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FRANCIS BALACE

LA GUERRE DE SÉCESSION
ET LA BELGIQUE
DOCUMENTS D'ARCHIVES AMERICAINES
1861-1865

1969

ÉDITIONS NAUWELAERTS
LEUVEN-LOUVAIN

BÉATRICE-NAUWELAERTS
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INTRODUCTION

La Guerre de Sécession s'impose à l'historien du XIXe siècle par ses aspects étonnants et souvent prophétiques. Il est superflu d'insister ici sur son rôle déterminant dans la formation de la société et de la pensée américaines. Unissant dans un même faisceau les facteurs politiques, économiques et sociaux, elle fut la première des guerres totales. Par les causes humanitaires que le Nord voulait lui assigner, elle apparaît aussi comme un des jalons du développement de la conscience humaine.

Ces constatations qui semblent aujourd'hui des truismes étaient loin d'apparaître clairement aux contemporains. D'emblée cependant, l'opinion européenne s'intéressa à la grande crise qui bouleversait les Etats-Unis. Pour l'homme des années 1850-1860, ceux-ci représentaient encore une gigantesque expérience humaine, et même une gageure. Selon les opinions politiques ou philosophiques, ils étaient considérés comme le porte-drapeau du progrès ou comme une dangereuse utopie. Progressistes et conservateurs les citaient en exemple, les utilisaient dans leurs polémiques et prétendaient y découvrir la justification de leurs théories. Bientôt les Européens ne se contentèrent plus du rôle d'observateurs pour prétendre à celui d'arbitres. Du côté américain, l'appel à l'Europe fut immédiat. C'est d'elle que les Sécessionnistes attendaient la reconnaissance de leur indépendance et que les Fédéraux sollicitaient l'approbation de leur politique.

A prime abord, rien ne semblait devoir signaler à l'attention de l'historien les réactions de la Belgique devant la guerre d'Amérique. Notre pays ne possédait pas, comme la Grande-Bretagne, d'immenses intérêts économiques dans les Etats du Sud et ne rêvait pas, comme la France impériale, de prendre pied sur le continent américain. Aucun incident grave, aucune difficulté diplomatique n'était venu perturber le cours des relations belgo-américaines pendant ces années de crise. Rien ne semblait prédestiner notre Souverain ou notre Gouvernement à jouer un rôle dans les tentatives d'intervention pour mettre fin à la guerre.

Et cependant les documents diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères témoignaient du vif intérêt que la Belgique avait pris aux péripéties du conflit. Le même intérêt envers l'attitude belge apparaissait-il dans les archives américaines ? Peu avant la dernière

guerre, le Professeur H. Laurent signalait l'importance des *National Archives* de Washington pour la période couvrant la Guerre de Sécession et se déclarait convaincu de ce que « la moisson pourrait être fructueuse » (1). Récemment, ces documents ont été microfilmés par les soins du Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique, mais le microfilmage de certaines catégories de documents a été interrompu au milieu de la Guerre Civile (2).

Les relations belgo-américaines n'occupent qu'une place peu importante dans les ouvrages américains consacrés à l'histoire diplomatique de la guerre. Il est curieux de constater que ces ouvrages, selon qu'ils aient été construits à partir de documents d'origine fédérale ou confédérée, présentent une vue complètement différente de l'attitude belge qu'ils dépeignent comme pro-nordiste ou pro-sudiste (3). Il importait donc de pouvoir comparer ces documents.

Ce sujet a été fort peu étudié dans notre pays, et principalement par des mémoires ou thèses inédits (4). Il y apparaît également que toutes les sources de documents américaines n'ont pu être consultées, et cela se conçoit par leur variété et leur dispersion.

Nous pouvons diviser en trois groupes les archives américaines que nous avons dépouillées. Les deux premiers groupes — archives officielles fédérales conservées aux *National Archives* et papiers personnels du représentant des Etats-Unis en Belgique — constituent la correspondance de ce dernier, Henry Shelton Sanford. Quant au

(1) H. LAURENT, *Les débuts des relations diplomatiques entre la Belgique Indépendante et les Etats-Unis (1832)*, dans *Revue d'Histoire Moderne*, t. XV, 1940, p. 73.

(2) *National Archives*, Microfilms F.N.R.S., Rolls 1-6 de la State Correspondance; rolls 1-2, 5 et 19 des instructions et de la correspondance avec la Légation de Belgique.

(3) D. JORDAN et E.J. PRATT, *Europe and the American Civil War*, in-8°, New York, 1931; F.L. OWSLEY, *King Cotton Diplomacy. Foreign Relations of the Confederate States of America*, 2e édition, in-8°, University of Chicago, Chicago, 1959.

(4) A.H. BRIDDON, *La carrière publique de Henry S. Sanford*, thèse de doctorat inédite, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1952-1953; G. HANNECART, *Les relations entre la Belgique et les Etats-Unis pendant la Guerre de Sécession*, in-f°, Ecole Royale Militaire, 99e Promotion toutes Armes; Fr. BALACE, *La Guerre de Sécession devant l'opinion belge 1861-1865*, 3 vol. in f°, Université de Liège, 1966.

Un aspect particulier a été étudié par H. GALLE, *La "Famine du Coton" 1861-1865. Effets de la Guerre de Sécession sur l'industrie cotonnière gantoise*, in-8°, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Centre d'Histoire économique et sociale, Bruxelles, 1967.

troisième groupe — conservé à la *Library of Congress* de Washington — il est formé par celle de l'envoyé des Etats du Sud en Belgique, Ambrose Dudley Mann. Autour de ces deux hommes, nous avons groupé les lettres d'autres agents diplomatiques du Nord et du Sud conservées dans les mêmes dépôts et traitant de la Belgique.

Né en 1823, Henry Shelton Sanford était originaire d'une riche famille du Connecticut. Il interrompit ses études aux Etats-Unis pour raisons de santé, fit son droit à Heidelberg et en 1847 fut nommé Attaché à Saint-Petersbourg. En 1848, il était Secrétaire de Légation à Francfort, puis à Paris de 1849 à 1854, faisant office de Chargé d'Affaires en 1853. Il démissionna lors de l'arrivée du nouveau Ministre John Mason à propos d'un ridicule conflit d'étiquette, Sanford se refusant à sacrifier aux mœurs diplomatiques d'Europe en portant un uniforme. Il rentra aux Etats-Unis, se lança de façon très active dans diverses entreprises commerciales avec l'Amérique Centrale et, en 1859, fut chargé par le Président Buchanan d'une mission au Vénézuéla.

En mars 1861, peu après l'inauguration de Lincoln, il fut nommé Ministre des Etats-Unis à Bruxelles en remplacement du Général Fair, qui était originaire du Sud. On lui reprocha d'avoir obtenu sa nomination par des intrigues auprès des nouveaux dirigeants du Nord. Il est un fait qu'il ne s'était guère distingué dans la vie politique interne des Etats-Unis et que, selon le correspondant de *l'Indépendance Belge*, on ne savait « au juste s'il est républicain ou démocrate » (5). Ses références le servirent et il était considéré par Edouard Blondeel, notre Ministre plénipotentiaire à Washington, comme un bon diplomate. En plus de ses fonctions officielles à Bruxelles, Sanford s'était vu confier un poste qui allait absorber toutes ses énergies et dans lequel il allait pouvoir se dépenser pour la cause du Nord : celui de chef du Service secret des Etats-Unis en Europe occidentale.

C'était là une lourde charge et sans doute l'avait-on confiée à Sanford parce que ses chefs supposaient qu'il n'aurait guère de soucis à Bruxelles. Elle s'étendait aux domaines les plus variés : surveillance des opérations de tous les agents confédérés en Europe, en liaison avec

(5) *Indépendance Belge*, 3 avril 1861, p. 3, c. 1-2; E. Blondeel à de Vrière - n° 144 - Washington, 20 mars 1861 - A.M.A.E., Cor. Politique, Etats-Unis, vol. 6/1. "...En notre particulier, Mr. le Baron, nous ne pouvons que nous féliciter. Mr. Sanford est un homme du monde, jeune encore, riche, célibataire, parlant parfaitement le français et qui n'est pas nouveau dans la carrière diplomatique..."

les Légations américaines sur le Continent, achat d'armes et de matériel militaire pour le Nord et arrêt des approvisionnements du Sud, propagande dans la presse, etc... Pendant la première année de sa mission, Sanford fut rarement à Bruxelles, voyageant de Londres à Paris, de Liège à Hambourg pour procurer aux Etats-Unis les armes nécessaires. Sa correspondance est à cet égard révélatrice. Le caractère « secret » de sa mission ne tarda pas à transpirer et son caractère soupçonneux le fit surnommer *diplomatical flea* ou même *legation on wheels* par ses collègues que ses initiatives trop zélées lassaient parfois.

La Belgique échappait ainsi quelque peu aux objectifs principaux de la mission de Sanford. Seward déclara plus tard qu'il avait été envoyé dans notre pays comme dans une position centrale d'où il pourrait se rendre utile et que « pendant la première année de la guerre il fut le Ministre des Etats-Unis en Europe ». Sanford continua pendant tout le conflit à exercer une activité inlassable débordant parfois sur les sphères d'action de ses collègues, ce qui lui valut de vives rancœurs. Ce fut particulièrement le cas en France : considérant le Ministre Dayton comme trop faible, Sanford s'entendit avec le Consul Général John Bigelow pour le remplacer dans les activités de surveillance et de propagande. L'intérêt qu'il portait à ces domaines absorba la plus grande partie de ses loisirs et on le considérait plaisamment comme « le Ministre à Bruxelles qui vit à Paris ».

Est-ce à dire que Sanford négligea ses fonctions de Ministre des Etats-Unis à Bruxelles au profit de ses missions secrètes ? Certes non. Il sut mettre à profit l'avantage que sa position de ministre officiellement accrédité lui assurait sur le représentant officieux des Etats du Sud pour faire entendre à bon escient les théories que son Gouvernement voulait faire observer par les puissances d'Europe. Dès le début, Sanford sut distinguer — ce qui échappa totalement à son rival sudiste — la politique du Gouvernement et de Rogier d'une part et celle que menait le Roi de l'autre. La plupart des démarches dont le diplomate fédéral escomptait beaucoup furent du reste, comme le montrent les documents, accomplies auprès de Jules Van Praet, le confident du Souverain. C'est l'influence de ce dernier sur le Cabinet britannique et la Reine Victoria qu'il cherchait à utiliser bien plus qu'à obtenir des assurances de neutralité de la part du Gouvernement belge.

L'autre aspect des activités de Sanford se manifesta également dans notre pays. Il accorda une grande importance à l'opinion publique et ne cessa de réclamer à Washington la création d'un organe

de propagande fédérale et de formuler des projets dans ce sens. Le recrutement en Belgique de marins et de soldats pour le Nord apparaît également dans sa correspondance, mais ce qui retint surtout son attention pendant les premiers mois du conflit fut l'achat à Liège et à Verviers d'armes et de matériel pour l'armée fédérale. Les documents relatifs à ces achats sont très nombreux et nous nous sommes bornés à reproduire dans cette publication les plus caractéristiques d'entre eux. Une batterie de canons offerts par lui aux troupes du Minnesota lui valut le titre de « Général » de la milice de cet Etat, qu'on trouve fréquemment accolé à son nom et dont il tirait une grande fierté.

Pendant son séjour en Belgique — séjour interrompu par deux voyages aux Etats-Unis en 1862 et 1864 —, Sanford négocia très activement le Traité du Rachat du Péage de l'Escaut, qu'il signa au nom de son pays. La position américaine dans ces négociations était curieuse. Le 20 mai 1863, par une convention additionnelle au Traité de Navigation de juillet 1858, Sanford avait promis le versement par son Gouvernement d'une somme de 550.000 dollars, qui se justifiait par l'importance du trafic maritime américain à Anvers. Comme toutes les conventions, cet acte devait être soumis à la ratification du Congrès et cela empêcha Sanford de signer les protocoles de la Conférence réunie à Bruxelles les 15 et 16 juillet. Se référant aux précédents américains lors du rachat des péages du Sund et de l'Elbe, c'est par un acte séparé, daté du 20 juillet, que Sanford consacra l'adhésion de son Gouvernement. Il restait toutefois à faire ratifier ces traités par le Congrès, ce qui n'alla pas sans difficultés.

Les documents relatifs à cette convention sont très abondants et nous avons dû renoncer à les publier ici. D'autre part, Sanford adressa à Washington de très nombreux rapports sur les institutions, les lois et la politique intérieure belges, ainsi que sur les crises internationales provoquées par l'insurrection polonaise et la guerre germano-danoise, qui sortiraient du cadre de cette publication.

La part prise par la Belgique à la tentative d'établissement d'un régime impérial au Mexique fournit également à Sanford la matière d'amples rapports dont nous ne publions ci-dessous que ceux contemporains de la guerre civile.

Sanford occupa son poste à Bruxelles jusqu'en 1869. Le Général Grant, le nouveau Président, le nomma en 1870 Ministre à Madrid, mais lui préféra finalement le Général Sickles. En guise de protestation, Sanford démissionna de son poste à Bruxelles. Il résida encore

longtemps en Europe, où il fut actif pendant la guerre franco-allemande au sein de diverses associations charitables. En 1877, le Président Hayes le nomma à nouveau à Bruxelles, mais une campagne de presse l'accusant d'avoir spéculé sur les fournitures militaires faites au Nord pendant la guerre lui fit refuser la confirmation par le Congrès. Il échoua également dans l'obtention du poste de Rome en 1881.

Pendant les dernières années de sa mission à Bruxelles, il s'était intéressé à d'innombrables projets commerciaux et de développement rural. Il devint propriétaire de la plantation de sucre d'Oakley en Louisiane et en 1870 acheta le *Sanford Grant* en Floride, qui représentait plus de 23 milles carrés. Il consacra tous ses efforts à cette région, y fondant la ville aujourd'hui prospère de Sanford et le village de New Upsala qu'il peupla d'émigrants suédois, et y développant l'industrie fruitière.

Son activité au sein de l'Association Internationale Africaine, ses efforts pour obtenir la reconnaissance de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo par les Etats-Unis en avril 1884, ses liens étroits avec Léopold II et ses collaborateurs constituent un autre chapitre de sa vie mouvementée et ont déjà été étudiés en détail. Sa dernière fonction publique fut de représenter son pays à la Conférence Anti-esclavagiste de Bruxelles en 1890. Il résida à diverses reprises dans notre pays et mourut en Virginie le 21 mai 1891 (°).

(°) La vie d'Henry Shelton Sanford a été étudiée à diverses reprises dans des optiques diverses. Mentionnons tout particulièrement deux thèses encore inédites, qui n'utilisent cependant pas les papiers personnels de Sanford et ne se basent que sur les documents officiels : Francis J. HEPNER, *Henry S. Sanford, United States Minister to Belgium 1861-1869*, M.A. thesis, Georgetown University, Washington, 1955; A.H. BRIDDON, *La carrière publique de Henry S. Sanford*, thèse de doctorat inédite, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1952-1953. Une biographie résumée du diplomate américain a été publiée en utilisant les papiers fournis par la famille Sanford mais pêche par son côté panégyrique : Leo T. MOLLOY, *Henry Shelton Sanford 1823-1891. A Biography*, in-8°, Derby, 1952. Sur la vie de Sanford aux Etats-Unis, Richard J. AMUNDSON, *The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford*, s.d.n.l., manuscrit dactylographié. La bibliographie des projets africains est plus complète : R.S. THOMSON, *Léopold II et Henry S. Sanford. Papiers inédits concernant le rôle joué par un diplomate américain dans la création de l'E.I. du Congo*, dans *Congo*, XI (1930), t. II, p. 295-331; R.S. THOMSON, *Léopold II et le Congo révélés par les notes privées de H.S. Sanford*, *ibid.*, XII (1931), t. I, p. 167-196; R.S. THOMSON, *Léopold II et la Conférence de Berlin. Documents inédits provenant de la correspondance particulière de l'Hon. Henry S. Sanford*, *ibid.*, XII (1931), t. II, p. 325-352; François BONTINCK, *Aux Origines de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo. Documents*

L'intérêt que présentent les archives fédérales pour l'histoire des relations belgo-américaines pendant la guerre civile est du à la personnalité de Sanford. Ses fonctions secrètes et son intérêt personnel pour les problèmes de propagande et de presse y ont laissé des documents plus précis pour l'étude de l'opinion que la correspondance laissée par des diplomates occupant des fonctions plus importantes que celles de Ministre à Bruxelles. Ses plaidoyers incessants en faveur du développement de la propagande fédérale au sein de la presse et ses initiatives en la matière échouèrent à diverses reprises devant la prudence ou l'indifférence de son chef, le Secrétaire d'Etat William H. Seward.

Celui-ci était une figure de proue de la politique américaine depuis de nombreuses années. Il s'était distingué comme Gouverneur de l'Etat de New York, dans la formation du parti républicain et la propagande anti-esclavagiste. D'abord très modéré dans celle-ci, il avait finalement, en 1858, annoncé le « conflit irrépressible » entre les Etats du Nord et ceux du Sud. Nommé Secrétaire d'Etat par Lincoln, il essaya d'éviter la guerre, puis dirigea de main de maître les affaires extérieures des Etats-Unis. Il abandonna assez vite les fanfaronnades envers les puissances européennes pour un langage plus mesuré et plein de tact. La façon dont il parvint à tirer son pays des difficultés suscitées par l'incident du *Trent* reste un modèle. Il consacra ses efforts à faire échouer les plans des agents sudistes en Europe en diffusant des dépêches pleines d'assurance et confiantes en la victoire et en jouant à propos sur la corde anti-esclavagiste. Ses efforts aboutirent à des succès marquants, tels la confiscation de cuirassés sudistes par la Grande-Bretagne et surtout l'évacuation du Mexique par les troupes françaises après la guerre civile (7). La Belgique n'était

tirés d'*Archives américaines*, in-8°, Publications de l'Université Lovanium, Louvain-Paris, 1966; M.A. IMBRECHTS, *L'Association Internationale du Congo et les Etats-Unis 1882-1884*, mémoire inédit, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1965.

(7) Sur la vie de William H. Seward (1801-1872), voir *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 16, p. 615-621; Henry W. TEMPLE, *William H. Seward*, dans *The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy*, ed. par Samuel F. Bemis, vol. VII, New York, 1928; J. MONAGHAN, *Diplomat in Carpet Slippers*, in-8°, New York, 1945; La correspondance diplomatique (en extraits) et le journal de Seward pendant la guerre ont été publiés par George E. BAKER, *The Diplomatic History of the War for the Union*, vol. V des *Works of William H. Seward*, in-8°, Boston, 1884.

Les papiers personnels de Seward sont conservés à l'Université de Rochester (New York).

certes pas au centre de ses préoccupations et il se bornait assez souvent à envoyer à Sanford des récits des opérations militaires et des succès fédéraux. Il considérait avec beaucoup de prudence les multiples projets de propagande et de recrutement de son représentant à Bruxelles.

Les archives officielles fédérales relatives aux relations belgo-américaines pendant le conflit peuvent se répartir en cinq groupes conservés aux *National Archives* de Washington, section des *State Department Archives*.

Le premier groupe, et le plus important, contient les dépêches officielles et les lettres confidentielles ou privées d'Henry S. Sanford à ses chefs William H. Seward et W. Hunter ⁽⁸⁾. Bon nombre de ces lettres sont expédiées de Londres, de France ou d'Allemagne, mais la majeure partie fut envoyée de la Légation de Bruxelles. Les allusions à la propagande et à la presse y sont nombreuses, ainsi que, pour l'année 1861, aux commandes d'armes et de munitions pour l'armée du Nord. C'est là la base de notre documentation. Nous n'avons pas reproduit ci-dessous les très nombreuses dépêches relatives au rachat du péage de l'Escaut et à la participation américaine à celui-ci. Quoique fort curieux, ces documents nous semblaient échapper au cadre de nos recherches. Les documents conservés montrent l'activité multiple de Sanford, sa confiance envers le Roi Léopold tempérée par une certaine méfiance envers Charles Rogier, ses contacts avec la presse belge, etc...

Le deuxième groupe comprend les instructions envoyées par Seward à son représentant à Bruxelles, qui révèlent un intérêt modéré envers l'attitude belge et une grande prudence envers les projets multiples de Sanford ⁽⁹⁾. Ces deux premiers groupes de documents ont été publiés — en sélection épurée — dans la série des *Papers relating to Foreign Affairs* ⁽¹⁰⁾.

Gravement malade et grièvement blessé dans une tentative d'assassinat par un complice du meurtrier de Lincoln, Seward fut remplacé pendant une courte période par W. Hunter, *Chief Clerk* du Département d'Etat.

⁽⁸⁾ National Archives, State Department, Despatches, BELGIUM, vol. 5-9. Le volume 5 a été microfilmé par les soins du F.N.R.S. (Rolls 5 et 6). Le volume 7 est presque entièrement consacré au rachat du péage de l'Escaut.

⁽⁹⁾ *Idem*, Instructions to U.S. Representatives, BELGIUM, vol. I, 1832-1870. Ce volume a également été microfilmé par les soins du F.N.R.S. (Roll 19).

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Papers relating to Foreign Affairs...*, collection 1863-1865, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1864-1866.

Les troisième et quatrième groupes renferment les notes échangées entre la Légation de Belgique à Washington et le Département d'Etat. Nous n'avons pas utilisé ces sources dans la présente publication, car ces documents concernent presque exclusivement un problème particulier : les opérations de recruteurs pour l'armée fédérale en Belgique et les plaintes de notre Légation à ce propos ⁽¹¹⁾.

Quant au cinquième groupe, il s'agit de la correspondance des Consulats des Etats-Unis en Belgique ⁽¹²⁾. Ces documents sont essentiellement consacrés à des questions commerciales mais contiennent parfois des informations curieuses, telles certaines dépêches des Consulats d'Anvers et Gand. Les Consulats de Bruxelles et de Liège par contre ne fournissent que des statistiques commerciales.

Nous avons dépouillé également la correspondance politique des Légations de Londres et de Paris, ainsi que du Consulat de Paris mais sans résultat appréciable ⁽¹³⁾.

Peu après la mort de Mrs. Sanford en 1901, ses descendants versèrent les papiers personnels de l'ancien diplomate aux archives de la *Connecticut Historical Society*, Etat d'origine de sa famille. Les dernières volontés de Mrs. Sanford demandaient la création à Sanford (Seminole County, Floride) d'une bibliothèque destinée à contenir les livres et papiers laissés par son époux. Vers 1941, la municipalité de Sanford et le chapitre local des *Daughters of the American Revolution* créèrent un comité dans ce but et en 1957, les livres et les meubles de la demeure ancestrale des Sanford à Derby furent offerts à la nouvelle *General H.S. Sanford Memorial Library*.

La *Connecticut Historical Society* accepta de se désaisir des papiers au profit de la nouvelle institution en 1959 et ceux-ci furent confiés aux *Tennessee State Library and Archives* qui les classèrent et

⁽¹¹⁾ National Archives, State Department, Notes from Belgian Legation, vol. 1-2 (Microfilms F.N.R.S., rolls 1-2); Notes to Belgian Legation, vol. 1 (*Idem*, roll 5). Nous en avons publié des extraits dans *En marge de la Guerre de Sécession... Recrutements en Belgique pour les troupes fédérales (1864-1865)* dans *Revue Belge d'Histoire Militaire*, XVII, p. 459-474, 494-523, 588-605.

⁽¹²⁾ *Idem*, Consultates, ANTWERP, vol. 1-2; GHENT, vol. 1.

⁽¹³⁾ Sur les autres sources diplomatiques, voir Kenneth W. MUNDEN et Henry Putney BEERS, *Guide to Federal Archives relating to the Civil War*, in-8°, National Archives, Washington, 1962, p. 138-144; Samuel Flag BEMIS et Grace Gardner GRIFFIN, *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States 1775-1921*, in-8°, Library of Congress, Washington, 1935, p. 857-868. Les archives du *War Department* (N.A.), contiennent un dossier sur les opérations des recruteurs en Belgique que nous avons utilisé dans notre étude citée ci-dessus (Record Group 94, Adjutant General Department, Trunk IV).

les microfilmèrent sous la direction de Mrs. Harriett Chappell Owsley, veuve de l'éminent historien de la diplomatie de la Guerre de Sécession (14).

Le classement de ces 50.000 pièces a été effectué par des chercheurs qualifiés qui se sont efforcés de grouper ces papiers par groupes correspondant à l'évolution de la carrière de Sanford, à la fois *businessman* et homme politique. Quoique logique, ce classement ne dispense pas le chercheur de considérables dépouillements s'il tient à étudier une phase précise des activités du diplomate américain. En effet, le seul reproche que l'on puisse adresser au système de classement adopté — hormis certaines erreurs dans l'identification des personnalités européennes (15) — est d'avoir classé une grande partie de la correspondance de Sanford suivant l'ordre alphabétique de ses correspondants au lieu de répartir celle-ci suivant les sujets qui y sont traités. Les dépouillements parallèles auxquels doit s'astreindre le chercheur sont heureusement considérablement facilités par le remarquable catalogue dressé par les soins de Mrs. Owsley (16).

