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.

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 letters, notes, and journals 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 have come into regular contact with remarkable contemporaries, people who have been
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.

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 long forgotten gossip, to find the details of a scandal 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 first time 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. The letter was in French and dated 7 May 1884 and the handwriting was so unlike any I had seen that I at first found it illegible. With hints of a secret scandal and a hasty departure from the U.S., the letter caught my interest and 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. 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.

To date I have found nearly two hundred letters written to Amy, mostly from the daughters of politicians and diplomats and from her family during the 1880’s and the 1890’s, the period named the Gilded Age by Mark Twain [108]. 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, Amy kept a daily 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 and Bar Harbor. The books for portions of 1881, 1882, and 1886 survive.
The early letters and the notebooks supplement the published letters of two of the most famous Washington women of the time: Mrs. Henry Adams [2] and Mrs. James G. Blaine [11], 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 [105], The Proper Bostonians [6], The Gentle Americans [57], and Lady Sackville [5].

Later letters before and during the period 1890-1892 when Amy’s father Augustine Heard, Jr., was U.S. Minister1 to Korea provide a story of American politics and diplomacy of the time and of the difficult adjustments required of an unprepared diplomatic family in a newly independent and struggling country. The Korean letters are the subject Part IV.

Amy’s most famous correspondent was she who wrote the first letter I found: Victoria West, later to become Victoria Sackville-West and eventually Lady Sackville. Her biography Lady Sackville (1978) [5] by Mary Alsop provides a lively account of her life and times and was my first source once I discovered her 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 [99] while Nicolson’s biography of his parents, Portrait of a Marriage (1966) [79] 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 [77] Juliet Nicolson recounts the lives of several generations of women in her family, including her grandmother Vita.

1 or Minister Plenipotentiary, the modern title would be Ambassador
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.

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 friends and family. Victoria’s sisters Amalia and Flora wrote often, as did Amy’s sister Helen Maxima Heard (nicknamed Max) who signed her letters variously as Bébé or Heléne. In December 1883 Victoria’s younger sisters Amalia and Flora arrived in Washington D.C. Amalia was to become an even closer friend of Amy’s than her sister Victoria. 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 the 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, 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 mentioned in the letters, 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. The manuscript grew into two projects, the first describing the earlier letters including the Sackville-West and related letters and the second describing the Korean letters.

The earliest version of the manuscripts that I can find in my computer archives are \textsc{\LaTeX} versions last edited in summer 1992 and used to create a postscript (.ps) file, which I had printed for family. \textsc{\LaTeX} was created in the early 1980s by Leslie Lamport as a collection of macros for Donald Knuth’s \textsc{\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 \textsc{\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 \textsc{\LaTeX} to post versions of the two manuscripts \textit{Amy Heard: Letters from the Gilded Age} and \textit{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 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 from 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 have 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 provides 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 many of the places in Europe, the West Indies, and Asia they lived in. The bible provided significant information about Amy’s relations and ancestors connected to the Matanzas region in Cuba and its coffee and sugar plantations, and led to further Web searches to learn more about Cuban history in the nineteenth century. It 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 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 in obscure documents by the people encountered in the several stories recounted here. The new version will be posted at https://ee.stanford.edu/~gray/amy/ when the first draft is complete, and 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 will add pointers in the main page to the new version. The new version will be in pdf only.
Principal Sources

In addition to the letters and journals, this work takes advantage of a few unique family sources, most of which arose during my research.

Gray Genealogy  My brother Steen (Augustine Heard Gray, Jr.) wrote *A Gray Genealogy* (*The Ancestors of RAdm. and Mrs. A.H. Gray*) [52] 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 [33] 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 [83], 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: Apunté e iconografía* (2007) [10], 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 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/

**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.

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 http://ee.stanford.edu/~gray/amy/ 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.

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, Steen and 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 Meeker Gray and Joan Gray for their reminiscences of Amy Heard and for many of the letters presented here.

Thanks to Peter Alexander von Schimpp, 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.
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 [75] 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; Alan 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.

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 2022
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Chapter 1

Introduction: Birth in 1860 Boston

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) Heard1 (5/11/1832-6/19/1899) who was born in Havana Cuba, but was living with her widowed mother Amelia W. De 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,

1"Leep" is sometimes misspelled as "Leap" or "Leaps."
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 [112], and founder in 1840 of the China trading firm Augustine Heard and Company [68]. In hopes of avoiding confusion, in these pages Amy’s father’s name will either include the “Jr” or be shortened to his nickname Gus.

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. Interestingly, the same was true of Amy’s future Husband, Russell Gray of Boston, Mass.

Jane lived mostly in Cuba until the middle of the nineteenth century, when she returned to Baltimore.
The original photos of Augustine and Jane shown were taken in 1861 by John A. Whipple at his Photographic & Daguerreotype Rooms at No. 96 Washington St., Boston.²

The Certificate of Baptism includes the signature of Jane’s mother, Amelia Williams (Taylor) De Coninck, as a Sponsor, which is equivalent to a godmother in the Episcopal Church. Amelia also chose to have her photo taken at the Whipple studio during her visit for the baptism.³ The photo shown in Figure 1.2 along with a Daguerreotype of the same image are the only images I have of Amelia. Amelia 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 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 Juridiccion de Matanzas and is now the capital of the Province of Matanzas.

The minister officiating at the baptism who signed off at the bottom of the certificate is 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 W. De Coninck. So 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, later named the Ingenio Ariadne in Limonar, Cuba. The following announcement appeared in the reports of recent marriages in the

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²Historic New England has his 1860 brochure online.
³The back of the photo names the studio and address.
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. Both Juan and Lemuel were active participants in the African Slave Revolt in Matanzas in 1825 and its aftermath [83], 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.

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 when he returned to Paris, where he was the European representative of Augustine Heard & Company. Gus had lived in Paris since 1857 and Amy’s older brother John had been 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’ brother John Heard. John became a mining engineer and and a successful writer. The family was visiting Boston in 1860. Gus’ parents George Washington Heard and Elizabeth Farley Heard and at least one of his brothers were still living with residences in both Boston and Ipswich when Amy was born.

Until 1886, Amy and her family traveled and lived in many places, including Paris and Biarritz, France, London and Brighton, United Kingdom, Bar Harbor, Maine, Washington, DC, and Boston, Massachusetts. Amy’s younger brother Augustine Heard, was born at

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4Found via search through geneabank.com
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’ 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.

The family moved to Washington, DC, in 1870, so that Gus could pursue a diplomatic position through his friends and connections there. He hoped to become Minister to China, but that was not to be. 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 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 make up the majority of this work.

After Amy’s 1886 departure, her parents and Max remained in Washington until 1890, when Gus was appointed the U.S. Minister (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 Part IV.

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\(^5\) headline put it:

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

The life of Victoria Josephine West, later Sackville-West, who would become Lady Sackville, is well illustrated during her Washington days. She was the mother of the writer

\(^5\)Vol. XXXIV, No. 6430, 31 October 1888
Vita Sackville-West. 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-West is told in Part III.

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' service as U.S. Minister to the Court of King Kojong. Korea was then officially newly independent of China, but China viewed her as a “vassal 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’ departure, and the occupation lasted until the end of World War II. While in Korea Gus’ 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 [66].

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. 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

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6Vita’s actual name was Victoria, but she never used it.
7I 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 [66]. Kneider provided numerous German bibliographical and historical works to support his claim, which I find convincing.
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.

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 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 online 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 current pandemic, these public-domain 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 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.
Max von Brandt

Max, Max, and Elizabeth (age 15) in Weimar, 1913
Part I

People and Places
Chapter 2

Lemuel Taylor

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 we 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 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 [113] and [116]. Early details of his career are drawn from old histories of Baltimore such as [101] 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\(^1\) was born on 19 November 1769 in Somerset County, Eastern Shore, Maryland [33]. 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) [52]. 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 [59], 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\(^2\) 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 form 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

\(^1\)The name Lemuel means “Devoted To God” and is of Hebrew origin.

\(^2\)History of Baltimore City and County (1881) [101]
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

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 [33], but the Hamlin Family Genealogy [7] gives the birth date as 15 September 1810. The Gray genealogy [52] 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 [33] (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 Wood-Lawn Cemetery in Brooklyn, which gives 4 August 1848 as his date of internment and 54 as his age (Wood-Lawn Interment number 4703, Lot 1815), and
- I have found two passenger lists giving his age as 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 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. The second list is for the arrival of Alexander Taylor, merchant, in Philadelphia from Matanzas, Cuba,
of Alexander Taylor, merchant, on the Ship *Isabella*. His age is given as 28, which is again consistent.⁶

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) [52], 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 [33] 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*.

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.

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 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 chapter on Cuba and in the letters and journals and accompanying notes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Born</th>
<th>Died</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Spouse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mary West</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>after 1860</td>
<td>6/16/1828</td>
<td>John Conrad Wieland (?-7/20/1835)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander</td>
<td>9/18/1804</td>
<td>8/2/1848</td>
<td>10/15/1834</td>
<td>Maria Louisa Webster (10/17/1814–1899)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, Samuel Smith, and James A. Buchanan

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 [22]. 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 “snippits” 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 the 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 1857 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 Gilmor, and James Patterson were considered the big four merchants of Baltimore “who by 1819 stood above all the rest in wealth, prestige, and influence [9]. He died a very wealthy man with large holdings in stocks and international real estate, including in Cuba [71]. 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 in 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 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 [22], 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:  

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.”

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.  

The career of Robert Oliver has thus led us to the early fortunes of Lemuel Taylor and connected Lemuel to two other important personages in Lemuel’s life: Samuel Smith and James A. Buchanan. While Oliver disappears from the story for the time being, Taylor, Smith, and Buchanan will continue their rise as maritime merchants and other endeavors. The three will own ships together, serve on boards and committees together, and serve in the Maryland militia during the war of 1812 within a line of command with Smith a commanding general, his nephew Buchanan a colonel, and Taylor an adjutant. While Oliver will die rich, Smith, Buchanan and Taylor will be bankrupt before 1820. Buchanan will die in 1821, but Smith will recover and eventually become a U.S. Senator and then member of the House of Representatives. In addition, through Oliver connections Lemuel encountered the Baring Brothers Bank, a connection that will resurface in Cuba.

7[22], p.278. See also Commerce Is the Mainspring 1802-1821, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafree/ecp/26/037/html/olson04.html


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

2.2.4 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. The captain committed suicide 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 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 [110].

The long and complicated story is well told in Zerhusen’s 2014 JD dissertation Sheppard v. Taylor, 5 Peters 675 (1831): Deception on the High Seas and the Quest for Lost Wages (2014) [116], but here it will told based on the the Supreme Court record James Sheppard and Others, Appellants vs. Lemuel Taylor and Others (January 1831) [110] in order to better integrate the relevant facts into the parallel threads of Lemuel’s story as they unfold in time.
2.2. BALTIMORE

2.2.5 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 [26].

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.

2.2.6 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 10 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.

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 [44]. Antonio de Frias was a leader of Cuban maritime trade for

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10The name Corneille is the French variation of the name Cornelius and its meaning is horn player or maker.
and is mentioned in Pezuela’s 1863 *Diccionario geográfico, estadístico, histórico de la Isla de Cuba* [85] in a history of Casa-Blanca (now Casablanca), 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 Triscomía 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 Triscomía’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, 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, Gutiérrez, Morland y Compañía; Frias, Morland y Compañía; 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 caballerías (a caballería was a unit of measurement within the Spanish empire used for royal land grants. While the measurement varied, it was generally about 194 acres) from the widow doña María Bosmeniel of the Municipio de Artemisa within Cayajabos, west of Havana [12]. This land combined with future additions would become the famous coffee plantation or cafetal *Angerona*, of which more later. Souchay remained

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11 on pp. 343-344
12 [22], footnote 156, p. 360
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 [96][97], 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 Cornelia Souchay and Ursula Lambert’s Cuban Coffee Plantation.” Souchay’s history is also described in Norman [63] 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 Friías until 1825 and later served as liquidator for Friás’ estate when Friías died leaving Friías and Company deeply in debt. This included selling the 1/6 interest of Souchay and the 1/6 interest of the widow of Antonio Friías 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 Sª 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[12], 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 Friías & 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.

2.2.7 **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. The figure including Taylor’s claims is shown in Figure 2.1. The Fawn claim would eventually prove successful, long after Taylor had left

![Figure 2.1: Lemuel Taylor Claims against the French](image)

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 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 [113].

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13American 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 (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’Brien’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 order 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 [69] 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. \(^\text{14}\) A digitized lithograph of Runkle’s painting by Endicot & Swett, 1834 can be found online. \(^\text{15}\) 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 [69] 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 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

\(^{14}\)https://collections.digitalmaryland.org/digital/collection/mhwe/id/19/

\(^{15}\)https://collections.digitalmaryland.org/digital/collection/mhwe/id/29/
Figure 2.2: The Battle of North Point
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.
2.4 BALTIMORE’S WASHINGTON MONUMENT

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: the schooner Dolphin, which captured 12 prizes before being taken by the British and becoming the HMS Dolphin, the schooner Pilot (3 prizes), the schooner Surprise (43 prizes), the schooner Tom (4 prizes), and the schooner Whig (11 prizes) [34]. 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 Wincheste, Fielding Lucas, Jr., James

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 [101]. 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, McCulloh 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. 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 [29] 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 branches accused of corrupt behavior was Baltimore, and in particular George Williams, James Buchanan, William McCulloh, 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.

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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

2.6.1 The Panic of 1819

Excerpts from a 2017 article in the Remembering Baltimore blog by Edward Papenfuse, Maryland State Archivist, retired [41] 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.\(^\text{17}\) They dealt with both sides during the Napoleonic Wars,\(^\text{18}\) even when The United States 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,\(^\text{19}\) 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,\(^\text{20}\) 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

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\(^\text{17}\)Especially his business partner James A. Buchanan

\(^\text{18}\)1803-1815

\(^\text{19}\)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.

\(^\text{20}\)Baring Brothers were a famous and powerful international merchant bank centered in London. They will crop up several times in the sequel.
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 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. 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 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) [109] 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 Taylors 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.

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

22Ibid 153/401
On 6 December 1819 Taylor assigned the deed of his East St. land to the Olivers in exchange for $16,000.\textsuperscript{23} 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 assigning to them his claims on Spain for the Warren [110] 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 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.

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,\textsuperscript{24} 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.

\textsuperscript{23}Ibid 154/214
\textsuperscript{24}Ibid 158/104
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 no interrupted to consider two parallel stories of 1819 before returning to Lemuel and his return to Baltimore from Cuba in 1821.

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 [41] 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 [38].

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 [59] he was officially declared insolvent by the state in 1821 as were his associates Buchanan and Smith and many others, but contrary to

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25 The book can be found on the World Wide Web. Papenfuse credits Lance Humphries for bringing the letter to his attention.

26 Zerhusen [116] says that Lemuel Taylor became insolvent in 1819.
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.

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 disfavor 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.\(^{27}\) 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):\(^{28}\)

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 [40].


\(^{28}\) From the *Archives of Maryland Online* at http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/megafie/mae/specol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000492/html/am492–207.html
2.7 Insolvency

2.7.1 Imprisonment and Application

Sometime before 27 June 1821 Lemuel Taylor returned to Baltimore from a trip to Cuba. He was imprisoned in Baltimore County for failure to pay contractual debts. On 27 June 1821 he applied 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 and to create an Insolvent Trust, a legal structure which would assume his debts and his assets, including assets obtained from his own existing claims and suits, including those aimed at foreign governments for illegal seizure of his ships and cargoes during the recent wars. His plea was successful and a personal discharge was issued on 27 June 1821 shown in Figure B.1. The decision was based on Lemuel’s testimony, a schedule of his property, and a list of his creditors. 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.

2.7.2 Return from Cuba

Lemuel states in his answer to the 5th interrogatory, that he recently had returned from a trip of “nearly 19 months” to Cuba, during which he purchased an estate of which he owned 2/3 and 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 St. Amelia, where savanilla is the English spelling of the Spanish word sabanilla, which can mean either a small grassy plain or a shroud, and St. is an abbreviation 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.

Following Lemuel’s return he was imprisoned in the County of Baltimore until his personal discharge on 27 June 1821 as part of his successful application to benefit from the insolvency laws of Maryland. 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.

His Cuban trip explains why he was absent from the 1820 census in Baltimore.

2.7.3 Insolvent Trust

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 and 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.
2.7.4 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.

Answers given on 29 September 1821

29 August 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.29

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. Suchet30 of Havanna. Anything Faulac, Anthonio 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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29These papers and books have not survived
30Suchet 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 S’a 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 2.2.6.
6. 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:

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 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 for the sale of two properties to R. Oliver:

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31 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.

32 Auctioneers and commission merchants, O’Donnell’s Wharf, East Side of Pratt St. in Baltimore
— Bruce Hall Estate
— Savanilla or S'th Amelia

According to Roth[96], the sale brought 18,030 each pesos33 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 Quiraga34 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. —

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33the 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.

34In a later answer Lemuel will state that Quiraga’s former name was Sarah & Louisa.
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 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 hav- ing 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 SªAmelia, and that Lemuel owned 2/3 of Savanilla or SªAmelia 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 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 2.2.6 that in 1830 Souchay acting as executor of the estate of Antonio de Frias sold the 1/3 of the coffee plantation Sª 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 Sª 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 [59] 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.
CHAPTER 2. LEMUEL TAYLOR

Figure 2.4: Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser, 2/21/1822, 4/2/1822
Chapter 3

La Isla de Cuba

3.1 Early Nineteenth Century

When Lemuel arrived to settle in Cuba, probably in late 1821 or 1822, 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: ¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>239,830</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaves</td>
<td>199,145</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored</td>
<td>114,058</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored Total</td>
<td>313,203</td>
<td>553,033</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ²

> 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 Firme³, 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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¹“De colonos africanos en Cuba y sus inconvenientes,” *Revista Hispano-Americana*, II (1865)

² *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.

³The 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\(^4\) himself out of some private jurisdiction as an independent 'squire. On the contrary, in his adopted country his wealth was every day increasing\(^5\) 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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\(^4\)building himself a park (obsolete)
\(^5\)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 Santa 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 Departmentos (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.
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 Dominque 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). In modern times it is part of the Province of Matanzas, but 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 colonialis 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 [63]. 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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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 landowners 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 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.

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 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 will 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 power house 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 2.2.6, Corneille Souchay arrived in Cuba from Baltimore in 1807 and became a clerk in the merchant house of Antonio de Frias in Havana, where he eventually became partner and where he would serve as liquidator of the company at the death of Frias. 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 Frias 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 Frias 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 [96] 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 superintendente 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.  

Barcia [83] 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) [63] 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 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 Frias with Taylor owning 2/3 of the estate and Souchay and de Frias 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 at auction in Baltimore it to Robert Oliver in 1823. It was argued in Section 2.8 that this was the same estate as described by Roth [96] as Santa Amelia in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos. Savanilla is simply 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 and location. Hence this section takes a detour to pursue this thread, a detour which will help untangle a key puzzle: were Sta Amelia, La Amelia, and Sta 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 Castañon 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 is often 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.

I later found an article confirming and enhancing this information: “Place names as an aid in the reconstruction of the original vegetation of Cuba,” by Leo Waibel (1943) [111]. The article adds that Pichardo in his Diccionario [90] defined sabana as an Indian word meaning an “extensive plane without trees.” If less extensive, they were called sabinillas. 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 [111] 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 StAmelia. so what Roth names as “Santa Amelia en Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos” would have been called “Santa Amelia,” the abbreviated “Sta. Amelia,” or, simply “Sabanilla” in its general region. Thus Lemuel Taylor’s “Savanilla or StStAmelia” is a strong candidate for being 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 Frias further supports their common identity. Further evidence is provided by the facts that Lemuel’s 2/3 interest in Savanilla or StAmelia would be sold in 1823 to Robert Oliver, and Souchay and the heirs of De Frias 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 meaning in Spanish geography and cartography, which is essential to understanding the different ways of locating StAmelia.

Again turning to Pichardo’s Diccionario [90], 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) [42].

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 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 [89].). Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos is at the center of the dotted circle \( \bigcirc \) which denotes the corral, and the caserio (hamlet) Coliseo and ingenio La Amilia close to its northeast can be seen just inside the upper left portion of the circle. The asiento of the corral Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertas is seen in the figure in the lower right hand quadrant, with the asiento marked by \( \bigodot \) and the corral described by the circle drawn with a dashed line. Other corrals can be seen in the figure and it can be seen that they can overlap.

This excerpt of Pichardo’s 1875 map show 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 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.

The legend accompanying the map defines two important symbols:

- Ingeniero 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 caserio 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 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 with a scale of length 1 Cuban league or 4.24 km or 2.6 miles. This 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 missing.

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 [87] [88]. 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 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 Taillor⁸ 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 [88], 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 Conteo.*— T.—Rio.—Ingenio de Jimeno (I.) en la Hacienda de su nombre…

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.

Paradero de Tosca, en el Ferro-carril del Coliseo á Bemba. — Camino á D. para Lagunillas, &…

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⁸One of the many spellings of Taylor in Cuba, which include also Tayllor, Telor, and Tylor
Ingenio de Hernandez.— [D.]... 1/3
Prosigue cargando á I. para cortar la línea férrea y serpeando por ella, dejando á D. el ingenio la Amelia, de Taillor, llega á

El Coliseo.— Caserio perteneciente á Matanzas; término de la Jurisdicción de Cárdenas.
— Paradero del Ferro-carril del Coliseo.
— Administracion de Correos y correspondencia pública para Cardenas.
— Encruzijada por la D. para Lagunillas, & ; por la I. para Rio-Nuevo, & ...
... 4/5

Entrando en el Partido Pedaneo de Guamacaro y aproximado al Ferro-carril, va por entre los antiguos cafetales demolidos del Coliseo y Consistorio (de Canes) por donde se inclina á D. para el N.O., cortando la línea; deja á I. el ingenio demolido la Amistad (de Arrieta) y á D. el cafetal Santa Ana de Sieges para llegar á

La Deseada, de Campanería.— T. (D.)... 7/10
Camino á I. para San Miguel & ...
Sigue con rumbo cardinal O.N.O.; deja á D. el Cafetal Carolina, de Battle ó San Jorge, luego á I. el demolido la Inés del Capitan D. Felipe Jiminez, hoi ingenio la Concepcion, de Dulzaides, Cafetal de los Rodriguez y Callejon de Zamora. (I)... 4/7

which I translate as

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

El Conteo.— 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 Campaneria.— Tavern (on the Right) 
Road to the Left for San Miguel &... ... 7/10

Follow the course west northwest; leave 
to the Right the office 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) [46], 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.1 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 Sª Amelia” which has been equated with Roth’s “Santa Amelia in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos” partially owned by Souchay and de Frias is also Pichardo’s “la Amelia” which is adjacent to Coiseo, 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 Sª Amelia was also named Savanilla, and the fractions of ownership with Antonio de Frias 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 Boletin de la Revista de Legislación y Jurisprudencia, Periódico Oficial del Ilustre Colegio de Abogados de Madrid, Tomo 74 it refers to a mortgage of

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

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

\[\text{the coffee plantation Carolina, alias Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, of 40 caballerias of land, situated in Coliseo, place of Sabanilla de vivos y muertos, municipality of Lagunillas, district of Cardenas with its corresponding boundaries}\]

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 [10], 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 [93] as owned by Don Martin Hernandez, associated with the port of Matanzas, the Jurisdiccion 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 website9 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:

**Etapa 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 Amelia plantation of Taylor is clearly next to Coliseo and likely was usually considered to be in coliseo, Pichardo explicitly placed it 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.

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9[https://www.ecured.cu/Coliseo_(Jovellanos)#Historia](https://www.ecured.cu/Coliseo_(Jovellanos)#Historia)
For all of these reasons, I am convinced that the S\textsuperscript{a}Amelia sugar plantation in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos which was co-owned by Souchay, de Frias, 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 Lemuel’s Arrival

3.7.1 Home

Around the time of the Taylor family’s move 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” [82]. 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 and his family joined him, probably in 1822, they needed a place to live. The natural choice would have been his S\textsuperscript{a}Amelia estate, located in both Coliseo and the corral Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos.

3.7.2 Barcia’s Description

The only treatment of Lemuel’s early years in Cuba that I have found is in Barcia [83]. 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\textsuperscript{10} — 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.\textsuperscript{11} Vincent Grey one of his neighbors in Cuba, claimed to have known him since 1814, when he was still living in the United

\textsuperscript{10}Abbot’s description of his 1928 visit [94] will be considered later and is considered in Appendix A.

\textsuperscript{11}These rules opened Cuba to world trade and welcomed foreign colonists, traders, and merchants were described in Section 3.5.
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. [83].

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 “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 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 beginings 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 Sª 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 Frias & Co., including with its silent partner Don Cornelio Souchay, with whom he co-owned Sª 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 Frias — 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) [26], 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 [31]. 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 Frias.

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. 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. There is significant supporting literature in books, articles, and accessible documents on the existence of the Santa Amalia plantation in Coliseo, as will be considered in some depth.

3.7.3 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 [87][88][89] and as Tosca by Ballester [10]. It is doubtful that Lemuel would lived there with his family soon after arriving in estate he had not ownership in when he did have ownership in two estates: Bruce Hall and “Sabanilla or S’t Amelia,” where the second estate was reported in some documents to be in the same area as San Marcos. I have found no evidence that Lemuel either lived in or owned a plantation called “San Marcos.” My guess is like other plantations in the vicinity it was sometimes referred to in documents as “Sabanilla,” as likely was Lemuel’s S-Amelia plantation.

I so I suspect that Barcia’s San Marcos was an incorrect interpretation of Sabanilla and thereby mistaken for Santa Amelia in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos, a logical first residence for his family in Cuba.

3.7.4 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 so far. 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 Rebello [93] 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 [72] 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 Frias and Cornelio Souchay together owned another third, leaving Taylor as the mortgaged owner of the remaining third. This is close but not the story of S° 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 Frias 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 Frias owned 1/3 from the purchase in 1820. +++ sort out Oliver dates The dates are also slightly off, de Frias and Souchay purchased the estate with Lemuel in 1820, so they owned 1/3 from the beginning. 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 la Amelia, S° Amelia, and S° Amelia agree with the conclusions of Ballester and Ballester.

### 3.7.5 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. 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 par-
3.7. LEMUEL’S ARRIVAL

tially owned by Lemuel, whose interest was sold to Robert Oliver in 1823.

3.7.6 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 Matanzas. 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 2.2.6. Only the latter one was definitely owned by Lemuel Taylor, so I think this hacienda was Santa Amelia of Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos.

3.7.7 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 Santa Amelia coffee plantation, which had been purchased in 1820 by Lemuel Taylor (2/3) and Antonio de Frias (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. This objection can not be lightly discarded, but there are good reasons to not let it decide the matter. Both Coliseo and Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos had post offices and they were adjacent areas at a time when borders were ill-defined and fluid. On Ballester’s map of sugar plantations of the period, Santa Amalia (in Coliseo) and Audaz (in Sabanilla de Vivos y Muertos) were nearest neighbors. But perhaps even more compelling is the role of Robert Oliver and Cornelio Souchay in the history of Santa Amelia (as told by the scholars of Souchay and by the insolvency papers of Lemuel Taylor) compared with the roles of the same individuals in the history of Santa Amalia as told by Barcia. Furthermore he common thread of Lemuel Taylor in the origins of Santa Amelia and the destiny of Santa Amalia unites the two estates. Any alternative story involving the same collection of characters and events (and even fractions like 1/3 and 2/3) would simply be too complicated by moves and the histories of two distinct estates with overlapping histories and descriptions. Actual proof may well be in the papers of Robert Oliver. As Lance Humphries pointed out, purchasing estates was an expense, and Oliver’s account books were exhaustive.
3.7.8 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 Santa 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 Santa Amelia with Souchay and de Frias dated back to Lemuel’s purchase in 1820 of the plantation, as detailed in Subsection 2.2.6. Souchay sold the combined interest of the heirs of de Frias 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 Santa 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? Once again, 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 Frias, but if he or his executors — who included his son-i-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 Santa 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. Some of the geographical confusion of Cuban history creeps into the excerpt.

3.8 Coliseo

It is difficult to find historical information on the barrio of Coliseo around 1820 of Lemuel’s visit and purchase of Santa 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. 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 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 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 [46]. 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 [87] [88] and other historical sources. Coliseo is described in [46], 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.

13 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
3.8. COLISEO

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 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 [46] are depicted in Fig. C.1 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 [88] 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

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 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 Fraginals [44], and Ballester [10] as evolving from the ingenio Carolina and having been founded by an M. Taylor. Barcia [83] cites [10] 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 tje 1909 U.S. Army, not to the northwest as Pichardo and Barcia.
3.9. THE SANTA AMALIA ESTATE

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

This section explores Santa Amalia in more detail.

Barcia [83] describes Santa Amelia 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 Santa Amelia is the same plantation as Lemuel Taylor’s Savanilla or Santa Amelia. Barcia implies that Lemuel Taylor was the founding owner of Santa Amelia but lacks any citations relating to previous owners or names. Barcia cites Ballester’s El azúcar en Matanza...
3.9.1 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: [10]. 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, I found no online version and it took me over a year to find and purchase a hard copy. I have continued to search occasionally hoping to find a copy in better shape. I include a scan of the page as Figure 3.9.1 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 map 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.

- **Name of the owners.** The years of ownership are included when known.

- **Data on agriculture, transport and industry**
3.9. THE SANTA AMALIA ESTATE

Miscénea
El brigadier Orve y su escoyle incendieron los ingenios Tinguaro [537], Perúfuerza [374] y García Capote [209] el 13 de marzo de 1876. El 12 de septiembre de 1895, Teodoro Maza atacó el ingenio con 14 hombres (100).

Descripción en el libro Los ingenios, que incluye una fotogranía de Mapiel con una vista exterior (12) (Figura 139).

[601] VICTORIA DE YAGUAYAJ-Santa Amalia-Santa Amelia-La Amelia
Situación geográfica
1° km NE de Coloso.

División política
1860 Jurisdicción de Cárdenas, partido de Lagunillas.
1958 Municipio de Carlos Rojas.
1976 Municipio de Jovellanos.

Fundación
En el Manual de la Lucha (13) y en el Manual Azucarero Gilmore de 1928 (67), se dice que el ingenio fue construido totalmente nuevo en 1915, en el mismo lugar donde existía el ingenio antiguo que hizo 100 años, lo que quiere decir que el segundo ingenio fue construido en 1815. La otra información que tenemos procede del mapa de Richard y en 1860, en la cual se identifica con el nombre de Santa Amelia de D. (Don) Alejandro. Se refiere a Alejandro Taylor.

