

THE
LION
AND THE
FOX

*Two Rival Spies and the Secret Plot
to Build a Confederate Navy*



ALEXANDER ROSE



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NOTES

Prologue

I

Dudley and Liverpool: Letters to Seward, October 26 and November 23, 1861, in *Despatches from United States Consuls in Liverpool, 1790–1906*, Reels 19, 20, micro-film in the National Archives. Hereafter *LCD*, for Liverpool Consular Despatches. Liverpool: Herman Melville's quasi-autobiographical account of his visit in *Redburn*, in G. T. Tanselle (ed.), *Redburn, White-Jacket, Moby-Dick* (New York: Library of America, 1983), pp. 165–230; M. Macilwee, *The Liverpool Underworld: Crime in the City, 1750–1900* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011). Other sources on crime include: F. Bell, *Midnight Scenes in the Slums of New York: Or, Lights and Shadows* (London: W. Kent and Co., 1881), pp. 230–31; T. Lane, *Liverpool: Gateway of Empire* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1987), pp. 23–25, 34, 38–39, 77–96, 117–18; H. Shimmin, *Liverpool Sketches, Chiefly Reprinted from the Porcupine* (London: W. Tweedie, 1863), pp. 1, 91; R. Muir, *A History of Liverpool* (Liverpool: University Press of Liverpool, 1907), p. 301; C. Dickens, “Poor Mercantile Jack,” in Dickens, *The Uncommercial Traveller and A Child's History of England* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1922), pp. 34–43; and N. Hawthorne, *Passages from the English Note-Books* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Co., 1875), diary entries of August 9, p. 10; September 1, pp. 28–29; October 19, 1853, p. 51. Women fighting: Hawthorne, *Our Old Home: A Series of English Sketches* (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1884), p. 238. Murders in 1858: A. Hume, *Condition of Liverpool, Religious and Social; Including Notices of the State of Education, Morals, Pauperism, and Crime* (Liverpool: T. Brakell, 1888), p. 26.

II

B. Dyer, "Thomas H. Dudley," *Civil War History*, 1 (1955), no. 4, pp. 401-13; W. J. Potts, "Biographical Sketch of the Hon. Thomas H. Dudley, of Camden, N.J., Who Died April 15, 1893," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 35 (1895), pp. 102-28; "Thomas H. Dudley," in A. C. Rogers (ed.), *Our Representatives Abroad: Biographical Sketches of Ambassadors, Ministers, Consuls-General, and Consuls of the United States in Foreign Countries* (New York: Atlantic Publishing Company, 1874), pp. 257-68; T. H. Dudley, "The Inside Facts of Lincoln's Nomination," *The Century*, 40 (1890), pp. 477-79; D. H. Maynard, "Dudley of New Jersey and the Nomination of Lincoln," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 82 (1958), no. 1, pp. 100-8. Dudley tells his own story in "Appointment & Initial Experiences as Liverpool Consul," Thomas Haines Dudley Papers DU-1275, probably written in 1884.

Chapter One: On Secret Service

I-II

J. D. Bulloch, *The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe; or, How the Confederate Cruisers Were Equipped* (New York: Modern Library, 2001 ed.; 1883 orig.), pp. 24-27; V. Bullock-Willis, "James Dunwoody Bulloch," *The Sewanee Review*, 34 (1926), 4, pp. 386-401; E. A. Ford, "The Bullochs of Georgia," *The Georgia Review*, 6 (1952), 3, pp. 318-31; J. G. B. Bulloch, *A Biographical Sketch of Hon. Archibald Bulloch, President of Georgia, 1776-77* (privately printed, 1907); S. C. Kinnaman, *Captain Bulloch: The Life of James Dunwoody Bulloch, Naval Agent of the Confederacy* (Indianapolis, IN: Dog Ear Publishing, 2013), pp. 20-198; W. E. Wilson and G. L. McKay, *James D. Bulloch: Secret Agent and Mastermind of the Confederate Navy* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2012), pp. 11-35; G. P. Shine, "'A Gallant Little Schooner': The U.S. Schooner *Shark* and the Oregon Country, 1846," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 109 (2008), no. 4, pp. 536-65; R. H. Dana, *To Cuba and Back: A Vacation Voyage* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1859), pp. 11-23, 278. On his politics, see Bulloch, *Secret Service*, pp. 22, 24, 27. The Murray Street address is given in a classified advertisement in the *New York Herald*, March 27, 1861. Regarding the Benjamin letter, its full contents are mysterious as Bulloch destroyed it, though he quoted (from memory) its purportedly only line in his memoirs ("The Secretary of the Navy desires you to come to Montgomery without delay."). Bulloch later claimed, however, that he was first asked to go to Britain during his meeting with Mallory in Montgomery. Yet Bulloch purchased a ticket to Liverpool while he was *still* in New York via a roundabout route from Montreal. How, if he only first heard the proposal *later* in Montgomery, did he know he was going to be traveling there? Put another way, there was more to the Benjamin letter than Bulloch later pretended, probably in an attempt to disguise, for legal reasons, his early involvement in the clandestine naval scheme. It is possible that while still in New Orleans on April 23 he was tipped off that he

was to be sent to Britain, though there is no evidence of this. The New York letter therefore remains the strongest indication of Bulloch's recruitment. On transferring his assets: Hiram Barney (Customs House official) to Seward, July 10, 1861, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 70 vols., 1880–1901), 2, 2, p. 18. Hereafter *Official Records (Army)*.

III–V

Montgomery: *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861–1865* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904), 1, p. 50, February 13, 1861; W. H. Russell, *My Diary North and South* (Boston: T.O.H.P. Burnham, 1863), pp. 165–80. Mallory's background: P. Melvin, "Stephen Russell Mallory, Southern Naval Statesman," *Journal of Southern History*, 10 (1944), 2, pp. 137–60. On the Mallory-Bulloch discussions: Bulloch, *Secret Service*, pp. 30–35; Kinnaman, *Captain Bulloch*, pp. 238–42; Mallory to Bulloch, May 9, 1861, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 30 vols., 1894–1927), 2, 2, pp. 64–65. Hereafter *Official Records (Navy)*. Lincoln's ships: J. T. Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy from Its Organization to the Surrender of Its Last Vessel* (New York: Rogers and Sherwood, 1887), p. 433. South's relative lack of industry: Table 3, "Value of Manufacturing Production," in D. G. Surdam, "The Union Navy's Blockade Reconsidered," *Naval War College Review*, 51 (1998), no. 4, pp. 93–94; Surdam, "The Confederate Naval Buildup: Could More Have Been Accomplished?" *Naval War College Review*, 54 (2001), no. 1, p. 110; and W. N. Still Jr., "Facilities for the Construction of War Vessels in the Confederacy," *Journal of Southern History*, 31 (1965), no. 3, pp. 285–89. An initial \$1 million appropriation for Bulloch was approved on May 10, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, p. 66. Mallory on acquiring ironclads: Memorandum to C. M. Conrad, May 10, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 67–69. I've relied on the detective work of Wilson and McKay, *James D. Bulloch*, pp. 37–38, 43, regarding Hollis White. White's appointment to the Treasury: "Our Washington Dispatches," *New York Times*, March 26, 1861. Bulloch was annoyed that he had been exposed (see his August 13, 1861, report from London, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, p. 84). The *Newbern Daily Progress* of North Carolina, May 23, 1861, reprints the original *Richmond Dispatch* article.

Chapter Two: The White Gold

I

Moran's background: "In Memoriam," *Trübner's American, European & Oriental Literary Record*, 5 (1884), p. 48. On his political views: R. Fulton, "The *Spectator* in Alien Hands," *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 24 (1991), no. 4, pp. 187–96; S. A. Wallace

and F. E. Gillespie (eds.), *The Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1857–1865* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2 vols., 1948–49). Views of Dallas and on Adams's dress: May 16 and June 15, 1861, 1, pp. 811–12, 829; Hobbies: July 15, 1861, November 14, 1862, February 2, 1864, 2, pp. 945, 1,090, 1,258. Amusingly, in his own diary, Adams agreed that he indeed had looked like a butler: May 15, at <http://www.masshist.org/publications/cfa-civil-war/view?id=DCA61d135>. Queen Victoria's comment is mentioned in Moran, November 18, 1861, 2, p. 907. Adams's background: N. B. Ferris, "Tempestuous Mission, 1861–1862: The Early Diplomatic Career of Charles Francis Adams," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Emory University, 1962). Neutrality: R. J. M. Blackett, *Divided Hearts: Britain and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), pp. 6–47; F. L. Owsley Sr., *King Cotton Diplomacy: Foreign Relations of the Confederate States of America* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2nd ed., 1959), pp. 179–96. Russell quoted in D. H. Doyle, *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2015), p. 42. For definitions of legal status: J. R. Soley, *The Blockade and the Cruisers* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883), p. 30; F. J. Merli, *Great Britain and the Confederate Navy, 1861–1865* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), p. 42. Seward's instructions to keep Britain neutral: Seward to Adams, April 10 and May 21, 1861, in *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs, 1861–1865* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1861–65), pp. 71–80, 87–90.

II

S. R. Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy: Blockade Running During the Civil War* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), pp. 12–13; J. M. McPherson, *War on the Waters: The Union and Confederate Navies, 1861–1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), pp. 46–47; E. D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 2 vols., 1925), 1, p. 140; K. J. Weddle, "The Blockade Board of 1861 and Union Naval Strategy," *Civil War History*, 48 (2002), no. 2, pp. 123–42; W. N. Still Jr., "A Naval Sieve: The Union Blockade in the Civil War," *Naval War College Review* 36 (1983), no. 3, pp. 38–45. Lincoln's blockade proclamation: M. Bernard, *A Historical Account of the Neutrality of Great Britain During the American Civil War* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1870), p. 80. Navy buildup: Soley, *Blockade and the Cruisers*, p. 17. Hunt for Bulloch: Henry Wilding to Seward, July 5, 1861, LCD, 19. Wilding to C. F. Adams, September 12, quoted in D. H. Milton, *Lincoln's Spymaster: Thomas Haines Dudley and the Liverpool Network* (Lanham, MD: Stackpole Books, 2003), p. 29.

III–IV

Liverpool waterfront: Melville (ed. Tanselle), *Redburn*, pp. 165–230. Rumford Place: W. Loy, "10 Rumford Place: Doing Confederate Business in Liverpool," *South Caro-*

lina Historical Magazine 98 (1997), no. 4, pp. 349–74. Prioleau: R. Wilson, “Historical Sketch of the Prioleau Family in Europe and America,” *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, 6 (1899), pp. 5–37. Trenholm: E. S. Nepveux, *George Alfred Trenholm and the Company That Went to War, 1861–1865* (Charleston, SC: Ethel S. Nepveux, 1973); M. F. Farley, “‘The Manners of a Prince’: Confederate Financier George Trenholm,” *Civil War Times Illustrated*, 21 (1982), no. 8, pp. 18–25. Prioleau’s flag habit: Anderson’s diary entry, August 4, 1861, in W. S. Hoole (ed.), *Confederate Foreign Agent: The European Diary of Major Edward C. Anderson* (University, AL: Confederate Publishing Company, 1976), p. 42. See also F. Hughes, “Liverpool and the Confederate States: Fraser, Trenholm and Company Operations During the American Civil War,” unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of Keele, 1996), pp. 57–59. Confederate finances and financing: S. B. Thompson, *Confederate Purchasing Operations Abroad* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 9; R. Lester, *Confederate Finance and Purchasing in Great Britain* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1975), pp. 4–17; E. K. Cooper, “Printing Presses Financed the Southern War Effort,” *Civil War Times Illustrated*, 2 (1963), no. 5, pp. 14–16. For Prioleau’s statement that no funds had arrived, Bulloch, *Secret Service*, p. 38. Bulloch noted his need to make cash deposits and the dire state of his finances in his report to Mallory, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, August 11, 1861, pp. 83, 86. Mallory had already admitted the lack of money to Jefferson Davis, July 18, *ibid.*, p. 79. On rough costs of ships, report by Mallory, August 16, p. 91, and for the cost of a new ironclad, James North to Mallory, August 16, p. 87.