La grande majorité des papiers conservés est constituée par des documents relatifs aux multiples entreprises financières ou commerciales dans lesquelles Sanford fut engagé ainsi que par sa volumineuse correspondance avec des membres de sa famille. Une autre tranche importante a trait à ses études et à ses missions à Saint-Petersbourg Francfort et Paris ainsi que dans différents Etats d'Amérique latine au cours des années qui précédèrent la Guerre Civile.

Plus de 2.000 documents relatent les activités de Sanford au cours de celle-ci, en tant que Ministre à Bruxelles et chef du Service Secret en Europe occidentale. On y trouve notamment sa volumineuse correspondance relative à des achats d'armes, munitions, uniformes et salpêtre pour le compte du *War Department* au début des hostilités. Ces documents comptables — qu'il ne saurait être question de reproduire ici — permettent d'évaluer l'importance considérable qu'occupait l'industrie armurière liégeoise dans l'organisation et l'équipement des armées du Nord.

(14) Frank L. OWSLEY, *King Cotton Diplomacy. Foreign Relations of the Confederate States of America*, in-8°, 2e éd., University of Chicago Press, 1959.

(15) C'est ainsi que Lucien Jottrand a été identifié comme un "French business associate" de Sanford.

(16) Harriett C. OWSLEY, *Register. Henry Shelton Sanford Papers*, in-4°, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, 1960.

Une série de copie-lettres — certains malheureusement en très mauvais état — renferment le double des lettres écrites par Sanford pendant les années 1861-1865. Des volumes spéciaux sont également consacrés aux copies de sa correspondance officielle et privée avec le Secrétaire d'Etat William H. Seward. L'existence de ces minutes, copies ou brouillons de lettres permet de compléter très utilement les documents conservés aux *National Archives*.

La correspondance entre Sanford et les agents américains en Europe (tels John Bigelow, Thurlow Weed, George Sauer, etc...), les sympathisants européens de la cause du Nord (Lucien Jottrand, A. Malespine) ou encore le menu frettin à la solde du Service secret, permet de donner un relief tout particulier aux activités multiples du diplomate américain comme chef du *Secret Service* fédéral en Europe. L'importance accordée à la presse belge et française dans les plans de la propagande nordiste en ressort très nettement. Quant aux activités d'espionnage et de surveillance, elles étaient surtout organisées en Grande-Bretagne et elles ont été étudiées par Mrs. Owsley (17).

Quant aux nombreuses entreprises commerciales et financières dans lesquelles Sanford s'engagea après la fin de sa mission en Belgique, et à la fondation de la ville de Sanford, les documents sont innombrables et il ne nous appartient pas d'en traiter ici. Qu'il nous soit cependant permis de signaler la part primordiale prise par Sanford à l'œuvre de Leopold II en Afrique Centrale et à la reconnaissance de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo par la Conférence de Berlin. L'ancien Ministre des Etats-Unis à Bruxelles engagea une grande partie de sa fortune dans le financement d'expéditions d'exploration et l'établissement de relations commerciales avec les Etats-Unis. En 1890, il représenta ceux-ci à la Conférence Anti-esclavagiste de Bruxelles. Il fut également un des membres du Comité Exécutif de l'Association Internationale Africaine. Les 5.000 documents traitant des divers aspects de l'activité souvent décisive de Sanford dans l'expansion africaine de notre pays ont été récemment publiés et étudiés par

(17) Harriett C. OWSLEY, *Henry Shelton Sanford and Federal Surveillance Abroad 1861-1865*, dans *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVIII, (sept. 1961), p. 211-228.

le Père François Bontinck, Professeur à l'Université Lovanium qui en a bien montré toute l'importance ⁽¹⁸⁾.

L'abondance des documents d'origine fédérale tant officiels que privés s'explique facilement : les *National Archives* d'une part, la piété familiale des Sanford de l'autre nous en ont assuré la conservation. Il était à craindre que pareil bonheur n'ait pas préservé de la destruction les archives diplomatiques du Gouvernement confédéré au milieu des tribulations qui accompagnèrent la chute de Richmond et de l'exil forcé qui frappa nombre de ses représentants en Europe. Ce serait compter sans le soin que mit le Gouvernement fédéral à rechercher ces archives et à en constituer un fonds très riche. Celui-ci nous a présenté des relations belgo-américaines pendant le conflit une image entièrement différente de celle que nous laissait la lecture des dépêches et de la correspondance privée de Sanford. Loin de se cantonner dans une neutralité plutôt bienveillante envers les Etats du Nord, le Gouvernement Belge et surtout le Roi Léopold ne dédaignèrent pas de tendre l'oreille aux propositions du représentant officiel des Etats Confédérés. Celles-ci furent, comme les documents publiés le montreront, suivies d'initiatives du Roi qui ne furent pas sans influencer sur l'attitude franco-anglaise envers la nouvelle Confédération. Les archives sudistes montrent cependant combien l'attitude belge vis-à-vis du Sud était conditionnée par deux facteurs essentiels : l'approvisionnement en coton de nos manufactures et les tentatives de gouvernement impérial au Mexique.

Le rival de Sanford sur la scène diplomatique belge était Ambrose Dudley Mann, un fort curieux personnage. Né en Virginie en 1801, il avait été élève à West-Point, qu'il avait quitté pour ne pas devoir servir dans l'armée. Devenu avocat, il entra dans la politique et fut nommé « Colonel » honoraire d'une unité de milice. En 1842, il devint agent des Etats-Unis à Brême, puis en 1846 sa mission fut étendue à tous les Etats d'Allemagne, à l'exception de la Prusse, pour y négocier des traités commerciaux, ce qu'il fit avec quelque succès. En 1848, il fit reconnaître le gouvernement de Francfort par les Etats-Unis puis fut envoyé en mission en 1849 auprès du Gouvernement Kossuth en Hongrie. Il échoua dans cette tâche, ayant été

(18) François BONTINCK, *Aux Origines de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo. Documents tirés d'Archives Américaines*, in-8°, Publications de l'Université Lovanium de Léopoldville, n° 15, Louvain-Paris, 1966.

incapable, du fait des évènements militaires, de trouver le gouvernement auprès duquel il était accrédité. Il fut ministre des Etats-Unis en Suisse en 1850, y conclut un traité d'amitié entre les deux pays, puis rentra à Washington où il servit comme Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat sous la présidence de Pierce de 1853 à 1856.

Il se fit alors le défenseur des *Southern Rights*, oeuvrant surtout pour l'indépendance commerciale du Sud et l'établissement de lignes maritimes et du *direct trade* avec l'Europe. Il adhéra au groupe d'économistes dirigé par Yancey qui réclamait la fin de la sujétion des Etats du Sud aux intérêts du commerce et de l'industrie du Nord et prônait le maintien de l'esclavage. Il eut avant la guerre de bons rapports avec la Légation de Belgique à Washington (19).

Dès le 27 février 1861, Mann fut un des trois émissaires choisis par le Président Jefferson Davis pour tenter d'obtenir des divers Gouvernements européens la reconnaissance de l'indépendance des Etats du Sud. D'anciens liens d'amitié, noués à Washington pendant leur service sous Pierce, unissaient les deux hommes et se poursuivirent longtemps après la fin de la Guerre Civile. Leur correspondance privée a été publiée mais ne contient malheureusement aucune information relative à l'action de Mann en Belgique (20).

La lecture du *curriculum vitae* diplomatique d'Ambrose Dudley Mann pourrait laisser croire que le choix de Davis fut judicieux. Il n'en est rien. Bien qu'exerçant aux Etats-Unis, dans les milieux du Sud, une certaine influence comme économiste et théoricien du com-

(19) Sur A.D. Mann, voir *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 12, p. 239-240; Frank L. OWSLEY, *King Cotton Diplomacy...*, *passim*; Burton J. HENDRICK, *Statesmen of the Lost Cause: Jefferson Davis and his Cabinet* in-8°, New York, 1939, p. 141, 400.

Mann publia en 1858 à la Nouvelle-Orléans et à Washington un ouvrage intitulé *Southern Direct Trade with Europe*. Sur son rôle politique avant la guerre, voir Allan NEVINS, *Ordeal of the Union*, 2 vol. in-8°, Londres, 1947, t. 1, p. 452, t. 2, p. 211, 360, 547. Le département des Manuscrits de la *Library of Congress* ne possède comme *A.D. Mann Papers*, qu'une lettre datant de 1852 adressée au Secrétaire d'Etat fédéral Daniel Webster sur la politique européenne (Réf. AC 339).

(20) Sur les rapports entre Davis et Mann et leur correspondance, voir : John Preston MOORE, *Jefferson Davis and Ambrose Dudley Mann*, dans *Journal of Mississippi History*, XIX (July 1957), p. 137-138; John Preston MOORE, "My Ever Dearest Friend". *The letters of A. Dudley Mann to Jefferson Davis 1869-1889*, Confederate Centennial Studies, Tuscaloosa, 1960; Joseph O. BAYLEN et William W. WHITE, *A. Dudley Mann's Mission in Europe 1863-1864. An Unpublished Letter of Jefferson Davis*, dans *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, July 1961, p. 324-328.

merce transatlantique, Mann se révéla un piètre diplomate. L'épisode hongrois de 1849 le laissait pressentir.

Pendant son séjour en Europe, il envoya au gouvernement de Montgomery et de Richmond près de cent vingt-cinq longs rapports qui ne fournissent cependant que peu de renseignements précis sur l'état de la politique et de l'opinion européennes et belges vis à vis des Etats du Sud. Les appréciations du diplomate confédéré sont gâtées par ses défauts : exagération, crédulité totale envers ses interlocuteurs, optimisme outrancier, préjugés envers certaines personnalités et enfin tendance à attribuer à ses propres initiatives les quelques succès de la politique sudiste en Europe. Son style est pompeux, ampoulé, grandiloquent et tantôt coupé d'expressions triviales appartenant à la polémique bien plus qu'à un rapport officiel.

Il manquait singulièrement de perspicacité dans ses jugements et n'hésitait pas à affirmer ce qu'il ne pouvait que supposer, escomptant des résultats décisifs pour son pays de la moindre entrevue de souverains étrangers avec le Roi Léopold. En opposition avec ses collègues Mason et Slidell, il ne cessa d'affirmer la bonne volonté de Palmerston et rejetait sur l'Empereur la responsabilité des échecs de la diplomatie sudiste, ce qui était en contradiction absolue avec les réalités les plus apparentes. Il n'hésitait pas par contre à espérer l'impossible de ses interventions personnelles auprès du Gouvernement belge ou du Saint Siège.

« En ce qui concerne A. Dudley Mann, écrit Frank L. Owsley, il est difficile de voir ce que Davis pouvait avoir en tête en l'envoyant à l'étranger ; assurément, ce n'était pas dans le but de le faire sortir sans risque du pays afin de le rendre inoffensif, comme on le dit parfois à propos de la nomination à l'étranger de William L. Yancey. Mann était aussi inoffensif à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur. » Même opinion dédaigneuse chez Sanford qui ne s'inquiétait guère de son rival et considérait comme « insignifiant » son pouvoir d'information et d'action ⁽²¹⁾.

Si Mann n'obtint pas les résultats brillants qu'il escomptait de ses initiatives, il n'en reste pas moins qu'il fut sous-estimé par ses adversaires et ses collègues, probablement à cause de ses discours sonores et de ses suppositions hasardeuses. Il possédait toutefois le don de se faire admettre dans des cercles relativement fermés, et put

(21) F.L. OWSLEY, *King Cotton Diplomacy...*, p. 51; H.S. Sanford à W.H. Seward - Bruxelles, 29 avril 1862. - N.A., St. D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

ainsi approcher Rogier et Van Praet. Son action la plus nette en Belgique, si l'on excepte les résultats de ses apologies du Sud auprès de notre Gouvernement, semble avoir été d'inspirer avec plus ou moins de succès des campagnes de presse contre les autorités fédérales et d'avoir répandu les thèmes sudistes dans les milieux qu'il fréquentait. Son rôle dans notre pays ne fut donc point négligeable, si même il échappa à la surveillance de Sanford qui, lui aussi accueillait avec crédulité les assurances toutes diplomatiques du Roi et de Rogier quant à leur neutralité.

Après la dissolution de la mission conjointe Yancey-Rost-Mann au début de 1862, Mann fut nommé *Commissioner* des Etats Confédérés en Belgique et résida dans notre pays jusqu'au milieu de mai 1865, date à laquelle selon l'expression de Sanford, « il rentra dans l'obscurité ». Sécessionniste impénitent, il s'établit à Paris et refusa de rentrer aux Etats-Unis. Il mourut dans la capitale française en novembre 1889. Il avait continué à correspondre avec J. Davis et son ancien collègue Mason et avait entrepris la rédaction de ses mémoires sur la diplomatie du Sud. A sa mort, ses papiers disparurent. On connaît assez mal les premiers temps du séjour de Mann en Belgique car ses sept premières dépêches furent détruites pour éviter de tomber aux mains des Fédéraux lorsque le navire qui les portait fut arraisonné (22).

La charge de Secrétaire d'Etat des Etats Confédérés fut remplie par diverses personnalités pendant les premiers mois du conflit, mais Judah P. Benjamin, qui entra en fonction le 19 février 1862 se montra bien supérieur à ses prédécesseurs. Né en 1811, juriste réputé en Louisiane, figure marquante des Démocrates du Sud avant la guerre, il fut *Attorney-General* et Secrétaire à la Guerre de Davis avant d'être chargé des affaires étrangères de la Confédération. Il y présida avec beaucoup de tact et de finesse jusqu'à la chute de Richmond. Il consacra surtout ses efforts à la Grande-Bretagne et à la France et il intervint souvent avec mesure pour modérer l'enthousiasme du bouillant Mann. Après la guerre, il se retira en Angleterre puis en France où il mourut en 1884 (23).

(22) Le *Journal des Débats* du 16 novembre 1889 lui consacra un long article nécrologique. Sa correspondance avec Davis (éditée par J.P. Moore, *op. cit.*) et avec J. Mason (*Mason Papers, Library of Congress*) contient de nombreuses allusions à ce *book of recollections*.

(23) Sur Judah P. Benjamin, voir F.L. OWSLEY, *op. cit.*; Burton J. HENDRICK, *op. cit.*; Robert Douthat MEADE, *Judah P. Benjamin, Confederate states-*

Les archives officielles des Etats Confédérés sont conservées dans leur quasi-entièreté au département des manuscrits de la *Library of Congress* à Washington. Cette collection de quelques 18.500 pièces consiste en la correspondance officielle et semi-officielle des divers Départements du Gouvernement Confédéré et de leurs agents, principalement le Département d'Etat, ainsi que ceux de la Justice, du Trésor, de la Guerre, de la Marine et des Postes. D'autres papiers concernent les institutions adoptées par les Etats du Sud, la Constitution et le Congrès.

Les archives diplomatiques du Département d'Etat sont de loin les plus importantes, contenant la correspondance échangée entre le Secrétaire d'Etat, qui fut Judah P. Benjamin pendant la majeure partie de la guerre, et ses agents à l'étranger, particulièrement en Belgique, France, Grande-Bretagne et Mexique.

Ces documents diplomatiques sont généralement connus sous le nom de *Pickett Papers* et leur histoire est assez curieuse. Avant la chute de Richmond, Benjamin confia à William J. Bromwell, un de ses hommes de confiance, le soin de dissimuler les archives du Département d'Etat. A la suite d'une dispute avec son ancien chef, Bromwell livra la cachette des documents à John T. Pickett, ancien représentant des Etats du Sud au Mexique. Les deux hommes entamèrent des négociations avec le Gouvernement Fédéral qui aboutirent en 1872 à la vente des anciennes archives sudistes. Celles-ci furent confiées à la garde du *Treasury Department*, qui les transféra à la *Library of Congress* en 1906 et 1910. En 1926, les *Wadsworth Papers*, consistant en copies ou minutes des documents contenus dans les *Pickett Papers*, furent offerts à la même institution par leur propriétaire ⁽²⁴⁾.

Les *Pickett Papers* ont fait l'objet de diverses éditions partielles. La meilleure fut publiée en 1922 au sein de l'énorme collection des *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of*

man, in-8°, New York-Londres, 1943. Sa correspondance officielle avec A.D. Mann a été publiée par James A. PADGETT, *The letters of Judah Philip Benjamin to Ambrose Dudley Mann, Minister of the Confederacy to Belgium and Special Commissioner to the Vatican, together with the correspondence with the Pope*, dans *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, juillet 1937, p. 738-793.

(24) Sur le contenu et l'histoire les *Pickett Papers*, voir *The Handbook of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress*, Washington, 1918, p. 70-75 et *Library of Congress-Manuscript Division. The Records of the Confederate States of America*, Washington, 1967.

the Rebellion (25). La très grande majorité des documents conservés y a été livrée au public, encore que la correspondance d'Ambrose Dudley Mann, le prolixe émissaire des Etats du Sud en Belgique, ait du être considérablement sélectionnée devant la grande abondance — et souvent le peu d'intérêt — de ses communications. D'autres éditions ne publient que des sélections moins abondantes et moins judicieuses des archives du Département d'Etat sudiste (26).

Celles-ci se révèlent tout particulièrement riches en ce qui concerne les relations entre la nouvelle Confédération et la Belgique. La très volumineuse correspondance de Mann — dont nous analyserons la portée ci-dessous — constitue la précieuse contre-partie de la correspondance officielle et privée de Sanford et éclaire singulièrement l'attitude louvoyante du Gouvernement belge et la sympathie agissante du Roi Léopold envers les Etats du Sud. Dans cette même collection, les dépêches des agents confédérés à Londres et à Paris, James M. Mason et John Slidell, aident à replacer la diplomatie confédérée en Belgique dans le cadre plus général des efforts du Sud pour obtenir la reconnaissance et l'appui des deux grandes puissances maritimes d'alors.

Outre les archives officielles du Département d'Etat Confédéré conservées dans les *Pickett Papers* et les *Wadsworth Papers*, la section des manuscrits de la *Library of Congress* renferme de nombreux documents relatifs à la diplomatie sudiste. Ces collections — consistant principalement en papiers personnels des anciens agents du Sud — se sont révélées comme des sources de très inégale valeur pour notre propos.

Les *James M. Mason Papers* contiennent la correspondance privée du représentant sudiste en Grande-Bretagne avec ses collègues sur le Continent. Ils furent cédés à la *Library of Congress* par Virginia Mason, qui édita partiellement les papiers laissés par son père. La politique belge y est surtout mentionnée dans les lettres de John Slidell, le diplomate sudiste à la cour de Napoléon III. Par contre, la

(25) *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, serie II, vol. 3, in-8°, Washington, 1922. Les documents diplomatiques des Etats Confédérés ont été publiés par le Gouvernement fédéral dans cette collection comme servant à l'histoire de la construction et de l'armement de navires du Sud en Europe.

(26) James D. RICHARDSON (ed.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy, including the Diplomatic Correspondence 1861-1865*, 2 vol. in-8°, Nashville, 1906.

correspondance entre Mason et son collègue à Bruxelles A. D. Mann y est presque inexistante (27).

Les papiers d'Henry Hotze qui, sous le couvert de l'agence commerciale sudiste de Londres, dirigea de main de maître la propagande confédérée en Europe, ne contiennent que quelques lettres de Mann relatives à la diffusion de documents officiels sudistes dans la presse. Une partie de ces papiers — contenant précisément des informations au sujet d'une feuille bruxelloise pro-sudiste — a malheureusement disparu (28).

Il ne reste pratiquement rien des archives privées des autres diplomates sudistes en Europe occidentale. A la mort de John Slidell, ses papiers furent détruits par ses filles établies en France et ses anciens collaborateurs n'en conservèrent que d'insignifiants fragments (29). On sait que les papiers de Mann et le volume de souvenirs qu'il écrivit durant son exil disparurent également.

* * *

(27) V. MASON, *The Public Life and Diplomatic Correspondence of James M. Mason with Some Personal History by His Daughter*, Roanoke, in-8°, 1903. La disparition de la correspondance de Mann s'explique par le fait que celui-ci avait emprunté à Mason toutes les lettres de la période de guerre pour l'aider dans la rédaction de son *Book of Recollections*. Il les renvoya à Mason en octobre 1869 en émettant le vœu qu'elles soient plus tard léguées à son fils W.G. Mann (A.D. Mann à J. Mason - Paris, 8 octobre 1869 - L.C.; *Mason Papers*, vol. 8). Ces papiers furent probablement perdus en même temps que les mémoires de Mann.

(28) Ces papiers Hotze ont une curieuse histoire. Ils furent confiés au début de ce siècle à l'historien Charles Francis Adams Jr. par Henry Vignaud, l'ancien secrétaire de Slidell. Ils consistaient en une série de lettres et de copie-lettres et un livre de comptes. Vignaud désirait léguer ces papiers à la *Library of Congress*. A la mort d'Adams, on en perdit la trace et ce n'est qu'en 1929 que le Dr. Worthington C. Ford les retrouva et les versa à la *Library of Congress*. Le *cash-book* d'Henry Hotze disparut malheureusement dans l'aventure et ce fait est d'autant plus regrettable qu'il citait "certain Continental journals (one in Brussels, for instance, and one in Frankfurt) which had been found receptive of propaganda". Voir J.F. JAMESON, *The London Expenditures of the Confederate Secret Service*, dans *American Historical Review*, t. XXXV, p. 811-824.

(29) J.F. JAMESON, *op. cit.*, p. 811. Vignaud ne conservait rien venant de Slidell. Le Juge Eustis qui fut le proche collaborateur de ce dernier avait conservé quelques papiers relatifs au séjour à Paris des agents du Sud. Ces papiers, ainsi que d'autres fournis par Vignaud, furent utilisés et édités de façon tronquée par Beckles WILLSON, *John Slidell and the Confederates in Paris (1862-65)*, in-8°, New York, 1932. Cette fort peu scientifique édition est d'autant plus

Avant de céder la place aux documents, nous voudrions tracer le cadre chronologique dans lequel ils s'inscrivent et décrire brièvement le tableau qu'ils nous donnent de l'évolution de l'attitude belge vis à vis du conflit américain.

Il est incontestable que la Guerre de Sécession marque la phase la plus importante des relations belgo-américaines pendant le XIXe siècle, tant au point de vue diplomatique que dans le domaine des idées et des sentiments. La grande république était confrontée avec une crise d'une ampleur et d'une portée exceptionnelles, à laquelle il ne semblait pas qu'elle dût survivre. L'Europe suivait ses convulsions avec intérêt, tour à tour favorable ou hostile selon le sort des armes et laissait planer sur elle la menace d'une intervention. Tel était le cadre général dans lequel évoluaient les relations belgo-américaines. A première vue, rien ne semblait devoir les signaler de façon particulière.

Notre pays n'occupait pas sur la scène politique internationale une position prépondérante et sa neutralité de droit et de fait l'empêchait de jouer un rôle actif dans une intervention européenne. Les documents rassemblés attestent cependant de l'importance qui fut accordée à ces relations par les agents diplomatiques des deux belligérants.

La personnalité de Léopold Ier apparaît constamment au centre de leurs efforts. C'est lui, et non le Gouvernement belge, que voulaient atteindre et se rallier Sanford comme Mann, c'est de lui qu'ils attendaient une démarche en leur faveur auprès des Cabinets européens. La réputation du Roi aux yeux de ses contemporains n'est donc pas un mythe.

Nordistes comme Sudistes recherchaient la bienveillance agissante du Roi, mais les Confédérés avaient également un autre motif d'inclure la Belgique, petit pays neutre, parmi leurs objectifs diplomatiques et parmi les puissances dont ils attendaient leur reconnaissance. L'opposition économique entre les Etats du Sud et ceux du

déplorable que la trace des papiers Eustis et des memoranda de Vignaud a depuis été perdue.

La *Library of Congress* conserve un curieux pamphlet manuscrit *The Diplomacy of the Confederate Cabinet of Richmond and Its Agents Abroad*, rédigé vers 1868 par Paul Pecquet du Bellet, un Louisianais ambitieux qui prétendait exposer les erreurs des agents sudistes dont il aurait volontairement aidé les efforts. Bien que précieux pour les relations franco-américaines, ce manuscrit ne contient aucune information relative à la Belgique.

Nord avait conduit, dans les années 1855, à l'élaboration du mouvement du *direct trade* qui prônait la vente directe du coton sudiste à l'Europe, sans passer par l'intermédiaire new-yorkais, et l'importation en libre-échange des produits manufacturés dans les ports du Sud. La Belgique industrielle retint l'attention des promoteurs de ce système. Avec l'appui du Gouvernement belge, une *Compagnie belge-américaine* fut créée en 1860 par des industriels belges et des représentants des planteurs du Sud. Une exposition de produits belges fut organisée à Macon en Géorgie mais, à la suite de la détérioration de la situation politique aux Etats-Unis, elle se solda par un échec et la *Compagnie* dut être dissoute. Les Sudistes accordèrent une grande importance à l'initiative belge qui fit considérer notre pays comme bien disposé envers le Sud ⁽³⁰⁾.