Propietarios antiguos
1840-1860 Lionel Taylor (posible fundador) (50).
1860-1867 Lionel Taylor (posible fundador) (50).
1867-1893 Herederos de Alejandro Taylor y familia D’Onofrio (7).
1893-1900 Herederos de Taylor y D’Onofrio (10).
1904-1905 Rango y García (35).
1904-1909 Crespo y García (35).
1904-1909 Bango y García (35).
1903-1904 Herederos de Taylor y D’Onofrio (35).
1913-1914 García, Menéndez y Cía. (35).
1913-1914 Menéndez, Martínez y Cía. (35).
1914-1923 Laurentino García Alcon (35).
1923-1924 Laurentino García Alcon (35).
1933-1934 Gattorno y Cassio (35).

Anotaciones: Taylor, comerciantes, murió en 1887. Era dueño de la mayor parte del ingenio lo heredaron sus hijos María, Amelia, Juana, y Juan. Amelia de D’Onofrio y sus hermanas Juana y María, eran dueñas de la otra mitad de la zona (95).

[601] VICTORIA DE YAGUAYAJ-Santa Amalia-Santa Amelia-La Amelia

En 1880, la molinista finlandesa Schwedt (Herman) visitó el ingenio y fue recibida por la señora de Cassio, vivía con 4 hijos (10).

El presidente fue Laureano García Alcon y el vicepresidente, su hijo Laureano García Amela (13). El primer fallo de fallo en 1824.

Se mantuvieron como administradores a Florentino García Amela (67).

La Cía. Azucarera Coloso S. A. estaba controlada por la familia Blanda (8, 81), con Higinio Paniél Blanda como presidente. El nombre de la compañía se puso en 1860, pero en 1864 fue comprada por Carlos H. Hernández que se mantuvo como propietario hasta su muerte, ocurrida en 1894. La propiedad y el control de la compañía pasó a manos de su esposa María Luisa González y de sus hijos Rafael A., Carlos R. y Roberto F. Hernández González hasta 1920.

Agricultura
1880 Tierra: 25 cab (335 ha) en total propias, 16 sembradas de caña (87).
1913 Tierra: 150 cab (2013 ha) en total 90 propias y 60 de colonos independientes). Caña molida: 6 982 257 arrobas (80 293 ton). Rendimiento (arboles/cañ) 100 000 kg; 25 000 mínimo, 49 672 promedio (56).

Transporte
1860 A la achacar se tiraba por ferrocarril al puerto de Marías desde Coloso, distante este último 1½ km del ingenio (87).
1913 1 km de vía ancha para conectar con los Ferrocarriles Unidos y utilizar el cañero y una locomotora de la referida empresa cuando los necesite (95).
• Miscellania

Reading 3.9.1 using the legend and extracting the key points, to me the most important fact is the given multiple names for S\textsuperscript{a}Amalia. The first name is the last one I learned, but the one best known to most Cubans since soon after the 1958 revolution, when the victory of Yaguajay played an important role. For history and a validation of many of the observations in this work, Santa Amalia, Santa Amelia, and la Amelia all named the same estate!

The political division follows the 1860 division of Rebello [93], 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 \textit{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 \textit{S\textsuperscript{a}Amelia} during a visit to Cuba in 1820. He owned 2/3 of the estate and the other 1/3 was was shared by Cornelio Souchay and Antonio de Frias 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 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 [88] 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, and we shall see that eventually Santa Amalia would have shared ownership among several of Lemuel’s heirs. Third, Barcia [83] 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 is 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 [10] 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 Maria 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 Maria 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 Hernandez 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) [16] dealing with her Cuban visit. Ballester states that when Bremer visited Santa Amelia, 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.

3.9.2  **Santa Amelia, Sta Amalia**

According to Lemuel himself, his plantation *Santa Amelia* was bought in 1820, and the evidence is that a plantation in the same location *S*ī Amalia was sold by Taylor’s grandchildren heirs in 1904. A natural question is when did *Santa Amelia* become known as *Santa 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 Santa 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.

In addition to its early names of Savanilla and S\textsuperscript{a} Amelia — the abbreviated form of Santa Amelia, S\textsuperscript{a} Amelia 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\textsuperscript{a} 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 \textit{Cuba Illustrated} [92]. Interestingly, \textit{Cuba 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, Heards, 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.

The last descendent of Lemuel that I could verify resided at S\textsuperscript{a} Amalia was his granddaughter, Amy’s aunt Amelia Henrietta (De Coninck) Pelletier, whose widower was still in charge of the estate when Amy’s father Augustine Heard visited it in 1886, nine years before the breakout of the 1895 Cuban war for independence and the subsequent U.S.
intervention.

The original name reported in the Lemuel Taylor’s insolvency papers of St Amélie persisted in the later literature. The best known and probably the most cited source of the name Santa Amélie for Lemuel’s Coliseo plantation is Fredrika Bremer’s 1854 book *Hemmen i den Ny Verlden* [16] (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 [16]) describing her visit in March 1851 to a plantation she named *St. Amelia Inhegno*\(^{14}\) 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 and family in 1851, both in words and illustrations. As described by Bremer, Ingenio Santa Amélie 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

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\(^{14}\)Bremer’s spelling of the Spanish word *ingenio*
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. 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. 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. Much of the sketchbook was reproduced (with lower quality images and some errors of identification) in an issue of the Revista de la Biblioteca National in its 1951 celebration of the centennial of Bremer’s visit. 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 [20]. 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 contains the following quote:

…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,

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15Jane Leep, Amelia Henrietta, and Francis Alexander
16The 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/.
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. Sña Amalia is physically near to Cardenas. So the reference seems to be to Sña Amalia. So in this case, as with Bremer, it would seem that Santa Amelia is the same as Santa Amalia.

3.10 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: Santa Ana, Ontario, La Carolina, Santa Cecilia and Ariadne. A few other neighboring states farther from Santa Amalia merit mention, notably the San Juan Estate near Camarioca (Wilson).

3.10.1 La Carolina: Bartlett

Bartlett 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 Bartlett/Pichardo location and Ballester’s location and his identification with Granma. Bartlett explicitly disagrees with Ballester on the question of the founding of Carolina since instead of Bartlett, Ballester follows Fraginals [44] and describes the possible Founder of Carolina as named Taylor.

Another piece of evidence pointing to historical inconsistency in Bartlea’s description is given by the 1909 Army map of Fig. C.1, which in a rare departure from Pichardo’s 1875

17https://callejero-cuba.openalfa.com/central-gramma

18I have also found the name “Battle” as owner of the Carolina that Abiel Abbot visited, which seems a plausible misspelling.
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 [10] 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).

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 Carolina 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 [94], who visited the estate in 1828, for much of his discussion. Abbot wrote of La Carolina in glowing terms. Barcia describes Bartletts 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 the only the final part of the narrative.

Ballester [10] 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 Amelia. The name also occurs in Pichardo’s book 1865 book Caminos de la Isla de Cuba: Itinerarios [88], 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 unlocated 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 services to them.

3.10.2 Santa Ana and Ontario: Webster

Ephron Webster owned Santa Ana and Ontario along with his brother-in-law Ebenezer William Sage, although in the early days around 1820 only Ephron was present to manage things. Santa Ana appears in Pichardo’s 1875 map in Fig. 3.2 to the northwest of Coliseo, agreeing with its location in Barcia’s map in Fig. 3.12. Ontario does not appear in Fig. 3.2, but there is an estate named Webster to the south of Santa Ana and west of Coliseo, which matches Barcia’s location for Ontario and the custom of naming estates after their founder or owner in maps.

Ephron Webster of Hartford Ct. (born 15 July 1782) married Ebenezer Sage’s sister Maria Sage, (born in Middletown Connecticut 11/23/1786) [7]. The two resided in Middletown from 1807-1814 and then moved to Cuba. around 1816 [86]. According to Barcia, 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. Of their seven children, we will encounter three in the Taylor story: George Sage Webster (born in Middletown Connecticut 12/4/1812 [7]), Maria Louisa Webster (born in Middletown Connecticut 10/17/1814 [7]), and to a lesser extent, Frederick William Webster (born 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. Maria Louisa Webster married Lemuel Taylor’s only son Alexander in Havana, Cuba, on 15 October 1834.

George Sage Webster left Cuba 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) [39] is given in Figure 3.10.1. The key points
Figure 3.9: George Sage Webster Bio at Norwich University

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,” a misspelling of Coliseo (which means “coliseum” in English), where he resided until returning to Middletown, Conn. in 1864, and 4) he married Harriet Isham of New London Conn. on 19 November 1850. Interesting additional information about Harriet and George is given in Harriet’s entry in the A Brief History of Jirah Isham (of New London, Connecticut and his Descendants 1940) [86].

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) Webster:

1. Eliza Isham.
2. William Ephron.
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.

Both Norwich [39] and Isham [86] sources agree that George owned a plantation in Cuba and [86] names the plantation as St Amelia and the Norwich University bio implies the same by locating it near “Colloso,” a misspelling of Coliseo. The Isham genealogy provides names of his heirs, which later will help sort out the ownership of Ontario and Santa Amalia. George and Harriet’s first child, Eliza Isham Webster “was born on Oct. 8, on a sugar plantation known as St. Amelia, Cal d Seo, Cuba.” It is evident that “Cal d Seo” is yet another misspelling of Coliseo, and timing is important in that it implies that
George and Harriet were quite likely to have been living at Santa Amelia in March 1863 when, as we shall see, Fredrika Bremer visited the household at Ingenio Santa Amelia.

George S. Webster never owned Santa Amalia, but the error is understandable for several reasons. While I can find no Cuban official or scholarly documents listing Webster as ever owning St Amelia, in addition to the Norwich University biography and the Hamlin and Isham genealogies, the book *Cuba Illustrated* in its 1894 edition published a list of ingenios with their owners, and included Santa Amalia in Guamácaro as belonging to the “Herederos de Webster.”

On the other hand, Rebello [93] lists “Herederos de Taylor” as the owners of Santa Amalia, and George S. Webster was not a Taylor heir, George’s sister Maria Louisa (Webster) Taylor was, and Ballester lists from 1840 through 1904 the owners of Santa Amalia as either Taylors, D’Conincks, or their heirs. Jimenez [61] notes in his book on companies in Cuba which involves nineteenth century sugar industry that Santa Amalia belonged to Taylor Coninck.

So why the description of Webster as owner in a University biography, family trees, and a Cuban travel book? Probably because George largely managed the estate from early 1851 to 1865, during which time the actual owners included the widows Louisa Maria (Webster) Taylor — his sister — and Amelia W. (Taylor) — his sister-in-law, and subsequent events suggest that they were the only owners, as only their heirs and their spouses were claimants to reparations following the Spanish-American-Cuban war (see Section 8.2). On the other hand, George’s children and grandchildren along with his sister’s children were listed in the claims made on the Ontario Estate, to which both George and Alexander’s wife Maria were heirs 8.2. Other descendants of Ephron Webster share the Ontario claims. Ephron had a daughter Carolina Augusta Webster (1824-1869) who in 1850 married John Murdock Storey (1818-1884), and among their children was Edward Graves Storey (1857-1914) who was an Ontario claimant.19 Another child of Carolina and John Storey was Caroline Sage Storey, who married John Greenough of New York.20 Other names on the Ontario claims are possibly also Ephron Webster descendants: Maria L. Fallon might be the married name of Maria L. Storey. Serafina C.W. Pattison might be the married name of Serafina Catherine Webster. Helena E. Russell might be the married name of Helena Eliza Webster.

Thus all of the claimants listed for Ontario are likely decedents of Ephron William and Maria Sage Webster or their executer or guardian.

In summary, the evidence is that George and his family lived at the Santa Amelia estate for around fifteen years, during which time he managed the estate. But the estate belonged to his widowed sister and his sister-in-law, the heirs of Lemuel Taylor. All of

19From familysearch.org
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.

3.10.3 Laberinto/Ariadne: Chartrand

The Ariadne Estate in Limonar, nearby 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 Millefleurs 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 attacked and the French were killed, except for Juan and his brother Phillippe, 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 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 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 Thysseus out of the Minotaur’s labyrinth. 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 Amy’s godfather John Prince Bayley on 22 October 1845, whom we have already met briefly in the Introduction as Amy Heard’s godfather.

Among the Chartrands 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 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) [93] in the jurisdicción de Matanzas, Paradero de Limonar, with Don Juan Chartrand as proprietor.

### 3.10.4 San Juan: Wilson

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 [10] provides an interesting description of 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 Mac Donough 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. According the an article celebrating the hundred year anniversary Fredrika Bremer’s visit to Cuba [95], Fredrika Bremer met a Juan or John O. Wilson of the San Juan estate when she visited S"ta 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. There is a story connecting the two Wilsons, so 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 more Wilsons owned the estate between 1839 and 1860. The privateers mentioned by Ballester 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 Captain’s 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, are there and 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, 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. His exploits at sea are easy to find by searching the Web.

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 this is Bremer’s young Mr. W. is as stated in [95] is the owner of San Juan and a son of its founder. This conclusion is reinforced by Chambers’ [24] 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 Amelia De Coninck.

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 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.

Ingenio San Juan number is ingenio number [472] in Ballester [10]. Of course this John O. Wilson was not still alive when Bremer visited in 1851, but Ballester’s information suggests that a Wilson still owned the plantation until 1860, so my guess that John O. Wilson Jr. is the Mr. W. of Chapter ???. The older Wilson did leave traces. The U.S. Naval History and Heritage Command Shows that 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.

3.11 The 1825 African Slave Revolt in Matanzas

Barcia’s book [83] 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 [24]. 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 3.12 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.

Barcia tells the story of how most of Taylor’s slaves sided with Taylor against the
rebels to defend Santa 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 literature on slavery in Cuba and only occasional glimpses will occur in this work.

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 plan-
tation owners disappeared without trace around this time.\textsuperscript{21} 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 in following her visit in 1851. 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.

To close this chapter, we catch up on the lives of Lemuel and Mary Taylor’s children since we left them in the previous chapter.

### 5.12 Mary West Taylor

In the *Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser* of Friday 8 August 1828 (Vol. XXXII, Issue 34, p. 3) it was reported that

Married

On the 16th of June last, at St. Amelia, near Matanzas John C. Wieland, esq., a merchant of Havana,\textsuperscript{22} to Mary, eldest daughter of Lemuel Taylor, esq., formerly of Baltimore.

For a long time I believed this branch of the descendants of Lemuel and Mary Taylor disappeared from Amy’s story, until I rediscovered an item in Amy’s correspondence announcing the death in 1909 of Madame Veuve Philippe Parrot née Mary Wieland, which lists Amy Heard Gray and her sons and many other names found in this book. The announcement is shown in Figure 8 along with identification of and remarks on most of the people named. This document will be considered in some detail in Chapter 8 when the known survivors among Lemuel Taylor’s descendants are considered. But it is appropriate to continue Mary Taylor Wieland’s history 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 and arrival from Boston. The two second cousins (their grandmothers were Taylor sisters Mary and Amelia) will grow up in Paris as best friends. 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?

It turns out significant that significant information about Mary Taylor Wieland is in the official record of her daughter Mary Wieland’s marriage in Paris 6 almost three decades after the Wielands left Cuba for Paris. Hence a little time travel is helpful here to conclude the Wieland story and Cuba and begin its period in Paris. We will return to the Wielands in Chapter 8.

\textsuperscript{21} The one exception to this has been a discussion in a blog by John DuBois [40], a descendant of Lemuel’s, which confused our ancestor Lemuel Taylor with Lemuel G. Taylor.

\textsuperscript{22} The \textit{C} stands Conrad [33].
According to the 2 August 1860 marriage record in the 6th Arrondissement of Paris of Marie Wieland with Élie Philippe Gabriel Parrot, painter, of Paris, Mary Wieland was born in Havana on March 10, 1834 as the oldest daughter of Jean 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 probably also born in Cuba and named after his uncle Alexander Taylor. Thus Mary (Taylor) and John Wieland had two children before leaving Cuba for Paris.

The Wielands moved to Paris after the birth of Mary, where John died soon after on 7/20/1835 [33] [52].

When years later in 1860 Mary Wiegand married Philippe Parrot, the marriage document stated that Philippe’s brother Jules Parrot, a doctor of medicine and professor of the faculty of medicine, 30 years old, was a witness. Given that Jules and Alexander were both MDs and almost the same age, it seems plausible that the connection might have been the origin of Mary Wiegand meeting Philippe Parrot. The document also states that at the time of the marriage, Mary Wiegand and her mother Mary Taylor Wiegand 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.

I only learned the story of Philippe Parrot and Mary Wieland in summer 2021 following a great deal of Web snooping inspired by Mary Wieland’s 1909 Death notice, naming Mary Wieland as “Madame Veuve Philippe Parrot née Mary Wiegand.” I found mention of a marriage of Élie Gabriel Philippe Parrot to Mary Wicland in Paris on 4 August 1860 in the family tree of Katrine Chamavert at Geneanet.org. This Philippe Parrot — also known as Philippe Élie Gabriel Parrot and Élie Philippe Gabriel Parrot — was a famous painter, including a well-known 1875 portrait of Sarah Bernhardt shown in Figure 3.12. Parrot was a member of Bernhardt’s entourage. This story was tantalizingly close to what I suspected, but it lacked details and the wrong spelling for Mary’s last name. Several attempts to communicate with Ms. Chamavert in hope of resolving my questions failed. Happily, links from her site led me to the source of her information, which included digitized copies of the marriage records in the sixth arrondissement of Paris. The entry for 2...
August 1860, No. 492, for Parrot & Wieland provides the details that Élie Philippe Gabriel Parrot, painter, living in Paris, born in Excideuil (Borgogne) 13 May 1831, married Marie Wieland, without profession, living with her mother. Marie was born in Havana 10 March 1834 with parents John Conrad Wieland and Marie Tailor.

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<th>Died</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Spouse</th>
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<td>8/16/1909</td>
<td>8/2/1960</td>
<td>Philippe Parrot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander</td>
<td>1832</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1: Children of Mary (Taylor) and and John C. Wieland (born in Havana)

3.13 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 [7], three years after his sister Amelia W. Taylor married Francis De Coninck. The Hamlin Genealogy [7] says that he was a planter and merchant in Coliseo and Cardenas. Cuba, from 1830 to 1846 and that he was educated in Geneva Switzerland and 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 [114] discussed in Section 5.2, suggesting that he managed S.ta Amalia during those two years and probably through his departure from Cuba in 1864 to his birthplace of Middleton, Connecticut. The S.ta 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. Both Amelia and Maria were widows by 1848, which suggests that George might have been the unnamed overseer that Fredrika
Bremer met at Santa Amalia in 1851, although manager rather than overseer seems more likely.

Alexander and Maria had seven daughters, all born in Coliseo [7]: Mary Williams Taylor born 1 August 1835; Amelia C. Taylor, born 29 March 1837 who married Rev. Arthur Mason; Cora Victoria Taylor born 27 May 1839 who married Rev. O. Witherspoon of Buffalo; Louisa W. Taylor; Alice E. Taylor who married J.H. Shoenberger; Josephine M. Taylor who died in Mar 22 1889; and Anita G. Taylor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Born</th>
<th>Died</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Spouse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mary Williams</td>
<td>8/1/1835</td>
<td>2/10/1898</td>
<td>7/21/1858</td>
<td>Augustus Hitchcock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cora Victoria</td>
<td>5/27/1839</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev. Orlando Witherspoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisa W.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alice E.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John H. Shoenberger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josephine M.</td>
<td>3/22/1889</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John C. Kennet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anita G.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2: Children of Maria (Webster) and Alexander Taylor (all born in Coliseo)

The fact that all of Alexander and Maria’s children were born in Coliseo suggests that they resided at Santa Amalia or one of Maria’s father’s estates during that period, Santa Ana and Ontario were both close to Coliseo and the Taylor estate of Santa 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.

Amelia W. De Coninck’s mother, Mary W. Taylor, died at Sta Amalia in 1843 [33]. A Mortuary Notice appeared in the Baltimore Sun on Friday 13 October in 1843 in Vol XIII, issue 118, p. 2:

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 Wheatly 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 Santa 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” [106], 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 SªAmalia Estate, and that his brother-in-law Alexander Taylor’s business interests were in Cardenas, which is over 11 miles from Coliseo. These where 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 [100]. 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 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 decision to move their family to New Haven, Ct., where Maria had family and roots. They were settled in their new home by 1846.

3.14 Amelia Williams Taylor

In Fig 3.6 of “Marriages” section of the De Coninck Bible [33] 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.
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 [52], but the De Coninck Bible [33] 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\(^1\).

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 will return to Sta 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.

\(^1\)See Fig. 4.9.
4.1 Francis De Coninck

Francis Charles De Coninck was born François De Coninck on 20 October 1793 according to his memorial stone and accompanying documentation at Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, New York City\(^2\). According to the De Coninck Bible [33] as quoted in Section 3.14, Francis was 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. Francis is named François in official documents in Europe.

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.

4.2 Ostend and West Flanders

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. 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 comté 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 in 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

\(^2\)See Fig. 4.9.
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.³

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, 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 Cuba⁴:

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


⁴“Our Man in Havana and Other Facts about the Belgo-Cuban Connection,” Filip Matthijs, translated by Kate Connelly, a review of [3]
powerful and often hostile powers.

4.3 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 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 and Xavier De Coninck in Geneanet.

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 1893, 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)

5myheritage.com
6geneanet.org
7Birth 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)\(^8\). 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, \(^9\) and, it turns out, was friend and colleague of Amy’s father Augustine Heard Gray, Jr., (Gus). 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 Ferier 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.

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 4.3 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 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

\(^8\)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).

\(^9\)Details from *Pasinomie: Collection Complete des Règlements Généraux qui Peuvent Être Invoqués en Belgique*, J.S.G. Nypels, Brylant-Christophe et Cie, Bruxelles, 1864.
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 4.3.

### 4.4 Belgian Consul at Havana and Merchant

The Gray Genealogy [52] 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...
at Havana, Cuba, and that he died in New York City on 29 June 1847.\footnote{There is unfortunately no primary source given for this information in [52], 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 [52]. The St. Amelia is another name for Sta Amalia Estate.}

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:

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.\footnote{“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}

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\footnote{https://the-low-countries.com/article/our-man-in-havana-and-other-facts-about-the-belgo-cuban-connection, a review of [3].} where it is stated that

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
4.5 BARING BROTHERS AND GEORGE KNIGHT & CO.

 François was in 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. IFrançois 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 & Co. in Matanzas by 1836, where they were correspondents of Rothschild. By 1837 they were established in Havana at 79 Calle de los Oficios.

4.5 Baring Brothers 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 century mark. My primary sources for the story are Roldán de Montaud’s Baring Brothers and the Cuban Plantation Economy, 1814–1870 (2015) [72] along with [64], [36], [37].

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14 A List of Merchants at Havana, 1837, Rates of Duties.
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 Mariátegui, Knight & Co., a trading company founded around 1825 by Luis Mariátegui and George Knight. Knight was a North American who had been in Cuba at least since 1816 and Juan José Mariátegui was a well connected Cuban of Spanish origin. Knight was a correspondent with Joshua Bates, a partner of Barings. In addition to the named partners of Mariátegui, Knight & Co. there was 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.

Luis Mariátegui died in 1835, but the company continued under the name of George Knight & Co with prearranged participation by Mariátegui’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 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

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15Bates 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, whom we shall encounter later. Among other accomplishments, Bates was the primary founder of the Boston Public Library.
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 [72], 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 [72] “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 [93] in the Jurisdiccion 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. The estate is also mentioned in Ballester [10] with index [041]. Coincidentally, among the sequence of owners was Horacio (Horace) Gray the son of William Rufus Gray, the eldest son of William “Old Billy” Gray of Salem and Boston and hence a cousin of Russell Gray, Amy Heard’s future husband. Horace was often referred to as “Horace Gray, Jr,” to distinguish him from his uncle Horace Gray, the youngest son of Old Billy, who will be considered in some depth later. Horace Jr. lived in New York City, but invested in Cuban properties.

De Coninck was almost as certainly Francis De Coninck since he was the only active merchant or planter in the Jurisdiccion de Matanzas at the time by that name and because he was married to an heir to 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 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 Frias, 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\(\text{ta}\)Amelia. 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 owes \$80,000 balance on the purchase of S\(\text{ta}\)Amelia 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.

### S\(\text{ta}\)Amelia: 1830-1840

When Robert Oliver bought Lemuel Taylor’s 2/3 ownership in S\(\text{ta}\)Amelia 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. I do not understand the exact nature of the sale, but the Specifically, 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 creditors. Before Oliver’s death in 1834, S\(\text{ta}\)Amalia probably looked like a good investment. Furthermore, it is possible that Oliver might have made a deal with the Insolvency Committee that his purchase of the S\(\text{ta}\)Amelia and Bruce Hall estates would be made by his reducing any claims he might have on the Insolvency Trust by that amount. In other words, he “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, but still it does appear that all of the serious creditors were eventually satisfied. The fact that a trustee of the Insolvency Trust was Roswell L.
Colt, was also one of Oliver’s own executors and eventual trustee. Oliver does seem to have behaved along these lines when he “purchased” the remaining 1/3 of S\(^{1/3}\) Amelia from Souhay and the heirs of Antonio de Frias by essentially cancelling the debt of the late de Frias 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 meant 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 the 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\(^{1/3}\) Amelia, 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\(^{1/3}\) 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.

+++ To return to the story, in May 1840, De Coninck was the owner of S\(^{1/3}\) Amalia, but owed money on the estate to Knight & Co., which was being dissolved with such claims to go to the creditors, including Barings. The sequel is well-explained by quoting Montaud’ [72]:

In any case Barings accepted the liquidators’ proposal and named the Havana firm DeConnick, Spalding & Co. as its attorneys\(^{16}\) instructing them to sub-

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\(^{16}\)Baring Brothers considered the company to be of “best reputation.” See also [107] for praise of the
scribe 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.

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’s younger daughter, and together with his brother-in-law was in debt to the creditors of George Knight & Co, of which the primary one was Barings. Alexander is listed for advances of his half of the Arroyo estate, and elsewhere in the balance sheet the half of Arroyo not owned by Alexander is listed as belonging to George Knight & Co. Arroyo is listed in the Rebello 1860 census as belonging to George Knight & Co. Arroyo is listed in the Rebello 1860 census as being as being in the Jurisdiccion de Cardenas, Partido de Guanajayabo, having Cardenas as its port and Altamisal as its whereabouts. Its owners in 1860 were Adot, Spalding and Co., where Spalding is Edward Spalding, the former business partner of Francis De Coninck. The estate is also mentioned in Ballester [10] with index [041]. Knight’s creditors decided to renegotiate the 1840 agreement in June 1843.

To continue the story as presented in [72] economic hard times again hit 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 [72], 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. I believe that here is misspelling the last name of Robert J. Morison, who shortly joined Francis De Coninck to form Morison, De Coninck and Co. [42], pages 278 and 796. On 1 August 1843 Morison & Co. wrote to E.I. du Pont et du Nemours to announce the company was being dissolved and that Morison, De Coninck & Co. would take its place. 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, De Coninck & Co. and E.I. du Pont et du Nemours & Co. conducted business from 1843 through 1848 regarding the purchase, delivery, and trade for gunpowder, including for the U.S. Military during the Mexican-American War17.

Barings eventually backed out of the transfers because they involved slaves, which were not consistent with British law. The mortgages on Santa Ana and Arroyo were

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17 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
written in the names of front men and were to be administered by Storey, Spalding & Co., the successors to De Conick, Spalding & Co. Santa María was given to Mariátegui & Co., the successor to George Knight & Co., and Mariátegui together with Francis De-Conick supervised the operations of the mortgaged estates that remained in the hands of their proprietors, which I believe would have included Francis De Coninck’s Santa Amalia since it was not mentioned among the transferred mortgages. Mariátegui and De Coninck provided occasional progress reports to Barings and Barings provided instruction on managing the estates and shipping the sugar to Barings’ agents.

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 [72] 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 paralysed sugar sales in Europe, causing prices to tumble there.

### 4.6 Children of Amelia & Francis

The De Coninck Bible [33] 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 [49], 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 [52]. The correct spelling is given in the De Coninck Bible [33], in Hanson’s Heard genealogy [54], 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 and Francis also had a still born daughter in Dunkirk, France, on 22 December 1841.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Born</th>
<th>Died</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Spouse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mary Taylor</td>
<td>8/9/1834</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>10/1881</td>
<td>Thomas Donaldson Johnson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amelia Henrietta</td>
<td>7/30/1836</td>
<td>10/1884</td>
<td>8/19/1838</td>
<td>George Pelletier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Alexander</td>
<td>8/19/1838</td>
<td>12/8/1878</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2: Children of Amelia and Francis De Coninck)

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 Conincks lost a 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 Deoninck, 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. The city is incorrect, but I have found such errors to be fairly common.

Amelia’s daughter Mary Taylor De Coninck married Thomas Donaldson Johnson of Baltimore in 1881 [52]. According to Mrs. Henry Adams[2], Jane De Coninck Heard informed Mrs. Adams that her younger sister had married Johnson “without announcing
it beforehand." in November. Amelia Henrietta De Coninck married George Pelletier. The spelling of his name is based on my reading of Amelia’s tombstone in Lot 57 Section TT at Green Mount Cemetery in Baltimore. The inscription is hard to read because of erosion, but I believe it is

Amelia Henrietta De Coninck
Wife of
George Pelletier

The card entry of the cemetery lists her as “A. H. D. E. C. Palletier” interred on Oct. 6 1884. The Gray genealogy [52] gives his name as François Pilletur and genealogical notes written by my Uncle Horace spell the last name as “Pilatour.” My reasons for supporting my own reading of the tombstone are as follows.

1. The spelling “Pelletier” agrees with the 1886 letter from Augustine Heard, Jr. to Amy during his 1886 visit to Matanzas and the Ingenio Sta 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.

2. I have found other references to the name Pelletier in Cuba at this time, but none for the name Pilletur, which I find in Steen’s genealogy, and Pilatour, which I find in my Uncle Horace Gray’s notes.

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.

4.7 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 families: the De Conincks and the Taylors. 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 4.7 yields the names and information of the De Conincks and Taylors in the order they are given. The names are contiguous in the manifest.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAMES</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>Country to which they severally belong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mary Deconinck</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>UStates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Deconinck</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Child</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amelie Deconinck</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Child</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary W Taylor</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amelia C Taylor</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main puzzle with the Manifest of the ship Norma is the only adult listed in the group — “Mary De Coninck.” The only “Mary De Coninck” to the children who was alive at the time was Mary Taylor De Coninck, Amelia W. De Coninck’s 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 a slave, in particular in might have been Luz, who is named as “Mrs. De Coninck’s Luz” in the Sta Amalia Accounts book ([114], p. 13). She is also listed first in the list of page 112 of Criados (servants or menials) de Mrs de Coninck as “Luz Criolla, eda”

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 he was already there. Francis would die in New York City in 1847, and her brother Alexander had made the decision to leave Cuba with his family and move to Connecticut, where his wife Maria had family.

Possibly 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 4.8 refig:alexander-francis.

4.8 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 [33], 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 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 Adélaide, 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 (11), and Francis
Figure 4.2: Francis De Coninck Monument at Green-Wood Cemetery
Alexander (9). 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.

