet. She says the trouble dates from a fall in Washington several years ago, & I confirm I a uneasy about it. What can you tell me about it, & what can be done?. She says it is all the faut of the Washington doctor, but I have been able to have very little conversation with her on the subject; I only knew of it at tea time yesterday, & I was obliged to go out immediately after & dit not see her till this morning for a minute. Hannah Barttell & hr. husband leave this morning after a fortnight here, they go to Plymouth for a week & then home. I have been expecting to hear from Aug. & my brother Albert. Both ought to be in the neighborhood of Boston now.

Ned Amory & family also leave this morning after a fortnight at the Belmont. Perhaps you know them.

Poor Manchester is in despair. There are not now 25 or 30 in the Hotel, & he knows of few coming. Mr & Mrs Warren notify their arrival on 1 Sept<sup>r</sup>. —

Weather very fine with two or three days exception \_\_ but the hotels are very empty. The Malvern & Louisburg only have a good complement. The Casino rather ???, chiefly through want of sensible magement. I might say owing to supernatural stupidity on the part of the managers, which I could never have anticipated from such men as Fox, ???, Codman & Pendleton. Of cou rse I say publically tat everything is ???

I will finish my ??? with hearty wishes for the health & happiness of the new "Augustine." If he makes as much of a man as my namesake I could ask no more: I hope he may be more materially prosperous, & be spared the anxietes which have clouded the last 25 years of my life, but if he be as fortunate as I have been in wife & children he will find ample compensation.

Give my love to Russell & believe me ever

Your affectionate father

A. Heard

**14.10 1890-1891**

4 February 1890 letter from Mary E. Chamberlain in Marseille to Amy in Boston

To  
 Mrs. Russell Gray  
 39 Marlborough Street

Boston Mass.

États-Unis d'Amérique  
 Postmarked Boston FEB 15 1890, BACKBAY STA. FEB 16 1890

Marseille  
 February 4<sup>th</sup>  
1890

Dearest Amy

Just before I left Cairo came your most welcome letter with the photographs of my little god son. It was such a pleasure to hear from you, & also I am so glad to see what the little Augustine looks like a jolly baby boy! one whom I hope to see with my own eyes before the year is over. To know that you are stronger is delightful, & I hope that you will continue to gain as time goes on. Your quiet life sounds very pleasant, & I picture you & your husband enjoying many a cosy hour together . & how one does enjoy the pause when one can sit down with one's better half ! \_\_

This winter I have had my share, which does not come to me all the year round, & we have luxuriated in the tranquility & dreaminess of the Nile. Egypt veers the peace which comes with age,<sup>75</sup> & of all places in which to pass a few weeks of rest & holiday it is the most satisfactory. One can do as much or as little as one likes \_\_ indeed for all but an Egyptologist who can pour over the hieroglyphics understandingly, the larger & best known monuments are all that one cares to see. They are splendid ! One brings away impressions which will be life long – I have scarcely had time to really collect my ideas about them – that one does in one's fire-side travels – but one is always asking one's self 'what manner of men accomplished these feats of engineering & art' ? Of the latter the earlier things are by far the best, & one stands in wonder before statues sculptured during the VI<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, & looking as if they were the product of a recent age. Contrary to our expectations we went to the 2<sup>d</sup> Cataract Nubia we were charmed with. It is quite different from

<sup>75</sup>an old nautical meaning of "veer" with an object (here "peace") has the meaning to let out in a controlled way

Egypt whose fertility is exchanged in many places for bare rocks, but the colors & atmosphere are beautiful, & the desert seen from the river looks like a very attractive place. A delusive picture I fancy \_\_ After our journey was over we returned to Cairo which we found ourselves in the midst of its gay season.<sup>76</sup> There are a great many

2.

pleasant English people there, & we enjoyed the various festivities at which we assisted very much. Mr. Stanley had just come back from the wilds of Central Africa so he & his staff were being fêted.

The latter were a nice set of young men whose experiences have been of the most exciting & thrilling nature. During the three years they have been away they have undergone every kind of hardship & privation. Stanley is now at work on his book which is soon to come out, & which promises to be full of interest.

Speaking of English people, you ask about their shaking hands. I can only say that they do it far more than we do \_\_ On every possible occasion, & in the most formal introduction \_\_ I fancy it is rather a recent custom, but certainly is not borrowed from us \_\_ though they might tell you it was.

I am glad you saw my new sister & liked her. & I hope you will be thrown together for I should like her to be friends with my friends \_\_ I hear such pleasant accounts of her from the various members of the family that I am delighted that brother of mine is very near to my heart & like his wife to be an adoption to the family group. You can imagine that I am anxious to see them together. If all goes well, & no unexpected thing turns up, we hope to go to America in the autumn. Having been in the south I do not realize that the winter is so far advanced \_\_ We reached Marseilles yesterday, after a 6 days voyage, & are pausing before going to Paris to-morrow. Next week Parliament meets, so we shall only be able to fly down to the country & have a glimpse of our flowers before settling down in town for six months. The post goes out this afternoon & this must go \_\_ It carries much love to you dear Amy – I can not write so often as I should like, but none the less my thoughts are often with you & yours. Remember me warmly to Mr. Gray, & kiss your boys for their mother's friend.

Ever fondly yours

Mary E. Chamberlain

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24 April 1890 letter from Mabel Bayard Warren in Boston to Amy in New York

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For  
Mrs Russell Gray –  
The Normandie –

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<sup>76</sup>Winter was the peak social season for the British colonialist social set, with many parties and balls and visiting tourists. See *The British in Egypt Community, Crime and Crises, 1882-1922*, Lanver Mak, Bloomsbury Academic (2018)

Broadway & 38<sup>th</sup> Street \_\_

New York – N.Y.

Postmarked BACKBAY 24 APR 1890, 4-25 N.Y.

---

Dearest Amy –

No ! But I have been busy busy & seem to grow more so every minute.

I was much distressed to get your abrupt announcement from N.Y. But

I won't talk about it for you know what I think. I have seen the little children looking rosy & well & nurse says they are very well –

Mary Perkins Beaumont has come home for a short time looking very handsome and happy. After the Tuesday Club we discussed Walt Whitman and whether the happiness of life is worth its pain. Mrs Whitman, Mrs Tom Perry & Katy Coolidge thought W. Whitman the great American poet – Fancy ! I think & so did the others far otherwise \_\_ I dined at the Brooks Adams' on Tuesday night (Sam was away). Brooks told the very stupidest coarse story about this Chas.[?] Fairchild whereat this Charles Head laughed uproariously, but no one else – How they did gossip – Mr & Mrs Cochrane were there. Mr Edward Jackson – So strange !

The horse show is going on now and we are all excitement. Three of ponies are in I hope one will take a prize.

2<sup>nd</sup>

Minna Chapman has a son. Jack writes that it is a continuation of Minna and Savonarola. Can you imagine such an infant \_\_\_ Some of the haute noblesse of N.Y. are here I believe and many sporting men for the horse show. Madame de Hegermann is here for a little. It seems she loves very fondly my step mama. I don't see how she does it. But my sight is poor. About Mary at any rate.

We have bought a house on Marlborough Street \_\_ the Henry A. Whitney house. This saves time & trouble. This is a most charming house with every convenience & ??? much smaller than this. Far more convenient has an elevator & is beautifully built.

Sam says to be most kindly remembered to you \_\_ I will write soon again.

Good bye dear girl. If you can write me a line \_\_\_ Ever your loving

April 24<sup>th</sup>

157 Commonwealth Ave \_\_

Mabel Bayard Warren

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**Notes:**

Madame de Hegermann was Lillie de Hegermann-Lindenchrone, the author of *The Sunny Side of Diplomatic Life: 1875-1912*<sup>77</sup>. An introductory note of that book reads

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<sup>77</sup>Harper & Brothers, New York, 1914

MADAME DE HEGERMANN-LINDENCRONE, the writer of these letters, is the wife of the recently retired Danish Minister to Germany. She was formerly Miss Lillie Greenough, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, where she lived with her grandfather, Judge Fay, in the fine old Fay mansion, now the property of Radcliffe College.

As a child Miss Greenough developed the remarkable voice which later was to make her well known, and when only fifteen years of age her mother took her to London to study under Garcia. Two years later Miss Greenough became the wife of Charles Moulton, the son of a well-known American banker, who had been a resident in Paris since the days of Louis Philippe. As Madame Charles Moulton the charming American became an appreciated guest at the court of Napoleon III. Upon the fall of the Empire Mrs. Moulton returned to America, where Mr. Moulton died, and a few years afterward she married M. de Hegermann-Lindencrone, at that time Danish Minister to the United States, and later periods his country's representative at Stockholm, Rome, Paris, Washington and Berlin.

Note that Mabel "studied under Garcia" in London at age 15. She was born in 1861 (so was close to Amy in age), so the Garcia in London around 1876 was likely the brother of Pauline Viardot, the teacher of Mathilde de Nogueiras, Amy's friend and correspondent introduced in Subsection 9.3.2.

Mabel's "step mama" Mary was her father's second wife Mary Willing (Clymer) Bayard 1848-1933.

The 151 Commonwealth return address and the new Marlborough Street house are described and illustrated at on [backbayhouses.org](http://backbayhouses.org). Quoting the section on 261 Marlborough Street.

On May 14, 1890, 261 Marlborough was purchased from the Whitney family by Samuel Dennis Warren, Jr. He and his wife, Mabel (Bayard) Warren, made it their home. They previously had lived at 151 Commonwealth. They also maintained a home, Karlstein, in Dedham, which included a polo field, and an additional home in Mattapoisett.

Samuel Warren had been an attorney in partnership with future Chief Justice Louis D. Brandeis. In 1888, after his father's death, he had withdrawn from active participation in the firm and assumed management of his father's paper manufacturing company, S. D. Warren & Co.

259-261 Marlborough (2015) The Warrens raised their six children at 261 Marlborough: Mabel Bayard Warren, Samuel Dennis Warren, III, Katherine Lee Bayard Warren, Bayard Warren, Sylvia Warren, and Henry Warren.

16 May 1890 letter from Mabel Bayard Warren in Boston to Amy in New York

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For /  
Mrs Russell Gray —

Broadway & 38<sup>th</sup> Street \_\_

New York – N.Y.

Postmarked BOSTON MAY 17 1890.

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Dearest Amy –

I hear you are learning to breath, si it the Italian Method or the German ? I am so excited & pleased about the new house. It is like a charming toy. As it has an elevator. I will take you all over it, unless they also teach you how to go up & down stairs without getting tired.

I saw Mrs Dorr last evening. I went to see her. Mrs. Ward was there. She tells me she has been sick for a week. Something queer the matter with her head. She cannot even listen to “Brooks” (Phillips, not Adams) with pleasure.

Mrs Dresser is treating her, & Dr Beach is attending her \_\_\_\_ !!!!!!!

Gemma Lemmines is getting better \_\_ As I rose to go last night at Mrs Dorr’s a short person all smiles & a beaded cape entered. She looked like an overdressed midwife – exactly.

Mrs Dorr said “Mabel this is Mrs Newman – this is Mrs Warren. Mrs. N. grasped me warmly by the hand and I limply allowed her to shake my hand.

I did not feel “receptive” as Mrs. D. says \_\_ During most of my visit George was reading “Vingt Ans Apres”<sup>78</sup> for the first time. Charley has recovered his spirits & scintillated a great deal \_\_ Tomorrow we are going out to polo & dine with Bessie Timson.

I shall ride in the afternoon if you would come we would drive instead – When are you coming back dear ? I miss you terribly. We went to hear Strauss the other night. The waltzes were perfectly charming. I longed to dance but every body sat stiff & prim \_\_ I missed Mr Gray the other night we were out when he called. He must come & dine with us --

Is Addie still in N.Y. Do you see many people ? I wish I had news for you but I cannot write funny stories & I have no other news – Yes, Biglin has spoiled two waists for me \_\_ they will have to be made over entirely \_ Too bad – My house at Mattapoisett progresses the hope to go down the second week many people have left town already. Mrs Dana has gone to Germany for two months. lots of people are going abroad.

Good night dear. Forgive a dull letter.

Your own loving

Mabel BW

May 16<sup>th</sup> 151 Commonwealth Avenue

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10 October 1891 letter from Mary E. Chamberlain at Highbury to Amy in Boston

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Mrs. Russell Gray

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<sup>78</sup>A novel by by Dumas, a sequel to *Les Trois Mousquetaires*

39 Marlborough Street

Kindness of Miss Gardner

---

Oct. 10 /91



Dearest Amy

When I was in Paris I got a little toy which Olga Gardner has promised to take home for me \_\_\_ It is a small overing to my little godson who by this time must be developing fast & leaving the realms of baby hood \_\_\_ I often think of you & him & wish I could see something of you – as I sit here this afternoon in my own little sanctum, a bright fire burning & an autumn storm blowing torrents of rain against the window pane I think how cosy it would be to have you sitting on the divan in one of the old tête-à-têtes. How have you been all this time?

I have heard of you from Fanny Prince, but now her visit begins to seem far distant, so quickly do events crowd one upon the other \_\_\_

This last year that has been more then ever the case, & I began to feel as if every letter must bring its tale of sadness.

As ever I have been much occupied so so seven weeks of change & travel on the Continent were very refreshing.

It was almost all new to me & the fresh freedom of the Tyrol & the beauty of colors in the Dolomites were charming \_\_\_ We did a great deal of our journeying by carriage which is always so much more agreeable than the dust & noise of the trains \_\_\_ Saxony Switzerland & the Thuringian forest were so picturesque & unlike anything I had seen \_\_\_ Altogether it was delightful & I came to a very nice landing in Paris where I had the rare pleasure of finding myself in the midst of my relations \_\_\_ Then they came to England & W<sup>m</sup> & Louise, Uncle George Gardner & Olga, & John were all with me at the same time. Olga I still cling to but she goes to Paris to-morrow & then I must possess my soul in patience till next year \_\_\_

I hope very much that some day I shall hear that you & Mr. Gray are going to cross the Water \_\_\_

It did Fanny Prince so much good, that you may be persuaded to follow her example.

I shall never be satisfied till I have had all the friends I care most for under my roof. so you must give your mind to helping me to accomplish that some day –

Let me hear from you when you can. How are your Mother & Father & Max ? are they still in Corea ?

Forgive such a scrappy note, but I have to send it by Olga, so have seized a few spare moments. Before long I shall try to send you a real letter. Meanwhile this carries a great great deal of love.

From your devoted friend  
Mary E. Chamberlain

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**Notes:** Olga was Olga Eliza Gardner (1869-1944), the daughter of George Augustus Gardner (1829-1916) and Eliza Endicott Peabody (1834-1876). Eliza was the sister of Ellen (Peabody) Endicott (1833 - 1927) (both were children of Clarissa Peabody Endicott. Ellen was the mother of Mary Crowninshield Endicott. So Olga and Mary were first cousins, and hence in the parlance of the time, George A. Gardner would have been considered to be Mary's "Uncle George."

As evidence of how strongly linked these Boston families were, Mary's "Uncle George Garland" was the son of John Lowell Gardner (1804-1884), who was the brother of Sarah Russell Gardner (1807 - 1893) – the mother of Russell Gray. So Sarah was George's Aunt in the strict sense of the word.

In her letter, Mary asks Amy if her parents and her sister Max are still in Corea, which provides a link with and a transition to the the next chapter, which deals in detail with the Heard family's sojourn in Korea and with the origins of the trip. The letters in the next chapter begin in 1889 with the first mention of the possibility of the ministerial position for Gus in Seoul and proceed to the detailed recounting by Max of the cultural shocks as the adjust to their new life following their arrival in 1890.

Chronologically the final letters of this section could be placed in the next chapter, but with the exception of this final letter from Mary none are relevant to the Korea story, and Mary only gives brief mention to the adventure, its primary thrust was winding up the close friendship of Mary and Amy and the transition to a more remote connection.

# Chapter 15

## Korea Letters: 1889 – 1893

The focus of this chapter is Max, Gus, and Jane's time in Korea during his service as U.S. Minister Plenipotentiary (Ambassador) and General Consul from 1890 through 1892, when he retired for reasons of poor health. Also included is correspondence relating to the preparations and aftermath of their time in Korea along with the origins of Augustine Heard Jr.'s appointment, which the letters demonstrate was assisted by his brother Albert Farley Heard's position in Washington and by Amy's network of friends, especially Mrs. James G. Blaine, the wife of the Secretary of State.

Most of the letters in this chapter are to Amy from her sister Max, who provides a fascinating record of the strange and difficult life of an American family in a newly created nation – one that is surrounded by powerful predatory neighbors and is also of economic and political interest to Europe and the U.S. In the context of stress, intrigue, and strangeness of a new country and culture, an unexpected romance emerges between Max and the German Minister to Peking, Max Scipio von Brandt. The chapter concludes with the wedding of Max & Max, their departure for the Germany of Wilhelm I in the early post-Bismark era of the German Empire, and the return of Gus and Jane to the U.S.

### 15.1 1889

25 March 1889 From Gus in New York

The first suggestion of the origins of an appointment for Gus as U.S. Minister to Korea came in a letter in March 1889 from Gus to Amy.

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55 LIBERTY STREET  
N.Y. 25 Mch 1889

My darling Amy,

I was very much surprised when at Lenox last Monday a week ago to receive a letter from Albert my brother, to say that Saturday he had met Mrs. Blaine<sup>1</sup> at a reception & that she had said to him in the most friendly way that you had in writing her expressed the wish that Mr. B could do something for me. That Mr B. had the most kindly feelings toward me & wd be happy to do anything for me. “What did I want.” Of course my brother had no idea but with her permission he wd write & inquire. I came back here the next day & came to the conclusion I had better go on to W. at once & see what there was in it. Reflection rather brought me to the conclusion that the thing I wanted I could not have & that the thing I could have I did not want. To make a long story short, I saw Mrs. Blain twice, & Mr. B once. Nothing could have been more friendly, or more courteous, than the attitude & language of both.

Bref, I told them – first Mrs. B.. & afterward Mr. B. – in an interview wh. she had arranged – that I was most fitted by my education & habits of thought for the China Mission, & in that position I did not fear to disgrace my backers. The salary wd enable me to live suitably, & they understand perfectly that with my family that must be a cardinal consideration for me. Mr. Blaine said that in the estimation of the Prest. & himself that was the most important post at present in the gift of the Govt. That the Prest. was looking ???? & meant to take his time in selecting a man who shd strike the country at once as suitable, & meanwhile the present minister wd not be disturbed.

He then asked me abt a Consulship in the East, Hong Kong or Shangai had full salaries, but I replied that I did not care for a Consulship. I did not wish to be back in China as Consul. If I did not go as Minister I did not want to go at all. Mr. B. said he quite understood my feelings. But how abt Corea? Do you know anything abt it. “No. Corea has come into being since my day.” “I dare say,” he went on, “that I could control that mission – There’s nothing ??? ??? abt it, a full mission, independent” – I did not give him any particular answer. I asked him if I should make an application. – “No, write me a private note to keep on my desk as a memo. –”

I find by reference to the Book that the salary is 7500. & there is a Secy of Legation & an interpreter. But your mother didn’t seem to jump at it! – What do you say? How do you think Max wd enjoy Corean Society? – I suppose that he meant me to understand that if I wanted it, I could probably have it.

I asked Chandler Robbin, before going on what he thought of my accepting the China Mission. Wouldn’t look at it, he replied. Youd only have 4 years & then be turned adrift with nothing & have lost all your personal business. I told him I should not look on that loss as very serious. I don’t know what he wd say abt. Corea!

But there is also the question of Real Estate ??? in Washington. Sevellon Brown was reported as likely to go back to the State Dept., & I asked him –& I told him I thought if he did it might make room for me. He said he was much obliged – that he felt he must go back tho it wd be at a great sacrifice, & that he wd write me after thinking it over.

I fancy he will make me some proposition to take his plan & I may get it tomorrow. Then we will see what course to pursue. Meanwhile consider all this private, except of course Russell. I

---

<sup>1</sup>Mrs. Blaine was the wife of politician, presidential candidate, and Secretary of State James G. Blaine. Here published letters [18] provide a description of Washington political life during the Gilded Age and mention many participants, including Max Heard.

have written a good deal of this to John H.

Tried to see Judge Gray in W<sup>2</sup> but did not succeed. Came back last night.

Yours very affly  
A.H.

## 15.2 1890

21-26 January 1890 letter from Jane in New York, included in same envelope as 28 January letter from Gus.

New York 21 Janvier  
39 W. 17th St

Chère Amy,

Sitôt que tu auras lu mon griffonnage écris moi. Comment va tu? et beaucoup de choses\_ raconte moi à propos de mioches \_ Il y a bien longtemps que tu ne m'es donnée des nouvelles de ton wigwam \_\_ Papa se moque de moi quand il me voit lu extase devant les portraits de nos petits enfants. Tu saura la nouvelles

26 janvier

notre grande nouvelles sans doute que tu liras ceci. Hier soir en rentrant pour diner il m'a donné le journal ou j'ai lu l'annonce, – Le Journal d'aujourd'hui "le Times" publie la nouvelle aussi \_\_ Papa est très content\_\_

Nous some heureux d'apprendre le retour de Jean et que sa mission fructifiera d'après lui – d'Après sa lettre à Papa ce matin il parait être très confiant. Il le mérite bien \_ Papa attend ma lettre pour la mettre à la poste en répétant make haste.

Rappelle moi au bon souvenir de ta belle mère et de Bessie pour qui j'ai une profonde admiration qui crôit chaque fois que je la voye \_<sup>3</sup> Tu peux t'imaginer ce que j'aurais à faire a Washington, cet emballage avec la maison pleine d'étrangers qui ont droit de se croire les maitresses le moment.

Embrasses les mioches et ne leur laisse pas oublier qu'ils ont une gr<sup>d</sup> mère qui les adore. \_\_ Demain je vais prendre le lunch chez M<sup>e</sup> Morgan et doit rester pr recevoir avec elle c'est son jour Ta mère affect–

J. L. Heard

<sup>2</sup>Horace Gray was half brother of Russell Gray, Amy Heard's husband. He was an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court and former Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court. He was perhaps best known for his ruling granting citizenship to the children born in the U.S. to Chinese immigrants working on the railroads. He also participated in the rather sillier case of deciding whether a tomato was a vegetable or a fruit.

<sup>3</sup>"que je voye" seems to be a variation on the "que je voie" that is the present subjunctive of voir. There is a fair amount of discussion on the internet about what regions use this spelling, but it was not rare.

28 January 1890 letter from Gus in New York along with 26 January letter from Jane.

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My darling Amy,

I went into the Century Club ab<sup>l</sup> 4 yesterday afternoon to look at a book, when Nick Fished called to me across the room "I congratulate you," & a half dozen others followed suit "What is it?" Said I & they showed one an Evening paper that reported my nomination as minister to Corea as having been sent in to the Senate. It was a great surprise, as I had given up thinking of it as possible, & had agreed to remain in my present quarters thru May.

However there it is, & suppose the official notice will have been sent <sup>c/o</sup>Russell to Boston & will reach me tomorrow, or next day.

This all owing to you & I must thank you for it. All good things come to me through you & I like to think of it. If it hadn't been for you, i should have died in N Y three years ago, & now you keep me out of the poor house or charity.

What will Max think to say about it ? & what will she do ?

She wrote me the other day that she had not seen M<sup>r</sup> Abbott for a long time so I suppose that is "off".

What do you think of a course of Corea for her ?

I hope you my darling, are getting strong & well. We think of you & your chicks always. Your mother's first & only thought I believe has been how can I have more "children?"

Augustin had a great success the other day. We took tea at the Pinchot's & carried round with us the photos of the 3. Mrs P & all of them picked out A. as the prettiest of the 3 but Mr. P. thought Horace had the "finest head."

tell Russell & give him my love

Yours ever

A.H.

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31 January 1890 from Gus in Bar Harbor to Russell Gray

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**AUGUSTINE HEARD,  
MT. DESERT REAL ESTATE,  
BAR HARBOR.**

**55 LIBERTY STREET  
New York, Jany 31 1890**

Dear Russell,

Thanks for yours of yesterday with Lodge's<sup>4</sup> letter. I think it quite probable that Blaine acted

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<sup>4</sup>Henry Cabot Lodge

more from interest in Amy than in me, & I am very glad to owe any thing to her. It would be a very good plan for her to write a line of acknowledgement to B. which she can do so gracefully & well.

Of course I wrote to express my own thanks ??? ???, & had previously after some hesitation sent a few words of sympathy on the occasion of Walker's<sup>5</sup> death. I will see Lodge as soon as I go on. I intended to go almost immediately, but I am told the most contradictory things abt custom in such matters. I have recd no notice whatever from the Dept. & all I know is what I see in the papers. John Edward says I will receive no notice till after confirmation, & advises me not to go on. Sevellon Brown, ancient Chief Clerk says I shall receive one shortly but I am not expected to go on til confirmation; outsiders say come at ??? I do as much with the Senators here as there, if not more & my going just now is complicated by an infernal nuisance. I was told last night that my room had been taken from Tuesday next till June, & I must clear out. I can't positively complain, but it is not pleasant, & adds a good deal to what I have to do.

So don't address me any more to 39 West 17<sup>th</sup>. I will let you know as soon as I settle on anything. Probably the Everett House Union Square.

Thanks for your reminder about the map.

I thought I had told you that I had renewed my office in the ??? 55 Liberty St. I am anxious to use ????

Yrs A.H.

Judge Daly has written a letter for me to Senators Sherman<sup>6</sup> & Edwards about the ????. The letter was drafted by Frank Street my particular friend. Sherman is Chairman of Comm on Foreign Rel.

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10 February 1890 from Gus in Bar Harbor

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**AUGUSTINE HEARD,  
MT. DESERT REAL ESTATE,  
BAR HARBOR.**

**55 LIBERTY STREET**  
New York, Febry 10 1890

My darling Amy,

Mr. Blaine desired me particularly to make his regards to you. Perhaps he wanted me to understand with what a bright particular eye he did regard you — which is understood. He is

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<sup>5</sup>Blaine's son

<sup>6</sup>John Sherman, brother of General Sherman

somewhat broken. Mrs B. & the girls look as usual. Mr. B. didn't go to the Dept. & I lost a good deal of time waiting for him, but in spite of a good many attempts I did not see him till Saturday PM, having gone on Wednesday. Then Mon. Gettings was sick & I did not see her. & altogether I was annoyed.

???? the ??? was that my pay began on taking the oath on the 6<sup>th</sup> they give me till 7 then to get off on pay. If I stay longer, I lose my pay: or rather don't get any during such delay. Then they give me 65 days to get to my post on pay. If I stay longer, I lose my pay: or rather don't get any during such delay. Then they give me 65 days to get to my post on pay.

Adie wants me to go over all the old dispatches with China & from China & ??? having any relation to Corea: & every paper that deals with the ??? ??? of the first treaty. That will take some time & I must go back for it. B said also he should have some special instructions to give me. I have not yet seen the President. I called 4 times on Lodge but did not find him. Saw Mrs. L. twice. – which perhaps will do as well.

I shall go to Boston probably the last of this week or the first of next.

Show this to Max if she comes in. Haven't time to write her today.

Dined at the Pa??? last night. Abt a dozen.

All the family were disposed to be pleasant – & made an effort to be.

Love to Russell  
Yrs AH

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30 May 1890 from Gus

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Seoul, May 30 1890

Dear Amy,

I have before me yours of 6 Apr. By the same mail we recd one to your mother dated Apr 6. Normandie<sup>7</sup> NY. This came as a veritable surprise as you anticipated wd be the case & your mother has been worrying over it ever since. "To think of Amy all alone in that big hotel in NY. How I wish she were here, ???" And so do I – wish you were here.

You must come. The climate is delicious at this season, & they say better in the autumn. We have had only one rainy day since we arrived, then bright sunshine, & not hot. By next year I hope we shall get the Legation into habitable condition. Now it is a ramshackle collection of dilapidated Korean buildings – which do well enough now, but which give me an anticipatory chill & thrill as I think of what they must be with the thermometer at 5° below zero, as I am told it sometimes is. The walls are simply lattice work of wood – with paper pasted over & the paper is old & ripped

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<sup>7</sup>a hotel in New York City

& dirty & hangs in lumps. I am writing Mr. Blaine by this mail to give me a few thousand dollars — & I hope I may get something. Max has had a detestable time from the start & here she is most efficient. She is busy at something from morning to night making curtains & dresses & planting celery & lettuce & all that. I suppose she will tell you herself.

The people seem disposed to be friendly. We have ???d out a few times & it all looks pleasant. I had my audience of the King on the 26th. He is bright and intelligent & has a kindly amiable expression of face. He seemed to be much pleased to talk with us & kept us certainly 1/2 to 3/4 of an hour. He received us sitting but rose & remained standing through the interview. We were separated from him only by the width of a small table. He is a small man with a pale clear complexion, very bright eyes, rather too near together, quite animated & was astonished in everything that was said to him. But you would like to know all this *par le même!* & I wish I had the time & patience to write it all out. I wrote John a long letter from Chemulpo,<sup>8</sup> & suppose I ought to continue *de même*, but I have so many to write that I am afraid you will have to pick up a letter here & there & reconstruct your table by your self.[???

Bref, we stayed 2 days with Mr. Johnston at C. who treated us most hospitably, & then started one fine morning at 8 in Chinese chairs, 8 bearers each for Seoul: escorted by Y. Hiun Yang & his retinu, Vice Prest. of the F.O. who had come down to receive me & welcome us to Corea.

We arrivd at the Legation on S. abt 4 1/2 & there found Mr. Dinsmore<sup>9</sup> who conducted us around the place & made himself generally affable. We stopped an hour at the 1/2 way house for lunch: had an omelette & some sandwiches we had brought with us, but the rest of the trip was easy & interesting. We were done up when we arrivd.

Most of the people we have met are pleasant: & we like the outlook this far better than we had expected. Mr. D. is still here, but leaves in a couple of days. We like him. His departure has been deferred by our not getting an audience. This delay has been caused chiefly by the illness of the Queen Dowager, who is ill & was expected to die every hour, but is recovering. When the appt. was finally made, D & I went to the Foreign Off to accompany the Pres. to the Palace. We left the Lg. at 1. — Found the Pres. had not had his breakfast & we did not leave the F.O. till 2 1/4, thou the appt. was for 2. I suppose that was the hour named for us. We left our chairs at the gate, a very hot day, & walked up the central path, the central gates being opened to let us in — then pres. going by s??? and out through two large square imposing courts & so into the rear of the grounds, fully 1/4 of a mile to a small pavillon, where we met some officials and waited abt an hour till H.M. was ready to receive us. Then we went accompanied by the Prest. of the F.O. & one of the Vice P. , & the Pres. of the Home O. to the far corner. We approached by the center. ??? ??? ??? by the side & prostrated themselves & knocked heads on the floor. We bowed 3 times at intervals & finally brought up by a little table behind which was his Majesty — clad in scarlet robes with a big gold colored plaque in his hand [???] — embroidered I suppose.

After D. got through his “recall” I was presented and after asking HM if I might wear my glasses (not permitted ordinarily in royal presence) & beign generously accorded permission — I made my little speech — which had been sent in to him the day before. After that finished, a translation of it in Chinese was read by the interpreter who stood on my left. With head bent down & baited

<sup>8</sup>Chemulpo is modern day Incheon

<sup>9</sup>Hugh A. Dinsmore was U.S. minister resident and consul general in Seoul (1887-90)

breath I then handed the King the letter I had from the Prest. to him — a translation of this in Chinese was then read in a high chanting voice by the Vice P. of the F.O.

Then the K. made some short & appropriate remarks & the “conversation became general” — that is, the King made some speech through the interpreter to D & myself & we retired. All in very low tone, the Koreans having withdrawn to the side of the room.

After this was over we were conducted to the presence of the Crown Prince a boy of about 17 who prompted by some official standing by made some ??? ??? to ??? in r???d.

Then they gave us an elaborate dinner in foreign style.

We got back to legation about 6. — pretty tired & hot. Lots of warm beer & champagne. I had to go to a dinner at the Chinese Embassy afterwards where there was a great deal of wine drunk & which nearly finished me up. Best to Russell

Yrs evr A.H.

I appreciate all you say abt your uncle Albert. I have always regretted looking at my father in his coffin. I arrvd. ?. ??? after his death & I can never forget the ?????? [check original]

28 July 1890 Draft from A.H. to unnamed official, written in pencil with many corrections.

U.S. Legation

No. —

Seoul Corea July 28 1890

Sir,

I have I have the honor to inform you that on the 26th last, Dr. J. B. Heron [??], a naturalized American citizen and member of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions died at this place, of disentary, after an illness of 20 days — leaving a wife & two children.

Copy of the Certificate of the attending physician Dr. W.B. Scranton is enclosed.

Two days before his death, while he was in a very critical state, two other members of the same Board of Missions called upon me & informing me that no place had been set apart in Seoul for a Foreign cemeterey, asked what was to be done in the event of Dr. Heron’s death. I was greatly surprised at this intelligence as a cemetery is generally one of the first things taken care of in a new settlement, it seems that in the only previous occasion when it became necessary to use one, the board had him conveyed to Chemulpo for burial.

I at once addressed a note to the Prest. of the Foreign Office on the subject, a copy enclosed, and to avoid the loss of time necessary for its translation, I took it myself to the Foreign Office accompanied by Dr. Allen<sup>10</sup> & the interpreter.

At first His Excellency was disposed to question our rights ????? confronted with the Eng Treaty & the ?????d nation clause he withdrew opposition & promised to concern himself actively with the matter, but said it would be difficult in view of Corean prejudice to find a suitable place,

<sup>10</sup>Dr. Horace N. Allen was an American missionary and diplomat in Korea, he was Chargè (1893-94) and Minister (1897-1901).

near enough to the city to be acceptable. I pointed out the necessity of losing no time, & he assured me he appreciated the urgency of the case & that I should hear from him without delay.

I should say that I believe his opposition arose in the first place from the misapprehension of the return of our r?????. A Corean of rank provides ??? his ??? a site varying in ??? from a quarter of an acre to a several acres, & His Ex. was appalled at the prospect of being called on to furnish land gratuitously for the interest for the various members of the various Foreign nationalities, and when our real purpose was made clear to him, his tune immediately changed.

On the 25th Dr Heron was rather better, & my interpreter was informed from the Foreign Office that one of the secretaries had him submit with ??? & choose a suitable plot.

On the morning of the 26th Dr H died, & no place had been assigned. I sent the secretary to the F.O. & shortly after he accompanied by a Corean official & by one of the Missionary Board went to look at a plot that had been designated. It proved to be utterly unsuitable, — far away on the other side of the river, & it was decided to use temporarily a small of ground owned by Dr. Heron, at no great distance, while waiting for a suitable selection. I say temporarily because burying within the walls of the city is not only strictly prohibited by law, but is regarded with strong prejudice by the natives. There is a building [??] ??? occupied by two Coreans.

The body lay in the house the grounds of which adjoin this Legation & access to the plot in question could be had through this Legation, through the Customs Compound adjoining, & the English Consulate & finally for a short distance through a Corean street.

Owing to the heat of the weather it was imperative that the internment shd be speedy & the hour of the funeral was fixed at 5 1/2 for yesterday, Sunday, the 27th instant: The grave had been dug & all the preparations made, when about 3 oclk I had a visit from Mr Unerwood & Mr Moffatt, missionaries charged with the care of the ceremonies, to say that the two Coreans living on the plot had received an intimation (presumably from the For. Office, though the wd not say so) that if the burial took place there, their h??? & the h??? of all Coreans connected with it would be taken off. — the people [??] ??? & the Foreign ??? ??? and asked what they should do.

I replied that, though the stories were very possibly fictitious ????, we could not have any contention over a burial, & all I could do would be to apply for protection to the Foreign Office. There was hardly time to make an application for that as the President was very likely at the Palace & the alternative seemed to be either to induce Mrs. Heron to consent to a temporary internment in her own compound which was an ??? on Corean custom) or to take the body to Chemulpo. I should say that up to this time Mrs. H had strenuously objected to the use of the grounds of her own house, but in view of this contingency she gave her consent; & the funeral ceremonies took place at the appointed hour.

The state of my health prevented me from being present, but my family & the Secretary were; & on his return the latter told me that after all the burial did not take place. No Corean could be found to dig the grave.

I sent for the interpreter but he crossed my messenger, & appeared at the Legation early in the evening — it being Sunday. He said he had been sent for by the President, who wishes him to tell me that he had found at last a good plot for the cemetery within a reasonable distance, & he would be glad to have me examine it at once. He added that the stories about trouble if the burial had been carried out in the plot near the English Consulate as originally intended were perfectly

true, & he would have lost his own head!

Dr. Allen & Mr. Underwood visited the secluded spot this morning & found it entirely acceptable. It is about 4 miles distant from the Legation, on this side of the river, & comprises about 10000 ???, & is an elevated plateau sloping down on the sides, & naturally marked. It will be easy, if it be desired later to add to its dimensions.

As Mr. Underwood, representing the Presbyterian Board, was very much pleased with the plan; we did not think it wise to look further, & the internment of Dr Heron was finally completed there quietly this afternoon. The question of the Foreign cemetery at Seoul seems to be presumably settled.

I have ????

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9 August 1890 from Hélène

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U.S. Legation  
Seoul  
Korea  
le 9 août

Enfin! Chère soeur, je puis me vanter d'avoir reçu une lettre, mais une vraie lettre qui a dû te coûter un effort, d'après ce que tu nous dis de ta santé et de tes faiblesses. J'espère bien que tu te portes déjà mieux car il y a bien deux mois que ta lettre est écrite. Nous aussi n'avons que maladie et tristesse autour de nous et par ces chaleurs atroces c'est décourageant. Beaucoup de monde est parti, le petit restant est ou malade ou garde malade aux autres et nous avons eu la mort à gauche et à droite, chez le Dr Heron (?) qui est mort lui-même il y a deux semaines laissant une femme et deux petites filles sans le sou. Et avant hier la plus petite fille de M et Mme Hillier<sup>11</sup> est morte. Une gentille petite enfant de deux ans que le père idolâtrait. Papa n'est pas bien non plus. Il a la diarrhée depuis plusieurs semaines et bien qu'il écrit et sort pas mal il est très faible et n'a presque pas d'appétit. Maman se tourmente d'une chose et d'une autre; la chaleur, les moustiques qui sais-je. Mais autrement elle va assez bien. Nous faisons quelques ouvrages dans le compound juste devant la maison mais nous n'allons pas trop entreprendre avant de recevoir la permission du Dept. Permission que nous attendons avec impatience car il y a beaucoup à faire à la maison pour la rendre confortable ou même habitable pour l'hiver.

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<sup>11</sup>Walter Caine Hillier was the Acting Consul General for England in Seoul 1889–1891 and Consul General from December 1891 to February 1894. Previously he had been the British Assistant Secretary in Peking in 1885.



**Max Heard in 1888**

Pense donc le Sampson marié! Je me demande quelle espèce de femme a voulu de lui. Moi non plus je n'ai pas de nouvelles des West<sup>12</sup> depuis cette lettre que j'ai reçu après mon arrivé ici; mais cela prend si longtemps pour les lettres à aller et revenir que je ne puis guère m'en étonner car nous sommes loin, mais loin! Tu ne peut guère te figurer ce que c'est.

J'ai bien peur que Mme Doer n'attende longtemps avant de lire mon livre. Je ne me sens pas inspiré par ces chaleurs et puis je n'ai encore rien vu! Je ne sais rien des habitudes etc. de ce drôle de pays – car il est drôle il n'y à pas à dire.

L'idée de ta "petite soeur" aux diners diplomatiques te fais rire! que disais-tu d'elle posant la pierre fondamentale de la Légation Impériale de toutes les Russies! Cérémonie qui va avoir lieu la semaine prochaine? Je me fais veille, va! C'est que j'ai beaucoup

vu et vécu depuis trois mois mais je crois maintenant qu'il va y avoir une période assez monotone maintenant avec les distractions saines et douces de la vie domestique, variées d'un peu de tennis, d'exercice à cheval et de photographie quand la température sera un peu plus modérée.

Je n'essaye pas de décrire la maison plus que je ne l'ai déjà fais. Ce serait inutile et un de ces jours j'espère finir des photographies qui diront plus que vingt pages de description. En attendant tu peux t'imaginer tout ce que tu voudras de différent de ce qui est chez nous sans être pour cela sans confort et de charmes. Ce qui me plais le plus dans ce genre de vie est le laisser aller et la nonchalance. on a des quantité de domestiques pour tout et les choses se font tout mal que bien mais on ferme les yeux et puis on gronde. Mais quand on gronde c'est ferme et cela a son effet. Tout est ouvert on entre par les fenêtres autant que par les portes; nous avons de prunes délicieuses en ce moment et de l'ice cream quand l'envie nous prend. Il est fait de condensed milk et à la maison mais il n'en est pas moins très bon. Ceci il faut garder pour toi car comme les missionnaires nous ne voulons pas trop dorer nos descriptions car il y a vraiment beaucoup de désagréments pour égaliser le tout. Ce qui me manque le plus par exemple – sont les cabinets.

<sup>12</sup>Victoria West and her sisters, especially Amalia. See *Amy Heard: Letters from the Guided Age*. Victoria, later Lady Sackville, was the illegitimate daughter of Lionel Sackville West, Great Britain' Minister to the United States from 1881 through 1885. She served as his Washington DC diplomatic hostess, married her cousin who became the next Lord Sackville, and had one child, the writer Vita Sackville West.

Je n'ai jamais aimé les pots de chambres et ici je n'ai pas autre chose! Mais on a s'habitué à tout. Le lait aussi – impossible d'en avoir du bon. Mes légumes poussent assez bien et nous avons des tomates superbes en ce moment – pauvre Papa qui ne peut pas manger ni légumes ni fruit.

En somme tu feras mieux de déménager ici ou tu pourras porter tes chemises de nuit tout le temps. Même moi ne m'habille que vers cinq heures du soir et cela aussi légèrement que possible – une toute petite chemise, un pantalon, jupon, cache corset & une robe en grass cloth toute à fait unie des bas et des chausseurs. A peu près une fois par semaine pour une grande occasion je mets un corset. Par exemple ce soir nous dinons chez les Darney (???) et comme il y aura probablement du monde après je ferai frais de toilette. Si tu pouvais voir comme je suis jolie! Car avec ces chaleurs il est impossible de me friser les cheveux je les laisse au naturel ce qui est d'un effet! d'une simplicité sévère toute à fait charmante et avec cela je les porte en natte pendant la plus part du temps.

La température a changé aujourd'hui et il fait presque froid!

82 1/2 degrés dans ma chambre à midi. Voilà trois semaines au moins que je n'ai eu moins que cela a dix heures du soir, généralement 86 – 7 – 8 – ou même 90. Chez les français ou c'est un peu plus bas et renfermé ils l'ont eu jusqu'à 104 à Pékin 110 sept heures au soir dans un coin de véranda où le soleil n'arrive jamais! C'est ce que M. Von Brandt écrit. On se prépare pour l'autre monde! Tout ces chères gens m'embrouille avec toi – sans m'avoir vu bien entendu – d'après quelques uns j'aurai presque 32 ans.

Tel est la vie. Enfin – assez pour aujourd'hui. Amitiés à tout le monde, baisers pour toi et les mioches. Ils doivent être bien gentils ensembles.

à toi

Hélène

Le 12 août

Je ne fais qu'ajouter quelques mots avant d'envoyer ma lettre bien qu'il n'y ait pas grand chose d'importance. Papa est très faible et son état reste à peu près le même ce qui est décourageant.

Le temps est un peu plus frais depuis deux jours il faut espérer que ce changement lui fera du bien.

Notre secrétaire est assez aimable en somme et je l'aime bien. Dr Allen qui a traduit ces petits cartes Koréens.

Mille baisers

H.M.H.

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U.S. Legation  
Seoul, Korea  
9 August 1890

Finally! Dear sister, I can brag of having received a letter, but a real letter which must have cost you an effort, given what you tell us of your health and frailty. I truly hope that you are already doing better as it is already two months since your letter was written. We, too, have only sickness

and sadness around us from the atrocious heat. It is discouraging. Many have left; the few are either sick or taking care of others and we have had death to the left and right, at Dr. Heron's who died himself two weeks ago leaving a wife and two small daughters without a cent. And yesterday the youngest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Hillier died, a gentle infant of two years whom the father idolized. Papa is also not good. He has had diarrhea for several weeks and even though he writes and goes out well enough he is very feeble and he has practically no appetite. Mama is tormented by one thing or another; the heat, the mosquitos, and who know what. But otherwise she is doing well enough. We are building several things in the compound just in front of the house, but we have not undertaken much before receiving permission from the Department of Permission which we await with impatience because there is much to do to the house to render it comfortable or even habitable for the winter.

Think, then, of Sampson married! I wonder what species of woman wanted him!

Me, too, I have no news of the Wests since this letter that I received after my arrival here; but it takes so long for letters to go and return that it scarcely astonishes me because we are far, but far! You could hardly imagine just how far it is.

I am afraid that Mme Doer is waiting a long time before reading my book. I do not feel inspired by this heat and then I have not yet seen anything! I know nothing of the habits etc. of this peculiar country – it goes without saying that it is peculiar.

The idea of your "little sister" at diplomatic dinners makes you laugh! What would you say of her putting the foundation stone of the Imperial Legation of all the Russias! a ceremony which will take place next week? I am making myself grow up! All because I have seen and lived so much during the past three months but I believe now that we will now have a period calm enough with sane and sweet distractions of domestic life, enhanced by a little tennis, horseback riding, and photography when the temperature becomes a little more moderate.

I am not going to try to describe the house more than I already have. It would be useless and one of these days I hope to finish some photographs which will say more than twenty pages of description. While waiting you can imagine all that you wish of how different our house is without for all that being without comfort and charm. What I like the most in this style of life is the *laissez faire* and nonchalance. There are many servants to do everything and things go as badly as well but you close your eyes and then scold. But when one scolds it is firmly and that has an effect. Everything is open, one enters by the windows as often as by doors; we have delicious prune at this moment and ice cream when we wish. It is made out of condensed milk here at the house, but it is no less very good. You should keep this to yourself since like the missionaries we do not want to gild too much our descriptions because there are truly many disagreeable things to balance things. For example, the thing I miss the most are the toilets. I have never liked chamber pots and here there is nothing else. But one gets used to everything. Milk also, it is impossible to find any good. My vegetables grow well enough and we currently have superb tomatoes – poor Papa can eat neither vegetables nor fruit.

In short you will do well to move here where you will be able to wear nightgowns all the time. Even I don't dress until around five o'clock and then as lightly as possible, a tiny shirt, pants, skirt, cache corset & a dress of grass cloth together with stockings and shoes. About once a week for a grand occasion I wear a corset. For example this evening we dine at the Darneys and since there

will probably be many people there afterwards I will freshen up. If you could see how pretty I am! Since in this heat it is impossible to curl my hair, I leave it natural, which has quite an effect! A severe simplicity completely charming and with that I wear my hair in a braid most of the time.

The temperature changed today and it is almost cold!

82 1/2 degrees in my bedroom at noon. It is at least three weeks with temperatures no less than that at 10PM, generally 86 - 7 -8 or even 90. At the French residence where the elevation is lower and the area more closed it reached 104 and in Peking at seven in the evening in a corner of the veranda where the sun never arrives! That is what Mr. Von Brandt writes. One prepares for another world! All these dear people confuse me with you – granted without having seen me – according to some of them I will be nearly 32.