V–VI

S. Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Vintage, 2014), pp. 242–64; Owsley Sr., *King Cotton Diplomacy*, pp. 2–42; N. Hall, “The Liverpool Cotton Market and the American Civil War,” *Northern History*, 34 (1998), no. 1, pp. 149–69; D. G. Surdam, “King Cotton: Monarch or Pretender? The State of the Market for Raw Cotton on the Eve of the American Civil War,” *Economic History Review*, 51 (1998), no. 1, pp. 113–32. Hammond: C. Bleser (ed.), *Secret and Sacred: The Diaries of James Henry Hammond, a Southern Slaveholder* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Nepveux, *George Alfred Trenholm*, p. 23; Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy*, pp. 50–52; G. P. Watts, “Phantoms of Anglo-Confederate Commerce: An Historical and Archaeological Investigation of American Civil War Blockade Running,” unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of St. Andrews, 1997), pp. 101–9; W. W. Hassler, “How the Confederates Controlled Blockade Running,” *Civil War Times Illustrated*, 2 (1963), no. 6, p. 44.

Chapter Three: The Black Crow

I

J. A. Fry, *Henry S. Sanford: Diplomacy and Business in Nineteenth-Century America* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1982), pp. 3–38; R. J. Amundson, “The American

Life of Henry Shelton Sanford,” unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Florida State University, 1963), pp. 1–78. Instructions: Seward to Sanford, March 26, 1861, *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs* (1861), pp. 53–54. “Pretty mistress,” quoted in N. F. Sanders, “Henry Shelton Sanford in England, April–November 1861: A Reappraisal,” *Lincoln Herald*, 77 (1975), p. 89. Moran on Sanford, in Wallace and Gillespie (eds.), *Journal of Benjamin Moran*, 1, p. 803; on Pollaky, January 28, 1862, 2, p. 946.

II

B. Kesselman, “Paddington” Pollaky, *Private Detective: The Mysterious Life and Times of the Real Sherlock Holmes* (Stroud, Gloucestershire [U.K.]: History Press, 2015), pp. 11–40. Freeman Morse (London consul) conducted Pollaky’s interview for Sanford (letter, Morse to Sanford, June 29, 1861, Henry Shelton Sanford Papers 139/12/1, as well as July 12, 139/12/2). Bulloch’s being found: Morse to Seward, July 19, 1861, *Official Records (Army)*, 3, 1, pp. 445–46. The “Casemate” and the Confederates: Anderson’s diary entries of July 16 and August 5, 1861, in Hoole (ed.), *Confederate Foreign Agent*, pp. 31, 43; Anon., “A Rebel Diplomatist—Sketch of Capt. Caleb Huse,” *New York Times*, April 10, 1864, and Huse’s recollections, *The Supplies for the Confederate Army: How They Were Obtained in Europe and How Paid For* (Boston: T. R. Marvin & Son, 1904), pp. 5–9. Southern arsenal: A. Rose, *American Rifle: A Biography* (New York: Delacorte, 2008), pp. 138–39. Theater, Hamilton, the “English way,” Holborn Casino: Anderson diary, August 13 and 24, September 15, 26, 29, and October 1, in Hoole (ed.), *Confederate Foreign Agent*, pp. 47, 49, 58, 63, 67–68. Isaac, Campbell & Co.: J. D. Bennett, *The London Confederates: The Officials, Clergy, Businessmen, and Journalists Who Backed the American South During the Civil War* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2008), p. 52; D. Burt, *Major Caleb Huse C.S.A & S. Isaac Campbell & Co.: The Arms, Clothing, and Equipment Supplied to the Confederate States of America, 1861–64* (Milton Keynes [U.K.]: AuthorHouse, 2009), pp. 18–21; Huse, *Supplies for the Confederate Army*, pp. 3–12, 18–19. On the firm’s financial shenanigans: W. G. Crenshaw to J. A. Seddon, May 5, 1863, in *Official Records (Army)*, 4, 2, pp. 543–47. Bond: R. E. Long, *In the Shadow of the Alabama: The British Foreign Office and the American Civil War* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2015), pp. 12–18; Huse, *Supplies for the Confederate Army*, pp. 19–20.

III

Pollaky to Sanford, undated but July/August 1861, Sanford Papers 139/13/12 and 139/13/14; see H. C. Owsley, “Henry Shelton Sanford and Federal Surveillance Abroad, 1861–1865,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 48 (1961), no. 2, pp. 211–28, for an overview. From mid-July, Sanford and Pollaky began keeping a more watchful eye on Bulloch (Morse to Sanford, July 12 and 18, Sanford Papers 139/12/2 and 4), and by August he was regarded as the top man.

IV

Mephisto: Pollaky to Sanford, September 23 and 25, 1861, Sanford Papers 139/14/11 and 139/7/3. Sanford's plan to arrest Bulloch, quoted in Owsley, "Henry Shelton Sanford and Federal Surveillance Abroad," p. 214. Sanford's comment on accidents, quoted in Sanders, "Henry Shelton Sanford in England, p. 90; N. R. Sanders, "Lincoln's Consuls in the British Isles, 1861-1865," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of Missouri, 1971), p. 37. For mention of his postal arrangements: Pollaky's letters to Sanford, August 18, September 24, 28, and 29, October 1, Sanford Papers 139/14/4, 139/13/19, 139/14/12, 139/14/14, 139/14/17, 139/14/18. Privacy of the mail: R. Porter, *Plots and Paranoia: A History of Political Espionage in Britain 1790-1988* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 77-78. Tailing Bulloch: see Pollaky to Sanford, September 24 (139/14/14), September 27 (139/14/15), October 1 (139/14/18). Anderson's noting the countrified detective and an encounter with Brett (another inept tail): September 26, October 2, Hoole (ed.), *Confederate Foreign Agent*, pp. 64, 68-70. Bulloch's articles, "Political Espionage in Liverpool" and "The Political Spy System in Liverpool," are enclosed with letter, Pollaky to Sanford, 139/14/32. Adams's irritation at Sanford: Charles Francis Adams Diary, June 13, October 28 and 30, 1861, at <http://www.masshist.org/publications/cfa-civil-war/view?id=DCA61d164>, <http://www.masshist.org/publications/cfa-civil-war/view?id=DCA61d301>, and <http://www.masshist.org/publications/cfa-civil-war/view?id=DCA61d302>. Bulloch's vanishing: Pollaky to Sanford, September 28, September 29-30, October 1, and October 7, list correspondence received by Huse, Anderson, and others but none for or to Bulloch, in Sanford Papers 139/14/17, 139/14/19, 139/14/18, and 139/14/21.

V

Meeting and *Fingal*: Wilson and McKay, *James D. Bulloch*, pp. 51-52; Kinnaman, *Captain Bulloch*, p. 267; Bulloch, *Secret Service*, pp. 76-78. Anderson, September 2, in Hoole (ed.), *Confederate Foreign Agent*, pp. 53-54, has the fullest description of the meeting. Bulloch's payment arrangements are described in his letter to Mallory, December 5, 1861, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 114-15. John Low: W. S. Hoole (ed.), *Four Years in the Confederate Navy: The Career of Captain John Low on the CSS Fingal, Florida, Alabama, Tuscaloosa, and Ajax* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1964), pp. 1-8.

VI

Clerk informant: Pollaky to Sanford, October 11, 1861, Sanford Papers, 139/14/24, and see "Official List of Cargo for *Fingal*," 139/7/16. Pollaky's attempts to find the *Fingal*: letters to Sanford, October 15 and 18, 139/13/10, 139/14/28. Brennan's reports: letters to Pollaky/Sanford, October 8, 1861, Sanford Papers 139/7/12, and 13 (the second was urgently sent at 8:00 P.M.); October 9 (139/7/17); October 10 at 2:00 P.M., noting

the 8:00 A.M. departure (139/7/18). Another Brennan October 10 report to Pollaky is enclosed with letter to Seward, October 11 (including Brennan's sketch of the ship), forwarded to Welles, October 28, *Official Records (Navy)*, 1, 6, p. 368. Low's movements and title transfer: Anderson entry, October 10, in Hoole (ed.), *Confederate Foreign Agent*, pp. 77–78. Agent X: Anderson, September 26, 1861, in Hoole (ed.), *Confederate Foreign Agent*, pp. 65–66. Anderson confirms (October 10, p. 77) that “our friend in the Foreign Office” had tipped them off. For Moran's suspicions, December 2, 1861, in Wallace and Gillespie (eds.), *Journal of Benjamin Moran*, 2, pp. 915–16. A minor chronological conflict is between Anderson's and Brennan's notes. The major has much of the action seemingly happening on October 10, but he seems to have merged two days (October 9 and 10). Brennan's reports, in contrast, are more precisely dated.

VII

Major Anderson commented on Captain Anderson's drinking benders in Hoole (ed.), *Confederate Foreign Agent*, p. 105, and his idea of kidnapping a detective is in his entry of October 2, p. 70.

VIII

Moran on Sanford: October 18, August 9, November 19, 1861, in Wallace and Gillespie (eds.), *Journal of Benjamin Moran*, 2, pp. 894, 860, 907–8. Hostile discussion with Sanford: Adams Diary, November 2, <http://www.masshist.org/publications/cfa-civil-war/view?id=DCA61d306>, and November 4, <http://www.masshist.org/publications/cfa-civil-war/view?id=DCA61d308>. *Gladiator* operation: Sanders, “Henry Shelton Sanford in England,” pp. 92–93; Sanders, “Lincoln's Consuls,” pp. 41–42; Ferris, “Tempestuous Mission,” pp. 343–51; Eastman visit, Adams Diary, November 5, at <http://www.masshist.org/publications/cfa-civil-war/view?id=DCA61d309>; Moran on Marchand, November 7, in Wallace and Gillespie (eds.), 2, p. 902; J. B. Marchand (ed. C. Symonds), *Charleston Blockade: The Journals of John B. Marchand, U.S. Navy, 1861–1862* (Newport, RI: U.S. Naval War College, 1976), pp. 36–47. Cambridge House: Sir George Trevelyan, quoted in A. Foreman, *A World on Fire: Britain's Crucial Role in the American Civil War* (New York: Random House, 2010), p. 170n. Garibaldi: R. J. Amundson, “Sanford and Garibaldi,” *Civil War History*, 14 (1968), no. 1, pp. 40–45.