4.9 1848: Death of Alexander Taylor

Amelia’s only brother Alexander died in New Haven, Connecticut, on 2 August 1848 of “a liver complaint” [33] 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 to Green-Wood records. The Hamlin genealogy [7] says that in 1900 Maria resided in New York City.

Figure 4.3: Monuments for Alexander Taylor and Francis De Coninck

4.10 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 family members: on the passenger list\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{18} Enfants in French means “children,” not “infants” as in English.
\textsuperscript{19} Transcribed by the Immigrant Ships Transcribers Guild based on the National Archives and Records Administration, Film M425, Reel 68.
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 Wm Sparrow 35 male engineer
2 Thomas Clayton 28 male carpenter
3 Mrs 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 Q 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.”

It seems likely that Maria (Sage) Webster is returning with her daughters from Cuba to Connecticut and bringing with her all of Amelia W. De Coninck’s children except for Jane. Mary Taylor De Coninck would be back at Sta Amalia by March 1851, but before that all three all three De Coninck daughters — Jane Leep, Mary Taylor, and Amelia Henrietta — will be in Baltimore as considered next. This suggests that perhaps while all but Jane were in Connecticut in 1849, Jane was already in Baltimore and that Mary Taylor and Amelia Henrietta had been staying with the Websters and were on their way to Baltimore.

4.11 December 1850: The Baltimore Monday German

While trying to trace the family of Francis and Amelia De Coninck before the death of Francis, one of the few newspaper articles I found other than passenger lists was an historical article in the Baltimore Sun published on 8 December 1907 (Volume CXLII, Issue 22, Page 12) titled “The Monday German: Its history and significance, a few facts about
one of Baltimore’s oldest and most momentous social events.” The title caught my eye because I had encountered the word *german* in Amy’s journal and had tracked down that it was a regular cotillion, 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” in the mid nineteenth century. It was a rite of passage and ritual for the girls of the Baltimore white and rich or influential elite. It was unabashedly racist and exclusionary, but it was much ballyhooed in the press. According to the article, the Monday German had been founded in 1850 and three generations of girls had been debuted since that time. In fact, such balls for girls “coming out” were much older, especially in the South of which Maryland was a part. It may well have been, however, that the “modern” Baltimore *german* had been organized and founded and the first such event taken place in December 1850, as described in the article — along with a description of the event and the names of the 43 founding members (female and male), including the three De Coninck sisters: Jane, Mary, and Amelia. The article notes that when it was written in 1907, 37 of the original 43 were dead, as were Jane and Mary.

For us, the important point here is that the in December 1850 the three De Coninck daughters were in Baltimore. As will be told in the next section, Mary and her mother Amelia would be back at Sta Amalia by mid March in 1851, but Jane and Amelia Henrietta would not be with them. One remaining mystery is with whom in Baltimore did the De Conincks stay on their visits. Amelia W. De Coninck would leave Cuba and return to Baltimore by 1858 to live her final decade in a house of her own, with her son Francis or Frank. She had been born in Baltimore. She would have likely maintained long distance friendships during her over three decades in Cuba, someone who kept the photo album with photos of Jane, Amy, Max, and other De Conincks and Heards. It might also suggest how Augustine Heard Jr. came to meet Jane. He was in the United States and not China during 1850-1851, and if the 27 year old Augustine Heard Jr visited Baltimore during that time he might well have been to the December 1850 Monday German and met the 18 year old Jane. Of course this is pure conjecture, but I have not found any other sensible theories on how the China-based Heard might have encountered Jane, who lived in Cuba with visits to Baltimore and possibly New York. I have not yet found any mutual friends of Jane and Gus.

The article describes that December 1850 Monday German as beginning at 3:30 in the afternoon and going until midnight. It took place at “the house of Lloyd Rogers, on Mulberry Street where the Pratt Library now stands.” and that after a few there it moved to the “hall over Kearney’s stables at Center and St. Paul St.” Every few years it moved to larger and grander locations. At the 1850 event, 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.”
Chapter 5

Ingenio Santa Amalia:
2nd half of the 19th Century

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 her 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 paint them as well as the colonial owners and managers of the estate. 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 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 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. More importantly, 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 are specifically mentioned in the Account Book, along with the name of their Criados, 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
5.1. MARCH 1851: FREDRIKA BREMER’S VISIT TO STA. AMELIA

a brutal reality denying the humanity of 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 Sta 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 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 Sta. 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 [16].¹ 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.

She describes the Ingenio² 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 1951 to later return to the U.S. as some authors have 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 personal 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

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¹Recall that Sta Amelia is another name for Sta Amalia, but I follow the author’s choice of name when quoting.

²I 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.
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, and in Cuba. She 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 [16]. The original Swedish version can be found on the Internet at the Runeberg Project ³.

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 [17]. 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 ⁴. 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 [95] along with added captions drawn from the American English translation of *Homes of the New World* [17]. The captions are informative, but several are incorrect for now understandable reasons. These will be discussed.

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 [17] and in Great Britain by Arthur Hall, Virtue, & Co [19] 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 ⁵. 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

³http://runeberg.org/hemmeninya/3/
⁵http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.BremrHemme
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 [15]. 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 [20]. The letter of 12 March 1851 is written from St. Amalia Estate, not from St. Amelia as she named it in Hemmen [16] and its derivative Homes [17] 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 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 [16].

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 [16].

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 XXXIVs. 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 [10], who names the original owner as Juan Chartrand, a Frenchman 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 Jurisdiccion de Matanzas, Partido de Guamacaro.

The history of Juan Mathias Chartrand and the Cafetal Laberinto/Ingenio Ariadne is considered in Subsection 3.10.3.

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.

Figure 5.1: left: Ceyba, right: Ceyba with Jagauy-Embra

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 between 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.

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 [16] is called *St. Amalia* in other letters [20] and in her sketchbook [17], [95]. Camerisca is Bremmer’s misspelling of Camarioca. The Cuban Spanish translation of the original Swedish [15] 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 5.1. The caption consists Bremer’s written notes on each image. Lomos is Latin for hillocks or low ridges.

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 in Baltimore, where Lemuel and Mary Taylor lived for two decades.

In March 1851 Lemuel Taylor is 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 — an adjutant — in the Maryland State Militia during the war of 1812 and took part in the Battle of Baltimore. 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 is 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 and not mayoral. Furthermore, George Sage Webster refers to the mayoral of the Santa Amalia plantation as
Figure 5.2: Carlo Congo, Lomos de Camarioca, St. Amalia
someone who reports to him, and the Mayoral at Santa Amalia, as it most places, was of Spanish
descent. So here I trust Matilde Goulard de Westberg, the Spanish translator of the Swedish, more than
Mary Howitt, the English translator.

The young American Creole, Mr. W., is identified in [95] 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 planta-
tion, 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. Indeed there was a man who fit this descrip-
tion precisely. Ballester [10] lists Juan O. Wilson as an early owner of the Ingenio San Juan which is
about 3.5 km southeast of Camarioca and hence about 32 km by the roads of the day. Hardly adjacent,
but by horse it can be considered a neighboring, if not adjacent, plantation. Ballester provides an in-
teresting description of 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 Mac Donough
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. And there is the
problem, he died over a decade before Bremer’s visit. But bear with me, the story gets more interesting
and it will converge.

First, the estate keeps the name of Wilson until 1860, when it is sold and reverts to its original
name of San Juan. This suggests more Wilsons owned the estate between 1839 and 1860. Second, the
privateers mentioned were famous privateers operating out of Bristol, Rhode Island. They were among
the privateers funded by the infamous businessman and trader in goods and slaves, John De Wolf (or
D Wolf) of Bristol and given Letters of Marque by the U.S. Government, much like Lemuel Taylor in
Baltimore. The Yankee, in particular, was a famously successful brig or brigantine and its history along
with some of its Captain’s 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, are there and 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, 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. His
exploits at sea are easy to find by searching the Web.

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 States.

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 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 this is Bremer’s Mr. W.

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 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.

Ingenio San Juan number is ingenio number 472 in [10]. Of course this John O. Wilson was not still alive when Bremer visited in 1851, but Ballester’s information suggests that a Wilson still owned the plantation until 1860, so my guess that John O. Wilson Jr. is our man. The older Wilson did leave traces. The U.S. Naval History and Heritage Command Shows that 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.

The ‘young overseer’ is harder to identify, but I have a theory. The word in the original Swedish version is föreståndare, which my Swedish to English dictionaries translate as manager or superintendent, not overseer, which in the context of Colonial Cuba usually refers to a slave driver. Here a strong possibility for the manager of Sta Amalia is given by Sugar Plantation Account Book for Ingenio Santa Amalia [114], which during several years following 1853 was authored by George Sage Webster. The book is at the Merric Library in Miami and a digital version is available on the Web. Recall from Section 3.10, 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. So he was Amelia W. De Coninck’s brother-in-law. He was family, he was definitely the manager of the estate in 1853, two years after Bremer’s visit, at which time he would have been a little under 40. I see no better candidate for the young manager mentioned by Bremer.

This discussion leads naturally to another watercolor from Bremer’s sketchbook given in Figure 5.1. 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
5.1. MARCH 1851: FREDRIKA BREMER’S VISIT TO STA. AMELIA

Figure 5.3: St. Amalia Inhegno
the sketch made at Santa Amalia are two of the three men who had the conversation with Bremer that she writes about in her Letter XXXIV from St. Amelia: Amelia De Coninck's father Lemuel Taylor, Joseph O. Wilson of the nearby San Juan Estate, and the manager of Santa Amalia, who I have argued is George Sage Wilson (I see no other candidate from the information that still exists). But which two men of the three possibilities are depicted?

The Bremer centennial [95] takes a stand identifying the two men in the caption below the image as Mr. Alexander Taylor y Mr. John O. Wilson. Ingenio Santa Amalia. Marzo i5 de 1851. . . . Un viejo oficial lisiado, de alegre temperament o que que p?o 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 [16], Letter XXXIV. But while the text follows [16], 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 Amelia. 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 [16] and the Spanish translation of the Cuban material [15] clarify is Mrs De Coninck, whose father is Lemuel — not Alexander — Taylor, it refers to the neighboring plantation owner only as Mr. W., and it gives no suggestion of the name of the manager. Clearly the picture can not include Alexander Taylor since Alexander died in 1848, three years before Bremer's visit. But the 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, 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 Amelia. 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 Lemuel Taylor or Francis De Coninck, who 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 [10]) 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).

So there are two remaining possibilities for the top image, it is either Amelia's father Lemuel Taylor, the old frail military man described in Bremer or it is George Sage Wilson, the young manager. I have tried and failed to locate an image of either man. I have a sentimental favorite, I would love to have convincing evidence that the top image is Lemuel Taylor, my great-great-great-grandfather. But the
image does not strike me as that of an 81 year old frail man. George Sage Wilson, on the other hand, was only 38 when Bremer visited. So either Bremer was being very generous in a portrait of Lemuel, or was painting a realistic watercolor of a man almost 40, less than half of Lemuel’s age.

This plantation is much larger than the one I visited in Limonar, 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 Lucomées, who appear to be among the noblest tribes of Africa, and it is not long since eleven Lucomées 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; 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 forty, 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.

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.

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-pan, in those large, gloomy buildings, or who move about occupied in various ways, produce a singular effect. I cannot 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 majorals6, 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 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 Luccomâes, 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

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6 mayorals are the overseers of slaves
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, 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 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 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.

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7The 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 third male in the conversation with Bremer and Mr. W. as an “overseer.” My point is that in discussing that conversation I observed the Swedish suggested “manager” as a better translation, here “overseer” is correct.
De C. 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, 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. 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, 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.

[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 cannot 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

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8 Amelia W. De Coninck
9 See See Figure 5.1, Bremer is repeating herself.
10 Amelia W. De Coninck, her daughter Mary Taylor De Coninck, and Joseph O. Wilson of Ingenio Ariadne. A volante is a horse-drawn carriage popular in Cuba during the period.
11 Lemuel Taylor
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.

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 to the union to maintain a balance before the Civil War, 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.

St. Amelia Inhegno, March 23rd.
Once more in my excellent room, with my charming Mrs. de C., 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, 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 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 skilful 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

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12 de Coninck
13 A watercolor of Carlo by Bremer from her sketchbook is shown in Figure 5.1
her lips as a bird would have held it in his bill.

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 guadarajah 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. 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 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

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14from the Swedish original: Belle Chasse
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 anything 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.

Following this second stay with Lemuel Taylor and Amelia De Coninck, Fredrika Bremer spent her final month of visits in Cuba before leaving Cuba for the Southern United States. This section is closed with an April 3rd excerpt of Bremer’s letter from Caffetal L’Industrie discussing of the well-known 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 Spanish-American War to come and the intervention in the Cuban War of independence by the United States.

Caffetal 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 he 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 Santa Amalia Estate 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 [114]. The book is actually two unrelated books, 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 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 with his family in 1864. By this time Amelia W. De Coninck was probably in Baltimore (where she lived in 1858 and died in 1868), and Alexander Taylor’s widow Maria Louisa (Webster) Taylor was probably in Connecticut as there is no evidence that she ever returned to Cuba after Alexander’s death in 1848. The accounts book mentions both Mrs. De Coninck and Mrs. Taylor, and Amelia and Maria are the only possibilities for these titles. Their names crop up in the lists of enslaved persons as owners, both in the small expenses for shoes and clothing, and in the inventory or dotaciones of slaves and criados, which translates as menial servants but they were enslaved and not free. Key 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 112/172 which follows a page dated 1865 and is reproduced in Figure 5.2 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. 99/172 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.

By 1883 when Amy and her mother Jane visited Ingenio Santa Amalia, it appears that the estate was managed by Mary Taylor De Coninck — Amelia W. De Coninck’s daughter,
5.2. THE SANTA AMALIA ESTATE ACCOUNTS BOOK 1853-1865

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criados de la M. De Coninck</th>
<th>Criados de la M. Taylor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sara Coninck, sev.</td>
<td>1. Julia Taylor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sara Santos, sev.</td>
<td>2. Anna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ana de los Santos</td>
<td>4. Administrativa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Clara Reina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Maria Reina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Maria Reina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Maria Reina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Maria Reina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Maria Reina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Maria Reina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Maria Reina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.4: 1865 Criados of Mrs. De Coninck and Mrs. Taylor
Jane’s sister, and Amy’s aunt Mary — along with her husband Thomas Johnson. I have found no information about who ran Santa Amalia between Webster’s departure and Mary Taylor De Coninck’s taking over. After Mary’s death, management eventually fell another of Amelia’s daughters, Henrietta Amelia (De Coninck) Piletur or Pelletier.

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 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 Sta 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. 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. 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 books origins and history, but it reinforces the historical discussions of Cuba in this work.

5.3 Amelia returns from Sta Amalia to Baltimore

Marchett’s Baltimore Directory for 1855-56 includes “DeConnick Amelia W., 21 McCulloch,” and “DeConnick” is a common misspelling of DeConinck” where the ‘in’ has been transposed into ‘ni’. The item is repeated in the directory for 1856-57 with “McCulloch” replaced by “McCulloh.” These directory entrees suggest strongly that Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck had returned to Baltimore to live in Baltimore after Fredrika Bremer’s visit to Ingenio Santa Amalia in 1851 and probably before 1854 prior to the publication of the 1855 Directory. There is no evidence that she ever returned to Cuba again, although we shall see that her daughters Mary Taylor De Coninck and Amelia Henrietta De Coninck remained at Santa Amalia for the remainder of their lives.

The De Coninck Bible [33], 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.

McCullough is also spelled McCulloh in early maps, and historical articles say that the latter is the original spelling and that the former was made famous by a misspelling in a U.S. Supreme Court case. Amelia seems to have remained in Baltimore living with her son Frank until her death in 1868. Woods Directory of Baltimore for the years 1864-1866 shows her living with her son Francis or Frank at 26 Cathedral. 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. 17

Amelia was interned at Greenmount Cemetery on 27 April 1868 in Lot No. 57, Area TT. Their records state that she died of pneumonia.

The departure of Amelia W. De Coninck from Santa Amalia after Fredrika Bremer’s 1851 visit followed by her arrival in Baltimore enough before 1858 to be resident in her

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15 as quoted by Archives of Maryland Online Vol. 565, p. 90
16 See Section 2.5.
17 “Relict” means “widow.”
own house before her daughter’s wedding was held there, that she 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 Francis strongly suggests she never returned to Cuba. That, in turn, suggests that her father Lemuel Taylor died between Bremer’s March 1851 visit to the Santa Amalia Estate where he was living with his daughter Amelia and her daughter Mary at the ingenio Santa Amalia, and April 1858, when Amy’s mother Jane Leep De Coninck married Augustine Heard, Jr., in Amelia’s house in Baltimore and no mention is made of Lemuel’s being there. Lemuel’s ill health and advanced age reported by Bremer reinforce this conjecture.

Francis apparently returned to Cuba after the death of his mother in Baltimore in 1868. It is not known if he 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.

The wording strongly suggests that Francis died at Sta Amalia. Francis’ sister Mary Taylor (De Coninck) Johnson also died in Cuba a few years later in 1886, so it seems likely that she did not return to the U.S. and Baltimore with her mother and that she remained at Sta. Amalia after Lemuel died and was living there when Francis returned. This interpretation is reinforced by an exchange of letters between Jane’s daughter Amy Heard and her father while Amy and Jane and Amy were visiting Santa Amalia during December 1883 and January 1884 which mention Amy’s Aunt Mary and her ill health. A letter from Augustin to Amy during that visit also refers to “Aunt Amelia,” Mary’s sister Amelia Henrietta De Coninck. It is not known when Amelia Henrietta married George Pelletier.

Frank (Francis Alexander) De Coninck was interred in his mother’s plot No. 57 at Greenmount 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 Greenmount cemetery, joining her mother and brother in Lot No. 57. Of Amelia W. and Francis De Coninck’s four children, only Jane Leep (De Coninck) Heard was still living at the end of 1884.

By the end of the nineteenth century Lemuel Taylor, his children Amelia W. and Alexander, and many of his grandchildren were also gone. The heirs of Taylor and De Coninck still owned Santa Amalia, which by the beginning of the twentieth century had become the Central Santa Amalia.
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 les ruines d’une plantation, appelée the ingenio Santa Amalia.

which I translate into English as

The I of these poems, often autobiographical, serves as a means of transmission, as in “Barracón,” a moving contemplation before the ruins of a plantation called ingenio Santa Amalia.

Immediately hooked by this description, I found in the preceding paragraph the source of the poem — p. 146 of the book Cimarroneando [56], which includes the original Spanish along with English translations. Monet-Descombey Hernández provides an introduction to the author — Georgina Herrera, who was born in Jovellanos, Matanzas Province, Cuba in 1936, and goes on to say that Herrera reconstructs the past from collected oral family histories.

The poem is quoted below \textsuperscript{18}:

\textsuperscript{18}with the permission of Dr. Sara E. Cooper, the Editor-in-Chief of the publisher, Cubanabooks Press.
5.5 The Connecticut Taylors

But what about the Taylors of Santa Amalia? Only Lemuel and Mary Taylor’s son Alexander had continued the surname since their daughters had assumed the names of De Coninck and Wiegand? Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck had remained in Santa Amalia until her departure for Maryland between 1851 and 1858. 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? Happily an old document exists which answers the question. In a census of the city of Middletown Connecticut in June 15 1860, a few months before the birth of Amy.
The family excluding three Irish servants is listed in Table 5.1. All the Taylors are female and born in Cuba and Mary Webster was born in Connecticut. The younger entries match

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>name</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Taylor</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cora W. Taylor</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisa W. &quot;</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alice E &quot;</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josephina M. &quot;</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anita G &quot;</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary R. Webster</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1: Middletown 1860 Census

up with the listing of Table 3.2 of the children of Alexander and Maria (Webster) Taylor. The only discrepancies are that A. Taylor must be Amelia C. Taylor (since Alice E and Anita G are correctly listed), but Amilia C. Taylor was born in in 1837 and hence was only 26 and not 46, but my guess is that this was a transcription error. Mary R. Webster was the senior member of the household.

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. So she was the Aunt of the the young Taylor children and a sister-in-law of Amelia W. (Taylor)
De Coninck. The name “Taylor” for descendants of Lemuel Taylor died out with this generation as the daughters of Alexander either died unmarried or married and took on their husbands name.
Chapter 6

Heard

The Heard family of Ipswich originated with Edmund Heard or Herd, 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 [54]. See also [53]. 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. The family patriarch relevant to Amy was her great-grandfather John Heard.

6.1 John Heard

The first Heard to achieve more than modest means was John Heard. John was born in Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1744 (baptized 19 May 1744). He 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.\footnote{https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/11/resources/575}

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 Museum. 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
Figure 6.1: Heard of Ipswich
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

6.2 Augustine Heard

Augustine Heard (3/30/1785-9/14/1868) was a sea captain, supercargo, marine merchant, and founder in 1840 of the China trading firm Augustine Heard and Company [112],[68]. Augustine Heard and his company play a major background role in this book and hence will usually be abbreviated to AH and 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. The company traded
a variety of goods, most famously tea, but it also involved in the opium trade [65], 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 AH was a co-founder of the Ipswich Library, where his portrait still hangs in the reading room in the original library building.

### 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, the daughter of Major Robert Farley, of Ipswich, on 20 July 1802. 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, Jr., 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Born</th>
<th>Died</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Spouse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>9/14/24</td>
<td>2/19/1894</td>
<td>1/31/1867</td>
<td>Alice Leeds (3/30/1846-9/1/1917)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>3/2/1830</td>
<td>7/21/31</td>
<td>10/28/1868</td>
<td>Mary Allen Livingston (1/5/1851-12/8/1882)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Farley</td>
<td>10/4/1833</td>
<td>3/26/1890</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Washington</td>
<td>1/31/37</td>
<td>2/4/1875</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1: Children of George W. and Elizabeth Heard: All born in Ipswich)
Figure 6.4: Sons of George Washington Heard: Albert Farley, George Farley, John, Augustine Jr.
6.4 Heard Brothers Four: John, Augustine, Albert, George

John Heard

G. W. Heard’s eldest son John never went to college, and in his autobiography written after his retirement to Ipswich [55] 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. On 31 January 1867 he married Alice Leeds. Their children were Alice Leeds Heard (b. 1868) who was known as “Elsie” to distinguish her from her mother, George Heard (1870-1872), and John Leeds Heard (1872–1930).

Following the departure of the the senior Augustine Heard from Augustine Heard & Co., his nephew John Heard led the firm until his own departure in 1852.

Augustine Heard, Jr.

Augustine Heard, Jr. was born Augustine Heard, but he was usually given the “Jr.” to distinguish him from his more famous uncle and namesake, Augustine Heard of Ipswich. He was known informally by his nickname of Gus, was born at Ipswich, Mass., 1827. He died aboard the steamship Koung Albert off Gibraltar while on the voyage home from Italy, 14 Dec. 1905.

Gus graduated from Harvard College (B.A., 1847), but had already left for China aboard the Paul Jones on 18 November 1846 to serve with his uncle Augustine Heard at Augustine Heard and Co., a trading, banking, and shipping firm which was one of the largest firms then operating in China. He initially worked in the main office at Canton, which was moved to Hong Kong in 1856 at the outbreak of the second Anglo-Chinese war. As an agent of this firm he was said to have been in 1855 the first Western businessman permitted to trade in Siam.

From 1847 to 1857, Gus worked in China, except for a return trip to the United States in 1851–52 for the benefit of his health. Like his brothers John, Albert Farley, and George Farley (born George Washington), young Gus was a senior partner of the largely family controlled firm. Gus took over leadership as managing partner of the firm in 1852 from his older brother John, and directed the company until John’s return in 1857 [55]. 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 became the firm’s representative to Europe, where he made Paris his headquarters and did 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 by King Leopold of Belgium and Gus mentions many
of Amy’s Belgian cousins in his later letters. 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.

During his time based in Paris, Gus made occasional trips to the United States, including one to Baltimore in 1858, from where he wrote to his brother John in China that he was engaged to Miss Jane De Coninck [55]. The De Coninck Bible [33] 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.

McCullough is also spelled McCulloh in Baltimore early maps.

Following their marriage, Gus took his new wife back to his position in Paris, where they had 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 [53].

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. John was frequently referred to as “John Heard, Jr” to distinguish him from his uncle John. John would grow up to be a mining engineer and a writer.

Gus brought his family back to Boston for the birth of Amy on 7 October 1860, after which the family returned to Paris.

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’ final turn at directing Augustine Heard & Company from its Hong Kong headquarters before its final collapse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Born</th>
<th>Died</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Spouse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amy</td>
<td>10/7/1860</td>
<td>5/18/1949</td>
<td>11/3/1886</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustine</td>
<td>12/17/1861</td>
<td>6/10/1862</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustine Albert</td>
<td>6/12/1866</td>
<td>3/7/1946</td>
<td></td>
<td>Katherine Lawrence Beck</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2: Children of Jane Leep and Augustine Heard, Jr.

Gus had returned to China in 1867 prior to Helen Maxima’s death to replace temporarily Albert Farley Heard. According to one source\(^2\) Gus remained managing partner

\(^2\)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 Hong Kong until replaced by the returning Albert Farley Heard in 1871 following a meeting by the four brothers in Paris in 1871 to decide on the senior partner who would initiate closing the firm down. This story seems a little strange since the Franco-Prussian War, called the war of 1870 in France, did not end until May 1871, and conditions in Paris would not have been good. Nonetheless, the timing is consistent with Augustine and his family leaving Hong Kong to travel to Paris for the meeting and then proceeding New York and eventually to Washington D.C. with his family, where Gus would be based until 1990.

Jane Leep De Coninck died 19 June 1899 and both Gus and Jane are buried in the Heard family tomb, Old North Cemetery, Ipswich.

6.4.1 Albert Farley Heard

Excerpted and edited from [54]:

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.

6.4.2 George Washington/Farley Heard

Excerpted from [54]:

GEORGE WASHINGTON (changed to GEORGE FARLEY HEARD, 1861), b. 31 Jan. 1837; bp. 20 Aug. 1837; d. unm. 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

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3They were not buried in the adjacent Highland Cemetery, as is often claimed, e.g., by Find a Grave at https://www.findagrave.com.
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 Amy Heard and her siblings

6.5.1 Amy

As previously stated, 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.

During her years in Paris, Amy was a close friend with a second cousin — Mary or Marie Parrot, the daughter of Mary or Marie (Wieland) Parrot, the daughter of of Mary West (Taylor) Wieland who was the sister of Amelia W. (Taylor) De Coninck, Amy’s maternal grandmother. Marie Parrot would later marry Henri Lhomme, whom we shall encounter later.

Amy in 1867, Paris
6.5.2 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.

6.5.3 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. The best biography I have found for him is his obituary, which 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*. It is quoted below in its entirety.

**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 his 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 this 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.

### 6.5.4 Augustine Albert Heard

[54] 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, unm, 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).

6.5.5 Washington, D.C., and Seoul

Amy and her family seem to have moved to New York City after returning to the U.S. from China via Paris around 1871 or 1872. They frequently traveled to Europe, visiting Brighton, UK, and Biarritz, France. They ended up in Newport, Rhode Island, for the summer of 1881 and then moved to Washington, DC, where they briefly stayed 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 1886 and moved to Boston. Gus and Jane remained in Washington D.C. until he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary (the equivalent of modern day Ambassador) and Consul to Seoul, Korea. As will be seen later, there she met, was courted by, and then married Max Scipio von Brandt, the German minister to Peiking.

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 meantime, 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. The family had photographic portraits in the form of cartes-de-visites (cdv) taken in Brighton, United Kingdom, in 1876 and in Biarritz, France, in 1877.

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 [11] 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 Cleaveland. 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 AH. Blaine was disposed to help, but wished to know what sort of thing AH had in mind. AH 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 AH 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 AH might not have been an easy personality to deal with. His letters generally indicate constant depression and unhappiness. Blaine then asked AH if he knew anything of “Corea,” to which AH replied he did not. Blaine offered him the position as Minister and General Consul. AH 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[66]. 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.
6.5.6 Marriage of Amy Heard and Russell Gray

On November 1886 Amy Heard married Russell Gray in Washington D.C. Russell Gray was born at Boston, 17 June 1850. He will be considered in the next chapter, but it is worth noting that their 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.

Two local newspaper articles reported on the event and are shown in Figure 6.5.6. The article on the left appeared in the Washington D.C. Evening Star on Wednesday 3 November 1886. The article on the right (found at chroniclingamerica.loc.gov) appeared in the National Republican of Washington, D.C., on 4 November 1886.

Amanda or Amalie West should be Amalia West. Justice Gray is Amy’s uncle Horace Gray Jr., then an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. William C. Endicott was the Secretary of War for whom Albert Farley Heard served as private secretary. Endicott’s daughter Mary was a close friend of Amy. Miss Gray is one of Russell’s sisters, either Elizabeth (Bessie) or Harriet. The Misses West presumably 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, or Jérôme Napoléon Bonaparte II, 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.

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4 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.
A small but fashionable company witnessed the marriage at St. John’s Church yesterday of Miss Heard, daughter of Mr. Augustus 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. Augustus Heard, jr., brothers of the bride, and Mr. Woodbury Lowery, with wedding favors of white roses and maiden hair 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 glimmer 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-satin, with tabler 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 bow beneath was clasped at the breast by a large pearl ornament. Gloves of white kid, satin; silk ferns 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 gowns 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 gante 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. Hatchford, Mrs. Archibald Hopkins, Mr. Horace Hiley, Miss Endicott, Gen. and Mrs. N. L. Anderson, Mme. Bonaparte, Mrs. Rohesm, Mrs. Don Cameron, Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Pollock, Admiral and Mrs. Rodgers, and Gen. Parker. 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 home will be in Boston.
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 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 [50],[50]. The Grays do not have as great of an impact on Amy as the Taylors, De Conincks, and Heards before her marriage to Russell in 1888 simply because they were not relations and she did not have much occasion to interact with them. So the Grays played no part in her journals and little 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 [52]. 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 [52] except perhaps for details of Billy’s son Horace’s financial misadventures.

7.1 William “old Billy” Gray

In my brother Steen’s Gray genealogy, he borrowed heavily from Edward Gray’s book William Gray of Salem, Merchant: A biographical sketch (1914) [50] and I will follow the same strategy. The hard copy of the book is rare, but it is easily found online. Still, it is worth repeating some of the prose within the manuscript to preserve continuity of
narrative and to provide diversity of style by plagiarizing from a more than century old manuscript.

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, 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, Abraham moved his family to Salem. Billy’s nickname had a popular variation, 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, seems to have been 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. Our William 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, eventually joining the British 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.

Edward Gray lists many other ships built or owned or partly owned by Billy Gray 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 of 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 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 he Salem Custom House.

I find it of interest that while Billy Gray was almost two decades older than Lemuel Taylor, 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, and both founded and served as officers for local banks.

There were also significant differences, 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 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 belligerants, 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. 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\(^1\), 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.