Such is life. At last – enough for today. Love to everyone, kisses for you and the little ones. They must be very nice together.

A toi

Hélène

7–19 November 1890 from Gus

Seoul, Nov. 7 1890

Dear Amy,

I have just come back from the Palace where I have been to offer my congratulations ont the 40th birthday of the Queen & while waiting form my interpreter who is never on hand when wanted, I will devote a half hour to my darling daughter. We were very much surprised on the 4th to receive a summons to the Palace the next day at 1 PM. The King is just come out of strict mourning for his ????? mother, the Queen Dowager, & during this time, 5 months, has recd no foreigners.

As we knew the Queen's birthday was today, we had not expected that he would show himself before, but it turned out otherwise & a little after on the first flight of diplomats were assembled in the waiting room attached to the Pavilion where the King receives foreigners. On hand later the Consuls Hillier (Eng) & Krein (German), arr. with Genl LeGendre & Vice Prest. of the Home Office.<sup>13</sup>

About 1/2 an hour afterwards the King signified that he was ready for us & I, Kondo, Japanese, Waeber, Russian, both chargè d'affairs & ??? French "Commepaire" – ??? by a score of high Corean officials proceeded to the presence. It is etiquette to remove the hat as one enters the court yard of the pavilion bow at the foot of the steps & at the door & again when finally in the presence.

<sup>13</sup>Brigadier General Charles William LeGendre was from 1890 till his death in Seoul in 1899 an advisor to the Korean Royal Household. His duties primarily involved treaty negotiation (with Japan) and facilitating communication between Kojong and the foreign diplomatic community, including men like Allen and Heard. He served as a military advisor to the Korean Foreign Office. He negotiated the Korean-Japanese Convention and was an American Civil War hero.

He had a reputation for being anti-Japanese and for this reason was dismissed as tutor for the King's son.

I told you what he was like at the time of my first audience. This time recd us [??] in the same way except that in the place of scarlet clothes he wore drab the color of mourning as did all the attendants. The Coreans knelt at the threshold & knocked their foreheads on the floor.

As doyen of the corps I have to do all the talking & speechifying: & try not to disgrace myself in the eyes of my colleagues, who are old hands at it. The King is a small man, with a very amiable courtly expression of countenance, & I have no doubt is a "very good fellow"! He looks bright & intelligent. He is always very friendly. He said his mourning had prevented him from seeing us for a long time but it gave him great pleasure to welcome us again & ct. — I replied expressing our thanks — our pleasure at seeing him again in good health & ??? & ???. My interpreter stands at my left & translates. Each of us had his interpreter with him.

After a few questions ??? we took leave & were ushered into the presence of the Crown Prince, who like his father stood behind a small table flanked by two eunuchs, one on each side, who looked like old women. Same ceremonies here, but shorter.

Today it was pretty much the same thing, except that as my interpreter is scared to death in the royal presence & probably muddles what I say, I wrote out my speech of congratulations & had it put into Chinese — the official language. A copy lay on the table before the King while I was speaking & after I had got through the interpreter read from the paper in his hand the translation. This is the only way I could be sure he would know what I said.

Both the President of the Home Office and the Prest of the Foreign Office came to me afterwards & thanked me for doing this & complimented me on my speech, which was nothing but banalité.

Today we were summoned for 10 this morning. The Consuls at 11 & it was barely 11 when we were called to the King. So it was for s??? ???.

A bad thing about all these functions is the champaign you must drink with the various officials: & when the wait is long the quantity of tobacco you get through. I was in evening dress, white cravat & the others in uniform.

There was a great number of Corean officials & dignitaries about the Palace, come I suppose on the same errand as ourselves & the great Audience Hall was besieged. The King's chair was before us as we came out, all in white & supported on an elaborate frame work, to allow of the precense of 24 bearers, which is I believe the regulation number.

I am getting used to the speechifying but I don't like it. I have not the habit, I suppose. Russell wd get up & rattle off a harangue worth listening to, without giving himself the trouble of thinking abt it beforehand but I am not up to that. I had to make quite a speech the other day at Kondo's who gave a big dinner in honor of the birthday of the Emperor of Japan & I got through it pretty well. I proposed his health. As senior of the corps, all such work falls on me. We are just in a period of great excitement. These days are big with fate — the fate of Corea. On the death of the Queen Dowager the King sent an envoy to the Emperor of China to apprise him of the fact & now the return Embassy comes to bear the Emperor's condolences. Corea is tributary to China & though at the time of making the treaties she declared herself "indepe3ndent in all matters of national administration and foreign affairs," with China's knowledge & approval, & the Prest of the U.S. in his reply takes act of this & states that the U.S. wd only make a treaty with a sovereign power. China has regretted it betterly ever since & loses no oppy to humiliate Corea & reduce her to

“vassalage.” This is one of those occasions in which China exults. The Chinese Ambassador arrivd yesterday at Chemulpo with 2 ships of war & started from there for the capital at 4 this morning. While I write he is probably arrived at a pavillon ? ??? ???? a little outside the city walls. To carry out the full etiquette the King must go himself to this pavillon & receive this Ambassador with the same honors as he wd pay to the Emperor himself – down to the Kow tow & then conduct him into the city. And we are all agog to know what he will do. Will he go? Or won’t he? Of course we shall know long before this letter leaves.

Nov 10

There are 2 Chinese envoys, who bring a letter from the Emperor, an invocation or prayer on sacrificial paper which is burned, & a patent of increased nobility for the deceased lady.

A short distance outside the West gate at a corner made in the road leading to the ???? crossed at right angles by the broad road coming from the Peking path & running down to the South Gate are the Gov of the Province, & before him ??? a canopy was raised. The King went out to this canopy in the morning of the 8th & the Chinese procession came up from the ??? bearing each in it separate litter and chair the 3 offerings mentioned above. He stood at the angle & as they were borne by turning to the right he bowed his head slightly. After they had passed the curtains were drawn around him, the soldiers filed in & he reentered the city by the West Gate, not seeing or receiving the Chinese envoys who were behind. They made a circuit to enter by the great South Gate while the King went directly to the Palace to receive them. The three objects from Peking were placed on a table, laid East & West, and the King facing North, with an envoy on each side, prostrated himself before them – which is a very different thing from making the Kow tow to the envoys.

He goes to make them a visit of inquiry [??] & that finishes the ceremonies when they withdraw to the place they came from.

I was occupied all day with a question of etiquette concerning these men. The Chinese Minister calling them ambassadors sent the For. Rep. a circular saying they were too busy to receive calls which is a gross kind [???] of impertinence. We deny them the right to be called ambassadors.

If they are not, they ought to call on us. If they are, they should have sent their cards: as if they had said to pay or receive visits, it would have been all right. We finally sent in last night a politely worded letter to say we thanked him, but had no intention of calling. So we go!

Mamma sends love and kisses, Yours ever affly,

A.H.

[marginal note] Nov. 19 The delay of this str ??? me to send you a detailed statement in French of the ceremonies which is in good ??? ????; but certain parts the breakfast with the ???? especialoly is better in an En g version which I also send. I have had a great many ????d. from wh. I made my official statement. Show them to the family.

## 15.3 1891

19 February 1891 from Gus

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Seoul, 19 Febry 1891

Dear Amy,

The last mail brought me a very gushing letter of thanks from Mrs. Barnes, which I would send you but that I suppose she will have writtn you one like it as I told her I sent her the letters of introduction at your request. It was dated from the Government House L??? which may have been an additional reason for hurrying up her acknowledgement!

Our life runs on in the usual way & I do not know that I have anything very particular to tell you by this steamer. I dare say Max will write you of her performance at the last "Soci???" an entertainment got up under the control of the missionaries every month, & to me rather a nuisance than otherwise. On the last occasion Max was on the committee & they got up some tableaux vivants in which she figured conspicuously. Max provoked a good deal of criticism from one or two of the young ladies who would not be present at "such an indecent exhibition" but notwithstanding things went off with great success & the approbation of all who witnessed them. On this occasion Max was asked to take part & consented but would not give us any idea of what we were to see.

It turned out to be a dramatic reexamination of Longfellow's story of Miles Standish & Max was the maiden Priscilla, John Alden being taken by a young clergyman & the doughty captain by another parson. If I had known what it was to be, I should certainly have prohibited it. For though I can stand almost anything, I don't like mock marriage & when I saw Max kneeling by the side of this young parson & another standing over them with his blessing, I could hardly keep from swearing loud.

The whole clerical community joined in it. It was a? t??? but favorite theatricals badly done, winding up with a mock marriage. The entire troupe, with two or three exceptions, being of people who were shocked at the sound of billiards or a game of whist. I bide my time & some day I shall tell them what I think of this making a jest of one of the "holiest sacraments of the church"

These intensely religious people are very funny to my mind. They stra?? after their neighbors ???? but ??? s???? the most prodigious ???? of their own! It all depends on whose bull it is.

We have been getting up a sort of country club — lawn tennis and reading room — & the community is so small it has been necessary to mix the religious and the scandalous elements, as oil and water. I don't know whether it will be possible to make it go, but ground has been bot. for almost \$1500 to which all hands have subscribed & we now must get some \$3000 or more for a building. This wd not have been very difficult but for some narrow mindedness manifested in committee which has alienated some of the best men, and now I fear. However these last theatricals give me a little hope.

You will wonder why I should have written you all this yarn and it will give you the measure

of the magnitude of our social interest: but it will perhaps throw light on Max's letter. We are expecting a mail next Monday the 23, & then I shall have something from you to answer perhaps. Meanwhile I have scratched this off while waiting for your mother to undress & give me a chance to go to bed.

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23 February 1891 from Gus

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Feb 23

Dear Amy

I received last night your letter of 6-15 Jany & hurry off a line in acknowledgement. "Nous sommes bien éprouvés, allez." I had not expected to hear of this kind [??] complication of disease for you & we are quite overwhelmed by it. It is so far satisfactory however that your last ad???? ?? of decided improvement & by the time this reaches you we trust that it may only be recollected as a bad dream.

I suppose there can be no doubt that your long weakness & illness have been due to your bearing of children, & if it be so think how wonderfully the doctrine of compensation is borne out here. The pains you have suffered are as nothing with the pleasure they have given you. You would be willing to indulge ten times as much rather than have lost, or lose them.

Addie tells me of John's being ordered off and I wish I knew a little more about it. I haven't heard from him direct for nearly 6 months – no 5 – but that is long enough.

I am doyen of the corps as the minister highest in rank, not ????

I wrote out the first copy of those reports because I got together the material & handed it over to Allen.

Thank Russell for his note abt. etiquette of withdrawal.

It is a beautiful bright warm day & Max has gone to escort with a number of others Mrs. Hillier the wife of the Eng. Consul General, who goes home by this mail, half way to Chemulpo. Max never loses the oppy. to go for a ride. She is in high health. Your mother & I are well.

It makes us sad to read of your weakness and it makes us wish, oh how we wish! you were here to do nothing & think of nothing but be pitied for three months. Kiss the dear children for us. ??? ? ??? ???

Yours ever  
A.H.

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27 March 1891 from Gus

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Seoul, Mch 27, 1891

Dear Amy

I have before me yours of Feby 6 full of delightful details of your two boys. I recognize something of myself in my namesake,<sup>14</sup> in his imaginative ways. I could always amuse myself with my fancies, & he seems to have the same facility. Altogether your letter was one of the most satisfactory [of] any I have received since our exile. You are all better in health and brighter in spirit, then you have been for a long while.

I can understand your feeling about the Barnes! I had something of it my self. I have just written her in Hong Kong, where I suppose they will soon be arriving, to put them off from coming here. In this way. von Brandt whom you may recollect as minister for Germany in Japan is now doyen at Peking & he invited us to go over for a visit. This I am disposed to do. This will give us a break in this monotonous life for your mother & Max, & the latter is crazy to see Peking. I shall not be sorry myself to do so, but if it were not for them I would not incur the expense.

So I propose to go over early in May to be gone 6 weeks or two months. En outre in short 10 days I shall begin the task of repairs which I am authorized to make, & which will then be out of my hands for the better part of the summer. I have taken a house just vacated by a missionary family gone home, & I shall soon move in. Max has gone over ??? with the ????. to see if the house has been cleaned. I have ??? written Mrs B that I shall be charmed to receive her if she decides to visit Corea, but I cannot entertain her so pleasantly as I might be able to do in my own house.

Max will tell you of her trials in getting her mother's dresses altered to suit the changing conditions of her figure; & I leave to her the task of convincing you that she has grown stouter. She is however, very well, & à l'exception of occasional rheumatic pains is in as perfect health as mortals often enjoy. There are one Chinese tailor – à d???? – & 2 Corean women seamstresses hard at work on their summer clothes.

Spring is fairly upon us now, & I suppose we shall have no more cold weather. The sun is shining, & the air is balmy & warm.

I must cut you short this morning. I have written a good deal. Among these letters one for Addie which please send & forward, as I do not know where to address it. The messenger is waiting for me to finish. We send our letters by special courier to Chemulpo, ?? ????? 27 miles off, as sometimes "they say" dispatches are opened in the Japanese P.O. here.

Give our love to Russell & many kisses to the youthful ????? ????? [ink smudges]

Ever yours affly

A.H.

Please tell my mother that I ????? to put in the note & stamps for F??d, but it is too late now. They will go by next mail.

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<sup>14</sup>Amy's second son was Augustine Heard Gray (1888-1985).

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6 April 1891 from Hélène

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U.S. Legation Söul Korea le 6 avril

No 8

Chère Amy, un petit mot seulement pour te dire que nous ne t'oublions pas bien que nous soyons plus qu'occupés. Nous sommes en plein déménagement, avec des ouvriers partout. Nous faisons en même temps des préparatifs pour un petit voyage à Peking. chez M. von Brandt, partant d'ici à la mi mai. Il est inutile d'ajouter que j'en suis enchantée – Maman aussi tandis que Papa est plus calme dans ses sentiments. Mais je crois que le changement lui fera du bien. Il a encore été un peu hors de son assiette depuis quelques temps. Nous avons été volé l'autre jour. Les deux petit boites en argent de Maman, ainsi que sa petite pendule, sa cuillère en argent et la bourse de Papa. Nous ne savons pas qui les a emportée mais nous soupçonnons un de nos coolies. C'est ennuyant pour dire le moins. Il n'y a rien de nouveau autrement. Papa va à Chemulpo<sup>15</sup> mercredi pour assister à une séance du conseil municipal. Mes chevaux sont malades, le temps est beau mais froid pour cette saison, la communauté s'amointrie de plus en plus, mais les jours se passent également et sans trop trainer.

Pas de lettre de toi ni d'Addie<sup>16</sup> par le dernier courrier mais nous espérons que vous allez tous bien. Augustine est radieux et j'ai eu une assez gentille lettre de notre nouvelle belle-soeur aussi que Papa. Qu'ils sont heureux!

Comment trouves tu les livres de Kipling? Je m'imagine qu'il ne te plaisent pas. Moi au contraire les trouve intéressants et souvent amusants.

Maman t'embrasse ainsi que les mioches. Je me joins à la partie avec amitiés pour Russell.

A toi

Hélène

As tu des nouvelles des West?

Je viens de trouver la dernière lettre<sup>(No3)22Janvier</sup> dans mon portefeuille. Où est Mlle Woodville?<sup>17</sup> Comment va-t-elle? Que veut tu dire qu'elle est "archi-finie." Donnes lui bien des baisers de ma part en lui écrivant. Il est possible que je lui écrire un de ces jours – for the sake of "auld lang syne" – Mes petits neveux Gray<sup>18</sup> doivent être gentils en effet. Tout le monde m'écrit qu'Augustine est si joli. Où est-ce que Lolita demeure? Que dit-elle de sa vie etc? Mes amitiés pour elle quand tu lui écriras.

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<sup>15</sup>A port West of Seoul and close to China, also called Inchon.

<sup>16</sup>Addie (Adeline) Heard, wife of AH's brother John

<sup>17</sup>Miss Elizabeth (Bessie) Woodville of Baltimore and the Châlet Haltura in Biarritz. Perhaps Max recalls time together in Biarritz when the Heards visited in 1877,

<sup>18</sup>Augustine Heard Gray and Horace Gray, sons of Russell Gray and Amy Heard Gray

U.S. Legation Seoul Korea 6 April

No. 8

Dear Amy, a quick word just to tell you that we have not forgotten you even though we are more than occupied. We are in the middle of moving, with workers everywhere. At the same time we are making preparations for a small voyage to Peking, to Mr. von Brandt's house, leaving here in mid May. It would be useless to add that I am enchanted. Maman as well whereas Papa is calmer in his sentiments. But I believe the change will do him good. He has still been somewhat out of sorts for some time. We were robbed the other day. Two of Maman's small silver boxes, as well as her small clock, her silver spoon, and Papa's coin purse. We don't know who took them but we suspect one of our coolies. At the very least it is really annoying. Other than that there is nothing new to say. Papa is going to Chemulpo Wednesday to assist with a meeting of the municipal council. My horses are sick, the weather is nice but cold for the season, the community is shrinking more and more, but the days pass similarly and don't drag.

No letter from you or from Addie by the last mail but we hope that you are well. Augustine is radiant and I had a kind letter from your new sister-in-law as well as Papa. How happy they are!

How are you finding Kipling's books? I suppose that they do not please you. On the contrary, I find them interesting and often amusing.

Maman hugs you as well as the little ones. I include myself with good wishes for Russell.

A toi

Hélène

Have you had news of the Wests?

I just found your last letter<sup>(No3)22.January</sup> in my wallet. Where is Miss Woodville? How is she doing? What do you mean by saying she is "archi-finie"? Give her many kisses from me when you write her. It is possible that I will write her one of these days – for the sake of "auld lang syne" – My little Gray nephews should really be quite nice. Everyone writes me that Augustine is so cute. Where is Lolita living? What does she say about her life etc? My best wishes for her when you write her.

23 May 1891 from Hélène <sup>19</sup>

German Legation Peking May 23rd

No 9

Dear Amy, there is so much to write about that I hardly know how or where to begin, in English it must be at any rate as I shall ask you to share this letter with Addie, to whom I have already written the beginning of our trip, asking her to let you see it. So I take it for granted that you have & can now follow us to the Ming tombs & Great Wall. We left very early Friday morning (a

<sup>19</sup>My transcription was greatly enhanced by Hartmut Walravens, who both recognized words I did not and helped me learn new English words.

week ago yesterday). Papa & Mama in mule litters, Mr. Cheshire & myself on horseback, followed by my litter, his cart, & maybe 2 boys, mule drivers, etc. quite a little cavalcade. It was cool but disagreeably windy & we were much annoyed by the dust, which grew worse & worse as the wind rose, until finally it became frightful beyond description & we found ourselves in the midst of a dust storm. A meaningless term until you have experienced such a thing for it defies all description. Having had our experience, you never want another. I bore it for two or three hours, then nearly blind & almost unable to sit my pony I climbed into my litter & covering myself up with three blankets & a shawl, for it had grown bitterly cold, I coiled myself up & resigned myself to being slowly buried up alive for the dust poured in through every crack & crevice & the little mosquito curtained windows. However the day passed uneventfully, otherwise & we reached the temple safely about quarter to six, thankful to find everything comfortable & in readiness for us. Mr. Von Brandt had sent his servant the day before with beds, & every conceivable thing we could need from a bath tub to a champagne glass. We tried to get clean ...! then we fully realized in what condition we were in. To give you a slight idea how penetrating the dust is – I found my watch which has a double case, as you know & which I wore in my belt & under my jacket, was stopped & has never gone since. As for my hair I was over an hour trying to comb it out & only yesterday was I able to wash it & make it tolerable, tho' for the rest of our journey I kept it tied up in a hand. But I am glad to say that the following days were bright, cool & pleasant, with as little dust as it is possible to have in this part of the country. We left the temple at 8 in the morning for the tombs which we reached a little after 10. Guide book descriptions I cannot give. It seemed to me that the conception was perhaps finer than the execution tho' anything so old, majestic & in some parts exquisite workmanship cannot help impressing one.

We tiffined<sup>20</sup> under the trees after going over the principal tomb – the Emp. Gury-lo's then started for Nankow which we reached at about four o'clock. We found everything as comfortable in a nice Chinese inn as we had the day before at the temple & after an early dinner slept the sleep of the tired till 5 the next morning, when we started for the Great Wall. A new & really beautiful road runs all the way through the Nan-kow pass to Pataling where we stopped, & from there as far as you can see on its way to Mongolia. The pass is narrow & rugged, & not very green but exceedingly picturesque & interesting for there is a never ending line of beasts of burden – both human & inhuman – tho' perhaps the latter name is more appropriate to the latter animal. Camels are shabby, shedding their winter fur, & trudging slowly oh so slowly – with their bags of coal or brick tea. Donkeys, mules, carts all coming & going, crossing & recrossing. Here & there a sillage to change the scene & now & then a beautiful old carved stone gateway. We spent two hours resting & eating our tiffin as well as enjoying the splendid views from the top of the Wall – which as you know is all 35 ft high & 12 or 16 broad with here & there a bastion or tower 20 ft square. It runs up & down & in out, over hill & dale & you wonder how the stupendous work was ever accomplished. especially when you think that what you see is but a very small part of its length – over three thousand miles! The Chinese believe that the mortar taken internally in small doses cures small ailments like stomach ache: so I brought a scrap home, perfectly white & almost as hard as stone. We returned to Nan-kow that evening & left the next morning at five for Peking and were very glad to be again welcomed by our host at four o'clock. For in spite of everything it is

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<sup>20</sup>had a snack or light meal

tiring & the dust spoils much of the enjoyment of going about. As I said before it defies description & to tell you that you always come home after a walk of 0 m. with a filthy face, & see everything through a haze - & sometimes not at all, gives you no idea of it. Yet most people like Peking & get used to the peculiarities.

Thursday Mr. von B. gave us a large dinner, & tonight we dine with Mr. Cheshire & go to a moonlight garden party at Sir Robert Hart's<sup>21</sup>. Monday is the celebration of the Queen's<sup>22</sup> birthday at the Brit. Leg. to which of course we shall go & needless to say I am looking forward to the dance. Visits, occasional garden "at homes" fill the time, but we rarely go outside this compound which is so pleasant. But there are things I had to & wanted to see so Mr Cheshire kindly took me yesterday - between 5.30 & 9.30 A.M. It was cooler & less dusty so it was pleasant. We first rode to the Lama monument outside the city & beautiful it is; then to the Confucian temple but we were not allowed to enter. At the examination pounds the gates were shut in our faces but at the observatory we were more fortunate. The most superb bronzes I ever saw & the workmanship wonderful such as cannot be made nowadays. They (the instruments) are exposed to wind & weather at a height of 40 odd feet, & have been for 500 yrs & are in perfect condition. One must come to China to get even a faint idea of the patience, ingenuity & cleverness of the race. Everywhere, in the commonest poorest little village you will come across something beautiful or wonderful & nothing under one or two hundred years old. Of our host I can say nothing more than in my last except that his kindness increases & he spoils me utterly. Were he ten years younger I should have lost my heart to him long ago & even now I am not sure that a good part of it has not gone. He overwhelms me with presents to the point that I am embarrassed & don't know what to do. I have not been able to impress the fact sufficiently on Mamma & Papa until today till I put everything together & we all stood aghast. I think Papa will in future help me in remonstrating. Not that I don't like it!! but that it is too much. We shall have been here two weeks tomorrow (excluding four days for one trip) & beginning with the evening of our arrival he has not missed one day. I think! A carved ivory scent box, 2 fans, silver gilt & enamel nail protectors, a blue silk robe with gold butterflies, another darker one, several pieces of embroidery about six lbs of delicious orris root<sup>23</sup> - because he noticed it on my hand one day.- & today a piece of pale pale yellow crape embroidered with bunches of blue flowers - lovely it is - & 19 yds in length! besides a piece of woven material. And besides all this I believe he is collecting an entire Chinese dress for me. He has eyes all round his head & sees everything I do & almost what I think sometimes. He takes me to task when he doesn't like a thing & calls himself my uncle from America! Do you wonder that I am spoiled? We were going on Wednesday but he was so urgent & talked of nothing else for two days that Papa finally gave in & we are to remain a fortnight longer whereupon he slaps Papa on the knee "Ah! I am so glad" & turning to me all smiles "& I shall continue to spoil my niece." This was two days ago & I must say he remains true to his word.

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<sup>21</sup>Sir Robert Hart was the Customs chief of China. As such he played a key role in the story of the Empress Tzu Hsi, the last empress of China, the subject of the *Dragon Lady*, by Sterling Seagrave. [124], and *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China*, by Jung Chang [35]

<sup>22</sup>Victoria

<sup>23</sup>From the Oxford Dictionary of English: a preparation of the fragrant rootstock of an iris, used in perfumery and formerly in medicine.

I am investing in a few things & remembering friends at home, in other words ??? my chance for I am not likely to have such another.

I have covered six pages already & with really but a few facts – details I dare not attempt for it would lead me on I dont know where. The luxury of everything around us, & new surroundings all together make an impression a little of which I should like to give you. But pen & paper are hardly sufficient, especially under the hand of so unsteady a writer as I. Imagine large high rooms full of lovely things, any amount of good things to eat & drink, three there to wait on four people, always a boy in the hall to open & shut any door you wish, pretty green trees & finest blinds or screens to keep the sun out & flowers everywhere (the only place in Peking where there are so many as it is very hard to make these grow) & you may vaguely imagine our surroundings.

Russell's letter of March 20th reached me here a few days ago, no one knows how for it is the only American letter we have had – & I am glad to see by it that I have not overdrawn my account as I had feared. Please thank him for me. What do you do this summer? Does Mrs Gray <sup>24</sup> take you as before? We have had no news for so long that tho' we think of you all we no longer know how to think of you. And now I must put off the rest to my next letter & wish you all the same luck I am having. Kisses to the babies – all the babies as well as to the parents.

Lovingly  
H.M.H.

31 July 1891 from Hélène

11

Söul  
Le 31 juillet/91

Une toute petite lettre doit suffire pour te remercier de la tienne du 26 mai en même temps que pour plusieurs journaux qui son toujours bienvenus. Ils aident à passer une soirée agreablement car en ce moment nous n'avons gueure d'autre distractions. Papa est toujours souffrant pas sèriuesement mais assez pour avoir besoin de grands soins et pour nous garder sur le qui vive. Maman est remise mais se plaint de temps en temps sans suite sèrieuses.

<sup>24</sup>Mrs Horace Gray was the former Sarah Russell Gardner and the mother of Russell Gray. Horace Gray (1800-1873) was a merchant who gained fame as a founder of the Boston Public Garden, for which he purchased \$1,500 worth of tulips. Legend has it that he went bankrupt in the Boston waterworks scandal. His children with Sarah included Russell Gray and John Chipman Gray, the lawyer and Harvard professor and cofounder of Ropes and Gray, a still thriving law firm. His children by his first wife, Harriet Upham (1801-1834) included Justice Horace Gray, Elizabeth Chipman Gray (born in Florence Italy in 1830), and Harriet (born in Rome, Italy, in 1832).

Il n'y a presque plus personne ici, tout le monde pouvant s'esquiver étant allé à "chefoo" ou ailleurs. Nous sommes encore dans les pluies et le temps est "trying" bien que moins chaud que l'année dernière. Qui regrette plus que nous que nous ne puissions pas voir les petites mioches? d'autant plus que nous savons qu'ils ne sont jamais plus si gentils. Mais nous ne devons pas nous plaindre. La lettre de Lolita m'a amusé en effet. Elle a l'air d'être heureuse. Quel bonheur ce doit être pour Mme Farnum d'avoir regagné sa vue. Pour Edith aussi cela doit être un grand soulagement.

En vérité les mariages continuent. J'ai compté 16 de mes connaissances qui se sont mariées depuis mon départ. À ce train là je les retrouverai toutes grand-mères.

Un petit mot de Mme Housse m'a appris son départ dont elle ne parlait pas avec enthousiasme ni plaisir. D'Addie je n'ai aucune nouvelles depuis deux mois, mais j'espère toujours que le prochain courrier m'apport un petit mot. Et Peking? tu demandes. Tu doit en savoir déjà trop car il me semble que j'ai tout écrit et longuement.

La Légation avance à petit pas mais nous croyons pouvoir y entrer vers le commencement de sept. Cette maison ci est très humide et le docteur nous conseille d'en sortir le plus tôt possible, ordonnance que nous ne serons trop contents de suivre. Il n'y a absolument aucun sujet à traiter. Nous ne voyons presque personne et les journées se passent très tranquillement. En Chine au contraire on est encore inquiet et non sans raison. Enfin mille baisers pour toi et les mioches — amitiés au tiens.

Hélène

11

Seoul

31 July/91

A short note should suffice to thank you for yours of 26 May and at the same time for the several newspapers which are always welcome. They help pass an evening very agreeably since at the moment we have scarcely any other distractions. Papa is still suffering enough to require significant care and efforts to keep his spirits up even if it is not serious. Mama is recovered but complains from time to time without serious consequence.

There is hardly anyone here, everyone who is able to escape discretely has left for "Chefoo" or elsewhere. We are already in the rains and the weather is trying even if it is less hot than last year. Who regrets more than us that we cannot see the little ones? especially knowing that they will never be more sweet. But we should not complain. Lolita's letter was very amusing. She has the air of being happy. What happiness it must be for Miss Farnum to have regained her sight. For Edith also that must be a great relief.

It's true that the marriages continue. I counted 16 of my acquaintances who have married since my departure. At this rate I will meet them again as grandmothers.

A comment from Mrs Housse informed me of her departure, of which she talks with neither enthusiasm nor pleasure. I have had no news from Addie for two months, but I hope still that the next mail will bring me a few words. And Peking? you ask. You should already know too much about it as it seems to me I have written at length about everything.

The Legation advances slowly but we believe we will be able to move in at the beginning of Sept. This house is very humid and the doctor advises us to leave it as soon as possible, a prescription which we will be only too content to follow. There is absolutely nothing to talk about. We see almost no one and the days pass very tranquilly. In China, to the contrary, one is already worried and not without reason. Finally a thousand kisses for you and the little ones – love to yours.

Hélène

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30 August 1891 from Gus

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Seoul, Aug 30 1891

Dear Amy,

I have yours of July 9 about young John's admission to Harvard, & I have also received a letter from my brother explaining how the mistake occurred. It seems he was admitted with 2 conditions which is very good & I am very glad to hear it.

I have just come back from Chefoo, after a week's absence which has done me a great deal of good, but it will take me a little time to get back my strength. I was afraid I had given myself a setback by an effort to get up to Seoul in a hurry after my arrival. I got in on the 28 th. The 29th was the King's birthday – the 40th which in Corian ideas is the most important of all, & it was expected that he wd. receive the congratulations of the For. ministers. I got a note from Allen to say the King had sent to inquire if I wd. be there & he had assured him I would be, but he did not know the hour of the audience. I left Chemulpo as soon as I could, but not in time to get into the city gates before they close at sundown, so I had to spend the night at a ??? inn at ??? the halfway station where owing to ??? & coolies ??? & I got very little sleep. The day was very hot. I got up before 4. I got away from there at 20 min before 5. Arriving at Seoul a little after 8 to find 8 named as the hour of the audience. However punctuality is not a virtue of the Koreans. So I got something to eat as soon as I could, dressed, & started for the Palace. As I approached I met the other ministers coming away, the audience having already taken place.

Last New Year's day they kept us waiting a long time & I made a great row about it. So this time they were punctual!

I pushed on and it was all for the best. HM received me at once, keeping others – the English Consul & c waiting & I had a long interview with him alone, which was very satisfactory. The sun was fearful. I excused myself from the big dinner at the Foreign Office, & kept quiet the rest of the day. I was very used up when evening came however, & got to bed early.

I am happy to say however I feel all right today. So all is for me best in the best possible of worlds.

You ask me about Max. I really don't know what to think or to say. Von Brandt took a great fancy to her & heaped presents of all kinds upon her, so much so tha I remonstrated with him.

But he said: Oh don't say anything as it gives me great pleasure & I look on her as one of my own nieces. He took her about in every way as no doubt she has written you.

He used to go out with her in the early morning to see sights & a thing which Max said in Peking he never would do for any body. And since we came back every steamer brings her reams of letters, books, etc.; the last one brought her 3 boxes. Books, a ??? of beautiful embroidered damask, photographs, & a letter about the length of a Sunday NY World! She writes him in the same way.

Of course all this is between you & me. You must not let her know I have written you this.

Von Brandt is a fine fellow and I like him very much, but then he is a contemporary almost of mine. I think he is 56. A handsome man, but looks his age, white hair & beard. They call hem "le Père Eternel!" He is ????, & the Doyen at Peking.

En fin, nous verrons! <sup>25</sup> —

Yours ever

A.H.

22 September 1891 from Hélène

No. 14

Légation des États Unis

Séoul

le 22 sept

Chère Amy;

J'ai reçu ta bonne lettre du 4 août (No 8) comme je me promenais avec Mme Low,<sup>26</sup> il y a quelques jours, et tout en marchant je lisais avec beaucoup d'intérêt les prouesses de mon petit neveu ou plutôt mon grand neveu, Quel polisson! Mais il me semble que le petit doit-être le plus — comment je dirais-je cela — "taking"? Il m'a toujours rappelé "Miles" dans *Misunderstood*.<sup>27</sup> Dupuis lors les journées se sont écoulées si vites que je ne me suis guère aperçu de la suite du temps et maintenant au dernier moment — comme d'habitude du reste — je griffonne quelques lignes à le hâte. M. et Mme Low ne sont restés que trois jours malheureusement mais leur visite n'en était peut-être que plus agréable pour nous — ou pour moi — car j'en ai jouis avidement. Mme Low — la soeur de Mme Lyndall Winthrop — est très aimable et je ne puis guère te dire comme c'était bon de pouvoir causer à son aise de gens et de choses de "home". La première fois depuis que nous

<sup>25</sup>Finally, we shall see!

<sup>26</sup>Possibly related to Frederick K. Low, who was the U.S. Minister to Peking (1869-74)

<sup>27</sup>Miles was a character in the 1869 book *Misunderstood* by Florence Montgomery (1843-1923), an English author known both for children's books and for books for adults written about children, of which *Misunderstood* an example. The book focuses on two children of a harsh widower: the elder healthy, active, and bold Humphrey and the younger sickly, passive, and mild Miles.

avons quitté N.Y. De suite après leur départ M. Bacon, de N.Y., et son jeune fils sont arrivés. Ils resteront encore quelques jours attendant le bateau pour la Chine. Ils font le tour du monde et sont maintenant à Péking! –

A propos de Péking. Tu dis dans ta dernière lettre à Papa en parlant des cadeaux que M. Von Brandt m'a fait et dont j'ai parlé très discrètement à Mme Rob. Winthrop – "Still she showed no surprise or approval?" Que veux-tu dire? J'étais désolée au commencement je ne voulais pas de ses cadeaux mais le plus je m'y opposais le plus il m'en donnait – alors j'ai demandé à Papa et à Maman d'intervenir. Ni l'un ni l'autre n'ont rien dit. À plusieurs reprises l'ai-je fait et j'ai dit à Papa "You really must stop it," mais sans plus de résultat. Alors, je me suis résigné sans trop de mauvaise grâce comme tu peux croire. Moi aussi, j'ai souvent désiré que tu connaisses M. Von Brandt. Il est si bon! et charmant. Je viens d'écrire une longue description de notre enlèvement, de ma chambre etc., à Addie, qui te laissera probablement lire sa lettre car tu comprends naturellement que ce que j'ai dit dans ma dernière n'a aucune allusion aux lettres entre nous deux.

Je suis tout à fait enrhumé, ce qui veut dire bonne à rien. Papa va un peu mieux mais il est tout de même un peu découragé. Nous espérons toujours faire notre tour sur le vaisseau de guerre mais malheureusement les Chinois s'y opposent. Encore hier nous avons eu de mauvaises nouvelles. Maman va comme d'habitude. Elle tripote du matin jusqu'au soir à arranger l'une main ce qu'elle dérange de l'autre, et a perdu ses clefs. Elle vient me dire que ma chambre est un palais et que je suis tout à fait gâtée. Mais cela m'amuse! Mon cheval est très bon et maintenant que les temps se remettent j'espère lui donner pas mal à faire.

Merci des journaux ainsi que de ta lettre.

Amitiés à Russell. Mille baisers aux mioches sans t'oublier.

à toi

Hélène

No. 14

United States Legation

Seoul

22 Sept.

Dear Amy;

I received your good letter of 4 August (No. 8) while I was walking with Mrs Low, several days ago, and while walking I read with much interest about the prowess of my little nephew or rather my big nephew, what a rascal! But it seems to me that the younger must be the, how should I say it, the most taking? He has always reminded me of "Miles" in exitit Misunderstood. From that moment the days have flowed so fast that I scarcely perceived the passing of time and now at the last moment – as usual – I scratch a few lines in haste. Mr and Mrs Low only stayed 3 days, unhappily because their visit could not have been more agreeable for us – or for me – because I took great pleasure in it. Mme Low – Mrs Lyndall Wintrop's sister – is very friendly and I can

scarcely tell you how good it is to be able to chat at ease with people about the things of “home.” The first time since we left N.Y. Right after their departure, Mr. Bacon, of N.Y., and his son arrived. They stayed several days more waiting for the boat for China. They are making a tour of the world and they are now in Peking! –

A propos Peking. You say in your last letter to Papa when talking about the gifts that M. von Brandt gave me and which I discussed very discreetly with Miss Rob. Winthrop – “Still she showed no surprise or approval?” What did you mean? I was desolate at the beginning I did not want his gifts but the more I opposed them the more he gave me – then I demanded Papa and Maman to intervene. Neither one nor the other said anything. Several times I tried – and I told Papa “You really must stop it,” but without any more result. Well, I am resigned without too much bad feeling as you can believe. Me, also, I have often wanted you to know M. von Brandt. He is so good! and charming. I just wrote a long description of our household, of my bedroom etc. to Addie, who will probably let you read her letter because you naturally understand that what I said in my last letter makes no allusion to letters between us two.

I have the flu, which means I am good for nothing. Papa is a little better but even so he is a little discouraged. We still hope to take our tour on the warship but unhappily the Chinese oppose it. Again yesterday we had bad news. Maman gets along as usual. She fidgets from morning to night organizing with one hand what she disorganizes with the other, and she has lost her keys. She just told me that my bedroom is a palace and that I am completely spoiled. How amusing! My horse is very good and now that the weather is improving I hope to give him more to do.

Thanks for the newspapers as much as for your letter.

Love to Russell. A thousand kisses to the little ones without forgetting you.

à toi

Hélène

20 October 1891 from Gus

Seoul. Oct 20 1891

Dear Amy,

I have nothing from you unanswered, but I have a note from Russell enclosing one from ????? [looks like “Whenton”], which please thank him for. I wrote you something last mail about my projected trip. The “Alliance”<sup>28</sup> arrd. yesterday at Chemulpo almost 1800 tons & we shall be off in a day or two.

I sent word to the King that as minister I wished to make myself familiar with the country. It was very easy for me to do this by means of ordinary ?????? steamers, but I wished to make the occasion complimentary to him as well as useful to myself, & I had consequently requested the

<sup>28</sup>the USS *Alliance* provided the the Heards’ tour of coastal Korea.

Govt. to give me a man of war for the purpose. The troubles in China have delayed this somewhat. I enclose a memo received a day or two ago by a high officer from the Palace, which looks as if they appreciated the circumstance. — I had inquired into the rank of the men I should meet, so that I might pay them proper honor.

I am much better. I dare say this cruise will make me all right. Your mother & Max are perfectly well. I want them to stay here as it is too late for a pleasure trip, but they ???it “as any ale”.— [??]

The mem. was not received from the Palace but was written down from the ??? of the officer sent to communicate it.

Remember me to Mrs Gray & Bessie. Russell ???? <sup>29</sup>

Yrs A.H.

**At Fusan & Gensan** The Chief Officer is the Kamli or Commissioner of Trade. He is of the order Singee nominally cuamjan or 2nd rank, but practically a cuamwee as 3rd rank. He ranks with a Consul General. And will make the first call on Mr. Heard.

**At Ping An** The governor resides in the city. He is nominally of the Pansa or first rank, but in this capacity has the actual rank of Chamfan or 2nd class. and ranks with an Ambassador – above a plenipotentiary. Mr Heard will make the first call, after receiving the governors card, brought by his secretary.

After calling on the governor the minister and party will be shown the objects of interest in the city, under an escort of officers & soldiers. The next day the governor will visit the ship and call on the minister.

He can on no account go more than 30 li (10 miles) from his official residence without special royal permission, in this case the King has issued special instructions to him to do as above.

The anchorage called Chul Toh is something more than 30 li from Ping An, owing to draft of ship.

At Fusan and Gensan the Kamlis will provide a repast in foreign style, but at Ping An, it will be impossible from the lack of help and appliances, as the food in the country is very poor and not suited to the foreigner. The governor of Ping An will content himself by sending to the ship a present of chickens, pigs, eggs and other things of like nature.

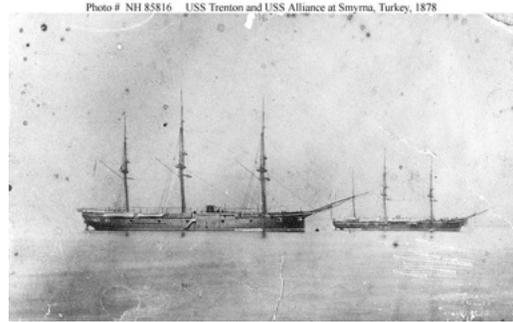
These are His Majesty’s Instructions.

Oct 17/91

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<sup>29</sup>Here Mrs Gray is Russell’s mother, Mrs. Horace Gray, and Bessie is Russell’s half sister, Elizabeth Chipman Gray and not Bessie Woodville of Baltimore and Biarritz.

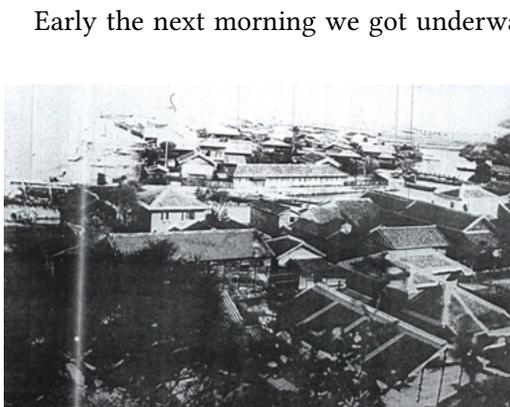
**Notes:** The Heard family took the tour off the coast of Korea and the Korean port cities of Wonsan, Fusan, and Pyongyang from 24 October to 24 November, 1891. Both father and daughter left descriptions of the tour from their separate viewpoints. The trip is described in Heard's report to James G. Blaine, the secretary of state, No. 237 US Diplomatic Dispatches. Heard took photographs during the voyage, two of which are now included here – having been provided to me by Mr. Robert Neff. A descriptions of the tour and many photographs are provided in Commodore Stevenson's Journals and letters [129] and some context for the tour is given by Horace N. Allen in his chronological index of events involving foreign intercourse in Korea [7]



**The USS Trenton and the  
USS Alliance of Smyrna in 1878**

The trip was made aboard the *USS Alliance*, commanded by Capt. McCurley. The ship is shown in an 1878 photo of Smyrna (provided by Robert Neff).

The voyage began with a trip to Wonsan. The following excerpts from Heard's report (transcribed by Robert Neff) describe the visit from Augustine Heard's perspective.



**Right view of Wonsan in 1891**

Early the next morning we got underway for Wonsan (Japanese Gensan, Chinese Yuensan) the most northerly point of my destination, and greatly favored by the weather, we made the high land of the entrance about 7 am. On the 28th. Wonsan is in lat. 39.15N. long. 127.16E, 784 miles from Chemulpo. The harbor is well marked and of easy access. We came to anchor at half past one in a small but pretty bay, completely sheltered on three sides by moderately high hills. It is open to the north as far as Port Lazareff, about 10 miles distant, but I was told that no accident had ever taken place here. spring tides rise and fall 2 feet; the winter is cold, snow falling to the depth of 2 or 3 feet. Stretching for a mile along the Southern end of the bay is the native town, consisting of about 2,000 poor and dirty houses with perhaps 10,000 inhabitants; and, following northward along the western shore about a mile one reaches the Japanese settlement, containing about 640 inhabitants, the custom house, the landing jetty and all the business establishments of the place. The consul has a fine large house in the center almost in juxtaposition, a little to the north, is the Chinese concession with 45 inhabitants. A narrow strip between the two contains the houses of the two or three custom officers, and leads up to the Foreign Cemetery on the hill. The agent of a Russian line of steamers also has his house here. The custom house and the buildings in its immediate vicinity stand on ground a little higher than the rest, which ground, however, is very limited and entirely covered

with houses. The settlement extends from a point north of the mole Southward about 2,000 feet along the sea and up to the foot of low hills. The streets are laid in shell, raised a foot or two and they are very neatly kept. It is only partially built ???, and as it is liable in extraordinary floods of the Gifford River to be overflowed in places, it is customary when building to raise the foundation of the houses about two feet.

To the Southward of this ??? is a level plain, which affords the only space on the sea fit for a foreign settlement, and in almost in every particular it is admirably adapted for it. It is near the native town where most of the sales are made and the high road from Seoul to Vladivostock passes at its back. Running a line of soundings from the ship I found one carried three fathoms to within 50 feet of the shore, when it suddenly shallowed giving excellent opportunity for piers, jetties etc. Unfortunately however, the ground is low and would require to be raised somewhat. A pier and godown might be placed here and residences on the hills behind. There is a beautiful, semi-circular amphitheater, back of the southwest corner of the Japanese concession, and suitable sites may be found along the top of the low hills overlooking the plain. This level ground lines up from the sea, forming the valley of the Giffard River, a small stream and on the other side, perhaps a third or a half of a mile across, there is another ??? of hills, the slopes of which offer very desirable situation for residences.

To locate the Foreign Settlement nearer the native town would put foreign merchants at a disadvantage as regards Custom House and Shipping facilities. Nearly all the business is in the hands of the Japanese and Chinese - all indeed at this moment - and it is not likely that they would consent, nor would it be right to expect them to do so, to the removal of the custom house from its present situations. The annexed plan or chart, and photographs, will serve to elucidate the above description.

The port was opened in 1880, and the value of its trade gradually increased till in 1890, in spite of serious drawbacks of cholera and floods, somewhat effecting the harvest, it amounted to \$1,645,617 net, i.e. Foreign and native imports less reexports, and native exports ??? \$1,491,135 in 1889, and 1,334,120 in 1888, but it can hardly be expected to remain at this level, as to continue to increase, if Ping Ynag be made an open port as a large portion of the imports of foreign goods is intended for distribution in that neighborhood. Wonsan from its proximity to the gold fields has always had a prominent share in the handling of that metal. The official figures of export have been:

| 1887      | 1888      | 1889      | 1890      |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| \$599,160 | \$676,228 | \$549,496 | \$557,884 |

and probably a larger amount has found its way out of the country undeclared

The Superintendent of Trade, Mr. Kim Moon Jay, who lives in the native town, called upon me before I left the ship and offered me the usual civilities. He is a resident of Seoul and has been in charge here only about twelve months. Most of my inquiries were answered by his secretary, Mr. Shin Hwang Moa, who has occupied that post for many years. I gave him a small ??? with champagne, liquors and cigars, and a salute of 9 guns when he left the ship, the same as for a Consul General.