IX

Fingal voyage: Bulloch, *Secret Service*, pp. 78–88; and for Major Anderson's version, Hoole (ed.), *Confederate Foreign Agent*, pp. 81–99. Detective Brennan had sent a sketch of the *Fingal* to Pollaky, which was distributed to ships' captains (the drawing is enclosed in Brennan's letter to Pollaky, October 10, 1861, *Official Records (Navy)*, 1, 6, p. 369. For warnings to keep a lookout for her, see Welles to Flag-Officer Golds-

borough, October 24, 1861, and Goldsborough to Lieutenant Cavendy of USS *Gemsbok*, November 3, pp. 335, 391.

Chapter Four: The Crowning City

I

Mrs. Blodgett's boardinghouse: J. Hawthorne, *Hawthorne and His Circle* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1903), pp. 173–85. Consul's office: *Hawthorne and His Circle*, p. 87; N. Hawthorne, "Consular Experiences," *Our Old Home*, pp. 5–33; "Inventory of Archives of the U.S. Consulate," November 23, 1861, *LCD*, 20. Paradise Street: *Gore's Directory for Liverpool and Its Environs* (Liverpool: J. Mawdsley & Son, 1860); Lane, *Liverpool: Gateway of Empire*, p. 116. On Dudley's "nervousness" and admirable competence: T. C. Pease and J. G. Randall (eds.), *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning* (Springfield: Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, 2 vols., 1925–1933), 2, p. 110, where William Seward speaks of Dudley being "really a good officer"; and G. Welles, *Diary of Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy Under Lincoln and Johnson* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 3 vols., 1911), 1, July 17, 1863, p. 374, in which Welles refers to Dudley's being an "excellent consul" though "somewhat, and excusably, nervous." Also, entries of September 18, 1863 (p. 1,210); January 15 (p. 1,255), May 4, 1864 (p. 1,294); February 8 (p. 1,375); March 13, 1865 (p. 1,391), in Wallace and Gillespie (eds.), *Journal of Benjamin Moran*, 2, which reference Minister Adams's haughtiness toward Dudley. For Moran's (low) estimates of American consuls, entries of September 17, 1861 (p. 880); October 2, 7, and 11, 1861 (pp. 887–89); January 27, 1862 (p. 946); March 11 and 12, 1862 (pp. 964–65). Moran's positive appraisal of Dudley: June 24, 1861, pp. 832–33. Hawthorne talks about a typically friendly welcome from the Chamber of Commerce in his diary for August 5, 1853, in *Passages from the English Note-Books*, p. 3, but for Dudley's recollection, "Appointment & Initial Experiences," Dudley Papers DU-1275. The contentious meeting was on November 27, according to his letter of November 29 to Seward, *LCD*, 20. (Dudley makes a slight error in saying that Melly was secretary.) Chamber of Commerce: W. O. Henderson, "The American Chamber of Commerce for the Port of Liverpool, 1801–1908," *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 85 (1933), pp. 1–61.

II

Appointment as consul: Dudley to Seward, December 2, 1861, *LCD*, 20. Wilding: Dudley to Seward, October 31, 1861, *LCD*, 19; M. F. Sweeney, "An Annotated Edition of Nathaniel Hawthorne's Official Dispatches to the State Department, 1853–1857," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Bowling Green State University, 1975), p. 19; Hawthorne, "Consular Experiences," *Our Old Home*, p. 30; letters, September 26 and October 9, 1857, in J. C. Dana (ed.), *Letters of Hawthorne to William D. Ticknor, 1851–1864* (Newark, NJ: Carteret Book Club, 2 vols., 1910), 2, pp. 62–64. *Trent*: N. B. Ferris,

The Trent Affair: A Diplomatic Crisis (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1977); Foreman, *A World on Fire*, pp. 172–98; T. L. Harris, *The Trent Affair: Including a Review of English and American Relations at the Beginning of the Civil War* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1896), pp. 137–62. Dudley relates the story of Albert's intervention as he heard it, in Dudley, "Three Critical Periods in Our Diplomatic Relations with England During the Late War," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 17 (1893), no. 1, pp. 39, 43–44. Yancey: Doyle, *Cause of All Nations*, p. 48. Parliament: T. E. Sebrell, *Persuading John Bull: Union and Confederate Propaganda in Britain, 1860–1865* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014), Appendices 1 and 2, pp. 209–11. Exports: "Prohibition of the Export of Saltpetre, etc.," *Letter of the Secretary of State, Transmitting a Report of the Commercial Relations of the United States with Foreign Nations* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1862), p. 17; H. B. Hancock and N. B. Wilkinson, "'The Devil to Pay!': Saltpeter and the Trent Affair," *Civil War History*, 10 (1964), no. 1, pp. 20–32. Dudley's address: Sanders, "Lincoln's Consuls," p. 200n13.

III–V

Huse's purchases: J. Gorgas, "Abstract of Summary Statement Showing Quantity and Value of Army Supplies Purchased and Shipped by Maj. C. Huse," February 3, 1863, *Official Records (Army)*, 4, 2, pp. 382–84. Steamers: K. J. Foster, "Builders vs. Blockaders: The Evolution of the Blockade-Running Steamship," in C. G. Reynolds (ed.), *Global Crossroads and the American Seas* (Missoula, MT: Pictorial Histories Publishing Co., 1988), pp. 85–90; A. C. Wardle, "Mersey-Built Blockade Runners of the American Civil War," *Mariner's Mirror*, 28 (1942), pp. 179–88; Scharf, *History of the Confederate Navy*, p. 466; S. Negus, "A Notorious Nest of Offence: Neutrals, Belligerents, and Union Jails in Civil War Blockade Running," *Civil War History*, 56 (2010), no. 4, p. 357. Blockade-running stratagems: Soley, *Blockade and the Cruisers*, pp. 153–67; T. E. Taylor, *Running the Blockade: A Personal Narrative of Adventure, Risks, and Escapes During the American Civil War* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896), pp. 22–24, 47–54, 73–75, 86–87. Nassau: Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy*, pp. 63–71; Taylor, *Running the Blockade*, pp. 22–24, 86–87; R. Semmes, *My Adventures Afloat: A Personal Memoir of My Cruises and Services on the Sumter and Alabama* (London: Richard Bentley, 1869), pp. 35–51; Scharf, *History of the Confederate Navy*, pp. 472–74, 478–80; A. C. Hobart-Hampden, *Sketches from My Life* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1887), pp. 87–102; "Captain Roberts" (pseud.), *Never Caught: Personal Adventures Connected with Twelve Successful Trips in Blockade-Running During the American Civil War, 1863–64* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1867), pp. 14–15, 24–25. Profits: L. W. Skelton, "The Importing and Exporting Company of South Carolina (1862–1876)," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 75 (1974), no. 1, pp. 24–32; Taylor, *Running the Blockade*, pp. 41, 69, 85. Cotton certificates: Lester, *Confederate Finance and Purchasing*, pp. 15–22; M. W. Price, "Blockade Running as a Business in

South Carolina During the War Between the States, 1861–1865,” *American Neptune*, 9 (1949), p. 32. On the fees exacted by Huse’s creditors for arms, see complaint by Crenshaw to Mason, July 4, 1863, in *Official Records (Army)*, 4, 2, pp. 628–30.

Chapter Five: *A River in Sicily*

I

Bushby, who seems to have had fingers in a lot of pies, also served as vice-consul for the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg. See J. Hussey, *Cruisers, Cotton and Confederates: Liverpool Waterfront in the Days of the Confederacy* (Merseyside [U.K.]: Countywise Ltd., 2009 ed.), p. 135. Bushby is mentioned by Dudley in a June 18, 1862, letter to Seward, where he alleges he owns ships “as a blind or cover” (*LCD*). Prince Albert: Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy*, p. 317. Klingender: Moran’s entries of December 22, 1862, and February 7 and March 4, 1863, in Wallace and Gillespie (eds.), *Journal of Benjamin Moran*, 2, pp. 1,099, 1,118, 1,127. Prioleau quoted and Anderson’s suitcase mentioned in Dudley, December 6, 1861; *Journal of Commerce* advertisement enclosed with December 28 dispatch; December 20 for frequent mentions of Fraser Trenholm. Consulate staff: Table, “Names of Persons Employed at United States Consulate at Liverpool,” December 31, 1861, all *LCD*, 20. Wilding’s earlier hiring of Maguire: For much of 1861, between April and December, the Liverpool consulate had been run by him on an acting basis, and Wilding had paid Maguire out of his own pocket to keep an eye on Confederate activities in the town. See Wilding to Seward, December 30, 1864, enclosing statement and receipts for cash paid to Maguire, all dated 1861, *LCD*, 29. Maguire: Dudley refers to Maguire in December 11, 1861, letter, *LCD*, 19. For the 6 Dorans Lane address, Maguire’s invoice, April 24, 1862, Dudley Papers DU-2131. Details of the other businesses are taken from the “Doran-Lane” entry in *Gore’s Directory for Liverpool*. On Maguire’s past, “Wreck of the *Queen Victoria*,” *Morning Chronicle*, March 24, 1853; “Wreck of the Dublin Steamer, *Queen Victoria*,” *Preston Chronicle and Lancashire Advertiser*, February 19, 1853; “Wreck of the *Queen Victoria*,” *Chelmsford Chronicle*, February 25, 1853, which contains a note on Maguire’s previous employment in Hull. “Concealment of Birth,” *Bradford Observer*, July 23, 1846, mentions that he was a superintendent. On Maguire’s exploits, see “Arrest of a Fugitive” and “The Capture of Jeremiah Winks,” January 1 and 28, 1861; the *Newcastle Daily Journal*, January 25, carries the fullest story. Other cases, “The Revelations in the Chancery Court,” May 16, 1860; “The Habana Cigar Company—Revelations for Smokers,” *Liverpool Mercury*, April 2, 1859.

II

Slavery: D. Richardson, “Liverpool and the English Slave Trade,” pp. 67–72; A. Tibbles, “Oil Not Slaves: Liverpool and West Africa After 1807,” pp. 73–77, in Tibbles (ed.), *Transatlantic Slavery: Against Human Dignity* (Liverpool: Liverpool University

Press, 2005); A. Tibbles, *Liverpool and the Slave Trade* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018); M. Lynn, "Liverpool and Africa in the Nineteenth Century: The Continuing Connection," *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 147 (1997), pp. 29–31. Lairds and Birkenhead: Anon., "A Visit to Birkenhead," *Littell's Living Age*, 6 (1845), no. 60, pp. 25–26; Anon., "Mr. John Laird—The Birkenhead Ironworks and Docks," *Liverpool Daily Post*, July 29, 1861; "Iron Shipbuilding at Birkenhead," *Illustrated London News*, October 25, 1856, p. 416; K. Warren, *Steel, Ships and Men: Cammell Laird, 1824–1993* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1998); D. Hollett, *Men of Iron: The Story of Cammell Laird Shipbuilders, 1828–1991* (Birkenhead, Merseyside [U.K.]: Countywise Ltd., 1992), pp. 1–12; F. Neal, "Shipbuilding in the Northwest of England in the Nineteenth Century," in S. Ville (ed.), *Shipbuilding in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century: A Regional Approach* (St. John's, Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association/Trustees of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, 1993), pp. 111–45. The Square: C. Williams, J. Powell, and J. Kelly, "Liverpool's Abercromby Square and the Confederacy During the U.S. Civil War," a guide to the Lowcountry Digital History Initiative hosted by College of Charleston (2015), at <http://ldhi.library.cofc.edu/exhibits/show/liverpools-abercromby-square>.