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\(^1\)famous for the word “gerrymander”
7.2 Children of Billy Gray

Of Billy and Elizabeth’s ten children, only a few will be mentioned here. The rest can be found in Edward Gray’s books and elsewhere.

Their first child William was born on 6/23/1783. 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 Conquerer 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.

William and Elizabeth’s sixth child was Francis Calley Gray, born 19 September 1790. He graduated from Harvard in 1809 and received his L.L.D. in 1856. He practiced law, but is primarily remembered as an art collector who brought engravings home from his travels to Europe and and left a remarkable collection of 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. 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) [30].

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. 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.

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 died a bankrupt 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.

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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 lament he is little known in the 21st century. His contributions to public gardens, 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\(^3\). Conversely, his professional career is hardly documented at all in comparison to his 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.

### 7.3 Horace Gray

Horace Gray was born on 25 August 1800. Edward Gray 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 and then worked as a commission merchant, dealing especially with the Baltic, French, and India trades [115]. During the second decade of the nineteenth century he became involved the iron business, including mining, foundries, and mills, and as a result, with the application of water power to machinery and the associated generation of that power.

\(^3\)https://friendsofthepublicgarden.org
Rather than provide a strictly chronological summary, I will begin with the best part — the Public Garden, which has an extra benefit of filling in more details of his early life.

**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/](http://www.bahistory.org/) has a wonderful 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\(^4\).

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.

\(^4\)[http://www.bahistory.org/HoraceGray.html]
CHAPTER 7. GRAY

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 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
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.

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 to 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 under-
going extensive waterfront development⁵. 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. Cotting’s group proposed a “perpetual power” system based on tidal water flow which could 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.

**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

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a dam across Charles River to enclose 480 acres of tidal flats composed mostly of swamps 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.

**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) [115]. 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 [115] 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, NY.

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 weather 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 [115], 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.

**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

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 he Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation⁶.

1824
BRMC stockholders organize Boston Water Power Co. (BWPC) to handle
water-power issues, while BRMC controls property and road issues. Stock-
holders hold equal numbers of shares in each corporation.

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 two companies. But looking to the future, the

⁶https://www.masshist.org/collection-guides/view/fa0342
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

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.

Every Silver Lining has a Cloud

By the mid 1920s, things seemed to be 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 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 led. 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” [48]. 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

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7 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.”
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 sys-
tem, 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 sys-
tem offered another opportunity for creativity. Filling the basins called for
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.

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.

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 amount-
ing 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), p. 181:

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 California 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.

**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

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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 the 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.

**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 com-
pany 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.

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.

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.

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 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:

9My Cousin Horace Gray was, like me, a grandson of Amy Heard Gray. His father was Horace Gray, Amy and Russell Gray’s older son.
**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 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.

On 3 July 1837, Horace Gray married Sarah Russell Gardner, a sister of Elizabeth Pickering (Gardner) Gray, the wife of his brother John Chipman Gray. 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 interesting 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 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.

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10https://www.cityofboston.gov/images_documents/Boston%20Public%20Garden
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 never practiced law. He worked 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.  

7.4  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.

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. There she would receive letters from her family and friends for the remainder of her life. These and her journals and my notes constitute the remaining parts of this book.

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Chapter 8

Lemuel Taylor descendants: 1909

As a closing parenthesis on Part I 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 in Figure 8 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 Death Announcement of Mary (Wieland) Parrot

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 a first
Figure 8.1: Mary (Wieland) Parrot Death Announcement
8.1. DEATH ANNOUNCEMENT OF MARY (WIELAND) PARROT

Cousin of Amelia’s daughter Jane. Mary and Philippe Parrot’s daughter Marie or Mary Parrot later became Mme Henri Lhomme. She is hence Jane Leep De Coninck’s first cousin and Amy and Max’s aunt in a general general sense, probably “Tante Mary,” mentioned later in the book.

The announcement, shown in Figure 8, 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:


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. LSXIII.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 3.12 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 have been another Wieland daughter.

**Monsieur et Madame Henri Lhomme** Madame Henri Lhomme 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 Parrot and Mary Wieland. Mary Wieland was the daughter of John Conrad Wieland and Mary West Taylor, Amelia W. De Coninck’s older sister.

Both Amy and Marie grew up in Paris and they were second cousins (their grandmothers were sisters, their mothers were cousins). According to my Uncle Horace, they were close friends from childhood. Monsieur Henri Lhomme was Louis Frédéric Lhomme. According to the Chamavert family tree, Henri Lhomme and Marie Parrot were married in Paris 8 on 5 December 1885.

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 the widow Philippe Parrot, and Henri and Susan L’Homme in Figure 8.1 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 8.1

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

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1The dates and full names come from the family tree of Katrine Chamavert at Geneanet.org, but she misspells Wieland as Wicland. Marie was married to Henri on 5 December 1885.
Figure 8.2: Left: Mme Philippe Parrot née Wieland Right: Henri Lhomme

Figure 8.3: Chateau de Mercey
the Memoires de la Société Éduenne, Nouvelle Série, Tomee Onzième² two names involving both Lhomme and the château de Mercey: Lhomme de Mercéy Bernard, au château de Mercey, 25 février 1866

Lhomme de Mercéy Gabriel, au château de Mercey, 25 février 1881

The dates were when they were elected to the scholarly society. So possibly go generations of men with the family name of Lhomme de Mercéy 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 – likely a relatively recent name for the immediate). 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 can conclusions can be drawn? It appears that the Lhomme de Mercéy family owned the Chateau de Mercey in 1901. Henri’s family name Lhomme appears to be a shortened version of that family name, and that 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.

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 20ème 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 brother John.

Russell Gray (Boston) Amy’s Husband, my paternal grandfather.

Mrs Russell Gray (Boston) Amy

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

²Société Éduenne des Lettres, Sciences et Arts, headquartered in Autun, France
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.

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.


Mademoiselle Elisabeth Helène Von Brandt] The daughter of Max and Max.

Madame Auguste Landeau et ses enfants ?

Madame Georges Landeau ?

Monsieur Julien Landeau ?

I have searched unsuccessfully to identify these Landaus for whom Mary (Wiegand) 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. This explains the presence of several Heards and Grays on the list.
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 [4]. 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 8.2. and Table 8.2

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...
Table 8.1: Santa Amalia Spanish Treaty Claim

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Claimant</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Citizenship</th>
<th>Location of claim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>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.</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>Leguanillas, Matanzas Province</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TREATY CLAIMS COMMISSION.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ground of claim</th>
<th>Amount claimed, including amendments to April 9, 1902</th>
<th>Amount claimed, including amendments since April 9, 1902</th>
<th>Award</th>
<th>Order No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>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.</td>
<td>125,463.00</td>
<td>125,463.00</td>
<td>(*)</td>
<td>1356</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Where no figures appear in the column designated “Award,” the claim was either disallowed on trial, rejected on the pleadings, or dismissed on motion.
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 (Augustine A. Heard’s wife). Strangely, Amy’s father Augustine is listed as “administratix” 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) Wiegand. I suspect that her leaving Cuba early on (probably 1834) and moving to France caused her not to be considered as an heir to Santa 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 De Coninck did. Also absent are Amelia W. De Coninck’s children other than Jane and her offspring. Specifically, Mary Taylor (De Coninck) Johnson, Amelia Henrietta (De Coninck) Pilletur, and Francis Alexander De Coninck. Francis died in 1878 in Cuba. Mary died in 1886 — probably at Santa Amalia. I do not know what happened to Amelia Henrietta, but I am guessing she died before 1901 since she was not mentioned in the claim. I have found no evidence that Mary, Francis, or Amelia H. had 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 [83], 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

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<td>247</td>
<td>Maria W. P. Randle, executrix of will of Serena C. W. Patterson; Alice E. Shoemaker, executrix of will of Maria L. Taylor; Charles E. Jackson, executor of will of Helena E. Russell; Anita E. Webster, Harold S. Webster, by Antonette H. Webster, his guardian; Edward G. Storey, Maria L. Fallon, Carolina S. Greenough.</td>
<td>New York City.............do.............Limonar, Matanzas Province.</td>
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TREATY CLAIMS COMMISSION.

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<tr>
<th>Ground of claim.</th>
<th>Amount claimed, including amendments to April 9, 1902.</th>
<th>Amount claimed, including amendments since April 19, 1902.</th>
<th>Award.</th>
<th>Order No.</th>
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<td>Destruction and loss of cane fields, buildings, and crops, plantation &quot;Ontario,&quot; 1895, 1896, and 1897, by insurgent forces.</td>
<td>20,250.00</td>
<td>20,250.00</td>
<td>(*)</td>
<td>1357</td>
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* 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: 1881–1882, 1886
Chapter 9

1881: Newport and Washington, D.C.

Amy’s brief journal notes from fall 1881 are used to introduce many of the people mentioned in the letters (and a few not heard of again). In the journals and in the subsequent letters we will encounter family members introduced in Part I.

The Journal begins in Newport, Rhode Island, but describes some of the preparations made for her move to Washington, D.C. Although many entries seem trivial, the entire journal is included because of the overall flavor it provides of how Amy spent her time.

October

Newport, R.I.
October 1st 1881

1st Sat. Not out in daytime. Dined at Mrs. Marshall O. Roberts, no one but her 2 sisters, Misses Endicott & a Miss McAllister? Afternoon to party at Ida’s. Mrs Craig Wadsworth, Miss 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. Mary Endicott was the daughter of the Secretary of the Navy and a friend of Victoria West’s who married the British Diplomat Joseph Chamberlain after his successful negotiation of the British-American Fisheries Treaty. Mrs. Craig Wharton Wadsworth is the former Evelyn Willing Peters, 1845–1885. She would later be Amy’s neighbor on Massachusetts Avenue in Washington.
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. It does appear that Ida Mason was not related to the Rev. Arthur Mason who married a daughter of Lemuel Taylor, so she was not a cousin. Ida Deacon was a Bostonian who summered in Newport.


The abbreviation “cd.” stands for “called.” The custom of calling is well described by Tehan in *Henry Adams in Love* [104], 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 you first call on them in a formal manner and they return your visit. It is a safeguard against undesirable aquanitances. 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.”


4th Tues. Dr. Brackett filled tooth up. left. Mr. Atherton Blight, Arthur Rives, Miss Dehones. To see R. Sturgis, Mrs. Rob. Cushing.

5th Wed. To see Mme Outrey. Dr. Brackett general polishing. Mrs Parkinson sent us her carriage. Cd. on Phimneys, Wales, Perkins, Parkinson. Mrs. J. C. Gray, Miss Frick cd.

Mme Outrey was the “winsome” wife of the French Minister to Washington. Mrs. John Chipman Gray was the wife of the brother of Russell Gray, later to become Amy’s 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 [51].
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, Mrs. 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.

6th Th. To see Mrs. Roberts, Endicotts, Miss McAllister. Mrs. Edw. Potter cd.

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.

7th Fri. Rita Sturgis, Mrs. A. A. Low, Miss Low, Mrs. H. Pierrepont Jr, cd. Dr. with Mr. Warren.

7 October 1881 was Amy’s 21st birthday.

Abiel Abbot Low (1811–1893) of Salem 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. Amy’s father’s uncle Augustine Heard had been a partner of Russell & Co. (1831–1836) before founding his own company, Augustine Heard & Co. [68, 112, 43] Russell & Co. was the largest and Augustine Heard & Co. the second largest American trading firms in China. A. A. Low formed his own company A.A. Low & Brothers and eventually became the leading China and Japan trader in silks and tea. He also shared in in financing the first Atlantic cable and in the building of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad through West Virginia. Rita Sturgis is possibly either 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).

8th Sat. Papa came in the night. Mrs. Wetmore, Miss M. Whiting, Ida Deacon, Mrs. Cunningham, Miss Hurd cd. I on the Providence. Smith’s, M. Griswold, Ida where several girls came to aft. tea. Maud Legdard drove me home.

It is possibly coincidence, but there was also a partner of Russell & Company named John N. Alsop Griswold, possibly a relation to Minnie Griswold.

Oct 9th Ch. Papa to N.Y. by night boat.

10th Mon. Revd Potter, Min. Griswold, Emily Upton, Miss Gray, Mrs Kenuce

Miss Gray is likely one of Harriet or Elizabeth (Bessie) Gray, (half) sisters of John Chipman and Russell Gray.
11th Tues. Large girl’s lunch at the Russells. Cd on Whiting, Mrs Boit, Eyre, W. Wadsworth, Sands. The misses Mason cd.

12th Wed. Mamma to lunch at the Rodmans. Mrs Livingston, Woodsworth, Endicotts cd.

13th Th. To see Mrs. W. Forbes at Mrs Pomeroy’s. out. Cd. on Mrs Dr. King, Mrs Rich. Willing here & Mrs. Terry & Daisey! To see Mrs. 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 Austine 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. Mrs. J. C. Gray was Anna Sophia Lyman “Nina” Gray. She became a close friend of Oliver Wendell Holmes.

14th Fri. Mr. & Mrs. Forbes & Miss Pomeroy cd. Dr. with Mr. Warren. Cd on Miss Madeleine Mixter.


16th S. Ch. cd. on Mrs. & Miss Minot, dined 1.30 at the Pomeroy’s. Walked with Miss Erving. aft. tea. at Miss Howard’s. Papa left by night boat.


18th Tues. Drove to Paradise & Purgatory

19th Oct. Mrs & Miss Phinney, Min. Griswold here. Drove with Miss Phinney.

20th Th. Cd on Smiths & Mrs. Stanard.


22nd Sat. Drove with Mr Warren.


25th Tues.  Miss Ida Mason & Perkins Cd.& Mrs Russell Forsythe.

26th Wed.  Miss G. King. Mme de Vaugrigneuse cd.


The Lessing was a ship of 3,496 gross tons, length 375.1ft x beam 40ft, one funnel, two masts, iron hull, single screw, speed 13 knots, with accommodation for 90-1st, 100-2nd and 800-3rd 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.

28th Fri.

29th Sat.  Papa home. Mrs and Misses Austin, Miss Smith cd.

30th Sun.  Ch. to say gbye to Miss Jane Stuart, Griswolds. Mamma dined at Mrs. D. King Sr. (French deb)

30th Mon.

November

Wed. 2nd  To say g.b. & leave cards at Mrs. Blight’s & Perkins, Bruens, Tweedy, Pomeroy, Ida & King, old King, Cunningham, Derby, Calvert, Forsythe, Redmond, E. Potter

2nd W.  Left Newport by night boat.

3rd 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.

4th Fri.  To see the cousins Taylor ¹ & Schönberger. ²  
Shop’g. Mr. & Mrs. J.C. Gray cd.

¹Likely Josephine (Josie) M. Taylor and Alice E. Taylor, daughters of Alexander Taylor and Maria Louisa Webster Taylor.
²John H. Shoenberger married Alice E. Taylor the previous year.
5th Sat. Shoppping. To see Mrs. Roberts & Endicotts. Papa, Mamma & I dined at Mrs. 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 excel-
 lent. (Take off of the aesthetic craze ).

Bunthorne was a satire of Oscar Wilde.

6th Sun. To see the Rouths & Mrs. Baldy Smith.

Major General William F. "Baldy" Smith was a civil war commander with a reputation
for being something of a martinet.

7th Mon. Mrs. Ch. Minot cd. Drove to Central Park with Mrs. Roberts. dined with her, 2
Endicott sisters, a brother Robert & Miss McAllister.

8th Tues. Shop. in the morn. Shops close at noon, election day.

9th W.

10th Th. Left N.Y. about 10AM. Arrvd Washington about 5. Mama, Max & I to Mrs. Penn’s
Boarding House 1800 F. because the house taken on Mass. Av. not finished.

11th Fri. Ethel Robeson came in the mf & took Max off for the day. Mama & I lunched
at Mrs Hopkins with Mrs. Craig Wadsworth (staying there). Then to see the house
Mass. Av., down town with Mr. Hopkins to the gas fixtures, to Mme Outrey’s, the
Rob. McLanes. Mr. & Mrs. Robeson & Outreys here.

Ethel is possibly the daughter of George Maxwell Robeson (1829–1897), a lawyer, New
Jersey official, and U.S. Secretary of the Navy (1869–1877). He was a Republican congress-
man from New Jersey (1879–83). Max was Amy’s younger sister, Helen Maxima Heard
(1868–1937), who was Amalia West’s age and was also to be 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 refered to herself (or to Max) as Amy’s “Second Bébé.”

Robert Milligan McLane (1815–1898) was in the House of Representatives, was Gov-
ernor of Maryland from 1883–1887, and later minister to France.

Sat. 12th To see Mrs. Robeson. Max there to stay. Mama & I dined at the Outrey’s. only
Mr. Lowndes.
Mentioned frequently in the letters of Mrs. Henry Adams, 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. 13th**  To St. John’s Ch. with Miss McLane (Jinny)- To see Mme Outrey & stayed to din.

**Mon. 14th** Breakfast Jinny McLanes. In town with Mama. Mrs. Philaino cd. ordered books for me.

**Tues. 15th** Mrs. Davenport cd. & Mrs. Andersen Williamson. To the R. McLanes.

Jinny Davenport was referred to by Mrs. 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 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 figured prominently in Amy’s life as well.

**Wed. 16th** Not out. Lieut. Davenport cd. & Minnie Stout.

**Th. 17th** Mrs. John Davis, Mrs. Hopkins, Mrs. Adams, cd.

Mrs. 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. Mrs. Adams is Mrs. Henry Adams (1843–1885), probably the 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”[45]. 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 18th** To the house Mass. Av. Cd. with Mme Outrey & Mama on Mrs. Don Cameron, Blaine, I to the McLanes, to dine with Mrs. Davenport at Wormdays. (Cont Lippe & Mrs Bosh of the Spanish Leg.) Aftern. with Mrs. D. and son to Miss Carisa Garewell Concert. Not sympathetic, though fine voice.
Mrs. 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 “Mr. Corruption” of the Republican Party and is famous for the comment that “an honest politician 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* [104].

James G. Blaine was Secretary of State; he would be replaced by Frederick T. Frelighuysen 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.

Mrs James G. Blaine’s letters provide, after those of Mrs 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 Mrs Blaine may be found in Bradford’s *Wives*. [13]

Count Lippe is Count Lippe-Weissenfeld, a counselor of the Austria-Hungary Legation.

**Sat. 19th** To choose gas fix. with Phillips. To see Mrs. Phillips (Levy) & Mrs. Robeson. Papa came fr. N.Y.

**Sun. 20th** To St. John’s with Mr. Davenport. To see Minnie Stout.

In her letter from Mrs. Henry Adams to her father dated 20 November, Mrs. Adams mentions that
We are going to have a Thanksgiving dinner as well as you: Mrs. Augustine Heard and a beautiful daughter; the Lewenhaupts; Miss Beale; Count Lippe; and Kasson of Iowa, if he accepts. Mr. 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, Mrs. 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” must be 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.

Emily Beale was a constant companion of Elizabeth Cameron’s. 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 Mrs. McKim & dine with her at 5 O’clock. Mrs. K. grandchildren & sister Miss Cordelia Hollins. To see old Mrs. Chatard, Mrs. Grace, the Lydia Howards. Greenmount to Grandmama’s grave.

22d Tues. To 1777 Mass. Av. A.M. Mama & I out with Mme Outrey in the P.M. to see wall papers. Call on Mrs. J. Davis. Mlle de Chambrun, Mrs Davenport, Mrs. Adams, the R. McLanes. Count & Countess Lewenhaupt, Swedish Minister. Count & Countess de Noqueiras, Portuguese min. called yesterday.

Mlle de Chambrun is Thérèse de Chambrun, the daughter of the Marquis de Chambrun, the French counsel before the French and American Claims Commission. Mme Mathilde de Nogueiras was the daughter of the Portuguese minister of 1878–1888, Visconde das Nogueiras.

23rd W. Rained all day & not out.

24th Th. Thanksgiving Ch. Papa, Mama, & I dined at Mrs Henry Adams with Count & Countess Lewenhaupt, Miss Beal, Ct Lippe & Capt. Dewey who took me in.

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3 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 and Isaac McKim. The Baltimore photo album contains many photos labeled as being McKims, in Duncan McKim.

4 Grandmama is Amelia W. DeConinck.
Mrs. 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. Mr. 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, Mrs. 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.

The Washington political novel Democracy [1] with its characters based on leading figures of the time (including James G. Blaine) was attributed to many authors. The book had in fact been written by Henry Adams.

28th Mon. Down town with Mama._ with Min. St. to dress-maker Jackson _to see Mrs. Dr. P. Riske. Mrs. Adams with Mama._ Mrs. Blaine, Miss Knight, Miss Mixtur cd.

Tues. 29th Mama in town with Mrs Hopkins & back to lunch with her. Miss Beal, Mrs & Miss Pattison, cd. To Miss Knight’ s. Mr. Davenport & Babcock came in after din.

Mrs and Miss Pattison are probably Serafina Catherine (Webster) Pattison and her daughter Maria W. Pattison. The Websters were neighbors of the Taylors in Cuba. and Maria Louisa Webster was the wife of Alexander Taylor. Hence the Pattisons can be considered as “Taylor Cousins.” Serafina was the sister of Maria Louisa (Webster) Taylor, the wife of Alexander Taylor, the brother of Jane De Coninck’s mother. She was born in Cuba, 10/29/1818. She married Thomas Pattison a young officer in the U.S. Navy in 1850. By 1881 he 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 [7]. Admiral Pattison died in Staten Island, NY, 1891. Serafina then lived in New Brighton, Long Island, NY.

Wed. 30th To the house & Mrs. Hopkins.
December

Thurs. 1st Dec. Mamma, Max & I dined at Ms. O. at 6. to Willard’s hall aftern. to sell at her stalls in a fair for St. Matthews Church. Cd with Jinny McL. on the Hunts (Sec.) Miss Beal, Mrs. Emory, Mrs. Cameron, Mrs. 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.

Friday 2nd Breakf. at J. Mrs. L. With Miss Hunt. Mrs. Ross Ray, Ct Lewenhaupt cd.

Sat. 3rd To Georgetown wharf with Mama & Mrs. McLean. To Mrs. Phillips in the af. Mrs. Schuyler Crowninshield.

Sun. 4th To Ch. Major Ferguson walked home with me. Cd. on Brs Roass Ray. Mme. Outrey. In the af to Mrs. Robeson’s Reception. Mrs Hale, Mr. Boutrell, Woodbury Blair, Bliss, Kasson, presented & Miss Warden.

Mon. 5th At the house all day_ Lunched at Mrs. Hopkins & down town for papers. Mrs. Blaine, Mrs. A. Bliss Cd. (_ment to Mr John Forbes). Letter from Minnie Griswold ??? her corsage.

Dec. 6th tues. To the house in the morning. Lunch at the Knight’s with Mrs. Hopkins, Miss Mixter, Mlle de Noqueiras & Mlle Martinez. It being Miss K.’s recep. day, stayed till aftern. Mr. Ogdens drove me home.

Miercoles 7 A la nueva casa todo el dia. Comé en ca. de la Señora John Davis con Mrs Robeson, Miss Stout, Mr Phillips who took me in. Woodbury Blair, the expert, Dr Hamilton, Mr Robeson – ??6 el Presidente Arthur, muy tarde, como nos queriamos marchar y quedemos un rato pero el me habló.

Wednesday 7 At the new house all day. Ate at the house of Mrs. John Davis with Mrs. Robeson, Miss Stout, Mr Phillips who took me in, Woodbury Blaire, the expert, Dr. Hamilton, Mrs Robeson – met the President, Arthur, very late, as we wanted to walk and stay a moment, but he talked to me.

The President is Chester A. Arthur, who became president following the assassination of James A. Garfield.
**Jueves 8.** Mr. & Mrs. Worden (Rear Admiral) nos hicieron v. y el señor W. Hallett Phillips, Mrs & Miss ??? (secretary navy)

**Thursday 8.** Mr. & Mrs. Worden (Rear Admiral) visited us and Mr. W. Hallett Phillips, Mrs & Miss ??? (secretary navy)

**Fri 9th**

**Fri. 9th** In the ??? to look for the $50 that the old Mrs. P.C. Brooks sent me. Lunched at the home of Mrs. Hopkins as each day of the week. Miss Knight called & Mrs. & Miss Hack.

**Sat. 10th** Mrs. Henry Adams cd. Dined at the French Legation. 18 people. Mme Outrey was sick and could not appear and Countess Lewenhaupt took her place. The de la Barca’s (the Spanish Minister), de Zamacona (Mexican Min.), Mrs Martinez and her daughter, Miss de Noqueiras, Mrs. Berard among others was there, and others whose names escape me.

Francisco Barca del Corral was Spanish Minister to Washington from 1881 through 1883. Mrs Henry Adams referred to his wife as being “stout, jolly, and common.”

**Sunday 11.** To church. I returned with Mr. 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), Mrs. Strong and Belmont.

**Monday 12.** All day in the new house as is customary. Lunch here with Mr. Hopkins.

**Tuesday 13.** " " Lunch here. The de Zamacona’s (Mexican min.) visit.

**Wednesday 14.** " "

**Thursday 15.** " "

**Friday 16.** We left Mrs. Penn’s house at 1800 F. and came here, 1777 Massachusetts Av. M. and Mme. Outrey came for the afternoon and Mrs. Hopkins to give advice on the general arrangements. Papa went away to N.Y. Min. Stout also came.
Saturday 17. Helene left the Robeson house and came here.

Sunday 18. To the Church of the Epiphany with Mrs. Hopkins. In the afternoon with Mama to see Mme Outrey, Bina and her daughter. Mrs Phillips and Miss Lee, Jinny McLane and Ginny Pendleton. In the evening Mamma and I went with the Hopkins, Miss Lee, Mr. Lowndes & Ch. Russell to the Loring house and found it fastidious. We concluded the night Mrs. 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 [11]. 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 [70]:

The man so admired by his contemporaries was, in fact, a splendid example of the venality of our Gilded Age.

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 seem to 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.

**Monday 19.** I did not leave the house except to go to a grand reception in the evening at Mrs. Blaine’s for the presentation to the diplomatic core of her husband’s successor, Mr. Frelinghuysen, the new Secretary of State. I was presented to him.

**Tuesday 20.** Did not go out. The Misses Ogden visited us.

**Wednesday 21.** Did not go out. Mrs. Craig Wadsworth lunched here. Visited by Mr. Frelinghuysen and the Vicount de Noqueiras, among others.

**Thursday 22.** Visited by the Lowndes and W. Blair and by Mrs. Keever?

**Friday 23.** Bought various things for Christmas Eve.

**Saturday 24.** Mrs. Wadsworth lunched with us as every day of the week.

**Sunday 25.** Mama gave me a bracelet of hers (?? and cameos) ?? gloves and a ?? of resin. 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 a game. 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 Mr. F. Roca de Togores. The Loring’s with Papa.

In a letter written on Christmas Day by Mrs. 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.

**Monday 26.** Miss de Nogueiras visited. To Mrs. Emory, Schuyler Crowninshield, Temple.

**Tuesday 27.** Visits to the Ogdens, Beales, Irvings, McKeever, Blaine, Worden, McLanes, Ferguson, Schenk, Davenport. By John King.

**Wednesday 28.** To see Mrs. J. Davis, Mrs & Miss Slack, Min. Stout, Jenny Pendleton, Mrs. Hopkins. Mrs. C. Wadworth lunched with us. Visits by Mrs. Loring, Miss Loring, Mrs. Bancroft, Jinny McLane, Miss Cameron, Mr. Fox. Mrs Ross Ray and Mrs. Alb. Ray. Mr. Davenport & W. Phillips.
**Thursday 29.** To the Christmas Eve tree at the French Legation, 3–5.

**Friday 30.** Mrs. W. lunched with us. Visit by Mrs. Peter Parker and her son. Mlle de Chambrun, Mrs. Adams came to ask me the favor of eating with them at the place of Mrs Cameron and to go to the theatre to see “The Vokeses” in “Cousin Joe” and “Fun in a fog.” Amusing. It was a party consisting of the two Adams, Mr. & Mrs. de Bildt, also Miss Beale ate with us, but she did not go to the theatre because her mother was sick.

In Mrs. Henry Adams Letters she writes on 1 January 1882

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 Mr. 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.

**Saturday 31.** To see Mrs de Nogueiras and Hopkins.
Chapter 10

1882: Washington, D.C.

Amy spent most of her 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.

January

Sun. 1 January  To church. After to the Levys and Mrs. ?? and Mme Outrey. Mrs. Wodl. Blair and W. Hopkins here. Papa to N.Y.

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 Mrs. J. Miller, Lowndes, and Everett. Left cards here: Vindes, Boca, of the Spanish legation, Babcock, Clover, Henneberger, Strong, Mancomb, Paine, 2 Phillips, Lowndes, Upshur, Ferguson, King, Adams, Allen, Buchanan, Stephens.

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.

T. 3 Mdlle de Noqueiras here. Went with her to see Miss West, Mme & Mmle Medina, Fava, G. Lorings, Lee King, MrsW & Miss Lippett, Mis Dodge & Miss Turnbull called. Lunch with Mrs Wadsworth here.

This is the first evidence of a meeting between Amy Heard and Victoria West. Victoria had recently arrived 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* [99] 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 times. Despite her initial social handicap, Victoria would prove to be one of the most clever and adept hostesses in Washington of the time.

Victoria and Amy were roughly the same age. Victoria spoke little English and Amy was fluent in French, having been raised in Paris while her father served as an agent for the China trade. Their common language and age was a sufficient bond to form a friendship. In March “Miss West” became “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. Mrs Henry Adams found his wife the Baroness “lively and amusing.”

**Sun. 8** To see Miss Hopkins, D. King, Adams. The evening at the Robesons with Davenport and Mama who came to look for us and return with us.

**M. 9** To see Mrs Bancroft, Mr Keever. Mr West, Miss Long, Mrs Phelps again. Danced at the house of the Mexican minister (Zamacona). Lunched with Mrs Wadsworth.

**T. 10** To see Mrs Cox. Mme and Mlle de Barca & Mathilde de Nogueiras here. Dined with the Countess Lewenhaupt. Mr de Meissner took me to the table. Went to Mr. and Mrs. Henry Adams, Mme de Meissner, Mr and Miss West, Miss Hooper, Miss Beal, Viliasons ? de Bildt, Boca.

**W. 11** Went to the Frelinghuysens. Count & Mrs Upshaw, Mrs Blaine came. Mrs Robesons theatre party to Miss Pratt. saw “Our Bachelors” Robson & Crane. amusing__ Supper at Mrs B.

**Thursday 12** Aristarqui Bey, Mme & Mathilde de N, Capt. & Mrs McCalla, Howells, Storeys here. Mrs C. W. lunched with us. To see the Pendletons, Zamacones, Bayards. Dinner for 16 given by Col. Bliss to Mama, Sen. &Mrs Hale, Mr & Mrs Hopkins, Gen. &MrsMcKeever, Miss L. Frelinghuysen, Jinny McLane, Mrs. G. Loring dined. Ct Benst, Aristarqui, Mr Conduzcó, Mr Hopkins at the table.