Two hours later I returned his call at a small Yamen in the town with commander Mr. Curley, and passed some time with him, talking of the place. He put himself entirely at my disposition for any purpose, but he could really be of little use to me. I only desired to see the place in order to form my own ideas of it. Any negotiations for a site would have to be conducted at Seoul.

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The party then went to Fusan, where the photograph of Deer Island was taken. Heard continues

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“Having completed my observations, we left for Fusan, 353 miles distant, at 9:10 am. On the 30th Oct., and anchored at that port exactly at noon on Sunday, Nov. 1. The entrance is striking, thru high rocks - the “Black Rock” - standing on the right and Cape Vaskon and ??? Island on the left. The background of the mainland is mountainous and rugged. As we lay at anchor in 4 fathoms water, a half mile from the shore, we had Deer island on our left as to the South of us, and the Japanese Settlement - the only settlement - to the west. The native town, containing 10,000 inhabitants, is about 3 miles off; Tongnai, a large walled city, the residence of the Superintendent of Trade, about 10 miles; and Taku, the capital of the province about 100.

Fusan (Corean Pusan) is located in lat. 35 degrees, 6’ 6” N. long 129 degrees, 3’ 2” E., and is distant from the nearest point in the Japanese Coast a little over 100 miles. It was settled by men from Tsusima, 30 miles off, several hundred years ago and trade was carried on here in the 15th century. It was looked upon for a long time by Japan as her possession, her colony holding the door open for her armies, and from the time of the great invasion in 1592 down to the signing of the treaty in 1876 an interchange of commodities took place here, consisting of ginseng, walnuts, fruits, fish, medicinal plants, pottery which was highly esteemed, and a few manufactures in the heart of Korea, and on the part of Japan of swords, military equipment and a great variety of productions. Commerce was small, but under the new treaty Fusan soon became an active place of trade with a population of 2,000, which has since grown to nearly 4,500 Japanese, 47 Chinese and about 20 of all other nationalities. It is connected with Japan by a submarine telegraph. The opening of Chemulpo dealt her a severe blow - from \$2,000,000 in 1882 the gross value of the trade sunk in 1885 to \$639,102 - but with the great resources of the provinces, which is one of the most productive of the Kingdom, it soon regained and even surpassed its former prosperity. The figures of its net trade, i.e, Foreign and native imports less reexports, and native exports have been

Net: \$1,447,267 \$1,830,319 \$3,963,470

Gross: \$1,486,660 \$1,908,643 \$4,006,279

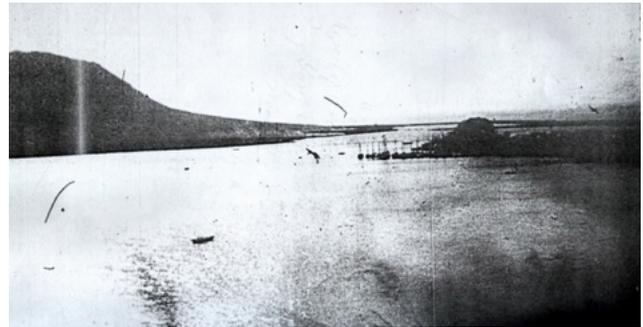
As the amount for 1890 has swelled by the large demand for rice owing to a short crop in Japan, it is probable that the ????? for 1891 will not equal it, but there is every reason to believe that the trade rests on a solid foundation, and will steadily increase. The province of Kuing Sang, to which it belongs, is one of the most fertile and prosperous of the Kingdom, and consists almost entirely of the valleys of the Naktong River and its tributaries, which afford easy communication.

It contains many important towns. Fusan can also count on a large proportion of the production of Chulla Do, its neighboring province, and of its demand for imports.

Up to this date, however, no merchant of European or American nationality have cared to share the prosperity, though it is probable that before another year has gone by some beginnings will have been made. Two or three years ago the Russian agent of a steam company attempted to acquire a lot of land, but was refused by the Korean authorities on the grounds that no site for foreigners had been designated and the same reason was argued this spring in opposition to the application of some American missionaries. The plea was not valid for under the clause of the Treaty, which provides for the acquisition of land by foreigners within 10 li (3 miles) of the settlement, it would have been impossible to go astray. This opposition, however, lent additional importance to the necessity of having a site definitely fixed.

...

Deer Island would make an ideal site for a settlement if it were not an island. It presents what is not found on the main - a sufficient extent of level, gentle sloping land, admirably situated for drainage, and offering no obstacle to the economical laying out of streets and the erection of buildings. There is deep water, 6 and 7 fathoms, close along side, and vessels could lie within 100 yards of the godowns or at wharves. But the current through the narrow passage between it and the



**Deer Island**

main is swift, communications by boat in bad weather is difficult and sometimes impossible. At one point the distance is only about 400 feet, and, if the trade were sufficiently large to warrant it, a bridge could be built to connect the two but at present this is impracticable, and without the bridge the site is undesirable. I may say here that the bridge must be a draw or swinging bridge, in order not to impede navigation which in junks to and from the Naktong River is considerable. Deer Island is of moderate extent, diversified in surface and being almost without inhabitants offers an admirable situation for private residences while offices for business, godowns, etc might be placed on the main land. It is 4 miles from North to South and about a mile and a half across in its widest part. It has good water. Its highest peak reaches an elevation of 1,300 feet. The Coreans are averse to selling land on it to foreigners but I am told that Japanese have acquired a considerable quantity by mortgaging and foreclosing on farms. For the site of the Foreign Settlements, nothing remains, as I have said above, but the land between the Japanese and Chinese concessions, a stretch about half a mile long, hilly and precipitous. For the most part it rises abruptly from the sea. A hill jutting out has been claimed for the English Consulate and marked by boundary stones. Another hill to the southward has been reserved for the house of the Commissioner of Customs. A road ??? along the hill side from the Japanese to the native town and the entire front between it and the sea with the exception of a narrow lot next the Chinese concession has been reserved

for the customs. The only ground at all level is the slope between the two hills above mentioned as reserved and the lot next the Chinese concession, which also slopes up from the water.

The space reserved for the customs is unnecessarily large, and should be greatly reduced. Its absurd that nine-tenths of the sea front of a mercantile concession should be devoted to this custom house and its ??????, and I should propose to place business establishments along the water and others of a different nature and residents on the hill at the back. The Foreign Settlement may also extend behind the Japanese quarter to the bottom of the valley looking out south to sea behind Deer Island. The commissioner of customs, Mr. Hunt, has his private house, belonging to himself, behind the customs hill, and the American Presbyterian mission have taken three sites, 200 feet square each, just behind him, where they are now building. Close by an English mission have secured land.

At some point during the tour of October-November 1891 tour of Korean ports Gus, Jane, and Max were photographed together with Captain McCurley and his officers and crew of the Alliance. The photograph and legend are from Stevenson (1917) [129]. Max is almost hidden behind her father's hat.

Max's account of the voyage is more personal.

25 November 1891 from Hélène

No. 16

Seoul

le 25 nov. 91

Chère Amy Mille fois merci de ta bonne lettre de 9 oct. (No. 9) qui mérite un aussi bonne réponse. Je me demande seulement pour où commencer car il est arrivé tant de choses depuis la dernière fois que je t'ai écrits – un peu avant notre départ si je ne me trompe. Notre voyage a été [un] des plus agréables. Mer calm, temps superbe, bonne compagnie, enfin tout ce que nous pouvions désirer. Nous sommes allés à Wonsan<sup>30</sup> d'abord – un endroit désolé où nous ne sommes resté que 48 heures. La dernière après midi je suis allé à terre avec Papa et me suis promené avec M. Diesen (???) de la douane, homme très agréable pendant que Papa faisait des questions d'affaires. Le soir même M. O. m'a envoyé un bouquet superbe de chrysanthemums et d'une grande fleur rouge qui m'ont rappelé les animones de Biarritz. De la nous sommes allés à Pusan<sup>31</sup>, plus au sud et aussi plus joli. Nous y étions pour le jour de naissance de l'empereur du Japon, ce qui est toujours un jour de grande fête pour les Japonais – qui font à peu-près les seules habitants de Pusan. Papa à déjeuné à la Lég. Jap. tandis que Maman et moi ont fait de même chez Mme Hunt, jeune du commissaire

<sup>30</sup>Wonsan, also known as Gensan by the Japanese and Yuensan by the Chinese, was one of the three major ports of Korea.

<sup>31</sup>Pusan was one of Korea's three primary ports, but it was in the hands of the Japanese. During the invasions of 1592 and 1593 by Hideyoshi, Pusan had been taken from the Koreans and occupied by the Japanese. Even when the Japanese subsequently evacuated, a sufficient military force was left to keep Pusan as Japan's only foreign colony, a status which it retained until 1876 when it was opened as a treaty port with the Japanese retaining a dominant role.

de la douane<sup>32</sup>. Tu sais ce qu'est le service n'est-ce pas? Ce n'est pas comme chez nous. De la à Nagasaki pour du charbon. Des journées et les nuits idéals ni trop froides ni trop chaudes. Il n'y avait ni visites ni affaires et nous ne sommes restés que peu de temps, faisant quelques ????? etc. Le grand vaisseau Anglais l'Impérieuse y était aussi, notre capitaine a eu l'obligeance de m'y conduire – l'amiral Sir Fred. Richards étant absent Papa ne pouvait guère le faire. C'est dommage car nous avions fait sa connaissance à Péking. De Nagasaki nous sommes encore allés au nord mais en longeant l'autre côte de la péninsule, pour aller à Ping-Ang. En route nous avons ramassé cinq pauvres chinois naufragés qui se cramponnaient à leur pauvre jonque renversé. Ici j'ai été interrompu pour recevoir la visite de M. et Mme Emile Bocher le Commissaire Français le première fois que je parle français depuis je ne sais combien de mois – j'ai été épouvanté du résultat! Mais revenons à nos moutons. L'entrée de la rivière est dangereuse les cartes tres mauvaise ce qui fait que nous sommes allés a tâtons jusqu'à ??? 5 km. (???) de la ville, où nous avons jété l'ancre. De l à Papa avec plusieurs officiers sont allés dans le steam launch jusqu'à la ville où ils ont eu une grande réception du Gouverneur. Mais Papa te racontera tout cela et mieux que moi car je n'ai pas pu y aller. En attendant trois des officiers, ceux dont j'ai su le plus, et moi nous sommes amusés tant bien que mal au désespoir du capitaine, qui me disait je les démoralisaient tous. Un petit pic nic à l'aventure, et un "candy pull" 'a bord étaient les grands événements. J'ai vu là quelque chose de très curieux. Des milliers d'oies et de canards sauvages, ca faisait un bruit – comme un machine à vapeur "letting off steam." Effrayant. Un paysan est venu se percher sur un du cordages du vaisseau ! J'ai toute sa peau comme souvenir.

Après cinq jours dans la la rivière nous sommes revenus sains et sauf, après une traversé de deux jours, toujours avec un beau soleil et une vue incomparables. Une journée a Chemulpo, que j'ai passé avec Mme Johnston,<sup>33</sup> et dimanche soir nous a vu coucher ici, bien contents d'être de retour, mais plus que satisfaits du voyage. Les officiers ont été charmante pour nous tous, surtout pour moi. Papa se porte beaucoup mieux et en est aussi charmé que moi. Il fait très froid depuis notre retour, mais beau. Plusieurs personnes (???) son déjà venues nous voir avec les mêmes questions et souhaits "enchanté" etc. de nous revoir. Vendredi nous dinons chez M. Hillier (l'Anglais) et mercredi prochain, aujourd'hui en nuit Mme Bunker donne son Shakespeare evening auquel je dois lire le rôle de "Portia"! Voilà notre commencement.

Mais que le monde est petit après tout. Tu te rappelles Mme Royal Phelps Carroll née Suzanne Bancroft? Elle est à Peking avec son mari, revenu du Kamchatka où ils se sont amusés a tuer des ours et en route pour l'Inde et le Java. M. Brandt m'écrit qu'elle est charmante et jolie! qu'ils ont été fêtes par tout le monde. Il leurs a donné un grand diner dont je t'envois le menu. Cela te donneras peut-être une idée de ce que l'ont peut avoir en Chine. Tu n'as que y ajouter une dizaine de vins différents et imaginer une table superbe, couvertes de fleurs dans des vases de cloisonné, des cristaux etc. dans une grande salle d'une boiseries neutre, les étagères et les murs couverts de "blue et blancs" tandis que le plafond et composé de panneaux à fond blanc ivoire, avec l'aigle Prussian, et le drapeau Chinois en or, alternativement. Tiens! j'ai envie que tu connaites mieux ce que je décris si mal. Je t'envoie deux phot. de la salle à manger, et une de la salle de bal ou grand

<sup>32</sup>J.H. Hunt was the commissioner of customs at Pusan

<sup>33</sup>Mr. and Mrs. Johnston were in Korea for at least ten years and he worked for the Korean Maritime Customs Office and was apparently Chief Commissioner of Customs in 1893 [94].

salon. Il me les a donné pour souvenir mais je n'en ai guère besoin pour cela et tu peux me les gardes aussi bien. La porte à gauche dans le no 1 va dans la grande salle – dans le no 2 à l'office dernière le paravent fait d'une vieille étoffe japonaise, délicieuse.

Par la porte de n. est. on voit le petit-salon de cérémonie duquel on entre dans les appartements privés de M. B. Les tentures – qui ne sont pas posées ici – sont de satin rouge brodé d'or chinois, tandis que les panneaux du plafond sont encadrés de rouge au lieu de brun. Les plantes se trouvent au milieu de la chambre en face de la porte de la salle à manger qui est à gauche comme on entre. A droit il y a quatre grandes portes vitrées donnant sur la véranda et la jardin.

Il parait que Mme Outrey<sup>34</sup> a un ramollissement de cerveau! Amalia m'écrit de Knole au désespoir parce-que les Salancon sont au Mexique. La pauvre enfant est triste pour autre cause et ce coup là a l'air de l'achever. Le dernier courrier m'a aussi apporté une lettre de M. L. Winthrop. Une espèce de composition – qui m'a tout à fait étonné. Cette idée de m'écrire tout d'un coup!

Nous n'avons rien d'Augustine, tout au plus une invitation à la réception.

Mes souliers jaunes sont arrivés et me vont à mervieille. J'en suis enchanté et j'espère qu'ils réussiront toujours aussi bien. J'attends les noirs avec impatience, c'est à dire, les souliers de rues – les autres sont ???? les ???? – Et maintenant, soeurette, jespère que j'ai assez jaser pour aujourd'hui et que ma lettre est causeuse. Mille baisers – pour toi et les mioches – amitiés aux tiens.

Hélène

2 dec

Je t'envoie aussi par ce courrier un jupon chinois – satin noir brodé d'or – en deux morceaux dont un a ton address l'autre à Mme Gray, que tu réclamera. Je l'envoie comme échantillon mais j'espère qu'il arrivera en bon état et sans te donner d'ennuie. J'en ai ôté la doublure qui était vieille laissant les points exprès – tu pourras peut-être en faire quelque garniture de robe – en tout les cas il vaut mieux que tu l'ai(e??) maintenant car Dieu sais quand nous nous reverrons. Dis moi en quel état il arrive. Il n'est pas de coutume de donner le prix de cadeaux mais si par hasard on voulait te faire payer, la chose entière, avec doublure de satin n' à couté que \$5.00 à peu[-près] quatre en Amérique donc ne te laisse pas voler. Je cherche depuis quelques temps une petite chose pour Mme Gray qui puisse passer par la poste, mais sans succès. Si tu trouve le jupon ferai (????) et qu'il ne te plaise pas – donne le lui de ma part et garde le morceau de brocard (3 /4 yd) blanc et or que je t'enverrai après avoir attendu que ces paquets ci soient bien lancés. Il te fera une très joli garniture mais – enfin tu peux choisir. Le même courrier emporte pour Addie un petit paquet étroit – à ton adresse. Remets le lui s'il te plait.

Mille baisers et bon souhaites pour la nouvelle année.

Hélène

Dis à Russell que j'envoi une demande d'argent pour \$400. – comme d'habitude.

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<sup>34</sup>Madame Outrey was the wife of the French minister to Washington in 1882

11 9 7 6 3 5



10 8 2 1 4

**GROUP TAKEN ON U. S. S. "ALLIANCE", DURING TRIP TO  
KOREA, 1891**

- 1 Hon. A. Heard, U. S. Minister to Korea.
- 2 Mrs. Heard.
- 3 Miss Heard.
- 4 Comdr. F. McCurley, U. S. Navy, Comm'g Alliance.
- 5 Paymr. R. Frazer, U. S. Navy, U. S. S. Alliance.
- 6 Lt. Commdr. J. C. Rich, U. S. Navy, U. S. S. Alliance.
- 7 Lieut. R. Henderson, U. S. Navy, U. S. S. Alliance.
- 8 Ensign F. Boughton, U. S. Navy, U. S. S. Alliance.
- 9 P. A. Engr. H. N. Stevenson, U. S. Navy, U. S. S. Alliance.
- 10 Ensign C. Churchill, U. S. Navy, U. S. S. Alliance.
- 11 Ensign T. Washington, U. S. Navy, U. S. S. Alliance.

Figure 15.1: Gus, Jane, and Max on the Alliance: 1891



Figure 15.2: Menu included in 25 November 1891 letter.

No. 16  
 Seoul  
 25 Nov. 91

Dear Amy A thousand thanks for your good letter of 9 Oct. (No. 9) which merits an equally good response. I wonder only where to begin because so many things have happened since the last time that I wrote you – a little before our departure if I am not mistaking. Our voyage was one of the most agreeable. Calm sea, superb weather, good company, all we could desire. We went to Wonsan first – a desolate place where we stayed 48 hours. The last afternoon I went on land with Papa and I walked with Mr. Diesen of the customs, a very agreeable man, while Papa asked business questions. That same evening M.O. sent me a superb chrysanthemum bouquet and a grand red flower which reminded me of the anemones of Biarritz. From there we went to Pusan, more to the south and and also pretty. We were there for the birthday of the emperor of Japan, always a holiday for the Japanese – who were almost the only inhabitants of Pusan. Papa had lunch at the Japanese legation while Maman and I did the same at Miss Hunt's, daughter of the

commissioner of customs. You know about the service, don't you? It is not like at home. From there to Nagasaki for carbon. Ideal days and nights neither too cold nor too hot. There was no business and no visits and we stayed there only a little time, doing several ???? etc. The large English vessel the Imperious was also there our captain had the character to take me there — the admiral Sir Fred. Richards being absent. Papa could scarcely do it. It is a pity because we had made his acquaintance in Peking. From Nagasaki we were still going to the north, but along the other coast of the peninsula, to go to Ping-Ang. On route we gathered five poor Chinese crammed into their sunken junk. Here I was interrupted by the visit of Mr. and Mrs. Emile Bocher the French commissioner, the first time that I spoke French for I don't know how many months — I was horrified at the result. But let's return to the subject. The entrance to the river is dangerous and the maps very bad which made us proceed very carefully until we were 5 km from the town, where we dropped anchor. From there Papa with several officers went in the steam launch to the town where they had a grand reception from the Governor. But Papa will tell you all about that better than I because I was not able to go. While waiting three officers, those about whom I knew the most, and I amused ourselves well enough to the desperation of the captain, who told me that I was demoralizing all of them. A little adventurous picnic, and a candy pull on board were the grand events. I saw there something very curious. Thousands of wild geese and ducks making a noise like a steam boat "letting off steam." Frightening. A pheasant came and perched in the lines of the boat. I have its skin as a souvenir.

After five days on the river we returned safe and healthy, after a traverse of two days, still with a beautiful sun and an incredible view. One day at Chemulpo, which I spent with Mrs Johnston, and Sunday night we were welcomed to sleep here, well content to have returned, but more than satisfied by the voyage. The officers were charming for us all, especially to me. Papa is much better and is as charmed by the trip as I. It has been very cold since our return, but nice. Many people have already come to visit us with the same questions and wishes, "enchanted" etc. to see us again. Friday we dine chez M. Hillier (the Englishman) and next Wednesday, tonight Mrs Bunker presents her Shakespeare evening for which I will read the role of "Portia"! Voila our beginning.

After all how small the world is. You remember Miss Royal Phelps Carroll born Suzanne Bancroft? She is in Peking with her husband, just back from Kamchatka where they amused themselves killing bears and en route for India and Java. Mr. Brandt wrote me that she is charming and pretty! that everyone entertained them. He gave them a grand dinner and I enclose the menu. It will give you perhaps an idea of what one can have in China. You have only to add a dozen different wines and imagine a superb table, covered with flowers in cloisonne vases, crystal, etc. in a grand hall with neutral woodwork, shelves and walls covered with "blue et blancs" whereas the ceiling is composed of panels of white ivory, with the Prussian eagle, and a Chinese gold curtain, alternating. Well! I want you to know better what I describe so badly. I am sending you two photos of the dining room, and one of the ballroom or grand salon. He gave me them as a souvenir but I have scant need of them and two can guard them for me well enough. The door on the left in the first photo goes to the main room — in the second to the officer behind the folding screen made of an old Japanese fabric, delicious.

From the northeastern door one sees the little ceremonial room from which one enters the private apartments of Mr. B. The tapestries — which are not placed here — are of a red satin

bordered in Chinese gold, while the panels on the ceiling are framed in red instead of blond. The plants are in the middle of the room facing the door to the dining room which is on the left when one enters. To the right there are four grand stained glass window doors opening to the veranda and the garden.

It appears that Madame Outrey has a brain tumor! Amalia wrote me from Knole in desperation because the Salancons are in Mexico. The poor child is sad for other reasons and this blow was the last straw. The last mail also brought me a letter from M.L. Winthrop. A real composition which genuinely astonished me. The idea of writing me so suddenly!

We have nothing from Augustine, finally an invitation to the reception.

My yellow shoes arrived and suit me to perfection. I am enchanted with them and I hope they will still succeed well enough. I wait for the black ones with impatience, that is to say the street shoes – the others are ????. – And now, dear sister, I hope that I have abled enough for today and that my letter is chatty. A thousand kisses – for you and the little ones – love to yours.

Hélène

2 Dec.

I send to you also by this mail a Chinese petticoat – black satin bordered in gold – in two pieces of which one has your address and the other to Mrs. Gray, that you will reclaim. I send it as a sample but I hope that it will arrive in good condition without causing you problems. I removed the lining which was old, leaving the stiches on purpose – you will be able perhaps to make a decoration for a dress – in any case it is better that you have it now as God knows when we will see each other again. Tell me in what state it arrives. It is not customary to give the price of gifts, but if perchance somebody wants to pay you, the entire thing, with satin lining cost only about \$5 about four in America, so don't don't let yourself steal. I have been looking for some time for a little something for Mrs Gray which could pass through the post, but without success. If you find the petticoat ???? and that it does not please you – give it to her on my behalf and keep the piece of white and gold brocade (3/4 yd) that I will send you after these packages have been sent. It will make for you a very pretty decoration but – it is for you to decide. The same mail carries for Addie a small thin package – to your address. Please pass it on to her.

A thousand kisses and best wishes for the new year.

Hélène

Tell Russel that I am sending a money request for \$400 – as usual.

4 December 1891 from Hélène

No. 17 Le 4 déc. 1891

Séoul

Chère Amy

Seulement quelques mots pour expliquer les photographies que voici. Imagines toi donc sur le seuil de la porte entre la salon et la salle à manger. Tournant le dos à le derrière tu regarde

presque en face – un petit peu à gauche ce qui t’empêche de voir la baie pareille à celle de la salle à manger, car si tu te retournes tu regarderas un peu à gauche. (On entre du vestibule au salon.) Le soir tu veras Maman assise dans le grand fauteuil (rouge comme les autres) Papa dans la chaise à bascule dont tu vois seulement ma pied, et moi entre les deux dans une chaise basse et le dos à la lumière. L’après midi nous avons le thé sur la petite table que tu vois à gauche – en hiver la poêle est plus à gauche encore – remplacé en été par un revolving bookcase qui prend place dans un coin de la salle à manger en hiver. A droite de la salle à manger il y [a] à côté du paravant qui est très grand et cache la porte de l’office – une espèce de bahut avec des verres (??) à côté duquel la porte par où on va à la galerie (No 1) pour passer aux chambres à coucher. Tout à fait au fond le cabinet de travail de Papa – ch. à c. à droite de l’autre côté d’un corridor où on garde des malles. Regarder à gauche (No. 2) grande ch. d’amie – vieille de Maman – porte au fond – vide – ma vieille chambre – fenêtre au cab. de toilette.

Maintenant si tu veux tu peux venir chez moi. (No 1) aussitôt en entrant (la porte est au coin) tu as un petite table oval à ouvrage-invisible à ta droite – le lit et aussi de suite. La porte va au cab. de toilette et une grand armoire à l’américaine. Le petit tapis au pied du lit est en soie blue et blanche – le couvre pied soie blue ciel avec application de broderies chiffre en fil d’or.

Le bibliothèque s’explique d’elle même seulement elle est déjà plus pleine – les photo. ont été faites il y a six semaines au moins bientôt après notre installation. Le No 2 te montre ma table de toilette, la place de laquelle te montre l’autre côte de la chambre – le grand poêle russe et le cabinet Koréen ayant trois compartiments et dans lequel je garde linge, robes blanches – et chapeaux. Ma table à écrire donne sur le fenêtre par laquelle j’ai une jolie vue du Nam Lasse (????). Assieds toi et tu auras une autre fenêtre à ta gauche, dernière toi le canapé devant lequel une peau de léopard. Au pied du canapé en ligne-droite s’ouvre une porte sur la véranda. Les rideaux sont blancs doublés et bordés de gros bleu un peu gobelin. Le plafond est haut avec de poutres puâtres en bois vernis. Le reste de la boiserie est faites en blanc. N’est-ce pas qu’elle est jolie, claire et confortable? J’y ai le soleil toute la journée jusqu’à quatre heures quand il entre dans mon cabinet de toilette où tu verras un Loochow tub-lavabo et chaise percée, car on n’a pas de cabinet ici. Je suis fâché de ne pouvoir les mettre sur des cartes mais je n’ai pas le temps avant le départ du courrier.

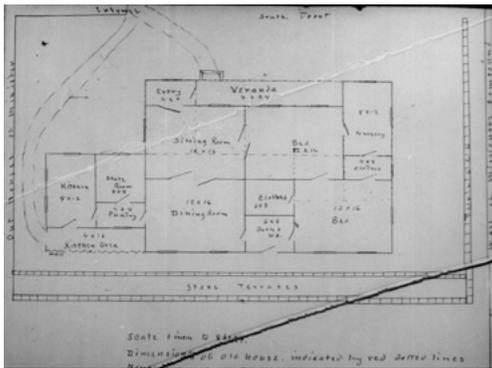
J’oubliais celle de Maman – n’est-ce pas qu’elle est bonne? Tu vois que nous ne sommes pas à plaindre et que notre maison n’est pas mal du tout, pour ne pas dire jolie. soignes toi bien et nous écris bientôt – mille baisers pour toi et les mioches.

Hélène

Tout est blanc de neige.

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**Notes:** Unfortunately the photos referred to in the letter have not survived, but photos of the original plan of the Legation and of the finished Legation do survive in the State Department archives:



**Plan of U.S. Legation,  
Seoul, Korea**



**U.S. Legation,  
Seoul, Korea**

No. 17 4 Dec. 1891

Seoul

Dear Amy

Just a few words to explain the enclosed photographs. Imagine yourself at the threshold of your door between the living room and the dining room. Turning around to look behind you you see in front of you – a little to the left – what prevents you from seeing the door opening like that of the dining room, since when you turn back you will see a little to the left. (On enters from the vestibule to the living room.) At night you would see Maman sitting in the grand easy chair (red like the others) Papa in his swivel chair where you see only my foot, and Me between the two in a low chair with my back to the light. In the afternoon we have tea on the little table that you see on the left – in winter the furnace is even more to the left – replaced in the summer by a revolving bookcase which takes its place in a corner of the dining room in winter. To the right of the dining room to the side of the large screen which hides the office door – some kind of wooden chest with glasses beside which is the door leading to the gallery (No 1) to the bedrooms. At the base of Papa's office – bedroom to the right of the other side of a corridor where the trunks are stored. Look to the left (No 2) large visitor's bedroom – formerly Maman's – door at the front – empty – my old bedroom – window to the bathroom.

Now if you would like you can come to my home. (No 1) as soon as you enter (the door is in the corner) you have a little oval working table on your right – the bed is next. The door goes to the bathroom and a large American armoire. The little rug at the foot of the bed is blue and white silk – the sky blue velvet foot blanket has gold thread borders.

The bookshelves explain themselves only they are already too full. The photos were made six weeks ago right after we moved in. The No 2 shows you my makeup table, which shows the other side of my bedroom – the grand Russian furnace and the Korean dresser having three compartments within which I keep linen, white dresses, and hats. My writing table looks out the window from which I have a pretty view of Nam Lasse (???). Seat yourself and you will have another window at your left, behind you the sofa in front of which is a leopard skin. At the foot of

the sofa in a straight line a door opens on the veranda. The curtains are white lined and bordered with bright blue in the Gobelin style. The roof is high with plastered beams in varnished wood. The rest of the woodwork is white. Is it not pretty, clear, and comfortable? There is sun there all day until 4 when it enters my bathroom where you would see a Loochow tub-sink and a chaise percée, because there are no toilets here. I am angry to not be able to put them on the cards but I do not have enough time before the mail leaves.

I forgot Maman's – Isn't it nice? You see that we cannot complain and that our house is not at all bad, which is not to say pretty. Take care of yourself and write soon – a thousand kisses for you and the little ones.

Hélène

Everything is white with snow.

12 December 1891 from Hélène. Also numbered 17.

No 17

Söul

Le 12 décembre /91

Chère Amy. Te sens tu dispose pour une longue causerie intime pour ne pas dire confidentielle? Je l'espère car j'en aie justement très envie d'autant plus que je suis dans un grand embarras duquel tu es la seule personne qui puisse m'en tirer.

J'ai bien peur que cela ne te donne pas beaucoup d'enuies et de tourments que je t'épargnerais bien volontaire – enfin je sens si sûr que tu feras ce que tu pourra que je me mets entièrement à ta merci. N'est-ce pas? Mais le difficulté maintenant – comment communiquer? L'emotion fait trembler ma main et les mots ne me viennent pas, et pourtant tiens je vais venir droit au but – je me marie! avec qui tu as sans doute déjà deviné – M. von Brandt. Oui, c'est vrai – ne pousse pas les hauts cris – et c'est justement parceque c'est vrai et que je suis si heureuse et qu'il y a tant à dire, que je suis si troublée. Tu veux sans doute connaître toute l'histoire – je t'en dirai ce que je peux plus tard car avant tout le plus important, que voici: Nos fiançailles ne sont pas encore annoncées et je dois donc travailler en secret, ce qui n'est pas très facile comme tu peux l'imaginer, et j'ai du envoyer aux quatre coins du monde pour me rassembler une espèce de trousseau. Je pense que la cérémonie aura bien au printemps mais rien n'est encore décidé sur ce point excepté que j'ai promis d'être prête à la fin de mars. J'ai envoyé à tante Parrot<sup>35</sup> pour du linge il ya six semaines. – elle doit tout juste avoir reçu ma lettre – mais ne pouvant lui dire pourquoi ne que je suis très pressée de l'avoir je suis dans des transes de peur qu'il n'arrive pas à temps. – Je n'ai absolument rien qui soit tant soit peu convenable. Je voudrais alors que tu m'achètes quatre robes de nuit, autant de pantalones, jolis et bons qui pourrons me servir dans l'intervalles. C'est le plus important mais il y

<sup>35</sup>Tante Parrot was Mary (Wieland) Parrot, Amy's mother Jane's first cousin and the the mother of a close childhood friend of Max and Amy's in Paris, Marie Parrot, who married Henri Lhomme. Amy and her two sons, Horace Gray and Augustine Heard Gray visited her in France in 1901.

a encore d'autre choses. Addie garde pour moi une boîte remplie de livres, un châle en cachemire, mes dentelles etc. Prends la si tu peux et fait ce que tu veux du contenu m'envoyant seulement le châle, les dentelles, mes vieux journaux (adressée a Addie) ce qu'il peut y avoir de lettre, de carnets, enfin d'écriture et je crois aussi une petite boîte marqués "relics" Je ne me rappelle plus exactement le reste mais je ne crois pas qu'il y ai quoique ce soit à quoi je tiene — surtout pas de bibelots — j'en ai tant! Mon argenterie que tu gardes et la petite montre qu'on m'a gardé des choses de tante Marie. Maintenant pour commission une livre de poudre à dents faites pour Dr. Briggs 125 Marlborough St. tu peux l'acheter de lui (\$1.00) ou chez les pharmisiens dont l'adresse ci-incluse – de l'oeil de perdrix-toile, assez pour faire douze serviettes. Je crois qu'une pièce sera assez – j'ai le même modèle que toi à moins que tu n'aies changé des épingles à cheveux comme modèle, une brosse à cheveux ivoire, fais y mettres mes initials en noir. Je dessine le dos de ma vieille que tu aies une idée de la grandeur. 2 bobines de dental floss, une bouteille de liquid blacking — Une ou deux paires de pantoufles, sans talons. Tuttle a quelquefois quelque-choses d'assez joli en fantaisie. Prends les en peau, soie, ou velour, mais surtout qu'ils soient jolie et légers pour les chaleurs. Quatre paires de bas, coton fin ou en fil, jaune comme échantillon — Est-ce effrayant? Je t'en envoie une liste séparé pour que cela soit plus intelligible. Les épingles à cheveux tu trouveras chez Emerson Temple place. Pour le linge tu trouveras mieux chez Stearnes je crois, tout fait.

Maintenant ne vas pas te fatiguer pour tâcher de trouver des choses bon marché, ce n'est pas le moment d'économiser quelques sous. Prends une voiture et fais le aussi facilement que possible, aussi avec le moins de délais. Je voudrai si c'est humainement possible que la boîte soit ici les premiers jours de mars — tu l'enverras par S. Franc. au plus vite. Il me semble que la plupart des choses tu pourrais acheter par carte postal pour ainsi dire. J'ai envoyé à Elise Perkins pour des petites chemises en soie l'autre jours lui disont de les envoyer par le Dept. il est possible qu'elle ne l'a pas encore fait en quel cas tu pourras les mettre dans la boîte. Mais tout ceci est pour toi seule et Russell à qui il sera nécessaire d'en parler, mais n'en fais aucune allusion dans tes lettres à Papa et Maman — qui le savent sans doute!, mais je ne voudrais pas que Papa l'écrire à la famille ce qu'il serait certain de vouloir faire et il y a les raisons pour lesquels nous ne voulons pas encore en parler — tu comprends n'est-ce pas. C'est pour ca que je crains que tu ne puisse pas te procurer la boîte d'Addie sans exciter des soupçons et peut-être lui causer de la peine de ne le lui avoir pas dis, ce que je ne voudrai pour bien au monde. Tu feras comme tu pourras et si il y a ce danger laisse cette partie là pour plus tard et envoie moi ce que tu peux de la liste des choses ci inclus. J'ai des dettes partout naturellement — et je ne sais pas encore au juste à quoi elles reviendrons mais il est plus que probable qu'il faudra que je retire mon argent de la caisse d'épargne. Si tu veux bien tu pourrais demander à Russell quelles formalités il y aura à subir à propos des questions d'argent. Est-ce qu'il ne faudra pas signer des papiers etc.? Une foi que je change de nom.

Mais assez causer d'affaires pour le moment et je vais tâcher de t'intéresser autrement. Je commence donc au commencement que ta curiosité très légitime soit satisfaite. Notre mois a Péking tu connais déjà, comme notre hôte a été bon pour nous, surtout pour moi dés le commencement. Après notre retour du temple — tu te rappelles nous avons passé quatre jours à un temple, au milieu de notre visite. Il n'y avait déjà rien qui fut assez bon pour moi, je n'osais vraiment presque pas ouvrir la bouche de peur de laisser tomber un mot qui exprima le plus petit désir ou caprice. Nous étions toujours ensemble passant de longues heures en tête à tête et figure toi qu'avec tout cela

je ne me doutais absolument de rien. C'est pourtant vrai il avait toujours été si bon pour moi que l'idée ne m'était jamais venu en tête qu'il m'aimât sérieusement et la peur me prenait quelque fois quand je pensais que la fin devrait venir si tôt. Elle vint pourtant et nous nous sommes quittes en bons amis qui devaient se revoir dans deux ou trois jours car il m'avait promis de venir à Tientsin avant notre départ. Espoir déçu car nous ne nous sommes jamais revus! Il y a de ca six mois pense donc. Il me semble que c'est une éternité et encore que nous avons encore trois mois de plus, car maintenant que la rivière est gelée il ne peut plus sortir de Péking. En fin nous étions si malheureux loin l'un de l'autre qu'il s'est décidé à surmonter ses scrupules sur nos âges et je me suis donnée à lui au mois de juillet. Il a fait sa demande à Papa au mois de septembre — Deux lettres par mois, quelquefois moins et toute ces horreurs, surtout les fausses alarmes, sont ce que j'ai comme consolation. Tu peux t'imaginer par quelles transes j'ai passé au commencement. Il n'y a pas l'air d'y avoir beaucoup de danger maintenant et je deviens plus brave. Voilà de nous — maintenant de lui. Il est grand, assez fort, bel homme. Les cheveux, la barbe et la moustache d'un blanc superb, encadrent une physionomie tout à fait charmante. Le front très haut, des yeux bleus, très vifs, surmonté d'épais sourcils noirs, et un beau nez. Voilà à peu près la personne de ton futur beau frère et je crois pas avoir exagéré en rien, bien au contraire. Il a le caractère gai; très causeur, et un cœur grand comme lui. Gentilhomme jusqu'aux bouts des ongles — en sommes il a toutes les qualités que j'ai jamais rêvés pour mon mari. La carrière diplomatique est belle et si il est resté si longtemps à Péking c'est à cause de sa santé qui n'est pas forte — notre seul chagrin — dont le climat lui va mieux qu'aucun autre. Son titre d'“Excellence” lui a été donné par le vieil empereur Guillaume il y a une dizaine d'années pour quelque grand service, et a été fait membre du conseil privé en même temps. A Peking il est le doyen du corps diplomatique — n'est-ce pas qu c'est drôle ta petite soeur doyenne! Il est très aimé et respecté de tout le monde. Il n'est pas millionnaire Dieu Merci!

14 décembre

Ici j'ai été interrompu par une visite et bien que je n'ai pas beaucoup de temps aujourd'hui je vais tâcher d'ajouter quelques mots pour être sûr de ne pas manquer le courrier. Mais je crois t'avoir tout dit — sinon tu peux me faire des questions maintenant ce qui n'est plus naïf! car je suis plus libre d'y répondre. J'étais bien plus fâché contre moi-même que contre vous à propos de mes lettres! J'ai dû avoir la tête tournée, il me semble que tout ce que j'ai écrit est raide et dure et pourtant je ne l'ai jamais été moins. Je suis si heureuse! et quand je pense que le monde va me plaindre — “he is so old” je les entends dire cela me semble si absurde. Il est vrai qu'il a 56 ans et que je n'en aurai que 24 au mois de mai mais il y a bien des hommes plus jeunes qui sont plus vieux de cœur. Je ne puis pas me figurer malheureuse auprès de lui, et je ne trouve plus de mots pour exprimer l'orgueil que je sens dans mon amour quand je pense qu'il a bien voulu de moi, si petite, et que je pourrai peut-être lui rendre un peu de bonheur qu'il me donne. Il est seul au monde, excepté deux nièce mariées, donc il n'y a personne pour me disputer le droit. mais je n'ose me lancer dans ce chapitre qui n'aurait pas de fin et finirait par te fatiguer. Il écrit et parle l'anglais parfaitement mais ave beaucoup d'accent mais je commence déjà mes leçons d'Allemand et suis toute étonnée de voir comme il me vient facilement. Tu te moquerais sans doute de mes lettres, c'est à dire des pages ici et là écrit en Allemand; c'est égal j'y arriverai car il faudra que je sois bien bête avec un maître pareil! Son petit nom est Max! Pas que c'est drôle? Il faudra nous numéroté

“un” et “deux”. Enfin — embrasse moi et dis moi que tu es contente d’avoir un aussi charmant beau frère — bien que il soit Prussien. Je n’ai guère besoin d’ajouter que j’attends ta réponse avec impatience et de savoir si tu pourras me faire ces commissions. Et surtout pas un mot à qui que ce soit excepté Russell qui respectera mon secret aussi bien que toi, j’en suis sûre.

Encore un baiser et je te quitte.  
à toi  
Hélène

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17 December 1891 continuation of 12 December letter, Begun on new page.

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Leg. des Etats Unis  
Sëoul  
le 17 déc / 91

Chère Amy

Je vais tacher de griffonner encore quelques lignes mais j’ai la main très fatiguée et un pouce foulé qui me fait assez mal — après avoir écrite et adressé une cinquantaine d’invitations pour une réception pour le 24 déc., sans compter plusieurs lettres. Le courrier part demain, toujours un grand moment. La moitié arrivé aujourd’hui, ne nous a rien apporté de toi ni d’Addie. La second moitié n’arrivera que ce soir donc nous pouvons encore espérer. Mais Papa a eu un lettre aujourd’hui qui nous a tout à fait consternés et beaucoup amusée. Tu ne devinerais jamais donc voici. Le Général le Gendre écrit demandant ma main en mariage pour M. Collin de Plancy <sup>36</sup> Chargé d’Affairs au Japon!! Il a été ici pendant quelques temps comme “commissaire” qui est le poste Français ici, mais il a été remplacé en mois de juin dernier. Très gentil garçon avec une ressemblance extraordinaire à Augustine, en grande il a toujours été très aimable pour moi. Je ne l’ai tout de même pas vu plus de dix fois je suppose et je n’en reviens pas. C’est flatteur et je suis fâche de lui causer de la peine. mais je suis satisfaite!

Je grille d’impatience de recevoir ta réponse et j’ai une peur atroce que ma lettre ne touche en de mauvais mains. Le courrier a déjà été volé plusieurs fois cet automne. Enfin il faut courir le risque. Mais comme quand on commence il n’y a toujours plus d’une fin j’ai pensé à plusieurs choses encore qui me manquant. Me voila en tulle et quelque espèce de fleurs blanches. Si tu m’en envoies prends tout simplement un tout petit bouquet pour les cheveux et un petit pour le corsage. Fleurs d’orangers car il tient beaucoup aux vieilles coutumes je crois aussi une petite boîte d’épingles en acier Kirby & Beard <sup>37</sup> — Il est horriblement difficile et se connaît fort bien en toute choses. Si tu pouvais voir les étoffes qu’il m’a envoyées! C’est un vrai plaisir que de se faire faire des robes. Et je ne sais vraiment pas ce que je ferais sans cela. Je te les décrirai un autre jour, avec

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<sup>36</sup>V. Collin de Plancy had been the French Consul in Seoul (1887-1890) and was currently French Chargé d’Affairs in Japan. He would later return to Seoul as both Chargé and Consul General from 1895-1900.

<sup>37</sup>Kirby, Beard, & Co. was a specialty shop at 5 rue Auber in Paris, presumably with a branch in Boston.

des échantillons. Surtout ne te tourments pas pour m'envoyer un cadeau. Je t'assure, Mams<sup>38</sup>, que si tu me fais toutes ces commissions je t'en serai toujours obligée et il me donne tant de choses – livres, bibelots, bijoux, étoffés – je ne puis te le dire, la liste est tellement longue. Jusqu'à ses habits! L'autre jour il m'a donné un superbe manteau de "sea otter" qu'il prétend être trop petit pour lui.

A propos – ce n'est pas Suzanne Bancroft qui a fait sensation à Péking mais Marion Langdon une toute autre personne mais il faut vraiment que je finisse. Ne me fais pas attendre trop longtemps ce n'est que pour quelques lignes. Amitiés a tous. Mille baisers.

à toi

Hélène

No. 17

Seoul

12 December /91

Dear Amy. Do you feel disposed for a long intimate, if not to say confidential, chat? I hope so since that is exactly what I would like and what's more I am in an embarrassing situation and you are the only person who can extricate me from it.

I am truly afraid that it will cause you cares and torments which I would willingly spare you – finally I feel so sure that you will do what you can that I put myself entirely at your mercy, yes? But the difficulty now, how to communicate it? Emotion makes my hand tremble and the words do not come to me, and therefore, well, I am going to come straight to the point – I am getting married! with whom you have no doubt already guessed – M. von Brandt. Yes, it is true – don't scream – and it is just because it is true and that I am so happy that there is so much to say, that I am so troubled. Without doubt you would like to know the full history – I will tell you what I can later but above all the most important is this: Our engagement has not yet been announced and I must therefore work in secret, which is not easy as you can imagine, and I have to send to the four corners of the world in order to put together some kind of trousseau. I think that the ceremony will take place in spring but nothing is yet decided on this point except that I promised to be ready at the end of March. I sent to Aunt Parrot for the linen six weeks ago. – she should just have received my letter – but not being able to tell her why I was in such a hurry to have it I am horribly frightened for fear that it will not arrive in time. – I have absolutely nothing which is even a little suitable. I would like therefore for you to buy me four (or six) evening dresses, as well as pants – pretty and good which will serve me during the intervals. That is the most important, may there are still other things. Addie is keeping for me a box full of books, a cachemir shawl, my lace, etc. Take it if you can and do what you wish with the contents sending me only the shawl, lace, my old newspapers (addressed to Addie) and whatever it might have of letters, notebooks, lastly writings and I believe also a little box marked "relics." I do not remember exactly the rest but I do not believe that there is anything which I treasure – above all the trinkets – I have

<sup>38</sup> *Mams* is likely an abbreviated version of *Mam'selle*, which in turn is an abbreviated version of *Madoiselle*.

enough! My silver which you have and the little display which holds Aunt Marie's things. Now as a commission a pound of tooth powder made for Dr. Briggs 125 Marlborough St. you can buy it from him (\$1.00) or at a pharmacy at the enclosed address — some eye of the pheasant — lace, enough to make twelve napkins. I believe that one piece will be enough — I have the same model as you unless you have changed hairpins as a model, an ivory hairbrush, have them put my initials in black. I have drawn the back of my old one to give you an idea of the size. Two spools of dental floss, a bottle of liquid blacking — One or two pairs of slippers without heels. Tuttle sometimes has some things that are pretty enough and fanciful. Get them in skin, silk, or velvet, but above all they must be pretty and light for the heat. Four pairs of stockings, fine cotton or thread, yellow like a fan — is it frightening? I am sending you a separate list of these things in order to be more intelligible. The hairpins you will find at Emerson's Temple place. For the linen you will find the best at Stearns I believe, all made. Now do not go and tire yourself trying to find inexpensive things, it is not the moment to economize pennies. Take a car and make it as easy as possible, also with the least delay. I would like if it is humanly possibly that the box be here by early March — you will send it by S. Franc as fast as possible. It seems to me that most of the things you can buy by postcard ??? I sent to Elise Perkins for some small silk blouses the other day telling her to send them by the Dep't. It is possible that she has not yet done it in which case you can put them in the box. But all of this is for you alone and Russell to whom it will be necessary to speak of it, but make no allusion in your letters to Papa and Mama — who certainly know it!, but I would not like for Papa to write to the family which he will certainly want to do and there are reasons for which we do not want to speak of it yet — you understand do you not? That is why I fear that you will not be able to procure the box from Addie without exciting suspicions and perhaps causing her pain for not having told her, which I would not want for all the world. You will do what you can and if there if this danger occurs leave it for later and send me what you can of the list of things included. I have debts everywhere naturally — and I no longer know how they will return but it is more than probable that it will be necessary for me to take money from the savings account. If you are willing you could ask Russell what formalities there will be to submit to a propos questions of money. Is it not necessary to sign papers etc.? Once I change my name.