III

Ella: Dudley to Seward, January 11, 1862, *LCD*, 20. The earliest invoice from Maguire for "money expended to parties from whom information was received" is January 4, 1862, Dudley Papers DU-2720. Multiple invoices note his newspaper subscriptions and travel expenses. Mr. Bullen: September 5, 1862, Dudley Papers DU-2750. Maguire's invoices, Dudley Papers: "Treating Money" (August 1, DU-2745); the rigger (February 24–March 1, DU-2724, February 21–March 7, 1862, DU-2768); see also, July 25 (DU-2744); February 21–March 7 (DU-2768); June 13, 1862 (DU-2738). Haigh: Dudley to Seward, February 15, 1862. *Bermuda's* cargo: February 14, 1862, enclosing Brady/Brody employment note, February 13, *LCD*, 20. Tower Building: From early 1862 onward, Dudley's notepaper is engraved with the new address. Earliest date is his dispatch to Seward, January 30, 1862, *LCD*, 20.

IV

Fawcett Preston: H. White, *Fossets: A Record of Two Centuries of Engineering* (Bromborough, Cheshire [U.K.]: Fawcett Preston & Co., 1958), pp. 46–48. Dudley and the *Oreto*: January 24; February 4, 12, 19; March 5, 12, 22, 1862, *LCD*, 20. Miller & Sons: R. Thorp, *Mersey Built: The Role of Merseyside in the American Civil War* (Wilmington, DE: Vernon Press, 2018), pp. 54–73; Hussey, *Cruisers, Cotton and Confederates*, pp. 150–51. Sanctity of contracts: Quoted in A. English, "The Laird Rams: Warships in Transition, 1862–1885," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of Exeter, 2016), p. 45. Agent Federal: Parry to Wilding, February 24, 1862, Dudley Papers

DU-3362, and Maguire invoice, DU-2768, February 21 to March 7, 1862; the Fawcett Preston note is mentioned by Dudley on March 5. Parry says he was the pilot in statement of August 23, 1862, printed in *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 6 vols., 1872), 1, p. 281. He re-affirms *Treaty of Washington*. Abolitionism in Liverpool: D. M. George, "John Baxter Langley: Radicalism, Espionage and the Confederate Navy in mid-Victorian Britain," *Journal for Maritime Research*, 19 (2017), no. 2, p. 121–42. Customs inspections: Dudley to Adams, February 17, 1862, enclosed with Adams to Russell, February 18; E. Hammond (undersecretary of state to Russell) to secretary of the treasury, February 19; Morgan (inspector) to Edwards, February 21; Edwards to commissioners of customs, same date, *Treaty of Washington*, 1, pp. 274–76. Mudie: Board of Customs to Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, April 6, attaching the *Oreto's* Victualling Bill, March 4, in *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs* (1861–1862), pp. 66–67. John Henry Thomas: *Treaty of Washington*, 1, pp. 277–78.

V

N. Arielli, G. A. Frei, and I. Van Hulle, "The Foreign Enlistment Act, International Law, and British Politics, 1819–2014," *International History Review*, 38 (2016), no. 4, pp. 636–56; "Declaration of the British Government," declaration of May 13, 1861, reprinted in the *New York Times*, May 29. Bulloch, *Secret Service*, pp. 47–48.

VI

Letters, Dudley to Seward, March 1, 12, 15, 19, 22, 1862, *LCD*, 20. Bulloch had not disembarked with the other four, though Dudley's informant swore he had been on board. To avoid any connection, Bulloch had in fact parted company with the *Annie Childs* at a stop in Queenstown, Ireland, then made his way to Liverpool via ferry and train, arriving on March 10 at 4:00 P.M., shortly after his compatriots. Bulloch, *Secret Service*, p. 103.

Chapter Six: The First Raider

I–II

Shipbuilders: Gore's *Directory for Liverpool*, p. 335; Thorp, *Mersey Built*, p. 37. *Oreto's* construction: Bulloch to Mallory, August 13, 1861, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 84–85; Bulloch, *Secret Service*, pp. 41–42; Thorp, *Mersey Built*, p. 73. Instructions: Bulloch, *Secret Service*, p. 104. In his letter to Mallory, December 5, 1861, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 114–15, Bulloch says they "are on file in Messrs. Fraser, Trenholm & Co.'s safe in Liverpool, with all my other papers, which it would not have been safe to bring over." Yonge and Low: Bulloch to Mallory, January 3 and 16, 1862, and June 30, 1863, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 123–24, 132, 448. Anderson: W. S. Hoole (ed.), "Letters from a Georgia Midshipman on the CSS *Alabama*," *Georgia Historical*

Society, 59 (1975), no. 4, p. 416. Maffitt and Bulloch in the Coast Survey: Kinnaman, *Captain Bulloch*, p. 138. Departure: Bulloch to Mallory, January 27, 1862, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 138–39. Agent X: Prioleau wrote to Bulloch associate James North on February 20 (*Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, p. 147) saying that he wanted the *Oreto* to depart immediately “for [the] most urgent [of] reasons,” a hint that he had been alerted by Agent X that day. The role of X is not conclusively known, as no documents have been preserved, understandably. However, the procession of events (Dudley’s letter of February 17, Adams’s February 18 note to Russell—which would have passed through Agent X’s hands—Russell’s forwarding of that note to the treasury on the nineteenth, Prioleau’s suddenly urgent warning on February 20, and the customs inspection of February 21) was surely not coincidental. Preparing to leave: Bulloch, *Secret Service*, pp. 104–5. Duguid: Hussey, *Cruisers, Cotton and Confederates*, p. 151; Dudley to Seward, March 5, 1862, *LCD*, 20, claims he was “captain”; Thorp, *Mersey Built*, pp. 89–102. Low’s and Maffitt’s instructions: Bulloch to Low, and Bulloch to Maffitt, March 21, 1862, in Bulloch, *Secret Service*, pp. 107–10. Heyliger: Memminger to Heyliger, April 18, 1864, and Memminger to Prioleau, same date, in *Correspondence Concerning Claims Against Great Britain* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1871), 6, p. 160. Second gunboat: Dudley to Seward, March 1, 1862, *LCD*, 20.

III–IV

Maffitt’s arrival: “Extracts from the Journal of Lieutenant J. N. Maffitt,” in *Official Records (Navy)*, 1, 1, p. 763. Anderson’s political views, Adderley & Co., Harris: *Treaty of Washington*, 3, pp. 68–69. Consul’s query: Whiting to Bayley, May 9, *Treaty of Washington*, 1, p. 284. Bayley’s views, *Treaty of Washington*, 3, p. 66. *Bahama’s* arrival and movements: *Treaty of Washington*, 3, p. 70; Thorp, *Mersey Built*, pp. 106–8. Anderson’s caution, ca. late May 1862; McKillop’s surprise visit (McKillop to Bayley, May 28); Jones’s statement, June 4; McKillop’s report, June 6, in *Treaty of Washington*, 1, pp. 284–86. Anderson argues against seizure (June 7): *Treaty of Washington*, 3, p. 72. Low’s admonition to Duguid: Hussey, *Cruisers, Cotton and Confederates*, p. 106. Liverpool’s sailors: A. H. Clark, *The Clipper Ship Era: An Epitome of Famous American and British Clipper Ships, Their Owners, Builders, Commanders, and Crews, 1843–1869* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1911), pp. 120–21. Maffitt’s derision for Jones: E. M. Maffitt, *The Life and Services of John Newland Maffitt* (New York and Washington: Neale Publishing Company, 1906), p. 239. Hickley’s June 13 letter to Bayley, in *Treaty of Washington*, 1, p. 287. See the testimonies quoted regarding the crew mutiny, in *Treaty of Washington*, 1, p. 289; and for Hickley’s seizure and its countermanding, p. 287. Hickey’s letter: *Treaty of Washington*, 3, p. 72. Lee’s verdict: *Treaty of Washington*, 3, p. 74, and 1, p. 290. *Oreto* manifest: August 7, 1862, in *Treaty of Washington*, 1, p. 291. Maffitt controlling Duguid: Maffitt to Mallory, August 1, 1862, in Maffitt, *Life and Service*, p. 242. Nassau departure and *Prince Alfred*: *Treaty of*

Washington, 3, pp. 75–76. Arms transfer: “Journal of Maffitt,” *Official Records (Navy)*, 1, 1, pp. 764–65.

Chapter Seven: The War Rules

I–II

Relative size of Lairds: P. Barry, *Dockyard Economy and Naval Power* (London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co., 1863), pp. 301–12. Hamilton and Bond: Long, *In the Shadow of the Alabama*, p. 77. “Sympathetic” rumor: Semmes, *My Adventures Afloat*, p. 400. Plans: “Contract and Specification of Screw Steam Vessel and Her Machinery,” printed in C. G. Summersell, *CSS Alabama: Builder, Captain, and Plans* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1985), pp. 105–14. The stated length was to be 210 feet, but would actually be 220. Delays: Bulloch to Mallory, April 19, 1862, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 185–86. Launch ceremony: Bulloch, *Secret Service*, p. 162; Kinnaman, *Captain Bulloch*, p. 292; Maguire Spy Report, May 6 (misdated, May 16), MS 0283, James Dunwoody Bulloch Papers.

III

Enrica: Dudley to Seward, March 1, April 23 (Beauford and Cuddy), April 26, May 16, 1862, in *LCD*, 20. Maguire’s visit to Lairds: Maguire Spy Report, March 28, 1862, Bulloch Papers. Subscription and blockade-runner activity: Dudley to Seward, March 26 and 29, April 4, 9, 11, 16, 19, 23, 25, and 30, May 7, 14, 16, and 30, *LCD*, 20. The *Journal of Commerce* on September 6 printed a full list of ships arriving in Nassau, which was sent to Seward by Dudley, same date, *LCD*, 22. Loan scheme: Dudley to Seward, May 2 and June 9, *LCD*, 20. Figure of £750,000: Dudley to Seward, December 8. Intelligence-gathering costs: Note to Seward of July 17, 1862, covering the quarter up to June 30, *LCD*, 22, where it eats up a third. Mutual dependence: Dudley’s to Seward, December 6, 1862.