**F. 13** In the city for the morning. Bad weather and I did not go out in the afternoon. Mrs. Hopkins and Mrs. Lowndes came.
Sat. 14 Mrs J. Ricketts Roca here. To see the Countess Lewenhaupt, Sherman, Upshaw, Kearney, Howell, Alt. Ray, Outrey. Max vaccinated by Dr Wales.

Sun. 15 Church in the morning. Evening at Casa Nogueiras.

M. 16 Lunched with Ginny McLane, Jinny Pendleton, Miss Sherlock, Miss Shenck. Later, with Mama to see the Pattisons, the Navy Yard, Mrs. Bancroft Davis, McCalla. Mr. and Mme. de Fava, Gen. Mrs. and Miss Hunter, Mrs. Phillips & Miss Levy, Mrs. Lee Phillips, Mrs. Barbour, Miss Dangerfield, Mrs. Stewart here. At Casa Pendleton for the evening.

Notes: Bancroft Davis was nominated Assistant Secretary of State in December 1881, a position Mrs. 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.

Tues. 17 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.

W. 18 In the city with Mama. To see Dr. Pope. Mme. Outrey, Mrs. and Miss Rives, Cap. de la Chére, Mr. Bérard to see us.

Notes: 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 [78], about whom we shall hear more later. Her future husband, Lord Curzon, spent three days during August 1982 at “the house of a Mrs 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 1830’s.

T. 19 Mrs. & Miss McMeney, Mr. & Mme. deBille, Dr. & Mrs. Pluwer, Mrs. Lam. Palmer, Jam. Palmer, Mme. Pollock, Mme. de Chambrun, the Nog. here. To see the ???, Hunter, Stuart, Phelps, Knight, Delany, L. Palmer.

F. 20 To see Mrs. Ricketts, Miss Turnbull, Mrs. & Miss Rives. Danced the “Bachelor German” with Babcock.
Sat. 21  It rained all day, but ??? with Mrs. Hoskins. Mrs Robeson, Miss Pritt, Mme de Bildt came here.

Sun. 22  ??? Visit by Mrs. Lowndes.

Mon. 23  With Mama to see Dr Pope (second time). To Mrs Pollok, Mullen, & Grace. Visits by the Jays, Outreys, Schuylers, Coxes, Frelinghuysens, Shermans, Howels, Martinez, Biddles, Bancroft Davis, Storey. 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 Counsel at Bucharest. His wife was the former Gertrude Wallace.

Tues. 24  To see the Biddles, Mrs. Lamb. Palmer and in the city. Mrs. Mackely and Lorings here.

Wed. 25  To buy boots for Helena. To see Mathilde.

Thurs. 26  Mrs. B. Morse here, Mathilde. To see Mrs. 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. Montague. I was conducted to the table of the Minister Mr. West. After dinner, dance.

Fri. 27  To consult Dr. Loring for my eyes. And Mama for her ears. To See Mrs. Schuyler and Mrs. Jay. Mama fell on the stairs and sprained her foot so badly that she will have to stay in bed for several days.

Sat. 28  Mrs. Robeson, Miss ???, Mrs. and Miss Pitts, Mrs. and the Misses Emory, Cte Lippe, Mrs. Wadsworth here. I to the McCeneys, Barcas, Hopkins. Dinner given for Mama at the French Legation. With Papa and Mrs. Wadsworth. Also Mr and Mrs Schuler Mr and Mrs Jay, Misses Loring, Ginny McL., Mathilde de N., Baron Arinos, Mrs. de Meissner, Perry Belmont, Villarmo?, ??? took me to the table.

Sun. 29  To Church. Lunched at the Nogueiras’. with Count Brunetti later to the customary party. Papa came to find me and take me to the Robeson’s.

M. 30  With Mathilde to Miss West, Aldis, Waites, Millers, Emory. The Brownes, ??? Palmers, Pendletons, Lewenhaupts, F. Adams, Babcock, Miss Porter, Misses Markol, Mr. Blaine.

Morrison R. Waite of Ohio was chief justice from 1874 through 1888.

T. 31  I was sick, stayed in bed. Snowed all day.
February

W. 1 Feb. Did not go out except for the evening to an “at home” at the Bancrofts to which Mrs Wadsworth took me. The Blaines, Dodge, Upshurs, Miss Lee, Ogdens, Josie Taylor ¹, Carters, Pattisons², Miss Witherspoon came here.

Th. 2 To receive with the Pendletons. Mathilda and Miss Turnbull here, Ginny McL. and her niece (???).

F. 3 To see the Cutts, Logans, Porters, Ross Bays, Rathbones, Hooker, Grace, Miss and Mr L. and Ginny. In the evening to the “Bachelor’s German” where I danced with a Taft from Cincinatti, a friend of Mrs Pendleton, who took me there.

Sa. 4 Snowed without stopping for a moment all day. Nevertheless I lunched with Mathilda de N. and stayed with her until after 5, playing piano. Papa returned from N.Y.

Sun. 5 To the party (tertulia) at the Nogueiras with Señora Martínez and Josefina.

M. 6 With Papa “to the House” where ??? Miss Lucy Frelinghuysen, Mrs Oliver and her sisters Rathbones, Mrs McLane, Hale, Kasson, Lowndes, Belmont. We all lunched with Mr. Kasson. Afterwords we went to see the machines underneath for heating, provisions, etc. Then I went with Papa to see Mrs Basbour (??) and Miss Dangerfield. Mrs Bancroft, Ogdens, Mrs Robeson and Minnie Stout, Miss Levy, Peabodys, Crowninshields, Mr R. Rofles and Lowery here.

T. 7 Miss Hooker, Mrs Dr G. Loring, Mrs Boswell (??) Schuyler, Beale, Arth. Dester here (and Mrs Ruth, Dr Gunnell). To see Mrs F. Adam, Rathbones, Duncans, Biddles, Peabodys, Crowninshields. Mama left her room for the first time since the 27th, to go to dine with Mrs Wadsworth. Later Papa returned from N.Y.

W. 8 To see Mathilda, Josefina, Peabodys, Browne, Aulick Palmer, Frelinghuysens, Hunts. Here Dr James Palmer, Schericks, Ginny McL. Monday I received from Juan a precious little edition of “Undine.”

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

¹Josephine M. Taylor born to Alexander Taylor and Maria Louisa (Webster) Taylor in Coliseo.
²Mrs. Pattison was a sister of Alexander Taylor’s wife Maria Louisa Webster.
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 Mifflen [73]. 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 1838 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 the 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.

**Wed. 9** It rained all day and I did not go out until the evening for a dance at the British Legation with Mama. Mrs. Fanny Peabody who was here for several days at Mrs. Crowninshield’s danced the cotillion with Charon. Misses Aldis and Schutz here.

**F. 10** Mrs Ashton Gordon-Cumming, Duncans & Mr Kasson here. To see Posie Mason, Miss Mercer, McFreley, Outrey, Miller (Hopkins). For the evening at the Lorings (Commissioner).

Posie Mason is mentioned in the letters of Mrs. Henry Adams and listed in the index as “Mason, Harriet ‘Posey’. On 12 February 1882 she 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 Pendletons.

George Loring was the Commissioner of Agriculture.

**Sat. 11** To see the Hopkins, Ashtons, Gordon-Cummings, McCeney, tea-party at the “Wis-ery”. Peabodys, Biddles, Mrs L. Carter, Dr. Shirley Carter, Miss Lela Mercer, Mrs Bingham, Ricketts, P. Parker, Miss Lee, Miss Stoughton, J. Kings, Lippetts, Dodge, Mr Ray, Rogers, Kasson here.

**Sun. 12** Mr Arthur Dexter, Mrs Phillips, Misses Levy, ???, Stout, McLane, Mr Strong called. High tea at the Shenks with the Hales and General Smith. And later at the Nogueiras’.
CHAPTER 10. 1882: WASHINGTON, D.C.

M. 13 Mrs 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 Markol musical and to the Pendleton’s.

T. 14 To see Miss West, Mrs Gitting, Miss Mild, Mrs W. Moore, Prestons, Robeson, Knight. Baron de Arinos, Mrs Peabody, Mr Blaine, W. Phillips & Mrs Hannah ? here. For the evening the last German of the “Tuesday Club.”

W. 15 To play the piano with Mathilde from 10 to 12. Lunched with Ginny McL. (Misses West, Lela Mercer, M. Pendleton, Posie Mason, Biddle, L. Williams. Mr & Mrs W. Moore, Mrs Davenport, General Beale, Mrs Oldfield, Mrs Big. Lawrence, Misses Chapman & Mercer. For the evening, at the Wadsworth’s.

Th. 16 Lunched at the Lawrence’s. Misses Chapman, Mercer, Biddle, L. Emory, J Pendleton, L. Williams & Mrs Arth. Dexter. To see Mrs Robeson who was sick all the week. For the evening at the Frelinghuysen’s. Misses Waite, Bissel, Meigs here.

F. 17 To see Mrs Gittings, Outrey, final Bachelors German with Strong. Ida arrived from N.Y. and (???) with us. Chacon, Boca, Ida, P. Mason, J. Pendleton here.

Sat. 18 Lunched at the Pendletons. To see Miss Turnbull of N.Y., Ida, Mrs Hopkins_ Mrs Sally McLane, Mme and Mlle de Chambrun, Miss Miller (Justice), Mrs Story, Mr Paine, Aristarchi, Count Lewenhaupt, Mrs 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).

Sun. 19 It rained so much that I did not go to church. In the afternoon to see Mrs Willie Emory and for the evening at the Robesons with Papa and the Minots. Mrs Gitting and Ida and Maj Booth here.

Mon. 20 Dined at the Ogdens. The Minots took me to the dance at the British Legation.

Tues. 21 For the evening at the Bancroft Davis’. Lunched with Mrs Wadsworth. Tea at the Wisery. To see Mrs Gittings, Ida, Miss Lee_ Bénard. Papa returned from N.Y.

W. 22 Ash Wednesday_ At Church. Josef. Martinez, Ida, Dr Palmer, Lamb. Gittings, Mr. & Mrs Hopkins here.
Th. 23 To see Dr Loring for the fourth time. He burned my eyes with silver nitrate which caused them much pain all day, more than the alum. Also he reapplied electricity. Mr. G. Dorr and A. Rives here. To see Mrs. D. King and her sister Miss Rives, Mrs Carter, Lawrence, Chapman, Mercer, H. Adams, Meigs, Brewster, Blaine, Ogden, Markol, McLanes, 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 Arcadia National Park* by Ronald H. Epp (2015) provides an excellent biography of George Dorr and his founding of Arcadia National Park, which turns out to be an important location in Amy’s life. She becomes engaged to Russell Gray Mary Dorr’s house, called the Old Farm, which later becomes part of Acadia National Park, as is told in Chapter 11.

Mary Dorr was a distant cousin of Amy’s future husband Russell Gray. Mary 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.

F. 24 To play the piano and lunch with Mathilde. To see Mrs J. Davis, M. Storey, Bingham, Ida, the Church. For the evening at the Wadworths’.

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. Gunnel, Prestons (Haiti).

Sun 26 At Church. Ida lunched with us. For the evening at the Robesons.

Mon. 27 Did not go out. Mrs Gordon Cumming came.

Tues. 28 Did not go out. Mrs J. Morris and Miss Lee, Dr and Mrs Ch. Carter, Mr & Mrs H. Adams, Mr & Mrs Ch. Dorr, Mr & Mrs L. Irving, Mrs J. Lodge, Mrs Schlesinger, Mrs 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 cousin of Russel Gray), 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 Mrs Jack [105] and Isabella Stewart Gardner of Fenway Court [23].

Mrs Schlesinger is possibly the wife of Sebastian Schlesinger, who according to Mrs James G. Blaine was a “foreign banker.”

**March**

**W. 1** Did not go out. Ida and Miss Ogden came.

**Th. 2** Gin. McL., Mrs Hopkins, Wadsworth here. Misses Williamson. To see Mathilde, who was sick. To the Lippitt’s to hear the general read “Vatel,” com. in one act for (???). In the evening at the Freylinghuysen’s. Papa arrived from N.Y.

**Fri. 3** Fifth time that I went to see Dr. Loring. To say goodbye to Ida, to make visits with Victoria West. Mrs Blaine and Miss Dodge, Dr 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.

**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. Alice’s father is the Rev. George Leeds, D.D.

**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 Thursday** I can see to read and write but my eyes are still too weak. Yesteday I went to Camera with Mrs Jay. The Mrs McLane, Kasson and Tucker came. (???) the Chinese question. Mrs Robeson and Emily Ogston, Miss Loring, and Miss Toughton came here. Mrs Cameron, Mrs Davenport.

**24 F.** Mr. Blaine and Mathilde came. For the evening at the Millers with Josefina Martinez. Did not go out.
25 Sat. Cap. de la Chère, Mrs Miller (Hopk), Schuyk, Lowery. 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 March Papa went away for Cherry Creek.

April

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. Mrs Hopkins, Woodworth, Blanchford, and Miss Jones Grattan and Miss Carter, Mr Blaine, Mrs Jay came.

18 Sat. Lunch at the Pendletons’. Today came Mrs Schoenberger, Miss Torrey, Liz. Linzee, Ct Lewenhaupt.

Th. 20 April Permission from the doctor to do as much as I wish. Lunch with Lola Mercer. To see Mrs Jay and her sister Sybil Kane, Mrs Judge Miller. Came here: Mr Blaine, Mr and Mrs Ferguson, Mrs Park. For the evening to the Freylinghausens.

F. 21 Lola Mercer, Miss Emory, Mrs Hill, Maud Ledyar, Mrs Hale. Left with Mama for the morning. With Emilie Ogston in coach for the afternoon.

Sat. 22 To the grand marke with Mama and Miss McCalla from 10 until 11. For the afternoon to see Count Lewenhaupt, Miss Eustis, Mrs Phillips.

Sun. 23 It rained, hailed, and snowed all day. I did not go out. Mrs J. Rogers came.

Rear Admiral John Rogers, USN, (1812–1882) was the superintendent of the Naval Observatory.

Mon. 24 Victoria West lunched here. Went out with Mama to make a visit to Mme de Struve, Rives, J. Carter, de Chambrun, Pendleton, Gittings, Lee, Rogers, Moltey, Wales. For the evening at the Hopkins to meet Mr and Mrs Drummond.

T. 25 Lunched at the Hales. (Mrs Craig & Mrs James Wadsworth, Miss Frelinghuysen, Turnbull, Travers, Gin. McL. To see Mrs Miller (Wise) Knight, Cropper, Mrs and Miss Frelinghuysen, Mr and Mrs Drummond.

W. 26 Lunch at the Blaines. Mr and Mme Gardini (Genster) who still sings, Mr and Mrs Drummond, Mr and Mrs Whitney, Mrs Cameron, Mrs Arch. Hopkins, Miss Lawrence Hopkins, Capt Bartell. For the evening danced at the British Legation. Mrs Wadworth and Miss Aldis came.
CHAPTER 10. 1882: WASHINGTON, D.C.

Th. 27 Mme de Struve, Dr and Mrs Shirley Carter Mr Lowndes, Ginny, Josefina Martinez with whom I went out by coach. Mrs Pattison.

F. 28 Visit to the Turnbulls.

Sat. 29 For the evening at the Hopkins to see two Indians, Zuni chiefs, to hear Mr Cushing, who had become one of them to study their customs and literature, and discuss with General Armstrong the Indian question. There were no young people, except senators and other politicos with several of their women. Lunched at the Robesons. Paid visits to Miss Eustis, Mrs Lawrence Hopkins, Countess Lewenhaupt. Mme de Nogueiras here and Mr. 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.

Sun. 30 Mr Blaine came. Emily Ogston came to say good-bye. For the evening at the Lorings'.

May

M. 1 May For the evening at (???). By coach with Col. Bliss.

T. 2 For the evening at the White House, with the Hopkins.

W. 3 Mrs W. Lowery, Miss Loring, Mrs Richard Bingham. (??? to read with Josefina Martinez.

Th. 4 To see mrs Hale, Blaine, Emory, Mercer, Chapman. Dined at the Lewenhaupts. (Mr & Mme de Struve, Mr & Mme de Vava, Mr & Mme Outrey, (he conducted me) Villarmon, Bening, Aristarchi Bey) Josefina here to read.

F. 5 Did not go out.

S. 6 "

Sun. 7 " Baron Schaeffer and Mr. W. Blair came.

M. 8 In the city with Mama. The Marquesa de Chambrun, Mr. Blaine, and Josefina Martinez came.

T. 9 To read with Josefina. Atrocious heat.
W. 10  I did not go out because I had to wait for Mama who (???).

Th. 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.

F. 12  Ethel Robeson and Carrie Storey lunched here. With Mama to see Mrs & Miss Rodman (from Boston), Mrs. Pet. Parker, Pollok, Slack, Jay.

Sat. 13  To see Miss Knight, Mrs Phelps & Hopkins. Miss Rodman here.

Sun. 14  To church. Mr Blaine here.

M. 15  To see Mathilde and M. Stout, to read with Josefinia. Mathilde here. In the city with Mama.

T. 16  To read with Josefina. To see Mrs Phelps, Loring, Jay, Storey, Miss Knight, Biddle, Worden. Always looking for servants. Miss Levy and Miss Lowndes here. Mamma with me to the Hill’s.

Wed. 17  Mr. Blaine came. To the Outrey’s. To see the Freylinghausens.

T. 18  To see Lowery, Miss Eustis.

F. 19  Mr. & Mrs Anderson, Aulick Palmer, Pendleton, Mr. Blaine came.

To see Mrs Palmer (the elder) at the convent to hear Max play in a trio with the Outreys. Saw Sister Angela, ??? interested me more that ??? that I had seen in my life.

Mrs. James G. Blaine thanks her sons for having attended “Mother Angela’s funeral” in March 1987.

Sat. 20  To see Mrs Hopkins. Mathilda here to play piano. Mrs Wadsworth lunched here.

Sun. 21  At Church. Mr. W. Blair, Blaine, L. Phillips.

Mon. 22  To see Mrs Anderson Mrs Lawrence. Miss Chapman here to say goodbye.

T. 23  To Brentwood with the coach of Mrs Loring. For the night to see Mme Outrey. Mr. Lowery here and Mrs Gordon & Wagner.

W. 24  To see the Frelinghuysens. Outrey.

Th. 25  Mathilde, Ginny, Mrs. Jay & Aldis came. We went to see the Pendletons, Allison, Hill, Robeson. The Outreys went away.
SECTION 10. 1882: WASHINGTON, D.C.

F. 26 To see Sister Angela who is sick and could not receive me, and Mathilda.

Sat. 27 Freylinghuysen’s picnic at Mrs Vernon’s. 30 People. Dined at the Pollacks. Baron Schaeffer conducted me. Josephina here.

Sun. 28 Did not go out.

M. 29 Did not go out. Mrs Martinez and Jos., Mrs Machey, Thérèse de Chambrun.

T. 30 To see Victoria West. Mrs Campbell & Charlton, Josephina, Dr. Landes came here.

W. 31 With Mama to see the Frelinghausens, McLanes, Mrs Nich Fish, Countess Lowenhaupt, ??? Josephina here, Mr. Blaine, Leeds, Count & Countess L.?

June

Th. 1 To read with J. To pay Mrs Aldis for the socks that her daughter bought for me in NY. $2.50. To see Sister Angela, Mrs Bancroft Davis.

F. 2 To see Mathilda, Minn. Stout, & Mr L. Dr & Mrs Carter here and Josephina.

S. 3 Picnic to Great Falls by the canal which passes by beautiful country. (11 hours)

Sun. 4 To Church. Baron Schaeffer, Mr. Bl., Min. Stout came. Papa returned from from the ???. Went to the Robesons’ with the Storys.

M. 5 Mr. Bl. came.

T. 6 To see Mrs Mackay, Pollok, Story, Lewenhaupt, Martinez, Ferguson. Mr Blaine dined here.

W. 7 Papa went away for N.Y.

Th. 8 As all these days, to look for recomendations for servants. With Mama in the city.

F. 9 Dined with the Martinez. Ginny and her father, Mr Lowndes, Mrs Robeson and Min. came.

Sat. 10 To see Mathilde. Papa returned from N.Y.

Sun. 11 Mr. Bl. came with his oldest son, for the night. We went to see Mr. L.

M. 12 With Mama to see the Bl., de Chambrun.
In the city all morning. For the night at the Bliss’ “Meeting of the Book Club.” Mrs McLane here.

To say good bye to the Levys. At the Freylinghausens. Jeanie Pendleton came.

For the morning conducted Max to the distribution of prizes at the Academy of the Visitation. For the afternoon, with Papa & Mama to Quantico. We returned (all for the picnic) at twelve, having walked from the wharf to the street.

Mathilde and the Hopkins came. Did not go out.

For the morning to ask for recommendations for a cook. For the afternoon at the “Soldier’s home” with Josefina, Laura, and Max.

Did not go out. Ginny came to say good bye and Mr. Bl. for the night.

Did not go out. Mathilde and Mme de Chambrun and her son came, and Mr. J. Chew, and Miss L. Frelinghausen.

According to Mrs James G. Blaine [11], 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.

With Mama to see Mrs Ross Bay, Barras, Turnbulls. Josefina came. Also Mr. Bl. to take me to see his new house. Papa went off for N.Y.

In boat ??? with Thérèsa de Chambrun Mrs Pool and J. Chew returned to dine here and Mme de Chambrun.

For the night to see the Pendletons.

In boat with Richardson, Chew, and Helena.

Josefina, J. Chew, Lowndes came. To the musical at the White House.

I stayed in bed all day with a headache and nausea. Occasional thought for the high fever which did not permit me to sleep or eat. Mama and I dined at the English Legation with Mr and Mme du Puy de Lome and the secretaries Howard and Charlton. Mr Bl. came twice to say good bye and we did not see him.

Josefina came to say good bye. Chew for the evening and conducted us to eat ice cream.

Mr Hopkins and Mr Lowery came.

To see Mathilde. The Martinez left for Longbranch. Baron Schaeffer came.
29 Thursday Boat with Mrs Story, Mr Chew & Mr Hannat. We returned around eleven
Beautiful moon. Mr McLane came.

30 F.

July

First of July Boat with Mama, Chew, and Poore from 7 to 10 1/2. Papa returned from
NY.

2 Sun. To church.

3 M. Cold. To the city with Max. Mrs Green, Mr & Mrs McCalla came. To see Mrs
Hopkins who returned from the country last Saturday.

4 Tues. To see Victoria West, Thérèse de Chambrun.

5 Wed. To the city. Papa to N.Y.

6 Th. Admiral & Mrs Carter and Mr Lowery here. To the Soldiers home with Mrs McLane.

7 Fr. To see the “State Department” with Mama and Max, showed Chew. Mrs and Miss
Pendleton, Mr Charlton, Mr McL came.

8 Sat. To the White House with Miss Frelinghuysen to hear the music played in the gar-
den, passed through the crowd. Mlle de Chambrun and her brother came.

9 Sun. Did not go to church because it was to hot. W. Phillips came.

10 M. Mr Naima came.

11 T. By coach with old Mr L.

12 W. Mr Chew came.

13 Th. All day with Mr West and Victoria.

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. All day with Max, Chew, and J. Poore. Papa returned from NY.

16 Sun. To Church. Mathilde came.

17 M.
18 Tues. Papa left for New York. Count Lewenhaupt and Marquese de Chambrun and her daughter came.

19 W. In the city with Mr and Mrs L. Chew came.

20 Th. Mrs McCalla Mr Lowndes & Hopkins came. In the city.

21 F. Mr McLane and Cout Lewenhaupt came. Mrs Hopkins.

22 Sat. Mr Hanna came.


24 M. Mr Hanna took us, Mama, Max, and me, to visit the Jesuit Georgetown College. Also to Arlington. Chew and Mr. McLane came.

25 Tues. Mrs Lowery and Hanna came.

26 W. Mr and Mrs Hopkins and Chew came. Papa returned.

27 Th. Roses from Chew. Hanna came. Dined at the Hopkins with Mr. F.


29 Sat. Arrived Bellows Falls after 4 P.M. found Aug. here.

Sun. 30th To church.

Mon. 31 Walk to “table rock” with Aug. & Max. Papa to Boston and back. Mrs & Miss Janet King.

Bellows Falls, Vt. August 1882

Tues. 1 Tea at the Kings.

Wed. 2 Drove with Miss Janet K. & tea there. Papa left for N.Y. and the West.

Th. 3 Dined at Kings.

Fri. 4 Not out. Not well.

Sat. 5 Miss J. King called.

Sun. 6th Mamma & I took 7 O’Cl. at the Kings.
Mon. 7th Left Bellow Falls at 9:10. To Pittsville 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 Pumb Cottage near the Stockbridge House where we ate.

Tues. 8 To see Mrs Ogden Edwards, who lives here. For the afternoon, in a coach with her. The country is very beautiful.

Wed. 9 Mr & Mrs Henry Sedgewick came, brought Miss Edwards Flores. Aunt Amalia arrived.

This page of the journal (as with many others) is written in Spanish, and the actual name used is “Tia Amalia.” This rekindles the earlier Amelia/Amalia confusion as there was no Aunt Amalia. There were many Amelias in the Taylor descendants, but no Amalias. On the other hand, Alexander Taylor’s daughters were born in Cuba, and his daughter Amelia might well have decided to adopt the more exotic name of Amalia when she returned to the U.S. from Cuba.

Amy had two Aunt Amelias. One was her mother Jane (De Coninck) Heard’s sister Amelia Henrietta De Coninck, but so far as I know, this Aunt Amelia was in Cuba at the time. Another possibility was a cousin once removed (one generation older): Alexander and Maria Taylor’s daughter Amelia C. Taylor, who married the Rev. Arthur Mason, who had presided over Amy’s baptism. More later.

Thurs 10 To see the Edwards and Sedgewicks.

Mon. 21 To Lenox with all the family 2–6. To see Aunt Luisa, the cousins, Mrs Ch. Hoffman and Emily.

The Louisa in Amy’s life was Louisa W. Taylor, a daughter of Alexander and Maria Louisa (Webster) Taylor, Amelia C. Taylor’s sister. So my guess is these two cousins once removed were considered aunts by Amy. According to English Language & Usage this is common usage.

Tues. 22

Wed. 23 Road in the coach with Mr de Neufoille.

Thurs. 24 Max and I to Lebanon Springs and to the Shaker house with Mr & Mrs de Neufoille, Juliet and Mrs Parker. We left at 9:30, we returned after 7. Mrs Butter sent me peaches and flowers.

https://english.stackexchange.com/questions/390446/your-parents-cousin-is-your-first-cousin-once-removed-but-is-it-common-to-call
**Fri. 25 and S. 26** Did not go out, except to go to Stockbridge where we ate. All day.

**Sun. 27** To church.

**M. 28** Lunch for Mrs Douglas Robinson, at the Tuckermans’. Mrs de Neufouille 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 Mrs Doane.

My guess is that “cousin Alex Mason” is the son of “Aunt Amalia” and the Rev. Arthur Mason. I have not taken the time to verify this as there are higher priority puzzles.

**Tu. 29** Went in the coach with Mr. H. Sedgewick and his cousin Laura S. Tea at the Butter house.

**W. 30** Mrs 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.

**September**

**1 Sat.–2 Sat.** With Aunt Amalia to Niagra. We left Stockbridge by coach at 9:45, to take the train on the State Line and we arrived at Niagra Falls after 2 in the morning. We went to the Cataract House.

**Sun. 4** From Niagara at 7:25, to Saratoga after 6. To the Clarendon Hotel for the night. To see Mrs Pennington who leaves tomorrow.

**Tu. 5** To see rooms that we took at the Everett. To the station at 8 to meet Mama, Aug., and Elena who came from Stockbridge.

**Thurs. 7** We all started drinking the “Hawthorn Spray.” Mrs Ruggles came to see us.

**Friday 8** To see Mrs John Gitting Mrs James G. and her daughter at the “Grand Union” where we met Mr West and Victoria. For the evening to hear the music at the “United States.” We met Mrs Geo. Bird and her sister Mrs ? and Mr Cont? Mr de Councy and the Thompsons of Baltimore. Mama and I by coach with Mrs Ruggles.

**Sat. 9** Spent with Augustin and Elena. The Thompsons came. For the evening at the “Grand Union” with the Gittings and the Wests.

**Sunday 10** To church. Miss Stocker and her niece Miss Cox, Mr. West and Victoria came.
CHAPTER 10. 1882: WASHINGTON, D.C.

W. 13 Yesterday spend with Ag. and Max. The morning at the “Grand Union,” for the evening to see Mrs & Miss Cox and Miss Stocker.

Th. 14 Mr Taylor\(^4\) came, Admir. & Mrs Carter.

F. 15 To the park with Elena. Mrs Ruggles came.

M. 18 We left Saratoga at 8:40 AM. We arrived at New York after 2. To 6 guest houses without finding rooms. Finally at the N.Y. hotel, where ???,

After dinner to the Nogueiras. Augustine to Quincy.

Tues. 19 Went to look for rooms. We changed from 12 W 10th St to the Misses Cadle at $2 a day. To see Mrs Edw. Potter and ???.

Passed time at the streets and shops.

September 1882

12 W. 10th St N.Y.

Wed. 20 Did not go out. Mrs Wood and Mrs Potter came.

Sun. 24 To Trinity Church (high). Ethel Potter came. To see Miss Morgan at 62nd St and 8th Ave with Aunt Amalia. All to see Aunt Louisa. 50th and stayed for tea.

Wed. 27 The Misses Routh here. I to the N.Y. Hotel to see Mathilde and Mme Chaffraix.

Fri. 29 Papa returned from the West. Dined with Mme Chaffraix.

October

Sun. 1 To Grace Church. After to see Mme Noessareth, who was in Europe. Miss Morgan and Mr ??? came.

Mon. 2 Lunch with Aunt Louisa. To ??? with Josie.

Tues. 3 Chew came. To the 14th St theater. With Jefferson in “Bob Acres.”

Th. 5 To say goodbye to Mme Chaffraix.


Sat. 7 Aunt A. gave me $42. With Mrs Hopkins to visit the house of Mrs Miller. 18th St. For the Kings of Bellows Falls, Vt.

Amy’s 22nd birthday.

\(^4\)Josephine had no brothers and Alexander Taylor was long dead by this time who might this be?
S. 8 To St. John’s with the aunt and Max.

M. 9 Count Lowenhaupt and Mr Lowndes came.

Tues. 10 Mr. Lowery came. I to see Victoria. Met Mathilde and walked with her. Aunt A. washed my hair.

1777 Mass. Av.

W. 11 With Aunt A. & Max to the Agricultural Dept.

Th. 12 Thérèse de Chambrun came. Papa returned.

F. 13 Mathilde came. Mr Phillips came.

S. 14 To see Mathilde and Sister Angela.

S. 15 To Epiphany with Max. For the afternoon with Mama, to see the Countess Lewenhaupt. Mrs Philips came with her son Lee.

M. 16 Aunt Amalia went away. I spent 2 hours looking for Max at Mrs Hilton’s school.

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.