But enough talk of business for the moment and I am going to try to interest in another way. I begin then at the beginning so your legitimate curiosity might be satisfied. Our month in Peking you know already, how our host was good for us, especially for me from the beginning. After our return from the temple — you remember we had passed several days at a temple, in the middle of our visit. There was never anything that was good enough for me, I truly dared not open my mouth for fear of letting fall a word which expressed the slightest desire our caprice. We were always together passing long hours tete a tete and think about it, that with all that I still suspected absolutely nothing. It is perhaps true that he had always been so good to me that the idea never entered my head that he seriously loved me and I became afraid some times when I thought that that the end should come so early. It came however and we parted as good friends who would see each other again in two or three days as he had promised me to come to Tientsin before our departure. Hope deceived because we never saw each other again! Think you that it has been six months since. It seems to me that it is an eternity and still we have another three months, because now that the river is frozen he cannot leave Peking. Finally we were so unhappy far from each

other that he decided to surmount my scruples concerning our age and I gave myself to him in July. He asked Papa for my hand in September – Two letters per month, sometimes fewer and all these horrors, especially the false alarms, are what I have as consolation. You can imagine what apprehensions I suffered from the beginning. There is now no feeling of great danger and I am becoming braver. So much for us – now for him. He is tall, strong enough, handsome man. His hair, his beard, and his mustache of a superb white, framing a completely charming physiognomy. His forehead is very high, his eyes blue, full of life, surmounted by thick black eyebrows, and a beautiful nose. Voila a rough sketch of the person of your your future brother-in-law and I think I have exaggerated nothing, in fact the contrary. He has a gay character, very talkative, and a heart as big as he is. A gentleman to the end of his fingernails – in sum he has all the qualities that I ever dreamed of in my husband. The diplomatic career is good and if he has remained for such a longtime in Peking it is because his health is not strong – our only sadness – where the climate is better for him than any other. His title of “Excellence” was given to him by the emperor William a dozen years ago for some grand service, and he was made a member of the private counsel at the same time. In Peking he is the doyen of the diplomatic core – isn’t it droll that your little sister will be doyenne. He is well loved and respected by all. He is not a millionaire, thank God!

14 December

Here I was interrupted by a visit and although I do not have much time today I am going to try to add a few words in order to be sure to not miss the courier. But I believe I have told you everything – if not you can ask questions now, which is no longer naive! because I am more free to respond. I was more angry at myself than at you a propos my letters! I must have had my head turned, it seems to me that everything I wrote is stiff and hard and yet I have never been less so. I am so happy! And when I think that everyone is going to complain to me – “he is so old” to hear them say that seems to me so absurd. It is true that he is 56 and I will be only 24 in May but there are many younger men who are older at heart. I cannot see myself unhappy at his side, and I can no longer find words to express the pride I feel in my love when I think that he really wanted me, so small, and that I could perhaps give him a little of the happiness that he gives me. He is alone in the world, except for two married nieces, so there is no one to dispute my right. But I dare not launch into this endless chapter and end up fatiguing you. He writes and speaks English perfectly but with a strong accent, but I have already begun my German lessons and I am quite astonished to see how easily it comes to me. You will doubtless make fun of my letters, that is to say the the pages here and there written in German: It is all the same that I arrive there because it will be necessary for me to be quite stupid with such a master! His nickname is Max! Is that not droll? We will have two number ourselves “one” and “two.” Finally – embrace me and tell me that you are content to have such a charming brother in law – even though he is Prussian. I have scarcely need to add that I await your response with impatience and to know if you can run some errands for me. And above all, not a word to anyone except Russell who will respect my secret as well as you, I am sure.

One more kiss and I leave you.

à toi

Hélène

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United States Legation  
Seoul  
17 Dec 91

Dear Amy

I am going to try to scribble a few lines more but my hand is very tired and my sprained thumb is causing me pain — after having written and addressed fifty or so invitations for a reception on December 24, not counting several letters.

The mail leaves tomorrow, always a big moment. Half arrived today, brought us no news of you or Addie. The second half will not arrive until this evening so we still hope. But Papa received a letter today that dismayed and amused us. You would never guess so here it is, General le Gendre wrote asking my hand in marriage for M. Collin de Plancy. Chargé d’Affairs in Japan! He has been here for some time as “commissaire,” the French position here, but he was replaced last June. A very nice young man with an extraordinary resemblance to Augustine, generally he has always been friendly to me. I have only seen him ten times and I suppose that I will not see him again. It is flattering and I am unhappy to cause him pain, but I am satisfied!

I long impatiently to receive your reply and I am terribly afraid of my letter finding its way into the wrong hands. The mail has already been stolen several times this autumn. Finally it is necessary to run the risk. But finally when one begins it never ends that I think of several things more that I need. Here I am in lace and some sort of white flowers. If you send me some take simply a little bouquet for my hair and a small one for the corsage. Orange flowers since they go well with old costumes. I believe also a little box of steel pins from Kirby & Beard — it is horribly difficult and they know everything well. If you could see the stuff that he has sent me! It is a real pleasure to have dresses made. And I truly do not know what I would do without it. I will describe them to you another day, with the samples. Above all, do not torment yourself about sending me a present. I assure you, Mams, that if you help me with these errands I will forever be in your debt and he gives me so many things — books, trinkets, jewelry, fabric — I cannot tell you, the list is so long. Up to his clothes! The other day he gave me a superb coat of “sea otter” which he pretended was too small for him.

A propos — it was not Suzanne Bancroft who made a sensation at Peking but Marion Langdon a completely different person but I really must finish. Do not make me wait too long even it is for only a few lines. Love to all. A thousand kisses.

à toi  
Hélène

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17 December 1891 from Hélène (No. 18)

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Chère Amy,

Papa est venu me demander mes lettres pour le courrier et cinq minutes après le domestique m'a apporté la tienne du — elle n'est pas datée mais il y a No 11 dans le coin — écrite de Groton. Je crois pouvoir encore attraper le courrier ce soir et m'empresse de te remercier de cette même lettre et de ce qu'elle contient. Tu connais toute l'histoire maintenant ce qui ne me laisse plus rien à dire. Je ne puis assez regretter ma sottise d'avoir écrits comme je l'ai fais à Mme Winthrop, mais comme j'ai dis hier j'ai du avoir la tête tournée et ne pensais pas aux conséquence de ce que j'écrivais. Tu ne dois pas te laisser croire que je me suis laissée entraîner par tant de gâteries sans penser au sérieux de la question. Non, mille fois non. Je l'aime sincèrement et de tout coeur — et tu serais la première à le comprendre si tu le connaissais — comme tu le fera je l'espère un de ces jours. C'est toujours une question sérieuse et peut être plus encore en ce cas-ci car il est non seulement beaucoup plus âgé que moi mais sa santé est des plus délicate. Il souffre de l'asthme ce qui le prive de beaucoup de plaisirs même des plus simple. Il me l'a représenté lui-même bien des fois et se reproche de m'avoir pris ma jeunesse. Je sais ce que le monde va dire et il se trouvera bien des mauvais langues.

Et bien je ne puis que répéter ce que j'ai déjà dis — ce que je dirai toujours, qu'en dépit de tout la vie auprès de lui me semble plus belle que toute autre qu'on pût m'offrir. Je ne sais vraiment comment te dire tout cela je ne pourrai jamais rendre justice à sa bonté de coeur et beauté de caractère — et en ce moment je ne veux pas dire particulièrement pour moi mais pour tout le monde.

Cela m'a tellement frappé au commencement que je n'ai pu m'empêcher de l'aimer. Mais tu sais ce que c'est d'aimer et d'être aimer — je ne puis rien t'apprendre sur ce compte la seulement je ne veux pas que tu pense comme le vulgaire du monde. Tu en diras de tout ceci après ce que tu voudras ou pourras bien de dire. Je répète de ne pouvoir écrire à Addie en même temps mais je ne le puis pas encore. Tu peux être sûre que ce sera au plus tôt possible.

Tu arrangeras cela — autrement vous pourrez toujours échanger mes lettres si vous voulez, seulement je préférerais peut-être si elle les lisait chez toi ou que tu les lui lise.

Jean est une critique sévère et j'ai vraiment honte de mon français. Je vais m'y mettre un des ces jours mais en ce moment je n'ai pas un minute à perdre. Il y a tant à faire et j'ai besoin de tant de choses. Non seulement parce-qu'il est difficile mais aussi à cause de la position officielle que j'aurais à remplir. Tu comprendras tout cela. Maintenant embrassons nous encore une fois. Enchanté des bonnes nouvelles que tu nous donnes de ta santé. Nos esperons qu'elles continuerons. Aussi d'apprendre qu'Aug. est tout à fait guérit de son entorse.

Embrasses les mioches et mille baisers pour toi.

Hélène

Papa just came to ask for my letters for the mail in five minutes, after the servant brought me yours of — it is not dated but there is a number 11 in the corner — written in Groton. I believe I will be still able to catch the mail this evening and I am hastening to thank you for this same letter and for what it contains. You know the entire history now which leaves me nothing to say. I cannot regret enough my stupidity to have written as I did to Mrs Winthrop, but as I said yesterday I must have had my head turned and I was not thinking of the consequences of what I was writing. You should not let yourself believe that I let myself submit to such indulgences without seriously considering the results. No, a thousand times no. I love him with all my heart — and you would be the first to understand if you knew him — as I hope you will one of these days. It is always a serious question and perhaps more still in this case because he is not also much older than I but his health is more delicate. He suffers from asthma, which deprives him of many pleasures, even the most simple. He has pointed this out himself to me many time and he reproaches himself for having taken my youth. I know what the world is going to say and he will encounter unkind tongues.

Well, I can but repeat what I have already said — what I will always say, that in spite of everything life with him seems to me more beautiful than any other that one could offer to me. I truly do not know how to tell you everything, I will never be able to do justice to his goodness of heart and beautiful character — and at this moment I do not want to say this particularly for me but for the entire world.

That so struck me at the beginning that I was not able to prevent myself from loving him. But you know what it is to love and be loved — I cannot teach you anything on that count only I do not want you to think as the vulgar do. You will speak of all of this as you wish or will be able to. I repeat I was not able to write to Addie at the same time and I still cannot. You can be sure that will be as soon as possible.

You will arrange it — otherwise you can always exchange my letters if you wish, only I prefer perhaps if she reads them at your house or you read them to her.

Jean is a severe critic and I am truly shamed by my French. I am going to devote myself to it one of these days, but at this time I do not have a minute to lose. There is so much to do and I need so many things. Not only because it is difficult but also because of the official position I have to fill. You will understand all of that. Now let us embrace once more. Enchanted by the good news that you give of your health. We hope that it will continue. Also to learn that Aug. is completely cured of his sprain.

Embrace the little ones and a thousand kisses for you.

Hélène

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25 December 1891 from Hélène

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Chère Amy, je ne pensais pas t'écrire par ce courrier car j'ai tout d'autres lettres à expédier et tu dois en avoir assez avec ce que je t'ai écrit la semaine dernière — mais il faut que je verse un peu de trop plein de mon plaisir et de mon bonheur dans ton cœur sympathique — car je suis déjà sûre qu'il l'est. En un mot c'est pour te décrire mon cadeau de Noël — mes cadeaux je devrais dire — comme tu en raffolerais et en vérité je me trouve très égoïste de te faire venir l'eau à la bouche sans que tu puisses jouir de ces belles choses. Figure toi un manteau demi-long chinois — de soie bleue foncée, brodée d'or à grands ramages, doublé de renard bleu — doux! délicieux! Un long manteau me dépassant les genoux d'environ un pied, de la même forme, en zibeline superbe foncée d'une faible nuance rougeâtre. Je n'aime pas la zibeline ordinairement mais celle-ci est si belle que je ne puis pas m'en empêcher. Le revers est d'un satin uni, espèce de bleu Gobelins. On porte à l'envers ou à l'endroit comme on veut. Attends je n'ai pas fini. Un écran contenant un charmant petit collier de toutes petites rubis, saphirs, et perles alternativement faisant une espèce de pendant en ce guise une petite chaînette en or rattachant les pierres les unes aux autres. C'est j??? et tout à fait gentil. Le bracelet a un diamant au lieu de la perle. Les trois pierres les bouts qui se croisent finissent d'un petit trèfle en perles. Le tout dans une superbe boîte en maroquin noir, avec serrure et quatre coins un métal argenté ciselé et son chiffre en cuir rouge et bleu (inlaid) qui sera mon chiffre aussi un de ces jours. Elle est doublée de satin rouge (grenat). Eh bien qu'en dis-tu? Moi j'en ai la tête toute à l'envers et je me pince pour savoir si c'est bien moi. A Maman il a envoyé deux vases en cloisonné moderne, pas grands mais beaux et un manteau de fourrures — une espèce d'écureuil je crois, bien foncé. A Papa un vieux "bronze" doré en deux pièces — fort jolie.

Mais voilà que je recommence mon long discours de l'autre jour, sans te remercier de ta bonne lettre et des livres que tu nous as envoyés. La réception d'hier soir s'est passée tant bien que mal. Papa en est tout à fait fatigué et ne va pas bien. Cette grippe est assommante.

Ton No 12 (16 nov) est arrivé aujourd'hui. Mille fois merci, aussi à Russell pour la sienne.

Baisers aux mioches et pour toi aussi.

Hélène

Je ne suis pas encore décidé si je parlerai à Addie de mon cadeau, en tout les cas je ne lui dirai que d'un des manteaux et de ceux aux parents.

Le Ministre Jap. m'a donné un assez joli éventail en forme d'écran. C'est assez intéressant de collectionner des souvenirs de tout le monde par-ci par-là, surtout s'ils sont jolis. Merci d'avoir envoyé l'argenterie.

No 19

Seoul

25 Dec.

/91

Dear Amy, I was not thinking of writing you by this mail because I had all the other letters to expedite and you should have enough with what I wrote you last week — but I need to pour a little

more fully of my pleasure and happiness in your sympathetic heart — because I am already sure of it. In a word it is to describe to you my Christmas present — presents I should say — as you will dote on them and in truth I find myself very selfish to make your mouth water without letting you play with these beautiful things. Picture a half length Chinese coat — of deep blue silk, bordered in gold flowers, lined with blue fox — sweet! delicious! A long coat extending past my knees by a foot, of the same form, sable superb dark with a faint reddish nuance. Ordinarily I do not like sable but this is so beautiful that I cannot prevent myself from doing so. The reverse is of smooth satin, a sort of blue tapestry. One wears it reversed or where one wants. — Wait, I have not finished — A screen containing a charming little necklace of tiny rubies, sapphires, and pearls alternatively makes a sort of pendant in which case a small golden chain attaches the stones to each other. It is ??? and very nice. The bracelet has a diamond in lieu of a pearl. The three stones which cross at the ends finish in a little shamrock of pearls. The entire piece in a superb black moroccan box, with bolt and four corners of chiseled silver and its number in red leather and blue (inlaid) which will be my number also one of these days. It is lined in dark red satin. Well, what do you say? Me, I am completely bowled over and I pinch myself to know if it is really me. He sent to Maman two modern cloisonne vases, not large but beautiful and a fur coat — some kind of squirrel, I believe, quite deep. To Papa, and old gilded “bronze” in two pieces, very pretty.

But I begin again my long discourse of the other day, without thanking you for the good letter and the books that you have sent. The reception of yesterday evening passed as well as could be hoped. Papa is quite fatigued and is not well. His cold is oppressive.

Your number 12 (16 Nov) arrived today. A thousand thanks, also to Russell for his.

Kisses to the little ones and for you also.

Hélène

I have not yet decided if I will speak to Addie of my gift, in any case I will only tell her of one of the coats and of those two my parents.

The Japanese minister gave me a pretty enough fan in the form of a screen. It is interesting enough to collect souvenirs from everyone everywhere, especially if they are pretty. Thanks for sending the silver.

## 15.4 1892

6 January 1892 from Hélène

No 20

Chemulpo  
Jan. 6<sup>th</sup> 92

Chère Amy,

J'ai des remords de t'avoir envoyé une telle liste de choses à faire pour moi, et je craignes que tu ne vas être trop consciencieuse en leur exécution. J'espère tout de même que tu auras trouvé le plus important et que tu ne te tourmenteras pas du rest. J'espère aussi que la nouvelle année vous a apporté de meilleures choses qu'à vous. Dans ma dernière je crois déjà avoir parlé de la santé de Papa comme étant des plus faible à cause de cette “influenza”. Il ne va guère mieux et le docteur

exige beaucoup de soins et de tranquillité, deux choses presque impossible à lui donner. Il persiste dans son travail et justement maintenant il a toutes espèces de tourments à propos de conseil etc. etc. Il tousse pas mal et ne sont presque pas de son petit bureau – toujours fatigué et pâle, il me fait vraiment peur quelquefois. Je ne sais pas, peut-être que je vois tout cela un peu en noir mais certes cet hiver n'est pas gai! Je suis chez Mme Johnston pour une semaine et très à contre coeur mais il a fallu que je vienne pour en finir; elle me tourmenter depuis si longtemps, mais je suis dans des transes tout le temps à propos de Papa et je ne sais jamais ce que Maman va le conseiller à faire. Je me demande quelquefois si il y a beaucoup d'enfants avec des mères comme le nôtre.

J'ai des nouvelles de Péking à peu près une fois par mois maintenant – heureusement elles sont assez bonnes. – Tu vois je ne suis guère de bonne humeur aujourd'hui – Pardonne moi mais j'ai été beaucoup tourmentée dernièrement et ennuyée de questions "impertinentes" comme je les appelles. Il n'y a rien qui m'agace comme cela et des personnes qui veulent toujours savoir ce qui ne les regarde pas.

Je ne pense pas écrire à Addie par ce courrier -- cela m'est assez difficile, ne pouvant pas parler des choses qui me tiennent le plus aux coeur. Encore une fois soignes toi et ne te tourmentes pas trop des détails car comme les choses sont maintenant – !

Mille baisers,

Hélène

Arrivée avant hier je pense retourner dimanche ou lundi.

8 jan.

Nouvelles de papa bonnes. il tousse moins mais est encore faible.

H.M.H.

No 20

Chemulpo  
Jan. 6<sup>th</sup> 92

Dear Amy,

I am remorseful for having sent you such a list of things to do for me, I fear that you will be too conscientious in their execution. Even so I hope that you will have found the most important and that you will not torment yourself regarding the rest. I hope also that the new year brings all the best to you. In my last I believe I have already spoken of the Papa's health as being the weakest because of this "influenza." He is scarcely any better and the Doctor insists on a great deal of care and tranquility, two things almost impossible to give him. He persists in his work and just now he has all sorts of torments a propos the council, etc. etc. He coughs a lot and he is almost never at his little desk – always tired and pale he really scares me sometimes. I don't know, perhaps I see all that a little too blackly but certainly this winter is not gay! I am reluctantly at Mrs Johnston's for a week but I had to come to finish it; it had tormented me for such a long time, but I am anxious all the time a propos Papa and I never what Mama is going to council him to do. I sometimes wonder if there are many children with mothers such as ours.

I have news from Peking about once a month now — happily it is good enough. — You see that I am scarcely in good humor — Pardon me but I am much tormented recently and saddened by “impertinent” questions as I call them. There is nothing that bothers me like that and people who always want to know what does not regard them.

I am not thinking of writing to Addie by this mail — that is difficult enough without being able to talk of things that are closest to my heart. Once more, take care of yourself and do not torment yourself regarding the details because of the way things are now.

A thousand kisses,

Hélène

Arrived yesterday and I think I will return Sunday or Monday.

8 Jan.

News of Papa good. he coughs less but is still frail.

H.M.H.

17 January 1892 from Hélène

No 21

Söul

le 17 janv. 92

Chère Amy,

Seulement quelques lignes à le hâte pour te remercier du joli petit mouchoir que j’ai reçus de toi aujourd’hui. Il va à merveille avec une robe de cotonnade bleue et blanche que je me suis fais faire pour l’été prochain donc il vient très à propos. Les gants de Mme Gray sont aussi arrivés aujourd’hui. Elle est vraiment bien bonne de penser à moi et je suis bien contente de les avoir — comme tu peux croire. J’ai donné les deux prs à Maman qui te remerciera sans doute elle même. J’ai eu une très gentille petite épingle d’Elise or cela rien mais je me sens très riche. Avant de l’oublier envoie moi si tu peux une photographie de toi-même, Russell et des mioches — je n’en ai jamais eu des derniers — car il ne m’en reste pas une seul. On me les a toutes volées — tin types groupes-famille — tout et je me sens tout à fait seule sans amis autour de moi. Mme Johnston voulait absolument les voir et je les ai fait envoyer par le courrier. Il a été volé en route et me voilà — pauvre. J’ai fais mon possible pour les recouvrer mais je ne pense jamais les revoir. Cela m’est vraiment une grande perte car j’en avais de très intéressante et que je ne puis pas remplacer

Papa va beaucoup mieux — presque bien mais il n’ose pas sortir par ce temps, qui bien que beau pour la saison, est pourtant trop froid pour lui. J’écris depuis cinq heures — une heure pour ??? et je n’ai pas encore fini. Le courrier part demain de grand matin. Adieu donc pour aujourd’hui. Mes souliers vernis sont arrivés à bon port il y a quelque jours. Ils vont passablement.

Mille baisers

Hélène

As tu donnés le jupon a Mme. G.? Je t’expidiés la brocart.

Je n'ai rien encore d'Aug.  
à propos de l'argenterie. a-t-elle été expédiée?

No 21

Seoul  
Jan. 17 92

Dear Amy,

Just a few hasty lines to thank you for the pretty little handkerchief that I received from you today. It goes marvelously well with a blue and white cotton fabric that I am having made for next summer so it is very timely. The gloves from Mrs Gray also arrived today and I am very happy to have them – as you can believe. I gave the two pairs to Mama who without doubt will thank you for them herself. I have had a very nice little pin from Elise, without much value but I feel very rich. Before you forget send me a photograph of yourself, Russell, and the little ones – I never had any of the last ones – because I no longer have a single one. All of them have been stolen – family tintypes – and I feel quite alone without friends surrounding me. Mrs Johnston really wanted to see them and I mailed them to her. The mail was stolen en route and here am I – poor. I did everything possible to recover them but I think I will never see them again. It is truly an awful loss because I had many very interesting pictures and I cannot replace them.

Papa is much better – almost well but he dares not go out in this weather, even though it is good for the season, it is perhaps too cold for him. I have been writing for five hours – an hour for ??? and I have not yet finished. The mail leaves tomorrow late morning. Goodby then for today. My varnished shoes safely arrived several days ago. They are passable.

A thousand kisses.

Hélène

Have you given the dress to Mrs G.? I am expediting the brocade.  
I have nothing yet from Aug.  
As for the silverware, has it been expedited?

30 January 1892 from Jane  
*Letter dated only "January," but first postmark is 30 January.*

Seoul, Corea  
January

My dearest Amy

If I could only see you walk into my room how infinitely delighted I should be to see you & the children, but as it is I must make the best of it, thinking of you as growing stronger & the littles

ones in full merriment and mischief. I owe you many thanks for the two pairs of gloves you sent me – I needed them much, they are precisely the colours I should have selected & fit me well. I've not been out of the house for a month until the last two days when Papa insisted upon my taking a walk & I feel much better for it. My rheumatism tries me sorely. To hold a pen at times seems almost impossible. Maxima is ever ready to take hers in hand, & she writes unceasingly & has told you that Papa had an attack of influenza which housed him for a month or more. The last two days he has felt much better. How is Addie? Do ask her to write me & tell me how John and the baby are and don't forget to give me the ondits<sup>39</sup> of your own little bairns. I have laughed more than I can tell you of their ondits. I can't hold my pen the pain in my wrist and fingers is most trying. You must make allowance for it under the circumstances. With kindest remembrances to Mrs Gray & Miss Gray<sup>40</sup> and many kisses for the children & write me soon. Your letters are always interesting and most welcome. Love ever your fond mother who longs to see you.

J. L. Heard

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10 February 1892 from Gus

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Mrs. Russell Gray  
<sup>st</sup>39 Marlborough St.  
<sup>st</sup> Boston, Mass.  
 1601 J. St  
 Washington D.C.

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Seoul, Febr'y 10 1892

Dear Amy,

Max is engaged to von Brandt! I don't know whether she has told you this herself, but I have kept it secret a long time at his request and tell now because it will become well known before a great while & my chief reasons for not speaking of it have ceased to exist. You will recollect writing to me to ask if anything of this kind was contemplated, & I told you so far as I knew, nothing had taken place. A very few weeks afterwards. However Max in answer to some remark of mine went & got a letter of him to me in which he speaks of his love for her & asks for her hand. She had had it a few days and had been waiting an oppy to speak of it. She was very much ému for her. I told her I only cared for what was for her happiness, & pointed out the difference of age, he 56 and she 23, but she said she had thought of all this and didn't care. She supposed they wd have put out of talk abt. it, but she was very much attached to him, & wanted me to say yes. As that is

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<sup>39</sup>gossip, scuttlebut

<sup>40</sup>Miss Gray is either Elizabeth Chipman (Bessie) Gray or Harriet Gray

the only objection I could have — seriously — and she was so very determined & had made up her own mind so definitely, of course there was nothing to be said. He is a fine fellow and but for the difference in age I think will make her an excellent husband.

He said he could not come immediately, & suggested that nothing should be said about it till he could to avoid all the talk that wd be inevitable, & as I was equally disposed to take time, I was glad to consent to silence. I thought it would give Max an oppy to think it over more seriously & I was as anxious as he to avoid unnecessary talk. In the troubled state of China it was impossible for him to leave his post, & in winter the river is frozen & one cannot get out. He will probably come down here in Mch or April, & not improbably the marriage will take place then, though nothing has been said about that yet.

Max is as much in love as if her fiancé were 30, & he seems to be the same. Their letters are constant & very voluminous.

You must keep all this strictly to yourself and not let Max know I hve told you. Your answer to this must be in a separate piece of paper & included in another which I can show.

My fingers are so cold, I can hardly hold a pen & I fear you will not be able to read this. Certainly not without difficulty.

Thursday night before last 2° below zero Fahr. & 2 nights before 4° below, & a scarcity of coal. Yours ever with love to Russell & kisses to the bambins.

AH

One reason I did not tell you before was that you might say “I did not know” with a clear conscience if you were questioned as no doubt you would be. For the same reason that moved you to write to me asking the question.

13 February 1892 from Gus

Seoul, Febr'y 13 1892

Dear Amy,

It has been a great pain to me that I have not been able to recognize my relation to the small Augustine, whom I love with all my heart, and I enclose herein a cheque for \$25. which please employ in procuring for him a cup, or such other reminder of me as you think best. A silver cup is most appropriate, it seems to me. Ask Russell not to present my cheque for a fortnight or so, so as to insure my remittance has reached the bank. We have beautiful spring like weather for two days past. The snow is melting fast. And the streets are in a state! Je ne vous dis que ca! —

Love to all from all. The mail goes out unexpectedly this P.M.

Yours ever,  
A.H.

19 February 1892 from Jane

Seoul, Corea  
February 19<sup>th</sup>

My darling Amy

I should have answered your letter sooner & to tell you how delighted I was to hear that you were regaining in strength & the little tribe were happy & well.

Maxima is like Papa never happier than when he takes pen in hand at which I wonder as my rheumatism makes it impossible for me to hold my pen. I charged Maxima to thank you for thinking of me & sending the gloves they fit me well. The fingers are a little short, but it is I suppose the result of my swollen hands. Papa since the last few days is quite himself again, gaining in strength at which I wonder for we have had two severe snow storms. Maxima is absorbed in her trousseau, working hard, making her underclothes & dresses with the aid of a tailor who follows her instructions. She is at it the live long day & evening & I will say she succeeds wonderfully well. There are no shops here but she writes to a friend in Shanghai who sends her samples & in that way she orders what she needs. Don't forget that you are not to allude to Maxima's marriage. It is not announced & she does not wish to have it known. I wanted you to know it you are in fact the only one who does except Papa & myself. With much love from all of us ever.

Yrs affectionately, J.L.H.

11 March 1892 from Hélène

24

Seoul  
le 11<sup>st</sup> janvier mars 92

Chère Amy, Merci, merci mille fois de ta bonne petite lettre du 26-27 Jan. qui m'a fait beaucoup beaucoup de plaisir. J'avais si peur que tu me sois désappointée! Maintenant je ne puis qu'espérer que le jour ne sera pas trop ??? ou je pourrai vous présenter l'un à l'autre et que tu pourras en toute vérité lui 'serrer les mains.' Mais à propos du secret voici pourquoi. Il a demandé à Papa de ne pas en parler avant qu'il ne vienne au printemps, à qui que ce soit. Il a une raison, mai je ne puis te la dire en ce moment et si je fais mal en gardant le silence envers Jean et Addie j'en suis très fâchée et ne le fais, comme tu peux bien croire, que très à contrecœur. Ce n'est en vérité que la nécessité qui m'a dédié la langue envers toi plutôt qu'à elle, si tu peux me pardonner un tel aveu, et j'ai cru que tu le comprendrais. Mais comme tu dis - mes lettres soit un peu incohérentes et je ne me suis peut-être pas bien expliqué. Tu peu être bien sûre que j'écrirai à Addie au plus tôt possible et en attendant je te remercie de ta réserve envers elle car je sais que ce doit être difficile. Je suis très content que tu ne lui ai pas demandé la caisse pour moi, il m'a semblé après le départ de ma lettre que j'en avais demandé trop.

Les jours passent, l'un après l'autre sans changement. Le temps est affreux, les courriers n'arrivent pas et Papa et moi avons été souffrants depuis plusieurs semaines. Lui avec sa diarrhée moi d'indigestion. Je suis maigre à faire peur mais j'ai trop à faire pour y penser. Les courriers sont désespérants et je suis quelque-fois, même bien souvent, 5 et 6 semaines sans nouvelles de Péking. C'est à en devenir folle quelquefois.

Je suis bien contente que les paquets soient arrivés en bon état. Et j'espère que la grande enveloppe bleue, avec le brocard et mon portrait\* fera de même.

\*Il est mauvais — c'est à dire pas juste mais le meilleur que j'ai eu a ce moment.

Gardes-les.

Tu as raison, mes lettres sont incohérentes. Mais que veux tu? en ce moment même je suis si excité par ta lettre que je n'ai pas une idée en tête et il faut pourtant que j'écrive car le courrier part ce soir — ou dans dix jours. Remercie Russell de son petit mot que j'étudierai à tête reposée. Je lui écrirai. Merci de tout — mille fois. Tu es bien bonne. En attendant ne te tourmentes pas du reste — certes non que nous n'allons pas nous marier en cachette, mais pour le moment je ne puis rien dire. Je t'ai demandé de ne pas en parler à Papa car je ne lui as pas dit que je l'écrirai à ce sujet. Il est très impatient de l'écrire à la famille et ce serait assez pour l'enflammer. Ne m'appelles pas Hélène plus qu'auparavant. Au contraire je tiens plus que jamais maintenant à mon nom de garçon. Tu peux faire la distinction en l'appelant Brandt, ce qui je crois sera en somme le meilleur moyen.

Mille baisers –

H.M.H.

Papa te prie de faire parvenir cette lettre (ci-inclu) au Dr. Hermann [?]. Il est trop fatigué pour t'écrire lui-même.

M.

J'ai écrit à Addie le 5 — le 26 décembre — le 18 janvier — le 7 février. Je n'ai rien reçu d'elle depuis le 22 novembre. Est-elle fâchée? crois tu ou a-t-elle été malade?

Dear Amy, Thank you, thank you a thousand times for your good little letter of 26–27 Jan. which gave me great pleasure. I was so afraid that you would be disappointed with me. Now I can only hope that the day will not be too far where I will be able to present you to each other and you will be able truly to shake hands. But a propos the secret, here is why. He asked Papa to not speak of it before he comes in the spring, to anyone. He has a reason, but I cannot explain it at this time and if I do wrong in guarding the silence towards John and Addie, I am very angry and I do it, as you can well believe, very unwillingly. It is in truth only necessity which has directed my words towards you rather than her, if you can pardon me for saying so, and I believe that you

will understand, but as you say — my letters are a little incoherent and I have not well explained myself. You can be quite sure that I will will write Addie as soon as possible while waiting to thank you for your reserve towards her because I know that it must be difficult. I am very content that you have not asked her for the chest for me, it seemed to me after the departure of my letter that I was asking for too much.

The days pass, one after another without change. The weather is *awful*, the mail does not arrive and Papa and I have been suffering for several weeks. He with diarrhea and I with indigestion. I am frighteningly thin but I have too much to do to think about it. The mail is appalling and I am sometimes, even often, 5 or 6 weeks without news from Peking. It is sometimes enough to go crazy.

I am well content that the packages arrived in good shape. And I hope that the large blue envelope, with the brocade and my portrait\* will be the same.

\*It is bad —that is to say not good but the best that I had at the time.

Keep them.

You are right, my letters are incoherent. But what do you want? Even at this moment I am so excited by your letter that I have no idea in mind and perhaps I must write since the mail leaves tonight — or in ten days.

Thank Russell for his note which I will study at leisure. I will write him. Thanks for everything — a thousand times. You are very good. While waiting do not torment yourself with the rest. Certainly we are not going to marry in secret, but for the moment I can say nothing. I asked you to not talk of this with Papa because I have not told him that I would write you on this subject. He is very impatient to write it to the family and it would be enough to inflame him. Don't call me Hélène more than before. On the contrary, I hold more than ever to my boy's name. You can make the distinction by calling him Brandt, which I believe will be the best means when all is said and done.

A thousand kisses —

H.M. H.

Papa asks you to forward the enclosed letters to Dr. Hermann. He is too fatigued to write you himself.

M.

I wrote to Addie on the 5th — the 26th of December — the 18th of January —the 7th of February. I have received nothing from her since the 22nd of November. Is she angry? Do you believe or has she been sick?

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The following several letters in chronological order include several not written to Amy, but written to Gus by Max Heard and by her future husband Max von Brandt. In later letters from Gus to Amy he says he is including letters from both Max H. and Max B. to him, which explains the collection ending up in Amy's possession.

10 July 1892 from Max to Gus

Shanghai  
Sunday, July 10<sup>th</sup> 5:45 a.m.

Dear Papa,

I am momentarily expecting Mrs Low's boy to call for me & scribble off a few lines while waiting to tell you of my safe arrival, so that I may send it by first steamer. We had a smooth passage but very foggy, which accounts for delay. We should have been in yesterday at noon, instead of which we put in at 11:30p.m. I went to bed & was quite disgusted when 15 minutes after Mrs L's boy appeared. I told him to return this morning at six. It is hot but not unbearable & the breeze is cool.

The Captain has been kind & attentive but the time slows as you can imagine. It seems at least a week since I left you. How are you & Mama? Take good care of yourself & don't run about too much in the hot sun & don't worry about me.

With love & kisses to both  
Yrs H.M.H.

20 Foochow Rd.

Dear Papa,

I find that the mail does not close until tomorrow, so I have time to add a few lines. Mr. Low came himself to meet me this morning & both he & Mrs Low have been most warm & kind in their welcome. They had already heard rumors of my engagement to Brandt & were therefore not surprised, but Mrs. L. seems disposed to help me with what I have to do & we have been talking chiffons a good deal. She says that the tailors can make perfectly after a pattern without trying on. So please send me Mamma's red waist trimming with black guipure<sup>41</sup>, which fits her best, I think, by return mail. It will fold into small compass without injury & will come safely in a thick paper. Then give me the measure in inches from the waist to bottom of the shirt in front & behind also around hips over petticoat not dress. I should have brought them with me but that I did not think it possible to do without trying one.

I have an invitation from Mme Vissière (French Consul General's wife) for the evening of the 14th. This afternoon we drive out to a Mrs Flotheow to tea. She is a very nice German I believe. I begin work tomorrow but the dentist cannot see me before Wednesday — he kept his time for me last week & is now engaged. Mr. Lamson *mainsoupirant* is here & anxious to see me. He asked Mr. Low confidentially & with much interest if it were true that I was engaged & would he please let him know if he could. The weather looks uncertain & is not at all oppressive tho' very damp.

One or two people are dining here to meet me on Wednesday, so altogether I am petted & quite comfortable.

Don't forget Mamma's dress.

Ever afftly  
H.M.H.

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<sup>41</sup>rough lace

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13 July from Hélène to Gus

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Shanghai  
July 13<sup>th</sup>

Dear Papa,

I am just back from my first séance at the dentist's, and I am sorry to say the outlook is not attractive. My teeth are worse than I thought which is saying a good deal. Twenty three cavities! nineteen of which are in the upper jaw alone, while two of them are so bad that they will require treatment before they can be filled. By going every day I hope to get through in a fortnight.

I took the typewriter back this morning. There was nothing to pay on it. I have not yet seen about your underclothes but will try to do it tomorrow. Mrs Denney's amah<sup>42</sup> has just (*amonthago*) been engaged by Mrs Jordan who has taken her to England & expects to keep her a year or two. But Mrs. Low says she knows of another good one. She is to come to see me. I looked about for the King's present & found nothing except some imitation Léous vases. The large ones Mrs Low chose are \$200 & I should think more than you need give. They are not first rate without being very ordinary. They had others rather smaller for \$100., \$120. & 80. I preferred the ones of a \$100. & 80. about 16 inches high, perhaps a little more. The choice is very limited and most of the things are not very nice.

It is not unbearably hot, much less so than at Chefoo. I am being fed up – people call. & I am having a very good time of it & enjoy the shopping hugely, after so long a holiday. Mr. Walter very kindly brought down the news from Chefoo that I was engaged to Mr. von Brandt, so that it has become town talk & I hardly dare put my nose out of the door. I saw Mr. Morse yesterday who inquired after you, as do many others. I hope you are taking care of yourself & that Mama is also well.

With love & kisses to both.

Ever Affectionately  
H.M.H.

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17 July 1892 from Max von Brand to Gus

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<sup>42</sup>The dictionary defines an amah as an East Indian nurse or female servant, but in Max's letters it seems to mean simply a female servant. A friend who grew up in Pakistan says the term can also mean a nanny.

Peking July 17<sup>th</sup> 1892.

My Dear Heard,

Many thanks for your kind note of the 14<sup>th</sup> last and the good news it contained about yourself and Mrs Heard. I also am without news from Max but hope to hear from her before I am much older. The thought of depriving you and Mrs. Heard of her companionship is the only drop of bitterness in ??? without that perfect happiness. Here everybody is delighted at the thought of having her as doyen and I receive from every one the kindest expressions of sympathy and the warmest felicitations, all these effusions are of course duly forwarded to her who has the largest sympathy and admiration.

The weather is rather unpleasant, everything is reeking with dampness and tho' it has not been raining for the last four days, the sky looks always very threatening. Let us hope that it won't rain any more, there has enough of misery been caused already by the preceding downpours!

Nothing new in politics, things look quieter in Hunan and Kuangtung but antforeign placards are again appearing in Honan.

Good bye for the present. Give my most respectful regards to Mrs Heard and believe me with every good wish for you and yours.

Yours very truly,

MvBrant

Baron von Sternburg<sup>43</sup> turns out to be an old acquaintance of your oldest daughter, whom he met frequently in 1885 at Lord Sackville's and Mrs Robinson's, the wife of the third secretary of the navy; I am glad that Max will find some one here to talk over her American friends; Sternburg knows everyone. –

Mr. Denby<sup>44</sup> wrote a most charming letter in acknowledgement of a note from me, it was duly forwarded to Max.

The Austro-Corean treaty was signed at ????? On June 23d between Baron von Biegeleben<sup>45</sup> and the Corean Chargé d'affaires; it is to be ratified within a year. But now, chin chin for good.

Yours,

B.

18 July 1892 from Hélène in Shanghai to Gus

<sup>43</sup>Baron Speck von Sternburg was the Secretary to the German Legation in Peking. He interested himself in studying Chinese military resources and many of his observations were reported in G.N. Curzon's *Problems of the Far East*, Constable and Co., London, 1896, a study of China, Korea, and Japan from an extremely biased English point of view.

<sup>44</sup>Col. Charles Denby was the U.S. Minister to China (1885-1898).

<sup>45</sup>Baron Rüdiger von Biegeleben, Austrian-Hungarian diplomat and statesman, resident minister in Japan, signed the treaty with Korea on 23 June 1892.

Shanghai  
July 18<sup>th</sup>

Dear Papa,

Your letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> came this morning, but the parcel has not yet turned up. Doubtless it will later. You say nothing of your health? So I take it for granted that you are well., But I am sorry you & Mamma miss me so very much for I fear I am caught here & I shall probably have to remain at least ten days longer. Doing as much as I can each day it will be quick work if I can then get off., I was so worn out & good for nothing yesterday that I had to back out of a tea out of town & a dinner & take to my bed. Today I feel better & begin my siege at the dentist's once more. It has been fairly cool so far but today it is terribly hot & I feel as if I had got into a bath with my clothes on. About our marriage you know as much as I do. I presume it will be quiet, that is we shall invite people to the church only, so there is nothing to do in the way of preparation that I can think of. Brandt is trying to get the Admiral & some of the squadron in Chefoo for that time, in which case we may be married on board the flagship, which means of course more of an affair, tho' nothing would devolve on us I think in the way of entertainment. But it is so hard to settle things by letter & everything takes so long to do that I think it will be little short of a miracle if anything gets done when we think. If that wretched Emperor would only telegraph us we might settle matters better. It has been very hard this last week to keep people quiet & I have been much annoyed by congratulations which I have constantly refused. Mr & Mrs Low have also been asked if it were true & I am looked upon with curiosity which is sometimes embarrassing. I think Mr. Walter started it, no thanks to him! Mr. Lamson has called but I was out. Mrs L. saw him yesterday at the tea & he asked her particularly about you, saying that you had stopped writing. I hope to see him before I go. You probably have my letter about the royal present, & other things. I have seen nothing better than the vases.

The Vissière are stationed here now. He is consul general which is a promotion for him. Their fête was pretty the other evening, but there were too few people. Having been here but a short time few have called. We had a pleasant sail with the McLeods [???] on Saturday. They do not go to Chefoo before the end of August or beginning of Sept. Have the Bunkers arrived or any other Seoul lights? It is too hot to write & there really is not much to say. Everyone asks after you — & the old comprador. Ak-ke [?] inquired for the whole family & was sorry you were not coming here. Several of the Hong servants were interested in my coming as your daughter.

Kiss to Mama  
Yours affectly  
H.M.H.

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19 July 1892 from Gus in Chefoo

Chefoo, July 19 1892

Dear Amy,

Your petit mot of 8 June answered well enough my own feelings, or rather what would have been my own feelings with any one else than von Brandt but I have so high an opinion of him that I had no doubts of his reasons for delay were perfectly proper. At first as I wrote you I was perfectly disposed that nothing should be said about it in order to give Max the time to reflect on the situation but reflection delay only seemed to increase her ardor, & as I wrote you by the last mail you might have supposed them both in their teens!

On the 7<sup>th</sup> they departed he for Peking She for Shanghai, it being understood that he should return to ??? and the wedding take place soon afterward. But Max wrote me from Sh. that the report of her engagement seemed to be current there and she cd not put her foot outside of her door.

And yesterday I recd a letter from Brandt to say there was so much talk it was useless to undertake to keep the matter secret any longer; so I have spoken of it to two or three people here. Before he went away he wrote Mrs Low to tell her.

Max has behaved very well in all this business. It has been no doubt a great trial to her patience but she has infinite confidence in her fiancée & I would not say a word to disturb it. I do not understand however why he put off his application to the Emperor so long & I shall one day ask him. I fully expected him in Korea at end of May & was much annoyed when he did not come. We are delighted with the pictures at the children, & wish – oh, how much, we could see them and you. Kiss them for us, & don't forget us. We are going to feel very much alone!

Yrs, AH

Your mother always liked von Brandt very much, but in the present case she can't get over the disparity of years. She thinks it dreadful! – & all other considerations are as nothing.

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20 July 1892 from Hélène in Shanghai

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Shanghai  
July 20<sup>th</sup>

Dear Papa,

You will think that I always write in a hurry, and very right you will be, but the fact is the days seem hardly long enough to accomplish anything in. The dentist takes such a slice out of each day, which practically ends at four o'clock when I have to dress & go to the parlor, to see anybody who may call. After five we invariably go out to return calls or to drive; or as yesterday to drop in at the country club, where I saw the Lamsons. I was beginning to think I never should, but he was very empresseé & as nice & amusing as ever. Hot & in a decided négligé after playing tennis he was not handsome but I enjoyed the few minutes relaxation from the heavy stilted conversation of the others. He asked most particularly after you & was troubled with the thought that he had said

something in his last letter which had offended you, as you had not answered him. I reassured him on that score & explained that you had been ill etc. He seemed relieved. Monday evening I had a pleasant chat with Mr. Fearson (James) who joined us at the gardens. He was unusually sociable & agreeable.

I see nothing else for the present. — Thanks for your letters & those enclosed, I return Uncle John's for you to read. It must be a nuisance to have the Bunker's next door, to say nothing of the others. My teeth are very troublesome & painful to work on & I cannot possibly get away before the end of next week even taking two sittings a day for two or three days. I dare not do it oftener it is such a strain on my nerves. Mama's waist came all right — no books in the box — & the tailor is at work on her dress for the wedding. I trust she will like it. Let me have your measures for dressing gown & I can have that attended to. I really do not see why Amy needs to worry over the secrecy of my engagement. I have written home & we shall speak of it here very soon & if trying to anyone it is to me, especially of late. The Low's send remembrances. I many kisses to you & Mama.

Ever afftly

H.M. H.

I was shocked to see the death of Walker Blaine in the papers.

The amah I had enjoyed now throws me up for another place and I am again on the hunt. I am afraid I shall not get so good a one again.

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21 July 1892 from Gus in Chefoo

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Chefoo, July 21 1892

Dear Amy,

I enclose a note from Max recd. this morning which will give you the latest news of her, & also one from von Brandt recd. an hour later. Which I think you wd be pleased to see. It gives you a touch of couleur locale.

Sternburg in German Secy of legation, I believe.

Yrs A.H.

Mrs Denby is the wife of the Am. Minister & at present the "leading lady" in Peking. Max will push her from that position!