La politique gouvernementale, pendant les premiers mois du conflit qui éclata en avril 1861, se cantonna dans une neutralité favorable en fait aux Etats du Nord qui avaient le champ libre en Belgique pour leurs opérations d'armement. Il fallut la fin de 1861 et l'émotion soulevée par l'incident du *Trent* pour que le Roi soit approché par Sanford et sollicité d'intervenir en faveur de la paix.

L'année 1862 fut déterminante dans l'évolution de la politique belge à l'égard du conflit américain. Cette évolution était également en train de s'opérer au sein de la diplomatie franco-britannique : la famine cotonnière faisait en effet sentir le poids de ses terribles effets que diverses circonstances économiques avaient pu atténuer considérablement pendant les premiers mois de la guerre. Cette pression de la crise cotonnière se trouvait renforcée par les débuts d'une action mieux organisée de la diplomatie confédérée en Europe. Après des débuts confus et difficiles, celle-ci commença à s'exercer officieusement à la fin de janvier 1862 à Paris et à Londres, tandis que le commissionnaire sudiste Mann s'installait dans notre pays entre février et avril. Son arrivée marqua le premier tournant décisif de l'attitude belge face à la guerre civile. Désormais, les deux belligérants allaient pouvoir faire entendre leur voix, encore que la position de Mann se soit révélée singulièrement précaire, alors que

⁽³⁰⁾ Sur les tentatives de *direct trade* en Belgique, voir H. COPPEJANS-DESMEDT, *De overzee expansie van de belgische katoenindustrie van het afsluiten van de nederlandse koloniale markt tot het uitbreken van de Amerikaanse Secessieoorlog*, Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outremer. Commission d'Histoire, fasc. n° 113, in-8°, Bruxelles, 1965, p. 414-422. Voir aussi aux Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères les dossiers 2298, 2322 et 3384.

son rival fédéral jouissait de tous les avantages d'une situation régulière au sein du corps diplomatique accrédité à Bruxelles.

Au début de mai, la diplomatie du Sud enregistra son premier succès en obtenant une entrevue entre Mann et Rogier, qui avait succédé depuis la fin d'octobre 1861 au prudent de Vrière. Cet entretien fut suivi de la remise de la première note confédérée au Gouvernement belge au sujet de la reconnaissance des Etats du Sud. La situation alarmante de l'industrie cotonnière gantoise avait sans nul doute influencé Rogier dans l'établissement de ces premières relations.

L'automne de 1862 allait voir notre Souverain jouer un rôle très important dans la politique des Cabinets de Londres et de Paris à l'égard du Sud. Le moment leur semblait favorable et la situation respective des belligérants n'était pas sans précipiter ce *climax of intervention*.

Le Roi avait été pressenti dès la fin de septembre par Palmerston en vue d'une médiation conjointe de la France, de la Russie et de la Grande-Bretagne dans le conflit américain. Un refus de la part du Nord entraînerait la reconnaissance des Etats du Sud. Cette attitude avait été dictée à Palmerston devant les succès des armées confédérées, et il comptait utiliser le Roi au centre d'un jeu d'influences qui s'exerçaient entre le Cabinet de Saint-James et celui des Tuileries. C'est sous l'influence manifeste des projets révélés par Palmerston que le Roi joua un rôle primordial dans l'élaboration de la proposition française de médiation du 31 octobre 1862, en intervenant le 15 auprès de Napoléon III pour lui recommander de prendre l'initiative d'une intervention conjointe dans les affaires américaines. En retour, le Roi essaya de convaincre Palmerton et Russell de se rallier au projet français. Il semble donc avoir agi comme intermédiaire entre les deux Cabinets, soutenant tour à tour les vues anglaises et celles de l'Empereur. Ces interventions royales étaient motivées par le désir de consolider, par la reconnaissance des Etats du Sud, l'Empire qu'il voyait destiné à l'Archiduc Maximilien. Cet objectif mexicain était à la base de toute la politique américaine du Roi. Ses efforts et ceux de l'Empereur échouèrent devant une volteface de Palmerston et d'une partie de son Cabinet, inquiets des conséquences de l'échec de la grande offensive sudiste dans le Maryland.

Le sort réservé à la demande officielle de reconnaissance des Etats du Sud par la Belgique, remise par Mann à Rogier le 5 janvier 1863, montre bien la séparation qui existait entre l'action royale

et la politique du Gouvernement belge. Si cette note provoqua une nouvelle intervention du Roi auprès de l'Empereur, par contre elle fut accueillie avec embarras par le Gouvernement qui s'en fut solliciter les conseils des Cabinets français et britannique, dont les réponses défavorables lui interdirent toute mesure en faveur du Sud.

L'échec de la note du 5 janvier inaugurait une nouvelle phase dans l'attitude du Roi et de Rogier. Au mouvement interventionniste suscité par les victoires militaires des Confédérés et la crise cotonnière allait succéder une période assez confuse. Les sympathies personnelles du Roi ne s'étaient pas modifiées mais il avait renoncé à ses espoirs de reconnaissance du Sud par nos deux grands voisins. Son intérêt pour le conflit se manifesta dans divers « conseils » donnés à Sanford pour lui recommander la conclusion d'un armistice, et surtout dans l'épisode curieux de la visite à Ostende de William Cornell Jewett, le peu discret « médiateur » pacifiste.

La reconnaissance du Sud, dont le Roi « n'avait cessé d'être l'avocat auprès du Cabinet britannique » était devenue illusoire à la fin de l'année 1863, après la défaite de Gettysburg, et la rupture des relations entre le Sud et la Grande-Bretagne, tout officieuses qu'elles aient été, avait causé un vif dépit à notre Souverain. Quant à la position du Gouvernement belge, elle n'avait plus d'importance depuis le rejet de la note du 5 janvier 1863. L'année s'achevait donc sur une défaite, dont la diplomatie sudiste en Europe ne devait jamais se relever.

Mann continuait à manifester un optimisme excessif qui se justifiait peu devant le repli de la politique belge à l'égard des Etats-Unis. Le rôle que jouait la Belgique dans l'aventure mexicaine imposait d'ailleurs à notre Gouvernement d'éviter toute occasion de friction avec les Etats-Unis, dont l'appui dans le rachat du péage de l'Escaut obligeait à la même réserve. C'est ainsi que fut étouffé un scandale causé par les opérations de recruteurs pour l'armée fédérale en Belgique, dont la presse s'était emparée.

Ce revirement de l'attitude du Gouvernement belge s'accroissait d'autant plus que la victoire finale semblait ne plus pouvoir échapper aux Etats du Nord. L'assassinat de Lincoln, conjugué avec la reddition des forces sudistes, dissipa les dernières sympathies que les Confédérés suscitaient encore. Les Etats-Unis, redevenus une grande puissance politique et pour la première fois disposant de vastes ressources militaires, amorçaient une nouvelle phase de leur histoire et

les documents montrent l'inquiétude des milieux politiques d'Europe devant cette nouvelle puissance.

Si l'on en sépare l'activité personnelle du Roi, l'attitude belge à l'égard de la sécession semble en dernière analyse avoir traversé trois phases caractéristiques. D'abord méfiante à l'égard de la nouvelle Confédération, elle s'était confinée dans une neutralité assez favorable aux Etats du Nord, tout en entendant réserver sa position ultérieure à l'égard du Sud. La présence d'un émissaire confédéré à Bruxelles et la pression de la crise cotonnière conduisirent ensuite le Gouvernement à prêter l'oreille aux propositions du Sud. Ne pouvant agir en faveur de celui-ci, il en revint à une position de neutralité dans laquelle il se cantonna par crainte des réactions fédérales à propos du Mexique. La part essentielle du rôle de notre pays dans les objectifs des diplomaties du Nord et du Sud revient à l'importance de l'action du Roi. Il convient donc de séparer nettement celle-ci de l'attitude gouvernementale, qui constituait en quelque sorte une façade de neutralité derrière laquelle le Souverain put agir à sa guise et soutenir les efforts diplomatiques du Sud, sans avoir à craindre de réaction des Fédéraux.

La juxtaposition des pièces d'archives provenant des deux camps en présence permet de reconstituer les deux aspects de la politique belge et la part qu'elle joua dans les desseins des belligérants.

Ce n'est pas là le seul apport des archives américaines à une meilleure connaissance des relations politiques et intellectuelles entre la Belgique et les Etats-Unis au XIXe siècle, encore qu'il soit plus difficile d'établir un bilan de l'opinion belge sur la Guerre de Sécession à partir d'archives essentiellement diplomatiques. Mais l'attitude de la presse belge et les prises de position révélées par la lecture des journaux sont singulièrement éclairées par les correspondances des diplomates en présence et particulièrement par celle de Sanford. Les sources d'inspiration, vénales ou idéalistes, des journalistes qui mirent leur plume au service de l'une ou l'autre cause complètent de façon utile la documentation fournie par la presse.

Il est possible de dégager quelques caractéristiques de cette opinion. Tout d'abord, s'agit-il bien d'une opinion spécifiquement belge ? N'ayant pas, hormis la question cotonnière, d'intérêt particulier dans le déroulement et l'issue du conflit, l'opinion belge ne présente pas de caractère national marqué, dans un sens favorable à l'un ou l'autre des belligérants, comme ce fut le cas en Grande-Bretagne et en France. Au contraire, elle fut le lieu de rencontre des

idées émises dans les deux grandes nations et, comme le notait Mann, le « point d'observation de tout ce qui s'ébruite en Europe ». Ce caractère européen de l'opinion publique belge avait également été compris par Sanford dans ses tentatives de lancer dans notre pays un organe stipendié du Gouvernement fédéral ⁽³¹⁾.

Le rôle primordial du thème de la lutte anti-esclavagiste parmi l'arsenal de propagande des Etats du Nord fut exploité avec succès. En se conjuguant aux sympathies politiques des milieux libéraux pour la cause de la « Grande République », elle fit passer au nombre des soutiens de celle-ci la presse libérale dans son ensemble. Les documents montrent que les fonds du Service Secret ne furent pas sans influence sur ce ralliement. Celui-ci fut beaucoup plus spontané et beaucoup plus net au sein de l'aile radicale et progressiste des libéraux et Sanford se fit l'écho des inquiétudes des milieux gouvernementaux devant ces sympathies radicales. A cette tendance répondit l'hostilité très nette de l'opinion catholique, le Chanoine de Haerne excepté, envers les institutions et les moeurs américaines. Sudistes comme Nordistes trouvèrent donc des partisans au sein de notre opinion publique.

Les aspects économiques des répercussions de la guerre en Belgique sont rarement traités dans la correspondance diplomatique, mais quelques dépêches de Sanford et des Consuls à Gand et Anvers nous éclairent sur la crise cotonnière et sur l'évolution des échanges commerciaux avec les Etats-Unis. Nous n'avons reproduit que quelques-uns des documents relatifs aux fournitures d'armes.

Parvenus au terme de nos recherches, nous avons pu constater combien les archives américaines avaient pleinement répondu aux diverses questions que posaient les lacunes de la documentation d'origine belge. Les documents que nous publions ne sont qu'une sélection au sein de la masse considérable offerte au chercheur. La publication des pièces relatives à l'attitude américaine vis à vis de l'affaire mexicaine n.e manquerait pas d'intérêt.

Il nous reste l'agréable devoir de remercier ici tous ceux dont l'aide et les conseils nous ont permis de mener à bien nos recherches. Monsieur le Professeur Robert Demoulin, notre maître, n'a cessé au cours de celles-ci de nous prodiguer ses conseils éclairés et de nous

(31) Les prises de position de la presse belge ont été analysées dans notre mémoire de licence *La Guerre de Sécession devant l'opinion belge 1861-1865*, 3 vol. in-f°, Université de Liège, 1966.

appuyer de sa bienveillance agissante. Le *Fulbright Committee* et l'*U.S. Educational Foundation*, dirigée par Madame A. Deflandre, nous ont, par l'octroi d'une bourse, permis de séjourner un an à Washington et, grâce au *Centre Interuniversitaire d'Histoire Contemporaine* nous avons pu poursuivre nos recherches à Sanford. Les Professeurs Howard Maxwell Merriman et Wood Gray, de la *George Washington University*, ne nous ont pas ménagé leurs conseils et nous ont facilité l'accès des dépôts d'archives de Washington. Le Dr. Fred. P. Ensminger, bibliothécaire de la *General Sanford Memorial Library*, et Mrs. Ruth Warren, de la *Florida State Bank*, nous ont accueilli avec empressement à Sanford et ont tout fait pour mettre à notre disposition les papiers confiés à leur garde. Qu'ils en soient tous profondément remerciés ainsi que le personnel des *National Archives* et de la *Manuscript Division* de la *Library of Congress* de Washington.

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SIGLES EMPLOYES

N.A., St. D., BELGIUM : National Archives, State Department, Dispatches, Belgium.

N.A., St. D., Instr., BELGIUM : National Archives, State Department, Instructions to U.S. Representatives, Belgium.

L.C., P.P.: Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Pickett Papers.

S.P.: Sanford Papers, Sanford Memorial Library.

A.M.A.E.: Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Bruxelles.

LA GUERRE DE SECESSION ET LA BELGIQUE

Documents d'Archives Américaines

1861-1865

1. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 2 - Washington,
26 mars 1861 - N.A., ST.D., Instr., BELGIUM, vol. I.

Le Secrétaire d'Etat Seward donne ses instructions au nouveau Ministre des Etats-Unis à Bruxelles et insiste sur les aspects économiques de la propagande des agents sudistes en Europe. Les avantages que le commerce européen retirerait d'une reconnaissance du Sud ne compenseraient que faiblement la perte des débouchés actuels dans les Etats du Nord.

Sir : Having spent the winter in Washington you need not be informed of the attempts of a misguided party of citizens in several of the Southern States, not unattended with violence and spoliation, to dismember the federal republic, and of their scheme to organize several of the States in a new revolutionary government, under the name of the Confederate States of America. Formidable as this conspiracy seemed at the beginning, it is more confidently believed that the policy of the present administration in regard to it will be supported by the people — a policy of conciliation, forbearance and firmness — and that the conspiracy will thus fail for want of ultimate adoption by the States themselves which are expected to constitute the new confederacy. Aware of this danger, the movers in that desperate and destructive enterprize are now understood to be making every effort to gain external advantage by appeals to prejudice or supposed interest in foreign nations for a recognition of the independence of the proposed new confederacy.

Under these circumstances the most important duty of the diplomatic representatives of the United States in Europe will be to counteract by all proper means the efforts of the agents of that projected confederacy at their respective courts. It was your extensive acquaintance on the Continent, taken in connection with your activity and energy here, which induced the President to confer upon you the appointment of Minister resident in Belgium.

The general considerations to be urged against such a recognition will be found in the inaugural address of the President, delivered on the 4th of March instant, and in a circular letter despatched by me on the 9th instant to our Ministers, an original part of which will be found in the archives of your Legation. For your present convenience, I enclose a copy of this circular letter.

The President, confident of the ultimate ascendancy of law,

order, and the Union, through the deliberate action of the people in constitutional forms, does not expect you to engage in any discussion which the agents of the disunionists may attempt to initiate on the merits of their proposed revolution. He will not consent, directly or indirectly, to the interpellation of any foreign power in a controversy which is merely a domestic one.

There is some reason to suppose that the agents of the disunionists will attempt to win favor for their scheme of recognition by affecting to sympathize with the manufacturing interests of the European nations in their discontent with the tariff laws of the United States, and by promising to receive the fabrics of such nations on more favorable terms. You will be able to reply to such seductions as these that the new tariff laws thus complained of are revenue laws deemed by the legislature of the United States necessary under new and peculiar circumstances ; that all experience shows that such laws are not and cannot be permanent ; that if, as is now pretended, they shall prove to be onerous to foreign commerce, they will, of course, prove also to be unfruitful of revenue, and that in that case they will necessarily be promptly modified. The inconvenience, if any shall result from them, will therefore be temporary and practically harmless. Nor will any statesman of a foreign country need to be informed that the consumption of the fabrics which it is proposed shall be favored by the so-called seceding States chiefly takes place, not within those States, but in a very large degree in the states which remain undisturbed by this unhappy attempt at revolution.

It needs hardly be added that the recognition which the seceding States desire tends through either peace or war to the establishment of a new government. That new government, like the government of the United States, must levy imports on foreign merchandise, while it must also resort to an export duty on cotton, its great staple, for its support ; and these two measures combined would constitute a policy largely prohibitive, instead of the liberal and genial one which is now promised by the disunion party.

You will not fail to represent to the Government of the King of the Belgians that all the interests of European manufactures and commerce are identified with the promotion of peace and the undisturbed activity of the American people. An act of recognition in favor of a now discontented party would necessarily tend to encourage that party to attempt to establish their separation from the Union by civil war, the consequences of which would be disastrous

to all the existing systems of industrial activity in Europe, and when once they had begun, those consequences would be likely to continue indefinitely ; whereas no nation in Europe can hope that their own interests would be as safe and prosperous under any change of government here as they are now and have so long been under our present system.

It is quite manifest already that differences and embarrassing questions may soon arise concerning the conduct of commerce, and that the commercial States of Europe may be subjected to strong seductions to violate our revenue laws and regulations. You will say generally on this subject that the Government of the United States will expect the same respect to those laws and regulations which has hitherto been shown and which our treaties of amity and commerce entitle us to demand, and that it will not hold itself bound to favor or exempt from consequences any parties, of whatever nation, who may violate them. It does not at all distrust its ability to maintain them, or the good disposition of its allies to observe them.

I shall not enlarge on these subjects, insomuch as the phase of the whole affair changes almost daily. The President willingly expects to rely on your astuteness in discovering points of attack, and your practical skill and experience in protecting the interests of the United States. He will expect you, however, to communicate to this Department very fully and frequently, and you will receive prompt instructions in every new emergency...

[demande à Sanford d'aborder avec le Gouvernement Belge la question des passeports requis des voyageurs]

2. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Paris,
19 avril 1861. - N.A., St.D., Belgium, vol. 5.

Sanford, qui vient d'arriver en Europe, se plaint de l'influence des Sudistes au sein de la presse parisienne et veut contrecarrer ces efforts en achetant des correspondants de la presse française aux Etats-Unis ou des collaborateurs de ces feuilles ou de l'Indépendance Belge.

...I have made some enquiries concerning the subject matter

of the letter of Monsr. Malézieux (1) (whom I saw previous to setting sail from New York). It seems certain that the question is seriously agitated here of either buying up one of the principal journals here or founding a new one to be devoted to the cause of Disunion. Mr. Benjamin (2) (late U.S. Senator) it was stated to me, had interested himself in the creation of this enterprise, but that every thing of a definitive character was postponed till the arrival of the Southern "Commissioners". I am told that it is proposed to call it the "International" and to have it appear early in June. The funds for the enterprise however, are "expected" with the Commissioners.

The Press seems, thus far, to have been full of erroneous statements calculated to prejudice public opinion against the cause of Union ; some of them, I doubt not, the result of ignorance, but some able articles which have appeared of late, have undoubtedly been inserted for a consideration. The Southern (Creole) element here is large and exercises no little weight in social circles and has the power of influencing greatly the public press, and there is every reason to believe it is exercising all the influence it has in favor of the Disunionists.

I think it important that means be taken without delay to correct the public mind through the Press and refute the errors of fact or opinion so prevalent. One method could be through the correspondants in our country of the papers here. This same Malézieux corresponds with several among them the "Patrie", the most influential evening paper. Another method would be by securing the services of say one writer in two or three of the leading journals here and of the "Independance Belge" (which has the widest European circulation of any political paper) to give occasional articles from our point of view and be on the watch promptly to correct the statements and articles appearing in defencing the Secessionists (3)...

(1) L. Malézieux, journaliste français établi aux Etats-Unis, s'était offert à faciliter les contacts de Sanford avec la presse parisienne. Il le mit en rapport avec le journaliste Couailhac qui informa Sanford des tentatives sudistes de contrôle d'un journal parisien.

(L. Malézieux à H.S. Sanford - New York, 30 mars 1861 - S.P., 96/3 et J. Couailhac à H. Sanford - Paris, 22 avril 1861 et non daté - S.P., 139/16 et 96/1.)

(2) Judah .P. Benjamin, futur Secrétaire d'Etat Confédéré.

(3) Sanford avait été chargé par Seward d'une mission confidentielle à Paris, en attendant l'arrivée de W. Dayton le nouveau ministre. Sanford obtint

3. Message du Président Jefferson DAVIS au Congrès
Confédéré - Montgomery, 29 avril 1861.

Le président Davis annonce l'envoi en Europe de commissaires chargés d'entrer en négociation avec diverses puissances européennes, dont la Belgique, en vue de la reconnaissance des Etats du Sud et de la signature de traités de commerce.

...For the details of the administration of the different Departments I refer to the reports of the Secretaries, which accompany this message. The State Department has furnished the necessary instructions for three commissioners who have been sent to England, France, Russia, and Belgium (*) since your adjournment to ask our recognition as a member of the family of nations, and to make with each of those powers treaties of amity and commerce. Further steps will be taken to enter into like negotiations with the other European powers, in pursuance of your resolutions passed at the last session. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed since the departure of these commissioners for the receipt of any intelligence from them...

4. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Paris,
7 mai 1861 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

L'opinion publique estime que le Sud a droit à être reconnu comme belligérant. Le Ministre belge des Affaires Etrangères s'in-

deux audiences de Thouvenel, le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, très satisfaisantes et déclarant le Gouvernement français favorable à l'Union, tout en laissant entendre que l'Empereur accepterait volontier une mission de médiateur. Sur la mission de Sanford à Paris, voir L.M. CASE, "La Sécession aux Etats-Unis, problème diplomatique français en 1861" dans *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, t. 77, Paris, 1963, p. 290-313.

(*) "Cette mention, écrivait Blondeel, de la Belgique avant la Prusse, l'Italie, l'Autriche, l'Espagne, etc. a fait quelque impression dans le public. De plus, presque tous les journaux américains ont reproduit récemment l'annonce que M. Butler King avait été reçu en audience particulière par S.M. le Roi des Belges. Si à tout cela, Monsieur le Baron, nous ajoutons le bruit qui s'est fait à propos du direct trade et de la Société Américaine, il paraît y avoir opportunité à faire quelque démarche pour prévenir de fâcheuses interprétations..." (E. Blondeel à de Vrière - n° 165 - Washington, 9 mai 1861. A.M.A.E., Cor. Politique, Etats-Unis, t. 6).

quiète surtout du blocus des ports du Sud et de la question cotonnière.

...The tone and sentiment generally, as far as I have had occasion to test it, here and in Belgium, seems to be that this "Secession" is finely and that at any rate the "Confederate Govt." is entitled to Belligerent rights. The first question asked of me by the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. de Vrière (⁵), on our informal interview, when speaking of the Presidents Proclamation of Blockade (⁶) was, what attitude England would assume upon it. My reply which had been invariable to this question here and elsewhere, was that we had the power to enforce a Blockade which to one could contest our right to proclaim and that it must be respected by all. The anxiety manifested with respect to the Cotton Export, I have sought to allay by the assurances that it would find its by Rail Road and in answer to many enquiries that I little doubted that vessels loading in already engaged to carry cotton from Southern ports outward, would be permitted to clear and I esteem it highly important that this should be done.

I am seeking information as to the orders for arms and munitions of war here and in Belgium by the Confederate States, I shall do what I can to stop their export...

5. **W. H. SEWARD à G. P. MARSH (?) - Washington, 9 May 1861. - N.A., St.D., ITALY (⁶).**

Les agents du Sud en Europe feront appel aux intérêts commerciaux de certains pays, dont la Belgique, pour obtenir le reconnaissance de la Confédération.

...The government has, therefore, not been surprised, although

(⁵) Adolphe de Vrière (1806-1885), homme politique et diplomate. Après avoir occupé divers postes diplomatiques et avoir exercé des fonctions de gouverneur de diverses provinces, il fut chargé du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères en novembre 1857. Il démissionna en octobre 1861 à propos de la reconnaissance du royaume d'Italie. Il servit comme député jusqu'en 1870. Voir *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, Kon. Vlaamse Academiën van België, deel II, 1966, c. 929-930.

(⁶) Ce blocus des ports du Sud fut décrété par Lincoln le 19 avril, c'est-à-dire une semaine après le premier coup de canon tiré au Fort Sumter.

it has been deeply grieved, to see the agents of the revolutionary party, perhaps even with the concurrence of some of our own demoralized ministers in Europe, insidiously seeking to obtain from some of its sovereigns a recognition of the projected treasonable Confederacy.

It has been no easy task to study the sophisms, arts, and appliances which they might be expected to use in the highly commercial circles of Belgium, Paris, and London. It was, nevertheless, necessary to attempt it, for human nature is at least no more moral, just, or virtuous in courts than it is in private life. There is no such embarrassment, however, in the present case. It often happens that foreign observers, if candid, understand American questions quite as well as Americans themselves. Botta and De Tocqueville were of this class. So Count Cavour cannot be at any loss to understand the present political condition of the United States...

6. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n^o. 1 - Bruxelles
10 mai 1861 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

Sanford a présenté ses lettres de créance au Roi Léopold qui s'est déclaré en faveur d'une solution pacifique du conflit américain. Le Duc de Brabant marque un vif intérêt à la création d'une ligne de vapeurs entre la Belgique et les Etats-Unis. De Vrière s'inquiète des conséquences économiques du blocus. Certains milieux accordent au Sud le droit à la sécession, mais l'opinion populaire croit à une guerre antiesclavagiste.