IV

Hotze: J. V. Trahan III, “Henry Hotze: Propaganda Voice of the Confederacy,” in P. G. McNeely, D. R. Van Tuyl, and H. H. Schulte (eds.), *Knights of the Quill: Confederate Correspondents and the Civil War Reporting* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2010), pp. 216–37; S. B. Oates, “Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad,” *The Historian*, 27 (1965), no. 2, pp. 131–54; L. A. Burnett (ed.), *Henry Hotze, Confederate Propagandist: Selected Writings on Revolution, Recognition, and Race* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008). Hotze’s propaganda successes and contributors: Hotze to Hunter, March 11, 1862, Hotze to Benjamin, September 26, 1862, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 3, pp. 360–62, 535. Subscribers: See Sebrell’s exhaustive compilation in *Persuading John Bull*, pp. 126–36, and Appendix 3, p. 212. Agent X’s subscription: Long, *In the Shadow of the Alabama*, p. 71. Hotze’s meeting

with Anderson: Entry, October 4, 1861, in Hoole (ed.), *Confederate Foreign Agent*, p. 71. Intelligence work: Hotze's financial registers are printed in J.F. Jameson, "The London Expenditures of the Confederate Secret Service," *American Historical Review*, 35 (1930), no. 4, esp. pp. 812, 814.

V

Dudley's list: Enclosed with report to Seward, June 9, 1862, *LCD*, 20. Grazebrook: Hoole (ed.), *Confederate Foreign Agent*, July 29 and 31, August 1 and 5, pp. 37, 38–39, 43. Edwin Haigh's participation in Prioleau's cover scheme is mentioned by Dudley in a letter to Seward, June 18, 1862, *LCD*, 20. Amended list: Hughes, "Liverpool and the Confederate States," Appendix D, pp. 341–51. Southern Club: Blackett, *Divided Hearts*, pp. 63–64, and see Dudley's letters to Seward, September 19 and October 1, 1862, *LCD*, 22. American Chamber of Commerce connection: Dudley to Seward, October 14, *LCD*, 22.

VI

Maguire and making fun of Dudley: Bulloch, *Secret Service*, pp. 161–62. *Agrippina*: Bulloch, *Secret Service*, p. 168; Bulloch to Mallory, April 11, 1862, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 183–84. Hamilton registry: Kinnaman, *Captain Bulloch*, p. 295. Semmes to command: Mallory to Bulloch, May 3, 1862; Bulloch to Mallory, July 21, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 190, 222–26. Crewmen: M. Rigby, "Britons on the *Alabama*," in Anon. (ed.), *Crossfire: A Civil War Anthology [American Civil War Round Table]* (Milton Keynes [U.K.]: Military Press, 2003), pp. 55–59. Butcher: F. J. Merli and R. Eley Long (eds.), "Captain Butcher's Memoir of the *Alabama's* Escape," in Merli (ed. D. M. Fahey), *The Alabama, British Neutrality, and the American Civil War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), pp. 126–30; Bulloch, *Secret Service*, p. 164. Butcher's time with Cunard: Dudley to Seward, July 12, 1862, *LCD*, 20.

VII–VIII

Security arrangements: Dudley to Seward, June 18, 1862, *LCD*, 20. William Passmore confirmed the *Enrica's* location in the Great Float (affidavit included in A. T. Squarey's affidavit, August 28, 1871, Dudley Papers, Box 47, DU-3808). Robinson: Dudley to Edwards, July 9, and Dudley to Seward, July 25, 1862, *LCD*, 20. Dudley putting the pieces together: Letter to Adams, June 21, *Treaty of Washington*, 4, p. 448. Dudley's stay in London: Moran, June 21, 1862, Wallace and Gillespie (eds.), *Journal of Benjamin Moran*, 2, p. 1,024; and Dudley to Seward, June 27, *LCD*, 20. "Stop the expedition": Adams to Russell, June 23, *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs* (1862), pp. 128–29; and see also, Adams to Seward, July 9, p. 128. Chain of events in Whitehall: Thomas Fremantle and Grenville Berkeley (lords commissioners of the treasury) to Russell, July 1, 1862, *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs* (1862), pp. 130–31;

Morgan's inspection report, June 28, *Treaty of Washington*, 4, p. 449, and see also the commissioners of customs report to the lords, p. 450; Russell to Adams, July 4, *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs* (1862), pp. 129–30. Dudley's exchange with Edwards: Dudley to Edwards, July 9, 1862, *LCD*, 20; Instructions to Edwards by the commissioners of the customs, *Treaty of Washington*, 4, p. 452. Dudley's belief that opinion was entirely for the South: Letters to Seward, April 26, and Adams, July 11, *LCD*, 20. Adams's view of Edwards: C. F. Adams, *Charles Francis Adams, By His Son Charles Francis Adams* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1900), p. 312, and for the description (probable) of him as "staid and somewhat obese," "Liverpool News," *Glasgow Herald*, April 13, 1863. Bulloch defends Edwards in *Secret Service*, pp. 185–86. Hiring Squarey and going to Edwards's office: Dudley to Seward, July 18, *LCD*, 20; affidavit by Squarey, August 28, 1871, Dudley Papers, Box 47, DU-3808. Copies of the six affidavits, July 21, are included with Squarey's. Brogan and Passmore: Maguire invoice to Dudley listing Passmore, July 25, 1862, DU-4744, and invoice for Brogan, July 18, DU-2743, in Dudley Papers, Box 5. On July 21, Edwards wrote to the commissioners of customs to forward the affidavits, adding that "the only evidence of importance, as appears to me, is that of William Passmore, who had engaged himself as a sailor to serve in the vessel" (Letter, July 21, 1862, printed in *The Official Correspondence on the Claims of the United States in Respect to the Alabama* [London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1867], p. 11). Dudley's activities in London: Dudley to Seward, July 22 and 25 (*LCD*), and Squarey to Dudley, July 23, Dudley Papers, Box 6, DU-3789; Affidavit by Squarey, August 28, 1871. Affidavits of Roberts, Taylor, and Redden: Cited or printed in *Treaty of Washington*, 4, pp. 456–58. Harding's "malady," *ibid.*, p. 459; and for Palmer's recollection of the Harding delay, p. 459. Atherton's neutralism: "The Durham Election," *The Times*, July 9, 1861. J. B. Moore (ed.), *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to Which the United States Has Been a Party* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 6 vols., 1898), 1, pp. 678–82, discusses several theories as to what happened during Harding's incapacitation. Foreign Office: Long, *Shadow of the Alabama*, pp. 98–99, and for the fullest look at Sir John's career, pp. 100–101. Clerks, desks, and hours at Foreign Office: E. Hertslet (ed.), *The Foreign Office List, Forming a Complete British Diplomatic and Consular Handbook* (London: Harrison, 1865), pp. 9, 11. Palmer's and Atherton's Opinion of July 29: *Treaty of Washington*, 4, p. 458. Edwards's instruction to seize: "Copy of Reply, July 31, 1862, by Telegram—Sent at 11.35am," *Official Correspondence on the Claims of the United States in Respect to the Alabama*, p. 20.

Chapter Eight: The Magician

I

Paid clerk: Maguire Spy Report, Bulloch Papers. Broderick/Brogan: Among the Maguire receipts in the Dudley Papers, there are records of payments to Broderick

as late as December 19, 1862 (DU-2766), and see that of October 24, 1862 (DU-2758), as well as Wilson and McKay, *James D. Bulloch*, p. 76.

II

Regarding the text of the note he passed to Hotze, Long, *In the Shadow of the Alabama*, p. 159, quotes a diary entry by Moran, who later transcribed a copy of the original, of December 20, 1865. Hotze's home address: Advertisement for "H.O. Brewer & Co., General Shipping and Commission Merchants," *The Index*, January 21, 1864, p. 47. *Index* offices: Mentioned in advertisement, same page, for "Bust of Jefferson Davis." According to a ciphered letter (Bulloch to Mallory, January 7, 1863, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, p. 331), Bulloch refers to being privy to "correspondence between Federal minister [Adams] and Secretary of Foreign Affairs [Russell] in reference to building and dispatch of 290." The only possible source for such intelligence was Buckley. Buckley's background: Long, *In the Shadow of the Alabama*, pp. 3-11, 22-24, 161, 164, and Walter King's unpublished essay, "Victor Buckley (1838-1882)," which he kindly sent me. Ranks and annual pay: Hertslet (ed.), *Foreign Office List*, pp. 9, 11, 168-173.

III

Bulloch, *Secret Service*, p. 168. Bulloch was extraordinarily circumspect about how he knew about the Foreign Office's decision. In his memoirs, all he says is, "on Saturday, July 26th, 1862, I received information from a private and most reliable source, that it would not be safe to leave the ship in Liverpool another forty-eight hours [*i.e.*, Monday morning]." In a ciphered letter to Mallory, January 7, 1863, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, p. 331, he unilluminatingly adds that "I learned that something of the kind [*i.e.*, detention] was going on and hurried off the ship." Bulloch very rarely resorted to cipher, yet he did in this instance—clearly owing to its sensitivity. Lairds' involvement: Merli and Long (eds.), "Captain Butcher's Memoir of the *Alabama's* Escape," p. 130. Passmore's intelligence: July 26, in Maguire Spy Report, Bulloch Papers. Yonge: Affidavit, April 2, 1863, in C. C. Beaman Jr., *The National and Private "Alabama Claims" and their "Final and Amicable Settlement"* (Washington, DC: W. H. Moore, 1871), pp. 93-95; Low: Hoole (ed.), *Four Years in the Confederate Navy*, pp. 47-48. Written orders: Bulloch to Yonge, July 28; Bulloch to Butcher, July 30; Bulloch to McQueen, July 28, in Bulloch, *Secret Service*, pp. 173-77.

IV

Enrica's escape: Bulloch, *Secret Service*, pp. 168-72; Yonge affidavit, in Beaman, *National and Private*, p. 94; Moran, August 1, 1862, Wallace and Gillespie (eds.), *Journal of Benjamin Moran*, 2, p. 1,048; Merli and Long (eds.), "Captain Butcher's Memoir," pp. 129-33; D. H. Maynard, "Plotting the Escape of the *Alabama*," *Journal*

of *Southern History* 20 (1954), no. 2, pp. 197–209; “Union Efforts to Prevent the Escape of the *Alabama*,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 41 (1954), no. 1, pp. 41–60. Description of Bulloch: Entry of September 12, 1862, Maguire Spy Report, Bulloch Papers. Craven: Bulloch to Mallory, September 10, 1862, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, p. 264.

Chapter Nine: The Dead Letter

I

“Shameless false witnesses”: Bulloch to Mallory, August 11, 1862, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, p. 236. Early departure: Yonge affidavit, in Beaman, *National and Private*, p. 94. Semmes in Liverpool: Bulloch to Mallory, August 11, 1862, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, p. 235; Semmes, *My Adventures Afloat*, p. 413. Butcher’s recollections: Merli and Long (eds.), “Captain Butcher’s Memoir,” pp. 134–35. Semmes, *My Adventures Afloat*, pp. 404–13, contains the fullest version of events on board, but see also George King’s affidavit, September 27, in *LCD*, 22. Alternative version of speech: Henry Redden’s affidavit, September 3, 1862, enclosed with letter, Dudley to Adams, same date, *Official Correspondence on the Claims*, pp. 24–27. Estimates of the number of men who refused to sign on vary: Semmes says ten, King thinks “I and about 8 others,” but Redden claims forty-eight—an exaggeration. Officers: Summersell, *CSS Alabama*, pp. 28–34. Bulloch’s thoughts on departure: Mallory, September 10, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 263–64.