W. 18 To visit T. de Chambrun where I met Mr and Mrs Pollack, who took me home.

Th. 19 Chew came. I did not go out.

F. 20 Mr and Mrs Aulich Palmer and Countess Lewenhaupt came.

Sat. 21 Miss Lee and Mr Lowery came. Road in the coach with Vict. West.

Sun. 22 Mr Hanna came.

M. 23 To see Mrs Johnson, Pollack, Phillips, Fay Everett, Chambrun. Mr and Mrs Pollac came to see me to go out in a coach.

T. 24 Dr Smithe filled a tooth. Two hours.

W. 25 Mama and I in coach with Mr & Mrs Pollack. Mr and Mrs Sidney Everett came, Thér. de Ch., and the Mrq. de Polestad and Capt. Story came.

F. 27 With Capt Story to the top of the Washington Monument. Mrs Pollock, Mr Chew and Mr Hanna came. Papa returned from N.Y.
Sat. 28  Chew sent me flowers and grapes. To see Mrs F. Loring, Mrs S. Irving and Mr Davenport here. In the evening to the Pollacks with Papa and Mama. Part for Commandant Frangeul of the “Canada” that brought us to America.

S. 29  To St John’s with Count Lewenhaupt. Mr Hopkins came to look for me to talk about 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 ??? and had come to America, thinking to find a sister of his in Baltimore who could give him work.

M. 30  To see Victoria West and the Noquerias. Mathilde came with me. Mr Hopkins came after dinner. Met Mr. Williamow, the secretary of Russia, who treated this Leo Sarratoff as an imposter.

T. 31  Left with Papa. Slept at the Hopkins. Mr Poore came.

November

W. 1  Mr Hanna, Victoria, Mrs Mackay, Fanny came to visit. Horseriding with Mr Hanna.

Th. 2  To the dentist to redo his work of the 24th of last month. Mr and Mrs Anderson, Adm and Mrs Howell, Mrs Davenport came. Mr Aulick Palmer came to take me for a coach ride. He took Mama as I was not at home.

F. 3  Judge and Mrs James, Chew came. Time with Théresa de Ch.

S. 4  To see Miss Meigs, to G. McLane and Min. Sha., who had not returned.

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.

Mon. 6  To see Mr Polk, Turnbull, Ricketts, Pollok, Ray. Mr and Mrs H. Adams here.

T. 7  To the city to buy fabric for a dress for the ??? Dora.

W. 8  To the city with Mama. Mrs Parke came. Papa to N.Y.

T. 9  Miss Polk here. With Mama to see Miss Lee, Baroness von Klenck, Mrs Dr Palmer, Slacks, James.

F. 10  With Mama to see Mrs Robeson, Chambrun, du Puy de Lome, Eustis, Godoy, McLane.

Sat. 11  Did not go out. Mr Hannah came and brought me roses.

Sun. 12  Did not go out. Lowndes came.
M. 13 Janet King, Mr & Mrs Pollok came. Mrs Hopkins son was born.

T. 14 Ginny and her cousin Kitty McLane, Mrs Hall Slack & Miss Slack, Janet K. Mr & Mrs Godoy, J. Chew.

W. 15 To see the Kings, who came with me and Miss Knight. Mrs Worden Admir ???? and his wife, the 3 Noqueiras, Lippe, Pedroso, Chacon, Miss Clymer, Baron de Klenck and his wife came.

Pedroso was the Spanish Attaché.

T. 16 Mrs Johnston and Ginny McL., Mr Babcock here. To see Mrs Ferguson, Story, Loring, Leonard, Adams, Eustis, Rogers, Howell, Schenck.

Nov. 17, F. To the dentist, to fill a tooth for the third time. Thérèse de Ch., Countess Lewenhaupt, Mrs Judge Loring and her daughter Mary came.

S. 18 To see Ginny McL., Min. Stout here.

S. 19 Mr Munroe, Lowery, Blaine, Hannah came. Misses Eustis & Polk, Levy. With Mama to the Lorings for the evening. Mr Roustan was presented to me.

M. 20 M. de Bildt and Mrs and Miss Frelinghuysen. Took Max to the Dentist who pulled a tooth.

T. 21 With Thérèse de Ch. to look around the city, looking for cooks. Judge Loring, Cap. de la Chère came.

W. 22 With Mama to leave a sympathy card with Min. Stout for the death of her uncle Mr Wylie Aulick, to see Mrs Clymer, Ruggles.

T. 23 Thérèse de Ch. came and left with us to see the Kings, Field, Berry, Mr L. Mrs Rickets came. Dined at the English Legation (Mrs Godoy and her husband, Marquis del Valle who took me to the table, Lippe, Pedroso, Laurin; after dinner Domingues came, of the Repub. of Argentina, Chacon, and Howard.)

F. 24 In the morning to the city with Mama. Admiral and Mrs Rogers, Mrs Temple, Chacon and Pedroso came.

S. 25 To see the Noqueiras, Mrs Greene, King. The Stevens came. Papa returned.


M. 27 To the Navy Yard to see the Pattisons with Mama. The Emorys and Mrs Davenport herre.
CHAPTER 10. 1882: WASHINGTON, D.C.

T. 28 Mr John Field and the Marq. de Chambrun came. It snowed all afternoon.

W. 29 Janet King, Mrs Capt Story, Miss Polk came. To the first reception of the season at the Freylinghuysens. To John Field’s house to meet Mr and Mrs Story of Rome. (the sculptor)

T. 30 Thanksgiving. To St. J’s. M. de Geoffroy, Mr Blaine, Mr Jay came. Mama, Max and I dined at the Hopkins, with Mr Lowndes and Mrs Miller. To see Victoria, Miss Edgar, Ginny.

December

F. 1 For the morning in the city with Mama. To see the Stevens, Munroe, W(?)agner, Emory (de H). The Sanfords, Shencks, Berrys, Storys (of Rome), Mr Laurin came.

S. 2 Did not go out, except for the evening to the Noqueiras, where they go to receive every Saturday. Mr Hannah came.

S. 3 Did not go out, except for the evening to the Lorings. Papa left. Janet King, Thér. de Ch., Mr W. Phillips, Wood, Blaine came.

M. 4 Janet King, Baron von Schaefer, Miss Beale came.

T. 5 Mr and Mrs Clymer, Mrs F. Greene, Miss Edgar came. To the Beale’s reception for the evening.

W. 6 Mrs Leonard, Misses Loring, Aldis, Ginny, Mr Denaut, Chew came. To see Mrs Jay, Nich. Hoffman, Adams.

T. 7 To see Mrs Robeson. Arthur Carey came.

F. 8 To see Mrs Mackay, Noble, Ashton, Mr L. Lewen., Lippet, Dodge. Carey lunched here.

S. 9 To the dentist with Max. In the afternoon to see Min. Stout, Miss Polk, Mrs Hopkins. Janet K., Mr du Puy de Lome, Emory, Mrs Jay here.

S. 10 Mrs Jay, Mr Roustan, Denaut came. Dined with Mrs Jay and we went together to the Lorings.

M. 11 To see Mrs Biddle, Levys, Rathe, Min. Stout. Miss Stearns (niece of Mrs Noble) here.

T. 12 To see Miss Aldis, Miss F. Loring, Chambrun. Misses Biddle and Worden here.
W. 13 To see Mrs Jay. Mrs Ferguson here. To see Jefferson in “The Poor Gentleman.” Biddle theater party.

T. 14 To see Mrs Jay, the Dominguez, Pendleton. Dined at the Hopkins with Mr and Mrs Story (sculptor), and the secretary of war, Lincoln. We did not go to the Bliss’, Mama was ill.

F. 15 To the city with Mama. The count of St James, M. de Bildt, Janet King, Mrs and Miss Polk came. Dined at the Camerons (Leut. and Mrs Greene, Miss Turnbull, Gen McCook, Mr Woodl. Blaire, Mr Rae. Mr Greene took me to table. People came afterwards.

S. 16 To see Miss Jay and to Ginny’s. For the afternoon at the Noqueiras. Papa returned. Mrs Geo. (April) Loring and Miss L. came. Janet K. lunched with us.

S. 17 To St John’s. Col. Hoffmann, Rev Dr Leeds, and Mr Hannah came. To the Lorings.

M. 18 To see Mrs (Justice) Miller, Temple, Brown, Allison, Blatchford, J. Wadsworth, J. Gardner, (Miss Howe) Mr Keevers, Berrys, B. Davis, Bancroft, Edgars, _ Marques della Vallé, Mr J. Gardner, J. Field, Mrs James. For the evening to the Pendletons.

T. 19 To buy a half pound of wool to crochet a ???(enaguitas) for the son of the doctor F. Loring. To see Mrs Hopkins. Lorings here. At the Beales for the evening. Papa returned to N.Y. Miss Levy came.

Wed. 20 To see Mrs Brewster, J. David, Frelinghuysens, Barca. The Domingues here.

T. 21 First communion at St. Johns. Augustin arrived from Quincy.

F. 22 John arrived from Europe.

S. 23 Papa arrived from N.Y. M. de Willamow came. To see Miss Polk and McLane.

S. 24 To St. J. Janet King came. In the evening to the Lorings’ with Papa. Mr Nelson and Hoffman were presented to me.

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 ???, from Max, a gold broach for my hair, toenail cleaner, ???. From Aunt Amalia, $10. From Victoria West, a crystal stamp moistener. From Janet King, a vase. Xmas cards from Sala, Mercer, Nellie Fearson, Lolita W., from Bessie, from Lizzie Linsne, from Emily Bard. Flowers from Mr Hanna. To see Victoria W., Mrs Hopkins, Robeson. Ginny and her father here.
I gave a book of orations to Mama, a basket to Papa, a watchchain to Max, buttons for Augustine, a blotter for John. Sent Xmas cards to Lady Wolff, Mrs Buckler Bessie, Mme Chaffraix, Ida, Mrs Brooks.

Count Sala was first secretary to the French Minister.

**T. 26** Mrs Berry and her son, Miss Clymer, Mrs Jay, Dr & Mrs Brown, Mr Bustamante, Hopkins came. With Mama to see Mrs Cox, Godoy Cabalano, G. Loring, Kings, Biddles. For the evening at the Beales with Mama and John.

**Wed. 27** Miss Markos, Edw. Crosby, Mrs & Miss Edgar came. For the evening at Wil. Emory’s house, we ate at Crosby’s.

**T. 28** To see Mrs McClellan, Cameron, Pendleton. Mr & Mrs John Davis, Mr Fred. Phillips, Com. & Mrs Temple, Mrs Phelps, Mrs Levellon Brown, Janet K., Crosby here. Juan 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.

**F. 29** Did not go out. Aristarchi Bey, Mrs Cox, Bancroft, the Brewsters left cards.
Chapter 11

1886 Journal, marriage, and letters

The 1881 and 1882 journals were the only complete ones that survived, but a partial journal survived for 1886, the eventful year when Amy Heard married Russell Gray. This chapter also collects several letters written in congratulations to Amy which are more at home in this chapter on her journals than in later parts grouping her letters by topic. Here the journal entries are given both as transcribed French (as she wrote them) followed by my English translations. It is natural to include information about and old photos of the setting, the hotel and house she stayed at, and her friends.

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 H. 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 [47]. 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.

Sam. 17 Arr. M. Russell Gray.

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[47]. 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” [32]. 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.

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**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” [47]. It was torn down in 1938.

**Mar. 27** Dép. de M. Gray. Mon retour au Belmont.

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**Tues. 27** Departure of Mr Gray. My return to the Belmont.

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**Jeu. 29** Tableaux vivants au Rodick pr l’église Catholique. Moi en Jeanne d’Arc au supplice. Souper Del Monte après.
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 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 reknowned 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 [47]. 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.

Août
August

Sa. 14 Retour de M. Gray fiancélles.

S. 14 Return of Mr Gray engaged
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 steip in both your lives.

I look forward to the winter with greater happiness for what you tell her and congratulate myself as well.

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.

J. 26  A Nahant

Th. 26  To Nahant.

V. 27  Quitté Nahant rejoignant Papa & Mama à B.
& venant à N.Y. 28 W. 18th.

F. 27  Left Nahant. Rejoined Papa & Mama at B. Left for N.Y. 28 W. 18th.
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 liefe & 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.

Vienna
Aug 30

My best love to Aunt Sarah

Dear Russell
I am proud of you & so pleased. We have just arrived here & find our letters. Fancy
my hands hoveing 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.

Postmarked 4.IX.86 Bern, Switzerland.
Mailed to Amy care of Miss West, British Legation, Washington, États-Unis d’Amerique
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.
Ths 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 Nouguiras. 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 envois un tendre baiser and I remain yours very affectionately.

Genevève Marshall

Sir F. Adams sends you many congratulations.

Letter from Thérèse,
probably Thérese de Brazza
10 Sept. 1886
(88 rue de Varenne, Paris)

Ma chère Amy,

Je m’empresse de répondre à votre dernier 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 tout les voeux 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 abandonner tout espoir de revoir l’amérique cette année j’ai bien peur de ne pas y être avant l’hiver. Mais soyez en sure je penserai bien à vous. Votre lettre ma chère, est bien incomplete, vous savez qu’une amie curieuse a besoin de toute sortes de détails mais il faudra que j’attendre patiemment pour cela, que vous avez materiellement le temps d’écrire n’est-ce pas?

Ma mère me charge de toute sortes de bons souhaites pour vous, et me charge de vous feliciter de vous fixer definitivement dans votre pays. Voila 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 chateau en Normandie, là je me suis beaucoup amusée, la maison etait pleine de gens agréables et nous faisions 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 en-
tendu dire par mes correspondentes que Victoria Weste avait passé par Paris, si j’avais été
là j’aurais probablement su où la trouver car de la revoir avant été un vrai plaisir pour moi.
Ecrivez moi aussitôt que vous en avez le emps ma chère amie. J’espère vous revoir bientôt,
encore mille vœux bien sincère pour votre bonheur je vous embrasse bien tendrement.

Thérèse

Mes amities a votre famille.

__________________________

Letter to
Miss A. Heard
Care of Augustine Heard Esq.
39 Nassau St. New York

The next letter was a bit of a mystery for a long time. I am guessing the date based on
the Arnay-le-Duc postmark of 8 September. 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. The date on the letter looks like 1 1 1886 or 7 7 1886, but neither makes
sense since Amy was engaged in August. But 7 the most likely.

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 death announcement of Mary Wieland and the
discussion thereafter in Chapter 8.

Coincidentally, I began the transcription and translation of this letter during a Euro-
pean 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.

Château de
Mercey par Arnay-le-Duc

(Côte d’Or)
France
7 7 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 cœur en te disant ma vieille affection.

Toi aussi, tu te décides à sauter le pas; c’est dur et très dir 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 méler 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 ou l’on a certaines jouissances — donc, pas de reards vers le passé, c’est évidemment ce qu’il fuat.

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 necessaire—

Ce qui me déroute 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 specimen 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’acception 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 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 évènements, 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
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. Plutôt de l’intimité qu’autre chose. Cet hiver j’ai été très entré, 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 reconnaîs bien là.

Quant à Maman, elle est aussi heureuse que possible, elle a trouvé dit-elle l’Ideal, et il y a une entente parfaite, le sorte que même la vie en commun est rendue très agréable. 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 poussez 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

Maman¹ me dit qu’elle decrit à ta mère² pour les felicitations officielles, mais qu’elle me charge spécialement de t’embrasser tendrement et qu’elle pensera beaucoup à toi.

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 –did not finish, need to locate letter and try again to finish transcription and translation.

Letter from Geneviève Marshall
from Thimmerhof (??), Switzerland

Thurs le 14 Sept 86
Thimmerhof

¹Mary (Wieland) Parrot
²Jane Leep De Coninck Heard, Mary Parrot’s nice
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 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 Boton. 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.

?? 17 Sbre 1886
Bonne année

Ma chère Amie

En arrivant à la Nouvelle Orlean, je , ’empresse de vous écrire, pour vous exprimer tout le bonheur que j’ai d’apprendre notre 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 reserver pour vous, Bien Chère Amie, l’assurance que de loin, comme de près je serai toujours

votre toute devouée

M. V. Chaffraix

71 North Rempart


Nov. 4th 1886

Th. 4  Arr\textsuperscript{d} 39 Marlbor. St. after 6 PM.

Sat. 20  Eliza Glamlee entered as cook 12 AM at $5 a week.

1r ou 2 Déc.  Mary Endicott déj. avec moi.
1 or 2 Dec. Mary Endicott lunched with me.

4 Sam. Dîner Powell Mason (M, Mme, Mlle), Mme Whitman, Mary End., Mess. Whister, 
Percy Lowell, Johns, Whister me cond.

4 Sat. Dîner Powell Mason (Mr, Mrs, Miss) Mrs Whitman, Mary End., Mr. Whister, 
Percy Lowell, Johns, Whister took me to table.


8 Wed. Dined at John Gray with the Jack Gardners, Amory G. & Swift.

     The Jack Gardners were Jack, Russell’s mother’s nephew, and his wife, “Mrs Jack,” 
     Isabella Stewart Gardner.

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 “Centenniel” at Nora Lear’s.

Thurs 16 Dined at Roger Wolcotts. So invited by the Lowells. Mmme 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.

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, Higgenson, Arth. Cabot.

31  Dined at Frank Lowell’s.
Part III

West Letters: 1884–1891
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.

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 arrangerez-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 distrairez 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 temptée? …

Milles amitiés à votre maman.

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; 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
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.

Ma chère Amy,

J’ai juste une minute avant de sortir pour vous envoyer me meillleurs souhaits pour la Noël. Quant à ceux pour la nouvelle année, je sais que j’aurai la plaisir de vous les dire verbalement.

Je vous attends la semaine prochaine, et je compte que vs me ferez savoir le jour et l’heure de votre arrivée ici. Vos amis vous attend avec beaucoup d’impatience, et surtout celles qui habitent à la Légation Britannique.

Monsieur Valera trépique de plaisir en pensant que vs 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 Président 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.

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.

Notes: don Juan Valera y Alcala 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 Jimenez*. 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.[14] 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.
Chapter 13

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 gâté tout simplement Cher 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 quie 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 gentaille!

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 scan-
dalized 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.

    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.

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Note accompanying the previous letter.

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 théâtre 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
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.
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 amuserez 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 fiançailles! … Elle est incorrigible.

Théo a été beaucoup mieux que dans cette abominable pièce de Lundi.

La fille de Tambour Major était charmante.

Au revoir, ma bonne; écrivez moi dès 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’hôtel 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 a dinner for the Reuterskiölds; 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-West 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.

Letter to Amy from Victoria dated 31 March 1885.

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 diner 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 marierons au mois 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

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
Notes: Baron Roman Romanavitch 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 [67].) Baron Rosen was to become in 1888 the Russian Charge d’Affaires in Washington. Bell had just been chosen ambassador to Holland. The uncle is Albert Farley Heard, 1833–1890. After leaving Yale in 1853, he went to China where he was active in Augustine Heard and Co. For several years he officially represented the Chinese Government in Russia.

Photo of Victoria West c. 1885

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-vous 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 amitiés

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?
Ma chère Amy,

Quoique je sois bien occupée aujourd’hui, je vous réponds de suite car vous m’avez écrit d’une manière qui me montre que vous seriez content d’avoir un mot avant que vous quittiez pour Boston.

Je crois que vous êtes un peu exagéré 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 vous taquine un peu, voilà gout. Nous sommes de si bonnes amies que je n’hésiterais pas une minute à vous 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 vous jure qu’il n’est rien de la sorte, et que vous pouvez être sans crainte. Dorénavant quand on dira un mot au sujet de vous 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-vous 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 vous avez décidé pour votre broche. Dites-moi franchement aussi si on a parlé bien mal à son sujet et au mien. Quant à vous, vous pouvez rassurer. Je vous dirai toujours au courant. Vous savez bien qu’on dit que vous 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...
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 disagreable 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

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**Note:** Mrs. Helyar was the wife of a secretary of the British Legation.
sorte de petits chançons. 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 vrai 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 fiancé, 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.

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 [14], and Valera complained about him in his own letters, “Mi sobrino don Juanito anda mucho con algumas senõritas 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[84], p. 272. She later became Duchess de Rochefoucauld by marring François, the fifth Duke (1853-1925). She was the daughter of a Senator from Oregon and reputedly took $300,000 into her nobel marriage.

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 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.


Au revoir chérie Amy. Amalia me charge de vous embrasser bien bien fort et moi je fais de même.


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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 attaché 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*

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Letter to Miss Heard, 125 Marlborough Street, Boston,
forwarded to Care of John Heard Esq., Ipswich, from Amalia West, British Legation

**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 preparatifs pour Mount Desert. Nous partirons pour New Londan 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 meillieures 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

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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.
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 fiancé 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.
Quel gentil petit mot Jolaille, que celui que [vous] avez mis dans la lettre de Flora. Au premier abord, elle ne l’avait pas vu, quand j’ai vu que vous lui écriviez une si longue lettre et que votre petite amie n’avait rien je me suis mis 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 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 paraît 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 dîner nous avons chanté tous les airs de la Mascotte avec Monsiuer Pedroso et Monsieur Reutershiöld. Malgré cela j’était bien triste. Comme Victoria est heureuse de vous avoir vu. C’est moi qui aurait bien voulu être à sa place!

Au revoir ma
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.
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 à 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 coté si je me l’étais, je ne servis 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.
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
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 “Jadic.” 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 soirées. 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 Mary Endicott, the daughter of William Endicott, the Secretary of War. She married a British statesman Joseph Chamberlain who came in 1886–1887 to negotiate the fisheries treaty. There are several letters from Mary Edicott to Amy. 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.
Ma Jolaille,

Comme je suis gentaille, je vous écris bien souvent, bien souvent, et vous, vous ne m’écrivez plus du tutout.

Nous avons réçu des nouvelles du Canada, où Victoria je vous assure s’amuse bien, elle est beaucoup fetée 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 théatre, 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

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.

Letter to Miss Heard, 18 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, from Victoria West.

The date is probably 11 March 1886 since the letter is dated Thursday and it was found with the Sunday 14 March 1886 letter.

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 épuisé 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 tobogganing and skating party” Samedi; et je ne me
rappelé 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 voir, 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

Government House
Ottowa

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 tobaganning. 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 [6]. Max is Amy’s sister, Helen Maxima Heard.

Letter to Amy Heard at 18 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, from Amalia West at the British Legation.
Dated 14 March 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 Jolaille. Mille baisers de votre petite amie.

Amalia West

p.s. Comment va votre père? S’est-il remis de ses fatigues?

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 et 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 envoyé 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 mari 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 tranquilles depuis le Mercredi des Cendres, car les Canadiens sont très stricts pendant le Carême.

Nous serons à Washington Mercredi soir, nous arrêtons à New Yourk pour passer la nui de Mardi. Je suis bien fachée d’avoir manque 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! Mais 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 a 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 trouvè agrééable mon fidèle serviteur, Mr
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

Letter to Amy Heard from her father Augustine Heard
dated 17 March 1886.

Hotel El Louvre
Matanzas 17 Mch 1886

My Darling Amy,

Last night about 9 o’clk I received your charming letter of the 5th, & much good it did me, for I had just come from a very unsatisfactory talk with my abogado¹, who had been told by Mariano Lima that he refused my offer & would commence suit immediately et même deux!¹² He has not the remotest chance of gaining any thing himself, but it is a case of chantage pure³. 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.

¹lawyer
²and even two!
³pure blackmail
The Pelletiers look like Pelletier in multiple mentions. I have offered them $4000, & 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 Gonzalesthey 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 Peraltra & 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 woman in a large crowd. The crowd was great, the music 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, so I did not stay.

I am tolerably well at this hotel — but oh! I am so tired of it. I went 1 day to the Sta Amalia but my relations with the Pelleturs 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 Pancho his congé. The estate is in a deplorable condition & Peralta 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.

Of course you will give my love to John + my brothers

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4There is an envelope addressed to Aug Heard of Messrs Almiral y Peralta, Matanzas, Cuba, dated 3/3/86. The firm is listed as “Almirall, Peralta” under the heading Sugar and Molasses in the book Commercial Cuba by William Jared Clark, Charles Scribner’s Sons, NY (1898)
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 Pelleturs. 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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Letter to Miss Heard, Commonwealth Ave., Boston.
from Amalia
Dated 27 March 1886.

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 jourc-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 nouveelles tous ensemble, je suis joliment contente, je m’ennuyais à périr quand, tout notre monde était au Canada. Aujourd’hui, je suis gaïe comme un pinson je ne sais pas ce qui va m’arriver mais c’est mauvais signe avec moi que cette gaïté folle. Tant pis j’en profite. Comment va votre petite santé Jolaille? Vous étés 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 jeunnes gens payent les loges et les
jeunes filles le souper. Toutes doivent 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 fachée!

Mme Boumy a été voir Dr Loring l’autre jour qui lui a dit que ses yeux allaient beau-
coup 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
envoyent un bon baiser et Mmme 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 Bouny 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 Bouny 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.
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. La société 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 Compte Leyden. Vous avez peut-être entendu parler du souper Miegs; toute la ville en parle, car la pauvre fille a eu la maladresse d’inviter 6 jeunes fills (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 nervueux et a failli en renverser la table. Nous avions fait chacune 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’ennu 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 dîner 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 expérience commen 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 respectieux 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.
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. Roustan, 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.

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 une 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
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.
Chapter 15

1887

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?

19th

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.1 I don’t recollect any very peculiar name among the Belgians. Jean, Henri, Auguste, Fernand, François et ainsi de suite.

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1Amy and Russell name their first born son Horace a name shared by Russell’s father and his half-brother.
connection \(\left\{\begin{array}{l}
\text{Van Iseghem, Van der Heyde,} \\
\text{De Coninck, Dutremez, Serruys}
\end{array}\right.\)

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

Notes: 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.

Serruys 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 to Amy.
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 plaisir et je vous assure que vous êtes pour moi toujours ma Jolaille et pas autre chose. Je suis bien fachée 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 sure. Je ne puis m’imaginer ma bonne aimée 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’etiez pas heureuse quie est la personne qui le sache 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’ecrit, mais en tout cas elle est bien jolie! Ce garden party était bien beau, c’était en l’honneur du jubilé de la Reine, il faut dire aussi que la maison se prête si enormément 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 mari 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 sur 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 rembarquons pour l’Amérique. Papa devait venir avec nous au moins nous rejoindre, mais les fisheries et autre question l’ont em’eche, le pauvre Jolaille a été désapointé il s’était mis dans la tête qu’il viendrait ce qu’il ce quie est beaucoup pour lui, enfin l’année prochaine nous le fersons partir en même temps que nous , comme cela nous serons sure 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 évènement?
   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

   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 revoire 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

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[105]. 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 ambassador to France in 1886 when Victoria’s father was appointed Secretary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the embassy. Miss Marshall is Genevieve Marshall.
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 comme nous avons remis notre voyage au Amérique, nous en profitons pour rester à Paris un peu plus longtemps. J'ai fait votre commission 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'admirais 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 enormément. Dire que'il y a environ un an, vs m'écritiez 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 me 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
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 15th of September.

You will be amused to know that Mr. Valera whom I saw in Brussells 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.
CHAPTER 15. 1887

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.

Letter to Mrs. Russel Gray, 39 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass.,
from Amalia West.
Dated 21 October 1887.

British Legation
Washington
21rst October 87

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 Outré / Outrey! 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 Jolaile?
Allons il faut que je vous quitte j’ai tellement à faire, mais je vous récriterai 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:
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 vaisers pour vous et la petit bébé qui doit être si gentaille.

Votre aimie sincère
Victoria

Samedi
J’espère que vos gant seront bien comme vs les désiriez.

Now Lady Sackville-West
Mother of the writer V.S.W.
(Mrs. Harold Nicholson)
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 gentaille 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 “gentaille 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’aimerai 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 masses de désagrément 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 entédez encore dire que je suis fiancée, n’en croyer 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 Reuter斯基öld. 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.
adieu. Je me rappelle ce jour là si bien c’est comme si c’était hier. Je vous vois encore entrer dans la voiture suivie de Mons. Gray qui nous enlevait notre 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 mariera à son tour, et puis toute la famille sera casée.

Miss Endicott m’a dit que votre frère n’était pas encore marié j’etais 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 d’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

My Jolaille,

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, diners, 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.

Mes scènes d’amour ou sont elles? Mons. Gray me les a prises.

British Legation
26 November
1887

Votre petite Malia qui vous aime beaucoup
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 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-vous toujours autant votre mari? On doit être bien heureuse dans son ménage quand on est très aimé.

Ne croyez pas, chère amie, 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 obenu son divorce (gardez cela pour vous.) Je l’ai vu a Paris; il était toujours la même. Il parait 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 donn’e une grande receptions 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 occupées aujourd’hui avec une caisse de robes de Mme Laborde qui vient d’arriver; elles vous envoient mille baisers et vs écriront bientôt.
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.

Susianne 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 fiancé again?
Au revoire, 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 Whintney 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 souhaitez 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 recommencera pour moi.

Veuillez dire bien des choses de ma part à Mrs Lan?? (Grace Minot) et à votre mère.

Il n’y a rien de nouveau 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

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 compliments 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.

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**Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray, 39 Marlborough,**
from Victoria.  
**Dated 26 December 1887**

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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 encrict 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 invitats 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 supposse que les jeunes gens ètaient et sont fort épris.  
Mille baisers et remerciments de nous trois.

Votre amie  
Victoria

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J’embrasse les petits mains du Mioche
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 Lävenörn was the Danish Minister.
Ma bien chère Amy,

Je viens de me faire faire quelques photos et quoique j’en ai promis des masses, je voys en envoie deux pour faire votre choix; Vs seriez bien tentille de me renvoyer celle que vs ne garderez pas; j’en ai tout à donner que je ne peux vs 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 diner en fille, et s’occuper peu de Max. Je vais la voir aujourdh’hui et lui demanderai de me vier 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 symathique. 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 bé’e, que j’aimerais tant voir; jous voudrais faire le voyage de Boston rien que pour faire sa connaissance; quel dommage que votre maison ne soit pas encore meublé et que je ne puis pas vs faire une petite visite. Voyez comme je vs parle franchement chère amie, mais vs ne vous en fâchez pas, dites?

Vs 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 taquinè au sujet de Mr Rotch parceque nous avons 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 paraît beaucoup aimer votre mari. Je vs en prie, chère Amy n’en soufliez 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 aimererez une.

Les Reutersköld 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

Victproa

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 architectural 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 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*.[79]

The “bachelor’s german” was an elaborate cotillion in which men and ladies alternated choosing partners, giving a favor to their choice.

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Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray from Amalia.

Ma bonne Jolaille,

Je n’ai pas encore repondu à votre lettre du 16 qui m’annonce 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 heuruse 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 presqu’ à la fin de la saison. Cette mort a dérangé tous nos plans. Nous avions un gentil petit déjeuner, donné en l’honneur de Max, qui nous a fallu remettre, 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 reparaissons dans le monde lundi le 6. Je n’en suis pas fachée 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 moelle 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 auquelle 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.