Sir : I landed at Hâvre on the 15th ult. and proceeded directly to Paris. I remained there for a time in accordance with your confidential instructions and have already in four communications marked private and confidential advised you of my movements in that connection. I came here for a day on the 3d inst. to make the necessary

(¹) George P. Marsh (1801-1882), diplomate et homme politique. Congressman whig du Vermont, puis Ministre en Turquie. Premier Ministre des Etats-Unis dans le Royaume d'Italie (1860), il servit dans ce pays jusqu'à sa mort. Voir *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 2, p. 297-298.

a. Publié dans *The Diplomatic History of the War for the Union*, in-8°, Boston, 1884, p. 252-254.

arrangements for my reception by the King, returning here on the 7th.

I was received by the King to present my letter of credence on the 8th in "Solemn Audience", and made on the occasion an address of which I enclose a copy (A). The King replied that he highly appreciated the sentiments of friendly feeling of which I bar to him the expression, from the President, and the flattering terms, as he expressed it, in which they were couched. He desired to tender to the President his thanks for them, and to say that he reciprocated fully the desire for the continuance of the friendly and cordial relations which during the more than thirty years that had elapsed since the formation of his Government had marked our intercourse, and he hoped for the continued prosperity of the United States. After some remarks complimentary to myself and my former residence in Europe, he entered into general conversation in which he showed great interest and knowledge of the United States. Manifesting a warm desire to hear the means of direct intercourse increased between the two countries, the genius of his people, he said, was rather for industrial pursuits at home and in which they had been very successful, but they had failed upon the seas and he thought if the enterprise and practical knowledge of our people could be brought to bear in favor of steam communications between Belgium and the United States⁽⁸⁾, a large trade could be diverted through this channel, Antwerp being a natural entrepôt for central Europa.

His Majesty spoke, but generally, of the insurrection of the Southern States, said he hoped that some peaceful issue would be found and that the spirit of conciliation would prevail, and that referred to the growing markets they had for their manufactories in the United States.

My audience, which was lengthened by a long conversation on general subjects was most satisfactory in the very kind and cordial spirit manifested by his Majesty. I was conducted to and from the audience by one of his aides de camp who was sent with state carriages of the Court to convoy me from and back to my hotel.

(8) Sur les tentatives belges de créer une ligne de bateaux à Vapeur entre Anvers et New-York, voir M. PAULUS, *La navigation régulière à vapeur entre Anvers et New-York. Premières tentatives d'établissement*, mémoire inédit, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1954 et P.H. LAURENT, *Commerce, colonies and claims: King Leopold I and Belgian-American Statecraft 1832-1846*. Acad. Royale des Sciences d'Outremer, Com. d'Histoire, fasc. 96, in-8°, Bruxelles, 1965.

I was present at a Court Dinner the following day. I also asked for and received audience of the heir apparent, the Duc de Brabant, and the younger son of the King, the Comte de Flandres, both interviews were lengthy and pleasant. They both used great interest and very great and general information concerning the United States. The Duc de Brabant was especially solicitous that something should be done to encourage direct steam communications between the two countries. Spoke of the Mail contract, as he called it, which has just been given to one of the lines of German Steamers and taken the place of the American line to Hâvre and Southampton, and said Antwerp for postal communication with central Europe as well as traffic was every way better located than Bremen and Hamburg. I explained to the Duke our system of ocean postal service and promised to do all I could toward the object he had so much at heart. He requested me to present his greetings to you personally and to say that he had been much struck with your remarks concerning the uselessness and annoyances of the passport system in the occasion of your visit here a year ago, and that they had been let in consequence, to take steps towards its complete abolition in Belgium and passports were now practically abolished he said, none being required save for the purpose of establishing identity...

[digression de Sanford sur le costume bourgeois qu'il a adopté selon les instructions du Département d'Etat]

I find the prospective war in the United States a subject of great preoccupation here. M. de Vrière, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, said it gave them grave concern. They had a traffic sum of one hundred millions of francs with the United States imperilled by it. I explained that the blockade of Southern ports would not be likely to interfere to any great degree their trade to the United States which was mostly to New York and that this years crop of cotton had already for the most part found its way out of the country or seemed still find its outlet by Railroads to the North.

I shall seek an early opportunity for a full conversation with M. de Vrière upon the topics embraced in your dispatch n° 2. I have remarked here as elsewhere a very general misapprehension as to the so called "Right of Secession" and that the idea is prevalent that the struggle on the part of the South was of *States* against Northern supremacy and this control of their markets ; the popular view is

simply that it is a struggle for the perpetuation or extinction of slavery and on this ground, the popular sympathies are for the most part on the side of the Union...

7. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé -
Bruxelles, 10 mai 1861 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

La Cour suivra la Grande-Bretagne quant aux affaires d'Amérique et considère la sécession comme un fait accompli. Sanford croit à l'influence de Fair, son prédécesseur à la Légation des Etats-Unis à Bruxelles.

...The Court here, as you know, gets its inspirations from England and will follow its leader as to our affairs, and I find the views of all the Royal family, the Ministers and", the same that the rupture of the South is a *fait accompli* and fighting is of no use. Our course, they have heart from our different views that they have been accustomed to hear or read on the subject. Mr. Fair (⁹), on his various leave takings, has relieved himself a little, I more than suspect, of his own peculiar views as to Secession, but up to this time he had displayed great reticence as to this principle...

8. W. H. SEWARD à G. G. FOGG (¹⁰) - Washington,
15 mai 1861 - N.A., St.D., SWITZERLAND (⁶).

A l'opposé des puissances commerciales, dans la Belgique, la Suisse et l'Italie n'ont pas d'intérêt à reconnaître les Etats du Sud.

...It is well understood here that the revolutionary faction has

(⁹) Le "Général" E.Y. Fair, originaire du Sud, fut Ministre des Etats-Unis à Bruxelles sous l'Administration Buchanan. Il fut mêlé aux tentatives de *direct trade* avec le Sud.

(¹⁰) George G. Fogg (1813-1881), journaliste et diplomate. Ministre des Etats-Unis à Berne de 1861 à 1865. Voir *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 6, p. 485-486.

(*) Publié dans *The Diplomatic History of the War for the Union*, p. 254-257.

its agents abroad, soliciting European powers to intervene in this unhappy civil war. It has therefore been my duty, under the President's authority, to instruct our representatives there how to meet them and counteract their designs. I could easily imagine that either Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Belgium, Spain, or even Denmark, might suppose that it could acquire some advantage, or at least some satisfaction to itself, from a change that should abridge the dominion, the commerce, the prosperity, or influence of the United States. Each of them might be believed to have envious sentiments towards us, which would delight in an opportunity to do us harm. I have therefore first addressed myself to the consideration of our relations with those countries. It is otherwise with Italy and Switzerland. The former is yet hotly engaged in the struggle to secure freedom and unity, and the latter enviably distinguished by the rare enjoyment of both...

9. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 5 - Bruxelles,
26 mai 1861 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

de Vrière affirme que la Belgique ne recevra pas un émissaire du Sud et qu'elle observera une neutralité totale. Il s'inquiète de l'approvisionnement en coton et du tarif protectionniste adopté par les Etats-Unis.

Sir : I had a conversation to day with M. de Vrière on the subject of the efforts of the Commissioners of the so-called "Confederate States" to obtain recognition of the European Powers. He informed me that no application had been made to him in this view, nor could it now be entertained if made, the Revolution would receive no sanction by any act of Belgium. A small Etat, he continued, whose prosperity depended on the full exercise of the industrial pursuits of the people, they did not mingle in foreign politics, their policy being not to imperil their interests by stepping beyond the limits of strict neutrality in their intercourse with other states. They should, therefore remain "neutral" as he impressed it, in respect to this question. They had not even yet recognised the Italian Govt., he added. We desired, I told him, not to be subjects to any interferences in the settlements of our domestic affairs wether in the

form of recognition of political existence or of belligerent rights, if those who were in open rebellion to the Govt. and laws of the United States. It was an issue between order and anarchy, which we were fully able to cope with and all Europe was interested that its settlement be in the most prompt and effective manner, at least liable to cause permanent derangement to commerce.

In reply to my enquiry, he said he had received no official information of the Blockade of our Southern Ports proclaimed by the President ; although he had late advices from the Belgian Minister at Washington. He had only knowledge of it, he said, as printed in the papers.

In answer to his enquiry, I said I thought it would not injuriously affect the supply of cotton as the crop of the past year had mostly gone forward and moreover that while the Blockade would be rigorously enforced with regards to supplies, or vessels bearing the "Confederate" flag, I presumed, although I had no instructions on the subject, that the vessels now loading or under engagements to load in the ports would be allowed a reasonable time to leave — that there was every desire to make this condition of things, which was but temporary, as little embarrassing possible to foreign commerce. The Minister expressed great satisfaction at this and said that the possibility of failure of the cotton supply growing out of these troubles in our Southern States, was causing great anxiety.

M. de Vrière then spoke of the new tariff with a great deal of feeling, said that it was highly prejudicial to their interests — instancy in point that forty furnaces for the manufacture of window glass ⁽¹¹⁾ had been stopped in consequence — and expressed his surprise that, in this age of prosper, when Europe was abandoning the expended system as he expressed himself of different duties, the United States should pursuit such a course. Their own experience as a manufacturing people had convinced them of the bad policy of such a system for the interests of the manufactures themselves. I replied that I presumed the general interruption of trade consequent upon apprehended war in the United States was quite as much as the New Tariff a cause for suspension of the traffic he referred to. The tariff has been augmented by the last Congress to produce more revenues ; if it failed to produce such results, it would probably

(11) Sur cette crise de l'industrie verrière, voir *l'Economiste Belge* 16 mars, 6 avril et 5 octobre 1861.

be changed ; it was a matter dependent of the will of Congress, he was aware we had had several changes in the past few years none of which had apparently given entire satisfaction to the manufacturing states of Europe which desired to supply our markets. Still, it was our main source of revenue, the system of raising means for the expenses of the Gvt. by a duty upon importations would probably long continue.

In the course of a lengthened conversation, I endeavored to correct his misapprehension which I find a very common one, as to our system of Government in regard to the *sovereignty* of individual States and the right of separation. The "Secession" dogma obtains I find very wide credences.

I took my leaving of Mr. de Vrière with the repeated assurance that no countenance would be given in any form to the Rebellion in our Southern States.

I have, etc...

10. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 9 - Bruxelles,
22 juin 1861 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

Sanford a demandé à Lambermont une proclamation interdisant aux sujets belges de prendre du service à bord des croiseurs ou corsaires du Sud et fermant à ceux-ci l'accès des ports belges.

Sir : As Mr. de Vrière is out of town, I directed the attention of Mr. Lambermont, the Secretary-General, who is charged with the affairs of the department in the absence of the Minister, in a interview I had with him to day, as to the propriety, of a proclamation warning Belgians from taking service under those in rebellion to the Federal Govt.; furnishing them aid and comfort, and especially closing the ports of Belgium to their "Privateers" declared by the President to be pirates not permitting them to be fitted out in her ports. I said that, while the assurances I had received from Mr. de Vrière, soon after my arrival, of the attitude of his Government had been satisfactory, I hoped it would now give public expression to them both as due to a friendly power, and as a warning to their own citizens of the perils of such enterprises.

Mons. Lambermont replied that the matter had been under

consideration, that the position which England and France had taken had not seemed to be satisfactory to the Government of the United States, and they had delayed in consequence taking any formal steps — but no, he begged me to be assured, from any want of friendly spirit or desire to do all the occasion called for at their hands.

I replied that he was correct in his view of our sentiments as to the course which England and France had seen fit to pursue — and could not look upon the recognition of belligerent rights to those who, under our laws, were rebels — and before we had attempted to employ forcible means of coercion as evincing the friendly spirit we had a right to expect ; that these people would be treated none the less as Rebels on the land, as Pirates on the seas. They or those of whatever nationality who joined them, and we counted on the part of Belgium — upon no such qualifications of our citizens in rebellion whom we were engaged in submitting to the action of our laws.

He said their legislation provided generally for the cases I had instanced, but that attention would be immediately given to the subject and he thought we need not have any reasons to be dissatisfied with the action they would take in the premises ⁽¹²⁾...

11. W. L. YANCEY ⁽¹³⁾ et A. D. MANN à R. TOOMBS ⁽¹⁴⁾ -
n° 3 - Londres, 15 juillet 1861 - L.C., P.P., vol. 1.

Les premiers envoyés sudistes en Europe ont été avertis des bonnes dispositions de diverses puissances neutres, dont la Belgique, envers une reconnaissance des Etats du Sud bien qu'elles attendent une initiative française ou britannique pour agir dans ce sens.

...From information derived from very reliable sources we are of the opinion that the Governments of Spain, Belgium, and Denmark entertain toward the Confederate States the most friendly feeling,

⁽¹²⁾ Le 22 juin, le *Moniteur Belge* avait publié les dispositions légales interdisant les actions portant atteinte à la neutralité "à l'occasion de la guerre d'Amérique". Le 25, agréant sans doute la demande de Sanford, une seconde déclaration, interdisant l'entrée des ports belges aux corsaires confédérés et l'énrôlement de sujets belges à leur bord, était publiée dans la feuille officielle. Enfin, le 10 juin, une circulaire du Ministère de la Justice invitait les Procureurs-généraux et Procureurs du Roi à poursuivre ceux qui collaboraient à des armements en course. (A.M.A.E., dossiers 69-I et 143).

and are ready to recognize their independence as soon as either England or France shall determine to do so, but in deference to those great powers will not take the initiative.

12. R. M. T. HUNTER ⁽¹⁵⁾ à A. D. MANN - n° 11 -
Richmond, 23 septembre 1861 - L.C., P.P., vol. 1.

Le Gouvernement Confédéré dissout la Commission en Europe et envoie Ambrose Dudley Mann comme représentant en Belgique, après l'arrivée de James Mason en Grande-Bretagne, qu'il doit informer de son action dans ce pays.

Sir : The President having resolved at the request of Congress to disunite the commission of the Confederate States now in Europe and to send separate commissioners to the principal Governments on that continent, I have the honor to inform you that it is the President's desire that you should represent the Confederate States in Belgium, to the Government of which country you already have letters of credence and introduction.

The instructions which you received on your departure from

⁽¹³⁾ William Lowndes Yancey (1814-1863), juriste, homme politique d'Alabama. Il joua un rôle de premier plan dans tous les conflits politiques qui précédèrent la sécession et fut le chef du parti extrémiste du Sud. Son caractère emporté l'avait fait surnommer *fire-eater*. Il provoqua la scission du parti démocrate en 1860 et, après l'élection de Lincoln, rédigea la déclaration de sécession de l'Alabama. Il servit comme membre de la mission diplomatique en Europe avec P. Rost et A.D. Mann en 1861-1862 mais démissionna rapidement. Sénateur de l'Alabama au Congrès Confédéré. Voir *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 20, p. 592-595.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Robert Augustus Toombs (1818-1885), juriste, planteur, homme politique, de Géorgie. Partisan d'un compromis entre les États du Sud et l'Union, il fut une figure importante de l'aile sudiste du parti démocrate avant la guerre. Premier Secrétaire d'Etat des États Confédérés, il démissionna rapidement à la suite de divergences de vues avec J. Davis et prit le commandement d'une brigade. Après la guerre, joua un rôle décisif en renversant le contrôle des *carpet-baggers* sur la Géorgie. *Idem*, vol. 18, p. 590-592.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Robert M.T. Hunter (1809-1887), juriste et homme politique virginien. Partisan des vues particularistes de J.C. Calhoun, il fut Sénateur de 1847 à 1861. Il remplaça Toombs comme Secrétaire d'Etat confédéré de juillet 1861 à février 1862, puis Sénateur confédéré. Il prit part à la conférence d'Hampton Roads en 1865 qui négocia vainement une paix de compromis. Il servit comme trésorier de Virginie de 1874 à 1880. *Idem*, vol. 9, p. 403-405.

Montgomery you will follow so far as applicable, during your residence at Brussels.

I have further to inform you that the President has appointed the Hon. James M. Mason (¹⁶), of Virginia, commissioner to Great Britain, on his arrival in London he will confer freely with you on the subject of his mission, and I am confident that you will give him the benefit of your advice and experience in relation thereto.

I have, etc...

13. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
24 septembre 1861 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

Sanford recommande au Gouvernement fédéral de prendre des mesures pour combattre l'influence sudiste sur l'opinion publique.

...It is in my view, of the highest importance that a policy with respect to the proceedings of the Rebel agents abroad be inaugurated without delay and prosecuted with vigor — a policy which shall embrace a systematic course of action respecting not only the material side of the question, the fitting out of privateer purchase, shipment of arms, powder and other contraband of war, but also that of correcting or forming public opinion...

[Sanford se plaint des Consuls américains en Europe, qui ne connaissent pas la langue, ne savent pas agir, ou sont passés aux sécessionnistes]

...With respect to the public opinion, there is much reason to regret that no means have been adopted to act upon it in Europe :

(¹⁶) James Murray Mason (1798-1871), juriste et homme politique virginiens. Disciple de Calhoun, il se fit l'avocat des "Droits du Sud", au sein du parti démocrate. Sénateur de 1847 à 1861. Il fut résigné par Davis comme envoyé en Angleterre, fut au centre de l'incident du *Trent*. En Grande-Bretagne, il fut très actif dans la propagande et les opérations pour la marine sudiste. Il ne fut jamais reçu par le Gouvernement Britannique et coupa toutes relations avec celui-ci en 1863. Il vécut en exil en Canada puis rentra en Virginie en 1868. Voir *Idem*, vol. 12, p. 364-365, F.L. OWSLEY, *King Cotton Diplomacy, passim*; E.D. ADAMS, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, 2 vol. in-8°, 2e ed., New York, 1958.

the benefit would be great and the expense small. It may be said in one point of view that this is not of much moment, that we are too sensitive on this point, and that it matters not what Europe may think ; but must fight our own battles and her opinion will not help us to win, nor caused us to lose it. But this view ignores the important consideration, that the course adopted by England and France towards us will be strongly influenced by public opinion on this side. It must now be apparent to every observer, that in the opinion of the Govt. and governing class in Great Britain, her political and commercial interests will be best served by the permanent separation of the Union and that the French Govt. is apparently too much inclined to yield to this view. But the peoples of Europe have had the impression that there was something vital to their common interests and rights at stake in this contest, though without a very clear notion how or what it was. To remove the impression and to create a public opinion [...] it is indispensable that a public opinion should be created which will sustain or even demand such interposition. In this her progress is but too obvious and successful, and it concerns us to expose to the people of Europe these designs ; also to keep before them the true causes in issues and progresses of the war and to controvert the falsehoods and fallacies disseminated by the Press, to the detriment of the truth and of our interests.

For this it is not yet too late : I would speedily organize an efficient movement of the press in our favour in London, Paris, Germany, if I had the means of rewarding literary labor, and I recommend to your consideration for immediate action...

14. H. S. SANFORD à J. C. BANCROFT DAVIS ⁽¹⁷⁾ -
Bruxelles, 8 octobre 1861 - S.P., 105/11.

Sanford explique l'attitude hostile au Nord de l'opinion européenne, en dépit de la sympathie des masses populaires, par le ressen-

(17) John Chandler Bancroft Davis (1822-1907), diplomate et juriste. Chargé d'affaires à Londres de 1849 à 1852, puis correspondant new-yorkais du *Times* de 1854 à 1861. Après la guerre, il prépara le dossier américain contre la Grande-Bretagne au sujet des croiseurs sudistes (sentence de Genève). Fut assistant Secrétaire d'Etat puis juge à la *U.S. Court of Claims*. *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol 5, p. 134-135.

timent des manufacturiers et la méfiance des classes dirigeantes envers les institutions républicaines. Sous la pression de la crise économique, l'opinion penche en faveur d'une reconnaissance du Sud et il importe de contrecarrer cette tendance en développant l'influence du Nord dans la presse.

...Public opinion abroad is gradually setting against us. In the beginning it was all on our side but the distress and fears of the manufacturing classes and those dependent on them, have been very ably *exploités* by the Rebel agents and by Govts. There is no doubt we have, *au fond*, the sympathies of the masses in Europe, but of those who govern them we can have none and only the respect which comes from their fears. They wish to see the "great experiment" fail to the confusion of the revolutionary element among them, to see the disintegration of the Union as the humiliation and destruction of an impertinent but powerful Govt. which might yet prove seriously troublesome.

I was at the outset opposed to doing any thing systematically towards forming public opinion. I saw that the sympathies of the people were for us, and while observing the efforts made to uphold the cause of Secession considered that we could afford to pass them in silent contempt and await events, — that when the campaign opened they would reply to and knock to atoms all the Secession Rubbish. But months have passed, we have had Bull-run, Springfield and now Lexington, we appear to Europe on the defensive with the Rebel flag flaunting from Rebel retranchments within sight of our Capital threatened by their forces — and all the time a steady pressure has been kept upon the press — not only by the paid agents of *Secesh* but by inspiration of higher origin. The way is rapidly preparing for popular sentiment to expect, if not demand, a recognition as a means of putting an end to a fratricide war and to the miseries and distress which it causes here. I now think it high time that we set about correcting this and by the same means. I think we ought among other things to take hold of the European Press — encourage them against that outstanding cry and get access to able writers in others — it will require money as well as ability and men over here and were I home I would form a "Union Defence Committee" abroad — the field is a large one — the press but one of the engines to bring in play upon it and the laborers are few...

15. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
15 octobre 1861 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

Sanford espère que l'enrôlement du Comte de Paris et du Duc de Chartres dans l'armée fédérale entraînera le Roi Léopold à soutenir la cause du Nord. Un ralliement du Roi, dont l'influence est grande en Europe, serait précieux pour la cause fédérale.

...I have been interested in the effect upon the public mind there and here produced by the course of the Comte de Paris and brother ⁽¹⁸⁾ and I am satisfied it is an excellent thing for us. The Orleanists are furious over it in private but it is a *fait accompli* and they will hereafter take interest in the success of the side their Princes have espoused. It is a bid for the liberals in France likely to have some success and I don't think the Imperialists are at all content with it...

[critique l'attitude d'une partie de la presse française]

...While the opinion in this little State is of less importance as depending on its neighbors for political existence, it will never take any steps in political matters save a long way behind, in their tracks. The King's political sympathies, as well as his domestic ties, are with the Orleans family ⁽¹⁹⁾ as you are aware, and certainly no monarch

⁽¹⁸⁾ Louis-Philippe d'Orléans, Comte de Paris (1838-1894), et son frère Robert, Duc de Chartres (1840-1910), servirent comme aides-de-camp volontaires de Mac Clellan avec le grade de capitaine de septembre 1861 à juillet 1862. Ils étaient accompagnés par leur oncle, le Prince de Joinville, dont le fils, Duc de Penthièvre, était midship à l'Académie Navale d'Annapolis. On doit au Comte de Paris une *Histoire de la Guerre civile d'Amérique* en 7 volumes, Paris 1874-1896, premier ouvrage sérieux en langue française sur le sujet. Le Prince de Joinville publia en 1862 une *Campagne du Potomac*. Leur engagement reposait sur leur désir de compléter leur éducation militaire bien plus que sur celui de soutenir la cause du Nord. Le caractère impolitique de l'acceptation de leurs services par Lincoln fut sévèrement jugé par la France impériale. Bien que portant l'uniforme américain, ils doivent être considérés comme de simples observateurs. Voir E. LONN, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy*, in-8°, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, 1951, p. 278-279.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Loin de se rallier au Nord après l'enrôlement de ses neveux, le Roi Léopold manifesta des sentiments tout autres dans une lettre à la Reine Victoria datée du 17 octobre 1861 : "...I regret much Paris and Robert having joined the Federal Army, mixing in a civil war ! The object is to show courage, to be able to say "Ils se sont beaucoup distingués". They have a chance of being shot for Abraham Lincoln and the most rank radicalism. I don't think that step

in Europe has personally more weight after Louis Napoleon than Leopold. None has greater opportunities for influence both from his nomadic habits and from the constant accession of royal visitors here. And the individual leanings he may have towards accepting the pretensions of the South, will be apt to be modified, certainly not expressed, to those with whom he comes in contact.

I think this act of the princes was a surprize to all the family over here. One of my friends who only returned a week since from a visit to the ex-Queen said it was certainly so to her. The English Journals are of course spiteful — but I think the Prince de Joinville has shown wisdom in placing the princes where they will not be compromised or entangled by service in Europe and where they have an opportunity for distinction in a cause which is the popular one in Europe.

We are going through a Ministerial crisis here which will probably result in a reconstruction of the Cabinet unless Frère-Orban the late Minister of Finance returns to it.

The King of Holland and King Leopold are to meet this week for the first time on Belgian soil; to remember to forget the Revolution of 31 and to take council for harmonious action in view of the dreaded overshadowing of their imperial neighbor.

Very, etc...

16. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 29 - Bruxelles,
25 octobre 1861 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

de Vrière est remplacé par Ch. Rogier au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. Ce changement n'a aucune importance car le Roi est le seul maître dans les questions de politique extérieure.