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23 July from Max von Brandt in Peking to Gus

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Peiking July 23d 1892

My Dear Heard,

Many thanks for your letter of July 18 which reached here today rather more quickly than I could expect taking into consideration the state of the river which is still very bad, the Peiko having broken through the dykes some miles above Tsentien [??] and flooded the country there. I hope you did not take amiss my remark about Denby as attributing to you any part in the ??? he and the others had been indulging in. It was not intended certainly to ??? what ??????. Now that I have got over the angry feeling caused by people's talking. I am rather glad that they spent so much time and breath in discussing the probability; when they learnt the news nothing remained but the miles of human kindness, all the fizz having gone off and I must say I have seen nothing but kind and sympathetic faces and heard nothing but ????? words. Max is such a general favourite that I feel that everybody is envying me my happiness. To a certain extent, and nothing is ????? better ??? if the proverbs are true.

I had a bad and at some moments a rather dangerous passage but I carried my point and arrived on the day on which I had said I would arrive. Pigheadedness as I call it now, strength of character as I used to call it when younger and vainer.

You say nothing about your health wich I take to be a good sign; besides Shavermeier<sup>+</sup> [???] tells me that you are improving daily. I hope he judges the state of things rightly. — As to the marriage of an american with a foreigner we had only one instance here I can remember. Miss Nina Howard (a) with Mr Kipperley, they were married at the British Legation and afterward at the Legation chapel and then at the catholic church, the American authorities taking, to my knowledge, no part in the proceedings. The Consul certainly was not up here. —

Ugly placards appear again in Hunan, but we get only what we merit.

I hope Mrs Heard is doing well, give my warmest and most respectful regards to her and believe me, my dear Heard, with every good wish for you and yours.

Yours very truly  
M v Brandt

I have good news from Max tho' the dentist is very hard upon her.  
+German Consul

30 July 1892 from Gus in Chefoo

Chefoo, July 30

Dear Amy,

Nothing from you by last mail. Max will be back tomorrow, & we shall be glad to see her. It is very lonely without her. I enclose one of her late notes from Shanghai, & I have sent my brother John a letter of felicitations from Denby, our minister at Peking, highly appreciative of

von Brandt. It only expresses my own opinion, but coming from an outsider will have with others more authority! I have asked him to send it to you. The marriage will probably take place abt. Aug 20. The whole country between Peking & the sea is under water, the river swollen by the most heavy rains having broken its ??? and Brandt will have a difficult, not to say dangerous task to get down, but no doubt hew will manage it somehow.

Allen writes me that he as seen Wharton's resignation in a late paper, which I am very sorry to hear. As Blaine is out, this leaves me without any friend at court, & sometimes one is useful.

Reflecting on Max's loss makes me feel how old I am. I have not till lately realized it much, but your mother & I will have to support each others' tottering steps. Her health, thank God, is perfectly good, but her loss of hearing & memory is sometimes very trying.

I wish I could hear that you were well. Russell says that you are stronger, but your eyes are troublesome & a sign of weakness. If you could could all come & camp in my ??? for a couple of months this autumn or next spring, it would do you a world of good, & give me a world of delight. My pictures of the little ones give me infinite pleasure.

Yours evr

A.H.

10 August 1892 from Gus in Chefoo

Chefoo, Aug. 10

My Dear Amy,

I telegraphed Russell yesterday that — "Emperor refuses consent Marriage postponed" — & there is not much more to say. I received yesterday a letter from von Brandt to that effect, & saying that he would be here on the 20th. He says he considers Max released though he is indissolubly bound. He shall hand in his resignation and on its acceptance shall again ask her if she is willing to join his more modest fortunes. He evidently ??? it as the end of his career & feels bitterly such treatment after 33 years of faithful & honorable service. There is a regulment that ministers shall not marry without this consent, but it has been looked upon as a matter of form, & I know myself many marriages Germans in official life and American women.

Max bears it very well and seems to be fonder of him then ever. I told her she had an oppy<sup>46</sup> now of knowing whether her affection was more to the office or the man, & her answer is not doubtful. But it is a great blow to her & her resistance to it shows the active strength of her character. I am quite proud of her.

It seems a wanton piece of heartless cruelty, & you know my feelings perfectly without the necessity of any big words on my part. No one is more astonished than other Germans in govt service, who knew Brandt's ??? to consideration & how rarely this right has been exercised by

<sup>46</sup>opportunity

the Sovereigns. I do hope somebody will tap the head of this wretched Emperor, & let some of the wind out, & I am dispirited to In that Russia seems of late disposed to make friends with him.

There is no objection to giving the reason for the postponement of the marriage, but without comment. There is no use to embitter the situation, or make a change of opinion more difficult and for the same reason it is not for us to make any allusion to B's intention to hand in his resignation. So please do not mention it. There is nothing to be done or said – but wait.

Max will have to spend another winter in Korea! I shan't be sorry, but she will!

There is nothing more to add. We are all pretty well & shall be happy to get back to our own roof ????. Though Chefoo has done us good.

Much love & kisses to the children from your mother & myself.

Yours evr  
A.H.

16 September 1892 from Gus

Seoul, Sept 16 1892

Dear Amy,

I hope we are not going to be deprived of the pleasure of seeing your writing much longer. It is all well to hear that your are improving; we can rejoice at that, but we should like to hear it from your own lips. I am tempted to wonder if you can read writing, since you cannot see to write; & when I reflect what a dreadful scribble my writing has become I no longer think it readable. However it is a pleasure for me to talk with you, so I will suppose you are there to listen and continue my bavardage. Max keeps up wonderfully. She has her deep fits of depression, but they are not long or frequent. I told her at the first that the best way to fight off her own grief was to try to take an interest in the concerns of others, & she has acted in the spirit. She ordinarily gives no sign of sorrowing, & a stranger would not notice tha she was not in her usual ????, but to me she is very different from the gay girl of a year ago.

I confess I have more misgivings about the course of affairs than she has ??????. It would be very easy if the authorities were likely to ??? into his ????, & try to carry them out. But I'm afraid the worse will be the case, & they will try to thwart him & his projects.

Mr. ???? is for home as soon as he receives his letters from ????. I learn what the Emperor's refusal means which will be at the end of this month to send in his resignation & at its acceptance, which Max expects to be immediate, to come down here as soon as the river opens, say end of March or April. They wd then be married and go home – to Europe. In this she admits there may be a doubt – as B. told us the “resignation” may be accepted here & he may be put in disponibilités the only practical difference being that in the latter case his annual pension is \$1000 less. Brandt

says they must accept his resignation. The only possibility is they may offer him a year's leave which he would take means to avoid.

But it seems to me that if they don't want to get rid of him, but want to prevent him from marrying an American, there are a good many ways to give him annoyance & delay, if of not actually ultimately checkmating him, & I cannot help fearing they will be practiced. They may begin by offering him a year's leave, which he will decline; but that will take time. They may accept his resignation, but require him to keep his post till his successor is named & arrives.

In fact there are more ways than one to kill a cat. And with such a cat and such an Emperor nothing is too much to expect. B. is not a man to be patient under ??? or to submit to injustice; but there are limitations, & the German system is so utterly soul-killing & arbitrary that no exaction would surprise me! I hope to live long enough to see some of the gas punched out of it. Brandt is not a Prussian by heredity, which accts for his being a decent fellow. Kiss the boys for me. Their pictures are a great delight.

As ever  
A.H.

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20 September 1892 from Gus

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20 Sept

Dear Amy,

I enclose a note to Arthur Dexter, wd. please send to him.

We are having a dinner of missionaries tonight. I enclose note from one of them, whom we think of as most promising. I also enclose the back of the envelope with my address. He has been here rather over a year & ought to know better. The writing is as typical of the phraseology.

The English missionaries are educated men & gentlemen. We have none of the "Inland Mission" here. They are all Church of England men.

Yours ever  
A.H.

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Enclosure:  
Augustine Heard  
American Consul Genl.

Dear Mr. Heard

Your kind invitation for Monday eve received and I accept with frank hospitality.

Yours sincerely,  
H.M. Brown

17 October 1892

Journal in English by Max Heard describing her visit to Kyongbok Palace (now a museum).

We started for the palace at half past two, Mrs Allen going with me. Mrs Great.<sup>47</sup> joined us en route. We were taken half way round the palace grounds by a back gate, thru' which we started half way back again only on the inside of the walk instead of out. After about 5 minutes we were put down at the gate of one of the miserable inside courts, which left us but a few steps to take before reaching the position where we were to wait. We were met at the foot of the high stone steps by Min Chong Ho, cousin of the Queen<sup>48</sup>, a handsome young man speaking English perfectly; at the top by two court ladies, old hags of nearly seventy yrs. in the most indescribable of dresses, almost fascinating in its ugliness. Tiny feet in the universal white stocking, a few inches of white trouser showing around the ankle. Then a round, balloning, bulging mass of shirts of all colors, & hitched & hoisted round in every possible way. The shoulders covered by a tiny jacket of a lighter brighter shade of green than the outside shirt. Their wizened faces were framed in by a huge head dress of false hair ??? down over the ears & touching the shoulders so that they could with difficulty move their heads about. Over this mass of hair was a spread eagled ??? arrangement of heavy black lacquered wood. A troupe of maids of all ranks & grades, in simpler dresses of silk & of the same style, usually green shirts & yellow jackets, with great round balls of hair in the backs of their heads, stood closely packed around us, while the eunuchs walked about asking questions of our interpreters. The pavillon was clean & nicely papered in Korean style with the exception of a large center table & chairs. We waited about 20 minutes, then leaving our wraps we were marched

<sup>47</sup>Mrs. Elizabeth Greathouse was the mother of Clarence Ridgeby Greathouse [c. 1845–1899], an American advisor to King Kojong. Clarence Greathouse was general manager of the San Francisco Examiner when in 1886 he was appointed consul-general to Japan at Yokahama, a post at which he served for four years. In 1890 he was engaged to serve as a legal advisor for King Kojong and in January 1891 he was appointed vice-president of the home office, which put him in charge of legal affairs. His best known case was the trial of the Japanese and Korean conspirators accused of the murder of the Queen in 1895. He died while serving as an advisor to the King. His mother lived with him until his death. Mrs Greathouse had been a friend of the Queen, and thought her a “gentle, pretty creature.” After her son’s death she returned to Versailles, Kentucky at the age of 81. [28, 79, 96] The biography in [79] was written by Harold Joyce Nobel, who wrote of the foreign community in Korea in his paper [77] and his 1931 PhD thesis [100] (information provided by John Shufelt).

<sup>48</sup>Min Myongsong, the controversial and powerful wife of King Kojong. She would be murdered by Japanese soldiers in the palace in 1894.

across a courtyard up a flight of stone steps to the position where the King Queen & Crown Prince stood behind little square tables, surrounded by a sinister crowd of maids as that around the ladies of the court. We walked up quite near and bowing to each in turn we came & stood before the King & Queen who were side by side, their son off on the right at right angles. It was very much like playing at school as we had the usual stereotyped questions put to us in turn. How we liked Korea? Were we comfortable? How many children etc. After about fifteen minutes perhaps less we were dismissed the Queen having expressed her regrets at not having been able to receive us before as she had been ill in the morning, but that tomorrow we should receive a present as a remembrance. Their majesties were both much interested & amused by Mr. Ducitiesch's [???] two little boys, to whom they gave small painted gauze fans & little embroidered pouches.

The Queen is small, not pretty but having grace & charm of manner. She was affable & talkative. Her face was as white as this paper with powder & paste & she also wore a huge chignon minus the wooden thing. Instead she had Chinese jewelry stuck in all around it which was quite becoming & quaint. But her teeth were horrible — black & irregular. As she stood behind the table I could not see the detail of her dress well but it seemed to consist of a very long & voluminous shirt of dark blue gauze or thin silk with a side border woven in gold. A longish Chinese looking jacket of bright red satin thickly covered with gold & out of the side sleeves of which fell white gauze sleeves also with a gold border. She kept her hands carefully concealed in these except when she put them up to her head for a moment to push forward the mass of her hair which seemed to drag; or when she gave the toys to the children. The King did not speak to us, only played with the boys across the table. I was very much pleased with him & found him almost handsome in his gorgeous red & gold gown. The Crown Prince is an idiot or looks like one. — As we came out I noticed a delicious fragrance in the courtyard. Turning back twd. Min who was a few steps behind me, I noticed that the King & Queen had followed us out to the top of the steps. She wished my questions repeated to her, then invited me to walk about the park. — The scent came from a number of pots of flowers but I do not know the name of the plant.

Finding our wraps in the waiting room we started for our walk but had not gone far before we came to the back of the audience hall, on the piazza of which their majesties had come out with their ???. I was standing on a raised terrace across the yard, which is as much a part of a Korean house as the front door is of ours. Mrs Greathouse on my left, Min on my right, directly in front of the King. Mrs G. pointed to a bronze sundial on a stone pedestal by which we stood, asking what it was.<sup>49</sup> The King saw me put my hand on it & shouted across — did we have sun dials in America? I assured him that we did not use them any more having clocks. How did we regulate them? By the sun. And how did we know — ? By instruments one of which was called a sextant. Oh yes! That was used on ships did we use it on land too?

The whole situation was ludicrous, he with his suite, I with mine consisting of Mrs. G., Mama, Mrs S Mrs D. with the boys, then Jap. Consul's wife, him & two Jap. amahs — but I had some difficulty keeping my face straight when he asked if we took the position of the sun by day or by night!

There was nothing to see in the way of flowers as we returned to our pavillon where the table

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<sup>49</sup>During a visit to Seoul Korea in 1984 I toured the castle and its grounds and found the bronze sundial admired by my great aunt Max almost a hundred years earlier.

had been set in our absence. We were given a foreign dinner, bad of course. Two ladies in waiting taking the ends of the table. I sat between Mrs. G. and Min Chong Ho.

I managed to see so much of it all as I had asked permission to keep on my spectacles, as I said that like my father I could not see without them.

Mama wore her red gown with black lace & diamonds. I wore a pale blue silk V back & front, with a little white lace around the fichu & elbow sleeves – my parure of turquoise & diamonds. Mrs D. also in evening dress. The other ladies in walking dress & bonnets. It was all rather curious and interesting, but more so to look back upon than at the time. M. Min told me that of all the women that he saw none were allowed to marry. We got home at half past five.

Oct. 21st. The Queen sent Mamma & me a quantity of presents. We each received 4 very fine bamboo window screens, 2 small mats, 2 pieces (22 yds each) of finely hand quilted silk a most marvelous work of patience; 4 piece of a very thin soft & flimsy white silk, 2 pieces of white gauze (nice), 2 écu grass cloth – coarse, a soap stone box, a small embroidered pouch smelling very strongly of sumac, and 10 common lacquered fans. A perfect pony load. All the other ladies who were received got the same.

## 15.5 1893

8 January 1893 from Hélène

Söul  
le 8 janvier  
1893

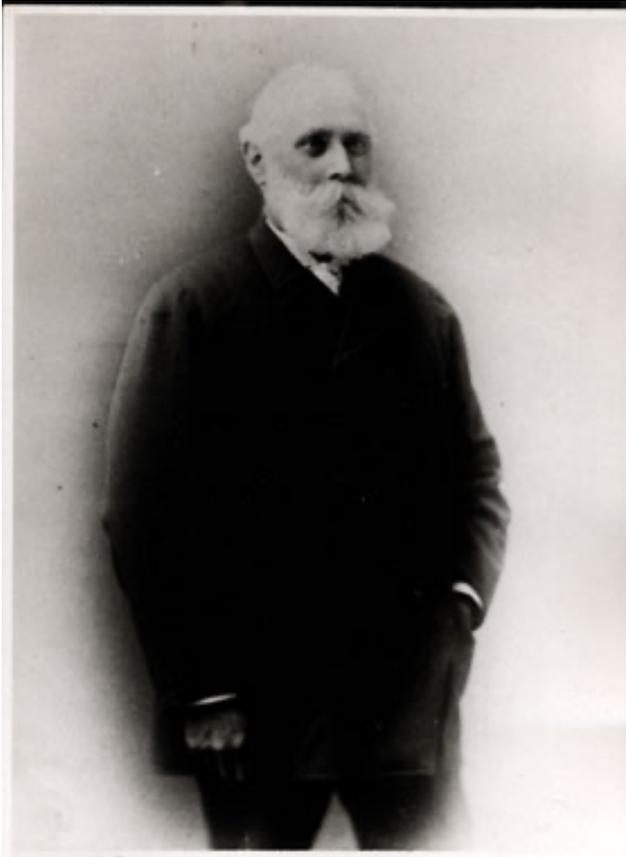
Chère Amy,

Voilà déjà plusieurs semaines que nous n'avons eu une causerie, mais avant de commencer mon récit de tout ce qui s'est passé pendant ce temps je veux te remercier de la jolie petite aigrette que j'ai reçu par le dernier courier. Il faudra me dépêcher d'aller à un bal pour pouvoir la porter.

Il n'y en a guère ici encore mais nous étés assez gai pour nous. Plusieurs personnes ont donné des arbres de Noël; le dernier et le plus beau était vendredi dernier chez les russes, leur Noël n'ayant lieu que 12 jours après le notre.

Outre les enfants il y avait aussi bon nombre de grandes personnes de sorte que je me suis assez amusée, en enfantillage avec le secrétaire M de Behrbery [?] assez gentil garçon. Il ya dix jours Mme Hillier (consulate Anglais) a donnée une charade, pas trop brillante mais on n'est pas difficile ici et cela nous a paru très passable. Le 2 janvier nous avons reçu pas mal de visites, bien qu'il faisait un froid de loup. Mais nous reprenons nos vieilles habitudes maintenant et il n'y a plus rien sur le tapis si ce n'est encore un de ces horribles diners de missionnaires que nous allons avoir la semaine prochaine. Le dernier j'espère, qui a été remis tout ces temps ci à cause de l'indisposition de Papa, mais il va mieux et nous avons hâte d'en finir. Maman va assez bien mais elle s'ennuie à périr et ne parle que de l'en aller. Je crois que nous en avons tous en plus qu'assez et ne partirons pas avec grands regrets! Moi, j'attends toujours et j'en suis aussi bien lasse quelquefois, surtout

quand je pense que nous en avons pour encore trois mois, à peu près, si tout s'arrange selon nos désirs.



**Maximilian von Brandt in 1892**

Il y a déjà presque un mois que je suis sans nouvelles et je ne sais si la réponse est encore arrivés de Berlin, mais je crois que c'est encore trop tôt. Nous faisons néanmoins tout les arrangements pour être mariée au commencement d'avril et j'ai parlé à l'évêque il y a quelques jours. Il doit me faire savoir sous peu si il consent à nous marier ici, c'est à dire au salon pas à l'église, aussitôt qu'il l'aura fait je t'enverrai la nouvelle forme de lettre de fairepart. En attendant ajoute les noms de Mr & Mrs Alfred Dwight Foster 44 Fairfield D. si tu ne les a pas encore sur la liste.

Avec tout cela je ne t'ai pas décrits les cadeaux que Brandt nous a fait pour Noël. A Maman une robe chinoise de soie jaune brodé de papillons, Papa un petit porte-cigarettes en cuir noir avec initials M.B. surmonté de la couronne en argent, à moi — tu vas ouvrir de grands yeux! un ravissant petit service, théière, cafetière, crémier et sucrier, en argent massif, d'ouvrage chinois; attends ce n'est pas tout — une broche de trois superbes améthystes

montées en branche avec de tout petits diamants; une plus petite avec une grande pierre et diamants et des petites boucles d'oreilles ravissantes pour finir la parure. Pense donc! Mais c'est sa dernière "extravagance" je lui dit, car maintenant nous allons être raisonnables.

Papa et Maman m'ont donné un gentille petite boîte argent et émaille Koréenne, et Dr Allen m'a ciselé un cadre en bois pour portrait. Plusieurs cartes et des souhaits de toutes part, de sorte que je n'ai pas à me plaindre.

Demain je commence l'afouie[?] de repasser la garde robes de Maman et les batailles avec le tailleur. Il est presque impossible de la plaire à moins que je ne lui fasse des robes, et des chemises russes comme les miennes et je m'y refuse obstinément. Il me manquerait plus que cela. C'est qu'elle commence à vieillir sérieusement. Maman ne peut pas être bien loin des 70 ans. Papa en a 65 et elle est le plus âgée je crois, des deux, — de sorte que j'ai toujours les mains pleines d'ouvrage.

Je me porte mieux mais en ce moment j'ai un gros rhume, qui ne m'empêche pas de trop

bavarder tu vas dire. Tu as raison et je m'en vais surtout comme j'ai d'autres lettres à écrire pour ce courrier.

Comment vas tu? Mme Winthrop m'écrit "beaucoup mieux".?

Mille baisers aux mioches et pour toi avec bien de remerciements pour ton gentil souvenir.

Hélène

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Seoul  
8 January  
1893

Dear Amy,

It has already been several weeks since we have had a chat, but before beginning my recitation of all that has happened in the meantime I want to thank you for the pretty little aigrette<sup>50</sup> that I received by the last mail. I will have to hurry and go to a ball in order to wear it.

There is scarcely anyone still here but we have been gay enough for us. Several people provided Christmas trees; the last and the best was last Friday at the Russian's, their Christmas not taking place until 12 days after ours.

Aside from the children there was also a large number of adults of the sort that amuse me, being childish with the Secretary Mr. de Behrbery, a nice enough young man. Twelve days ago Mrs Hillier (British Consulate) gave a charade, not brilliant but one is not difficult here and it appeared to us quite passable. The 2nd of January we received a fair number of visits, even though it was very cold. But we are recovering our old habits now and there is nothing still left but one of these horrible Missionary dinners that we are going to have next week. The last I hope, which has been put off all these times because of Papa's indisposition, but he is better and we are eager to finish them. I believe that we have all had more than enough and we will not leave with grand regrets! Me, I wait all the time and I am well tired of it sometimes, especially when I think that we will have three months more of it, more or less, if all goes as we wish.

It is nearly a month that I have been without news and I do not know if the response has already arrived from Berlin, but I believe that it is still too early. Nevertheless we are making all the arrangements to get married at the beginning of April and I talked to the Bishop several days ago. He should shortly let me know if he consents to marry us here, that is to say in the living room and not at the church, as soon as he does it I will send you the new announcement. While waiting add the names of Mr and Mrs Alfred Dwight Foster 44 Fairfield D. if you do not already have them on the list.

With all of that I have not described the gifts that Brandt gave us for Christmas. To Mama a Chinese silk dress embroidered with butterflies, Papa a little black leather cigarette case with initials M.B. under a silver crown, to me — you are going to open your eyes wide! a ravishing little

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<sup>50</sup>This seems to be a form of silver headdress in a form resembling the tuft of an egret.

service, silver teapot, coffee pot, creamer of Chinese design; wait that is not all — a brooch of three superb amethysts mounted on branch with tiny diamonds, a smaller one with a large stone and diamonds and small ravishing earrings to complete the finery. Think then! But it is the his last “extravagance” I told him, since now we are going to be reasonable.

Papa and Mama gave me a nice little silver box and Korean enamel and Dr Allen chiseled a wood frame for me for a portrait. Several cards and good wishes from everywhere, leaving me nothing to complain about.

Tomorrow I begin the ??? of ironing Mama’s wardrobe and the battles with the tailor. It is almost impossible to please her unless I make her dresses, and the Russian shirts like mine, and I obstinately refuse to do so. I lack more than that. It is that she is beginning to seriously get old. Mama cannot be far from 70 years. Papa is 65 and she is the older, I believe, of the two — with the result that I always have my hands full of work.

I am doing better but at the moment I have a bad cold, which does not prevent me from chatting too much you are going to say. You are right and I will flee above all because I have other letters to write for the mail.

How are you doing? Mrs Winthrop wrote me “much better.”?

A thousand kisses to the little ones and for you with many thanks for your nice souvenir.

Hélène

6 April 1893 from Charles Denby to Gus

Peking April 6 1893

My dear Mr Heard

I was sorry to hear by your ??? of the 29th that you had resigned. I sincerely hope that the home air and surroundings will improve your health.

Mr von Brandt got off from Peking amid the firing of crackers and the enthusiastic cheering of his friends.

This reminds me that I have a letter from Hon Wm Walter Phelps<sup>51</sup> in which he acknowledges the receipt of mine of Dec 19. He regrets that nothing can be done in the matter of retaining Mr von Brandt at Peking, as the Emperor has made and published an adverse decision.

He says he knows your daughter well: “I saw her grow up & lived for one congressional term in her father’s house” — also “I have the pleasantest recollections of our last meeting & wish there were soon to be another.”

<sup>51</sup>1839–1894, lawyer, Republican Congressman from New Jersey 1873–75, 1883–89, U.S. Minister to Austria-Hungary, 1881; to Germany, 1889–93.

For these reasons he would have been glad to be of service.

I see the Governor of New Jersey has appointed Mr Phelps lay ??? of the ??? of errors. The politicians are becoming liberal in these days.

I suppose this letter will reach you in time for felicitations on account of the wedding which I accordingly sincerely offer to Mrs Heard and yourself.

Yours sincerely  
Charles Denby

9 May 1893 from Hélène on bord *Ohlenburg*, Straits of Malacca

A bord de l'Oldenburg  
dans le détroit de Malacca  
le 9 mai 1893

Chère Amy, voilà bientôt un mois que je me dis tous les jours que je devrai t'écrire et te raconter tout ce qui c'est passé ces temps ci, mais j'ai été tellement éprouvé et fatiguée par les préparatifs de noce, le jour même, le voyage et surtout les fêtes de toutes sortes, que je n'y suis jamais parvenue. Aujourd'hui je veux en tous les cas faire un commencement. Retournerons alors au 15 avril – qui s'est passé tout à fait comme je te l'avais écrit auparavant. Cérémonie au consulat à 11 heures – à la maison à 3 avec réception après. Le temps pluvieux et désagréable toute la semaine était atroce le vendredi, Brandt était arrivé avec un affreux rhume ce que pendant deux jours il ne pouvait prononcer un mot à haut vois – enfin tout était assez décourageant. Le samedi le ciel s'était éclairci et nous n'aurions pu avoir une plus belle journée, un temps idéale – tout le monde a envoyé des fleurs et avec ce que j'avais déjà la maison était vraiment très jolie. B. presque rétabli avait très bonne mine dans son uniforme, pas la petite, comme il avait premièrement décidé, mais galonné d'or – tu verras dans la photographie, faite tout de suite après la marriage. Tu remarqueras aussi que tout les autres diplomates étaient en uniform ce qui rendit un certain cachet – ! Le Koréen est le Prés. du bureau des affaires étrangères, qui proposa notre santé dans un très jolie petit speech que l'interprète traduisit. A six heures tout était fini à notre grande satisfaction. Pauvre Papa était éreinté n'ayant pu se tenir un place une demie minute de toute la journée tant il était excité. Il nous a fait tant de peine, et les deux petites lettres depuis mon départ sont si tristes! – Dimanche après midi B. et moi eûmes audience avec le roi et la reine et le prince. Elle fut fut très aimable et me questionna pendant un bon quart d'heure sur ce que j'allais faire, ma maison, etc. – Le soir B. reçut une énorme quantité de cadeaux du roi et du prince, qui le récurent avec d'autant plus d'amabilité et d'intérêt qu'il a fait le traité de 1882 avec le Corée. Tu trouveras la liste de cadeaux ci-jointe. Les télégrammes ont plu de toutes part. Aussi trouveras tu une photographie de B. faite trois jours avant la noce – qui est passable. Lundi matin nous partîmes de bonheur par un temps superb



Marriage in Seoul of Max and Max: 15 April 1893

ayant avec difficulté rassemblé toutes notre propriétés. Nous allâmes tout de suite à bord la “Ping Ching” qui nous attendait et ??? en mer le lendemain à l’aube. Nous eûmes beau temps jusqu’à Shanghai – là il pleuvait hélas et pendant toute cette semaine le temps ne s’est pas entièrement remis. Arrivé à trois heures nous restâmes tranquilles, causant avec notre hôte, le Consul-général M. Stuchel. Le soir diner ???. Lendemain matin je fis des emplettes et fis und petite visite chez le dentiste. ??? – assez tard car nous étions allés à bord du vaisseau pour voir nos cabines et diriger les changement qu’il ait à faire.

– J’oublie de te dire que quand nous arrivâmes le capitaine a fait décorer le bateau de drapeaux l’allemand en avant et le drapeau Américain ??? main, et comme nous quittâmes bord il a tiré un salut Chinois – trois coups de canon. Je reviens à ma journée du vendredi – de 2 hrs à 6 1/2 je reçu des visites – beaucoup de vieilles connaissances. Il fallait parler allemand presque entièrement! Ereintée je me sauve enfin pour me reposer un moment avant le diner du soir – 16 personnes, encore de l’Allemand. Mais j’ai éprouvé pour la première fois la sensation d’être femme mariée et “excellence”. Aussi au dessert, c’est à dire au moment de se lever de table je remarquait que la conversation languissait, ou attendait évidemment quelque chose, j’étais fatigué et je me

demandait quand on allait se lever. Enfin notre hôte me demande si je voulais bien retourner au salon pour le café — jamais il ne m'était entré en tête que je devais me lever la première. C'est une des choses qui m'a été le plus difficile à apprendre surtout quand il y a une dame de la maison. Je me suis vite habitué à l'Excellency [???stuff in German??] — le lendemain vendredi à neuf heures Dr Hall m'arracha deux dents. Je me sentais déjà indisposée après toutes les bonnes choses dont j'avais trop mangé et le champagne et ceci ne me rendit guère plus vaillante, mais je fis quelques commissions, puis une visite à des vieux amis de B. qui partaient pour Canton dans une heure, et ne rentra que juste à temps pour m'habiller pour aller déjeuner en ville. J'ai dû quitter la table au beau milieu heureusement nous étions tout à fait en famille car nos hôtes étaient en grand deuil. Mme L. fut très aimable et me soigna si bien que je me sentais beaucoup mieux et rentra sans accident. Aussitôt rentré j'ai un autre accès et B. me mit au lit et fait venir le docteur qui prononce — bad indigestion, ce que j'avais déjà deviné. J'avais la fièvre et ne pouvait plus remuer, de sorte que B. va seul au diner chez les B. Dimanche je reste tranquille et ne mange que de la soupe au riz! ce qui fait que je me suis assez bien pour assister au diner du soir, à la maison 20 personnes — bien que sans rien manger. Lundi B. me mène dans des magazines chinois pour faire des emplettes, c'est à dire pour me gâter en m'achetant des brocarts — 3 robes, une petite broche et un bangle en or pour me dédommager du diner. Je me repose toute l'après-midi formant la poste à tout le monde, mais je me suis déjà assez forte. Le soir je me suis fièrement amusée. Diner chez Dr Hall — mon dentiste! où j'avais une vieille connaissance à ma gauche. Nous ne nous étions pas vus depuis longtemps et il est toujours amusant. A dix heures bal au Club j'ai été tout de suite entourée ce qui ne m'a pas empêchée de danser. Chief Justice Ha????, le Président du comité me conduisit au souper et à deux heures je rentrais à moitié morte. Mardi je me portais bien au désappointement de B. qui m'avait préparé un bon sermon, mais jusqu'ici il a dû le garder en réserve. Mardi soir les Allemands et principaux Anglais lui donnèrent un grand diner au Club Allemand. 80 couverts, musique, speech etc. etc. On lui présenta une adresse sur un parchemin magnifiquement illuminée et signée par toutes les maisons allemandes en Chine, et une énorme lampe en argent. On bûta ma santé séparément avec énorme enthousiasme des hurrahs et chansons. Enfin il revint enchanté me raconter toute l'affaire en détail à onze heures. Je fis 34 visites et allai à un petit thé de Mme Ha???? en mon honneur. Mercredi, emballage et adieu. Jeudi matin à 7.30 encore des adieux à la maison, à huit heures une autre dose sur le wharf, accompagné de fleurs en quantités. Nous avons lancé nous et comme nous abordâmes l'Oldenburg la musique joua et les drapeaux furent hissés. Il pleuvait. Une fois partis nous poussâmes un soupir de soulagement et dormîmes toute l'après-midi. De ma vie, je n'ai été plus fatiguée et j'ai bien compris quel ennui cela doit être pour des grands personnages de voyager. Nos cabines sont sur le upper deck, avec de vraies petites fenêtres; on a coupé une porte entre les deux de sorte que nous sommes on ne peut mieux. La cuisine est très bonne et je ne fais que boire manger et dormir. Je commence aussi à me rattraper un peu et déjà gagner deux livres. La mer est calme mais quelle chaleur! A Hong Kong il pleuvait encore. Une atmosphère accablante. Je vis M. et Mme. Forbes qui demandèrent de tes nouvelles. Nous arrivâmes à huit heures dimanche (30 avril) matin, furent conduits à l'hôtel par le Consul et sa femme, gentils. Nous nous reposâmes jusqu'à une heure et demie quand on (Mr. Hoppins [??]) vint nous chercher pour aller au club allemand — en chaise. Là, conduite par M. H. au son de la musique qui jouait en haut, je traversai la grande antichambre entre une haie de messieurs

qui, avec B. en tête, se référèrent [???] et me suivirent sur le grande escalier, dans une grande chambre sur le premier étage. Là neuf dames allemandes me furent présenté, et quelques uns des messieurs. Cinq minutes après nous défilions encore dans la grande salle où deux énormes tables étaient servit 70 couverts. Mauvais déjeuner speech. adresse en peluche bleue avec monture et monogram argent, etc. la même histoire. A cinq heures nous rentrames assez fatigués, mais nous fûmes encore un petit tour en chaise, nous arrêtàmes dans quelques magazines.

Lundi matin, visite, promenades dans le brouillard. Grand déjeuner de 20 pers. chez M. et Mme von Loeper. de la à bord accompagné de tout le bataclan. tas de fleurs etc. etc. Pendant tout ce temps rien que de l'Allemand et je fais des progrès sensible. On me fait des compliments de toutes part. [several unintelligible words, possibly German] et ainsi de suite avec des point d'exclamations sans fin. C'est amusant mais si absurde. Je ne puis pas me faire à l'idée que je suis "quelqu'une" et j'ai toujours envie de rire quand on me fait des révérences. A Singapore nous étions plus maître de nous mêmes et pour le moment nous sommes au bout de festins et autre cérémonies. Nous nous sommes amusés tant bien que mal par la grande chaleur. C'est à dire que nous avons — où B. à acheter un tas de choses pour moi, broderies, argenterie indienne etc. Je t'ai acheté un petit mouchoir de Kurachi que je t'envoie par la poste. Une fois lavé il doit être tout bleue. Un petit souvenir de mon voyage de noce qui surpasse encore toute ce que je m'avais imaginé. Mon mari est si bon — et si heureux qu'il fait plaisir à voir. Nous n'avons qu'amabilité et bonne chance de toutes parts. Nous sommes naturellement aussi le sujet d'intérêt et nous ne pourrions rien nous souhaiter mieux. Même le ciel nous es propice et depuis un jour avant Singapore nous n'avons plus de pluie et la chaleur n'est pas si intense que d'habitude. Pour nous il fait bien assez chaud et tout le monde porte des custumes les plus légers.

En ce moment nous passons devant le côte de Sumatra, enveloppée d'un brouillard lourd et chaud — un ciel gris et une mer luisante nous écrivons sur le pont pour être plus à l'aise. B. un long rapport moi - de nos triomphes. Faut espérer que tu pourras en débrouiller quelque-chose. A tu reçu le télégramme du 15, "Brandt, 15<sup>th</sup>" sans délai? Je l'ai envoyé aussitôt après le mariage civil pour que tu l'aie plus tôt. As tu envoyé les lettres de faire part? J'espère trouver des nouvelles à Berlin en arrivant. Il me semble qu'il y a un siècle depuis que je n'en ai eu.

Le 10 mai

Interrompu hier je vais tacher de finir ma lettre aujourd'hui bien qu'il n'y ait plus rien à ajouter ce me semble. Les journées passent tranquillement et sans accidents. Je mange boit et dors tant que possible, me réveillant seulement quand nous rentrons dans un port quelconque. Après demain nous devons toucher à Colombo, déjà trois jours d'avance de sorte que si tout marche bien nous arriverons à Gênes le 1<sup>er</sup> ou bien du cinq juin. J'ai hâte d'avoir des nouvelles et d'apprendre comment tu vas — et tu yeux.

Brandt se fait rappeler à ton bon souvenir avec amitiés à Russell. Mille baisers de ma part. à toi  
Hélène .

Je t'ai envoyé plusieurs journeaux de Shanghai que je te pris de faire lire à Tante Alice où que cela peut intéresser. Papa t'enverra aussi deux photo. dont une est pour tante Alice.

On board the l'Oldenburg  
in the straits of Malacca  
9 May 1893

Dear Amy, a month has passed during which I told myself every day that I ought to write you and tell you all that has passed during these times, but I have been so tried and fatigued by the preparations for the wedding, even on the day itself, the voyage and above all the parties of every sort, that I have never succeeded. Today in any case I want to make a start. Return then to 15 April – which passed entirely as I wrote you earlier. Ceremony at the Consulate at 11 – at the house at 3 with a reception afterwards. Weather rainy and disagreeable the entire week were atrocious Friday, Brandt arrived with an awful cold which left him unable to speak aloud for two days – in short everything was discouraging enough. Saturday the sky cleared and we could have a nicer day, ideal weather – everybody sent flowers and with everything I had at the house it was very pretty. B. almost recovered looked well in his uniform, not the ordinary as he had earlier decided, but decorated in gold – you will see in the photograph, taken immediately after the marriage. You will remark also that all the other diplomats were in uniform, which renders a certain stylishness – !

The Korean is the President of the bureau of foreign affairs, who proposed our health in a very pretty little speech which the interpreter translated. At 6 all was finished to our great satisfaction. Poor Papa was exhausted not have stayed in one place for half a minute during the entire day he was so excited. He did so much for us, and his two little letters since I left are so sad! --

Sunday afternoon B. and I had an audience with the King and the Queen and the Prince. She was very friendly and questioned me for a good quarter of an hour what I was going to do, my house, etc. –

That evening B. received an enormous quantity of gifts from the King and the Prince, which made up for with enough friendliness and interest all he had done for the treaty of 1882 with Korea. You will find a list of presents attached. Also you will find a photograph of B. taken three days before the wedding – which is passable. Monday morning we departed early with superb weather having with difficulty gathered all of our things. We went immediately on board the “Ping Ching” which was waiting for us and left the next day at dawn. We had good weather until Shanghai – it rained alas and during the entire week the weather did not completely recover. Arriving at 3 we rested tranquilly, chatting with our host, the Consul-general M. Stuchel. Dinner that evening ????. The next morning I did some shopping and made a quick visit to the Dentist. ??? – late enough because we went on board the ship to see our cabins and direct the changes that had to be made.

– I forgot to tell you that when we arrived the captain had had the ship decorated with the German flag forward and the American flag on the main deck, and when we departed he gave the Chinese salute – three blasts of the cannon. I return to my day of Friday – from 2 until 6:30 I received visits – many old acquaintances. It was necessary to speak German almost entirely! Exhausted I finally saved myself to rest a moment before dinner – 16 people, again German. But I experienced for the first time the sensation of being a married woman and “excellency.” In addition

at desert, that is to say at the moment to rise from the table, I noticed that the conversation was languishing, or was apparently waiting for something. I was tired and I asked when we would leave the table. At last our host asked me if I would like to return to the salon for coffee — it had never entered my head that I was supposed to be the first to get up. It is one of those things that was the most difficult for me to learn, especially when there is a woman of the house. I quickly habituated myself to the Excellency [??? text in German ???] — the next day Friday at 9 Dr Hall drew two teeth. I already felt indisposed after having eaten too many good things and the champagne and that scarcely rendered me more valiant, but I accomplished several errands, than a visit to two old friends of B. who were leaving for Canton in an hour, and I did not return until just in time to dress myself to go have lunch in the city. I had to leave the table right in the middle, happily we were completely among family because our hosts were in high mourning.

Mrs L. was very friendly and took such good care of me that I felt much better and returned without accident. As soon as I returned I had another attack and B. put me in bed and had the doctor come who pronounced — baed indigestion, which I had already guessed. I had a fever and could not stir, as a result of which B. went alone to the dinner at B.'s. Sunday I rested tranquilly and ate only rice soup! which left me well enough to attend a diner in the evening, at the house with 20 people — even though I ate nothing. Monday B. took me to Chinese shops to do some shopping, that is to say to spoil me by buying brocades — three dresses, a little brooch and a gold bangle to compensate me for the dinner. I rested all of the afternoon writing to everyone, but I am already strong enough. I proudly amused myself in the evening. Dinner at Dr. Hall's — my dentist! where I had an old acquaintance on my left. We had not seen each other for a long time, and it is always amusing. At 6 a Ball at the Club, I was immediately surrounded, which did not prevent me from dancing. Chief Justice ????, the President of the committee, conducted me to supper and at 2 I returned half dead. Tuesday I was well enough, to the disappointment of B. who had prepared a good sermon for me, but up until now he had to hold it in reserve. Tuesday evening the Germans and principal English gave him a grand dinner at the German Club. 80 tables, music, speech etc. etc. He was given a speech on a magnificent illuminated parchment at signed by all the German houses in China, and an enormous silver lamp. People drank to my health separately with enormous enthusiasm of hurrahs and songs. Finally he came back enchanted to describe the entire affair in detail at 11. I made 34 visits and went to a little tea of Mrs Ha??? in my honor. Wednesday, packing and goodbyes. Thursday morning more goodbyes at the house, at 8 another dose on the wharf, accompanied by quantities of flowers. We had a launch to ourselves and when we boarded the Oldenburg the music played and the flags were unveiled. It was raining. Once departed we sighed with relief and slept all the afternoon. In all my life I have never been more fatigued and I released how sad it must be for the great travelers. Our cabins were on the upper deck, with real little windows. A door had been cut between the two with the result that it could not be better. The cuisine is excellent and I do nothing but drink eat and sleep. I also begin to recover a bit and I have already gained two pounds. The sea is calm but what heat!

In Hong Kong it was still raining. An overwhelming atmosphere. I saw Mr. and Mrs. Forbes who asked me for your news. We arrived at 8 O'clock Sunday (30 April) morning, we were conducted to the hotel by the Consul and his wife, nice. We rested until half past 1 O'clock when someone (Mr. Hoppins [??]) came to find us to go to the German Club — by chair. There, con-

ducted by M.H. to the sound of German music which was loudly played, I traversed the grand antechamber into a line of men who, with B. at the head, ??? and followed me on the grand staircase, into a grand chamber on the first floor. There nine German women were presented to me and several men. Five minutes after we filed again into the grand room where two enormous tables were set for 70 people. Bad luncheon speech. address in plush blue with silver mounting and monogram[???], etc. the same story. At five O'clock we returned quite fatigued, but we again made a little tour by chair, we stopped at several stores.

Monday morning, visit, walks in the fog. Grand lunch of 20 people at the house of Mr and Mrs von Loeper. From there on board accompanied by the whole kaboodle. Bunch of flowers etc. etc. During all the time nothing but German and I am making perceptible progress. Everyone was complimenting me. [unintelligible, in German] and so on with endless exclamation points. It is amusing but so absurd. I cannot grasp the idea that I am "someone" and I always want to laugh when one is reverential towards me. At Singapore we were more masters of ourselves and for the moment we were at the end of the festivities and other ceremonies. We were well enough amused for better or for worse by the great warmth. That is to say that we had — where B. had bought a bunch of things for me, embroideries, Indian silver etc. I bought for you a little handkerchief from Kurachi which I am sending you by post. Once washed it ought to be entirely blue. A little souvenir of my marriage voyage which still surpasses anything that I could have imagined. My husband is so good — and so happy that he is a pleasure to see. We have only amiability and good luck from all parts. We are naturally also the subject of interest and and we could wish for nothing better. Even the sky is propitious for us and since the day before Singapore we have had no more rain and the heat is not so intense as usual. For us it is hot enough and everyone wears the lightest clothes.

At this moment we are passing before the coast of Sumatra, enveloped in a heavy and hot fog — a gray sky and a sparkling sea. We are writing on the bridge to be more at ease. B. a long report, me — of our triumphs. I must hope that your are able to disentangle something. Have you received the telegram of the 15th, "Brandt, 15th", without delay? I sent it right after the civil marriage in order for you to have it more quickly. Did you send the announcements? I hope o find news in Berlin when we arrive. It seems to me that it has been a century since last I had any.

10 May

Interrupted yesterday I am going to try to finish my letter today even though it seems to me there is nothing more to add. The days pass tranquilly without accident. I eat drink and sleep as much as possible, waking only when we return some port or another. After tomorrow we are going to touch at Colombo — already three days in advance as a result of which if all goes well we will arrive at Genes the first rather than the firth of June. I am in a hurry to have news and to learn how you are doing — and your eyes.

Brandt asks to be remembered to you with best wishes to Russell. A thousand kisses on my part.à toi

Hélène

I sent you several newspapers from Shanghai that I ask you to read to Aunt Alice or whomever might be interested. Papa will also send you two photos of which one is for you and one for Aunt Alice.

*Wedding presents*

Necklace, bracelet & brooch of amethyste and diamonds – Brandt  
 Diamond neclace (or tiara)  
 “ brooch (or pendant)  
 Silver tea set – Sir Robert Hart<sup>52</sup>  
 “ tea set – Mr and Mrs Ohluser & Mr von Ha????  
 “ tea caddy – Count & Countess Brockdorf  
 “ “ – Dr Wiles<sup>53</sup>  
 “ Center piece – Foreign representatives in Peking  
 “ Inkstand – Mr O’Conor<sup>54</sup>  
 2 silver napkin rings – four principal Chinese servants of Legation in Peking  
 silver tray – Mr Behdirs [??] & Mr Baur with a piece of original poetry!  
 6 little silver models of chinese furniture, Bar. & Baroness von Lechendorff  
 Silver tea kettle – Mr & Mrs Lieder  
 2 oil sketches of Chefoo – “  
 12 Silver coffee spoons Mr. F.D. Cheshire  
 “ Korean bride’s spoon – Mrs Scranton<sup>55</sup>  
 “ plated biscuit & butter dishes – Captain & officers of the ?C. “Ping-Ching”  
 Heavy gold hand bracelet & ring set with a large white pearl (each)  
 Yellow satin mattress & cushion heavily embroidered – 15 hair ornaments of Chinese jewelry  
 – 4 pcs white silk – 4 pieces yellow (dyed) pass cloth – 6 mats & 2 large bamboo window screens  
 – Queen of Korea  
 A large roll of thick, colored paper, two tiger skins – 2 marble boxes – ??? and silver ??? –  
 mats, window screens faces, 4 pcs yel. gr. cloth – 4 pcs white silk – King and Crown Prince of  
 Korea  
 Marble box & emb. pillow ends – Pres. of the Foreign Office – (C?? P?? ???)  
 ?? & silver tobacco box – 2 pil. ends – Min Yung Chung

<sup>52</sup>Sir Robert Hart was the British inspector general of Chinese Maritime Customs Service

<sup>53</sup>Dr. Julius Wiles had been British Deputy Surgeon General in the British Army. He retired and then joined the English Mission (religious) in Chemulpo under Bishop Corfe. With his own money he built the English Mission in Seoul. Later Bishop Trollope described him as a “splendid old specimen of the army doctor.”[94]

<sup>54</sup>Sir Nicholas-Roderick O’Conor, British legation secretary In Peking (1885-86), minister plenipotentiary to China and Korea (1892-95).