II

Moran, August 1, 1862, in Wallace and Gillespie (eds.), *Journal of Benjamin Moran*, 2, pp. 1,047–48. Discussions: Adams to Russell, September 4; Russell to Adams, September 22; Adams to Russell, September 30; Russell to Adams, October 4; Adams to Russell, October 9; Russell to Adams, October 16; Russell to Adams, December 19, 1862, and January 24, 1863, *Official Correspondence on the Claims*, pp. 24, 27–33, 45, 58.

III

British responses: Sebrell, *Persuading John Bull*, pp. 91–103; C. Ewan, “The Emancipation Proclamation and British Public Opinion,” *The Historian*, 67 (2005), no. 1, pp. 1–19; D. A. Lorimer, “The Role of Anti-Slavery Sentiment in English Reactions to the American Civil War,” *Historical Journal*, 19 (1976), no. 2, pp. 405–20; J. M. Hernon Jr., “British Sympathies in the American Civil War: A Reconsideration,” *Journal of Southern History*, 33 (1967), no. 3, pp. 356–67. “Mad dogs”: Russell to Lyons, November 1, 1862, in T. Newton, *Lord Lyons: A Record of British Diplomacy* (London: Edward Arnold, 2 vols., 1913), 1, p. 92. Palmerston’s comment: Letter to Russell, October 22, 1862, in G. P. Gooch (ed.), *The Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell, 1840–1878* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 2 vols., 1925), 2, p. 328.

NOTES

IV

Semmes, *My Adventures Afloat*, pp. 171, 189, 405, 412, 523–24, 717; A. Sinclair, *Two Years on the Alabama* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1896), pp. 22–25, 27–28, 110; Summersell, *CSS Alabama*, p. 35.

V

Summersell, *CSS Alabama*, pp. 36–46; Sinclair, *Two Years on the Alabama*, pp. 25–26; Hoole (ed.), “Letters from a Georgia Midshipman,” pp. 416–24. Black sailors: “Description by Capt. Lawrence W. Brown of the Capture of the Ship *Sonora* by the *Alabama*,” printed in L. Brown and I. Colby, “The *Sonora* and the *Alabama*,” *Civil War Times Illustrated*, 10 (1971), no. 6, p. 35. Semmes and books: R. R. Newell, “Capture and Burning of the Ship *Anna F. Schmidt* by *Alabama*,” *American Neptune*, 25 (1965), p. 20. Yonge’s dismissal: Sinclair, *Two Years*, p. 78. Bulloch, in his letter to Mallory, June 30, 1863, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, p. 449, adds to Sinclair’s version by mentioning the £400 and Low’s presence.

VI

Maffitt to Bulloch, August 20, 1862, p. 760; “Extracts from the Journal of Lieutenant J.N. Maffitt,” *Official Records (Navy)*, 1, 1, pp. 764–69; J. M. Taylor, “Shark Hunt,” *Civil War Times Illustrated*, 38 (1999), no. 6, pp. 66–74. Jacob Bell: “Abstract Log of the CSS *Florida*,” February 12, 1863, and “Extracts from the Journal,” *Official Records (Navy)*, 1, 2, pp. 675, 670. The cost of the *Alabama*, for comparison’s sake, was \$250,305.44. See “Extracts from the Journal of Commander Semmes,” *Official Records (Navy)*, 1, 1, p. 783.

VII

V. J. Laas, “‘Sleepless Sentinels’: The North Atlantic Blocking Squadron, 1862–1864,” *Civil War History*, 31 (1985), no. 1, pp. 24–38; Watts, “Phantoms of Anglo-Confederate Commerce,” Ch. 3; Hughes, “Liverpool and the Confederate States,” Table, p. 65. Prices: Hall, “Liverpool Cotton Market and the American Civil War,” pp. 154–55, 159; N. Hall, “The Liverpool Cotton Market and Cotton Re-Exports, c. 1815–1914,” *Northern History*, 43 (2006), Fig. 5, p. 269. Capture rates: Owsley, *King Cotton*, p. 261; S. Lebergott, “Through the Blockade: The Profitability and Extent of Cotton Smuggling, 1861–1865,” *Journal of Economic History*, 41 (1981), no. 4, Table 6, p. 879. Fraser Trenholm’s exports: Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy*, p. 115. Scharf, *History of the Confederate Navy*, p. 488, notes the attritional losses.

VIII–IX

It was never clarified who Yonge’s second wife was or her race. Semmes, who loathed Yonge so intensely he refused to mention his name in his memoirs, heard that she was a “mulatto woman” (*My Adventures Afloat*, p. 417) while Moran claimed that

she was “a negro.” Bulloch says she was “a mulatto with two negro children” (letter to Mallory, June 30, 1863, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, p. 448–49). Many years later, Dudley recalled that she was “a quadroon girl, a native of the West Indies.” By this he meant that she was one-quarter black (Dudley, “Three Critical Periods,” p. 51). Yonge himself later said in a weaselly way that she was not mixed race, thereby hoping to induce people into assuming that she was white, but also perhaps indicating that she was black. It is impossible to say at this stage, though the point may turn on differing nineteenth-century racial classifications. The balance of the evidence seems to point to her being biracial. As for Mrs. Yonge’s relationship to the boy, that is another mystery. It’s probable the lad was either her (illegitimate?) son, a nephew, a ward, or kin of some sort. The relevant portion of the transcript of Yonge’s testimony on the subject is printed in *Report of the Trial Before the Right Honorable the Lord Chief Baron and a Special Jury in the Court of Exchequer at Westminster, Trinity Term, 26th Victoria* (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1863), pp. 114–34. Yonge Affair: Moran, April 1, 1863, in Wallace and Gillespie (eds.), *Journal of Benjamin Moran*, 2, pp. 1,140–41, provides the fullest picture, and can be supplemented by Adams’s diary (Adams calls him “Samuel R. Yonge”), April 1 and 2, at <http://www.masshist.org/publications/cfa-civil-war/view?id=DCA63do91> and <http://www.masshist.org/publications/cfa-civil-war/view?id=DCA63do92>. Documents passed to Dudley: *Report of the Trial*, Appendix, pp. ix–xi; enclosures in two Dudley letters to Seward, March 28, 1863, *LCD*, 23. Dudley’s assessment of and relationship with Yonge: Letters to Seward, April 3 and 8, 1863, *LCD*, 23. Yonge’s letter to Dudley mentioning his stay in Holmfirth, November 20, 1864, DU-4505, Dudley Papers. This letter is signed “J. Edwards Davies” but is in Yonge’s handwriting. Sheffield: Yonge to Dudley, April 11, 1863, DU-4483. Yonge’s contact for mail was located at 198 Brook Hill, in the city center.

Chapter Ten: Traitor to His Benefactor

I

Alexandra: Dudley to Seward, March 11 and 13, 1863, *LCD*, 23. Maguire notes in an affidavit (March 28) his employment of workers at the Miller yard and records those attending the *Alexandra*’s launch (enclosed with Dudley to Seward, April 3, *LCD*, 23). In his postwar memoirs, Bulloch was cryptic as to the *Alexandra*’s true character, saying that she was merely “a small wooden screw-steamer” (Bulloch, *Secret Service*, p. 230), but his letters to Mallory, November 7 and 24, 1862, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 294, 302, belie that assertion of innocence. *Alexandra* as mail boat or yacht: W. D. Jones, *The Confederate Rams at Birkenhead: A Chapter in Anglo-American Relations* (Tuscaloosa, AL: Confederate Publishing Co., 1961), p. 46. Inglefield: *Treaty of Washington*, 1, p. 105n9. Erlanger Loan: Dudley connected this loan with its Liverpool predecessor, saying it was “an extension or increase of the

same," in letter to Seward, January 6, 1863, *LCD*, 23; Moran, March 26, Wallace and Gillespie (eds.), *Journal of Benjamin Moran*, 2, p. 1,138. Amount raised: J. F. Gentry, "A Confederate Success in Europe: The Erlanger Loan," *Journal of Southern History*, 36 (1970), no. 2, p. 173. Bond prices and impact of fighting: M. D. Weidenmier, "The Market for Confederate Cotton Bonds," *Explorations in Economic History*, 37 (2000), no. 1, esp. Fig. 2, p. 82; W. O. Brown Jr., and R. C. K. Burdekin, "Turning Points in the U.S. Civil War: A British Perspective," *Journal of Economic History*, 60 (2000), no. 1, pp. 216–31. Dudley acquired and sent a copy of the original bond terms to Seward on March 19, 1863 (*LCD*, 23). Edwin De Leon: See his memoirs (ed. W. C. Davis), *Secret History of Confederate Diplomacy Abroad* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005), pp. 171–79. Emancipation: Dudley to Seward, January 6, *LCD*, 23; Moran, January 2, 8, 12, and 14, February 10, Wallace and Gillespie (eds.), 2, pp. 1,102, 1,104, 1,106, 1,119. Manchester: F. Hourani, *Manchester and Abraham Lincoln: A Side-Light on an Earlier Fight for Freedom* (Manchester: R. Aikman & Sons, 1900). The number of anti-slavery rallies is cited, with reservations, by D. A. Campbell, *English Public Opinion and the American Civil War* (Woodbridge, Suffolk [U.K.]: Boydell Press, 2003), p. 215, based on Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, 2, p. 223. Exeter Hall: "Great Emancipation Demonstration at Exeter Hall," *New York Times*, February 16, 1863; Campbell, *English Public Opinion*, p. 222. Dudley and Liverpool meetings: letters to Seward, February 17 and 20, *LCD*, 23; enclosure from John Croppen, February 19, included in Adams to Seward, March 5, *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs* (1862–63), pp. 135–36.

II

Moran, March 30 and 31, April 6, Wallace and Gillespie (eds.), *Journal of Benjamin Moran*, 2, pp. 1,139–40, 1,142–43; correspondence between Adams and Russell, March 30 and 31, April 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, and 23, *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs* (1862–63), pp. 188–89, 202–5, 209, 222. The affidavits, all dated March 28, were sworn by Dudley, John De Costa ("shipping agent and steam tug owner"), Oliver Mumford (a ship's captain), Neil Black (a veteran shipbuilder), Thomas Hutson (a former Royal Navy seaman), and Detective Maguire, and are enclosed in a letter from Dudley to Seward, April 3, 1863, *LCD*, 23. "Southern proclivities": Newspaper cutting, April 6(?), enclosed with note from Adams to Seward, April 7, in *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs*, p. 198. Bulloch's articles: among others, Letter to the Editor, "Yankee Espionage in England," *Newcastle Journal*, April 24, 1863. The letter was widely reprinted.

III

March 27, 1863, letter from Russell to Palmerston, quoted in Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, 2, p. 131; see Beaman, *National and Private*, p. 91, paraphrasing Russell's letter to Lyons. A summary of Bulloch's April 20 letter to Prioleau assessing Yonge's knowledge is in Anon. (ed.), *Civil War and the Confeder-*

acy: *The Business Records of Fraser, Trenholm & Company of Liverpool and Charleston, South Carolina, 1860–1877, from the Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool* (Marlborough, Wiltshire [U.K.]: Adam Matthew Publications, 1999), and is quoted more fully in Foreman, *A World on Fire*, p. 456. Detective Constable: Dudley to Seward, May 2, 1863, *LCD*, 23; Squarey's letter of complaint to the town clerk, a Mr. Shuttleworth, April 25, same source. Yonge's character: Bulloch to Mallory, June 30, 1863, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 448–49.