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.

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 Jollaille, 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 Jollaille, 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 Jollaille, a bientot.

Je vous embrasse 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.
Ma bonne Amy,

j’étais si contente de revoir 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 enormément 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 suprême 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 m’a pas eu odeur de sainteté. Monsieur Outrey est charmant c’est lui qui m’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 jeunes filles sont si gentilles pour moi.

Victoria marche aussi de son côté, 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 côté.

Il y a un monde fou ici, le 14 il y a la bataille des fleurs, il paraît que cela est très jolie je me réjouis d’avance, ne ne saisis 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 bergère 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

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 [84] and in Lady Curzon[78]. Her father was Mr. Levi Z. Leiter, who acquired a great fortune in the dry goods business. The Leiter family moved to Washington in 1881. The 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 gentaille 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 à Max que j’attends un réponse à ma dernière lettre, et embrasse la bien pour moi! Quel aouragan 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 choses 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 assomant. Max et mieux. Où elle est elle s’amuserait ici j’en suis sure.

Au revoir ma bonne Jolaille Mille baisers de votre petite amie

Amalia

Ecrivez bientôt n’est-ce pas?

__________________________________________

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?

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Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray from Victoria West,
9 April 1888

Ma bien chère Amy,

J’ai reçu ce matin votre petit mot, et je ferai vos commissions avec le plus grand soin. Dites a 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.
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.
Chère Amy,

Il faut bien que je vous announce moi même la bonne nouvelle. Je me marie cet été avec un diplomate français Monsieur Salanson. Je suis sure 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.

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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 aimie bien dévoué à votre fille.

Avec mille bonnes aimités, Croyez-moi aussi, Votre petite amie

V.S. West

British Legation
11 April 1888

My dear Mrs Heard,

Our courrier 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.
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 fachée. 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 mais 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 défaissant une boîte je me suis cassée 2 ongles, imaginez vous que c’était une boîte clouée et que je l’ai défaite 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.


Kind regards to Mr. Gray.

19 Avril 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 les détails mais je n’en vraiment pas pu le faire. Flora s’est mariée le 18 Juin à la Chapelle dess Passionistes Avenue Hoche la cérémonie était bien simple à cause que Mons. Salanson était en deuil, personne a était 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 oublié. 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 hotel l’a fatigué trop ils sont donc rester juste quinze jours. Y’en était 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 campagnie à Villers-Cotterets. Son beau père à une maison de campagne et c’est là qu’elle passera lété. Ensuite elle restera l’hiver à Paris et au mais 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.
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
Ma bien chère Amy,

J’ai votre laine et j’espère que les nuances sont bien rassorties. Je ne peux pas vous dire combien il nous a été difficile de trouver les laines!! L’adresse de la dame que vous 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 envoie 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 déjeu 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 va donner les nouvelles de la petite mariée! 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 lui 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.

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.

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 donnée 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 chevreuses poudrées 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 dîners et déjeuners et tous les jours Mrs Whitney chez qui V. était (moi j’avais des cambres dans un cottage avec Mme Cameron) m’envoyait son ph'ai-ton 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 réussi, en un mot. Je me suis bien amusée et suis redeviée la même. Nous pensons rester ici encore trois semaines et puis nous ferons Victoria et nous nous arrêterons à New Your et irons faire visite à Mme Cotrait pendant quelques jours sur le Hudson River j’en suis enchantée je deviens tout à fait gaie. Flora m’a écrit et me dit de vous envoyer son love elle 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.

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.

Your little Malia
who loves you

Letter to Mrs. Russell Gray,
39 Marlborough Street, Boston Mass.
From Victoria
Postmarked 31 October 1888

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 gou-
vernement anglais va être content! …J’espère que cette acte inconsideré 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 la 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 Cleaveland 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. Cleaveland 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.
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 excitement 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, je n’en suis encore toute indignée. Maintenant que je vous ai un peu ouvert mon coeur, je vais vous parler un peu buisiness. 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 sûr était de les envoyer en même temps que cette boîte 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
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 plaques 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 affectionée

Amalia
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 laltencontreuse affaire Murchison. Papa et moi avons été invités 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 déguisés 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 bourgeoise. 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
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 souveniers 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
Chapter 18

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 quelques 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 plus qu’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”.

364
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 déplomates aussi.

Mrs Amory Lawrence m’a donné des nouvelles de Boston dernièrement; 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 amie; 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 Washing-
ton,) 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:

Alsop 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!
Part IV

Korea Letters: 1889–1893
Chapter 19

1889

25 March

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. Blaine1 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

1Mrs. Blaine was the wife of politician, presidential candidate, and Secretary of State James G. Blaine. Here published letters [11] provide a description of Washington political life during the Gilded Age and mention many participants, including Max Heard.
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 have written a good deal of this to John H.

Tried to see Judge Gray in W but did not succeed. Came back last night.

Yours very affly
A.H.

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2Horace 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.
Chapter 20

1890

31 January

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\(^1\) letter. I think it quite probable that Blaine acted 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 occsion of Walker’s\(^2\) 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 reed 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.

\(^1\)Henry Cabot Lodge
\(^2\)Blaine’s son
So don’t address me any more to 39 West 17th. 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 & Edwards about the ????. The letter was drafted by Frank Street my particular friend. Sherman is Chairman of Comm on Foreign Rel.

10 February

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 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 6th 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.

3John Sherman, brother of General Sherman
4Probable Adeline (Addie) Heard, wife of AH’s brother John.)
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

Just have a letter from Aug. dated in Kansas City.

30 May

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 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 Corean 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 & dirty & hangs in lumps. I am writing Mr. Blain by this mail to give me a few thousand dollars — & I hope I may get something. Max has had a detestible 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

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3a hotel in New York City
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, & 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 Pres. 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 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 Leg. 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 presy. going by & out through two large square imposing courts & so into the rear of the grounds, fully 1/4 of a mile to a small pavillion, where we met some officials and waited abt an hour till H.M. was ready to receive us. Then we went accompanied by the Pres. 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

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6Chemulpo is modern day Inchon
7Hugh A. Dinsmore was U.S. minister resident and consul general in Seoul (1887-90)
that finished, a translation of it in Chinese was read by the interpreter who stood on my left. With head bent down & baited 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. Lotsw 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 co

28 July

The following appears to be a draft from A.H. to some unnamed official. It is written in pencil with many corrections.

U.S. Legation
Seoul Corea July 28 1890

Sir,

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 dysentery, 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 cemeteray, asked what was to be done in the event of Dr. Heron’s death. I was greatly surprised at this intelligence as a cemetary 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. Allen⁸ & 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, 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 haed 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

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⁸Dr. Horace N. Allen was an American missionary and diplomat in Korea, he was Chargé (1893-94) and Minister (1897-1901).
CHAPTER 20. 1890

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 sinally completed there quietly this afternoon. The question of the Foreign Cemetery at Seoul seems to be presumably settled.

I have ????

9 August

U.S. Legation
Soul
Korea
le 9 août
Enfin! Chère soeur, je puis me vanter d’avoir reçu une lettre, mais une vrai lettre qui a dû tu couter un effort, d’après ce que tu nous dis de ta santé et de tes faiblesses. J’espère bien que tu te porte déjà mieux car il y a bien deux mois que ta lettre est écrit. 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 Hillier9 est morte. Une gentille petite enfant de deux ans que le père idolâtrait. Papa n’est pas bien non plus. Il a le 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 tormente d’une chose et d’une autre; la chaleur, les moustiques qui s’ais-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.

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 West10 depuis cette lettre que j’ai reçu après mon arrivé ici; mais cela 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 a 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.

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9Walter 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 een the British Assistant Secretary in Peking in 1885.

10Victoria West and her sisters, especially Amalia. See Amy Heard: Letters from the Guilded Age. Victoria, later Lady Sackville, was the illegitimate daughter of Lionel Sacville 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.
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 plait 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 désagréements pour égaliser le tout. Ce qui me manque le plus par exemple – sont les cabinets. Je n’ai jamais aimé les pots de chambres et ici je n’ai pas autre chose! Mais on a s’habitue à tout. Le lait aussi – impossible d’en avoir du bon. Mes légumes poussent assez bien et nous avons des tomates superbès en ce moment – pauvre Papa qui ne peut pas manger ni légumes ni fruit.

En somme tu fera mieux de déménager ici ou tu pourras porter tes chemisses de nuit tout le temps. Même moi je 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. Voila trois semaines au moins que je n’ai eu moins que cela à 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’apres 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 a 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
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 knows 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 tomatos — 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 10 PM, 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.

À toi

Helen

7–19 November

Seoul, Nov. 7 1890
Dear Amy,

I have just come back from the Palace where I have been to offer my congratulations on the 40th birthday of the Queen & while waiting for 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 Pavillion where the King receives foreigners. On hand later the Consuls Hillier (Eng) & Krein (German), arr. with Genl LeGendre & Vice Prest. of the Home Office.11

About 1/2 an hour afterwards the King signified that he was ready for us & I, Kondo, Japanese, Waeber, Russian, both chargé 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 pavillion bow at the foot of the steps & at the door & again when finally in the presence. 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 collegues, 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 lanked 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

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11 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.
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
afterwords & 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 aoll 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 & dignataries 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 presence 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
troubloe 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 aairs,” 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 humiliade
Corea & reduce her to “vassalage.” This is one of those occasions in which China exults.
The Chinese Ambassador arrvd 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 pavillion
? ??? ???? a little outside the city walls. To carry out the full etiquette the King must go
himself to this Pavillion & 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 Chinise 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.
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 alomost 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 troup, 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 religios 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 narrowmindedness 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.

23 February

Dear Amy

I received last night your letter of 6-15 Jany & hurry o a line in acknowledgement. “Nous sommes bien éprouvés, allez.” I had not expected to hear of this kind [??] comp-lication of disease for you & we are quite overwhlemed 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 o 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.

27 March

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, 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

1Amy’s second son was Augustine Heard Gray (1888-1985).
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 afly
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.

6 April
U.S. Legation Söul Korea Le 6 avril
No 8
Chère Amy, un petit mot seulement pour te dire que nous ne t’oubliions 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 boîtes 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\textsuperscript{2} mercredi pour assister à une
scéance du conseil municipal. Mes chevaux sont malades, le temps est beau mais froid
pour cette saison, la communauté s’amoindrie de plus en plus, mais les jours se passent
géalement et sans trop trainer.

Pas de lettre de toi ni d’Addie\textsuperscript{3} 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\textsuperscript{(N03)\textsuperscript{22}Janvier} dans mon portefeuille. Où est Mlle
Woodville? 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\textsuperscript{4} 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.

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.
Mamman 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.

\textsuperscript{2}A port West of Seoul and close to China, also called Inchon.
\textsuperscript{3}Addie (Adeline) Heard, wife of AH’s brother John
\textsuperscript{4}Augustine Heard Gray and Horace Gray, sons of Russell Gray and Amy Heard Gray
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
Helen

Have you had news of the Wests?

I just found your last letter (Jan 322) 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

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 week ago yesterday). Papa & Mamma 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

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My transcription was excellently enhanced by Hartmut Walravens, who both recognized words I did not and helped me learn new English words.
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 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 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

6 had a snack or light meal
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 7. Monday is the celebration of the Queen’s⁸ 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 somethig 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 & dont 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 dont 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 root⁹ – 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

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⁷Sir 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. [102], and Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China, by Jung Chang [27]

⁸Victoria

⁹From the Oxford Dictionary of English: a preparation of the fragrant rootstock of an iris, used in perfumery and formerly in medicine.
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.

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 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

11

Söul
Le 31 juillet/91

10Mrs 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).
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 agréablement car en ce moment nous n’avons guère d’autre distractions. Papa est
toujours souffrant pas sérieusement 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
sérieuses.

Il n’y a presque plus personne ici, tout les monde pouvant s’esquiver étant allé a
“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 verité 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 en-
thousiasme ni plaisir. D’Addie je n’ai aucune nouvelle depuis deux mois, mais j’espère
toujours que le prochain courrier m’apport un petit mot. Et Peking? tu demandes. Tu doit
en savoir deja 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 commence-
ment de sept. Cette maison ci est très humide et le docteur nous conseille d’en sortir le
plutôt tôt possible, ordonnance que nous ne serons trop contents de suivre. Il n’y a absolu-
ment 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 tree agree-
ably 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.

Helen

30 August

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 28th. 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 that 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 him “le Pére Eternel!” He is ????, & the Doyen at Peking.

En fin, nous verrons! —
Yours ever
A.H.

22 September

No. 14
Chère Amy,

J’ai reçu ta bonne lettre du 4 août (No 8) comme je me promenais avec Mme Low,11 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 exitMisunderstood. 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 l’hâte. M. et Mme Low ne sont restés que trois jours malheureusement mais leur visite n’en était peutêtre 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 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 veut 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 dis a Papa “You really must stop it,” mais sans plus de resultat. Alors, je me suis resigné sans trop de mauvaise grâce comme tu peux croire. Moi aussi, j’ai souvent désiré que tu connasisse M. Von Brandt. Il est si bon! et charmant. Je viens d’écrire une longue description de notre enménagement, de ma chambre etc., à Addie, qui te laissera probablement lire sa lettre car tu comprends naturellement que ce que j’ai dis dans ma dernière n’a aucune allusion aux lettres entre nous deux.

Je suis tout à fait enrhumé, ce qui veut dire bonne a 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 remet J’espère lui donner pas mal à faire.

11Possibly related to Frederick K. Low, who was the U.S. Minister to Peking (1869-74)
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 extitMisunderstood. 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

Helen

20 October

Seoul. Oct 20 1891

Dear Amy,

I have nothing from you unanswered, but I have a note from Russell enclosing one from Whenton, [looks like “Whenton”], which please thank him for. I wrote you something last mail about my projected trip. The “Allimed” 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 streamers, but I wished to make the occasion complimentary to him as well as useful to myself, & I had consequently requested the 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 “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

Yrs A.H.

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12 As discussed below, the USS Alliance was provided for the tour
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

The Heard family took the tour off the coast of Korea and the Korean port cities of Wonsan, Fusan, and Pingyang 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. Blain, 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. The trip was made aboard the USS Alliance, commanded by a Capt. Curley or 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.
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1887</th>
<th>1888</th>
<th>1889</th>
<th>1890</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Value</td>
<td>$599,160</td>
<td>$676,228</td>
<td>$549,496</td>
<td>$557,884</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

The party then went to Fusan, where the photograph of Deer Island was taken. Heard continues:

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, 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 1888 1889 1890

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Net</th>
<th>Gross</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>$1,447,267</td>
<td>$1,486,660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>$1,830,319</td>
<td>$1,908,643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>$3,963,470</td>
<td>$4,006,279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 sire 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 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 bout 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 tot he 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 tot he native town 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.

Max’s account of the voyage is more personal.

25 November

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 écrit – 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\textsuperscript{13} d’abord

\textsuperscript{13}Wonsan, also known as Gensan by the Japanese and Yuensan by the Chinese, was one of the three major ports of Korea.
— 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 là nous sommes allés à Pusan, 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 a déjeuné à la Lég. Jap. tandis que Maman et moi avons fait de même chez Mme Hunt, jeune du commissaire de la douane. Tu sais ce qu’est le service n’est-ce pas? Ce n’est pas comme chez nous. De là 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’Imperieuse 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 Pékin. 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 premier 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 jeté l’ancre. De là Papa avec plusieurs officiers sont allés dans le steam launch jusqu’à la ville où ils ont eu une grande réception du Governeur. 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 amussés tant bien que mal au désespoir du capitaine, qui me disait je les démoraliseraient. Un petit picnic à l’aventure, et un “candy pull” à bord étaient les grands événements. J’ai vu là quelque chose de très curieux. Des milliers d’oies et de canards sauvages, faisaient un bruit – comme un machine à vapeur “letting off steam.” Effrayant. Un phaisant 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, et dimanche soir nous a vu coucher ici,

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14Pusan 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.

15J.H. Hunt was the commissioner of customs at Pusan

16Mr. and Mrs. Johnston were in Korea for at least ten years and he worked for the Korean Maritime
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’envoie 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 boiserie neutre, les étagères et les murs couverts de “blue and 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 connaisses mieux ce que je decris si mal. Je t’envoie deux phot. de la salle à manger, et une de la salle de bal ou grand 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 derrière le paravent fait d’une vielle étoffe japonaise, deliciose.

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 a un ramollissement de cerveau! Amalia m’écrit de Knole au désespoir parceque 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 mervéille. 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, j’espère que j’ai assez jaser pour aujourd’hui et que ma lettre est causeuse. Mille baisers – pour toi et

Customs Office and was apparently Chief Commissioner of Customs in 1893 [74].

17Madame Outrey was the wife of the French minister to Washington in 1882
les mioches — amitiés aux tiens.

Hélène
2 déc

Je t’envoie aussi par ce courrier un jupon chinois — satin noir brodé d’or — en deux morceaux dont un à ton adresse l’autre à Mme Gray, que tu réclameras. Je l’envoie comme échantillon mais j’espère qu’il arrivera en bon état et sans te donner d’ennui. 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 sait 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 coupé 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 pacquets ci soient bien lancés. Il te fairei une très joli garniture mais — enfin tu peux choisir. Le même courier 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’habitûde.

exit

Menu
Tortue claire.
Bouchées à la reine.
Hua chi yu, sauce mayonnaise.
Selle de mouton à l’anglaise. Pain de gibier
Côtettes de volaille aux petits pois.
Caud-froid de faisans. Dinde rôtie.
Glace au café. Welsh rarebits.
Dessert.

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 Biaritz. From there we went to Pusan, more to the south 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 ???. 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. Pappa 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 ???? the ?????. — 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.

Helen

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 bahalf 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.

Helen

Tell Russel that I am sending a money request for $400 — as usual.

4 December

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 regardes 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 verrais 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 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 côté de la chambre – le grand poêle russe et le cabinet Koréen ayant trois compartements 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, derrière 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 verrais 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.

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:
No. 17 4 Dec. 1891
Seoul
Dear Amy

Just a few words to explain the enclosed photographs. Imagine yourself at the thresh-
old 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 comfortale? 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.
12 December

No 17

Söul

Le 12 décembre /91

Chère Amy. Te sens tu disposie 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 donne pas beaucoup d’ennuis et de tourments que je t’épargnerais bien volontiers – 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 commuquier? 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 diviné — M. von Brandt. Oui, c’est vrai — ne pousses 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 fiancailles 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 decidé sur ce point excepté que j’ai promis d’être prête à la fin de mars. J’ai envoyé à tante Parrot18 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 a encore d’autre choses. Addie garde pour moi une boîte remplie de livres, un châle en cachemir, 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 a quio quoi ce soit à quoi je tienne —

18'Tante Parrot was Mary (Wieland) Parrot, Amy’s mother Jane’s first cousin and 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.
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 pharmiciens dont l’adresse ci-incluse – de l’œil 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’ayes changé des épingles à cheveux comme modèle, une brosse à cheveux ivoire, fays 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 quelquechoses d’assez joli en fantaisie. Prends les en peau, soie, ou velour, mais surtout qu’ils soient jolie et légers pour les chaleurs. Quatre pairs de bas, cotton 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 voudrais si c’est humainement possible que la boîte soit ici les premiers jours de mars — tu l’envьерras 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 ça que je crains que tu ne puisses 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 voudrais pour bien au monde. Tu feras comme tu pourras et si il y a ce danger laisse cette partie là pour plus tard et envoies 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’interesser 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 dès le commencement. Après notre retour du temple — tu te rappelles nous avons passé quatre jours à un temple, au millieu 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 monsieur 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 quittées 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 Pékin. Enfin 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 blond superb, encadrent une physionomie tout à fait charmante. Le front très haut, des yeux bleus, très vifs, surmontés 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 somme 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 Pékin 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 Pékin 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 au-
jourd’hui je vais tâcher d’ajouter quelques mots pour être sûr de ne pas manquer le courrier. Mais je crois t’avoir tout dis — 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 dur 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 aye 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 faudrait que je sois bien bête avec un maître pareil! Son petit nom est Max! Pas que c’est drôle? Il faudra nous numéroter “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

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, lastw 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 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 sometimes 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 su-

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 drole? 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

17 December

Leg. des Etats Unis
Séoul
le 17 déc / 91

Chère Amy

Je vais tâcher de griffoner encore quelques lignes mais j’ai la main très fatiguée et un pouce foulé qui me fait assez mal — après avoir écrit 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 marriage pour M. Collin de Plancy 19 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

19V. 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.
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 20 —
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 des robes. Et je
ne sais vraiment pas ce que je ferais sans cela. Je te les décrirai un autre jour, avec des
échantillons. Surtout ne te tourments pas pour m’envoyer un cadeau. Je t’assure, Mams21,
que si tu me fais toutes ces commissions je t’en serai toujours obligée et il me donne tant
de choses — livres, bibelots, bijoux, étoffes — 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

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 invitation 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

20 Kirby, Beard, & Co. was a specialty shop at 5 rue Auber in Paris, presumably with a branch in Boston.
21 Mams is likely an abbreviated version of Mam’selle, which in turn is an abbreviated version of Made
moiselle.
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 “commisairer,” 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 truely 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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No 18 Le 17 décembre
Séoul

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’empresser 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 écrit 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 simples. 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 cœur 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 repette 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 préferai 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

17 December  
Séoul

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.

Helen

25 December

 Séoul
Le 25 déc.

No 19

/91
Chère Amy, je ne pensais pas t’écrire par ce courrier car j’ai tout d’autre lettres à expédier et tu dois en avoir assez avec ce que je t’aie écrits 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 blue foncée, brodée d’or à grands ramage, 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 gobelin. On porte a 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, saphires, et perles alternativement faisant une espèce de pendante en ce guise une petite chainette en or rattachant les pierres les unes aux autre. 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 finis d’un petit trèfle en perles. Le tout dans une superbe boîte en marocain noir, avec serrure et quatre coins un métal argenté ciselé et son chiffre en cuir rougë et bleu (inlaid) qui sera mon chiffre aussi un de ce 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 fourrurers — une espèce d’écureuil de 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 envoyée. 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 cas je ne lui dirai que d’un des manteaux et de ceux au parents.

Le Ministre Jap. m’a donné un assez joli éventail en forme d’écran. C’est assez intéressa- sant de collectionner des souvenirs de tout le monde par ci par là, surtout s’ils sont jolis. Merci d’avoir envoyé l’argenterie.
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 rubys, saphires, 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 diamand 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 maroccan box, with bolt and four corners of chisiled 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 cloissonne vases, not large but beautiful and a fur coat — some kind of squirrel, I believe, quite deep. To Papa, an 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.

Helen

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.
Chère Amy,

J’ai des remords de l’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 tousses 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 – Pardonnez 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 pappa bonnes. il touse moins mais est encore faible.

H.M.H.

No 20
Chemulpo
Jan. 6th 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 sponken 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 two blackly but certainly this winter is not gay! I am reluctantly at Mrs Johnston’s for a week but I had to comme 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 childre 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 “impertinant” 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,
Helen
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

Söul
le 17 janv. 92

No 21

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 fait 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 ou cela rien mais je me sens très riche. Avant de l’oublier envoies 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’expédies la brocart.
Je n’ai rien encore d’Aug.
à propos de l’argenterie. a-t-elle été expédie?
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.

Helen

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

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 ondits1 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 Gray2 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

10 February

Seoul, Febry 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 afterwords. 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

1 gossip, scuttlebut
2 Either Elizabeth Chipman (Bessie) Gray or Harriet Gray
of talk abt. it, but she was very much attached to him, & wanted me to say yes. As that is 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 conscioucne 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

Seoul, Febry 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 ça! —

Love to all from all. The mail goes out unexpectedly this P.M.

Yoursever,
A.H.

19 February

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

Seoul

le 11 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 illoigné [?] 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 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 fachée 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 comprendrai. Mais comme tu dis – mes lettres soit un peu incohérentes et je ne me suis peut-être pas bien expliqué. Tu peux 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 ait 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 a
reux, 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 envelope 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 exité par ta lettre que je n’ai pas une idée en tête et il faut pourtant que j’écrire 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 tourmente 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 demandée 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-inclus) 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?

Seoul

24

11 March 92

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 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 Pappa and I have been suffering for several weeks. He with diarrhea and I with indigestion. I am frighteningly thin but I have to 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. Your 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?

10 July

Shanghai
Sunday, July 10th 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 11:30 p.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, 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 Vissiére (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.

13 July

Shanghai
July 13th

Dear Papa,

I am just back from my first scéance 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.

3rough lace
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 amah⁴ 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 Lèous 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.

17 July

Peking July 17th 1892.

My Dear Heard,

Many thanks for your kind note of the 14th 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 companion-ship is the only drop of bitterness in ??? without that perfect happiness. Here everybody is delighted at the thought of having her as doyenne 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.

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⁴The 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.
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 antiforeign placards are again appearing in Honan.

Good bye for the present. Give my most respectrul regards to Mrs Heard and believe me with every good wish for you and yours.

Yours very truly,

MvBrant

Baron von Sternsburg\(^5\) 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\(^6\) 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\(^7\) and the Corean Chargé d’affaires; it is to be ratified within a year. But now, chin chin for good.

Yours,

B.

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18 July

Shanghai
July 18\(^{th}\)

Dear Papa,

Your letter of the 14\(^{th}\) 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,

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\(^5\) 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.

\(^6\) Col. Charles Denby was the U.S. Minister to China (1885-1898).

\(^7\) Baron Rüdiger von Biegeleben, Austrian-Hungarian diplomat and statesman, resident minister in Japan, signed the treaty with Korea on 23 June 1892.
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 affectionly
H.M.H.

19 July

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 7th 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 yester day 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.

20 July

Shanghai

July 20th

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 enought 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 empressé & 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.

21 July

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**

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 which I take to be a good sign; besides Shavermeier [??] 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 placard 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.
I have good news from Max tho’ the dentist is very hard upon her.
+German Consul

30 July

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 he 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.
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 reglement 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 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 the Sovereigns. I do hope somebody will tap the head of this wretched Emperor, & let some of the wind out, & I am dispirited to ln 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.
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 you 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 disponibilitis 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.

20 September

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 phrasiology. 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.

Augustine Heard
American Consul Genl.

Dear Mr. Heard

Your kind invitation for Monday eve recieved and I accept with frank hospitality.

Yours sincerely,
H.M. Brown
17 October

[Seems to be a journal entry in Max’s handwriting.]

We started for the palace\(^8\) at half past two, Mrs Allen going with me. Mrs Great\(^9\) 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\(^10\), 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 troup of maids of all ranks & grades, in simpler dresses of silk & of the same style, usually green shirts & yellow jackets, with great rount 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 pavillion 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 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

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\(^8\)Kyongbok Palace, now a museum

\(^9\)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. [21, 62, 76] The biography in [62] was written by Harold Joyce Nobel, who wrote of the foreign community in Korea in his paper [60] and his 1931 PhD thesis [80] (information provided by John Shufelt).

\(^10\)Min Myongsong, the controversial and powerful wife of King Kojong. She would be murdered by Japanese soldiers in the palace in 1894.
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. Ducitieschy’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. 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. Mamma, Mrs S Mrs D. with the boys, then Jap. Consul’s wife, him & two Jap. amahss — but I had some difficulty keeping my face straight when he asked if we took the position

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11 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.
of the sun by day or by night!

There was nothing to see in the way of flowers as we returned to our pavilion where the table 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 vive.

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 & flimsey 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.
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 courrier. Il faudra me dépêcher d’aller à un bal pour pouvoir la porter.

Il n’y en a guère ici encore mais nous été 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 (consulat Anglais) a donné 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 missionaires que nous allons avoir la semaine prochaine. Le dernier j’espère, qui a été remis tout ces temps cià 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
Il y a déjà presque un mois que je suis sans nouvelles et je ne sais si la réponse est encore arrivée de Berlin, mais je crois que c’est encore trop tôt. Nous faisons néanmoins tous 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 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 décrit 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 initiaux M.B. surmonté de la couronne en argent, à moi — tu vas ouvrir de grands yeux! un ravissant petit service, thière, 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 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

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1This seems to be a form of silver headdress in a form resembling the tuft of an egret.
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 service, silver teapot, coffiepot, creamer of Chinese design; wait that is not all — a brooch of three superb amythysts 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 chiselled 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 obstinantly 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.

Helen

6 April

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\(^2\) 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.”

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 felicitaions on account of the wedding which I accordingly sincerely offer to Mrs Heard and yourself.

Yours sincerely
Charles Denby

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9 May

A bord de l’Oldenburg
daus 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 parvenu. 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 voix — 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

\(^2\)1839–1894, lawyer, Republican Congressman from New Jersey 1973-75, 1883-89, U.S. Minister to Austria-Hungary, 1881; to Germany, 1889-93.
mine dans son uniforme, pas la petit, comme il avait premièremenent décidé, mais galonné d’or – tu verras dans la photographie, faite tout de suite après la marriage. Tu remarques aussi que tout les autres diplomates étaient en uniforme 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’interprete traduisit. A six heures tout était fini 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 recurent avec d’autant plus d’aimabilité et d’interêt 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 partimes de bonheur par un temps superb 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 j’usqu’à Shanghai — là il pleuvait hélas et pendant toute cette semaine le temps ne s’est pas entièrement remit. Arrivéà trois heures nous restâmes tran-
quils, causant avec notre hôte, le Consul-général M. Stuchel. Le soir diner ????. Lendemain matin je fis des emplettes et fis une petite visite chez le dentiste. — assez tard car nous étions allés à bord du vaisseau pour voir nos cabines et diriger les changements qu’il fallait 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 revins à ma journée du vendredi – de 2 h 1/2 à 16 heures, encore de l’Allemand. Mais j’ai éprouvé pour la première fois la sensation d’être femme mariée et “excellence”. Aussi au dessert, c’était dire au moment de se lever de table je remarquais que la conversation languissait, ou attendait évidemment quelque chose, j’étais fatigué et je me demandais quand on allait se lever. Enfin notre hôtes me demande si je voulait 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 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 rentris que juste à temps pour m’habiller pour aller déjeuner en ville. J’ai du quitter la table au beau milieu heureusement nous étions tout faits 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 rentris sans accident. Aussitôt rentris j’ai un autre accès et B. me mit au lit et fait vinir le docteur qui prononça — bad indigestion, ce que j’avais déjà diviné. J’avais le fièvre et ne pouvais plus remuer, de sorte que B. va seul au diner chez les B. Dimanche je reste tranquille et ne mange que de la soupe – 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 empêché de danser. Chief Justice Ha????, le Président du committee me conduisit au souper età deux heures je rentrais à moitié morte. Mardi je me portais bien au désappointement de B. qui m’avais 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 sur parchemin magnifiquement illuminée
et signée par toutes les maisons allemandes en Chine, et une énorme lampe en argent. On bût à ma santé séparément avec énorme enthousiasme des hurrahs et chansons. Enfin il revint enchanté me raconter toute l’affaire en détail onze heures. Je fit 34 visites et alla à un petit thé de Mme Ha?? en mon honneur. Mercredi, emballage et adieux. Jeudi matin à 7.30 encore des adieux à maison, à huit heures une autre dose sur le wharf, accompagné de fleurs en quantités. Nous avions un launch nous et commes nous abordâmes l’Oldenburg la musique joua et les drapeaux fur hissée. Il pleuvait. Une fois parmi nous nous poussâmes un soupir de soulagement et dormirent toutes 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 couper 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 rattraper un peu et déjà gagner deux livres. La mer est calme mais quelle chaleur! A Hong Kong il pluvait encore. Une atmosphère accablante. Je vis M. et Mme. Forbes qui demandèrent de tes nouvelles. Nous arrivâmes huit heures dimanch (30 avril) matin, furent conduit à l’hotel 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 traversait la grande antichambre entre une haie de messieurs qui, avec B. en tête, se referèrent [??] et me suivirent sur le grand 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 rentèrons assez fatigués, mais nous mêmes encore un petit tour en chaise, nous arrêtant dans quelques magazines.