<sup>55</sup>This is probably the mother of Dr. W.B. Scranton – Mary F. Scranton. She came to Korea in June 1885 at the age of 52 and later founded Ewha University. She died in Korea in 1909. [94]

Leopard skin – Kim Ka Chin  
 Tortoise shell comb, brush, & glass Mrs ???  
 Hankow lace collar & cuffs Russian towel – Mrs Dmitrevsky <sup>56</sup>  
 Horn & ivory box – M. Kandin T????, pen, candlestick & photo frame of plate & leather. Dr. Schrameier  
 3 albums of Japanese ??? – Col. Nienstead<sup>57</sup>  
 4 rolls of silk H.E. Li Hun Chang<sup>58</sup>  
 4 boxes of tea  
 Small gold chatelaine – E.L. Foster  
 Chique – Mrs K.C. Winthrop  
 Chéque – Amy & Russell  
 Large punch bowl. Bar. Goltz & other members of Legation in Peking.  
 2 painted enamel vases & bit of emb. Baron Spoeck von Sternburg  
 rolls of silk – ?ui of jade – ??? scarfs Ministers of the Kungli Yasuen (in Peking)  
 Japanese vase – Bishop Anger  
 Large white Canton crape shawl. Secretaries of Consulates & Customs staff in Söul.  
 Traveling clock. Foreign representatives Gen. Le Gendre, Mr. Greathouse & Mr Neoyan Commissioner of Customs in Söul  
 Bronze inkstand with large monogram  
 – med quill pen – Mr Krein H.I. G.M. Consul in Söul  
 ??? o brassware – Mrs Greathouse  
 Small emb. pouch – Mr Yi  
 Carved ivory photo frame – Mr Ker <sup>59</sup>  
 Book – Bishop Corfe <sup>60</sup>  
 Large silver lamp (5 ft high) German firms in China  
 Carved ivory photo frame – Mr Budler <sup>61</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Possibly wife of Pavel Andreevich Dmitrevsky, Russian Consul in Hankow (1883–92) and Tientsin (1893–96), acting chargé in Korea (1891,93)

<sup>57</sup>Col. F.J.H. Nienstead, American military instructor in Korea

<sup>58</sup>Li Hung Chang (1823–1901) was the Viceroy of China. He was the richest and most powerful political boss in the Chinese empire, a physically imposing man of over six feet four with a thick moustache and black almond eyes.[124] He was a primary player in much of nineteenth century China, playing an active role in both Taiping and Boxer rebellions.

<sup>59</sup>Ker was the British Consular Assistant and in the spring of 1892 he was the acting Vice-Consul in Seoul.[94]

<sup>60</sup>Corfe was a former navy chaplain and was head of the Korean mission from about 1889 through the 1890s. He had the reputation of being an outspoken man who was not afraid to speak his mind which often caused the British representative in Seoul some embarrassment and irritation. [94]

<sup>61</sup>Herman Budler was the former German vice Consul to Seoul (1884–1886). He had the reputation for not being very fond of Christians. He died in November 1883.[94]

The New York *Daily Tribune* of 12 March 1893 in Figure 15.3 provided background information and played up the romantic accent of Max von Brandt standing up to the Kaiser .



Figure 15.3: New York Daily Tribune, Sunday, March 12, 1893.

The following newspaper account from the *North China Herald* of the wedding of Max and Max was provided by Robert Neff.

*The North China Herald*  
 28 April 1893, Page 609

Favoured with that beautiful weather, which is popularly regarded as of happy augury for a wedding, the marriage of Herr von Brandt and Miss Heard was celebrated on Saturday, the 15th inst., at Seoul, Corea. The civil ceremony took place at the German Consulate, before Mr. Consul Krien, at 11 a.m., the only persons present besides the bride and bridegroom being, the witnesses, Baron von der Goltz, Secretary-Interpreter to the German Legation, Peking, Mr. F. Reinsdorf, of the German Consulate, Seoul, and the parents of the bride. For the purpose of signing the register, Mr. Krien had provided a splendid inkstand and pen with which he presented the bride after the ceremony, the same having been done by Dr. Schrameier, formerly acting Vice-Consul at Chefoo, who had hoped to have had the pleasure of performing the ceremony.

The religious ceremony took place at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, in the drawing room of the U.S. Legation, which had been prettily decorated with flowers, sent partly by friends of the bride and bridegroom. The Right Rev. Bishop Corfe, of the Church of England Mission, assisted by the Rev. M.N. Trollope, performed the ceremony, to witness which only a limited number of invitations had been issued. These included the parents of the bride, Mr. Krien, Baron von der Goltz, Che Piung Chik, President of the Corean Foreign Office, Mr. Oishi, Japanese Minister-Resident, Mr. Hillier, H.B.M.'s Consul-General, (Mrs. Hillier being absent at Chemulpo), Mr. Dmitrevsky, Russian Charge d'Affaires, and Mrs. Dmitrevsky, M. Frandin, Commissioner of the French Republic, Mr. O. Johnson, H.B.M.'s Vice-Consul at Chemulpo, Mr. Kehrburg, Russian Legation, M. Sainson, French Consulate, Mr. Tong, Chinese Consul (Mr. Yuan Sie-ksi, the Imperial Resident, being in Mourning and therefore prevented from attending), Mr. Tsai, Chinese Residency, General Dye, Military Instructor, Seoul, General Le Gendre, Vice-Preident of the Home Office, Seoul, Mr. F.A. Morgan, Chief Commissioner of Customs, and Mrs. Morgan, Mr. A. Granzella, Corean Customs, Chemulpo, General and Mrs. Greathouse, the Rev. W. B. Scranton, M.D. and Mrs. Scranton with their three little girls, Col. and Mrs. Nienstead, Captain N.P. Anderson, R.C. Pingching, and Mr. Reinsdorf. At the conclusion of the service most of the foreign community called and congratulated the bride and bridegroom and a photograph of the bridal party was taken. The bridegroom and the members of the Diplomatic and Consular bodies were in uniform. The health of the bride and bridegroom was proposed by the President of the Corean Foreign Office, the speech being translated by the interpreter of the American Legation, Mr. Hong U-kuan.

The following day, Mr. von Brandt was received in audience by the King and Crown Prince, Mrs. von Brandt being received separately a little later. His Majesty had sent a number of presents to the bride some days before the wedding, including a handsome gold bracelet, and ring, with Corean pearls. On the evening of the 16th the King and the Crown Prince sent several presents to Mr. von Brandt including some beautiful tiger skins, mats, etc.

On the 17th Mr. and Mrs. von Brandt left for Chemulpo, overland, and embarked at the latter place on the revenue cruiser Pingching, which Sir Robert Hart had kindly placed at their disposal.

Amongst the presents the bride received from her friends in Corea were a beautiful travelling clock, the joint gift of the foreign diplomatic representatives at Seoul, Mr. Morgan, General Le Gendre, General Dye and Mr. Greathouse, and a beautiful crape shawl, the gift of the junior members of the Legation and Consulates, and some other friends.

**Part IV**  
**Twentieth Century**

# Chapter 16

## Beginning and End

### 16.1 Will and Testament of Augustine Heard Jr.

Amy's mother Jane Leep (De Coninck) Heard died in Washington D.C, on 19 June 1899 and was buried in the Heard family tomb, Old North Cemetery, Ipswich. At the close of the 19th century Gus seemed to be continuing his nomadic ways, moving among residences in Washington D.C., New York, and Boston and traveling alone to Europe. His Boston residence from 1897 on was in the 439 Marlborough St. home of his daughter-in-law Adeline Wheelwright (Lewis) Heard, the widow of his son John Heard Jr., who had died in Italy in 1895, and her two sons: John Heard, Jr., and Albert Farley Heard. Her younger son John Heard Jr. died in March 1898. According to Clark's Boston Blue Book, Adeline and her father-in-law remained at 439 Marlborough through the 1901-1902 winter season, but by the following winter they were living elsewhere or traveling abroad.

In October 1902 Gus wrote, sealed, and signed his last will and testament, which is transcribed below.

I, Augustine Heard, at present residing in Boston, state, Massachusetts, U.S.A. make this my last will & testament. I give & bequest to my son, Augustine Albert Heard, my land on 23d St., Washington D.C. lots 25 & 26 & Square 36, the mortgage now existing is for \$2684.93 having been previously paid out of my estate. I give the seal ring I usually wear to my daughter-in-law Adeline, Mrs John Heard Jr, and my watch with chain & charms to my daughter Amy Gray as souvenirs. All the rest of my property of whatever nature I wish divided equally between my son Augustine Albert Heard and my daughter Helen Maxima, now Mrs. von Brandt, excepting ; my daughter my Amy & Adeline wish to keep any which of the return of furniture or ornament which I may possess they are at liberty to do so. I make this disposition of my property not because I hold Amy & Addie in less affection, but because in any event the amount must be small, and Augustine and Max are more in need of it. In witness whereof I have signed & sealed and published and dictated this to be my last will and testament of Boston this sixth day of October 1902. Augustine Heard (seal)

A paragraph including the names and signatures of three witnesses follows the will.

The family of three left for Europe soon after. In September 1893 Albert Farley Heard's name was changed to John Heard [68][70] and thereafter he was called John Heard, Jr. as his father (and older brother) had been.

Adeline and Albert Farley Heard returned to Boston and 439 Marlborough in September 1905. Gus followed in December on ship König on 12 December off Gibraltar. He joined his wife Jane and son John in the Heard tomb at the Old North Burying Ground in Ipswich on 14 December 1905.

Gus' will was probated in Washington D.C. after his death, and an announcement in the Washington *Evening Star* on 29 December 1905 summarized the the distribution of the estate, but omitted the the comment of explanation for Adeline and Amy receiving only souvenirs while Augustine Albert divided the remainder of the small estate.

At the end of 1905, the surviving descendants of Augustine Heard and Jane Leep (De Coninck) Heard were John Heard Jr. (born Albert Farley Heard) living in Boston with his mother Adeline W. Heard, Amy Heard Gray and her children Horace and Augustine Heard, Jr., living in Boston with her husband Russell Gray, Helen Maxima Heard living in Wiemar Germany and her daughter Elizabeth living with Max's husband Max von Brandt, and Augustine Albert Heard and his daughters Katherine and Anna living with his wife Katherine and her mother in Albany, New York.

# Chapter 17

## Hindsight

A few of Amy's twentieth century letters shed light on the nineteenth century history focus of this book. This chapter includes some of her observations on her own past regarding her family.

### 17.1 December 1939

In November and December 1939 Amy dictated letters to her eldest son Horace and his wife Katherine Meeker Gray (called "K" by the family) from 39 Marlborough St. in Boston. The missives are transcribed in their entirety as they provide both family information on the eve of the second World War and about the takeover her ancestral home the Heard House in Ipswich by the Ipswich Historical Society, including difficulties encountered in the transfer of the house and Heard items transferred (or not) to the Society. By this time her eyes plagued her constantly so her letters were read to her and she wrote via dictation.

---

Postmarked Boston, Mass. Dec. 6 1939  
D<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Horace Gray

145 Laurel Street  
San Francisco

California

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The envelope contained three separate date letters and one undated notecard. At this time Horace Gray was with the Medical School of Stanford University, then located in San Francisco.

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Dictated

Nov 27<sup>th</sup>

MRS. RUSSELL GRAY  
39 MARLBOROUGH STREET  
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Well! The great event went off without mishap. I am devoutly thankful. E. seemed wan when they arrived, but soon began to pick up & Augustine somewhat aged but strong as usual. Steen did, but is interesting also, he is a passionate sprite & his devotion to his father is pretty to see, he kisses him like a lover & hardly anyone else at all, but he is very friendly & was in & out of my room all the time, apparently perfectly at home.

H's letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> with Gen. Lassiter's long enclosure was particularly interesting and K's subsequent one naturally pleased me greatly.

I don't know of any particular "history" about the Mandarin Coat, Aunt Max sent it to me from Peking, when Brandt was Minister there & with his thirty years experience in the Far East he knew a fine thing when he saw it & I had the fur lining & lace put in so that I might wear it, but never of course to crowded gatherings, where it might be put in a heap & yanked out, to its own destruction, that delicate embroidery requires constant watching.

Have you heard about the house that Groton<sup>1</sup> is building for the Cotty Peabody's on land loaned by M<sup>rs</sup>? to be returned at Cotty's death, the Peabodys are being much criticized for accepting they think it would be rather hard on Crocker.

So glad at the good reports about Arthur. I have had some nice letters from Joan.

Your loving Mother

The "Merry go round" from Washington is not in the D. Herald.

E. was Elizabeth Jordan Gray, the wife of Amy's younger son Augustine Heard Gray. Steen was Augustine Heard Gray, Jr., (8/18/1936-10/27/2019) Amy's grandson. Russel was Russell Gray (3/13,1934-12/1938), my parent's first child — who died in Argentina the year prior to this letter, probably of a heart murmur. The recent death of their first child explains the sadness and distraction of Elizabeth and Augustine.

Gen. Lassiter was Major General William Lassiter (9/29/1867-3/29/1959), a veteran of the Cuban-Spanish-American War and First World War. He retired in 1931 and became a resident of Santa Barbara.

"Cotty" was Edicott Peabody, the founder of Groton School. Quoting from Wikipedia"

The Reverend Endicott Peabody (May 31, 1857 – November 17, 1944) was the American Episcopal priest who founded the Groton School for Boys (known today simply as Groton School), in Groton, Massachusetts in 1884. ... Peabody served as headmaster at the school from 1884 until 1940.

<sup>1</sup>Then a prep school for boys in Groton Mass. which both of Amy's children, Horace and Augustine Heard, had attended.

Peabody was succeeded by John Crocker, who served as headmaster from 1940 to 1965. Horace and K. had three children, sons Horace and Arthur Meeker and daughter Joan.

Amy left the “Mandarin Coat” to K. A photo and description of the coat and its history is provided online by Christies, who sold it in 13 May 2011 2011 for GBP 4,000.<sup>2</sup>



Figure 17.1: Mandarin Coat

**A KESI-WOVEN FORMAL COURT ROBE OR CHI'FU QING DYNASTY, CIRCA 1860**

Details

A KESI-WOVEN FORMAL COURT ROBE OR CHI'FU QING DYNASTY, CIRCA 1860 woven with nine gilt dragons and auspicious emblems, with a diagonal seawave border Provenance This robe belonged to the late Mrs. Horace Gray, an important philanthropist in Santa Barbara.

The robe either came from great-great aunt of Horace Gray, Mrs. Russell Gray (Amy Heard Gray) born Boston October 7, 1860, daughter of Augustine Heard II, who

<sup>2</sup><https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-5434841>

served as United States resident minister to Korea from 1890-1893. He founded a trading house in Shanghai in 1860, and a painting of this Hong hangs in the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.

The alternative source for this robe is Amy's sister, Helen Maxima Heard, born Hong Kong 1868 who married Max von Brandt, German minister Plenipotentiary to Japan 1860-75 and to China 1875-1893.

The *Washington Merry-Go-Round* was (and still is) a syndicated column founded by Drew Pearson in 1932.

Dictated

Nov 28<sup>th</sup>

MRS. RUSSELL GRAY  
39 MARLBOROUGH STREET  
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Dear H.

A visit from Elsie<sup>3</sup> enables me to answer some of your questions about Ipswich. The Stuart picture of John Heard has been restored to its old place over the mantelpiece in the small parlor, after much discussion by the Historical Society who thought it should have a more prominent position in one of the larger rooms. Bobbin has sent them a lot of things, such as three four posters, Parlor settee, carved whatnot, etc which they can hardly find room for.

My father's full length picture by French artist, very probably Tante's father Phil Parrot,<sup>4</sup> Bobbin wishes placed facing the first flight of front stairs, which means the removal of some ancestres, at 439 it hung over the mantelpiece in the dining room.<sup>5</sup> The Hunts of your great grandparents will probably go to the Art Museum in Boston as they are replicas of those, painted by Hunt for the Ipswich house.

I took this occasion to express some of my feelings about the wedding invitations, & though the gentle Elsie agreed with me, & even said the wedding of miss Grace Heard<sup>6</sup> daughter of Mrs John Heard of

(Newspaper quotation)

<sup>3</sup>Alice Leeds Heard the younger, Amy's cousin

<sup>4</sup>"Tante" in this context is Horace's "Aunt" Mary or "Aunt" Parrot, Amy's second cousin born Mary or Marie Parrot, the daughter of Philippe and Mary (Wieland) Parrot, who in turn was the daughter of Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck's sister Mary (Taylor) Wieland.

<sup>5</sup>439 Marlborough St. was the residence of John Heard, Jr. and his wife Adeline until John's death and then the residence of Adeline until her death in 1939,

<sup>6</sup>Grace Clifford Heard, born in 1914 to John [Leeds] and Grace Clifford Heard, married in Ipswich 16 Sept. 1939 to Howard Young Haffner. Sister of Marileeds Heard and John Heard X! according to the Heard genealogy of Horace Gray.

the Red House was held at the White House, sounded like opera bouffe; She was as usual more guarded & vowed she had nothing to do with the whole affair.

2<sup>nd</sup>

It seems the homestead was not bought by the Historical Society as such, but by M<sup>r</sup>Waters, its president, as a memorial for his own father; then M<sup>r</sup>W. proceeded to set up a sign at the front door, reading, "Waters Memorial John Heard Houst 17-?" It was M<sup>rs</sup>Appleton who persuaded M<sup>r</sup>Waters to allow Grace to be married there, & the obnoxious sign was removed for that day, also, difficulties with the priest, he consented to declare them man & wife, but would not say a prayer. They are however very happy & I feel quite justified in washing my hands of Grace.

Nov 29<sup>th</sup>

Yrs of 26<sup>th</sup> just received, shall be eagerly expecting better news, not only of yourselves, but that A got off alright & that K keeps no scars.

Much love

I am not certain of the identity of "Bobbin", but context suggests he is a Heard in possession of many Heard family artifacts. Elsewhere in these letters he is mentioned to be concerned about Rosamund's health. Together this implies he is Adeline's son John Heard, Jr., born Albert Farley Heard to Amy's brother John Heard, Jr., and Adeline Wheelwright Lewis. The second wife of Adeline's son was Rosamond Gregor Marshall, according to a Heard genealogy prepared by my Uncle Horace Gray. Rosamond died in 1949. The Back Bay Houses website for 439 Marlborough <sup>7</sup> reinforces this saying "In June of 1939, John Heard married again, to Margaret Rosamond (Gregor) Marshall, the former wife of Edward Nixon Marshall. After their marriage, they lived at her home in Cambridge." John's mother Adeline died in August 1939, so it is highly likely that John was involved with distributing her belongings before the house was sold in May 1940.

Undated note that seems to fit best between letters of 29 November and 6 December.

I am rather anxious as to the effect of E's family may have on her, they are coming in droves from Florida to visit her in Washington, obliging her thereby to take the long journey (where)? alone with her Child & Beryl, instead of with her devoted husband, but of course you know all this from A himself. Bobbin I fear is having rather a sad time, worrying about Rosamund's health, for she has only reached the point of exchanging her bed at the Hospital for one at home, being apparently quite worn out by long neglected recurring rheumatic fever.

Amy's daughter-in-law Elizabeth, Mrs. Augustine Heard Gray, had family living in Florida.

<sup>7</sup>backbayhouses/439marlborough/

Her first child, Russell, had died in Argentina in 1838, soon after which the family had returned to the United States, bringing with them two Argentinian women, Beryl and Isme, who had worked with them doing housework and helping raise Russell and Steen. I believe both eventually married junior Naval officers and that they remained friends with the family for many years.

Dictated

Dec 6<sup>th</sup>

MRS. RUSSELL GRAY  
39 MARLBOROUGH STREET  
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Dear K.

Yours of the 4<sup>th</sup> just received, answers many of the questions I had in mind to ask you, but I don't see any peace tucked in anywhere! not even for H.

I have nothing so recent about Augustine, & I am glad that the upsetting of his plans at least allowed him to stop off at S.B. to see you, & I am sure he did too. Bobbin did not think him aged as I did, but Sad. Much of the time he was not out on business i.s. Navy Yard & other, the child was around & they frolicking together. I wonder whether H will still feel his predelection for Steen over his, to me, more interesting & intellectual brother?

Poor Bobbin continues much worried about Rosamund's health, She hhas come home, but is kept in bed most of the time apparently from mere exhaustion, originated in a badly cared for rheumatic fever, when she gets sufficient strength back the D<sup>f</sup> wants her to go South & lie in the sun all day, & Bobbin does not see his way to take her & leave Boston, then there is the complication of Ursula & Schools, but perhaps you know this already as you are such chums.

Eleanor<sup>8</sup> called me up a few evenings ago to ask for Arthur's address so that she

might see him going through Chicago (to Oregon She was leaving Cambridge in a quarter of an hour so I had to struggle with that, to me, inimical instrument, the telephone, & hope A got a pleasant break.

I do hope the scars of the stitches in your nose have been obliterated, as also H's bruises & pains.

I understand that some of my information about Ipswich was incorrect, but I don't suppose you remember enough to care about a truer version. M<sup>f</sup>Johnson, present head, of the His. Soc. brought a huge van to 439 & carried off lots of furniture, which I should think would have to be stored in cellars or attics, until Elsie's death, when the commonplace furniture no filling her rooms can be cleared out. I will only add — in case K know M<sup>es</sup>Frank Appleton — that she, M<sup>es</sup>A seems to have acted like Deux ex Machina, fighting to preserve proprieties in matters concerning the wedding. Bobbin licked his lips over some choice bits produced by M<sup>f</sup>J on the objectionable engenance<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup>the daughter of John Chipman and Nina Gray, John Chipman Gray was Amy's brother-in-law

<sup>9</sup>The word is a perjorative French noun meaning "mob, crew." The word is circled in the letter.

Yours Aff

M.i.l.<sup>10</sup>

I think you would like to see this very nice letter of Arthur's, but please send it back promptly.

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<sup>10</sup>Mother-in-Law

# Chapter 18

## Old Age

In her 1965 book *Gentle Americans 1864–1960: Biography of a Breed* [75], Helen Howe wrote of Amy in her old age in her chapter on *Presences*, pages 144–150, with a story of Amy’s relationship with Howe’s parents, Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe and Fanny Huntington Quincy. The passage concerns events before Fanny died (in 1933) and likely after Helen Howe left college in 1923. It provides the best description I have found in her old age. The passage quoted was the first published detailed description I ever read of my Grandmother, whom I never met. The passage and the book were recommended to me by my cousin Horace in a postcard he sent me when I told him I was translating our grandmother’s letters. He also told me that the Howes had “most favored status” among the visitors to 39 Marlboro. The photo of Amy in Figure 18.1 probably is of her chaise longue described in the passage.

There were two unseen Presences of whose intensity of personality Father was vividly aware without their ever crossing the threshold at Brimmer Street. To Mother, she was “Amy,” the other “Mamie.” The first, to Father, was never to be anything but “Mrs. Gray.”

Mother and Father were not alone in finding Mrs. Russell Gray of 39 Marlborough Street a very frightening woman. Father she barely accepted with a lofty superciliousness, as a necessary accessory of Mother’s. I am sure she must have felt that he lacked the overtones of of James’s *Europe*. Mrs. Gray was all *Europe*. True, she lived on Marlboro Street, and true, the stirring of the curtains in the front by a bored parlor maid bore witness to its lack of passion, and yet passionate is precisely what Mrs. Gray was, under a coating of ice. She received the intrepid caller not in a drawing room, but in her bedroom, where she lay, reclined on a Madame Récamier chaise longue—the archetype Permanent Invalid. No more than one ever knew just what was the *matter* with Milly Theale did one know what ailed Mrs. Gray. She was so beautifully in character as an invalid that it would have seemed some dreadful dislocation of nature to meet her plodding about the streets in hat and coat like other mere mortals. She was, first of all, startlingly beautiful. So far back as my own memory goes her heavy iron-gray hair was piled up in a huge Psyche knot at the back of her graceful head.



Figure 18.1: Amy Heard Gray around 1940

Her nose was delicate and straight, her eyebrows and lashes dark. There was even a faint dark down on her upper lip as provocative as Natasha Rostov's. Her skin was as white as her thin cambric shift with fluting at the neck. I remember particularly her exquisite long, thin hands with their finely grooved pointed nails. There were occasions when this tableau was framed with startling effect under a large opened black umbrella, its purpose to shade her sensitive eyes from the light.

Though the chaise longue was her natural habitat, she manifested herself on Friday afternoons at the Symphony Concerts, supported by her chauffeur—hired, not regularly employed—wearing a fur-lined Tibetan hood, and swathed in Shawls. Mother had a beautiful photograph of her, aristocratic in profile, dressed in a chiffon “tea gown” edged with fur. I know, too, that there were occasional dinner parties if for no other reason than that I recall Mother's amusement over the place cards, which were simply the reverse side of calling cards left by friends, whose name she had scratched out. In the same spirit, when Mrs. Gray sent Mother a postcard she was quite likely to use an order card of S. S. Pierce's on one side, crossing out Pierce's printed name and address and adding Mother's instead, and on the other conveying her message in a handwriting as spidery and distinguished as herself. Mother always felt that Mrs.

Gray's manifestations of thrift were far more French than New England. Although it is my impression that her childhood was spent in the Orient, I know that Spain figured somewhere in her background, whether in blood or perhaps through having lived there, I am not sure<sup>1</sup>. I do know that as the young Amy Heard she moved in Paris in the inner Faubourg society and became engaged—a true affair of the heart—to a Frenchman. When her father failed in business (could it have been tea, hence the Orient, and hence the Tibetan hood?) no dowry was forthcoming, the engagement was broken, and she became Mrs. Russel Gray of Marlboro Street, Boston, and Nahant. Mr. Gray was a prosperous and highly cultivated lawyer, with a shrewd acumen for handling his by no means negligible investments. My memories of him include elastic-sided congress boots, a black beard, his fingers painfully twisted by arthritis, which twirled the cigar that was lovingly caressed by his large reed lips, large brown pupils set in a frighteningly large expanse of surrounding whites, and large white teeth faintly reminiscent of the wolf masquerading as a Little Red Riding Hood's grandmother. Mr and Mrs. Gray were, incredibly enough, the parents of two sons—both now distinguished in different careers and living far away from Boston.

Mrs. Gray must have had some kind of Indian sign on Mother because the one unbreakable engagement that Mother kept over the years, hell or high water, was two hours of reading aloud to her on Monday mornings. Mother used to say that it was a wonder that her three children had not been born at Mrs. Gray's bedside. There was a handful of other dedicated and terrorized friends, each of whom had "her day"—and her book. Although Mr. Gray left a fortune in the millions, Mrs. Gray never indulged in the wanton waste of *buying* a book. Her reader either supplied it from her own shelves or got it out of the Athenaeum—on her own card. Mother's compassionate heart was touched by the frail hothouse flower, uprooted from the warmth and color that should have been her natural climate and placed in the frosty New England soil. She admired Mrs. Gray's distinction of mind and character—their reading was always history or biography—but above all, I think she was endlessly amused by a "frankness" that many people would not have tolerated and would have simply called rudeness or arrogance. Mother, who prided herself on her own "clear-sightedness," had met her match in Mrs. Gray. I am sure that neither ever insulted the other with a social inanity. Theirs was no salt-free diet. Almost every Monday Mother had some new tidbit smacking of Mrs. Gray's tart flavor with which to regale us.

One of the most tremendous events in my parents' lives was the annual visit the Grays paid us at Cotuit on Cape Cod. I can't remember how many times they came, but there was always scurrying about, to try to make the simple house, with its one family bathroom, somehow pull itself together to receive the royal pair. Part of the ritual involved Mother's tiptoeing down the hall at night to remove from outside Mr.

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<sup>1</sup>In a way this is true Amy's mother, Jane DeConinck Heard, was born and raised in the Spanish colony of Cuba. Her childhood was spent in Paris, but she was in China with her parents during one of her father's terms managing Augustine Heard and Company in Hong Kong in 1868, when her sister Max was born.

Gray's closed door the congress boots, which she polished and, like the shoemakers' elves, returned by morning!

Mother told us with relish—and it lost nothing in the telling—of a dialogue she enjoyed with Mrs. Gray when she returned to Boston in the fall after one of these visits.

Mother was greeted when she appeared in Mrs. Gray's bedroom on the appointed Monday morning with the startling command, "Close the door." There was just that edge to Mrs. Gray's voice—I cannot call it a rasp—which was more suggestive of the iron hand than any velvet glove. Her clipped, succinct speech at the best of times implicitly pronounced one guilty before being give the chance to prove innocence. These tones could reduce poor Father to a bout of stammering. Mother, on this occasion, more frightened than usual, did as she was told and came forward, prepared to receive some dread revelation or denouement.

"Sit down. I want to tell you something."

"Yes, Amy."

"As you know, I don't believe in empty flattery, and I don't think that most people who know me would say I often use it."

"No, Amy."

"So, you are not to take what I am going to tell you as flattery."

"Of course I shan't, Amy."

"Well! I should like to tell you what Russell said to me when we came back from Cotuit. And I want you to understand that he said it quite spontaneously. I didn't ask him directly whether he had enjoyed his visit, and of course it would never have occurred to him that I might repeat to you anything he said. So what I am going to repeat to you expresses his own feelings. I felt that it would please you so much to hear it that, without asking his permission, I have decided to repeat it."

Mother, bridling in anticipation and barely able to contain her curiosity, began murmuring her appreciation in advance, "Amy, how good of you! Of course I'd love to hear it, if you really feel like telling me."

"As he was dressing for dinner the night after we came back from Cotuit, he said out of the blue—'Aren't the Howes nicer!'"

Actually the visits to Cotuit consisted of more than polishing congress boots. Under the fragec *dame aux camélias* exterior was a streak not only of a passionate love of beauty but of fire of temperament that dared express it. There was one bluff, overlooking the soft blue of the Cape water, where Mrs. Gray would sit on the warm sweet-smelling pine needles and inhale the sights and sounds and fragrance with all the intensity of a highly intense nature. Mother christened this little promontory Gray Head. But her greatest triumph was a trip to a remote beach, shimmering in the hot summer sunshine, where Mrs. Gray, to Mother's mingled consternation and

delight, insisted that she must get into the water. Stripping off everything but her chemise, this she proceeded to do.

I remember, after her husband's death, Mrs. Gray, flat on her bed, lay like a figure on a catafalque, a fragile wraith hovering between death and life. She told me most movingly of how she felt she kept seeing at the bottom of her bed her little grandson who had been tragically drowned<sup>2</sup> She went on to gasp out that life was a pure hell of suffering. But she suddenly reared up from her pillow and said in substance, "Forget that I said that! It is not true! Life is wonderful! Remember that I said so!"

In fact the smoldering fires that had lain dormant back of the drawn shades and under that opened umbrella spring to sudden and violent intensity during her husband's long, last, and agonizingly painful illness. Then, suddenly, she left the web, she left the loom, she made three paces thro' the room and the wilting invalid, like a discarded chrysalis, was left behind. Amy Gray became not so much the mistering as the avenging angel who would brook no one near her husband but herself, in a savage sort of protectiveness and possessiveness. Night and day, in the most ignoble as in the most taxing duties, she became his devoted nurse. A wild creature would not have cared for its young with a more passionate tenderness and care. She saw him valliantly through to his painful end, and then lingered on for years, spent physically and emotionally, waiting with a touchingly increasing sweetness for her own dismissal.

After Mother's death Father used to call on Mrs. Gray. In later years she grew gentler, he grew braver about boring her, and they established a rather touching bond, founded on common mourning for Mother. I think of all her readers Mrs. Gray valued none more than Mother. Mother would have said that it was only because she was dependable, but I am sure that Mrs. Gray counted on her for much more than that. And it was this sense of the much more that helped to bridge the gulf that might otherwise never have been spanned between Father and Mrs. Gray. When, on the anniversary of Mother's death, the devoted Cotuit family who had looked after us for all the years we lived there used to send hi a moist little bunch of Mayflowers, pre-eminently "her" flower, he always took a few to leave at Mrs. Gray's door on Marlboro Street.

I am sure that by the time her own end was near she had capitulated to the extent of following her husband's bold hearted lead, and would have agreed that Father was nice.

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<sup>2</sup>Amy is referring to my parents first son, Russell Gray (3/13/1934–12/1938), who was found dead in a fenced-off family pool while their house in Buenos Aires, Argentina, was undergoing renovation while my father was a U.S. Military attaché to the Argentine Navy. He was 4 years old and he had apparently got through the barrier to swim when unobserved. The doctors determined he had not drowned as there was no water in his lungs, he had died of a heart attack. He had been known to have a heart murmur and photos showed him to have been a frail child



Figure 18.2: Amy Heard Gray

## Chapter 19

# Knole & Sissinghurst:1985

To be written. Add 1985 photos of Knole and Sissinghurst and other ephemera relating them.



Figure 19.1: Knole in 1985

# Appendices

# Appendix A

## Sources on Cuba

Several authors, books, and manuscripts were particularly helpful in my attempts to understand the world that Lemuel Taylor and his family found in Cuba and its evolution through the time they lived there. Lemuel Taylor and his family and friends are mentioned in several of these sources and a description of a few of these sources provides a good introduction to many of the topics of importance, including the people and places to be encountered.

Some of the resources are difficult to find, so I have made an attempt to describe their availability or lack thereof in the bibliography, often accompanied by online links when available.

In this section the most important of these references are described. Each item is labeled by the name of the writer the title of their work relevant to Lemuel.

### A.1 Rev. Abiel Abbot, D.D.

*Letters written in the Interior of Cuba* (1829) [115]

Abbot (1779-1820) spent most of his life as a pastor at the Unitarian Church in Beverly, Massachusetts. He suffered from chronic ill health and spent time recuperating in Charleston, South Carolina, and in 1828 he traveled in the Matanzas and Havana region of Cuba, visiting many plantations, villages, and cities which were part of what now might be viewed as a health tourism network, where many invalids from the United States came seeking cures in the warm climate. During his travels he wrote letters home describing his visits, which were turned into his book following his death from yellow fever on his trip home.

Abbot was strongly influenced by his southern connections and he accepted both the South Carolina slave owners and their Cuban counterpart's rosy paternalistic descriptions of the brutal living conditions and harsh treatment of the slaves. But even with his obvious bias and naiveté, his letters provide useful information about many of the places and people encountered here a few years after the 1825 African slave rebellions detailed by see Barcia below.

## A.2 Mary Gardner Lowell

*New Year in Cuba: Mary Gardner Lowell's Travel Diary: 1832-1832* [89] Edited and with an introduction by Karen Robert, covers similar ground to Abbot's letters from a different perspective three years later. Lowell was a Boston patrician traveler whose husband had business connections in Cuba. She visited several of the same estates that Abbot had visited, but her wealth, social standing, wit, education, and gender provided quite different analyses of her observations. Although colored by her narrow elite upbringing, her commentary sheds much more light on the prevailing conditions in Cuba than does Abbot's. Karen Robert does an excellent job of putting Lowell's diary in context and historical perspective. The diary provides insights on plantation life in Cuba in 1831-2, including neighbors of Santa Amalia: Sage's Santa Ana, Webster's Ontario, Wilsons San Juan, and Bartlett's Carolina. A "Mr. Taylor" is mentioned several times — I suspect he is Alexander Taylor, Lemuel Taylor's son.

Mary was born Mary Lowell Gardner in 1802 so her full name was "Mary Lowell Gardner Lowell." Mary was the sister of Sarah Russell (Gardner) Gray, the mother of Russell Gray — Amy's husband. Since Mary was Russell Gray's aunt, it seems likely that Sarah and Russell knew something of Amy's mother Jane's Cuban childhood environment.

## A.3 Fredrika Bremer

*Hemmen i den Ny Verlden* (1854)[23]

*Skissbök från resan i Nya världen 1850–1851* [24]

See also [26] [27] [25] [22] [116].

Fredrika Bremer (1801-1865) was a Swedish novelist, travel writer, artist, and feminist. Her original book in Swedish comprised letters written by Bremer to her sister during a visit to the North and South of the United States and to Cuba in 1851. Derivative works in English and Spanish followed: *The Homes of the New World; Impressions of America*, a translation from Swedish to English by Mary Howitt with Bremer's assistance published by Harper and Brothers, New York [25] almost simultaneously with the original Swedish version in 1854. A British version was published in 1855 by Arthur Hall, Virtue, & Co, London [26]. A Spanish translation from the Swedish by Matilde Goulard de Westberg of the portions of *Hemmen i den Ny Verlden* dealing with Cuba was published in 2020 as *Cartas desde Cuba* [22].

During the Cuban portion of her travels she twice visited and wrote about visits with my paternal grandmother Amy Heard Gray's maternal grandmother Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck on her sugar plantation near Matanzas, Cuba. Bremer names the plantation Ingenio<sup>1</sup> Santa Amelia, but as will be discussed in some length, her Santa Amelia as the estate usually referred to as Santa Amalia.

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<sup>1</sup>One of the meanings of the Spanish word *ingenio* is a plantation for growing and processing sugar cane. In Cuba the word meant a midsize operation, a very large operation was called a *centrale*. Santa Amalia eventually became *Centrale Santa Amalia* before it was shut down a few years after the end of the Cuban revolution in 1959.

The first of these books that I discovered (in 2019) during some Web searching was *Cartas desde Cuba* [22]. This book led me to find eventually an English translation of the original book written with Bremer's participation, but which intentionally omitted the full names of her hosts. The history of the book and its revelations on America and Cuba and slavery in both countries prior to the US Civil War are fascinating. This item is not something unique that I possess, but something I stumbled onto on the Web when trying to creatively construct searches that might turn up new information. I highlight it here because the book and author fascinated me, because I consider myself lucky to have found it, and because it resolved several mysteries for me as well as providing additional insight and context for the stories.

During her travels Bremer made many sketches and watercolors of plants, places, and people she encountered [24]. The sketchbook resides in the University of Uppsala in Sweden, but reproductions produced by Signe A. Rooth of the University of Chicago can be found in a chapter of a book [116] published in 1951 in honor of the centennial of Bremer's visit to Cuba. These images are in the public domain and several of them are directly relevant here and are included. High resolution tiff versions of these images can be found online at Uppsala University Library Digital Collections <https://www.uu.se/special-collections/> or the Alvin database at <http://www.alvinportal.org/alvin/>.

## A.4 Carlos Rebello

*Estados relativos a la Producción Azucarera de la Isla de Cuba, formados competentemente y con autorizacion de la Intendencia de Ejercito y Hacienda, Havana (1860)*

This book provides a census of the sugar producing plantations along with a discussion of the defacto political divisions of the country which allowed describing the locations of the plantations with respect to nearby villages, cities, counties, and ports.

The book was an official publication since it was researched and written with the authorization of the Intendencia de Ejercito y Hacienda de Cuba, an official office of the Captaincy General of Havana. The *intendencias* were official agencies created by the Spanish King with *intendentes* appointed by the king who were independent of all other administrative infrastructure and held the ultimate power of the army and the treasury. *Ejercito* means "army" and *Hacienda* meant the treasury in context, which collected and disbursed all of the colonial funds. *Hacienda* was shortened from its earlier incarnation of *Real Hacienda* or royal treasury, which was founded by royal decree in 1791. In the results were reported for each *departemento*, subdivided into *juisdicciones*, which in turn were subdivided into *partidos (de jurisdicción)*. Unlike Poey [112], details are provided in terms of naming the additional geographical information, specifically ports and railroads along with localities. The division was an enhancement of a merging of the military, judicial, and economic modes of division. Rebello can be viewed as an authoritative source for describing the political divisions of the island even though it preceded the precise legal definitions that would be promulgated by royal decree many years later.

## A.5 Estéban Tapia Pichardo (1799–1879)

*Diccionario Provincial Qasi-Razonado Vozes Cubanas* (1862) [111]

*Carta geotopográfica de la Ysla de Cuba* (1875) [110]

*Caminos de la Isla de Cuba: Itinerarios* (1865) [108] [109]

Pichardo has been called the “father of Cuban geography” and the “father of Cuban Cartography.”

Among his significant publications are his dictionary (often updated) of Cuban Spanish words, phrases, and argot during his era — first published in 1836, one of the most famous maps of the Island of Cuba of his time and well into the twentieth century published in 1875, and his book of itineraries of the roads of Cuba, describing trips along major and minor roads depicted in his maps.

Pichardo’s two volume book on itineraries describes two sets of itineraries for traveling through the Island of Cuba when it was published, the first volume dealing with itineraries along the main highways and the second volume treating trips along the minor roads. These books are based upon Pichardo’s pioneering early maps of Cuba. The itineraries can be easily found online, but unfortunately the few existing copies of the original maps are locked up in museums and libraries and there are no digital versions available. After much searching, I did succeed in finding an outstanding online version of his 1875 map of the island, which I have read incorporates his earlier maps. The URL is included in the note in reference [110].

There are, moreover, available digital versions of much later maps said to be “based on” the Pichardo versions, so that it is reasonable to make conjectures about the earlier maps based on the itineraries in combination with the more recent maps. I also found some of these recent (published in the 1890s, see [101]) in the Boston Public Library Map Center.

Pichardo’s commentary on two itineraries passing through or near Coliseo describe some of the nearby plantations, and also provide insight on the territorial divisions before the official royal creation of the 1878-9 structure. Many of the itineraries can be followed fairly closely using the maps of the late 19th and early 20th centuries which were based on Pichardo’s antique maps. The 1865 book represented a fully realized version of many years of work, which had first appeared in print in 1828 in a geographical general itinerary of the major roads of the Island of Cuba, an item mentioned in biographies of Pichardo which does not seem to exist anymore.

Pichardo trained as a lawyer, but he was also an artist and writer with a strong interest in geography. Among his earlier publications were a book of poetry (1822) and a book of Cuban argot at the time (1836), which led him to be ranked among the best Cuban lexicographers. Later in 1866 he even published a novel. He is included in lists of the most famous individuals in Cuban history<sup>2</sup>.

For many years he was a leader of the Cuban colonial government commission on statistics and of the territorial division of the island. In 1840 he produced a Map of the Matanzas region based on years of data gathering which included details of the area between and including Matanzas and Cardenas and was entitled *Carta Topográfica de Matanzas y su Jurisdicción Real Ordinaria con la*

<sup>2</sup>See, e.g., <http://www.cubanosfamosos.com/es/biografia/esteban-pichardo-tapia>.

*Vecindad de su Circunferencia*<sup>3</sup> which was later incorporated into his more famous 1853 published map of the Department Occidental of Cuba. It was developed for and published under the authority of the Capitaine General in Havana.<sup>4</sup> Probably his most famous map extended his 1853 map to cover the Departamento Oriental and thereby cover all of the island. This map was published in 1875 in eight parts as *Carta Geotopografica de la Isla de Cuba*. Actual copies are extremely rare and at this time not available to the public.

After many months of searching, I finally located a high quality online version<sup>5</sup>.

Luckily, the 1875 Pichardo map was used as a basis for maps created by the U.S. Army soon after the end of the Cuban-Spanish-American War in 1898 [101] with the title page shown in Figure A.1. Portions were reproduced and published as described in [45]. A few maps appear in *Commercial Cuba: A Book for Business Men*, by William J. Clark [37], but unfortunately these are not of sufficient detail to help here.

A pdf for [101] can be found online, but a far better quality version of the individual maps can be found at Stanford University under the title of *Military map of the island of Cuba*<sup>6</sup>. This is the best quality online reproduction I have found of the Army maps based on Pichardo's 1875 map. This map is also available for view by members at the Boston Public Library at the Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center.

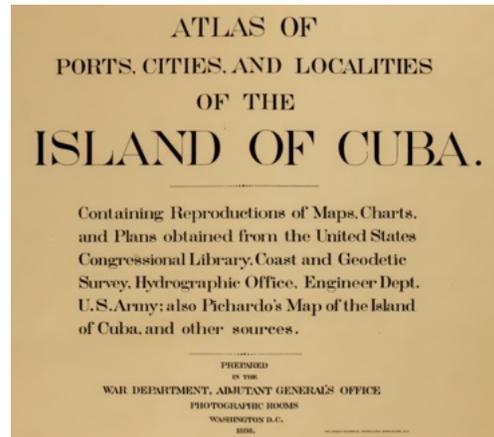


Figure A.1: 1898 U.S. War Department Map of the Island of Cuba

The preceding discussion of Pichardo's maps can be summarized as follows. The 1898 U.S. Army map available online at Stanford can be used along with Pichardo's 1865 book of itineraries to make plausible conjectures about the village of Coliseo between the cities of Matanzas and Cardenas during the 1820s, around the time when Lemuel Taylor arrived in Cuba. The reason is that the 1898 U.S. map was based on Pichardo's classic 1875 map, which was in turn based on the Pichardo 1853 map and the earlier 1840 map together with Pichardo's knowledge of other maps in progress at the time when he was a member of the government agency assigned with the responsibility of creating accurate maps for the government<sup>7</sup>. It is likely that this map strongly resembled

<sup>3</sup>See, e.g., <http://resultados.redciencia.cu/uploads/biografias/epichardo.pdf>, but a Web search will yield many descriptions, but no digital versions.

<sup>4</sup>The full title of the map was *Carta Geo-coro-hidro-topográfica del Departamento Occidental de la Isla de Cuba*

<sup>5</sup><http://bibliotecavirtualdefensa.es/BVMDefensa/i18n/consulta/registro.do?id=56569> click on the icon "Copia digital"

<sup>6</sup>Ourand, C. H., Morey, W., & Julius Bien & Co., (1898). *Military map of the island of Cuba*, available at <https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/2951966>

<sup>7</sup>The colonial government strongly supported the map making endeavors as accurate maps helped it fight increasing local rebellions and foreign incursions, such as the filibuster expeditions by Narciso López, which was launched from and financially supported by the United States in the 1850s.

the 1840 and 1853 maps, which in turn were the maps supported by the colonial government in Cuba. These early maps were the fruit of his many years gathering and producing cartographic surveys of the island and hence provided the information he used for his most famous book on travel itineraries in Cuba, *Caminos de la Isla de Cuba: Itinerarios* (1865) [108][109].

### A.5.1 U.S. Army

Perhaps a surprising source of information for early nineteenth century Cuba was published almost a century later by the U.S. Army. The relevance to the later publications follows from their use of much older authoritative sources, including Pichardo, coupled with their own serious efforts to provide history and accuracy to the cartography and geography of Cuba. The documents of most interest here are *Atlas of Ports Cities, and Localities of the Island of Cuba: Containing Reproductions of Maps, Charts, and Plans obtained from the United States Congressional Library, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Hydrographic Office, Engineer Dept. U.S. Army; also Pichardo's Map of the Island of Cuba, and other sources* (1898) [101], *Military Notes on Cuba* (1909) [61], and *US Army Road Notes:1909* (1909) [11].

The reasons for the thoroughness and accuracy of these publications are unfortunately not laudable: the U.S. intervened militarily in Cuba multiple times (some would say “invaded”) and it needed accurate maps to coordinate military actions and occupation. The first official incursion was in 1898 when the U.S. declared war on Spain following the sinking of the USS Maine in Havana Harbor to begin what the U.S. called the Spanish-American war. But this happened during the Cuban war for independence from Spain and the Cubans and much of the rest of the war considered it an unwelcome intervention. The U.S. occupied Cuba and governed it by a military government. It promised independence, which had been given as one of the reasons for intervention, but refused to allow Cuba to declare itself an independent nation until the island agreed to the Platt Amendment, giving the U.S. the right to intervene militarily to preserve its own interests. Such military interventions into Cuban affairs took place in 1906–09, 1912 and 1917–22. This list is incomplete, as the U.S. government unofficially supported the filibustering invasions by Narciso López during 1849-1851, which are noted in the book. In those days filibustering referred to private armies largely from one country invading another. López was ostensibly leading a rebellion against the Spanish, but most of his troops were southern American veterans of the American Civil War and much of their financial support came from southern politicians hoping that, like Texas, Cuba would declare itself an independent nation and then be annexed by the U.S.