Sir : A change is about to be made in the Cabinet, by the withdrawal of Baron de Vrière whose successor will probably be M. Charles Rogier, the present Minister of the Interior, who, in his turn, will

will please in France, where Radicalism is at discount fortunately. The poor Queen is very unhappy about it, but now nothing can be done, only one may wish to see them well out of it".

Edité dans A.C. BENSON et Viscount ESHER, *Letters of Queen Victoria*, in-8°, vol. III (1854-1861), Londres, 1907, p. 579.

be succeeded by M. Vandenpeereboom, a deputy, as Minister of that Department...

...Changes in the Belgian Cabinet have very little significance as relating to external politics. The King in this matter is master, and the Minister of his Household, M. Van Praet — whose confidential and personal relations are peculiar and of long standing — is probably the only Minister who is fully cognisant of the affairs of State with which the King is occupied. While Belgium *per se* has little weight in Europe depending as it does for its existence upon the mutual jealousies of its neighbors, the King from his known wisdom and prudence, and his opportunities of intercourse with the crowned heads of Europe of whom he is from his great age, the Dean, as it were — has very great influence, which he is continually exercising in questions of European politics and of which his Cabinet are not likely to be kept advised. With all his constitutional surroundings, few monarchs in Europe have more completely the mastery over the policy and course of their Govts., than has the King of the Belgians.

While the people in their municipal life have an independence second only to what we see in the United States and in Switzerland, the will of the King in all that concerns the general policy of the State would seem to be supreme, his wonderful admittness making up for any constitutional impediments to Kingly prerogative...

17. H. S. SANFORD à [?] - Bruxelles, 7 novembre 1861 - S.P., 59/1.

Sanford avoue à un correspondant américain que les sympathies européennes pour le Nord reposent sur la fausse croyance en une guerre pour l'abolition de l'esclavage. Les intérêts économiques recommandent la prudence à l'Europe.

...I am earnestly seeking to get the Govt. up to the point of carrying on operation against Rebel enterprizes here, fully as important in the conduct of the war, as in the field at home. I wish some of our wise men looked a little as you from Washington. The operations of Secret over here in procuring supplies and ships and working upon public opinion etc are worth attention and vigorous measures of counteraction.

I was pleased to see how small a part the nigger plays in this war. Pray heaven we may finish it without the calamities of abolition. I go for the prosecution of a war for the Union, for the Constitution and issue this but if nothing else will suffice than even excessive measures triumph of the Union which is the very life of our Republic. The only sympathy we have and can have in Europe is on the mistaken idea that it is a war for abolition of slavery but sympathy never influences Govts. and just now however much the feeling of the Govt. generally that they would like to see us go under, there are questions of interest which will hold them back from interference — the scarcity of food upon which a main reliance is with us, the gradual discovery that we of the North and not the South are the consumers of 9/10 of their exportations to the U.S. markets which a war would cause them to lose forever, have their influences...

18. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
28 novembre 1861 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

Sanford décrit les opérations des agents du Sud à Liège et à Verriers pour s'y procurer des armes et des draps militaires.

Dear Sir : I sent by Mr; Goodrich (²⁰) samples of the cloth and blankets ordered by Rebel agents, with notes attached giving details of prices, time and place of delivery, etc... These details and those which follow are taken from correspondence etc which I have had for the most part access to.

The Agent for the South is the House of G.S. Le More & C°, Havre, one of whose partners, Jules Le More is the active business man in these operations. They are connected with the rich house of Edward Gautherin & C° of New Orleans, who appear to be the agents and business men of the Rebel Govt. in that city, and for very large operations abroad. Baron Sellière of Paris, a very old and rich furnisher of Military cloth etc for the French Govt. for many years past, is undoubtedly the main support in the way of credits of these various

(²⁰) Aaron Goodrich, originaire de New York, fut Secrétaire de Légation à Bruxelles de 1861 à 1869. Il fut mêlé à toutes les opérations commerciales de Sanford. Sur lui, voir aux A.M.A.E., le dossier Personnel 1462.

negotiations covering several millions of francs. I learn that he has besides, made sales to the South of Army cloth etc to deliver it in New Orleans and in a private conversation with me some time since, he boasted that his goods were delivered at destination regularly and punctually and that our blockade was impotent and incapable of preventing them.

The negotiation I had for the purchase of these cloth contracts have caused the manufacturers to insist successfully for further guarantees of payment and instead of Le More's acceptance c. 3 months, they have now the additional guarantee of Sellière, for the payment of the whole.

The contractor for the cloth, blankets and 300.000 pairs shoes is Mr. Richard Sirtaine, of Verviers, a large manufacturer, who, in his town, distributes his contracts among the other manufacturers of that district, where all hands have been busily engaged for near 3 months upon these Rebel contracts.

Of this cloth for the Rebels, 206.000 yards have commenced going forward to Hâvre. After the expiration of my option of purchase of it, which I had secured for the agent of Genl. Megs had expired, some intimation of the danger they had escaped got to the agents of the Rebellion who set to work and bought up for cash, all the dark colored cloth in the district of Verviers, some 64.000 yards of a great variety of colors which was sent by Express via Antwerp and Hall to Liverpool, two weeks since, and of which with name of consignee I sent due notice to our Consul at London.

The marks and deliveries of the cloth of the 206.000 yards now going forward to Havre, I send to our Consul there as they are expedited from Verviers and expect soon to advise him, in order that he make take full description to send to you of the names of the vessels chartered to take this cloth and other supplies via the Açores and West Indies to their destination.

I am enabled to put some impediments in the way of the delivery of this cloth, and I hope before it is completed that some vessel of war will appear to look after this most important shipment. And with a view to gain time, I have asked a legal opinion as to the feasibility of libelling the vessels when ready to leave. The evidence is conclusive.

There have been large operations in arms on the Continent, besides large contracts, heretofore advised, in England.

Mr. Sirtaine was the intermediary for Le More with the House

of Lemaire at Liege. Le Maire's contracts are guaranteed by deposit in the Bank there for punctually payment of the drafts made against his deliveries, none of which drafts are for more than 30 days.

The end of August he contracted to deliver them 25,000 smooth bore percussion muskets, and 26 Sept. 50,000 more of the same; on the 12th Oct. 26,000 Rifles with sabre bayonets and he received at the same time commission to find 50,000 more of the same kind. On the 12th Oct. he recd. an order for 12,000 muskets and on 6th Novr. for 12,000 more.

Of the first 25,000, 20,000 were sent via Hamburg, once 12,000, the other time 8,000. 5,000 went by Rotterdam where 10,000 more were sent of the lot of 50,000. The remainder of that lot 40,000, I contracted to take on the 14th inst. by making it to the advantage of Sirtaine and Lemaire to sell out their principles. I also contracted to take the 20,000 rifles with Sabre Bayonets — the other six thousands had already gone forward to Hamburg.

The 12,000 guns ordered the 20th Oct. had also gone to Hamburg for shipment, had not been delivered, however, and I purchased them and shall send to morrow to have them inspected and received.

The others there seems to be a determination to give me trouble in securing and suit is threatened.

There have been some other purchases made for the South Revolvers etc for cash. A purchase of 18,000 French Carabines made at Liege last week by Lopez, Gesinet & C^o to be forwarded immediately to Havana are said to be also for the South, but I judge they are for Genl. Miramon's projected Mexican Expedition.

I have surveillance kept up in Liege and Verviers upon orders and deliveries of supplies, and at Hâvre and Hamburg upon their arrival and shipments, etc...

I would add that it is to be regretted, that the excessive Squeamishness or sentimentalism as to hurting the feelings of the Rebel agents or their English Agents, should stand in the way of a through and continuous prosecution of the work commenced there under your various instructions respecting Rebel Agents designated by name in your despatches. I have never felt that this business was exactly in my sphere but in these times and upon intimation from the Dept. I was as I am still willing to do any and every thing in my power to be useful to the country and the great cause for which we are fighting, whether in detecting or counteracting the enterprizes of the

Rebels abroad, or in any other way in which I can be of utility.
Very, etc...

19. A. D. MANN à R. M. T. HUNTER - Londres,
2 décembre 1861 - L.C., P.P., vol. 1.

Mann attend l'arrivée du commissionnaire confédéré à Londres pour prendre son poste à Bruxelles.

...As soon as Mr. Mason (²¹), or his successor, if he shall not be surrendered, arrives, I shall repair to Madrid, and afterwards proceed to Brussels. For this renewed manifestation of confidence in me by the President, and the agreeable manner in which you have communicated it, I cannot adequately express my thanks...

(²¹) James Mason et John Slidell, émissaires du Sud à Londres et à Paris, forcèrent le blocus et s'embarquèrent à La Havane sur le paquebot britannique le *Trent*. Le 8 novembre, le Capitaine Wilkes, du *San Jacinto* de la marine fédérale, interceptait le *Trent* dans le canal de Bahama et arrêtaient les deux diplomates sudistes, considérés alors comme étant sous la protection du drapeau britannique. Dans le Nord, la jubilation fut très intense et les félicitations les plus officielles furent décernées à Wilkes, notamment par le Secrétaire à la Marine et la chambre des Représentants. L'opinion publique anglaise n'apprit la nouvelle que le 27 novembre et adopta aussitôt une attitude belliqueuse. Le Cabinet réclama des réparations pour cet "affront au drapeau britannique" et le 30 novembre, Lord Russell envoyait à Lord Lyons, Ministre aux Etats-Unis, une dépêche contenant un ultimatum que celui-ci devait adresser au Gouvernement de Washington. A l'intervention de la Reine Victoria et du Prince-Consort Albert, cet ultimatum ne fut pas transmis à Washington. Le 1^{er} décembre, une protestation plus modérée, mais dont l'esprit n'était pas modifié, fut envoyée, tandis que 30.000 hommes de troupe étaient dirigés sur Halifax pour parer à toute éventualité. Dès les premiers jours de la crise, Lincoln avait été partisan de la restitution de Mason et Slidell. A la réception de la note britannique, le Secrétaire d'Etat Seward se rallia à ce point de vue. Le sentiment populaire aux Etats-Unis était tel cependant qu'il fallait éviter de le heurter délibérément. Le jour de Noël, le Cabinet américain approuvait la réponse de Seward, acceptant de libérer les deux prisonniers et désavouant l'acte de Wilkes. La guerre était ainsi évitée et le Sud perdait l'espoir de trouver un allié en la Grande-Bretagne. Mason et Slidell furent transférés à bord d'un navire de guerre britannique, puis partirent d'Halifax pour l'Europe.
Sur la crise du Trent, voir E.D. ADAMS, *op. cit.*, p. 203-243 et Ch. F. ADAMS, *The Trent Affair, an Historical Retrospect*, in-8°, Boston, 1912.

20. H. S. SANFORD à ... [Th. Weed ?] - Bruxelles,
8 décembre 1861 - S.P., 100/1.

Sanford se livre à d'importants achats d'armes et de munitions. A la suite de l'incident du Trent, il est grand temps de penser à contrôler l'opinion publique par un organe de presse. L'Indépendance Belge — approchée par lui — serait la feuille idéale.

My dear Sir : I hear you are in London and I am in hopes to get from you some light on what is passing there behind the scenes to govern my operations here. We are having bad luck with the shipments of arms. The "Congress" stopped at Southampton with a large amount for us, the "Estella" up for New York from Antwerp, withdrawn, I doubt not, intervention of English Govt. leaving a large amount of arms unprovided with freight, the Hamburg and Bremen steamer suffered day before yesterday suddenly, \$ 30.000 charter for the "Hannovera" but was refused.

I wish to have everything possibly to be sent forward off by 25th inst. If Schuyler has not gone tell him with a little money all his ready guns can be got off. I have this morning bills of Lading for 2400 skipped as *merchandize* — cost £ 200 bribe — since the proclamation. His agents in Birmingham, Van Wart, ought to get this done. If no one else has any money, I could add for this extra charge I suppose.

I only secured about 400 tons of salpeter. A large purchase which but what between stoppages of my despatches and past of sellers. I do not now regret it as I hear we have a fair stock at home.

What is your advice as to purchases of arms ? My idea is to put all my spare means into such good arms as I can get under weigh by 25 st. or would it be better to keep back a reserve for emergencies ?

I do not believe yet that we shall have war notwithstanding the excitement in England. "Pam" and C° have been too far, are too eager, have exposed themselves and their wishes, and I believe firmly, fail. Reaction will set in before the reply comes and if Govr. Seward can only manage to gain time by referring back in some ground or other, we are safe enough.

The idea of a mutual relinquishment of exaggerated positions respecting belligerence well over here. I took measures a week since to have the idea employed in connection with French Mediation — at headquarters in Compiègne.

It is time the journal project was seriously taken up. I enclose a line on the subject from a parisian journal in connection with the German press, and I have a letter in German which I spare you, recd yesterday on the same subject and a responsible party offering for \$ 600 a month for six months to carry on such an information bureau of correspondence with the great journals there and in Germany.

The head man of the "Indépendance Belge" (22) dined with me to day alone, and I will see what can be done with his journal. I am still of the opinion that this is the place for an organ and that this paper with the entry in all the official salons of Europe is the one for our purpose.

When shall I see you ?

yours truly
HSS

P.S. I have a letter from Dr. Carl Levita (23) on a subject about which I has spoken some times since to his brother at the epoch when I was talking with Couailhac and others with regard to taking up a paper last summer. Enclosing a line from one of the writers of the Constitutionnel who prepares to found a central Bureau of Paris specially for correspondence with the great journals.

I wrote to Levita telling him I would write him later — but I am too busy now to pay attention to this which is in your ressort and I will tell him to see you and you write to me your ideas. He thinks \$ 600 a month sure for six months would give a good start. I suppose if you liked to know I enclosed a line recd. on the subject

(22) Léon Berardi (1817-1897), d'origine marseillaise, ancien avocat et homme de théâtre, entra à *l'Indépendance* en 1846 et fut son principal rédacteur pendant dix ans. En 1856, il racheta la feuille et en fit un des organes les plus accrédités de la presse d'Europe avant d'en abandonner la direction à son fils Gaston en 1884. En 1870, il afficha des tendances pro-françaises et républicaines. L. BERTELSON. *Dictionnaire des Journalistes-Ecrivains de Belgique*, in-8°, Bruxelles, 1960, p. 16; J. LORY, *Panorama de la presse belge en 1870-1871*, in-8°, Cahiers du Centre Interuniversitaire d'Histoire Contemporaine, n° 32, Louvain-Paris, 1963, p. 7-9.

(23) Membre de la famille Levita, banquiers établis à Londres et en Allemagne, avec lesquels Sanford était en relation d'affaires depuis 1852 (S. Sanford Papers, boxes 124-125).

in French (I will spare you Levitas German epistle). Advice I can with the means certainly to set it afiring.

Yours truly
HSS

21. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé- Bruxelles,
9 décembre 1861 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

Sanford, qui s'inquiète de l'hostilité de l'opinion dans l'affaire du Trent, préconise la création d'un organe de presse fédéral en Europe. Il est entré en contact avec Berardi, de l'Indépendance Belge, pour acheter le journal ou le faire publier des articles "inspirés". Il recommande également la création d'un bureau de correspondance à Paris.

Dear Sir : Public sentiment here as in France is not favorable to us in the matter of our threatned rupture with England. As indicated to you long since public sentiment in France and England has been deliberately prepared, since some time back, to expect if not demand a recognition of the Southern "Confederacy" as a means of mitigating the financial and commercial difficulties which are sought to be laid to the civil war and to our charge. This will lead to recognition of the South, to opening of their ports to trade and to cotton export "and a financial millenium" is the cry now.

[...]

I have waited with great anxiety for some decision respecting the Press, of which I wrote fully on the 27th Sept.

We *must* have an organ of our own here to repel the attacks of the hostile press of England and France and to give light upon our affairs; and this, Brussels is the place for it. The laws respecting the press in France would make it difficult to carry on such a paper as we want for general European circulation.

My idea would be to secure the "Indépendance Belge" which has, as you know, a wide circulation as well as the *best* in Europe : and we could engraft upon it without observation or suspicion our policy, and infuse it with an American spirit unsuspected. Its principal proprietor and editor, Berardi, I had to dine with me yesterday,

especially to talk over the subject, to sound him and his views either as to selling out a part of his paper or carrying out our views for a consideration. His sentiments are with us both in the domestic as well as the English question, and I think a satisfactory arrangement might be made and that we ought to be able to command, as a money making operation, from some of our wealthy citizens, a fair share of the means necessary for the object proposed.

Again — we need, at least, without delay at Paris, a Central Bureau of Correspondence for the great journals of the Continent. This need not cost much. A competent journalist I know who has extensive relations with the French and German Press, thought about \$ 600 per month would cover the expenses. Giving articles and letters we should insure access to the principal journals of the Continent — but I have done nothing, not having the means necessary to assure such an operation for six months and awaiting a decision upon the suggestion given in my letter of 27th Sept.

Mr. Weeda (*) was in hopes to receive some advices on the subject by last steamer. I feel now that it is of the highest importance that we lose no time in securing a place and an organ in the public press. Very, etc...

22. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
17 décembre 1861 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

A l'occasion de la mort du Prince Consort Albert, le Roi Léopold se rendra sans doute en Grande-Bretagne. Profitant d'une entrevue avec Van Praet, Sanford a suggéré de faire jouer l'influence du Roi pour éviter une guerre anglo-américaine, dont il a dépeint les effets probables sur l'économie belge. Une médiation du Roi serait possible.

Sir : It occurred to me, on the announcement of the death of Prince Albert, that the King would, doubtless, pay a visit of condolence to the Queen of England with whom his relations since he succeeded in procuring the marriage of his protégé to her have been of a most intimate character — and that his visit might be turned to useful account in the cause of peace.

(*) Voir note 26.

I accordingly called yesterday upon M. Van Praet ⁽²⁴⁾, Minister of his household, and whose confidential position and relations with the King I have had already occasion to speak, — to ask him to bear to His Majesty the expression of my condolence and of my personal sympathy in this affliction. Conversation turning after a while upon our affairs, I observed incidentally that the visit of the King to the Queen of England might be of great influence at this juncture, and in the interests of peace, and on his enquiry in what manner, I said that it seemed to me that a party in England were determinated at all hazards to force a war upon us now, as a favorable occasion to turn against a commercial rival now occupied by intestine war, the formidable armaments which jealousy of a neighboring power had built up, that the question at issue was one of form and with calm and moderation, and a mutual desire for peace, easily to be settled down by a mutual relinquishment of the old English pretensions as to Belligerent rights, no longer agreeable to England when practised upon her — and that it seemed to me that the presence, at this moment, in England of a prince whose wisdom and whose labors for peace were so widely known and appreciated, could not but aid in averting an unnecessary war. Quite a lengthened conversation followed upon this, touching the results likely to follow from a war with England, in which I endeavored to point out the great distress it must inevitably cause in Europe and especially in Belgium in drying up one of the great sources of supply of food, and destroying the principal foreign markets for European manufactures, and showing in how small proportion even were the markets of the Southern States opened to foreign commerce, their consumption entered into the great aggregate of exportation to the United States, and I said that the King could not render a greater service to his own country, in my view of it, and to humanity in general than in lending his influence to avert the wide-spread calamities of war.

I was the more tempted to broach this subject with M. Van Praet as, in conversing with an eminent statesman in Paris, where I was for a few hours on Sunday, he said, speaking of the mediation of the Emperor Napoleon which has been mooted in official circles,

(24) Jules van Praet (1806-1887), Ministre de la Maison du Roi Léopold 1^{er}. Voir C. BRONNE, *Jules Van Praet*, Collection Nationale, Bruxelles, 1943.

that it would hardly be acceptable to England while that of a lesser power would be less easily declined if offered... (25)

23. H. S. SANFORD à Th. WEED (26) - Bruxelles,
18 décembre 1861 - S.P., 100/1.

Sanford envoie à Thurlow Weed les comptes du service secret et l'avertit de son intention d'utiliser l'influence du Roi Léopold sur la Reine Victoria pour éviter la guerre après l'incident du Trent.

...I enclose herewith bill for balance of my private acc. [ount] at Barings £ 191.7.1, will direct £ 211.1 to be sent from another source to make up just £ 200 for account of Secret Service and for which please send here a receipt.

As the King will probably go to console the Queen, I shall try before he leaves to intimate the possibility of his being able to do much in the way of averting war; he feels assured we shall look at

(25) Le Roi Léopold était le candidat de la diplomatie française et dès le début de la crise, Firmin Rogier avait été pressenti dans ce sens par Thouvenel. "On exprime l'espoir que la proposition de soumettre le différend à la médiation d'une puissance neutre aurait chance d'être accueillie à Londres et à Washington et, le cas échéant, me disait Mr. Thouvenel, le Roi Léopold, dont on apprécie à un si haut degré les lumières, la longue expérience et la profonde sagesse, ne serait-il pas le meilleur médiateur auquel on pourrait recourir, si Sa Majesté voulait bien consentir à accepter cette haute mission quelles qu'en fussent les difficultés."

F. Rogier à Ch. Rogier - n° 915 - Paris, 12 décembre 1861. A.M.A.E., Cor. Politique, France, t. 20.

(26) Thurlow Weed (1797-1882), journaliste et homme politique new-yorkais. Il aida puissamment à l'élection de W. Seward comme Gouverneur de New-York et fit figure de chef du *lobby whig*. Il fut une des figures les plus marquantes de la politique américaine, dont il développa les caractéristiques des groupes de pression. Il essaya de faire élire Seward comme Président après 1854 et la formation du parti républicain. Anti-esclavagiste mais opposé aux outrances abolitionnistes, il perdit son influence lorsque les radicaux l'emportèrent après la mort de Lincoln. Il fut envoyé en Angleterre par Lincoln pour y faire de la propagande en faveur du Nord, surnommé "*quasi ambassador*" par le *Times*. Sanford lui fournit à diverses reprises les fonds du Service Secret. Th. WEED, *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed*, in-8°, Boston, 1883; G. VAN DEUSEN, *Thurlow Weed: A Character Study*, in *American Historical Review*, 1944, XLIX, p. 427-440; *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 18, p. 598-600.

this intervention in its part as proof of a frank and loyal friendship.

What think you will be its influence on Mr. Seward ?

The silence of the President is to me a most favorable symptom.

How surprizing that our people are so unconscious of the threatening storm and seem to have forgotten all about the incident of the *Trent*. I hope you have good news from home. I sent you the other day draf on Barings for £ 197,7s, 11d. Yours truly, etc...

24. Th. WEED à H. S. SANFORD - Londres,
19 décembre 1861 - S.P., 132/14.

Weed félicite Sanford d'avoir utilisé le Roi Léopold dans l'affaire du Trent.

...You hit a nail on the head in regard to a high personage in Belgium. The last use Prince Albert made of his pen was to *soften* the despatch to send to Lyons... (27)

25. H. S. SANFORD à [?] - Bruxelles, 21 décembre 1861 -
S.P., 100/2.

Les efforts du Roi Léopold échoueront peut-être car l'opinion anglaise désire la guerre. La note française est très ferme envers le Gouvernement fédéral. Seward adopte une attitude conciliante.

My dear Mr. B : Well, how goes the war ? All the politicians and officials here and in England seem to consider it certain. England does. I put some ideas afloat for the King to his "confidential minister", on his visit to condole with Queen Vict., but I fear all his wisdom, love of peace and influence will avail nought across the channel where, *coute que coute*, they seem determined to have a hit at us for

(27) Sur l'attitude du Prince Albert, voir John W. WHEELER-BENNETT, *The Trent Affair. How the Prince Consort saved the United States*, dans *A Wreath to Clio, Studies in British, American and German Affairs*, in-8°, Londres-New York, 1967, p. 110-128.

the double satisfaction of clipping our wings and showing France what they can do on the seas.

France on the 3d wrote to Mercier (²⁸) a long dispatch on the *Trent* business, copy to be given Seward, advising our Govt. to give up the men and give satisfactory explanation, and stating that while it was determined in event of war to keep a strict neutrality, neither it nor other powers could pass by with indifference or in silence the exercise of such pretention which interested all neutral powers alike.

How will this be apt to influence Seward! The tone is very friendly but very firm on the character of the *Trent* affair which it reckons upon on both the grounds whether as applied to belligerents or as a municipal will to seize Rebels.

I suspect Thouvenel told Talleyrand to show it to me, as the morning the copy arrived — the day after my return from Paris, in calling by chance upon T. he said he had just recd. it and was coming round as I came in to how it to me and accordingly handed it over.

I gave Weed a synopsis of it.

He writes, by the way, that Adams (²⁹) has finally heard from Seward, who gives some gleam of hope in telling him to assure the English Govt. that all questions affecting the right of neutrals during our domestic war, shall have the consideration which nations of world may rightfully expect.

He (Weed) says, by the way, that the last use Prince Albert made of his pen was to soften the note to Lord Lyons. This circumstance may help work King Leopold in any efforts he may made for peace with the Queen...

(²⁸) Baron Edouard-Henri Mercier, de Lostende, ministre de France à Washington; il visita Richmond pendant la guerre et se fit à diverses reprises l'avocat d'une intervention.