IV

Russell's changing the rules: Letters to Lyons, April 7 and December 20, 1863, quoted in Jones, *Confederate Rams at Birkenhead*, pp. 52, 56–57. Legal fees: Bulloch to Mallory, June 30, 1863, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, p. 448. Feeling a "little uneasiness at the prospect of a jury trial" in Liverpool, Adams discussed moving the trial to London with the Queen's Advocate on April 22 (Adams to Seward, April 23, *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs* (1862–63), p. 222). Dudley agreed to this in his letter to Seward, May 2, *LCD*, 23. Criminal prosecution versus forfeiture: Dudley to Seward, April 8 and 14, *LCD*, 23; Squarey to F. J. Hamel (solicitor to the Board of Customs), April 20, *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs* (1862–63), pp. 231–32. "Southern proclivities": Quoted in Jones, *Confederate Rams at Birkenhead*, p. 47. Pollock: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/pollock-jonathan-1783-1870>; obituary, *The Times*, August 24, 1870. In general, see F. J. Merli, "Crown Versus Cruiser: The Curious Case of the *Alexandra*," *Civil War History*, 9 (1963), no. 2, pp. 167–77.

V–VI

Dudley's reaction: Moran, June 22, Wallace and Gillespie (eds.), *Journal of Benjamin Moran*, 2, p. 1,176; Dudley to Seward, June 26, *LCD*, 23, expressing exasperation with Palmer. Court proceedings: *The Times*, June 23, 24, and 25, 1863; transcript published in *Report of the Trial*; R. Palmer, *Memoirs* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 2 vols., 1896), 2, pp. 440–47. Pollock's Erlanger speculation and Hotze connection: List of bond owners, "The Rebel Loan," *New York Times*, December 9, 1865. The *Liverpool Mercury* (June 25) noted the jury's not "hesitating for more than a half a minute," and see next day's paper for "signal defeat." Yonge's disastrous appearance: Bulloch to Mallory (June 30, 1863, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, p. 449) said that "in face of the handling he got from Sir Hugh Cairns . . . I do not think he will venture to present himself before a jury again." De Costa: Macilwee, *Liverpool Underworld*, pp. 145–47; Bulloch, *Secret Service*, p. 236. *The Southerner*: "Dejeûner On Board the *Southerner*," *Liverpool Mercury*, June 29. A word on the "98 counts": This seems an extraordinary number, but Bulloch explained that "the 97th and 98th counts were abandoned by the Crown. The remaining 96 counts consisted of the first eight counts repeated twelve times, merely varying the offence charged. Thus, the first eight counts charge

that the defendants did *equip* the vessel, the next eight counts that they did *furnish* the vessel . . . The first eight counts therefore represented the rest." Bulloch, *Secret Service*, p. 231.

Chapter Eleven: The Lucky Shoemaker

I-II

Dudley on the Rams: Occasional letters to Seward, August 8, September 3, October 4, December 30, 1862, *LCD*, 22. China: F. J. Merli, "A Missing Chapter in American Civil War Diplomacy: The Confederacy's Chinese Fleet, 1861-1867," in C. G. Reynolds (ed.), *Global Crossroads and the American Seas* (Missoula, MT: Pictorial Histories Publishing Co., 1988), pp. 181-96. Bulloch's intentions: Letter to Mallory, December 18, 1862, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 309-11. Construction: Bulloch to Mallory, February 3, 1863, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 351-52. The most detailed analysis of the Rams design is English, "The Laird Rams," and see R. Lester, "Construction of Confederate Ironclad Rams in Great Britain," *Military Collector & Historian*, 26 (1974), pp. 73-76.

III

Ships and the law: Bulloch to Mallory, February 3 and October 20, 1863, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 351-52, 507-11. France and Napoleon: Mallory to Bulloch, March 19, 1863, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 375-76.

IV

As early as 1858, the *Liverpool Mercury* was calling François "a rich parvenu, who is supposed to have made a very large fortune in the last seven years in Egypt" ("Egypt," *Liverpool Mercury*, March 23, 1858). Bravay himself liked to tell the story of twirling his hat ("The Returned," *Morning Chronicle*, October 4, 1858). Shoe story: "The Lucky Shoemaker," *Morning Post*, December 2, 1863. Hunger and indigestion: "Le Nabab," *The Examiner*, February 9, 1878. The *Gazette du Midi* (reprinted in the *Daily News*, August 26, 1862) noted Sa'id's staying with Bravay in France. A colorful account of life in Egypt that contains interesting material on Sa'id is Anon., "Ismail Pacha of Egypt," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 39 (1869), pp. 739-50. English, "Laird Rams," p. 140n520, notes that the *Harper's* article was written by Edwin De Leon, the Confederate diplomat who in the 1850s had served as the American consul in Alexandria. Sa'id's Egypt: A. Mestyan, *Arab Patriotism: The Ideology and Culture of Power in Late Ottoman Egypt* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), pp. 3-5, 44-48. Bulloch summarizes his initial meeting in his letter to Mallory, June 30, 1863, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 444-47. The Bravay letters are quoted in Bulloch, *Secret Service*, pp. 279-80. Dire finances: Bulloch to North, December 23 and 31, 1862; Bulloch to James Mason, January 5 and 23, February 4, 1863, *Official*

Records (Navy), 2, 2, pp. 319–52. Cotton smuggling: Lebergott, “Through the Blockade,” pp. 872 and n19, p. 879, Table 6. Grazebrook: “Blockade Running: The Case of Mr. J.W. Grazebrook,” *New York Times*, August 22, 1863.

V–VI

Terms of contract: Lester, “Construction of Confederate Ironclad Rams in Great Britain,” p. 77. *North Carolina and Mississippi*: Mallory to Bulloch, October 29, 1862, pp. 286–87. Erlanger Loan: Bulloch to Mallory, May 7 and 26, July 20, *ibid.*, pp. 417–18, 428–29, 467–68. Paris: Bulloch to Mallory, June 30, pp. 444–47. Launch of the first Ram: Bulloch to Mallory, July 8, 1863, pp. 452–54. Disguise: Wilson and McKay, *James D. Bulloch*, p. 144. Wilmington: Mallory to Bulloch, August 29, and Mallory to Barron, August 30, 1863, pp. 483–87. Bulloch’s ambitions: Bulloch to Mallory, July 9, 1863, pp. 455–57. Unless otherwise noted, in *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2. Dudley’s evidence, intimidation of sources, and difficulty of acquiring intelligence: Letters to Seward, July 3 and 7, September 4, 1863, *LCD*, 25. In this period, Dudley’s intelligence costs fell almost to zero (see his second-quarter invoice, July 23, *LCD*, 25). Hand: Affidavit, July 15, enclosed in Dudley to Seward, July 16, *LCD*, 25; English, “Laird Rams,” pp. 154–55; “The Rebel Rams—A Fit Case for Aid,” *New York Times*, October 17, 1864; “The Steam Rams Seized at Birkenhead,” *Liverpool Mercury*, March 10, 1864. Dudley’s payments to Hand and Brady: Maguire invoices, July 31, Dudley Papers, DU-2801, and August 7, DU-2802, and see Maguire to Dudley, March 12, 1864, asking him to give William Brady his “immediate attention” (DU-2813). Neil Black: Dudley to Seward, July 3, *LCD*, 25. Dudley’s visit to London: Adams diary, July 8, at <https://www.masshist.org/publications/cfa-civil-war/index.php/view?id=DCA63d189#sn=17>. Affidavits: Yonge, April 6; Chapman, June 29; Dudley, July 7; Russell and Ellis, July 7, enclosed in Adams to Russell, July 11, *The Case of Great Britain as Laid Before the Tribunal of Arbitration, Convened at Geneva* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 3 vols., 1872), 2, pp. 367–73. Edwards’s opinion: Edwards to commissioners of customs, July 8, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, pp. 374–75. Dudley’s meeting with Edwards: Letter to Seward, July 16, *LCD*, 25. Wilding’s report on his conversation with the vice-consul was sent by Dudley to Adams, who forwarded it to Russell. Dudley submitted his own report to Seward on July 25 (*LCD*, 25). Russell himself followed up with Baron Gros, the French ambassador, who confirmed Lenglet’s version. See Wilding to Adams, July 24, 1863, enclosed in Adams to Russell, July 25, and Gros to Russell, July 27, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, pp. 381–82. Law officers’ opinion: Atherton, Palmer, and Phillimore to Russell, July 24, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, p. 380.

VII–VIII

Colquhoun’s dispatch: Colquhoun to Russell, February 26, 1863, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, p. 367. Sa’id’s desire to keep Constantinople out of his affairs: As Bravay put it in his December 28, 1862, letter to Adrien (quoted in Bulloch, *Secret Service*, p. 280),

"He [Sa'id] stipulates above everything that it [the deal] not be made known that they [the ships] are for the Egyptian Government, for he has political reasons for that." Colquhoun's follow-up telegram: August 31, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, p. 396. Customs officials and Lairds story: Morgan to Edwards, August 29; Laird Brothers to Russell (care of Henry Layard, undersecretary of state), September 5, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, pp. 397, 411. Rams would not be interfered with: Russell to Adams, September 1, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, pp. 398–99. That same day, Layard confirmed that Russell "thinks the vessels ought to be detained" *only* if "sufficient evidence can be obtained to lead to the belief that they are intended for the Confederate States of America." Otherwise, they were to be left alone. (Layard to lords commissioners, September 1, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, p. 398.)

IX

Stopping the vessels: Russell to Layard, September 3, quoted in D. F. Krein, "Russell's Decision to Retain the Laird Rams," *Civil War History*, 22 (1976), no. 2, pp. 162–63; Layard to lords commissioners, same date, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, p. 403. The next day, Palmerston told Russell that he agreed (English, "Laird Rams," p. 187), and the day after that, September 5, Adams angrily told Russell that if the Rams got out and raised the blockade "it would be superfluous in me to point out to your lordship that this is war" (Adams to Russell, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, pp. 408–9.) Much has been made of this letter (for example, Brooks Adams, "The Seizure of the Laird Rams," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 45 [1911], p. 297), the claim being that it frightened Russell so much he immediately detained the Rams. The problem with this theory is that Russell had *already* decided to do so *and* had received Palmerston's blessing. Explaining Adams's threatening tone is a simple matter of chronology: Only on September 4 had he received Russell's September 1 note saying he would not interfere with the Rams, the three-day difference the result of the communications lag between Scotland and London. Within a week, in any case, Russell and Adams understood that their letters had crossed. This was partly Russell's fault. On September 4, instead of directly telling Adams he'd ordered the Rams' detention, he wrote ambiguously that "the matter is under the serious and anxious consideration of Her Majesty's Government" (Russell to Adams, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, p. 406). It was only on September 8 that Russell clarified his detention order, leading to some embarrassment on Adams's part. On September 11, Russell asked Adams not to "yield to . . . hasty conclusions," while the minister, who'd been hoping Russell had forgotten the overheated "this is war" line, denied that he had ever threatened hostilities and the foreign secretary gracefully pretended that he must have misunderstood Adams's meaning. See Russell to Adams, September 11 and 25; Adams's replies of September 16 and 29, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, pp. 415–18, 420–25, 434, 438–39, 443.