The only impact of this historical detour on the story of this book is on the prevailing atmosphere in Cuba when Fredrika Bremer visited Santa Amalia. But it also explains the quality and accuracy of the maps and descriptions of Cuba prepared by the U.S. Army taking full advantage of Spanish historical records.

## A.6 Manuel Barcia Paz

*The Great African Slave Revolt of 1825: Cuba and the Fight for Freedom* (2012) [103]

This book was primary source for Lemuel Taylor's early life in Cuba Barcia and his participation in African slave revolt in Matanzas in 1825. Barcia had access to key government and other documents relating to colonial Cuba, which was a difficult task because they are spread over Cuban, Spain, and the United States. He also provides a great deal of useful information for this book, including a thorough list of the classic treatments of the origins, history, and evolution of the sugar industry and its entanglement with African slavery; a discussion of the neighborhood of plantations including Lemuel Taylor's Santa Amalia, which includes many of the estates which, like Taylor's, were attacked during the African slave rebellion of 1825. I do, however, find a few points of disagreement with his conclusions, which will be detailed.

## A.7 Alberto Perret Ballester

*El azúcar en Matanzas y sus dueños en La Habana: Apunté e iconografía* (2007) [15]

This book is an outstanding modern book on the history of the sugar industry in the Matanzas region of Cuba, but unfortunately it is not available in digital form except for tiny incomplete snippets from Google. I found only one hard copy for purchase, and then waited almost two months before it arrived during the "holiday season" of winter 2020. It was worth the wait as will be explained in Subsection 3.10.1 since it resolves several of the primary puzzles involving the Santa Amalia estate.

# Appendix B

## Insolvency of Lemuel Taylor

The key documents regarding the insolvency process for Lemuel Taylor are in the archives of the state of Maryland. I am indebted to Mr. Lance Humphries of Baltimore for bringing these documents and their online scans to my attention. A few important originals are reproduced in this appendix as support of my transcriptions since some of the originals were in poor condition, especially the Schedule of property owned by Lemuel Taylor in 1821 and his creditors at that time.

The collection of documents relating to Lemuel Taylor's insolvency proceedings contains over 1,000 images which are viewable online with the first image found at

[http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov/msa\\_t515/msa\\_t515\\_4/html/msa\\_t515\\_4-0001.html](http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov/msa_t515/msa_t515_4/html/msa_t515_4-0001.html)

The images do not have an index or a table of contents and they are not in chronological order, but usually groups of images corresponding to a single event or testimony or claim are contiguous.

The larger collection containing these papers is described at

<http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov>

by

mdhistory.net is the repository for nearly 20 years of e-publications produced from a cluster of Perl programs developed by Dr. Edward C. Papenfuse, the former Archivist and Commissioner of Land Patents for Maryland. mdhistory.net has been, and continues to be, a work in progress designed to explore how the archival treasures that relate to Maryland's rich and diverse history can be made readily accesible [sic] to the public inexpensively and simply through a server maintained by the Maryland State Archives. They are provided freely and without charge, having largely been developed and produced in my spare time as an effort to further the appreciation of the historical record and to foster collaborative efforts at interpreting Maryland's and the Nation's past.

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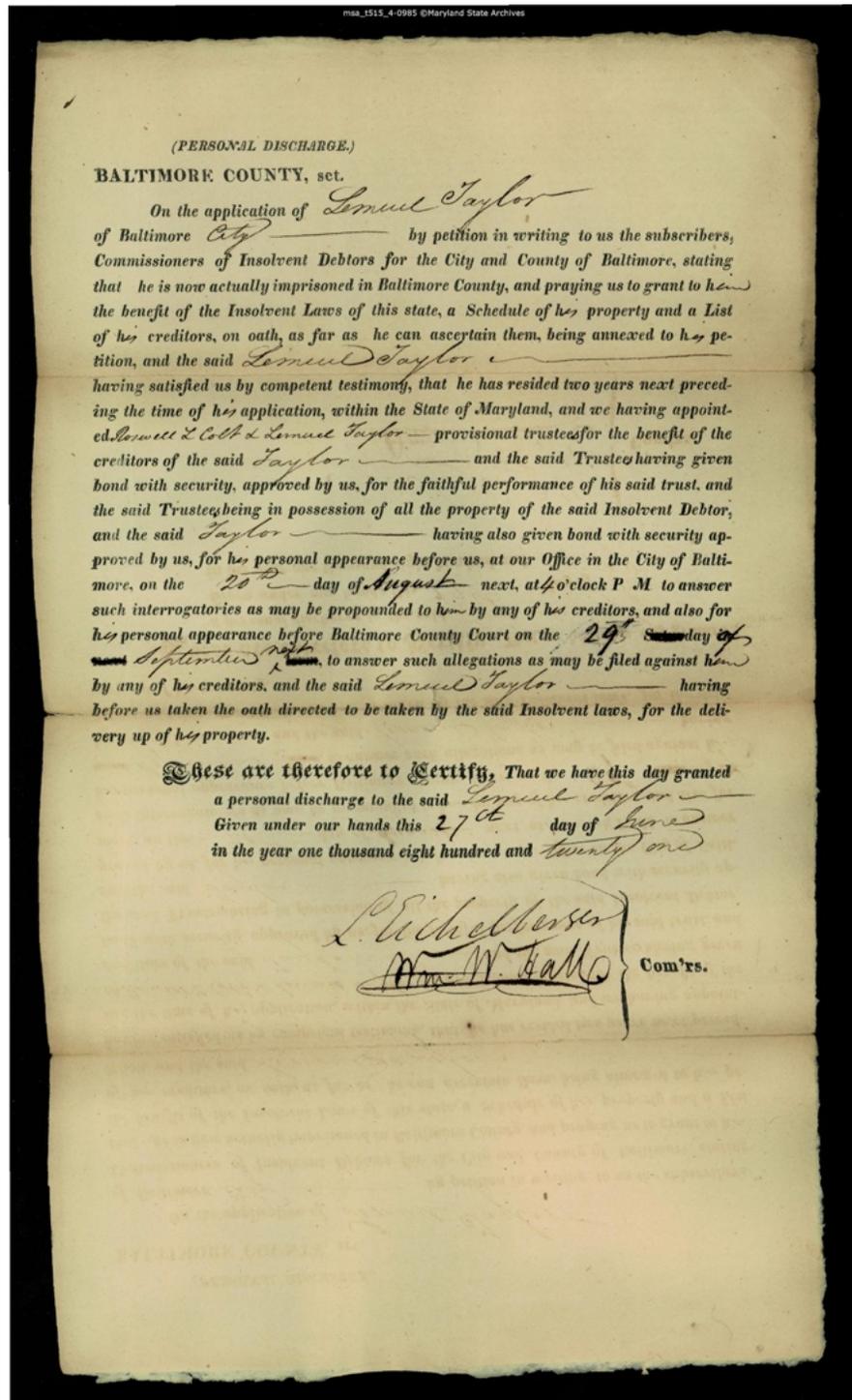


Figure B.1: Personal Discharge

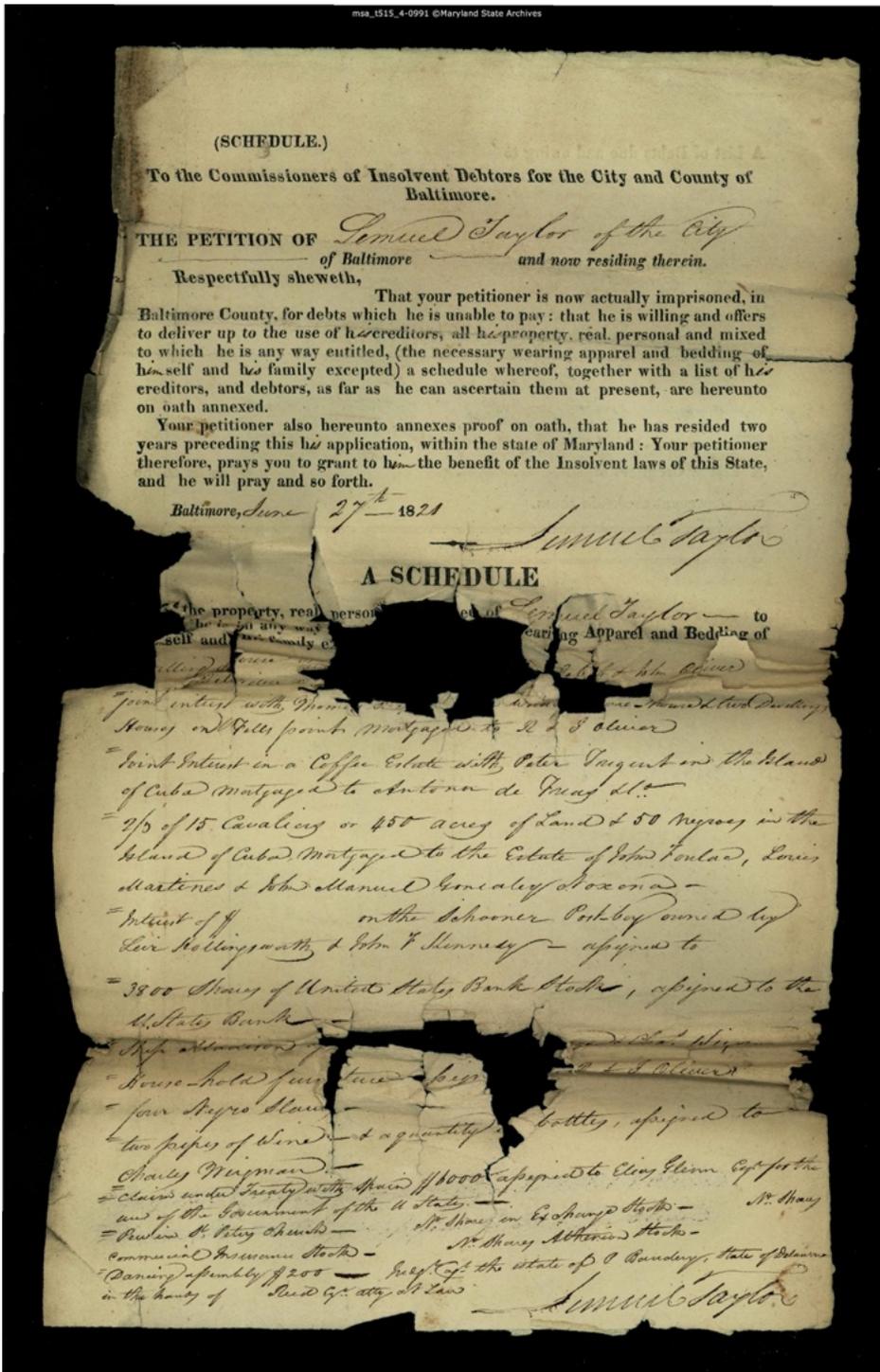


Figure B.2: Schedule



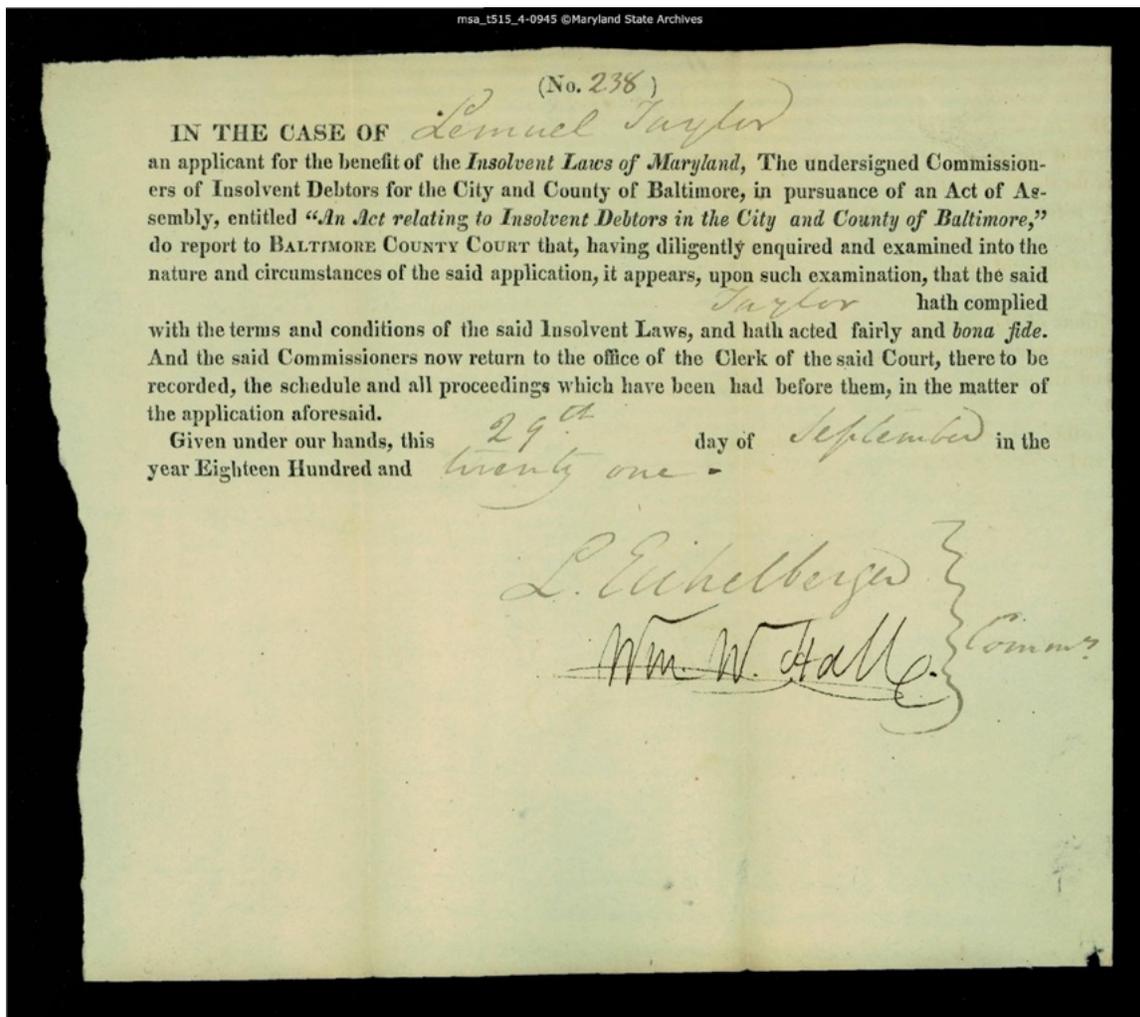


Figure B.4: Final Report

# Appendix C

## Cuban Geography

*Geography* has several aspects, including the development of territorial divisions of a territory into several smaller component pieces — usually followed by further subdivisions of each component into smaller pieces which can be visually represented in maps — along with the underlying rationale for the divisions, including (in the words of the *Oxford Dictionary of English*) “the distribution of populations and resources and political and economic activities.” Maps provide an excellent aid for public understanding of locations of specific places in relation to generally agreed upon boundaries of territorial regions such as states, counties or parishes, and cities, towns, villages, and other areas such as unincorporated areas with low or sparse populations in the United States.<sup>1</sup> Children in a nation generally learn the political maps which include their residence at a young age and then use them throughout their lives.

Maps usually reflect various functions of the governments of the larger territory, including political<sup>2</sup>, military, judicial, and economic. In colonial Cuba, ecclesiastical divisions were also important. The resulting divisions and the associated maps can reflect the territorial organization and administration of these functions, which might or might not be similar to the more familiar political maps. The military and judicial functions were of significant importance to the Spanish colonial government of Cuba, originally because it was a conquered territory which needed to be held by force, and as the destruction of the indigenous population through slavery and harsh treatment progressed, the islands were increasingly populated by imported ex-slaves, who eventually approached majority status in the population and some of whom turned out to be former prisoners of African wars and adept military leaders. The Cuban elite long feared slave uprisings, due both to the successful Haitian rebellion and to the many local slave rebellions in Cuba itself, such as the African slave rebellion in 1825 in the Matanzas region in which Lemuel Taylor was

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<sup>1</sup>For the mathematically inclined, maps usually present a *partition* of a territory. A partition of a set of points in space is a division of the set into separate nonoverlapping subsets (often called *atoms*) which together yield the entire set. In math speak, the subsets are *disjoint* or *mutually exclusive* and *collective exhaustive*. The partition can be *refined* into further subpartitions, which similarly divide the atoms of the previous partition. You do not need to know any of this, but I think it adds some insight.

<sup>2</sup>Here *political* is used (again following the *Oxford Dictionary* to mean “relating to the government or public affairs of a country” and not to specific political parties.

involved.

Today Cuba's political map follows the common modern territorial divisions such as the United States, with *provincias* (provinces) analogous to states at the first division level, *municipios* analogous to counties, parishes, or townships at the second division level, and *barrios* which is a catch-all name for all members of the third level of division (and is defined that way). Barrios include pieces of municipios such as cities (*ciudades*), towns or villages (*pueblos*, *poblados*, *poblaciones*, *villas*), and others pieces such as *sitios*, which is a Spanish term for small areas of small or low density population which do not fit any other categories.

This basic structure of provinces, municipios, and barrios was created by royal decree in 1878-9 and has evolved into the modern system. There is a history of the development of these territorial divisions, which did not officially exist during the time that Lemuel Taylor and his descendants lived in Cuba (the Taylors were mostly gone by 1858), but there did exist similar layers of division of administrative structure before their official establishment. A little history can help sort out the differences between modern geographical systems and similar implicit locations in Lemuel's time, connections which can seem contradictory.

The actual definitions of the municipios, the second level divisions, follow a tradition that is both useful and confusing. A municipio is usually named after the biggest or most important barrio it contains. For major cities this is pretty stable, for example Matanzas has long been the name of the municipality which contains the city of Matanzas along with several nearby barrios, and Cárdenas has been the name of the municipality that contains the city of the same name along with its neighboring barrios. But the Province of Matanzas contains both the municipio of Matanzas and the Municipio of Cárdenas. So one problem is that out of context, both names Matanzas and Cárdenas might refer either to a city or a municipio, and Matanzas might refer to the entire province containing them both as well as to the municipio and barrio (in this case city) of Matanzas. Thus describing a specific locality as being "near Matanzas" or "in Matanza" need context to interpret. Guamacaro in what is now the province of Matanzas has at times been a municipio containing Limonar and Coliseo, and at other times it has been only a barrio of the municipio of Limonar. Thus at times Guamacaro has referred to a reasonably large land area (e.g., during the 1825 African slave rebellion in Barcia's book, the rebellion is said to take place in the "locality of Guamacaro" and the events taking place "in Guamacaro," but the events were nowhere near the village or town of Guamacaro, and there was no formal definition of "locality")

And it can get worse, especially for amateur historians. Names and boundaries can change, including the addition of new names and the vanishing of old. Consider, again, the 1855 map showing Coliseo in Figure 3.4. Since the map was made in 1855 and the royal establishment of municipios and barrios in 1878-9 (Guacamaro has always qualified as a barrio and sometimes as a municipio since), Coliseo has been in the Municipios of Guamacaro, Limonar, and Lagunillas. Thus in the literature, the localization of a plantation by the municipio that contains it is fluid, and often incorrect in my experience.

While the history of territorial division is fascinating is fascinating (there are many websites and books devoted to the subject, and many others that provide useful summaries at specific points in history), it is also long, complex, and not really important for our purposes. But there are a few implications and examples of the history that provide insight into some of the historical puzzles

which cost me several months to resolve. Hence some discussion is in order and a few specific relevant examples might help other historical amateurs.

Prior to 1878, there were no official second level divisions (*municipios*) or third level divisions (*barrios*), but there were still popular and even official analogous government administrative divisions for various governmental functions such as the *modos* (ways or modes) of military, political, economic, and judicial, which are described in some detail (along with two other “modes” of division: maritime and ecclesiastic). in Poey’s 1849 book *Compendio de la Geografía de la Isla de Cuba* [112] in its chapter “Division Territorial.” Poey spelled out parallel three levels of division of Cuba according to each of the modes, along with some discussion of responsibilities, vocabulary, and boundaries. Some modes had deeper subdivisions described. Poey also provided a history of the ancient history of these modes in Cuba (and more generally in Spanish colonies). These divisions took a common form with varying names and details:

#### **First Level Divisions**

- The first level *military* division of Cuba in 1849 was into *departamentos* (departments), which followed an official royal 1827 division and vocabulary.
- The first level *political* division was into *provincias* (provinces), which is the modern name.
- The first level *judicial* division was into *jurisdicciones* (jurisdictions), which my Spanish to English dictionary gives as a synonym for *province*. It also has a more general meaning as does the English word jurisdiction as the extent over which some institution has authority, the word also occurs in other levels of subdivision.

All of these names appear on the maps of the time. The map of Fig. 3.4 uses the military name of “department.” The use of the military name is probably explained by the fact that the U.S. made map was based on information from the Spanish government, and at the time a royal dictate placed the military at the top of the various modes of administrative division[119].

The 1827 royal decree did not specify higher level subdivisions, but Poey describes the de facto or popular subdivisions that were accepted in his time. The level names of higher levels are usually not given on a map, but are indicated by relative font size as in Figure 3.4 using larger font sizes for the name of second level members over third level.

#### **Second Level Divisions**

- The second level *military* division was into *gobiernos*. *Gobierno* simply means “government,” here the government of the part of the first level region to which it belongs.
- The second level *political* division was also into *gobiernos*.
- The second level *judicial* division was into *partidos de jurisdicción*, which is usually translated into English as “judicial districts.”

#### **Third Level Divisions**

- The third level *military* division was into *tenencias de gobiernos*, where *tenencia* is usually translated as “tenancies” or “holdings.” For military divisions *tenencia* typically meant military commands or supply administrations.<sup>3</sup>
- The second level *political* division members were also called *tenencias de gobiernos*, which included *ayutamientos* (municipalities or municipal districts) and *jueces pedaneos* (small town administrations). This language foreshadowed the eventual term *municipio*, which can be translated into English as municipality.
- The second level *judicial* division was into *partidos de jurisdiccion*, which is usually translated into English as “judicial districts.”

I have found significant confusion in English translations of Cuban Spanish between the distinct terms “municipal district” and “judicial district,” both of which are usually abbreviated to the ambiguous term “district.” The problem lies in that the corresponding Spanish terms refer to different divisions, which often correspond to different geographical regions. In our running example, Coliseo in the late nineteenth century was simultaneously in the municipal district of Matanzas and the judicial district of Cardenas. The two districts overlapped (including Coliseo), but they were not the same. So contemporary treatments might place Coliseo in the district of Matanzas or Cardenas, a description inconsistent on its face, but OK when one realizes two different districts were being considered. Some maps of Cuba showed political districts while others showed judicial districts, some even tried to depict both.

The map of Figure 3.4 shows an indication of the three level divisions prior to their formal adoption in 1878-9, using the military term for the first level (department) and not naming the other two levels, but denoting the third level by the smallest font and a circle and the second level with a font size between those of the first and third level names. Most places of primary interest in this work are shown in the map: Matanzas, Cardenas, Guacamaro, Limonar, Coliseo, Jovellanos (Bemba), and Lagunillas. Two other examples from 1860 (after the 1855 map and before the 1878 royal decree) and 1906 (following the withdrawal of the American troops following the second U.S. invasion) add insight to the evolving Cuban geography.

## C.1 Ingenios

In 1860 The book *Estados relativos a la Producción Azucarera de la Isla de Cuba* [114] by Carlos Rebello was published, providing the first census of the rising Cuban sugar industry. The book reveals a popular but unofficial division of the country into administrative and geographical regions used to organize the report of a 1859-60 statistical study. The divisions were implicit in the 1855 map above and seem to be a melding of the modes of territorial division spelled out in the territorial divisions described in Poey[112]. The book was in a sense official since it was researched and written with the authorization of the *Intendencia de Ejercito y Hacienda de Cuba*, an official office of the Captaincy General of Havana. The *ntendencias* were government agencies created

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<sup>3</sup>For the math geeks, a *tenencia* is simply a subset of the lower level *gobierno*

by the Spanish King with leaders called *intendentes* appointed by the king who were independent of all other administrative infrastructure and held the ultimate power of the army and the treasury. *Ejercito* means “army” and *Hacienda* meant the treasury in context, which collected and disbursed all of the royal colonial funds. *Hacienda* was shortened from its earlier incarnation of *Real Hacienda* or royal treasury, which was founded by royal decree in 1791.

Rebello in [114] reported the results for each *departemento*, subdivided into *jurisdicciones*, which in turn were subdivided into *partidos (de jurisdiccion)*. Unlike Poey[112], details are provided in terms of providing additional geographical information, specifically ports and railroads, along with localities. The division was an enhancement of a merging of the military, judicial, and economic modes of division.

For example, at the time Havana, Matanzas, and Cardenas were *jurisdicciones* of the Western Department. Many years later, Havana and Matanzas would become and remain provinces, but Cardenas would not, it would end up a *municipio* and a *partido de jurisdiccion* of the Province of Matanzas. In 1860, however, Cardenas and Matanzas were both *jurisdicciones* of the same department.

Rebello [114] provided the first official census of all of the sugar cane plantations or *ingenios* in Cuba as of 1860, which he lists according to department (Occidental, Central, Oriental) and then subdivides according to “*jurisdiccion*” such as Cardenas and Matanzas, which are in turn subdivided into “*partidos*” such as Lagunillas in the Cardenas (judicial) district.

The territorial divisions of Cuba are well illustrated by the entry of primary interest to the Taylor story, the Ingenio Santa Amalia. The title page and the page including the *ingenios* in the Partido de Lagunillas of the Jurisdicción de Cardenas are shown in Figure C.1. The owners of Santa Amalia are listed as the heirs of Taylor<sup>4</sup>, the port as Matanzas, and the “Paradero o Embarcadero” as Coliseo.<sup>5</sup>

It should be noted that the Rebello report [114] confirms that by 1859, the primary product of Santa Amalia was sugar (it was at this time an *ingenio* and no longer a *cafetal* (coffee plantation) as it was when Lemuel bought it) and that the estate was still in the Taylor family. Barcia[103] conjectures that Taylor had lost the estate not long after the 1825 African slave revolt because of his financial problems. The fact that it is owned by his heirs in 1860 confirms that Santa Amalia was not lost by Taylor family, but was still held by his heirs at this time.

Other entries of interest here are:

Jurisdiccion de Matanzas, Partido de Guacamaro

Ingenio: Ariadne

Proprietario: Don Juan Chartrand

Paradero: Limonar

After the formal 1878-9 creation of the province/*municipio*/*barrio* structure there were a “readjustments” of the *municipios* following the first U.S. occupation of Cuba (1898-1902), when many

<sup>4</sup>Other sources ensure that this is Lemuel Taylor and not Moses Taylor, another American merchant and Cuban plantation owner who far more successful and rich than Lemuel ever was

<sup>5</sup>*Paradero* can be translated as “whereabouts” or “location” or “place” and *embarcadero* can mean a railroad loading station. By the late nineteenth century there was a branch line from the Coliseo station to Sta Amalia.

APÉNDICE I

ESTADOS

RELATIVOS A LA

PRODUCCIÓN AZUCARERA

DE LA

ISLA DE CUBA,

FORMADOS COMPETENTEMENTE Y CON AUTORIZACIÓN DE LA

INTENDENCIA DE EJERCITO Y HACIENDA,

POR

CARLOS REBELLO

HABANA

OCTUBRE, 1860

APÉNDICE I. DEPARTAMENTO OCCIDENTAL

JURISDICCIÓN DE CÁRDENAS (V)

| INGENIOS                     | PROPIETARIOS              | FUERZA MOTRIZ    | CLASE DE TIEN    | TERRENO (Caballos) | PUERTO | PUNTO DE ENBARCADERO | DISTANCIA* | PRODUCCIÓN |        |        |         |  |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------|----------------------|------------|------------|--------|--------|---------|--|
|                              |                           |                  |                  |                    |        |                      |            | 1859       | 1860   | CAN    | REVENTO |  |
| <b>PARTIDO DE LAGUNILLAS</b> |                           |                  |                  |                    |        |                      |            |            |        |        |         |  |
| Buen Veredo                  | Guyot, Luis               | Buoy             | Jam <sup>o</sup> | 6                  | 1      | Cárdenas             | Calzada    | 3          | 50     | 100    |         |  |
| Buena Vista                  | Pillero, Hros. de         | Vapor            | id.              | 8                  | 5      | id.                  | id.        | 4          | 202    | 196    |         |  |
| Buena Vista                  | Cruz Guillén, José de la  | id.              | id.              | 10                 | 5      | id.                  | id.        | 4          | 273    | 277    |         |  |
| Carmen                       | Méndez, Domingo Hros. de  | id.              | id.              | 8                  | 4      | id.                  | id.        | 12         | 418    | 424    |         |  |
| Carolina                     | Sotolongo, Telesforo      | id.              | id.              | 20                 | 15     | Matanzas             | Coliseo    | 9          | 2 139  | 2 210  |         |  |
| Constancia                   | Tormenta, José Ger. de la | id.              | id.              | 24                 | 10     | Cárdenas             | Chucho     | 3          | 517    | 415    |         |  |
| Desino                       | Doy y Cia.                | id.              | id.              | 14                 | 3      | id.                  | Calzada    | 3          | 179    | 206    |         |  |
| Desino                       | Hernández, Fernando       | id.              | id.              | 22                 | 18     | Matanzas             | Tosca      | 3          | 443    | 847    |         |  |
| Doa Amigos                   | Rodríguez, Ramón          | id.              | id.              | 25                 | 37     | id.                  | id.        | 2          | 1 905  | 2 275  |         |  |
| Encarnación                  | Castro, Francisco         | id.              | id.              | 32                 | 50     | Cárdenas             | San Anton  | 1          | 1 005  | 1 125  |         |  |
| Esperanza                    | Martínez Fortun, José     | id.              | id.              | 9                  | 4      | id.                  | Calzada    | 7          | 365    | 304    |         |  |
| Florida                      | Boyd, Isaac               | id.              | id.              | 20                 | 30     | id.                  | id.        | 3          | 60     | 324    |         |  |
| Granja                       | Jimeno, José Manuel       | id.              | id.              | 16                 | 4      | id.                  | Contreras  | 9          | 1 242  | 1 785  |         |  |
| Luisa                        | Madden, Juana             | id.              | id.              | 9                  | 4      | id.                  | Calzada    | 3          | 426    | 454    |         |  |
| Magnolia                     | Cogley, Roberto           | Buoy             | id.              | 7                  | 8      | id.                  | id.        | 3          | 133    | 219    |         |  |
| Mercad                       | Betancourt, José          | Vapor            | id.              | 14                 | 6      | Matanzas             | Coliseo    | 2          | 83     | 95     |         |  |
| Mercad                       | Lafferté, Juan Julián     | id.              | id.              | 14                 | 6      | Cárdenas             | Calzada    | 8          | 525    | 478    |         |  |
| Mina                         | Sánchez Salvador, Teodoro | id.              | id.              | 20                 | 10     | Matanzas             | Tosca      | 5          | 670    | 771    |         |  |
| Oado                         | Hernández, Fernando       | Buoy             | id.              | 4                  | 2      | Cárdenas             | Calzada    | 3          | 50     | 54     |         |  |
| Palma Sotano                 | Castro y Barba, Hros. de  | Vapor            | id.              | 10                 | 10     | id.                  | id.        | 4          | 151    | 202    |         |  |
| Panají                       | Lenz, Carlos E.           | id.              | id.              | 24                 | 10     | id.                  | Chucho     | 6          | 1 832  | 1 652  |         |  |
| Progreso                     | Tormenta, José de la Ger. | Vapor            | id.              | 12                 | 1      | id.                  | Contreras  | 2          | 1 658  | 171    |         |  |
| Purísima Concepción          | Moné, Manuel B.           | Jam <sup>o</sup> | id.              | 14                 | 3      | id.                  | Calzada    | 5          | 171    | 154    |         |  |
| Recuro                       | Rodríguez, Francisco      | id.              | id.              | 8                  | 8      | id.                  | id.        | 4          | 204    | 174    |         |  |
| Resagración                  | Alme, Luis                | Buoy             | id.              | 23                 | 10     | id.                  | id.        | 6          | 2 605  | 2 354  |         |  |
| Resolución                   | Alderte, Hros. de         | Vapor            | id.              | 20                 | 10     | id.                  | Contreras  | 2          | 504    | 248    |         |  |
| Rota                         | Tormenta, Cosme de la     | id.              | id.              | 32                 | 14     | Matanzas             | Tosca      | 4          | 4 458  | 5 463  |         |  |
| San Fernando                 | Hernández, Pablo          | Jam <sup>o</sup> | id.              | 35                 | 6      | id.                  | id.        | 1          | 4 945  | 5 184  |         |  |
| San Francisco                | Tormenta, Francisco       | Vapor            | id.              | 40                 | 10     | Cárdenas             | Chucho     | 10         | 6 169  | 5 880  |         |  |
| San Joaquín                  | Mora Hros., Sres.         | Jam <sup>o</sup> | id.              | 26                 | 14     | Matanzas             | Tosca      | 3          | 1 872  | 1 748  |         |  |
| San Juan                     | Hernández, Fernando       | id.              | id.              | 15                 | 9      | Cárdenas             | Calzada    | 14         | 1 367  | 984    |         |  |
| Santa Agustina               | Packard, Agustín          | id.              | id.              | 5                  | 4      | Cárdenas             | Coliseo    | 8          | 161    | 98     |         |  |
| Santa Amalia                 | Taylor, Hros. de          | id.              | id.              | 14                 | 4      | Matanzas             | Coliseo    | 2          | 533    | 489    |         |  |
| Santa Catalina               | Acosta, José Pablo        | id.              | id.              | 14                 | 4      | Cárdenas             | Calzada    | 3          | 484    | 489    |         |  |
| Santa María                  | Guemero, Vicente          | Vapor            | Jam <sup>o</sup> | 13                 | 4      | id.                  | id.        | 7          | 484    | 387    |         |  |
| Santa María                  | Muro, Lucas               | id.              | id.              | 13                 | 7      | id.                  | id.        | 4          | 720    | 1 888  |         |  |
| San Vicente                  | Palmejo, Juan             | id.              | id.              | 24                 | 9      | id.                  | Contreras  | 4          | 26 808 | 26 808 |         |  |
| Sonora                       | Vergara, José             | id.              | id.              | 337                |        |                      |            |            |        |        |         |  |
| Tiburío                      | Reynaldo, Pedro           | id.              | id.              |                    |        |                      |            |            |        |        |         |  |
| Totales                      |                           |                  |                  | 647                | 337    |                      |            |            |        |        |         |  |

\* Distancia en millas a paradero o embarcadero.

Figure C.1: Rebello: Ingenios

municipios were merged, joining smaller ones into larger ones. This occupation was called the “U.S. Intervention in the Cuban war of independence” by the Cubans, and the “Spanish-American War” by the Americans, who intervened by declaring war on Spain while Spain was fighting a war against insurgents seeking independence. The catalyst for the declaration of war was the explosion of the *USS Maine*, which had been sent to Havana harbor to protect U.S. interests during the war of independence. The explosion killed the majority of the crew and sank the ship. A U.S. Navy board reported that the explosion had been caused by a mine attached to the hull, and the Hearst press thundered that Spain had attacked and sunk the ship as Hearst pushed for war, while significantly raising circulation in the process. The U.S. did declare war on Spain and attacked and took control of most of its few remaining colonies, including Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. There was (and remains) significant controversy about the existence of a mine and hence a premeditated attack as dissenting Naval officers put forward an alternative explanation, that the explosion had been caused by a fire in the bituminous coal bunker igniting a mixture of methane gasses known to be produced by such coal. Admiral Hyman Rickover in 1974 led an investigation of the Maine incident which concluded supporting the coal fire hypothesis. The Americans installed a U.S. military government in Cuba following the defeat of the Spanish which accomplished changes in the government, including the changes in territorial division initiated by the Cuban insurgents.

A few years later, the Second Occupation of Cuba by the United States (1906–08) yielded a fortunate byproduct — a well researched and written report with maps by the U.S. Army describing Cuba’s government, institutions, economy, and geography along with maps which locate places of interest to this work in the context of 1909: *Military Notes on Cuba, 1909* [61] by Capt. John W. Furlong. The book was produced by the U.S. War Department based on the 1906-1908 American occupation of Cuba by the “Army of Cuban Pacification.” Although written more than 3/4 of a century after Lemuel arrived with his family, it provides good information about the geography and organization of the island at the earlier time. The report describes the original (1879) structure of the first six provinces:

The Republic of Cuba is divided into six provinces, which from west to east are as follows: Pinar del Rio, Havana, Matanzas, Santa Clara, Camaguey, and Oriente. The provinces are subdivided into 82 municipal districts, in the following proportion: Pinar del Rio, 12; Havana, 18; Matanzas, 10; Santa Clara, 21; Camaguey, 5; Oriente, 16. Some of these, especially in the rural districts, are again subdivided into wards (barrios), the size, number, and population of which varies, the object being to aid municipal control by means of delegates known as *alcaldes de barrio*.

Our focus is on the province of Matanzas, which included the earlier jurisdiccions of 1860 of Matanzas and Cardenas. Furlong [61] gives a good sketch of Matanzas Province:

It is divided into four judicial districts, viz, Matanzas, Cardenas, Alacranes, and Colon. It is also divided into ten municipal districts or townships, viz, Alacranes, Boloridron, Cardenas, Colon, Jaguey Grande, Jovellanos (Bemba), Marti (Hato Nuevo), Matanzas, Pedro Betancourt (Corral Falso), Union de Reyes. ...

The capital is Matanzas. It has great commercial activity and is noted for the beauty of its surroundings. Cardenas is also an important commercial center. ...

The ground is generally level, with some hills which belong to the central group of mountains. There is a large group northwest of Matanzas containing one prominent point, the Pan de Matanzas, which reaches an altitude of about 1,300 feet. Some hills occur also between Matanzas and Cardenas.

In general these isolated hills or groups have rounded summits, but in their lower slopes are frequently very steep, rising abruptly from the surrounding level plains.

In the extreme northwest is the rocky range of Sierra de Camarones and the Arcos de Diego; in the northeastern part, Hato Nuevo de Santa Clara; and in various parts of this central group district of mountain ranges are to be found many hills and elevations, among which are the group of Havana, Tetas de Camarioca, Palenque, Cumbre, Carbas, Limonar, Santa Ana, Gonzales, Triana, Cimarrones, and Las Guimbambas.

The Tetas de Camarioca are hills North of Coliseo, they are depicted in the 1855 map of Fig. 3.4. In 1851 they were visible from the Sta Amalia Estate, as we shall see later when considering Fredrika Bremer's 1851 visit.

Maps from [61] in Fig. C.2 show the ten townships (municipios) of Matanzas Province as they were in the early twentieth century along with more detailed maps of three of the townships of the province: Jovellanos — which included the barrio of Coliseo and the nearby Santa Amalia and La Carolina Estates, Cardenas — which contains the Barrio of Laguanillas — which in 1860 had been the Partido de Jurisdiccion de Cardenas which contained Coliseo, and Matanzas Province, which contained the townships of Guacamero and Limonar, which are quite close to Coliseo and the Sta Amalia Estate and each of which had at times included the Barrio of Coliseo. While the borders and names of the larger administrative entities changed with time, the locations of the named barrios and villages had not changed much from 1825 so these early twentieth century maps give a sense of the geographical relationships among several locations of interest almost a century earlier. The maps also remind the reader of the potential confusion in verbal descriptions of locations of barrios and estates.

The structure of modern provinces and their subdivisions came years after the the time period of most interest here — from Lemuel and his family's arrival in Cuba around 1820 and their death or departure from Cuba — mostly before 1860, the year of Amy Heard's birth to Lemuel's granddaughter Jane Leep (De Coninck) Heard in Boston and two years after the marriage of Jane Leep De Coninck to Augustine Heard in Baltimore at the house of her mother, Lemuel's daughter, Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck, in Baltimore. The lack of established territorial divisions explains why circumlocutions were used to describe specific localities early in Lemuel Taylors Cuban years, e.g., that the Santa Amalia Estate was “near to Matanzas” rather than in the village or barrio of Coliseo in Matanzas Province. In addition, in the early nineteenth century the city and port of Matanzas was, after Havana, the best known place in Cuba internationally.

This completes the geographical detour into the history territorial divisions of Cuba.

A delightful quote from a book for American businessmen published in 1898 — Clark's *Commercial Cuba: A Book for Business Men* [37] well describes the hopelessness of understanding the territorial divisions of Cuba.

The character of these divisions is somewhat less in political importance than those

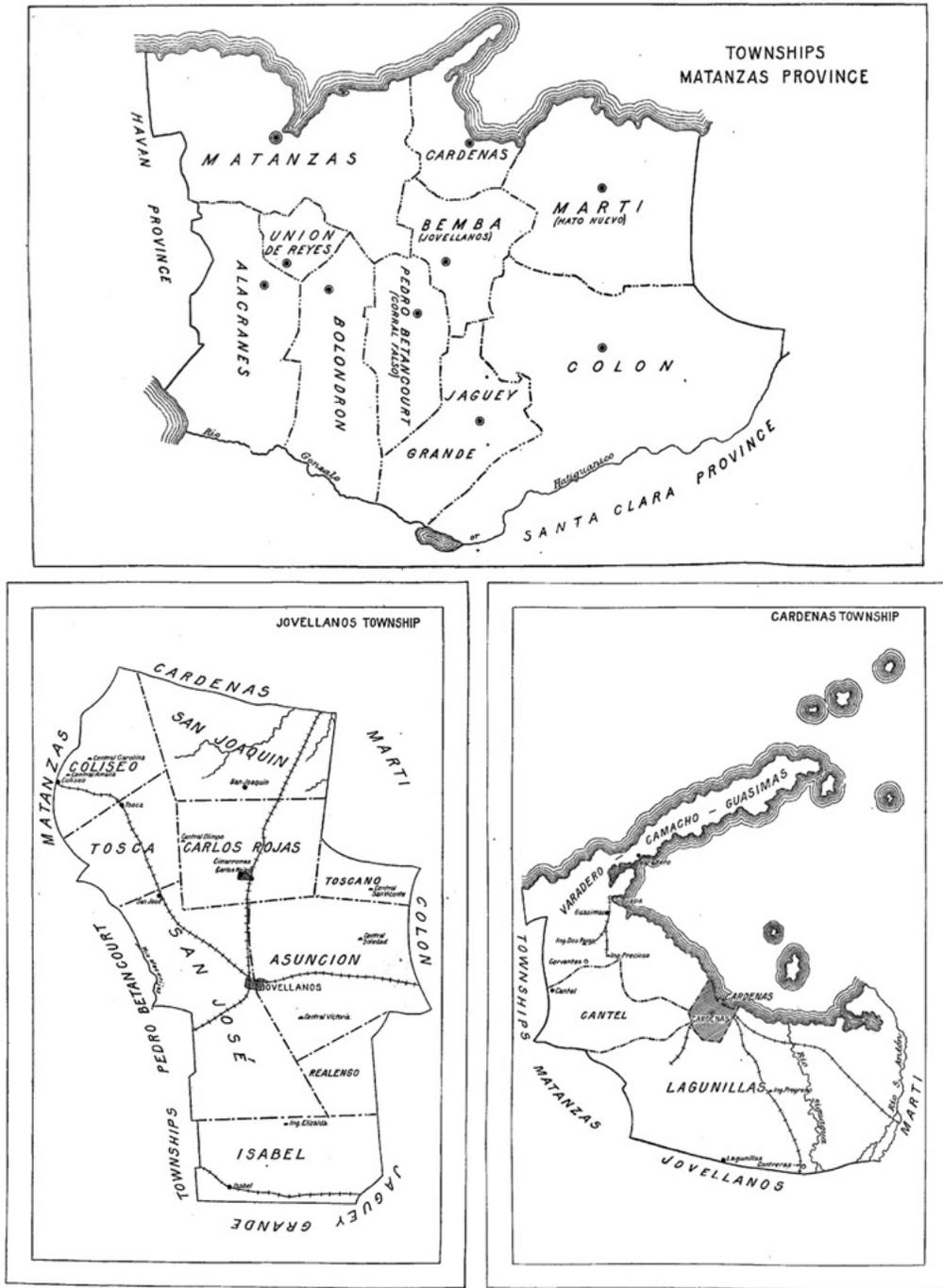


Figure C.2: 1909 Barrio of Coliseo, Townships of Matanzas, Cardenas, Jovellanos

of county lines in the United States. It will be noted that each of the districts bears the name of the most important municipality therein. Township lines are even more shadowy than those of the provincial districts. Where they run, how they run, and why they run, is more than a puzzle to the average American; while the question of records, either entirely local or relating to important matters, is nearly as difficult to understand, for these may perhaps be confined to some municipality or headquarters of the judicial district, the former Captain-General's office in Havana, or even in Madrid. It can generally be taken for granted, however, that everything of importance centered about the Captain-General himself, and that intimation, at least, can be had there as to where more complete information exists, if it is not actually present; yet the writer knows from personal experience that certain important records and information, which by all known processes of reasoning should be kept in Havana, were actually in Madrid, and no copies of them were to be found in Cuba. Should the archives of the Captain-General be removed to Madrid, when Spanish authority is withdrawn from Cuba, it can be safely prophesied that complications will exist in provincial, municipal, and personal affairs which it will be well-nigh impossible thoroughly to adjust. The political divisions of the island, as established by the insurgent Government, differ somewhat in name and boundaries from those which we have given, and of course the proposed and actual present form of government therein is radically different from that which we have recited. Whether or not the new or the old divisions and titles will prevail is of course now a question of uncertainty, yet it is to be hoped that there will be no innovations as regards names, for already the greatest confusion exists in many localities, as regards the use of a number of names to designate the same place or thing.

# Appendix D

## List of Letters

This appendix lists all of the letters I have either as originals or as copies from cousins. This list does not include letters quoted from published sources or the Harvard Business School Baker Library Heard collection.

The list is incomplete a many letters in my possession have not yet been included. The list is currently almost complete through the 1890s. Not all of the letters have been transcribed or translated in this book, usually because the content adds little to the stories. Sometimes, however, these omitted letters provide useful information about locations of individuals on specific dates.

The letters are grouped by categories roughly corresponding to the chapters of Part III as well as Chapter 11 in Part II which includes both journal entries and relevant letters regarding Amy's marriage. This means the letters are grouped first by topic and then within each topic are chronologically ordered, but categories may overlap in time.

This listing may lag behind the rest of the book. The letters are not yet all indexed and referenced in a convenient and logical manner, but the groupings and dates should help searching the pdf to of the book to find a particular letter.

Letters which have not yet been transcribed and included in this book are followed by a – sign. The check sign ✓ denotes either the original or a digital copy is in the archival binders. The original letters (mostly the West and Korean letters) were transcribed based on xerox copies and are archived, but many need to be scanned to produce digital copies. Some of the French and German letters which have been transcribed have not yet been translated. The few Spanish letters were completed in November 2022.