(²⁹) Baron de Talleyrand, Ministre de France à Bruxelles, "Le langage de Mr. Sanford, écrivait-il à Thouvenel, qui, au début, était empreint d'une grande violence, devient de jour en jour plus pacifique. J'ai eu l'honneur d'informer confidentiellement V. Exc. des avis qu'il avait fait parvenir au Cabinet de Washington. Les conseils de quelques amis n'ont pas été étrangers à cette modification de l'attitude de Mr. Sanford qui est doué d'une intelligence aussi brillante qu'impassionnelle..." (de Talleyrand à Thouvenel, n° 28, Bruxelles, 26 déc. 1861, A.M.A.E., Copie A.E.F., n° 1444).

Charles F. Adams (1807-1886), homme politique et diplomate. Congressman républicain, puis Ministre en Grand-Bretagne (1861-1868). Très ferme, il menaça à diverses reprises de rompre les relations diplomatiques ou même de déclarer la guerre si la Grande-Bretagne continuait à soutenir le Sud. Voir Martin B. DUBERMAN, *Charles Francis Adams 1807-1886*, in-8°, Boston, 1961.

26. L. JOTTRAND père à H. S. SANFORD -
23 décembre 1861 - S.P., 123/7.

Jottrand se plaint des journaux américains de langue française parvenant en Europe et annonce la parution de ses articles dans la presse flamande dont il souligne l'importance et la diffusion. Il demande à Sanford de lui fournir la matière documentaire d'autres articles.

...I have received last week a file of *Messenger franco-américain* a daily french paper from New-York. This publication seems to me unimportant. Perhaps it is of some service in Europe as a contradictor to that sycophant : *Courrier des Etats-Unis* ⁽⁸⁰⁾, whose origine and vocation to New-York are very well-known to every body a little [effacé] with American circumstances of thirty years ago. But for an [effacé] who likes to study these circumstances in your original press, such newspapers as the *messenger franco-américain* are of rather no use. Have the kindness, I beseech you, to allow me the communication of american papers written in English. I was very much pleased with the copies you had the goodness to send to me of the New York *Tribune* and *times*. I took a great deal of information therefrom and turned [effacé] account in a letter which I published the 21th instant in a flemish daily paper of Gent. I send you today a copy of that paper *Beurzen Courant* the most circulating flemish paper of our provinces along the seeshore.

The newspapers published in the flemish (dutch) language in our provinces the two Flanders and Antwerp, are important in this

(80) Le *Courrier des Etats-Unis* était publié en français à New York. Le rumeur l'accusait d'avoir été lancé par le gouvernement français sous Louis-Philippe pour donner une fausse idée de la démocratie américaine, et d'être resté au service de l'administration impériale. Pendant la guerre, le *Courrier* se signala par son hostilité au gouvernement de Lincoln et à la poursuite des hostilités, défendant des vues proches de celles des *copperheads* américains. Voir L. JOTTRAND, *Etude sur les Etats-Unis...*, in-8°, Bruxelles, 1875, p. 31; B. L. LEE, *Discontent in New York City 1861-1865*, in-8°, Catholic University of America, 1943, p. 105-106, 241; E. LONN, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy*, in-8°, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, 1951, p. 57-58; A. DUCHESNE, *Au service de Maximilien et de Charlotte. L'expédition des volontaires belges au Mexique 1864-1867*, in-8°, Bruxelles, 1967, p. 313-314, n. 59. Sur Lucien Jottrand (1804-1877), figure connue de la politique belge et americanophile militant, voir *Biographie Nationale*, t. XXX (2° suppl.), c. 473-488 et J.P. DU RY, *Un oublié : Lucien Jottrand, dans La Revue Nouvelle*, T. XXXVII, 1963, p. 252-264.

country. There exist 70 à 80 different newspapers published in that language through northern Belgium, where the people speak no french at all, except in the high life.

I have chosed to begin my publications on your affairs in a flemish paper, because our population is larger in the flemish than in the Walloon provinces of this Kingdom and because Holland partakes of the publications made in that way, flemish and dutch being but one and the same indiom.

I should feel much obliged to you, if you would procure me, when possible, the newspapers of Washington or of New York containing the message of the President Lincoln, the reports of the different ministers of his Cabinet laid down for the Congress on the 4th instant, and the correspondance of the same cabinet with the American ministers in Europe these last six months.

I have read the message and some parts of the other documents in the english newspapers but I should like to have them in extenso in order to refer to them with security when I would want to do so.

I beg to be excused if I am intruding; my motives are for the good cause, the cause of a great democratic people against the European despots arrayed for bad purposes, in the old and in the new part of the world. I am, etc...

27. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
31 décembre 1861 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

Sanford croit que le Roi, dans un but humanitaire, influencera la Reine Victoria en faveur de la paix. L'opinion est toujours aux côtés de l'Angleterre. Sanford expédie du matériel de guerre via Hambourg et espère envoyer sous pavillon belge une autre cargaison d'armes.

Sir : The King left for Osborne on a visit of condolence to the Queen of England, four days since and will spend about three weeks there. I informed you of a conversation I had with his confidential Minister M. Van Praet on the subject of the influence he might exercise in the interests of peace on the occasion of this visit. I have reason to believe that the King will make every effort in behalf of a pacific solution of our question with England. He is deeply impressed

with the calamities which will result for all Europe from a war with the United States and I have no doubt will do all in his power to avert it.

I am constrained to say that the general sentiment among all parties seems to be against us in this question where England appears in defence of neutral rights against us. The idea of our ceding the traitors against a cession by England of her old pretension as to Belligerent rights meets with favor — and her refusal to do this would alienate undoubtedly the general sympathy which she has acquired by her present attitude.

I despatched on the 24th a steamer from Hamburg with 850 tons of war material for the War Department. I shall despatch another next week with all the Govt. arms, etc... that can be got together by that time, proposing to send her under Belgian colors. Very, etc...

28. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 45 -
Washington, 2 janvier 1862 - N.A., St.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

Seward tranquillise Sanford quant à la solution de l'affaire du Trent et se réjouit de l'intervention du Roi en la matière.

Sir : Your confidential despatch of the 17th of December has been received. Your views concerning a foreign complication which naturally seemed to you imminent, but which will probably now be postponed, were thoughtful and wise. I trust that good results will in any case happen from what you did on the occasion of the visit of His Belgian Majesty to England.

I am, etc...

29. L. JOTTRAND père à H. S. SANFORD - Bruxelles,
14 janvier 1862 - S.P., 123/7.

L. Jottrand publie des articles pro-nordistes dans l'Observateur et dans la presse flamande et demande à Sanford de lui fournir des journaux américains.

...I have succeeded in getting place for articles on American affairs in the newspaper *l'Observateur* as you may see it; in perusing the copy of that paper of lundi 13 janvier, I take the liberty to send you to day. The flemish press receives similar information from me since the sample I took the liberty to send you, a fortnight ago. I hope, Sir, you will have the kindness, in consequence, to continue the communication you have allowed to me of the american newspapers, my purpose being as you know, to make use of these papers exclusively for the cause of our liberty which depends very much of the success of the good cause (that of the Northern part) of the american states. I remain, etc...

30. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 46 - Bruxelles,
14 janvier 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

La solution pacifique de l'affaire du Trent exerce une influence en faveur des Etats du Nord.

...The news of the settlement of the "Trent" affair has given universal satisfaction here. As influencing public opinion, it has caused a very considerable reaction in our favor which, I doubt not, will gather strenght.

The surrender by England, when they are applied to herself, of her own cherished principles of International Law — principles which she has ever enforced and practiced upon unwilling Europe — is considered a great gain.

I hope she will not prove apostate to her new faith; and the eagerness and unanimity with which the great powers have, while avoiding discussion of an act in conformity with her established usage, urged us to yeld in favor of neutral rights and thus secure Great Britain in her new position, are significant in my view, of

anything rather than sympathy for England or hostility to ourselves. England can hardly congratulate herself upon this intervention, which indicates not alone the desire to secure a recognition of the more liberal extension of neutral rights, but a jealousy of an attempt to cripple a power recognised as a necessary counterpoise in the World's affairs. The eagerness of the Government, which, ignoring its own precepts and believing to fasten a war and disaster upon us, is now exposed and it is to be hoped, will meet fitting retribution at home and abroad.

The sentiment is universal here, that she will now, failing in this pretext, seek one upon the question of the inefficiency of our blockade. I look to Parliament, public opinion, and the success which I confidently expect we shall, in the next thirty days, have tiding of, to squelch out this further attempt of a selfish and jealous governing class, to destroy our power and check our development. The cry now sought to be raised above the "vandalism" of shutting up a port with hawks instead of bombarding and destroying it and its inhabitants, is in keeping up the whole transaction. My opinion is, our cause is at this day, stronger in Europe than at any time before since the Bull Run affair...

31. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
23 janvier 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

Sanford transmet le compte des débours du Service Secret pour la propagande. A Bruxelles, son influence personnelle suffit encore, mais il aimerait s'assurer la collaboration permanente de l'indépendance Belge, dont il souligne l'attitude dans l'affaire du Trent. Il a acheté les services d'un journaliste parisien et continue sa surveillance.

Dear Sir : I enclose herewith my account of disbursements on Secret Service fund a/c to date.

The amount in hand has been too small to justify any systematic employment of the Press. I have given, as you will observe, £ 200 to Mr. Thurlow Weed for use in England and have told him I would advance any further amount he wanted if no money was sent by you direct to Mr. Adams. He has been doing a good work with it.

I have had no occasion to employ money for such purposes here. My personal relations suffice still I would like to secure permanently the co-operation of the "Independance Belge"; it is, as you know, the most important journal on the Continent. It can be done, I have little doubt. If you have followed its course, you will observe a marked change in its tone towards us and towards England. Its Paris letters "X" scoring Palmerston Govt. for its eagerness to fight us, have made some noise. I would like to *secure* a regular correspondence in it and an active co-operation in our affairs in its columns. It is a delicate business, would be earthy but I think can be done.

In Paris on the occasion of my last visit I made a proposition to an editor in whom I had confidence to secure articles and correspondence in some of the prominent journals there and elsewhere. It would cost from 500 to 700 \$ per month and would be very useful — but not knowing your views, I do not venture to make any engagements ahead.

Mr. Dayton ⁽³¹⁾ has a sum of 5.000 \$ which he is afraid to do anything with or don't know how. I would suggest some activity and usefulness be given to it. If you wish to give a large infusion of those qualities *to him*, he will require another sphere of labor !

I am keeping up a quiet surveillance in some of our principal ports but the great field for rebel operations in munitions of war, etc... is England where I am still of the opinion an active surveillance, even at the expense of the feelings of the English speculators engaged in it, could be attended with results. Messrs. Lindsay & C^o ⁽³²⁾ are now regularly engaged in the business of running blockades. They make up assorted cargoes, give shares to the Captain and crews, let other people in on shares also and are doing a profitable business. Capt. Eastman whom I send supercargo of the "*Melita*" which sailed yesterday can give you details.

Small ventures, in small sharp sailing craft with moderate draught of water are very common from the northern ports of Europe. It would require a numerous corps of agents to look after them, were it deemed advisable. Very etc...

⁽³¹⁾ William Lewis Dayton (1807-1864), Sénateur du New-Jersey puis, candidat républicain à la Vice-présidence en 1856. Ministre en France de 1861 à sa mort, il combattit les efforts des agents sudistes à Paris. Il ne s'entendait guère avec Sanford. *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 5, p. 166-167.

⁽³²⁾ Firme de constructions navales, la plus importante de Grande-Bretagne. Voir note 35.

32. A. D. MANN à J. DAVIS - Londres, 1^{er} février 1862 -
L.C., P.P., vol. 1.

L'arrivée en Angleterre de Mason permet à Mann de gagner son poste à Bruxelles. Il a déjà préparé un projet de traité avec la Belgique.

...Mr. Mason arrived on the 29th (ultimo). Of course my duties here have been terminated, but as Parliament is about to meet I think I can render valuable services, and therefore shall not proceed to the Continent for some time. I believe I shall negotiate with Belgium the first treaty ever concluded by the Confederate States. I have already the outlines of one proposed which I am sure will meet with your approval as well as that of the coördinate branch of the treaty-making powers...

33. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 50 -
Washington, 4 février 1862 - N.A., St.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

Les puissances européennes commenceraient à concevoir des projets d'intervention aux États-Unis. Le Gouvernement fédéral ne s'y soumettra pas.

...It was a natural incident of the insurrection that its boldness in the beginning contrasted with the bewilderment of the legal portion of the country, should produce a belief that the revolution inaugurated could not fail. Europeans, judging our institutions according to their own habits of thought, and impatient of the hindrances to their material interests, which result from civil war, early assumed that the contest of our part was hopeless — even though they should refrain from participation in it. Now, as you have informed me, European politicians are beginning to canvass the question of actual intervention. The fact shows at least a conviction of their previous error, insomuch as they certainly would not think of intervening if it views not necessary. Our policy remains unchanged. It is to confront the insurrection on every side and to restore the Federal authority at whatever cost.

It is not in our power materially to influence the action of foreign states. But so far as they are concerned, our policy will remain the same. We shall scrupulously practice justice and friendship towards them, and meet them as we best can if they nevertheless determine to become our enemies...

34. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
10 février 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

Sanford recommande d'accorder un laissez-passer à Mrs. Fair dont la présence à Bruxelles suscite des sympathies pour la cause du Sud.

...I enclose for you a letter from Mrs. Fair (³³). I hope you will permit her to pass our lines. She can do little mischief at home and her presence here is a constant appeal to the sympathies of a large and influential circle. She is more capable, as well as from long association here, has more means of influencing opinion in Govt. circles in favor of secession, than any man. It could furnish it would be heartily glad to have her out of the way, this thorn off my official side. It is still against us here that she — a woman, the wife of the late Minister — is forced to remain here without communication with her family and dependent upon strangers for the means of subsistence. She is now completely broken down in heart and spirit and I doubt not would honorably keep her word if permitted to go, to take no correspondence or hold any communication with rebel agents here...

(³³) Mrs. Fair avait écrit le 2 février 1862 à Sanford lui demandant d'intervenir auprès de Seward pour obtenir un laissez-passer lui permettant de rentrer en Alabama, et s'engageant à ne pas transporter de documents destinés aux autorités confédérées (N.A., *idem*).

35. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
11 février 1862 - S.P., 53/2.

Pendant sa visite en Angleterre, le Roi Léopold s'est montré adversaire d'une guerre avec les Etats-Unis.

...The King returns here tomorrow from his visit to Queen Victoria. I am told he was strongly anti belligerent there pending the Trent affair...

36. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 53 - Bruxelles,
27 février 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

Le Duc de Brabant espère une fin proche de la guerre dans l'intérêt de l'industrie cotonnière. Il y a un revirement d'opinion en faveur du Nord.

...He expressed his hopes for its speedy termination and said they needed our cotton of which the supply in this country is about exhausted. I replied the only way I knew to procure it was through restoration of the Federal Authority which was being rapidly accomplished.

I am frequently receiving congratulations upon our success from quarters I never suspected of sympathy for us and they are to me favorable indications — not of a change of sentiment — but of a conviction, which the late events and the enormous power and resources we have given proof of in the war, have forces upon them that the end of the United States is not yet...

37. Note non datée - S.P., 96/1.

B. est le bien humble serviteur de 3 à 4 Juifs, à qui appartient aujourd'hui le Journal en question, et B. ne se laissera pas facilement influencer par qui que ce soit à moins de grands sacrifices. Adieu

38. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 55 - Bruxelles,
23 mars 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

Les victoires du Nord entraînent un changement de ton envers lui, même chez ses adversaires.

...Politically, I have little of moment to report. The impression created by the brilliant successes of our arms, is steadily gaining strength in all circles, that we are surely to triumph over the rebellion and is reflected in the organs of public sentiment and in the language of the governing classes, who, whatever their secret antipathies to a system of government whose success assures new agitation and revolutions in old Europe, speak now most respectfully of a Government whose unexpected strength and resources as evidenced in the war, has made a deep impression upon them...

39. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 58 - Bruxelles,
3 avril 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

L'opinion croit à la proche défaite des Etats du Sud.

...The general sentiment touching our affairs is excellent. The message of the President with respect to slavery⁽⁸⁴⁾ has been read with almost unanimous encomium. With the increasing respect which the success of our arms causes, is the general conviction that the Rebellion is nearly crushed out, and the continued rout or surrender of its forces before our armies, in contrast with the vain-glorious boastings of their leaders, has been a source of contemptuous comment. No one event in the course of war has excited more interest in Europe than the naval action in Hampton Roads...

(84) En mars 1862, Lincoln avait recommandé au Congrès, qui l'adopta, l'abolition graduelle de l'esclavage avec indemnité pour les propriétaires.

40. Memorandum annexé à la dépêche n° 5 de J. SLIDELL à J. P. BENJAMIN - Paris, 14 avril 1862 - L. C., P.P., vol. 55/1.

Le député anglais Lindsay s'est rendu auprès de l'Empereur pour lui demander de prendre la tête d'une médiation ou d'une intervention dans la question américaine, pour soulager la crise cotonnière. Il suggère que l'initiative d'une reconnaissance des Etats du Sud soit prise par une puissance neutre, la Belgique par exemple, et imitée ensuite par la France et la Grande-Bretagne. L'Empereur estime qu'il appartient à l'Angleterre de suggérer cette mesure à la Belgique.

Mr. Lindsay (³⁵) on Friday, 11 April, had by appointment an interview with the Emperor, having received on the previous evening a note from Mocquard, his private secretary, inviting his presence at the Tuileries at 1 p.m...

(.....)

Mr. L. (indsay) ...adverted to the present sufferings of the laboring classes of France and England, mainly caused by the interruption of the supply of cotton from the Confederate States, sufferings which even now were calculated to excite very serious apprehensions in both countries, but which were from week to week becoming more aggravated, and which in two or three months would become absolutely intolerable. That the time for action had arrived, for if the remedy were not soon applied, very serious consequences might be anticipated. To all these remarks the Emperor gave his most consequences might be anticipated. To alle these remarks the Emperor gave his most unqualified assent, but asked what was to be done ? Mr. L. said that the recognition of the Confederate States would do much to mitigate the danger; that if the two powers were not prepared to act immediately, some other neutral nations might

(³⁵) William S. Lindsay (1816-1877), armateur et homme politique; propriétaire d'un énorme système de constructions navales. M.P. du Sunderland. Se fit le défenseur des intérêts commerciaux et maritimes. Voir *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XI, p. 1195-1196. Il fut un des plus actifs sympathisants des Etats du Sud et agit à diverses reprises, en liaison avec les agents diplomatiques confédérés, auprès de l'Empereur. Avec son collègue Roebuck, il déposa au Parlement une motion demandant la reconnaissance des Etats du Sud, motion qui fut retirée le 13 juillet 1863 à la demande de Palmerston. Sur la mission de Lindsay en France en avril 1862, voir F. L. OWSLEY, *King Cotton Diplomacy...*, p. 273-276.

take the initiative, and that being thus taken, France and England might invoke the example and follow it. He named especially Spain and Belgium, but the Emperor replied that he did not think Spain would be willing to assume the responsibility of putting herself in the breach, and that as to Belgium, England was the proper power to make the suggestion. Mr. L. then went on to say that not only the interests of Europe required the war to be put an end to, but that every principle of humanity demanded prompt intervention to stop so dreadful an effusion of blood and the mutual exhaustion of both parties; that everybody who knew anything of the feeling of hostility between the two sections was convinced that the Union could not be restored and that even if the South were overrun she could never be subjugated...

(le reste du mémorandum concerne l'échange de vue entre l'Empereur et Lindsay sur la reconnaissance du Sud. Lindsay fut chargé par le Souverain français de contacter Palmerston et Russell d'une part, Lord Derby et Disraeli de l'autre)

41. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 61 - Bruxelles,
17 avril 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

La crise cotonnière est grave à Gand. Sanford recommande l'ouverture d'un port pour l'exportation de coton.

...I had already given the subject of armor plates for vessels of war some attention. None have yet been made in this country, and the Government has given no special attention to the subject. I can therefore furnish to you no information as to tests, etc... The best are undoubtedly manufactured in France, and this country (Belgium) will soon be in a condition to furnish them of its superior iron.

There is a great deal of suffering among the working classes of Ghent (which is the principal cotton manufacturing centre of Belgium) owing to the scarcity and high price of cotton. Various measures are taken by Govt. to come in aid to their distress. It does not however excite the apprehension which is entertained in France, where I doubt not, the effects of our war weigh more heavily than in any other country.

It is greatly to be desired that, at the very earliest practicable moment, at least one of the cotton ports be opened to its export. The effect of such a measure as showing that we appreciate and would relieve the difficulties which our war caused in the affairs of friendly states, would be of favorable influence in our relations with these and I can hardly believe, if any power could be found to take exceptions, in view of its commerce being restricted in some details by the exigencies of war; but that all would be satisfied with these temporary measures of relief...

42. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - confidentiel -
Bruxelles, 29 avril 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

Sanford signale l'arrivée à Bruxelles de Mann et de son fils et leurs contacts avec Mrs. Fair. Rogier lui a affirmé qu'il ne recevrait pas l'émissaire sudiste. La situation économique s'améliore, mais la presse hostile rejette sur les Etats-Unis la responsabilité de la crise.

Sir : One of the rebel emissaries, Mr. A. Dudley Mann, is here with his son, and proposes, I am told, taking up his residence here for an indefinite period. I am sorry to say that Mrs. Fair, who leaves to-day, expecting, under your permission, to go home in the "Great Eastern", has been in very frequent communication with him, notwithstanding the assurance conveyed in her letter asking that permission. While I do not consider this association will lead to any communication of importance to the rebels (for Mr. Mann's power to do or know much is trifling) I deem it a duty under the circumstances, to mention the fact.

M. Rogier, of whom I made the enquiry yesterday, said Mr. Mann had made no advances of any nature to him, and if he did, would receive no encouragement from him.

The attempt is again made through the press, to inspire the public with uneasiness touching a possible long continuance of the war and consequent increased distress among the people. In the present temper of the public mind, the only reply to be made to these sinister attacks — which are particularly conspicuous in France in

the "Patrie", the "Pays", and the "Constitutionnel", all supposed to be "*inspired*" by the Government ⁽³⁶⁾ — is by events.

If success attends our arms at Yorktown, Corinth and New Orleans, the certainty of a speedy termination of the war will be impressed upon the public and our opponents will be silenced; if we should meet with reverses at any of those points, they will be used with great effect in impressing the public mind — impatient with the sufferings caused by the rebellion — with the necessity of some step to put a term to the general distress ascribed to the war, and which, of course, points to intervention in some form.

I am happy to state that commerce with the United States is reviving and that some of the manufacturing interests which had most suffered from the paralyzing influence of the war, are already improving in consequence.

The King is still suffering but his condition seems to inspire no serious alarm. At his advanced age, the slightest indisposition is naturally a cause of apprehension. I have, etc...

43. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 62 - Bruxelles, 1^{er} mai 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

Les rumeurs d'une intervention européenne trouvent leur origine dans la crise cotonnière. A Gand, il n'y a plus d'approvisionnements que pour quinze jours. Le Gouvernement fédéral devrait faire quelque chose.

...The rumors of an intervention by France and England and perhaps other powers, in furtherance of the establishment of peace in the United States, are greatly occupying the public mind; — the articles — evidently concerted — in the semi-official press of these two countries, are causing very general comment.

I have already expressed my views on this subject in previous confidential communications. I have not yet changed my opinion that

⁽³⁶⁾ Sur l'attitude de ces journaux, voir F. L. OWSLEY, *op cit, passim*; W. R. WEST, *Contemporary French Opinion on the Civil War*, John Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1924; L. M. CASE, *French Opinion on the United States and Mexico 1860-1867*, in-8°, New York, 1936.

the alarms of France in view of a threatened exhaustion of the stock of cotton, and the jealousy of England, willing to profit of, and trade upon these alarms, and the distress among the industrial classes, in favor of a blow at the Union will have any other practical form, for the present at least, than words.

The distress in Ghent, the cotton manufacturing town of this country, is very great, and public and private charity throughout the country are enlisted in favour of the unemployed workmen. The supply of cotton in Belgium I am informed from authentic sources, is only sufficient for fifteen days. I again repeat, that it is a matter of the highest expediency that we open a cotton port to the export of that staple at an early moment...

44. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - confidentiel -
Bruxelles, 12 mai 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 5.

Sanford a versé 6.000 francs à l'Indépendance Belge pour publier des articles traduits de l'anglais. S'étant ainsi assuré un organe de presse, il y fera collaborer ses amis Bigelow et Beckwith. Il demande l'aide du Département d'Etat pour leur fournir des informations.