Chapter Twelve: The Man with No Hands

I

Colquhoun to Russell, August 28, but received September 5, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, pp. 409–10. Russell summarized the Colquhoun findings in a note to Adams, September 11, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, p. 416. On October 17, Russell instructed Colquhoun to “inquire of the Viceroy if he remembers or can ascertain at what date he first refused to accept Bravay’s alleged contracts.” A week later, October 24, Colquhoun replied that Isma’il “positively refused acceptance of any of Bravay’s contracts within a few days after his succession, that is to say, probably about the 30th of January.” Telegrams, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, pp. 466, 479. Russell’s disbelief in Bravay’s story: E. Hammond to the secretary of the treasury, September 21, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, pp. 428–29.

II

W. G. Grey to Russell, September 22, enclosing Hore’s report, same date, and a copy of the Deed of Release, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, pp. 431–33. Bulloch, *Secret Service*, p. 276n, describes the secret agreement with Bravay.

III

Bulloch’s fury: Bulloch to Mallory, October 20, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 507–11. Dacres’s visit: W. G. Romaine (secretary to the admiralty) to Hammond, September 19, and Hammond to secretary of the treasury, same date, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, pp. 425–26. Lairds’ fears and reactions: Laird Brothers to Edwards, September 18, p. 431; Dacres to Romaine, September 20, pp. 429–30; Edwards to commissioners of customs, September 22, pp. 435–36, *Case of Great Britain*, 2.

IV

Edwards: W. G. Stewart to commissioners of customs, October 6, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, pp. 447–48. Bulloch defends Edwards in *Secret Service*, pp. 185–86, but Moran quotes Squarey, December 15, 1863, in Wallace and Gillespie (eds.), *Journal of Benjamin Moran*, 2, p. 1,246. Dudley’s intelligence: Letter to Seward, September 16, *LCD*, 25, regarding the coal, which tip he passed on to Inglefield, who told Commodore Ryder that he enjoyed “a system of espionage” (referring anonymously to Dudley), October 6, 1863, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, p. 445. Murphy and De Costa: Maguire invoice, August 28 (Dudley Papers, DU-2805), notes large payment of £5 to Murphy; September 18 invoice (DU-2809) notes him giving £1 to “Murphy’s & De Costa’s men”; on the Murphys, Macilwee, *The Liverpool Underworld*, pp. 121–22. Property protection and seizure: Hamilton (treasury) to Laird Brothers, October 7; Romaine to Hammond, October 8; Hammond to secretary to the treasury, October 8; Romaine to Inglefield, October 9, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, pp. 448–49, 451, 453.

Lairds' behavior: Inglefield to Admiralty, October 23, and to Vice-Admiral Grey, October 25, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, pp. 480, 482–83. Royal Marine beaten up: Jones, *Confederate Rams at Birkenhead*, p. 95. Dudley's glee: Letter to Seward, October 10, *LCD*, 25.

V

Legal process: Moran, November 4 and December 5, 1863, in Wallace and Gillespie (eds.), *Journal of Benjamin Moran*, 2, pp. 1,232–33, 1,244. Bulloch's responses and negotiations: Bulloch to Mallory, September 1, October 20, December 6, 1863; January 6, February 17, 1864, *Official Records (Navy)*, 2, 2, pp. 487–89, 510, 565–66, 571, 583–86. The Laird Brothers complained about the postponements to Hamilton, January 25 and February 3, 1864, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, pp. 519–20. Commission to Egypt: Hammond to Hamilton, February 2, 1864, same source, p. 519. Russell's thoughts on the Koran: Jones, *Confederate Rams at Birkenhead*, pp. 101–2. Appraisals and final sale: Luke to Admiral Robinson, November 6, 1863; Messrs. Rowcliffe and Cotterill (Bravay/Lairds solicitors) to J. Greenwood (Treasury), May 20, 1864, *Case of Great Britain*, 2, pp. 509, 528–29.

Chapter Thirteen: The Great Red God

I

N. C. Delaney, "Fight or Flee: Raphael Semmes' Decision to Engage the *Kearsarge*, June 1864," *Journal of Confederate History*, 4 (1989), pp. 15–28; Summersell, *CSS Alabama*, pp. 72–90; Merli, "Raphael Semmes and the Challenge at Cherbourg," in Merli (ed. Fahey), *The Alabama, British Neutrality, and the American Civil War*, pp. 141–57. Winslow replied to a congratulatory letter from Dudley, June 24, 1864, DU-4456, Dudley Papers.

II

Hassler, "How the Confederates Controlled Blockade Running," pp. 47–49; Scharf, *History of the Confederate Navy*, pp. 483–85; Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy*, pp. 196, 198, and Appendix 22, pp. 285–328; E. C. Coddington, "The Activities and Attitudes of a Confederate Business Man: Gazaway B. Lamar," *Journal of Southern History*, 9 (1943), pp. 30–32. Bulloch's runners: Wardle, "Mersey-Built Blockade Runners," pp. 183–85; see also Dudley's detailed summary to Seward, January 17, 1865, *LCD*, 30.

III

Depositions of John Ellison, Thomas Everall, George Kelly, October 29, 1864, and John Wilson and John Hercus, no date, *Treaty of Washington* (1872), 1, pp. 375–80; Consul Grattan (in Tenerife) to Russell, October 30, 1863, pp. 374–75; W. C. Whittle

Jr. (eds. D. A. Harris and A. B. Harris), *The Voyage of the CSS Shenandoah: A Memorable Cruise* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), pp. 11–13.

IV

South's expectations: A. Brettle's important article, "Confederate Imaginations with the Federals in the Postwar Order," *Civil War History*, 65 (2019), no. 1, pp. 43–72. Loan: Brown and Burdekin, "Turning Points in the Civil War," pp. 218, 224, Fig. 1. Bazaar: Prioleau's employment advertisement in the *Liverpool Mercury*, October 8, and articles, October 18, 19, 20, 22, and 24. Hotze's reporter: *The Index*, October 20, cutting enclosed with letter, Dudley to Seward, October 22, *LCD*, 29. Dudley's comment on the bazaar is in Dudley to Seward, October 24. Bazaar's proceeds and Prioleau: Hughes, "Liverpool and the Confederate States," pp. 278–301.

V

Florida capture: *Morning Chronicle*, November 2, 1864. Bulloch's outrage at the illegal "assassination" of the *Florida* is fully expressed in *Secret Service*, pp. 125–59, where he reprints the relevant military and diplomatic correspondence. Erlanger Loan: Hall, "Liverpool Cotton Market and the American Civil War," pp. 162–63; Brown and Burdekin, "Turning Points in the Civil War," Fig. 1, p. 224. Reaction to Prioleau: *Liverpool Mercury*, December 22 (Seward's refusal) and 23 (Seward to Adams), as well as Dudley to Seward, December 24, *LCD*, 29.

VI

Whittle (Harris and Harris, eds.), *Voyage of the CSS Shenandoah*, pp. 17, 21; diary, December 4, 1864, pp. 82–83; June 22, 1865, p. 166; July 4, p. 173; August 2, p. 182; Appendix, pp. 215–16; Waddell, "Abstract Log of CSS *Shenandoah*," in B. M. Thomsen (ed.), *Blue and Gray at Sea: Naval Memoirs of the Civil War* (New York: Tom Doherty Associates, 2003), p. 287. Arrival in Liverpool: "The Confederate Cruiser *Shenandoah* in the Mersey," November 7; "The *Shenandoah*—Parole of the Crew," November 9; "The *Shenandoah*," November 10; "The Vessel Handed Over to the Americans," November 11; "Departure from the Mersey of the Ex-Confederate Cruiser *Shenandoah*," November 22, *Liverpool Mercury*. See also Bulloch, *Secret Service*, p. 429, and Kinnaman, *Captain Bulloch*, p. 406.

Chapter Fourteen: Retribution

I

Settlement: Memorandum of Agreement, November 6, 1866; Morse to Seward, November 10 and 17; Morse to Dudley, November 13; Dudley to Seward, November 14; Dudley to Morse, November 15, pp. 15–16, enclosed in letter to Seward, November 16; Gibbs to Dudley, November 19; Morse to Seward, November 28, *Executive*

Documents (House of Representatives), 39th Congress, Second Session (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1867), 10, pp. 5–19, 29–30, 39–40. Seward's decision: Telegram, November 29; Adams to Seward, December 1; Seward to Adams, January 4, 1867; Seward to Isaac Redfield (special consul), January 12, *Executive Documents*, pp. 19–20, 46–47, 47–49. Adams sides with Dudley: Adams to Morse, November 23, 1866, in Freeman Harlow Morse Papers, Western Reserve Historical Society. Postwar fall: Farley, "'The Manners of a Prince,'" p. 25; Wilson, *Historical Sketch of the Prioleau Family*, pp. 32–33; Anon. (ed.), *Civil War and the Confederacy: The Business Records of Fraser, Trenholm & Company of Liverpool*, listing of letters.

II

Moran-Hudson episode: Diary, October 21 and November 18, 1865, "Diary of Benjamin Moran, 1860–1868," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 48 (1914–15), pp. 481, 483; Long, *In the Shadow of the Alabama*, pp. 148, 151–54, 158–64, contains the fullest examination. Buckley's speculations were revealed in "The Rebel Loan," *New York Times*, December 9, 1865, noting that he purchased two hundred bonds. The majority of investors bought between five and twenty. Even Prioleau bought only forty.

III

T. Bingham, "The *Alabama* Claims Arbitration," *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 54 (2005), no. 1, pp. 1–25.

IV

Yonge: Yonge to Dudley, January 18, 1864, Dudley Papers, DU-4497; Yonge (alias "J. Edwards Davies") to Dudley, November 20, 1864, DU-4505. Regarding Yonge's move to Alabama, this is speculative. In a notice in the *Opelika Weekly Era and Whig* on March 31, 1871, he—or a completely different "Clarence R. Yonge"—advertised his services as an "Architect," by which he meant house contractor. Perhaps the business did not do so well, for seven years later in the *Opelika Times* (March 1, 1878) we find the same individual announcing that he "is now prepared to do any and all kinds of painting at prices to suit the times." Dudley's later career and death: Dyer, "Thomas H. Dudley," pp. 412–13; Potts, "Biographical Sketch," pp. 124–25.

V

Bulloch's postwar life: Wilson and McKay, *James D. Bulloch*, pp. 225–74. For Bulloch's attachment to the "Lost Cause," see the review of his book in the *New York Times*, "The Anglo-Confederate Cruisers," November 7, 1883, which noted its endless "general excursions on the Southern cause" that must be "accepted as those of a sincere adherent and admirer of the lost cause." See also T. Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812; or The History of the United States Navy During the Last War with Great Britain* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1882), p. vii, for dedicatory note.

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