Lundi matin, visite, promenades dans le brouillard. Grand déjeuner de 20 pers. chez M. et Mme von Loeper. de là 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 progrés 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 peux 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 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 surpassa 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 est 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 coustumes 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, 15th” sans délai? Je l’ai envoyé aussitôt après le mariage civil pour que tu l’ais 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 1er 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 journaux de Shanghai que je te pris de faire lire à Tante Alice ou à qui 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 rainey 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 hour 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! Exhusted 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 women and “excellency.” In addition at dessert, 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
retourned without accident. As soon as I returned I had another attack and B. put me in
bed and had the doctor come who pronounced — bæd 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 tranquilley and ate only rice soup! which left me well enough to
attend a diner in the evening, at the house with 20 people — eventhough 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
borded 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, conducted by M.H. to the sound of German music which was
loudly played, I traversed the grand antichamber 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.

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**Wedding presents**

- Necklace, bracelet & brooch of amethyste and diamonds – Brandt
- Diamond necklace (or tiara)
- " brooch (or pendant)
- Silver tea set – Sir Robert Hart³
- " tea set – Mr and Mrs Ohluser & Mr von Ha????
- " tea caddy – Count & Countess Brockdorf
- " " – Dr Wiles ⁴
- " Center piece – Foreign representatives in Peking
- " Inkstand – Mr O’Conor⁵
- 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 ⁶
- " plated biscuit & butter dishes – Captain & officers of the ?C. "Ping-Ching"
- Heavy gold hand bracelet & ring set with a large white pearl (each)

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³Sir Robert Hart was the British inspector general of Chinese Maritime Customs Service
⁴Dr. 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."[74]
⁵Sir Nicholas-Roderick O’Conor, British legation secretary In Peking (1885-86), minister plenipotentiary to China and Korea (1892-95).
⁶This 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. [74]
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

Leopard skin — Kim Ka Chin

Tortoise shell comb, brush, & glass Mrs ????

Hankow lace collar & cuffs Russian towel — Mrs Dmitrevsky 7

Horn & ivory box — M. Kandin T?????, pen, candlestick & photo frame of plate & leather. Dr. Schrameier

3 albums of Japanese ??? — Col. Nienstead 8
4 rolls of silk H.E. Li Hun Chang 9

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 — ??? ecarfs 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 10

7Possibly wife of Pavel Andreevich Dmitrevsky, Russian Consul in Hankow (1883–92) and Tientsin (1893–96), acting chargé in Korea (1891,93)
8Col. F.J.H. Nienstead, American military instructor in Korea
9Li 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.[102] He was a primary player in much of nineteenth century China, playing an active role in both Taiping and Boxer rebellions.
10Ker was the British Consular Assistant and in the spring of 1892 he was the acting Vice-Consul in Seoul.[74]
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Book — Bishop Corfe 11
Large silver lamp (5 ft high) German firms in China
Carved ivory photo frame — Mr Budler 12

The New York Daily Tribune of 12 March 1893 in Figure 23.1 provided a lot of background information and played up the romantic accent of Max von Brandt standing up to the Kaiser.

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-President

11Corfe 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. [74]

12Herman 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 1983.[74]
Figure 23.1: New York Daily Tribune, Sunday, March 12, 1893.

Herr von Brandt gives up his post to lead Miss Heard to the altar.

The refusal of the Emperor of Germany to permit Herr von Brandt, the Ambassador of the Empire in China, to marry Miss Heard, the daughter of Augustine Heard, of Massachusetts, the American Minister Resident and Consul-General at Seoul, Corea, has had no deterring influence upon the determination of that distinguished diplomatist to lead his bride home. German official papers announce that Herr von Brandt—naturally—preferred the honor of wedding the pretty daughter of the Republic to representing longer His Majesty at the capital of the Flower Kingdom. When the decision of the Emperor arrived at Pekin His Excellency promptly forwarded his resignation to his chief, to take effect on April 1. His successor, in the person of Baron von Schenck, at present German Minister to Persia, and formerly representative of his country in Chili, has already been appointed. After his marriage the Ambassador intends to return with his wife to Europe and pass the rest of his days on his estates in Germany.

Herr von Brandt is, so far as is known, the first German to surrender an Ambassador’s post to link his fortunes with those of an American woman. His post as representative in China is one of the most important in the foreign service of the Empire. No European country pays its foreign representatives larger salaries than Germany. According to the regulations of the Foreign Office, service in the far East counts double, so that Herr von Brandt, long German representative in the Orient, enjoys the peculiar distinction of having had more years of service than years of life. His Excellency, however, is not a young man, having passed his sixtieth birthday a short time ago.

Miss Heard by her marriage will become related to some of the most distinguished families of the Fatherland. Herr von Brandt is the son of General von Brandt, of the Prussian Infantry, who died in 1868, and whose memoirs, published after his death, called forth much discussion. Like his father, he began active life as an army officer. His diplomatic career began in 1889, when he accompanied Count Eulenberg on his Asiatic mission. Since then he has lived without interruption in the Orient, except for an occasional leave of absence.

For years Herr von Brandt has been the dean of the diplomatic corps in Pekin, and as much, spokesman on all important occasions. Owing to his long residence and intimate knowledge of Chinese affairs, his influence is greater with the Government than that of any other representative. He has been an invaluable aid to German merchants, and the Emperor probably will have reason to regret his loss. His collections of works of Chinese art and industry are famous in Europe, and many of the great museums owe to him some of their most valuable treasures.

Many Americans have enjoyed the Ambassador’s hospitality in the far East, as he has long been a friend of this country and its people. Regularly every Christmas the whole diplomatic corps and the foreign visitors of note have assembled at his palace to celebrate the day. It should be said that Emperor William’s refusal to sanction the marriage of the Ambassador and Miss Heard was not due to the fact that the lady is an American. His action shows no discrimination against the daughters of the United States. The Baron’s request would have met the same fate had his future wife belonged to any other than his own nationality. It is an unwritten law of the German Foreign Office that its representatives shall only marry German women. No one was more rigorous in his enforcement of the regulation than Prince Bismarck when in power. Exceptions have been made, but they are rare. The wives of Ministers and Ambassadors naturally play an important part and are instructed with many state and political secrets. Bismarck believed that foreign wives could not feel the same interest in Germany’s success as women of the Teutonic race, especially should their husbands happen to be accredited to their native countries. No rule of Bismarck has been more rigidly upheld by the present Emperor than this one regarding the wives of the foreign representatives. But Herr von Brandt, rather than be subject to it, will give up his post.
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 congradulated 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 V

Epilog: 1893 – 1945
Chapter 24

Epilog

In her 1965 book *Gentle Americans 1864–1960: Biography of a Breed* [58], 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 24.1 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. 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 handwgs with their finely groved 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. 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 tilled 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 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

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1 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 term managing Augustine Heard and Company in Hong Kong in 1868, when her sister Max was born.
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 thrhere 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. 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 given 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 fragel *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. 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

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2Amy 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.
the wilting invalid, like a discarded chrysalis, was left behind. Amy Gray became not so much the misterring as the avenging angel who would brook no one near her husband but herself, in a savage ort 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 valiantly 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 rither 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 boldhearted lead, and would have agreed that Father was nice.
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) [94]

Abbot 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 naïveté, 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 Fredrika Bremer

*Hemmen i den Ny Verlden* (1854)[16]
*Skissbök från resan i Nya världen 1850–1851* [17]

See also [19] [20] [18] [15] [95].

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 [18] almost simultaneously with the original Swedish version in 1854. A British version was published in 1855 by Arthur Hall, Virtue, & Co, London [19]. 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* [15].

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 Ingenio1 Santa Amelia, but as will be discussed in some length, her Santa Amelia as the estate usually referred to as Santa Amalia.

The first of these books that I discovered (in 2019) during some Web searching was *Cartas desde Cuba* [15]. 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 [17]. The sketchbook resides in the University of Uppsala in Swe-

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1One 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.
den, but reproductions produced by Signe A. Rooth of the University of Chicago can be found in a chapter of a book [95] 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.ub.uu.se/special-collections/ or the Alvin database at http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/.

A.3 Carlos Rebello

Estados relativos a la Producción Azucarera de la Isla de Cuba, formados competente y con autorización 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 departamento, subdivided into jurisdicciones, which in turn were subdivided into partidos (de jurisdicción). Unlike Poey [91], 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.4 Estéban Tapia Pichardo (1799–1879)

Diccionario Provincial Qasi-Razondo Vozes Cubanas (1862) [90]
Carta geotopográfica de la Ysla de Cuba (1875) [89]
Caminos de la Isla de Cuba: Itinerarios (1865) [87] [88]

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 originals 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 [89].

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 [81]) 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.

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 Vecindad de su Circunferencia which was later


\[3\) See, e.g., http://resultados.redciencia.cu/uploads/biografias/epichardo.pdf, but a Web search will yield
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.\(^4\). 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\(^5\).

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 \(^81\) with the title page shown in Figure A.4. Portions were reproduced and published as described in \(^35\). A few maps appear in *Commercial Cuba: A Book for Business Men*, by William J. Clark \(^28\), but unfortunately these are not of sufficient detail to help here.

A pdf for \(^81\) 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*\(^6\). 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.

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

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\(^4\)The full title of the map was *Carta Geo-corohidro-topográfica del Departamento Occidental de la Isla de Cuba*

\(^5\)http://bibliotecavirtualdefensa.es/BVMDefensa/118n/consulta/registro.do?id=56569

the government\textsuperscript{7}. It is likely that this map strongly resembled 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) \[87][88].

\subsection*{A.4.1 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) \[81], *Military Notes on Cuba* (1909) \[46], and *US Army Road Notes:1909* (1909) \[8].

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.

\textsuperscript{7}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 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.5 Manuel Barcia Paz


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.6 Alberto Perret Ballester


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 snippits 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 3.9.1 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

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 accessible [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.

The links to the e-publications in the http://mdhistory.net domain are contained in the Guide to Government Records and Special Collections at the Maryland State Archives available off of the Maryland State Archives website (http://mdsa.net). Included are many early records of the City of Baltimore that have been salvaged from oblivion through the generous support of the Maryland State Archives and the National Historical Records and Publications Commission.
On the application of

of Baltimore City

by petition in writing to us the subscriber, Commissioners of Insolvent Debtors for the City and County of Baltimore, stating

that

he is now actually imprisoned in Baltimore County, and praying us to grant to him

the benefit of the Insolvent Laws of this state, a Schedule of his property and a List of his creditors, on oath, as far as he can ascertain them, being answered to his petition, and

the said

Lemuel Taylor.

having satisfied us by competent testimony, that he has reside two years next preceding the time of his application, within the State of Maryland, and we having appoint

Commissioners to consider the benefit of the creditors of the said

Taylor

and the said

Taylor

having also given bond with security approved by us, for the faithful performance of his said trust, and the said

Taylor

having also given bond with security approved by us, for his personal appearance before us, at our office in the City of Balti

more, on the 29th day of September next, at one o'clock P. M. to answer such interrogatories as may be propounded to him by any of his creditors, and also for his personal appearance before Baltimore County Court on the 29th day of September next, to answer such allegations as may be filed against him by any of his creditors, and the said

Taylor

having before so taken the oaths directed to be taken by the said Insolvent laws, for the delivery up of his property.

These are therefore to certify, That we have this day granted a personal discharge to the said

Lemuel Taylor

Given under our hands this 28th day of September 1845 in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-five.

Strong.

J. Strong.

[Signature]

APPENDIX B. INSOLVENCY OF LEMUEL TAYLOR

Figure B.1: Personal Discharge
Figure B.2: Schedule
Figure B.3: List
IN THE CASE OF

an applicant for the benefit of the Insolvent Laws of Maryland, The undersigned Commissioners of Insolvent Debtors for the City and County of Baltimore, in pursuance of an Act of Assembly, entitled “An Act relating to Insolvent Debtors in the City and County of Baltimore,” do report to BALTIMORE COUNTY COURT that, having diligently enquired and examined into the nature and circumstances of the said application, it appears, upon such examination, that the said Taylor hath complied with the terms and conditions of the said Insolvent Laws, and hath acted fairly and bona fide. And the said Commissioners now return to the office of the Clerk of the said Court, there to be recorded, the schedule and all proceedings which have been had before them, in the matter of the application aforesaid.

Given under our hands, this 29th day of September in the year Eighteen Hundred and twenty-one.

L. Eichelberger

Wm. W. Hall, Comm.
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 rational 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. 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, 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.

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1 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.

2 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.
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 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, poblacónes, 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 Guacamaro, 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 (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 an ecclesiastic). In Poey’s 1849 book *Compendio de la Geografía de la Isla de Cuba* [91] 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[98].
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 tenancia typically meant military commands or supply administrations.

- The second level *political* division members were also called *tenencias de gobiernos*, which included *ayuntamientos* (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 jurisdicción*, 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.

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3For the math geeks, a tenancia is simply a subset of the lower level gobierno
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 [93] 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[91]. 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 intendencias were government agencies created 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 [93] reported the results for each departamento, subdivided into jurisdicciones, which in turn were subdivided into partidos (de jurisdicción). Unlike Poey[91], 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 jurisdicción of the Province of Matanzas. In 1860, however, Cardenas and Matanzas were both jurisdicciones of the same department.

Rebello [93] 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 “jurisdicción” 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 Taylor⁴, the port as Matanzas, and the “Paradero o Embarcadero” as Coliseo.⁵

It should be noted that the Rebello report [93] confirms that by 1859, the primary product of Santa Amalia was sugar (it was at this time an ingenio and no longer a cafetal)

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⁴Other 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.

⁵Paradero 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.
(coffee plantation) as it was when Lemuel bought it) and that the estate was still in the Taylor family. Barcia [83] 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 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 [46] 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 [46] 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 [46] in Fig. C.1 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 Jurisdicción 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 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.


The character of these divisions is somewhat less in political importance than those 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 that 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
Figure C.1: 1909 Barrio of Coliseo, Townships of Matanzas, Cardenas, Jovellanos
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

D.1 Letters from Victoria, Amalia, and Flora West.

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

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14. 11 March 1886, from Victoria (Ottowa)
15. 14 March 1886, from Amalia
16. 14 March 1886, from Victoria (Ottowa)
17. 17 March 1886, from Augustine Heard, Jr. (Matanzas)
18. 27 March 1886, from Amalia
19. 31 March 1886, from Victoria
20. 13 April 1886, from Victoria (summer ’86 in England)
21. 19 July 1887, from Amalia (Paris)
22. 28 August 1887, from Victoria (Paris)
23. 21 October 1887, from Amalia
24. 22 October 1887, from Victoria
25. 12 November 1887, from Victoria
26. 12 November 1887, from Amalia
27. 26 November 1887, from Amalia
28. 30 November 1887, from Victoria
29. 22 December 1887, from Victoria
30. 26 December 1887, from Victoria
31. 23 January 1888, from Victoria
32. 29 January 1888, from Amalia
33. 20 February 1888, from Amalia (Cannes)
34. 19 March 1888, from Amalia (looking for house in Beverly Cove)
35. 9 April 1888, from Victoria (Flora’s engagement)
36. 9 April 1888, from Flora
37. 11 April 1888, from Victoria to Jane Heard
D.2. LETTERS TO AMY HEARD FROM HER FAMILY

38. 19 April 1888, from Amalia
39. 18 July 1888, from Amalia (Cove Hill, Beverly)
40. 19 July 1888, from Victoria (Cove Hill, Beverly)
41. 22 September 1888, from Amalia (Cove Hill, Beverly)
42. 31 October 1888, from Victoria (Murchison affair)
43. 6 November 1888, from Amalia
44. 11 March 1889, from Victoria (Cannes)
45. 28 March 1891, from Victoria (Knole)

D.2 Letters to Amy Heard from her family

Letters to Amy from her father Augustine Heard Jr., her sister Max (or Bébé or Helene), her mother Jane Leep (De Coninck) Heard, her brothers John Heard Jr. and Albert Augustine Heard, and her uncle and Albert Farley Heard.

1. 16 September 1878, from Augustine (Ipswich)
2. 12 February 1883, from Augustine (NY)
3. 17 Dec 1883, from Augustine (New York) to Ingenio Santa Amalia
4. 10 November 1884, from Augustine (Cleveland)
5. 27 November 1884, from Bébé
6. 4 December 1884, from Augustine Albert Heard (Cincinnati to NY)
7. 13 December 1884, from John Heard (Boston to NY, in German)
8. 16 December 1884, from Bébé (Boston to NY)
9. 17 December 1884, from John Heard (Boston to NY, in German)
10. 24 December 1884, from Bébé (Boston to NY)
11. 28 January 1885, from Bébé (Boston)
12. 10 February 1885, from Augustine Heard (NY)
13. 25 February 1885, from John Heard (NY to Washington, c/o Commissioner Loring, in German)
14. 5 March 1885, from Bébé (Boston)
15. 8 March 1885, from John Heard (NY to the Russian Legation, from Washington, D.C., in German)
16. 10 March 1885, from Jane Leep Heard (NY, sent c/o G.B.Loring, Washington D.C.)
17. 10 March 1885, from Augustine Heard (NY, c/o G.B. Loring)
18. 21 March 1885, from Bébé (Boston to NY)
19. 27 May 1885, from Augustine Heard (NY to Boston)
20. 2 June 1885, from Bébé (Boston to Ipswich)
21. 8 June 1885, from Augustine (NY to Ipswich)
22. 4 March 1886, from Jane Leep (NY to Boston)
23. 9 March 1886, from Augustine Albert Heard (In French)
24. 17 March 1886, from Augustine (Matanzas, Cuba)
25. 1 April 1886, from Jane Leep & Augustine (NY to Boston)
26. 14 April 1886, from Jane Leep (NY to Boston)
27. 25 January 1887, from Bébé (Washington to Boston, West sisters)
28. 29 June 1887, from Bébé (The Belmont, Bar Harbor)
29. 5 July 1887, from Augustine (NY to Nahant)
30. 6 July 1887, from Bébé (The Belmont, Bar Harbor)
31. 7 July 1887, from Augustine (NY to Nahant)
32. 12 July 1887, from Augustine (NY to Nahant)
33. 15 July 1887, from Bébé (The Belmont, Bar Harbor)
34. 18 July 1887, from Augustine
35. 22 July 1887, from Bébé (The Belmont, Bar Harbor)
36. 27 July 1887, from Albert Farley Heard (Washington)
37. 1 August 1887, from Bébé (The Belmont, Bar Harbor)
38. 8 August 1887, from Augustine (Mt. Desert)
39. 8 August 1887, from Bébé (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 Bébé (The Belmont, Bar Harbor)
43. 21 August 1887, from Augustine (Mt. Desert)
44. 28 August 1887, from Albert Farley Heard (Ipswich to Nahant)
45. 28 August 1887, from Augustine (Mt. Desert to Nahant)
46. 4 September 1887, from Bébé (The Belmont, Bar Harbor)
47. 18 September 1887, from Bébé (The Belmont, Bar Harbor)
48. 1 December 1887, from Augustine (NY)
49. 10 January 1888, from Max (Washington)
50. 19 January 1888, from Max (Washington)
51. 8 February 1888, from Max (Washington, mentions Amalia W.)
52. 18 March 1888, from Jane Leep (NY)
53. 25 March 1888, from Augustine (NY)
54. 20 May 1888, from Augustine (NY)
55. 23 August 1888, from Augustine (Bar Harbor)
56. 30 August 1888, from Max (The Belmont)
57. 7 October 1888, from Max (Ipswich)
58. 13 October 1888, from Augustine (Bar Harbor)
59. 25 March 1889, from Augustine (NY, Blaine discussions)
60. 25 June 1889, from Augustine (Belmont, Bar Harbor)
61. 29 July 1889, from Augustine (Bar Harbor)
62. 25 January 1890, from Jane Leep & Augustine (NY)
63. 10 February 1890, from Augustine (NY)
64. 30 May 1890, from Augustine (Seoul)
65. 6 August 1890, from Helene (Seoul, Korea)
66. 7 November 1890, from Augustine (Seoul)
67. 19 February 1891, from Augustine (Seoul)
68. 23 February 1891, from Augustine (Seoul)
69. 27 March 1891, from Augustine (Seoul)
70. 6 April 1891, from Helene (Seoul, No. 8)
71. 23 May 1891, from Helene (Peking, No. 9; courtship with von Brandt)
72. 31 July 1891, from Helene (Seoul, No. 11)
73. 30 August 1891, from Augustine (Seoul)
74. 22 September 1891, from Helene (Seoul, No. 14)
75. 20 October 1891, from Augustine (Seoul)
76. 25 November 1891, from Helene (Seoul, No. 16, + menu)
77. 4 December 1891, from Jane Leep (Seoul)
78. 4 December 1891, from Helene (Seoul, No. 17)
79. 12 December 1891, from Helene (Seoul, also no. 17)
80. 17 December 1891, from Helene (Seoul, no. 18)
81. 25 December 1891, from Helene (Seoul, no. 19)
82. 6 January 1892, from Helene (Chunulpo?, no. 20)
83. 17 January 1892, from Helene (Seoul, no. 21)
D.3. OTHER LETTERS TO AMY HEARD

84. 30 January 1892, from Jane Leep (Seoul, in English!)
85. 10 February 1892, from Augustine (Seoul)
86. 19 February 1892, from Jane Leep (Seoul, in English!)
87. 11 March 1892, from Augustine (Seoul)
88. 19 July 1892, from Augustine (Chefoo)
89. 21 July 1892, from Augustine (Chefoo, note from Max von B.)
90. 30 July 1892, from Augustine (Chefoo)
91. 10 August 1892, from Augustine (Chefoo)
92. 16 September 1892, from Augustine (Chefoo)
93. 8 January 1893, from Helene (Seoul)
94. 9 May 1893, from Helene (on board the Oldenburg, Straits of Malacca)

D.3 Other Letters to Amy Heard

1. 29 November 1884, from Alice Bowler (Cincinnatti)
2. 14 February 1885, from Mary Endicott (mentions V.W.)
3. 15 March 1885, from Louise Bowler (Boston)
4. 16 March 1885, from Georgie (refers to articles)
5. 16 March 1885, from ?? (Biarritz)
6. 5 June 1885, from ?? (AWL below?)
7. 30 August 1885, letters to both Amy and Russell from I.S. Gardner (Isabella Stewart Gardner) +
8. 20 February 1886, from Louise Bowler
9. 17 March 1886, from Edith (NY to Boston)
APPENDIX D. LIST OF LETTERS

10. 22 March 1886, from AWL (Bermuda to Boston)

11. 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) +

12. 7 September 1886, from Mary (Thurston?) Arnay-le-Duc, Cote d’Or to NY +

13. 9 September 1886, from (to Russell Gray) W.C.Loring

14. 10 September 1886, from Thérèse (de Chambrun or de Brazza?), (Paris to NY) (mentions V.W.) +

15. 14 September 1886, from Genevieve (Marshall) (Berne to NY) +

16. 17 September 1886, from M.V. Chaffraix (New Orleans to Boston) +

17. 23 September 1886, from Georgie (Bangalore to 1777 Mass Av, Wash D.C.)

18. 5 October 1886, from Josefina Martinez (Santiago)

19. 26 October 1887, from Horace Gray (Justice of Supreme Court)

20. 26 June 1887, from Bessie (Chalet Haltura)

21. 28 July 1887, from Louise (Chatwold, Mt. Desert)

22. 3 September 1887, from Louise (Chatwold, Mt. Desert)

23. 13 September 1887, from Edith

24. 23 September 1887, from Louise Bowler (Chatwold, Mt. Desert)

25. 8 October 1887, from Louise (Chatwold)

26. 22 October 1887, from Bessie (Chalet Haltera, Biarritz)

27. 13 November 1887, from Mary Endicott

28. 11 December 1887, from Louise Bowler

29. 25 December 1887, from Edith

30. 30 December 1887, from Louise Bowler (Mt. Storm)

31. 17 April 1888, from Mary Endicott

32. 20 April 1888, from Edith
33. 27 April 1888, from Louise Bowler
34. 7 August 1888, from Addie
35. 5 October 1888, from Louise Bowler
36. 6 November 1888, from Mary C. Endicott (engagement to J. Chamberlain)
37. 22 November 1888(?), from Mary Endicott Chamberlain
38. 6 June 1889, from Mabel Bayard Warren
39. 4 February 1890, from Mary Endicott Chamberlain
40. 24 April 1890, from Mabel Bayard Warren
41. 16 May 1890, from Mabel Bayard Warren
Appendix E

Timeline

1767  12 April Mary Wheatley Williams born in Somerset County, Eastern Shore, Maryland.

1767  Mary Wheatly Williams born in Somerset County, Eastern Shore, Maryland.

1769  19 November Lemuel Taylor is born in Somerset County, Eastern Shore, Maryland.

1802  Mary West Taylor born to Lemuel and Mary Taylor.

1806  Amelia Williams Taylor born 22 May 1806 in Baltimore, Maryland. Second daughter of Mary and Lemuel Taylor.

1810  Alexander Taylor born 15 September to Lemuel and Mary Taylor.

1830  Francois De Coninck appointed Consul for Belgium in Havana, Cuba.

1831  Francis De Coninck and Amelia Williams Taylor married at Santa Amalia Estate in Cuba on 16 June.

1832  11 May, Jane Leep De Coninck born in Havana.

1834  9 August, Mary Taylor De Coninck born in Havana. (Steen says 1933)

15 October Alexander Taylor marries Maria Louisa Webster of Middletown Connecticut (b. 17 October 1814) in Havana Cuba. They have have seven children through the next years who crop up in Amy Heard’s journals. All are born in Colon, 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 Northern-most Francophone city in the world, lying 10 km (6.2 miles) from the Belgian border. It 43 km from Ostend, where Francis was born.

1838 Francis Alexander born on 19 August in Havana.

1841 19 July: De Coninck family (except for Jane) arrives in New York aboard Cristoval Ceolon:
21 December Still-born daughter born in Dunkirk, France (near Ostend, Belgium)

1843 Death of Mary Wheatley Taylor at St. Amelia(?)lia Estate on 5 September.

1845 10 June a collection of Deconincks and Taylors arrive in New York on the 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 her nieces, 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. [100],[85]

1847 29 June, Francis De Coninck dies in New York City while there for medical help for “chronic brain fever disease.”

1847 Alexander Taylor leaves Cuba for Connecticut with his family.

1848 1 August Alexander Taylor, Amelia W. De Coninck’s brother, died in New Haven, Connecticut.

1850 Coffee plantations in Cuba largely disappeared, mostly converted into other uses, including sugar plantations.

1851 Fredrika Brenner visits Ingenio Santa Amelia, 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 now 82.
1858 Augustine Heard, Jr., and Jane Leep De Coninck married on 22 April 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). In June Amelia sails from Baltimore to Boston. H. McKim and his son are also on board.

1859 4 May John Heard born to Augustine and Jane Heard in Paris. First grandchild of Francis and Amelia W. De Coninck. final entry in De Coninck bible.

1860 7 October Amy Heard born in Boston, her grandmother Amelia W. De Coninck is present.

1861 5 January Amy is baptized by the Rev. Arthur Mason, the rector of St. Andrews Church in Chelsea, Massachusetts, just North of Boston, in the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts. Rev. Mason is the husband of Amelia Caroline Taylor, one of Alexander Taylor’s daughters and hence a niece of Amelia W. De Coninck, who is in attends the ceremony.

Gus and Jane return to Paris with John and Amy.

1864 Ingenio Santa Amalia listed in Diccionario de la Isla de Cuba as owned by “Herederos de Taylor.” No Ingenio Santa Amelia is not listed.

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 Pilletur or Pelletier in ???, 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). Fleeing the hostilities, Amy moves with her parents to Washington, DC.Paris fell to the Germans in January 1871.

1875 Bankruptcy of Augustine Heard & Co
1876  Augustine Heard, Jr., and family in Brighton

Amy Heard in 1876, Brighton

1881  Amy visits Newport, R.I., in October. Left 11/2/1881 and arrived New York City 3 November. Left N.Y. on 10th for Washington D.C.

Amy and her parents and sister to Baltimore.

December 1883 – January 1884  Amy at Ingenio Sta Amalia, Coliseo, Matanzas Province, Cuba. Probably Mary Taylor De Coninck Johnson, her aunt Mary, was there at the time.

1884  In NYC in Nov-December. 262 Fourth Ave

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 Pilleturs (?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.

Amy stays with Mrs Dorr 18 Commonwealth in March. Amy marries Russell Gray in Washington DC.

So it appears that by 1886 Sta Amalia was under management by Amelia Henrietta (De Coninck) Pilletur and her husband. This may have occurred as a result of the illness of Mary Taylor De Coninck Johnson.

1889 Amy’s brother John marries Adeline Wheelwright Lewis (Adi)

Death of Jane Leep (De Coninck) Heard
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[16] Fredrika Bremer. Hemmen i den Ny Verlden. Vol. 3. The original Swedish version can be found at the Runeberg Project at http://runeberg.org/hemmeninya/3/ Several translations from the original Swedish into English were made, which are listed as separate books because they are not strict translations. There are two early English translations by Mary Howitt with Bremer’s cooperation, one published in Great Britain [19] and the other in the United States [18]. There are differences, however, between the English and Swedish versions. In particular, many names spelled-out in the Swedish version are replaced by initials in the English version. Portions of Volume 3 were translated from the original Swedish into Spanish by Matilde Goulard de Westberg as Cartas desde Cuba, Linkgua-digital.com, Barcelona2020 (available in Spanish on Google-Play, which has a useful but erratic automated English translation capability. It does, however, preserve the full names of people visited by Bremer). P.A. Norstedt & soner, 1854.


[83] Manuel Barcia Paz. *The Great African Slave Revolt of 1825: Cuba and the Fight for Freedom*. Published as a hard copy on 6 June 2012 and available online on Research Gate as a pdf dated June 2012, but posted in May 2012, but the two differ. For example, Sta Amelia appears in the online version in place of Sta Amalia in several, but not all, occurrences. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, June 2012.


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