Sir : I enclose herewith account to date of expenses and disbursements on account of Secret Service. The payment of 6.000 francs is for expenses incidental to labor translations, etc... touching our affairs in the Indépendance Belge. I have arranged for a place there and have asked Mr. Bigelow ⁽³⁷⁾ and Mr. Beckwith ⁽³⁸⁾ in Paris to

⁽³⁷⁾ John Bigelow (1817-1911), diplomate et journaliste. Editeur de l'*Evening Post* de New York de 1848 à 1861, il y mena campagne pour l'abolition de l'esclavage et le libre-échange. Nommé Consul-Général à Paris en 1861, il s'y distingua par une intense activité de propagande et de surveillance des entreprises des Confédérés. En liaison avec Sanford, son rôle fut déterminant dans l'échec de la construction de navires pour le Sud en France en 1864. Sa brochure de propagande, *Les Etats-Unis en 1863*, fut largement diffusée. Il succéda à W. Dayton comme Ministre des Etats-Unis à Paris de 1865 à la fin de 1866. Il fut représentant des Etats-Unis à l'Exposition de Bruxelles en 1888. Il a laissé de très intéressants souvenirs, *Retrospections of an active life*, 5 volumes in-8°, New York, 1909-1913. Sur Bigelow, voir l'excellente biographie de Margaret CLAPP, *Forgotten First Citizen : John Bigelow*, in-8°, Boston, 1947 et *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 2, p. 258-259.

⁽³⁸⁾ Nelson M. Beckwith était un riche Américain établi à Paris. Pendant la Guerre Civile, il collabora avec Bigelow et Sanford dans leurs missions de propagande et de surveillance. Voir Sanford Papers, box 115, liasses 4-7.

keep it occupied. We have now a pulpit to preach from which reaches a large audience and I consider it a very important gain.

If Mr. Baker ⁽³⁹⁾ or some one in your confidence would make up each week some authentic details of facts and views for Mr. Bigelow, which he could use for the *Independance* it would be very useful. Very, etc...

45. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 10 - Bruxelles,
13 Mai 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann rapporte son entretien avec Charles Rogier le 12 mai : Rogier se montre très inquiet des conséquences économiques de la guerre et particulièrement de la crise cotonnière gantoise, affirmant à Mann que la Belgique ne sera pas le dernier Etat à reconnaître le Sud. Mann dresse un tableau de la situation politique et économique en Europe et espère en l'intervention du Roi Léopold.

Sir : Yesterday I had an interesting interview of an hour and a quarter's duration with Mr. Rogier, the minister of foreign affairs of Belgium. From its commencement to its end, he manifested an earnest disposition to familiarize himself with the nature of the considerations which influenced the Confederate States of secede from the Union; to ascertain their constitutional right to do so; and to inform himself whether there was a chance, however remote, for a reunion. I gave him a succinct history of the wrongs to which those States had been subjected while they constituted a portion of the United States; explained the peculiar character of the national system adopted by the fathers in 1787 and the sovereignty of the States by which for certain purposes it was created; and solemnly assured him, adducing the overpowering evidence that I had in my profession that it was not within the range of earthly possibilities that the Confederate States could ever suffer themselves to be so dishonored as to accept of a central government of which the Northern States were to be a party.

⁽³⁹⁾ Il s'agit sans doute de George E. Baker qui servit sous Seward comme fonctionnaire au Département d'Etat. Voir Sanford Papers, box 96, liasse 3 et W. H. SEWARD, *The Diplomatic History of the War for the Union*, in-8°, Boston, 1884, qui fut éditée par George E. Baker.

After I had concluded my statements and remarks Mr. Rogier, in substance, observed : "That the condition of affairs in western Europe, resulting from the state of continued hostilities in America, was becoming painfully serious; that something would have to be done very soon of a reliable nature for the amelioration of the distress of the industrial classes; that Belgium was positively paralyzed by the want of an adequate supply of raw cotton; that she was not a power to make her voice heard through her sword; that she had, however, as large interests involved, proportionately, as though she were such a power; that as she had no navy she could not, were she so inclined, take the initiative in proposing a disregard of the blockade, whatever her sufferings; but that she would certainly not be the last European State to recognize our independence.

The manner of Mr. Rogier was cordial. It was that of an honest man, in eager pursuit of truth. He listened well — he conversed wisely. I was sensibly struck with the contrast between himself and Earl Russell in this regard. He was as composed throughout as if he were reposing upon eiderdown. The Earl, on the contrary, was as restless as if he had been seated on a cushion of thorns. The former, in the interests of right, seemed willing to be convinced. The latter, in the interests of long-cherished prejudices, perhaps, seemed determined not to be convinced. The temperature of the one compared with the other was that of the volcano to the iceberg. And here, I will take occasion to place my impression upon record, in order that history may not be falsified in this particular, that our country has had no more harmful enemy, no more unrelenting persecutor among the distinguished officials of Europe than her Majesty's present principal secretary of state for foreign affairs. To Lord Palmerston, the foremost statesman "of all this world," is attributable our recognition as a belligerent, and the degrading humiliation of the North in the affair of the *Trent*. His judgment and will overruled, in both cases, most of those, subordinate to him in position. The noble spirits of the Army — the noble spirits of the Navy, — aye, and the noble spirits of the British public rallied around him more devotedly than ever, for that which timid hearts pronounced rash temerity.

To return to Belgium — the Government does not misconceive or underestimate the difficulty of the industrial situation. Mr. Rogier avowed that it was a puzzling question. I can not better illustrate its gravity than by an introduction of the following paragraphs contained in the Journal of Ghent of yesterday :

We are informed that the minister of the interior has just submitted of the examination of a committee composed of professors of the Veterinary College, the proposition of Mr. Van Haeken, Government veterinary surgeon at Oostaker Saint Amand (near Ghent), relative to the use to be made of the flesh of cattle killed in consequence of a disease called exsudative pleuropneumonia.

If, as we have every reason to hope, this proposition should be adopted, it will be possible to provide our unfortunate operatives, now thrown out of employment, with nutritious food, and thus partly attenuate the disastrous consequences of the manufacturing crisis to which we are subjected by the American war.

I may safely say that there are 25,000 operatives ordinarily engaged in the manufacture of cotton goods, in one way or another, now utterly unemployed in this Kingdom, while all other pursuits are in a languishing condition. In the great port of Antwerp there are at this time but 200 bales of cotton wool. The destitute have no other sources upon which to rely for daily bread than public and private contributions. These will soon fail, and then ? Alas ! echo responds enquiringly, "And then ?" Shall it be actual starvation ? The meat of the diseased cattle may even be exhausted soon. Nor is the condition of Holland, the States of the Zolleverein, and Switzerland considerably better than that of afflicted Belgium. Most of the spindles in each of those countries, amounting to nearly two millions in the aggregate, are as good, for all profitable purposes, as at a dead standstill. France has lived less from hand to mouth in obtaining supplies than her continental neighbors, and therefore is less depressed; still the Emperor is grievously concerned for the near at hand future. He remembers the favorite saying of his uncle "C'est le ventre qui gouverne le monde," and is understood to be busily engaged in trying to arrange a satisfactory plan to afford ample nourishment to his ouvriers. Even Great Britain begins distinctly to perceive that it was a mistaken policy not to have commenced earlier to trim her sails properly for the threatening storm. The wailings of Lancashire are beginning to make themselves heard in high places. According to the last report from Manchester it appears that of 1,678 mills 278 are wholly stopped, 497 are working full time, and the remainder are working two to five days per week. Of 349,316 operatives formerly employed in those mills, 57,861 are wholly out of employment, 9,411 are working two days per week, 13,416 are working 2 1/2 days, 73,611 are working three days,

18,853 are working 3 1/2 days, 70,342 are working four days, 13,467 are working five days, and 92,355 are working full time. Thus, the amount of work is about equal to full employment for 207,800 operatives. The production of these mills is about 40 per cent less than it was when there was full employment, and 30 to 33 per cent less than in January.

I am quite free to confess that I did believe, when war was declared against us, that all that is now transpiring in western Europe, with respect to the want of a supply of cotton wool, would have developed itself in November or December. But artifices, unworthy of those who employed them, were resorted to, in order to postpone the dreaded hour, come though it might with a hundred-fold more force. There was a sort of cotton exchange at Liverpool, and at other places wherever there was a bale on speculation, at which dealings in the article were not dissimilar to those in stocks. Instead of being operated in as an article of necessity, it was operated in as an article of fancy.

At length our cotton fields are silently asserting the supremacy, which they modestly claimed in the rule of the affairs of civilization — a little late perhaps for the good of all concerned, but not too late to evince their overpowering strength. To this supremacy I have carefully avoided adverting in my intercourse with Europeans, notwithstanding my knowledge of its certain existence. Conscious of its inflexibility and invincibility I conceived that I could well afford to forbear assuming an attitude that might submit me to a classification with those representatives who are vainglorious of their country.

King Leopold has been so severe a sufferer from disease, for three or four months, as to be prevented from taking an active interest in State affairs. For two or three days last week his life was almost despaired of. Since then an improvement in his condition has taken place, and hopes are now entertained that his restoration to good health will be speedy and complete. I sincerely wish that this may be the case, for he is among the best of European sovereigns and men, an ornament to the throne upon which he sits.

I indulge the belief that his friendly counsels will be employed, as soon as he is convalescent, to influence adjacent potentates to take effective steps for opening the way for an adequate supply to western Europe of our great staple. To accomplish such a result is the first desire of my heart. I have, etc...

46. M. LEVISON ⁽⁴⁰⁾ à W. H. SEWARD - Gand,
21 mai 1862 - N.A., St.D., Consulates, GHENT, vol. 1.

Levison dresse un tableau de la situation de l'industrie cotonnière gantoise et de la classe ouvrière à la suite de la crise. Les vœux de la population vont à une victoire du Nord.

...The afflictive political troubles in the U.S. induce me to give some information respecting the effect produced by the same on our cotton manufacturing city; it may however be necessary to add that a more than usual production of manufacture during the latter years may perhaps in some measure have increased the crisis.

I calculate the total consumption of cotton in Belgium to be, in regular times, of about 14 millions kgs say 30 millions pounds weight in which Ghent alone shares for more than 25 millions about two thirds of which is American, the remainder East-Indian.

This year, from all I can hear, the consumption will be reduced to about half, with a reserve proper as to American and East-Indian; the enormous rise of prices of the raw material and a very limited sales of yarns and goods command a great reserve to our manufactures. The greatest part of which work short time; a few have ceased altogether and several have lately declared not to be intended to continue beyond this actual stock of cotton.

The immediate results of this sad state of affairs is a very distressed situation of the working class in this city. Public charity has done much and is still doing very actively in order to assist the sufferers. A committee of merchants and manufacturers, of which I am a member, have instituted themselves spontaneously since about two months in order to raise and to distribute funds; they are operating very regularly and more than 3000 families (the number is still increasing) receive a weekly assistance, consisting of bread, rice, coals and a few money. This assistance, for each of these families is calculated proportionally to what still may be earned by the different members of the same.

I feel great pleasure to state that the late numerous successes

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Marinus Levison devint Consul à Gand à la fin d'octobre 1861 en remplacement de Robert Livingston, considéré par Sanford comme un partisan du Sud. Il occupa ce poste jusqu'en 1867. (Sanford à Seward - n° 35 - Bruxelles, 31 octobre 1861 - N.A. St. D., Belgium, vol. 5; A.M.A.E., Dossier Personnel 1462 - Agents américains en Belgique).

of the Federal forces, struggling for a cause as just as humane have been witnessed here with general sympathy, a quick restoration of peace is now eagerly anticipated, and will be hailed with a feeling as enthusiast as if it were a national victory...

47. A. D. MANN à Ch. ROGIER - Bruxelles, 29 mai 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann énumère les droits du Sud à l'indépendance et à la reconnaissance formelle, qui découlent de son droit de sécession. Celui-ci découle du principe fondamental de la souveraineté des Etats. La politique sectionnelle du Nord et l'influence radicale de l'immigration ont hâté la rupture de l'Union. Les intérêts commerciaux et manufacturiers de l'Europe sont du côté des Etats Confédérés. Le Nord monopolise le coton mais les planteurs du Sud sont tout disposés à livrer à l'Europe le coton disponible et à prendre en retour des articles de manufactures européennes, pour autant que les puissances fassent lever le blocus des ports sudistes. La neutralité proclamée par certains Etats réclame, non seulement la reconnaissance des droits de belligérance des Confédérés, mais leur traitement sur un pied égal à celui des Etats-Unis, c'est-à-dire la reconnaissance, d'autant plus qu'une reconstruction de l'Union est désormais impossible.

The undersigned, accredited commissioner plenipotentiary of the Confederate States of America to the Government of His Majesty the King of the Belgians, conceived it to be his duty, in obedience to the trusts confided to him, to present, for the consideration of his Excellency, Mr. Rogier, minister of foreign affairs, a written statement of the claims of his country to a formal and full recognition as an independent Republic by enlightened powers and States.

Te 13 Colonies which declared their independence of the British Crown on the 4th of July, 1776, in Congress assembled, were named Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. They were at first styled the United Colonies and issued commissions as such to military commanders and others, but after a lapse of three months they

adopted the designation of United States. Under this title they prosecuted the war to a favorable termination.

In the treaty of peace with Great Britain, which was signed in the year 1783, each, by her name, was recognized as a free, sovereign, and independent State. During the war they had entered into articles of confederation, but the strong tie which united them was common interest, proceeding from common danger. Those articles did not operate satisfactorily to all the States, inasmuch as the central authority was not effectually vested with the power of making war, concluding peace, negotiating treaties, and regulating commerce.

In 1787 a convention of the States met for the purpose of amending the Articles of Confederation in such manner as to attain this desirable end. It was deemed advisable, however, by the members of that body to supersede them entirely by a Constitution. This was as difficult an undertaking as ever engaged the deliberations of statesmen, and must have signally failed but for the spirit of conciliation and compromise which predominated with the members to harmonize diversified and conflicting interests, both sectional and material.

Washington, the President of the convention, in his letter dated September 17, 1787, in submitting the Constitution to the States for their ratification emphatically so stated. He said, "The Constitution which we now present is the result of a spirit of amity and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable. That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every State is not perhaps to be expected; but each will doubtless consider that had her interest alone been consulted the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others. That it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe, that it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish."

By the provisions of the Constitution the sovereign States were required to delegate authority to the Union for specific purposes (they reserving to themselves all powers not therein granted), while the Union obligated itself to protect them in the rights which they respectively enjoyed. With this distinct understanding it received the sanction of 12 States. Some of them accepted it joyfully; others, fearing its ultimate encroachment upon their cherished rights, with

hesitation. For instance, the convention of Massachusetts, consisting of 355 members, ratified it by a majority of only 19. The convention of New Hampshire, consisting of 103 members, ratified it by a majority of 11. Rhode Island even declined to call a convention for its ratification, thus rejecting it altogether. Afterwards, however, she concluded to come into the Union. The convention of Connecticut, consisting of 168 members, ratified it by a majority of 88. The convention of New York, consisting of 55 members, ratified it by a majority of 5. The convention of New Jersey ratified it unanimously. The convention of Pennsylvania, consisting of 69 members, ratified it by a majority of 23. The convention of Delaware ratified it unanimously. The convention of Maryland, consisting of 74 members, contained 27 who were opposed to it but who yielded their objections in consequence of proposed amendment, which were passed by a vote of 66 to 7.

The convention of Virginia, consisting of 168 members, ratified it upon certain expressed conditions by a majority of 11. The convention of North Carolina, consisting of 268 members, refused by a vote of 184 to 84 to ratify it until it should be amended. The convention of South Carolina, consisting of 222 members, ratified it by a majority of 76. The convention of Georgia ratified it unanimously.

Thus legalized, the Constitution commenced its perfected existence by the inauguration of Washington as President of the United States on the 4th day of March, 1789. There were within the bounds of the Union at that time about 3,000,000 inhabitants. The Pater Patriae served two terms of four years each (chose, both times without opposition) to the general satisfaction of the country. The opponents to the ratification of the Constitution had, for the most part, dismissed their fears before his retirement with respect to the unfavorable workings of that instrument, and the Union was admitted to be in successful progress.

On the 4th of March, 1797, Adams succeeded Washington in the Presidential office. It soon became apparent that his administration was hostile to the sovereignty of the States — tending toward consolidation. During the summer of 1798 two acts were passed, the alien law and the sedition law, which palpably violated the provisions of the Constitution. This led to the creation of the two great American parties, State Rights and Federal.

Jefferson was recognized as the leader of the former, Adams as the leader of the latter. In discussing, shortly after the passage of

the laws referred to, the question of the encroachments of the General Government upon the rights of the States, Jefferson made this significant declaration : "The Separation of the States would be one of the greatest calamities, but not the greatest. Consolidation would be still greater." In the ensuing election in the autumn of 1800 he was chosen President by an overwhelming majority of votes over Adams. The obnoxious laws were repealed, and the Federal Party never recovered from the blow which it then received.

In about two years after he was inducted into office Jefferson purchased from Napoleon the slave Territory of Louisiana, with the approbation of the most prominent statesmen of the North. Scarcely an adverse voice was raised in the Union to its acquisition on account of its being a slave possession.

Jefferson's second term expired on the 4th of March, 1809. His Administration realized the highest expectations of his friends. The infant Republic was admitted on all sides to be eminently prosperous and the peoples of the States well contented. Madison, the Secretary of State (Minister of Foreign Affairs) during both his terms, succeeded him. In the third year of Madison's first term the United States declared war against Great Britain. The Federalists generally arrayed themselves against this measure, those of the New England States, led by Massachusetts, vehemently so. On the 15th December, 1814, then regarded as the most critical period of the War, representatives from those States met in convention at Hartford to concert plans for arresting the prosecution of hostilities, and if they failed in their purpose they broadly intimated that they would proceed to withdraw from the Union. This was the initial step of secession, but the procedure was abandoned by the signing at that very time by the commissioners at Ghent of the articles of peace.

On the 4th of March, 1817, Madison's second term expired. The country was then rapidly recovering from the effects of the war, and the Constitution was stronger than ever in the affections of the States and their citizens. Those who had at first most opposed it were now its warmest advocates. Jefferson and Madison had carefully restricted it to its proper orbit.

Monroe, a member of the Cabinet of Madison, having served alternately as Secretary of War and State, had been triumphantly elected President, as were his predecessors, and entered upon the duties of his office on the 4th of March, 1817. In the third year of his term Missouri, created from a portion of the vast domain pur-

chased from France, presented her constitution to Congress and asked for admittance into the Union. Her application was resolutely resisted by the North on the ground that she desired to enter as a slave State. From the day that Washington became President to the time that Missouri presented herself 9 new States had been admitted into the Union, 5 slave holding and 4 nonslave holding, and no question was ever asked whether they came in upon the side of the South or the side of the North. It was an usurpation of power on the part of Congress to raise any question upon the subject, directly opposed to the letter and spirit of the Constitution. The only rightful authority that the General Government could exercise in this regard was to see that each State maintained a republican form of government, thus prohibiting monarchical rule within the limits of the United States. This was carefully provided for in the Constitution. The North therefore is wholly responsible for the introduction of the sectional issue into the councils of the Union. Missouri, after a delay of 12 months and after a long and agry debate, came in without any change in her constitution, but in the fact admitting her there was a restriction that no more slave States should be created out of the territory north of the Missouri line. The South yielded to the enactment of this unconstitutional restriction rather than divide the Union, which otherwise could not have been prevented. It was one of those deplorable blunders on her part which countries sometimes commit for the sake of peace. The South acquiescing gracefully in the wrong which the North had so flagrantly inflicted upon her, the slavery agitation was temporarily hushed into comparative silence. It is but right to remark that 33 years afterwards this restriction was repealed upon the proposition of Douglas, a Northern aspirant for the Presidency, and subsequently it was incidently pronounced by the Supreme Court of the Union a violation of the Constitution.

The North relying upon the strength which she displayed in the enactment of the Missouri restriction, sought as early an opportunity as was considered appropriate to reassert her supremacy in the management of the future of the Union. In 1824 she passed a protective tariff by which the revenue for the support of the Government was to be exacted to a great extent from the South, avowedly for the benefit of Northern manufacturers. The South submitting to it unwillingly but without manifesting an intention to resist it, by availing of her reserved rights, the North in 1828 amended it, increasing the duties, so as to make its provisions almost insupportable to the

South. More than 100 per cent duty was exacted upon many articles that were of positive necessity for the consumption of the planters. South Carolina determined, after bearing for several years the burdens which it imposed upon her, to nullify this act of Congress which so palpably conflicted with the Constitution. After deciding that it should no longer be effective within her jurisdiction, a compromise was agreed to by the terms of which the difficulty was peacefully and, as we confidently believed, definitively adjusted. The North, however, did not observe this settlement in good faith. In 1842 she availed herself of the straitened financial condition of the Government to secure that which was designated incidental protection to her manufacturers. Pennsylvania was immoderate in her demands upon the South, as long as the Union lasted, for protection to her iron and coal interests. In fact, the Morrill tariff was an exemplification of the want of integrity of the North in its observance of the provisions of the Constitution. A lower scale of public morality was never manifested than she manifested in this regard. She was as faithless to her constitutional engagements as she was sordid in her political motives.

Sufficient causes have perhaps already been adduced to satisfy Mr. Rogier that for many years before the separation a cordial good understanding had ceased to exist between the two sections of the Union. He will have seen that they stood in the relation of the inflated oppressor to the forbearing oppressed; that practically they had no longer any interests in common; that the Union was cruelly one-sided in its operations, taking the money unjustly out of the pockets of the weaker section (numerically) for the aggrandizement of the stronger. But the citizens of the South submitted to this treatment with a meekness that would have caused their fathers of the Revolution, had they been living, to look with astonishment upon their forbearance.

The North, however, intoxicated with her prosperity, derived mainly from her profits upon the products of the Southern fields, and vainglorious of her rapidly growing power in the scale of the Union, undertook in her fancied majesty to set herself up above the Constitution by proclaiming a higher law than established law. By Article IV, section 11, of the Constitution it was provided that "No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof escaping into another shall in consequence of any law or regulation be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up

on the claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." This was one of the "concessions" to the South upon which Washington insisted, and without which assuredly the Constitution would not have received his approval or that of a single Southern State. In conformity with it an act passed Congress in 1797, providing for the manner in which the delivery should be made. As this act was somewhat defective and but indifferently enforced, it was amended in 1850 so as to more fully meet the requirements of the Constitution. It was approved, as amended, by Fillmore, a Northern President, and went immediately into force. Several of the Northern States, at least half their number, expressed at once their determination to resist the execution of its provisions within their respective sovereignties, and they legislated accordingly. Consequently, as far as they were concerned, it was rendered inoperative. This was acknowledged to be in utter disregard of the Constitution and the laws of the land; but it was justified by the malcontents upon the principle that there was a higher law than written law — the law of popular will or popular passion.

Reveling with delight in her second triumph over the South, and the Constitution, and the laws made in conformity with its provisions, the North now openly declared, through her recognized champion, that there was an "irrepressible conflict between the two divisions of the Union and that the feebler must succumb to the stronger." In pursuance of this policy she nominated and elected her candidate for the Presidency. Every Northern State voted for him; every Southern State voted against him. As soon as the result of the election was known the Southern States had no alternative but to resume their sovereign rights and secede from a Union the control of which was in the hands of those who would employ it for their immediate ruin. They acted promptly and resolutely. Animated by the principles involved in a cause dearer to them than life itself, they did not pause to calculate consequences. The most dire of calamities was preferable to acquiescence.

Nor was the immigrant population from Europe without its influence in hastening a division of the Union. This immigration sometimes amounted to nearly 500,000 persons per annum, who located themselves almost entirely in the Northern States. They were generally controlled by demagogues and entertained notions of public liberty which bordered upon socialism. Upon this subject most of them were as wild as the wildest French theorists. But few of

the Germans, who constituted the larger portion, could read the Constitution and the laws, not understanding the language in which they were printed. Even the most intelligent among them were ready dupes to inveterate knaves. Those knaves were actuated by a lust for office and aimed at a universal freedom in America that would eventually react upon the monarchies of Europe, through the auspices of the Government of the United States. It is no exaggeration to say that four-fifths of the naturalized voters espoused the higher law doctrine and gave their support to the cause of the "irrepressible conflict" agitators.

Strictly so to speak the Constitution was a solemn compact entered into between sovereign States. Its author, Madison, denominated it a compact. It was so denominated by many of his contemporaries. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and North Carolina, in their State capacity, used this term.

The former, in her ratification of it, employed the following language: "Acknowledging with grateful hearts the goodness of the Supreme Ruler of the universe, in affording the people of the United States, in the course of His Providence, an opportunity deliberately and peaceably without fraud or surprise of entering into an explicit and solemn compact with each other," etc. Now, Massachusetts was among the first, if not the very first, of the States of deliberately and wantonly violate the compact. She did so with malice aforethought in refusing to comply with the conditions imposed upon her by the Constitution and by the law for the surrender of fugitive slaves. A compact is an agreement, a contract between parties. In this very connection Webster, the ablest statesman and lawyer of the North of his time, remarked that "A contract broken on one side was a contract broken on all sides," and that the Constitution was the "bond and only bond of Union."

As the Union, through the sinister machinations of the North, was false to the principles in which it had its origin, assuming powers which had not been delegated and failing to comply with the obligations which it had assumed, it was quite natural that it should become hateful to the States which it had, incidentally, wronged. Therefore the interest as well as the honor of those States, in fact their sovereign existence, demanded that they should separate from it everlastingly. Their right to do so, according to the terms of the compact, was clear and unquestionable. Their duty under the attendant circumstances was equally distinct. Hence the procedure had

nothing in its character that was revolutionary. It was merely a self-preserving exercise of legitimate authority.