### D.1 Cuban Letters: 1883-1886

These letters begin with Amy, her mother Jane, and Jane's sister Amelia Henrietta's trip to Cuba in 1883 and end with Jane's 1886 letters telling Amy of the illness and return to Cuba of Jane's other sister, Amy's Aunt Mary Deconinck Johnston.

These letters are found in Chapter 12.

1. 18 November 1883 from Georgie at 4 Chesham Street, London, to Amy at Ingenio Sta Amalia, Coliseo, Cuba
2. 1 December 1883 from Bessie Woodville ✓ at Châlet Pâquerette, Biarritz, France to Amy (original from Kathe)
3. 17 Dec 1883, from Augustine (Union Club, New York) to Amy at Ingenio Santa Amalia ✓
4. 11 January 1884, from Augustine (New York) to Amy Ingenio Santa Amalia ✓
5. 4,7 March 1886 from Jane in NY to Amy in Boston discussing Augustine's Cuban trip. ✓
6. 17 March 1886, from Augustine (Matanzas) ✓
7. 18 March 1886 from Jane in New York to Amy at 18 Commonwealth, Boston ✓
8. 1 April 1886, Jane in NY to Amy at the Dorr's in Boston, about Mary's health and trip to Cuba ✓
9. 7 April 1886, Jane in NY to Amy in Boston ✓
10. 14 April 1886, Jane in NY to Amy at Dorr's in Boston ✓

## D.2 Marriage Letters: 1886

These letters deal with Amy's engagement and marriage to Russell Gray. They are mixed chronologically with the entries in Amy's 1886 journal in Chapter 11

A few of the letters from the West sisters also relate to Amy's marriage (and Amalia was s bride's maid), but they are included with the West letters both in this list and in the book.

1. 17 Aug 1886 from Henry Cabot Lodge, Nahant.
2. 18 August from Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes.
3. 19 August 1886 from Sarah Russell Gardner Gray, Nahant, to Amy in Bar Harbor. ✓
4. 30 August 1886 from Isabella Stewart Gardner ✓
5. 3 September 1886, from Genevieve Marshall (British Legation in Berne, forwarded from British Leg. in Wash to Bar Harbor. L.S.S. West signature on envelope) ✓
6. 7 September 1886 from Mary Lhomme, Mercey par Arnay-le-Duc, Cote d'Or to Amy c/o Augustine Heard in NY. ✓
7. 9 September 1886 from William Caleb Loring (Torquay) ✓
8. 10 September 1886, from Thèrese (de Chambrun later de Brazza), (Paris to NY) (mentions V.W.) ✓

9. 14 September 1886, from G enevi e Marshall in Switzerland to NYC ✓
10. 23 September 1886 From Georgie in Bangalore ✓
11. 30 September 1886 Letter from Russell Gray in Boston to Amy in New York. ✓
12. 1 October 1886 Letter from Russell Gray in Boston to Amy in New York. ✓
13. 5 October 1886, from Josefina Martinez (Santiago) ✓
14. 17 December 1886 Letter from M. V. Chaffraix ✓
15. Undated, but likely late 1886. From Lise Rosen at Beach Hill to Amy at 30 Court Street, Boston. ✓

### **D.3 Letters from Victoria, Amalia, and Flora West: 1884-1891**

These letters are found in Chapter 13. All but one of the letters are to Amy Heard. There is one letter from Victoria to Amy's mother, Jane De Coninck Heard.

1. 7 May 1884, from Victoria ✓
2. 23 December 1884, from Victoria ✓
3. 19 March 1885, from Amalia (& undated note) ✓
4. 22 March 1885, from Victoria ✓
5. 31 March 1885, from Victoria ✓
6. 2 April 1885, from Victoria ✓
7. 3 April 1885, from Victoria ✓
8. 3 May 1885, from Amalia ✓
9. 8 May 1885, from Victoria (& Flora) ✓
10. 3 June 1885, from Amalia (In London July-Oct. 85) ✓
11. 28 February 1886, from Amalia ✓
12. 6 March 1886, from Amalia ✓
13. 9 March 1886, from Amalia ✓

14. 11 March 1886, from Victoria (Ottowa) ✓  
Found with 14 March letter from Victoria denoted Sunday and postmarked 15 March, this letter labeled Thursday.
15. 14 March 1886, from Amalia ✓
16. 14 March 1886, from Victoria (Ottowa) ✓
17. 27 March 1886, from Amalia ✓
18. 31 March 1886, from Victoria ✓
19. 13 April 1886, from Victoria (summer '86 in England) ✓
20. 19 July 1887, from Amalia (Paris) ✓
21. 28 August 1887, from Victoria (Paris) ✓
22. 21 October 1887, from Amalia ✓
23. 22 October 1887, from Victoria ✓
24. 12 November 1887, from Victoria (Normandie) ✓
25. 12 November 1887, from Amalia ✓
26. 26 November 1887, from Amalia ✓
27. 30 November 1887, from Victoria ✓
28. 22 December 1887, from Victoria ✓
29. 26 December 1887, from Victoria ✓
30. 23 January 1888, from Victoria ✓
31. 29 January 1888, from Amalia ✓
32. 20 February 1888, from Amalia (Cannes) ✓
33. 19 March 1888, from Amalia (looking for house in Beverly Cove) ✓
34. 9 April 1888, from Victoria (Flora's engagement) ✓
35. 9 April 1888, from Flora ✓
36. 11 April 1888, from Victoria to Jane Heard ✓ Original from Kathe Dewitt
37. 19 April 1888, from Amalia ✓
38. 18 July 1888, from Amalia (Cove Hill, Beverly) ✓

- 39. 19 July 1888, from Victoria (Cove Hill, Beverly) ✓  
Mentions Adeline
- 40. 22 September 1888, from Amalia (Cove Hill, Beverly) ✓
- 41. 31 October 1888, from Victoria (Murchison affair) ✓
- 42. 6 November 1888, from Amalia ✓ Original from Kathe Dewitt
- 43. 11 March 1889, from Victoria (Cannes) ✓
- 44. 28 March 1891, from Victoria (Knole) ✓

## D.4 Letters from family and friends: 1878-1890

These letters may be found in Chapter 14.

Letters to Amy from her family and friends intermixed and ordered chronologically.

Family correspondents include Amy's father Augustine Heard Jr., (Gus, AH) her sister Max (Bébé, Hélène, H.M.H.), her mother Jane Leep (De Coninck) Heard (JLH), her brothers John Heard Jr. and Augustine Albert Heard, and her uncle Albert Farley Heard. Mary Lhomme is a second cousin of Amy – their grand-parents were siblings (Amelia and Mary Taylor), children of Lemuel and Mary Taylor.

Close friends appearing in the Journal during the early 1880s include Mathilde de Nogueiras, Thérèse de Chambrun (Marie Thérèse Virginie Françoise de Chambrun, later Mrs Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza), Josefina Martinez, Minnie Griswold, Emily Beale, Jinny Davenport, Ginny McLane, Minnie Stout, Lizzie Cameron, and Genevieve Marshall. All were twentyish daughters of diplomats or politicians who are mentioned in Amy's Washington D.C. journals. The surviving letters include examples from most of these women. Some correspondents fit the group of daughters of diplomats are politicians, but do not appear in the Journal. Most notably is Mary C. Endicott, – she is not one of the "Misses Endicott" who were mentioned as they were daughters of Marshall O. Endicott, while Mary was the daughter of Secretary of the Navy William C. Endicott.

Other correspondents who were close friends but do not appear in Amy's Journal and do not appear to have been daughters of diplomats or politicians and do not crop up in the journals. These include Alice Bowler (Mrs. Robert Bonner Bowler II, born Alice Bernard Williamson), Louise Foote Bowler, the sister of Alice's husband (later Mrs. John Callender Livingston), and Edith Bell, a summer neighbor in Bar Harbor, Maine, of the Bowler's (later Mrs. Leonard Eckstein Opdycke). Louise was close to Amy in age, her sister-in-law Alice was almost a decade older. Edith was 3-4 years older than Louise and Amy. These three women were related to each other and close friends, but their fathers were more merchants and capitalists than diplomats or politicians. I have not determined how they came to know the Heard family, possibly it was through Edward Rogers Bell, Edith Bell's father who, like Augustine Heard, was a member of the Century Club in New York.

The list of letters from family and friends will grow as many remain to be cataloged, transcribed, and translated when not in English. The Sackville-West letters show no notations yet as they were the earliest done, mostly using copy machines to produce copies used for transcribing and translation. The letters of these two groups are all in archival folders and transcribed, but few have been scanned. The journals have all been scanned and are intact in archival folders. A few letters were scanned by relatives and I do not have originals.

1. 16 September 1878, from Augustine (Ipswich) ✓
2. Junio 11 1883, from Josefina Martinez in London ✓
3. 10 November 1884, from Augustine Albert (Cleveland) ✓
4. 27 November 1884, from Bébé ✓
5. 27 November 1884, from John Heard Jr. at 13 Walnut Street to Amy at 262 Fourth Avenue, New York City. ✓ (scan, not original)
6. 29 November 1884, from Alice Bowler (Cincinnati) ✓
7. 4 December 1884, from Augustine Albert Heard (Cincinnati to NY) ✓
8. 11 December 1884, from John Heard (In German) , 13 Walnut Boston, Embossed *The St. Botolph Club, 85 Boylston St, Boston.* ✓ (scan, not original – with 11/27/1884 letter)
9. 16 December 1884, from Bébé (Boston to NY) ✓
10. 17 December 1884, from John Heard (In German) , to Amy at 262 Fourth Ave New York City ✓
11. 21 December 1884, from Bébé ✓
  1. 28 January 1885, from Bébé (Boston) ✓
  2. 10 February 1885, from Augustine Heard (NY) ✓
  3. 12 February 1885, from AH (262 Tenth Ave, NY) ✓
  4. 14 February 1885, from Mary Endicott (mentions V.W.) ✓
  5. 21 Febrero 1885 Josefina Martinez (Lisbon) to Amy at Russian Delegation, Washington D.C. ✓
  6. 25 February 1885, from John Heard (The Century NY to Washington, c/o Commissioner Loring, in German) –✓
  7. 5 March 1885, from Bébé (Boston) ✓

8. 8 March 1885, from John Heard (NY to the Russian Legation, from Washington, D.C., in German) ✓
9. 10 March 1885, from Jane Leep Heard (NY, sent c/o G.B.Loring, Washington D.C.) ✓
10. 10 March 1885, from Augustine Heard (NY, c/o G.B. Loring) ✓
11. 15 March 1885, from Louise Bowler (Boston) ✓
12. 16 March 1885, from Georgie at 4 Chesham Street ✓
13. 18 March 1885 from Bessie Woodville. Biarritz ✓
14. 21 March 1885, from Béb  (Boston to NY) ✓
15. 27 May 1885, from Augustine Heard (Union Club, NY to Boston) ✓
16. 1 June 1885 from Augustine Heard at 32 Nassau St. NY ✓.( In same envelope as 8 June 1885 letter)
17. 2 June 1885, from B b  (Boston to Ipswich) ✓
18. 5 June 1885, from Adeline to Amy c/o John Heard in Ipswich. ✓
19. 8 June 1885 letter from AH ✓
20. 20 February 1886, from Louise Bowler in Aiken ✓
21. 2 March 1886 from B b . ✓
22. 9 March 1886, from Augustine Albert Heard (In French) ✓
23. 17 March 1886, from Edith Bell (NY to Boston) ✓
24. 22 March 1886, from AWL (Hamilton, Bermuda, to Boston) Adeline (Addie) Wheelwright Lewis, John Jr's future wife. ✓
25. 26 June 1887, from Bessie (Chalet Haltura, Biarritz, France) ✓
- 26.
27. 29 June 1887, from B b  (The Belmont, Bar Harbor) ✓
28. 5 July 1887, from Augustine (NY to Nahant) ✓
29. 6 July 1887 , from B b  (The Belmont, Bar Harbor) ✓
30. 7 July 1887, from Augustine (NY to Nahant) ✓
31. 12 July 1887, from Augustine (NY to Nahant) ✓

32. 15 July 1887, from Béb  (The Belmont, Bar Harbor) ✓
33. 18 July 1887, from Augustine to Amy in Nahant ✓
34. 22 July 1887, from Béb  (The Belmont, Bar Harbor) ✓
35. 27 July 1887, from Amy's uncle Albert Farley Heard (Washington) ✓
36. 28 July 1887, from Louise (Chatwold, Mt. Desert) ✓
37. 1 August 1887, from Béb  (The Belmont, Bar Harbor) ✓
38. 8 August 1887, from Augustine (Mt. Desert) ✓
39. 8 August 1887, from Béb  (The Belmont, Bar Harbor) ✓
40. 10 August 1887, from Jane Leep & Augustine (Mt. Desert) ✓
41. 17 August 1887, from Augustine (Belmont, Bar Harbor) ✓
42. 19 August 1887, from Béb  (The Belmont, Bar Harbor) ✓
43. 21 August 1887, from Augustine (Mt. Desert) ✓
44. 22 August 1887 from Bessie, Chalet Haltura, Biarritz ✓
45. 28 August 1887, from Augustine (Mt. Desert to Nahant) ✓
46. 28 August 1887, from Albert Farley Heard (Ipswich to Nahant) ✓
47. 3 September 1887 Louise Bowler at Chatham to Amy in Nahant ✓
48. 4 September 1887, from Béb  (The Belmont, Bar Harbor) ✓
49. 13 September 1887, from Edith Bell visiting Chatwood ✓
50. 18 September 1887, from Béb  (The Belmont, Bar Harbor) ✓
51. 23 September 1887, Louise Bowler at Chatwold to Amy at 39 Marlborough ✓
52. 8 October 1887, from Louise Bowler at Chatwold to Amy at 39 Marlborough ✓
53. 26 October 1887, from Horace Gray (Justice of Supreme Court) ✓
54. 13 November 1887, from Mary C. Endicott ✓
55. 1 December 1887, from Augustine (NY) ✓
56. 1 December 1887, from Jane (in same envelope as AH letter) ✓
57. 11 December 1887, from Louise Bowler ✓

58. 24 December 1887 from Mary C. Endicott ✓
59. 25 December 1887, from Edith ✓
60. 30 December 1887, from Louise Bowler (Mt. Storm) ✓
61. 10 January 1888, from Max (Washington) ✓
62. 19 January 1888, from Max (Washington) ✓
63. 25 January 1888 from Max ✓
64. 8 February 1888, from Max (Washington, mentions Amalia & Victoria & Flora W.) ✓
65. 25 March 1888, from Augustine (NY) ✓
66. 17 April 1888, from Mary C. Endicott ✓
67. 20 April 1888, from Edith ✓
68. 27 April 1888, from Louise Bowler. ✓
69. 20 May 1888, from Augustine (NY) ✓
70. 3 July 1888 Elizabeth Chipman Gray (Bessie) in Nahant to Amy at Chatwold care of Louise ✓
71. 7 August 1888, from Addie in Boston to Amy in Nahant ✓
72. 23 August 1888, from Augustine (Bar Harbor) ✓
73. 30 August 1888, from Augustine ✓
74. 30 August 1888, from Max (The Belmont) ✓
75. 7 October 1888, from Max (Ipswich) ✓
76. 13 October 1888, from Augustine (Bar Harbor) ✓
77. 25 October 1888 from Louise ✓
78. 4 November 1888, from Mary C. Endicott ✓ (engagement to Joseph Chamberlain)
79. 22 November 1888, from Mary Endicott Chamberlain ✓ (marriage to J. Chamberlain)
80. 6 June 1889, from Mabel Bayard Warren ✓
81. 25 June 1889, from Gus (Belmont, Bar Harbor) ✓
82. 29 July 1889, from Gus (Bar Harbor) ✓

- 83. 4 February 1890, from Mary Endicott Chamberlain in Marseille ✓
- 84. 24 April 1890, from Mabel Bayard Warren ✓
- 85. 16 May 1890, from Mabel Bayard Warren ✓
- 86. 10 October 1891 from Mary E. Chamberlain at Highbury, Moor Green, Birmingham ✓

## D.5 Korean Letters

These letters are collected in Chapter 15. The letters in this section are all family letters – letters from Augustine, Jane, and Max, but they are grouped together separate from the other family letters both because of the common Korea topic and because of the dates 1889-1893 including Gus' Korean service and residence and Max's wedding.

- 1. 25 March 1889, from Gus (NY, Blaine discussions) ✓
- 2. 26 January 1890 from Jane (NY) (included with 28 January from Gus). ✓
- 3. 28 January 1890, from Gus (NY) ✓
- 4. 31 January 1890, from Gus (Bar Harbor) Lodge, Blaine, and Amy. ✓
- 5. 10 February 1890, from Augustine (NY) ✓
- 6. 30 May 1890, from Augustine (Seoul) ✓
- 7. 28 July 1890, draft of letter from Gus to unnamed official ✓
- 8. 9-12 August 1890, from Hélène (Seoul, Korea) ✓
- 9. 7 November 1890, from Augustine (Seoul) ✓
- 10. 19 February 1891, from Augustine (Seoul) ✓
- 11. 23 February 1891, from Augustine (Seoul) ✓
- 12. 27 March 1891, from Augustine (Seoul) ✓
- 13. 6 April 1891, from Hélène (Seoul, No. 8) ✓
- 14. 23 May 1891, from Hélène (Peking, No. 9; courtship by Max von Brandt – in English) ✓
- 15. 31 July 1891, from Hélène (Seoul, No. 11) ✓
- 16. 30 August 1891, from Augustine (Seoul) ✓
- 17. 22 September 1891, from Hélène (Seoul, No. 14) ✓

18. 20 October 1891, from Augustine (Seoul), with attached memorandum describing Alliance voyage ✓
19. 25 November 1891, from Hélène (Seoul, No. 16, menu) ✓
20. 4 December 1891, from Jane Leep (Seoul, No. 17) ✓
21. 4 December 1891, from Hélène (Seoul, No. 17) ✓
22. 12-17 December 1891, from Hélène (Seoul, also numbered 17) ✓
23. 17 December 1891, from Hélène (Seoul, no. 18) ✓
24. 25 December 1891, from Hélène (Seoul, no. 19) ✓
25. 6 January 1892, from Hélène (Chumulpo, no. 20) ✓
26. 17 January 1892, from Hélène (Seoul, no. 21) ✓
27. 30 January 1892, from Jane Leep (Seoul, letter in English!) ✓
28. 10 February 1892, from Augustine (Seoul) ✓
29. 13 February 1892, from Gus (Seoul) Cup for AHG ✓
30. 19 February 1892, from Jane Leep (Seoul, in English!) ✓
31. 11 March 1892, from Hélène (Seoul) ✓
32. 10 July 1892 from Hélène (H.M.H) in Shanghai to Gus (Papa) ✓
33. 13 July 1892 from Hélène (H.M.H) in Shanghai to Gus (Papa) ✓
34. 17 July 1892 from Max von Brandt to Gus ✓
35. 18 July 1892 from Hélène (H.M.H) in Shanghai to Gus (Papa) ✓
36. 19 July 1892, from Augustine (Chefoo) ✓
37. 20 July 1892 from Hélène (H.M.H) in Shanghai to Gus (Papa) ✓
38. 21 July 1892, from Augustine (Chefoo) ✓
39. 23 July 1892 from Max von Brandt to Gus ✓
40. 30 July 1892, from Augustine (Chefoo) ✓
41. 10 August 1892, from Augustine (Chefoo) ✓
42. 16 September 1892, from Augustine (Chefoo) ✓

43. 20 September 1892 from Gus ✓
  44. 20-21 October 1892, a journal written in English by Max ✓
  45. 8 January 1893, from Hélène (Seoul) ✓
  46. 6 April 1893 from Charles Denby to Gus. ✓
  47. 9 May 1893, from Hélène (on board the Oldenburg, Straits of Malacca) ✓  
Includes list of wedding presents.
- 

## **D.6 Hindsight: 20th Century**

1. 27 November 1939, from Amy in Boston to her son Horace Gray and his wife Katherine (K) Meeker Gray in San Francisco, California.
  2. 28 November 1939, from Amy in Boston to her son Horace Gray and his wife Katherine Meeker Gray in San Francisco, California.
  3. Undated note to Horace and K, but included in mailing envelope with two previous and one following item.
  4. 6 December from Amy to K
- 

Following are are not yet cataloged , none yet transcribed. most not even read.

## **D.7 Fin de Siècle**

1. 28 March 1899, in German, unknown sender in Mainz, Schulstraße 22 1/10. Mentions von Brandt, Mr. Heard, Wiemar, Wisenbad

# Appendix E

## Timeline

- 1744** John Heard was born in Ipswich, Massachusetts.
- 1767** 12 April Mary Wheatley Williams born in Somerset County, Eastern Shore, Maryland.
- 1769** 19 November Lemuel Taylor is born in Somerset County, Eastern Shore, Maryland.
- 1875** Augustin Heard born 30 March 1785 in Ipswich to John and Sarah “Sally” Staniford Heard.
- 1793** George Washington Heard, Augustin’s brother, born in Ipswich 5 February 1793.
- 1793** François (Francis) Deconinck born in Ostend to Jeanne Leep and Ignace De Coninck. At that time Ostend and the rest of Flanders was part of Napoleonic France.
- 1802** Mary West Taylor born to Lemuel and Mary Taylor.
- 1804** Alexander Taylor born 15 September to Lemuel and Mary Taylor.
- 1806** 22 May: Amelia Williams Taylor born in Baltimore, Maryland. Second daughter of Mary and Lemuel Taylor.
- 1830** François De Coninck appointed Consul for Belgium in Havana, Cuba.
- 1831** Augustine Heard becomes a partner in Russell & Co in Canton, joining partner William Low and Clerk John Murray Forbes.
- Francis De Coninck and Amelia Williams Taylor married at Santa Amalia Estate in Cuba on 16 June.
- 26 July: Alexander Taylor, age 26, arrived in New York from Matanzas Cuba, on ship Atlas.
- 1832** 11 May: Jane Leep De Coninck born in Havana.
- 1833** 17 August: Alexander Taylor, age 28, arrives in Philadelphia, Penn. from Matanzas, Cuba, on ship Isabella.

**1834** 9 August: Mary Taylor De Coninck born in Havana.

Spring: Augustine Heard returns home to Boston, but continues as a partner of Russell & Co through 1836.

15 October Alexander Taylor marries Maria Louisa Webster of Middletown Connecticut (b. 17 October 1814) in Havana Cuba. They have seven children through the next years who crop up in Amy Heard's journals. All are born in Coliseo Cuba:

Mary Williams Taylor, b. 1 August 1835

Amelia C. Taylor, m. Rev. Arthur Mason (who christens Amy in 1861)

Cora Victoria Taylor, b. 27 May 1839

Louisa Webster Taylor,

Alice E. Taylor, m. J.H. Shoenberger

Josephine M. Taylor d. unm. 22 March 1899

Anita G. Taylor

[1836] Amelia Henrietta De Coninck born on 30 July in Dunkirk, France. Dunkirk is the Northernmost Francophone city in the world, lying 10 km (6.2 miles) from the Belgian border. It is 43 km from Ostend, where Francis was born.

**1837** May 29: Cora Victoria Taylor born in at St. Amelia Plantation, Coliseo, Cuba, to Alexander and Maria Louisa Taylor.

**1838** 15 July: Alexander Taylor, age 32, planter from W. Indies arrives in Boston from Havana on Ship Groton accompanied by Louisa Taylor age 23 and child Caroline Webster age 12.

<sup>1</sup> Louisa Taylor is Maria Louisa Taylor, Alexander's wife, a daughter of Efron and Maria Sage Webster. Caroline Webster is Carolina Augusta Webster (1824-1869), a younger sister of Maria Louisa (Webster) Taylor.

19 August: Francis Alexander De Coninck born in Havana.

**1839** 29 June: Amelia W. DeConinck (35) and Mary DeConinck (5) arrive in NY from Havana on ship *Norma*.

November: Two British war ships defeat fleet of Chinese vessels during evacuation of British citizens from Canton, effectively beginning the first Opium War between Great Britain and China.

**1840** January Joseph Coolidge announces creation of Augustin Heard & Co in Canton with himself as resident partner and Augustine Heard of Boston as partner.

June: A British invasion force from India arrives and begins to attack Chinese forts.

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<sup>1</sup>Ancestry.com. Massachusetts, U.S., Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists, 1820-1963 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2006. Original data: Boston, Massachusetts. Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Boston, Massachusetts, 1891-1943.

- 1841** 19 July : De Coninck family (except for Jane) arrives in New York aboard *Cristoval Ceolon* from Havana on their way to Europe. At this point the family consists of:

| Name              | Birthdate  | age |
|-------------------|------------|-----|
| Francis           | 10/20/1794 | 46  |
| Amelia W.         | 5/22/1806  | 35  |
| Mary Taylor       | 8/9/1834   | 6   |
| Amelia Henrietta  | 7/30/1836  | 5   |
| Francis Alexander | 8/19/1838  | 2   |

Jane likely remained in Cuba (at St. Amelia/S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia) with her uncle Alexander Taylor and his family.

21 December: Still-born daughter born in Dunkirk, France (near Ostend, Belgium)

- 1842** 1 June: Augustine Heard & Co begins operation in Canton with resident partners Augustine Heard, Joseph Coolidge, and George Dixwell

29 August: Treaty of Nanking ending first Opium War forced on the Chinese imperial government by Great Britain.

- 1843** Death of Mary Wheatley Taylor at St. Amelia Estate on 5 September.

- 1844** Summer: Augustine Heard, age 55, returns home from China. ‘He remains a partner of Augustine Heard & Co in regular correspondence.

- 1845** 10 June a collection of De Conincks and Taylors arrive in New York on Ship *Norma* from Havana. The reports are not consistent, but the most likely group is: Amelia W. De Coninck, her son Francis A. De Coninck, and daughter Amelia H. De Coninck along with two of Alexander’s daughters, Mary W. Taylor and Amelia C. Taylor.

- 1846** The Great Hurricane of 1846 hit Havana in October. It was supposedly the first Category 5 Hurricane to hit Cuba and it seriously damaged the coffee crop, contributing to a decline in coffee production and increased sugar production. [121],[106]

18 November: Augustine Heard Jr. left Harvard before the formal awarding of his Harvard degree boarding *Paul Jones* on his way to China.

- 1847** 12 June: F. Deconinck, lady, son and daughter arrive in the barque *Rapid* from Havana.<sup>2</sup> I suspect that the manifest is in error in that all three daughters were on the trip since later in November all three would return to Cuba with Amelia W.

Augustine Heard Jr. arrives in Canton after skipping his Harvard graduation ceremony. Later in 1850 becomes a partner in Augustine Heard & Co.

29 June: Francis De Coninck dies at the Astor House in New York City while there for medical help for “chronic brain fever disease.”

<sup>2</sup>*New York Spectator*, Saturday, Jun 12, 1847, New York, NY, p. 2.

20 November: Amelia W., Jane L. (15), Mary T. (13), Amelia H. (11), and Francis A. (9) De Coninck leave New York City for Havana aboard *Adélaïde*. Aboard the same ship are Louisa and Cora Taylor, two of Alexander and Maria Louisa Taylor's seven daughters. The group's arrival in Havana is reported on 28 November.<sup>3</sup>

**1848** 17 April: Alexander Taylor age 40 arrives in Philadelphia, Penn. from Cienfuegos, Cuba on Bark *Levant*.

2 August: Alexander Taylor, Amelia W. De Coninck's only brother, died in New Haven, Connecticut. New Haven death report lists him as "of Cuba."

He was interred 4 August at Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, N.Y., alongside his brother-in-law Francis De Coninck in the plot bought by Amelia W. De Coninck. The vital card says the cause of death was "of the liver" and his "late residence" was New Haven, Connecticut."

**1849** 3 June: Maria (Sage) Webster's returned to Connecticut from Cuba with her daughters Mary Read Webster (b. 1810) and Helena Eliza Webster (b.1822) along with all of Amelia W. De Coninck's children except Jane, who would follow in 1850, accompanying the widow Mrs. Tennant, born Juana Camila Dalcour, her three children, and brother.

**1850** Coffee plantations in Cuba have largely disappeared, mostly converted into other uses, primarily sugar plantations.

Augustine Heard, Jr becomes a partner in AH & Co, but soon returns home because of ill health.

20 May: Jane De Coninck at age 18 arrives in New York on the barque *Isla de Cuba*.

19 November: George Sage Webster marries Harriet Isham in New London, Ct.

19 December: The *Dario De La Marina: Periodico Oficial Del Apostadero De La Habana* reported the arrival of Maria F. De Coninck in Havana on the steamer *Isabel*. The imiddle initial "T", the hand written script F's and T's of the time were similar and easily confused. None of the the other 16 passengers have names familiar to me. The Steamer Isabel was build in 1848 in spent its early years carrying the mail from Charleston to Havana and serving coastal Eastern U.S. passenger service to Cuba and was also a participant in filibustering expeditions, including that of the famous Narcisco Gomez raid on Cardenas in 1851.

**1851** March: Fredrika Bremer visits Ingenio Santa Amelia, a sugar plantation near Matanzas owned by Lemuel Taylor. Mrs. Amelia W. De Coninck, widow of Francis De Coninck, lives there with her daughter Mary Taylor De Coninck along with Lemuel Taylor, who is 82.

20 May: Jorge Webster arrives in Havana from Charleston on Ship Isabel. There is no mention of his wife, but the CubaGenWeb passenger lists are constructed from local newspapers, which do not always list accompanying female or children passengers. It seems likely that George was accompanied by his pregnant wife Harriet.

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<sup>3</sup>CubaGenWeb

8 October: Eliza Isham Webster is born to George Sage and Harriet Tracy Isham Webster on St. Amelia in Coliseo.

The sequence events implies that George was not present during the visit of Fredrika Bremer to St. Amelia.

**1852** Augustine Heard Jr. returns to Canton and takes over from John, who leaves for home.

14 December Lemuel Taylor arrives in Havana from Mobile on the ship Black Warrior. There is no separate evidence that this is our Lemuel Taylor, but the name was not common and there is no contradiction. So it is possible, but it does not seem likely. None of the other passengers on the list are familiar. According to the Immigrant Ships Transcribers Guild, the Ship Black Warrior had arrived in Mobile from Havana on 8 December 1852, so the 14 December Havana arrival was apparently the return voyage.

**1853** Albert Farley Heard graduates from Yale and arrives in Canton to join AH & Co. He becomes partner in 1856.

19 October: Jorge Webster arrives in Havana from Charleston on the Isabel with his wife and two children.

**1854** 20 June: Frederick Webster arrives in Havana from Charleston on the Isabel. .

**1855** 18 December: Frederick Webster arrives in Havana from New York on the Black Warrior.

**1856** The main office of of Augustine Heard & Co. moves from Canton to Hong Kong shortly before the outbreak of the second Anglo-Chinese War.

Amelia W. De Coninck is living in Baltimore at 21 McCulloh or McCullough St. (both spellings are used).

November or December: Main office of Augustine Heard & Co. moved from Canton to Hong Kong for safety, but Canton remained the titular principal branch in China until Hong Kong replaced it in autumn 1857.

December: First Monday German in Baltimore. Jane Leep De Coninck and her sisters Mary Taylor and Amelia Henrietta De Coninck are members and attend.

**1857** Albert Farley Heard leaves China for the U.S.

13 May: Augustine Heard Jr. (28) arrives in NY from Liverpool aboard Royal Mail Steam Ship Arabia. with G.W. Heard (20). <sup>4</sup>

23 October: Jorge S. Webster, his wife, and two children arrive in Havana from Charleston on the Ship Isabel.

8 December: J. Webster arrives in Havana from Charleston on the Isabel.

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<sup>4</sup>*New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1891*, FamilySearch <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:27R5-PXG:SunDec0312:54:35UTC2023>, Entry for Aug Heard, 1857.

1858 Albert Farley Heard returns from China.

22 April: Augustine Heard, Jr., and Jane Leep De Coninck married in Baltimore at the house of Jane's mother, Amelia W. De Coninck, the daughter of Lemuel Taylor. (listed in De Coninck Bible) 21 McCulloh St, Baltimore (Ward 12). The couple soon after moves to Paris, where Gus assumes his position as European Agent for Augustine Heard & Co.

29 April: AH Jr. applies for a passport at a Baltimore notary with testimony as to his citizenship provided by Baltimore merchant and banker William McKim.

26 May: Mr. and Mrs. Augustine Heard Jr. sail from New York for Liverpool on ship *Persia* on their way to Paris.

13 June: Mrs. F. Deconinck leaves Baltimore for Boston on the side wheel steamship *William Jenkins*, Capt. W.A. Hallett. H. McKim and his son are also on board. H. Mckim is probably Haslett McKim, the brother of William McKim. Haslett had several sons including Haslett, Hugh, and Augustus. There was another H. McKim in Baltimore in 1858 — Hollins McKim, son of William McKim. But he had not yet had any children.

**1859** 8 January: Jane's sister Amelia Henrietta De Coninck sails for Havre on the steamer *Fulton*, probably to join her older sister Jane to assist with the imminent birth and care of Gus and Jane's first child John Jr. Other Baltimore residents among the passengers are W.A. Marburg and R.V. McKim.<sup>5</sup>

25 January: Gus & Jane living at 224 Rue de Rivoli, Paris.

13 April: Gus writes to his uncle about looking for a house in Boston, but also postpones serious consideration. He reports on Jane's health and the expected baby — the first child in the generation following the nephews of Augustine Heard. If the baby is a boy, the plan to name it John after John Heard, the father of Augustine Heard and George Washington Heard.

4 May: John Heard born to Augustine and Jane Heard in Paris. First grandchild of Francis and Amelia W. De Coninck. Called John Heard Jr.

November, Heard family (Gus, Jane, John, Amelia Henrietta De Coninck, and nurse Mrs. Charlotte Howard) returns to the United States from Europe, arriving in New York from Liverpool on steamship *Asia*, a Cunard line ship taking typically less than two weeks.

**1860** 7 October Amy Heard born in Boston.

Census of 15 June 1860 shows Maria Louisa Taylor living with her sister Mary R. Webster along with Maria's daughters Cora, Louisa, Alice, Josephine, and Anita. (See Table 5.1.)

1861 5 January Amy is baptized by the Rev. Arthur Mason at St. Andrews Episcopal Church in Chelsea, Massachusetts. The church no longer existed by the end of the century, so its records are no longer available. It is possible that other members of the De Coninck and Heard families attended, including Gus' uncle Augustine Heard Sr. and parents George

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<sup>5</sup>*Baltimore Daily Exchange*, Tuesday, January 11, 1859.

Washington and Elizabeth Farley Heard. Rev. Mason was the husband of Amelia Caroline Taylor, one of Alexander Taylor's daughters and hence a niece of Jane's mother Amelia W. De Coninck. Jane's sister Amelia Henrietta De Coninck was there as a sponsor or god-mother. It is likely that Jane's mother Amelia W. De Coninck was also present because she had her portrait photo taken at the same photographer who took Gus and Jane's photo in Boston in 1861.

Gus and Jane return to Paris with John, Amy, and Amelia H. De Coninck.

- 1862** George Farley (formerly Washington) Heard succeeded his brother John Heard as senior resident partner at AH& Co. John returned home.
- 1863** 4 February 4: In a letter from AH2 to to AH1, Gus writes regarding the seriousness of his father's George Washington Heard's failing health:

We have a note from Elizabeth Treadwell today, which takes rather a more cheerful view of father's health than yours, but a note from Amelia DeConinck quoting from your letter to her gives us the first detailed a/c [account] the progress of the illness. If I had had the slightest idea that he had been so ill in summer I should have gone home at once, but I never dreamed that he had been more than a little unwell and all the letters up to December are cheerful & in no way suggestive of such serious falling away.

The note explains that AH2 had not understood the seriousness of his father's illness, he would die in 21 April 1863 — before Augustine Jr. returned to Ipswich. A surprise of the letter, however, is that Augustine Heard Sr. was in correspondence with Amelia De Coninck, a connection I have not found mentioned anywhere else. In 1863 there were two Amelia De Conincks: Jane's mother Amelia W. De Coninck and Jane's youngest sister Amelia H. De Coninck. Jane's sister, however, was likely living with AH2, Jane, John, and Amy. Amelia H. had accompanied the family to Paris in 1861 following Amy's birth and baptism and returned to the U.S. with them in July 1863. So it also seems likely that a note received from Amelia De Coninck would be from Jane's mother, not from her sister living with the family in Paris. This is the only evidence I am aware of that AH1 knew Jane's mother and corresponded with her. There are no letters from Amelia in the Baker collection. It is probable, however, that they could have met at Amy's baptism near Boston in 1861, when AH1 was living in Boston. It is also possible, but less likely, that AH1 might have traveled to Baltimore from Boston for the 1858 marriage of his nephew Augustine and Jane Leep De Coninck at her mother's house. The mention of communication between Augustine Heard and his nephew Augustine Jr's mother-in-law is intriguing.

15 July: Augustine Heard Jr, Jane, John, Amy, and Amelia H. (Miss DeConinck) arrived in New York on Ship Persia from Liverpool via Queensland.

- 1864** Ingenio Santa Amalia listed in *Diccionario de la Isla de Cuba* as owned by "Herederos de Taylor."

3 March: Frederick W. Webster departs Havana for New York on the ship Havana

**1868** Helen Maxima Heard born in Hong Kong while Augustine Heard, Jr., at Augustine Heard & Co.

Amelia W. De Coninck died in Baltimore on April 26 after a short illness (reported in the 4/30/1868 *New York Herald*).

**1869** On 10 July 1869 the *New York Commercial Advertiser* announced in the “Passengers Sailed” column those departing in the steamer *Pertere* for Havre via Brest was included “the two misses de Coninck, Master J Heard, Master A Heard and maid.”

The two misses de Coninck are likely Amelia’s daughters Mary Taylor De Coninck (born 1838), who marries Johnson in 1881) and Amelia Henrietta (born 1836) who marries Pelletiers, possibly in 1883, they are the sisters of Jane Leep (De Coninck) Heard and Amy’s aunts. Master J Heard and Master A heard are probably Amy’s brother’s John and Augustine.

**1870** France mobilized its army on 15 July 1870 and the German Confederation responded the same day, leading to the War of 1870 (Franco-Prussian War). Paris fell to the Germans in January 1871.

Augustine Heard wrote to his brothers from Paris during 1871-2. <sup>6</sup>

The New York Census on 7 January 1870 lists a household led by Maria Taylor born in Connecticut (50 years old) along with Louise (28), Alice (??), and Josephine (21) Taylor and Mary Webster (about 55), Susan Webster (50), and Maria Webster (40).

**1872** 13 December: Mary Reed Webster (b. 7/29/1810), daughter of Ephron and Harriet, sister of George Sage, died in New York City.

24 December: M.L. Taylor and 3 daughters arrived in Havana on *City of Merida* from New York. <sup>7</sup> The three of Maria Louisas 7 daughters is detailed in the return trip below.

**1873** 8 June: It was reported in Havana that Luisa W., Josefina M., and M.L. Taylor departed on *City of Havana* for New York. <sup>8</sup>

13 June: The Manifest of Steamship *City of Havana* arriving in New York includes passengers Mrs Maria L. Taylor (age 58), Miss Alice E. Taylor (28), Louisa W. Taylor (31), and Josefine M. Taylor (26). <sup>9</sup>

Since she was in New York for the 1870 census, it seems plausible that Maria, Alice, Louisa, and Seraphina visited Cuba following the death of Louisa’s sister Mary in 1872.

**1875** Bankruptcy of Augustine Heard & Co

<sup>6</sup>Mss:766 1754-1898 Heard Family. Heard Family Business Records, 1734-1901: A Finding Aid

<sup>7</sup>CubaGenWeb

<sup>8</sup>CubaGenWeb

<sup>9</sup>*New York, U.S., Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820-1957, 1873; Arrival: New York, New York, USA; Microfilm Serial: M237, 1820-1897; Line: 1; List Number: 568, Ship: City of Havana*

**1876** Augustine Heard, Jr., and family in Brighton

14 March: A Heard (47), male, Merchant arrived in New York on Ship Celtic from Liverpool. Unaccompanied.

1 August: Jorge S. Webster & Family arrived in New York from Havana on Ship Columbus.

16 August: Mr. Heard (47) arrived in New York from Liverpool on Ship Scythia. Unaccompanied.

**1877** Heard family visits Biarritz, where Amy, Max, and Jane are photographed.

17 November: Augustine Heard (49) Merchant and John Heard (18) arrive on Ship Bohemia in New York from Liverpool & Queenstown.<sup>10</sup>

27 December: Agustine Heard arrives in Havana on Steam Ship Cortes from New York, one of only two passengers.<sup>11</sup> Name is Spanish equivalent of Augustine. A Ship Cortes cleared customs in New York on 27 November (reported the next day in the *New York Times*), but I could find no report of its sailing between its clearing and Heard's arrival in Havana. I could not find any other evidence of ship of that name in 1877. Another ship by that name was lost in the Bay of Biscay in 1875. Yet another ship by that name (but originally called Saratoga) was operated by the New York & California Steamship Co. between New York and San Francisco, but it burned in 1865.

**1880** In January Augustine, Jr., Jane, Amy, and Max in Biarritz while Gus is involved with his brother Albert in Bayonne in projects involving mining and processing ore and marketing the products.

The 1880 census showed Maria L. Taylor (60) living in New York City with Louisa (30) and Josephine (29) and two Irish servants, noting that Maria was born in Connecticut and Louisa and Josephine in Cuba.

**1881** October 1: Amy begins Journal during visit to Newport, R.I.

5 October: Meets Anna Sophia Lyman (Mason) Gray, called "Nina," the wife of John Chipman Gray, whose brother Russell will marry Amy in 1886.

2 November: Amy and her family left Newport by night boat for New York.

3 November: Arrived New York City

4 November: Amy visits Taylor cousins.

10 November: Left N.Y. for Washington D.C.

21 November: Amy and her parents train to Baltimore. Visit Green Mount Cemetery, where Amelia W. De Coninck is buried, and "old Mrs. McKim," which reinforces a connection with the Baltimore McKim family.

<sup>10</sup>Ellis Island and Other New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957 from MyHeritage.com, but incorrectly transcribed as "Augustus Heard." Otherwise names and ages match, and Augustine and his son John were in Brighton during 1877. Ship Bohemia originated in Hamburg.

<sup>11</sup>CubaGenWeb.org, L1578-001.

**1882** Amy and her parents mostly in Washington D.C. Her journal includes January through December. Her father makes frequent trips to New York.

28 July: Amy and her parents leave Washington for Bellows Falls, Vermont.

7 August: Family departs Bellows Fall and travels to Pittsfield and then to Stockbridge, Mass. They are visited by Tia Amalia. As discussed in the notes regarding Amy's 9 August Journal entry, I believe that Tia Amalia is her Aunt Amelia Henrietta De Coninck, Jane's sister. Jane's cousin Amelia C. (Taylor) Mason is called "Aunt Amelia" by Amy.

**December 1883** Amy and Jane at Ingenio Sta Amalia, Coliseo, Matanzas Province, Cuba. According to Elizabeth Woodville, they left for Cuba on 1 December. Probably Mary Taylor De Coninck Johnson, Amy's aunt Mary, was there at the time. Letter from AH2 implies that her (genuine) aunt Amelia (Amelia Henrietta De Coninck) was also there.

**1884** 17 May: Mrs JL Heard (age 45), Miss A Heard (20), and Mrs A C Pelletier (50) arrive in New York on board the SS Newport from Havana. <sup>12</sup> Mrs JL Heard is Jane Leep Heard and Miss A Heard is Amy Heard. Mrs A C Pelletier is Jane's sister, Amy's aunt, Amelia Henrietta De Coninck Pelletier based on based on information following her death later in the year. More later, but the bottom line is that her memorial stone at Green Mount Cemetery names her as

Amelia Henrietta De Coninck  
wife of George Pelletier

The ages on the Manifest are not quite right, but they are close: Amelia Henrietta was 48, Amy was 23, and Jane was closer to 52 than 45.

15 July: George Pelletier, age 41, arrives in New York on the SS Newport. <sup>13</sup> I have no proof that this is Amelia's husband George Pelletier, and he is 7 years younger than Amelia. But the timing of the trip makes sense and I have not found any other George Pelletier of Cuba of Amelia's generation. So I deem it likely this was Amelia's husband, whom Augustine Heard Jr. would argue with during a visit to S<sup>ta</sup> Amalia in 1886. As noted in the narrative in Chapter 3, a neighbor and contemporary of Lemuel Taylor's in Coliseo was Jorge Victor Pelletier, and he was married (likely to the daughter of a business partner Juan Chatelain) and had multiple children, one of whom might have been our George.

1 October, Amelia Henrietta (De Coninck) Pelletier died in NYC. Interred at Green Mount Cemetery, Baltimore, Md. 6 October.

According to Green Mount Cemetery, she died of cancer.

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<sup>12</sup>New York, U.S., Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island); Year: 1884; Arrival: New York, New York, USA; Microfilm Serial: M237, 1820-1897; Line: 10; List Number: 883. Obtained via Ancestry.com.

<sup>13</sup>Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820-1957.

According to the New York Municipal Deaths records <sup>14</sup> she died in New York Hospital, 18 Ward and that she had been in Manhattan, New York City for 4 months prior to her death. So she had been hospitalized quite soon after her return from Cuba and possibly the timing of the trip had been influenced by her illness and the desire to return to the U.S. for medical care.

The information correctly lists her mother's name as Amelia W. De Coninck, but incorrectly lists her father as Francis A. De Coninck, which was Amelia H.'s brother's name. Her father's name was Francis C. De Coninck.

**1885** Amy was staying with George B. Loring in Washington DC, March. George Bailey Loring (1817-1891) was a member of the House, Republican, Mass. 1866–1867. United States Commissioner of Agriculture (1881–1885). She was back in Boston by May at 63 Beacon St., home of her “Aunt Susan”, Susan Heard Swett.

**1886** AH Jr visits Matanzas and writes Amy from the Hotel Louvre in Matanzas on 17 March 1886. Talks about a visit to Sta Amalia. It looks more like an “e” but I suspect it should be an “a”. He says “my relations with the Pelletiers are not such as to make me anxious to have. More to do with them than is necessary. As soon as I have settled this matter with ?? I shall give Panacho his congé. The estate is in a deplorable condition ...”

Spain formally ends slavery in Cuba.

June 30 Mary Taylor (De Coninck) Johnson dies in Cuba. Jane is the only remaining child of Amelia W. and Francis De Coninck.

Amy stays with Mrs Dorr at 18 Commonwealth in March. Mrs. Dorr is a granddaughter of Samuel Gray, Old Billy's elder brother, and the father of George B. Dorr, the founder of Acadia National Park. Amy marries Russell Gray in Washington DC.

**1889** Amy's brother John Heard Jr.marries Adeline Wheelwright Lewis (Addie)

**1895** Amy's brother John dies in Paris after long illness.

**1899** Death of Jane Leep (De Coninck) Heard and burial in the Heard tomb at Ipswich Old North Burying Ground.

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<sup>14</sup>*New York, New York City Municipal Deaths, 1795-1949*, database, FamilySearch (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:2WB2-D7X> : 3 June 2020), Amelia Henrietta De Coninck Pelletier, 1884.

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