In a practical sense there was never such a person to be found as a citizen of the United States. The population of the Union consisted of the citizens of the different States. No citizen owed any allegiance beyond that which was due to the State wherein he resided. Each State had its own code of laws. In one the civil law of Rome was observed, in another the common law of England. In one a certain amount of property was necessary to a citizen before he could enjoy the privilege of voting. In another suffrage was universal. A citizen of Virginia was no better entitled to a vote in Massachusetts than he would have been in Belgium. In some of the States a residence of two years was required. In others a residence of one year was sufficient. In about half the States the voting was by ballot. In the other half *viva voce*. In most of the States aliens were permitted to own real estate. In several this privilege was denied them. Then, again, the very life of the Union was dependent upon the States. It never could have had an existence if they had declined to pass enabling acts for its benefit. The repeal of those acts would have caused its immediate expiration. It could not of itself elect a President, a Vice President, a Senator, or a Representative. All those functionaries were chosen in conformity with State laws. The General Government determined every 10 years what the ratio of representation should be in the popular branch of Congress. All the rest was left to the States.

In reality the United States constituted nothing more than a Commonwealth of Republics. The individual States were represented in a central government by two Senators or ambassadors. Those they appointed, in their sovereign character, to serve six years, two years longer than the Presidential term. New York, with her population of 4,000,000 inhabitants, was entitled to no more consideration in the Senate than was Florida, with her population of 75,000. Their relative position in this respect was not dissimilar to that of Russia and Belgium, near the Court of St. James. And it is deserving of remark that the smaller States, in the aggregate, always displayed a greater amount of judicious statesmanship than the larger.

Wisely did an eminent civilian of Pennsylvania state in 1848 in an official document: "It will, I think, be seriously doubted by every philosophical observer of the workings of our institutions whether, if the State governments were abolished a central Republican Go-

vernment could long be maintained, even in this country. These State governments are the citadels of liberty and the watchful guardians of the rights of the people against the encroachments of Federal power. Even if it were possible that the Federal Government could by any sudden convulsion be overthrown, the State Governments would still remain in full force and vigor, affording protection to the lives, the liberty, and the property of their citizens. These sovereignties are the main pillars in the political edifice, and whilst they stand firm the General Government, which is a constitutional emanation from them, can not be seriously shaken." The opinions and views thus expressed were those of the then Administration, and were accepted by the democracy as well of the North as of the South.

Like other agreements entered into, the strength of the Constitution consisted in the good intent of the covenanting parties. If the parties to such an agreement are faithless to their engagements, the majority of the number defrauding the minority, the instrument is as valueless as the paper upon which it is written. Monarchies can rightfully enforce obedience upon their subjects. The United States never dared to claim one of the States as a subject, nor as a dependency of any kind. Such an attempt would have been the attempt of the created to control the creator.

In the convention which prepared the Constitution efforts were repeatedly made by several members who were favorable to a strong central government, and to ultimate consolidation, to provide for the coercion of a State which might undertake to secede, but they naturally proved utterly unavailing. It was almost unanimously admitted that no such power could be employed without striking a death blow at State sovereignty, upon which exclusively the American system rested. Both Lincoln and Seward have declared that coercion would be a despotic procedure, incompatible with Republican institutions. At one time or another it has been so declared by many of the leading statesmen of the North, as well as by public political conventions. Why, then, it may be asked, were those declarations so glaringly falsified? There is a ready answer for such an enquiry. The Lincoln Administration desired security in its position; the capitalists desired security in their investments; the merchants and manufacturers desired security in their profitable customers; the mob leaders desired military glory. All desired the political and commercial vassalage of the Confederate States. Of all the motives which prevailed, love of country

was the least influential. Coercion was in direct antagonism to the existence of such love.

The number of the Confederate States is already as large as was that of the original United States, while they contain more than three times as many inhabitants and more than three times as much territory. General Davis was elected their first President with as much unanimity, in proportion to population, as was General Washington elected first President of the United States.

Davis has been denounced by the North as a rebel just as Washington was denounced by Great Britain as a rebel. There are but few English statesmen of the present generation who will not admit that Washington dignified the so intended opprobrious epithet, and that the revolution of which he was the embodiment was essential to the good of human kind. Washington arrayed himself uncompromisingly against the Government to which he owed allegiance. Davis, on the contrary, was scrupulously faithful to the only Government to which allegiance was due from him, adhering devotedly to the Sovereign State of which he was a citizen, and acting in strict obedience to her expressed sovereign wishes. Had he behaved otherwise he would have been worse than a rebel, he would have been a traitor. Great Britain had the undoubted legal right to impose upon her colonies the taxes against which they rebelled. The United States had not so much as the shadow of a legal right to commit the enormities against the Confederate States which caused them to secede. But if they had exercised an undoubted legal right, resistance to such wrongs, wherever properly understood, would have found a justification even in the minds of statesmen most opposed to revolution. Franklin went so far as to say, that "Rebellion against tyrants in obedience to God." Even the ever-conservative Burke said: "Where there is abuse there ought to be clamor, because it is better to have slumber broken by the fire bell than to perish amid the flames in our bed." Upon this principle the Confederate States acted.

It is believed that there is not a solitary blood relation of Washington who is not cordially on the side of the South. The nearest and the inheritor of his estate, gallantly fell in the field while engaged in leading his troops to repel the advances of the Northern invader from the soil of his ancestors. In short, all the kinsmen of the illustrious Southern patriots of 1776 have their bosoms bared and their arms uplifted against the ruthless aggressors, nobly preferring honorable death to ignominious life.

The undersigned can not omit this occasion to state to Mr. Rogier, more explicitly than he has done, that the war which has been waged against them, upon a scale larger than ever was known in modern times by one belligerent against another, was not of the seeking or even just provoking of the Confederate States. As soon as those States established a Provisional Central Government, they dispatched commissioners to Washington to negotiate for a peaceful separation. They were prepared to allow a fair valuation for all the public property within and accept a similar valuation for all such in the North. The forts, navy yards, arsenals, and other public property, within those limits, were created for their protection and convenience. Not a dollar perhaps would ever have been appropriated from the Treasury of the United States for this purpose but for the application of their Senators and Representatives in Congress. In this respect, the North obtained more than two dollars to their one, and the cost of the works of the two sections was at the lowest in that proportion, while the South paid something like five-eighths of the whole amount, by the illegal and unjust system of revenue that was forced upon her. In capturing Fort Sumter, therefore, the Confederate States did not institute a state of belligerence. They merely possessed themselves of that which was in the limits of one of their number, and their own by the most valid of titles.

That the Confederate States have experienced serious reverses in the capitulation to their enemy of seaports and other valuable positions the undersigned unhesitatingly admits, but he can not admit that those reverses have occasioned the slightest dismay among his countrymen, as concerns ulterior results. They have not been without their uses in rendering dearer than ever the cause of the infant Confederation to its unwearied supporters. They have conclusively established the fact that the citizens of the Confederate States are ready to sacrifice their earnings in the face of staring indigence rather than that their foe should be even remotely benefited by the yeld of their fields. Men who are equal to such trials were not born to be conquered. This was illustrated by the Russians at Moscow, to say nothing of numerous other instances.

If hopes are indulged in the cotton-manufacturing districts of Europe that the raw material will find its way to them through ports occupied by the North, they will prove mournfully, perhaps ruinously, delusive. Were the planters so far forgetful of the obligations of patriotism as to send their crops to New Orleans, the North would con-

trive to monopolize them for her own manufactories, and in this manner endeavor to possess herself exclusively of the markets of the world, to the irreparable injury of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Switzerland, the Germanic States, and other countries whose inhabitants have been employed in this industrial pursuit.

The undersigned can freely assure Mr. Rogier that the planters would be but too happy to place every pound of their products, not absolutely needed for their own consumption, at the disposal of the peoples of Europe, and take in return for them, as far as might be wanted, articles of European manufacture; but they will never agree that one pound shall pass through a port other than that over which they have entire control — never ! They would deserve to be stigmatized as sham patriots all over the earth's surface if, for the sake of pecuniary gain, they would feed the foe that would rob them of their last crumb of bread and then apply the torch to their domiciles.

Five hundred millions of pounds of cotton would be in European ports by the 1st day of December if the blockade of their seaboard were immediately raised. It is for the rulers of western Europe, in the plenitude of their wisdom and power, to determine whether the accomplishment of this end will justify the means which it would be necessary to employ. They best understand the condition of their subjects and the material interests of their realms, and doubtless will act in accordance therewith.

The Confederate States have sustained themselves for nearly fourteen months against vastly superior numbers. They have within that time, notwithstanding the difficulties they had to encounter in procuring arms, ammunition, and other articles, brought into the field an army of at least 400,000 men where there was scarcely so much as the skeleton of an army before. In their struggle for the maintenance of their rights as independent sovereignties, four of which, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, were so acknowledged eighty years ago, they have sought no aid, physical or pecuniary, from any foreign country. They have now, as they had in the beginning, a confidence unshaken and unshakable that they are equal to the difficulties by which they are surrounded and embarrassed. Their power of endurance and resistance admits of no estimate that does not calculate complete success.

The most renowned publicists express their belief that it is easier to conquer than to hold. The severest of disasters which befell the great Napoleon resulted from a victorious march into a distant

country. Pestilence may be as fatal to the North in its occupation of a portion of the seaboard of the South as was cold and hunger to the conqueror of Europe.

The Governments of Europe promptly followed the example of Great Britain in avowing a relation of strict neutrality between the two American belligerents.

This relation, it is needless to remark, is obviously the correct one, for vigilant observance by neutrals towards belligerents. But it must be allowed that it does not anywhere exist as concerns the belligerents in question. It is notoriously one sided in its operations, since the Northern States may be heard officially through their accredited diplomatic agents while the Confederate States are debarred from the manifold advantages of this privilege. Neutrality, if it have any meaning internationally, means emphatically the placing of the belligerents upon a perfect equality in their intercourse with neutrals; that is to say, they must be treated precisely in all respects with the same consideration. Faithful history will record, as just contemporaries must confess, the odds with which the Confederate States would exert in her behalf, and hence her strenuous efforts, as seen in the published correspondence contained in the Blue Book of the British Government, with her diplomatic agents to commit the Governments of Europe, unconditionally, upon the subject.

The United States always acted upon the principle to recognize *de facto* Governments. This principle brought them occasionally into strange associations. The Emperor of all the Russias, His Holiness, and themselves were the only powers to recognize Dom Miguel of Portugal. They were prompt in acknowledging the independence of the South American colonies of Spain; the first to acknowledge the French Republic in 1848; the first to send a representative to recognize the Vicar of Germany in 1848; the first and only power to accredit a commissioner plenipotentiary to recognize the independence of Hungary in 1849. It certainly does not indicate a want of self-assurance on the part of the Lincoln government when it makes all manner of threays against such foreign Governments as may have (to use its language) the temerity to recognize the independence of the Confederate States.

With this explanatory statement it only remains to the undersigned to reassure Mr. Rogier that under no conceivable circumstances, in no possible contingency, can the old American Union ever be reconstructed. It may be safely affirmed that such reconstruction is

as far beyond human consummation as would be the reconstruction of the old Holy Roman Empire. A further dismemberment of the fragment which retains the name of the Union and in mockery administers its forms is infinitely more probable.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to express to his Excellency Mr. Rogier the assurances of his distinguished consideration.

(s) A. Dudley Mann

48. M. TALBOT à H. S. SANFORD - Bruxelles,
9 juin 1862 - S.P., 132/1.

Talbot, agent de Sanford, lui signale le départ de Mrs. Fair et ses relations avec Rogier. La "Légation sécessioniste" attire beaucoup d'attention et l'influence de Sanford sur l'Indépendance Belge fait l'objet de rumeurs.

Mr. Sanford : The King has been very low again but is now as much better that there is no more talk about his condition... [*concerne des amis américains de passage à Bruxelles*] ...Flemings are so well that they expected to spend to day in the Zoological garden, but it is raining. I think they expected to meet Mrs. Fair there. They also send many thanks for some kindness of your's but I have forgotten particulars. Mrs. Fair proposes going to-morrow with Berghmans, at least as far as England, perhaps to America. I think she will go no further than Isle of Wight, where Mrs. Fry has invited her. I had the distinguished honor of meeting her (by accident understand) at Flemings' on Friday night, where she said me the compliment of seeing "that I carried a guilty conscience for having written the insulting paper" of which I enclose a copy. The paper bears at least for you, evidence of the authorship. I advised the Judge not to send it. She threatens to leave it with Rogier. Rogier is much with her. The secesh "Legation" is more thriving, and is likely to become one of the institutions of Brussels, at least for this summer. "L'Indépendance" is attracting some attention by its Union proclivities, and it is said that you "doctored" it before you left. London Times is fiendish in its late subtle desperate attempts to continue English feelings

against us. Mr. Berghmans ⁽⁴¹⁾, Belgian Secretary of Legation at Washington, called to offer to attend to any commissions in Washington...

49. M. TALBOT à H. S. SANFORD - Bruxelles,
11 juin 1862 - S.P., 132/1.

Talbot rend compte à Sanford de sa démarche, avec Goodrich, auprès de Rogier à propos de la circulaire de Seward réclamant la non-ingérence des puissances européennes dans le conflit américain.

...A magnanimous call from Gov. Seward upon European Nations to withdraw all encouragement to the American rebellion arrived here day before yesterday. It came in the form of a regular despatch but I suppose similar ones have been sent to the other Legations. It ought to exert great influence in our favor but will not. The fact is England had determined that we shall break, and we shall yet have to fight her. It would have been better for us if she had made war when she acknowledged the South a "Belligerent".

The Judge and I went immediately to lay the despatch before M. Rogier — but he was away at Talleyrand's wedding. Yesterday we went again — were well received — Judge made a speech — Rogier said, we are small potatoes, why don't you talk to the big ones? — Judge paid a nice compliment in a very nice way, which was kindly received — Judge then said that Europe must change the tune before they could get any pay from our side of the water — Rogier asked: how about the tariff? — I talked — R. read the despatch — R. asked if we would submit to mediation — "No, Sir" — R. asked for a copy — moved us out — not rudely, but because other people were waiting to come in. I came home, made the copy and send it...

(le reste du rapport concerne le départ de Mrs. Fair pour Londres et des nouvelles de la vie sociale et des activités de la Cour et de la ville).

(41) Alfred Berghmans (1833-1872), Secrétaire puis chargé d'affaires à Washington pendant l'absence de Blondeel.

50. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 12 - Bruxelles,
13 juin 1862 - L. C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann se réjouit des bonnes dispositions du Gouvernement Belge et estime qu'en cas de décès du Roi, cette politique resterait inchangée. La proclamation de Butler à la Nouvelle-Orléans a indigné l'opinion publique. Il considère comme importante la publication d'un article du Times en faveur d'une médiation, par l'organe russe Le Nord de Bruxelles.

...I have satisfactory reasons for believing that Belgium will act simultaneously with the powers that shall first recognize us. King Leopold, I regret to state, is again in a precarious condition. There are renewed fears that his life will not long be spared. In the event of his death the policy of his Government will not probably be changed. It will be glory enough, perhaps, for his worthy son to walk in his footsteps.

Butler's infamous proclamation at New Orleans is universally execrated. Its author is regarded as the human monster, par excellence, of the age. A Government that can employ such instruments will soon cease to enjoy the friendship of civilized nations...

(Mann se livre à des comparaisons avec des faits de l'histoire américaine)

...The Times of yesterday contained a powerful leader upon the article of the Constitutionnel, without any reference to the basis of mediation, which will have a happy influence upon public sentiment in our behalf. Le Nord, the organ of Russia in western Europe, published here, reproduces it, translated into French, and conspicuously inserted in its edition of this afternoon. I send it herewith. This article will render our cause better service than all that our overzealous countrymen in Europe could write and publish over their signature, or otherwise, until doomsday. Le Nord is patronized by most of the continental Governments and read by public functionaries generally. There is a peculiar significance in its quick introduction to its columns of the production of the mighty London journal, considering that heretofore it has advocated the side of the Lincoln Government...

51. A. D. IANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 14 - Bruxelles,
30 juin 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann considère la Belgique comme étant sur le point de reconnaître le Sud et recommande, pour éviter toute jalousie, d'englober les Pays-Bas dans le champ de sa mission.

...Brussels, as a point of observation of all that is transpiring in Europe, is a desirable capital of sojourn for a diplomatic representative, but it does not present an enlarged field for salutary operations. Moreover, I am assured that Belgium is prepared to recognize us as soon as she is furnished with convincing proof that any one of the great powers is ready and willing to take such a step. I would hasten here to conclude a treaty with her upon the outline which I transmitted to the Department.

Then there is old commercial Holland that, in my opinion, should not be neglected. The Hague is only about five hours distant from this place. Holland is not a power, not yet a first-class State, but, nevertheless, there is not a more proud or sensitive kingdom in Europe than she. At some future period she may enquire why it was that she was not regarded as of as much consequence by the Confederates States as Belgium.

I avail myself of every safe chance which presents itself to keep you advised of all that is transpiring in this hemisphere. I trust that you have received the entire series of my despatches; if not, I console myself with the belief that such as are missing are out of the way of harm, for I have invariably given positive orders to those charged with their conveyance to utterly destroy them in case of extreme danger.

I have, etc...

52. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 15 - Bruxelles,
5 juillet 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann a reçu la visite d'un patron cotonnier inquiet du manque de matière première et craignant une insurrection des ouvriers sans travail.

Sir : One of the largest manufacturers of cotton goods in this Kingdom called to see me on the 2d instant, from whom I derived a large amount of information in relation to the condition of that interest. He had just stopped his mills and dismissed all his operatives. He freely expressed his belief that unless supplies of the raw material could be somewhat abundantly obtained before the commencement of winter, a revolution would be inevitable in most of the manufacturing districts of Europe. With the idleness which has been occasioned by a want of our staple, crime is already increasing with alarming rapidity. Notwithstanding the unceasing exertions which have been made for nearly three months to assist by public contributions the destitute workman in Belgium all that has been raised according to a report made two or three days ago, is the paltry sum of 78,000 francs...

[le reste du rapport est consacré à la thèse favorite de Mann : la bonne volonté de Lord Palmerston contrecarrée par la politique de Napoléon III et à l'effet que produirait une victoire sudiste sur les Cabinets d'Europe]

53. A. GOODRICH à W. H. SEWARD - n° 6 - Bruxelles,
13 juillet 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 6.

Interrogé par Rogier, Goodrich lui a affirmé que le Nord ne se soumettrait pas à une intervention européenne.

Sir : I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch N° 1 of the 20th of June last. And in obedience to the instructions therein contained, I herewith forward the letter directed to "Hon. A. Dudley Mann, C.S. Minister to Belgium, etc". No one other of the like address have reached this Legation.

In the course of a recent conversation, Mr. Rogier said "Will your Government submit to intervention ?"

In answered "No Sir."

He continued "There is much distress in the manufacturing districts — we want cotton and commerce."

I said "you will not obtain either by giving aid to the rebellion."

He remarked "Belgium has not assumed an unfriendly attitude towards your Government and will not be the first to do so."

I am, Sir, etc...

54. J. P. BENJAMIN à A. D. MANN - n° 3 - Richmond,
19 juillet 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Benjamin, qui a été longtemps sans nouvelle de la mission de Mann en Belgique se réjouit des dispositions bienveillantes de Rogier envers la Confédération mais ne croit pas que la Belgique, à cause de sa faiblesse et de sa neutralité, puisse prendre l'initiative d'une reconnaissance du Sud;

Sir : I received on the 7th instant your dispatches Nos. 8, 9, and 10 of the several dates of 5th, 10th, and 13th May last. These were the first dispatches received from you since your assuming charge of the mission to Belgium.

Mr. Wetter and Mr. Ficklin, who had been intrusted with previous dispatches from Europe, both arrived in safety, but were compelled to destroy their dispatches on being boarded by the enemy's gunboats. We were therefore looking with anxiety for news from your mission.

The President has been gratified in hearing the friendly terms in which Mr. Rogier expressed the views of his Government toward our Confederacy. We had no reason to expect that while other and more powerful neutral nations abstained from that recognition of our independence, which we believe to be our unquestionable right, the Belgium Government should expose itself alone to the risk of provoking hostilities from our arrogant enemy. Unless assured of the aid of England or France in the event of such hostilities, a power constituted under such peculiar circumstances as what that of Belgium by the congress of London, is under such exceptional obligations of neutrality as to be scarcely entitled alone to take the lead in a measure which might possibly involve her in a war with one of the belligerent parties. It was therefore quite satisfactory to learn in the guarded language of Mr. Rogier that Belgium, although not in a condition to assume the initiative in proposing a disregard of the

blockade, "would certainly not be the last European State to recognize our independence."

The difficulties of communication are so great that when an opportunity is offered it occurs so suddenly as to render it almost impossible for me to prepare in time the dispatches for all our agents abroad. I must therefore with regret close my dispatch without informing you directly of the condition of public affairs, but I have requested Mr. Mason to forward you from London a copy of my narrative of public affairs of interest that have transpired since the date of my dispatches sent my Mr. de Leon (a) in April last.

You will find in that narrative ample reason for exultation in the successes which continue to crown the struggles of our victorious armies and their able leaders. I anticipate from recent occurrences the most decisive results on European cabinets. I am, etc...

55. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 19 - Bruxelles,
26 juillet 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann décrit la situation de la classe ouvrière belge à la suite de la crise cotonnière. Les récoltes s'annonçant abondantes, le Nord ne pourra exporter ses céréales en surplus vers l'Europe.

...In the meantime, the destitution and consequent demoralization of the industrial classes of Europe augments from day to day. In this little kingdom alarming revolutionary symptoms are incessantly multiplying. The operatives in the mining districts are in a state of as much inquietude as those formerly engaged in the cotton manufactories. The laboring population of Belgium has heretofore been held up to the world as an example of good order. It is rapidly losing its high character in this regard, and solely for the want of our chief staple. The effective breaking of the blockade of our ports would bring speedy relief to all concerned. But King Leopold, I need not add, is utterly powerless for such a consummation. But for the mediation of Louis Napoleon in the Trent imbroglio this important object would assuredly have been accomplished months ago...

It may not be uninteresting for you to know that the crop of cereals in Europe is considered more than an average one and that

(a) Edwin de Leon fut chargé d'organiser la propagande sudiste en France. Il dépensa en vain des sommes très importantes avant d'être relevé de ses fonctions à la suite de ses indiscretions. F. L. OWSLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 160-168.

the harvesting of it is progressing to a favorable termination. Breadstuffs can not fail to rule low in value next winter, thus affording no margin for profitable shipment from the Northern States of America, however large their yield. I have, etc...

56. J. P. BENJAMIN à A. D. MANN - n° 5 - Richmond,
14 août 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Davis et Benjamin approuvent la note de Mann à Rogier mais lui recommandent de s'adresser dorénavant aux gouvernements étrangers sur la base des droits du Sud à la reconnaissance, sans argumenter sur ceux-ci.

I now acknowledge your despatch of the 3d June (N° 11) which reached me on the 29th July, with its enclosed copy of your note to Mr. Rogier. The President directs me to express his approval of this note and at the same time to suggest that you may now well act in your communications with foreign courts on the basis of the unquestioned justice of our cause, without tendering further argument on the subject. When these States first exercised their reserved rights of withdrawing from the Union it was eminently proper that Europe, imperfectly acquainted with our system of government, should be enlightened on the true nature of the relations between the State and Federal governments. But now, when appeal to the common sense of justice of the nations has failed to elicit any further response than a timid neutrality scarcely covering an evident dread of the power of our arrogant foe, we prefer speaking in other tones and insisting that an admission into the family of nations is a right which we have conquered by the sword. How long could nine-tenths of the powers, who are seated with recognized right at the family board of civilized nations, have sustained the onset that we have defied and repelled? The very nations that now halt and hesitate as to our power to maintain our independence are plainly withheld from its acknowledgment by their reluctance to provoking the hostility of a foe whom they fear but whom we resolutely resist and overcome. The motto of the ancient Roman is but half adopted by European potentates. They may be ready "parcere subjectis", but they are certainly reluctant "de bellare superbos".

In the code of modern International law, the nation which pre-

sents itself with an organized government and an obedient people, with institutions created by the free will of the citizens, and with numerous armies that crush all the attempts of the most powerful foe to subjugate it; which is aiming at no conquest, seeking no advantages, and steadily bent on securing nothing but the inherent rights of self-government; such a nation may insist, and with some degree of stern self-assertion, demand its right of recognition by those who may expect hereafter to maintain with it relations of mutual advantage in the exchange of good offices and the freedom of commercial intercourse...

57. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 20 - Bruxelles,
15 août 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Un journal bruxellois a répandu le bruit d'un marchandage entre Napoléon III et Lincoln, au sujet du Mexique, et dont la non-reconnaissance du Sud serait le prix. La situation sociale est très grave en Belgique et seule une rupture du blocus pourrait l'améliorer.

...Brussels is a point from which all Europe can be more correctly and calmly surveyed than from any other. More is seen here to the outward eye, of that which is transpiring in France, than is seen in Paris...

It has been broadly asserted, in one of the journals of this metropolis, that a perfect *entente cordiale* subsists between the Emperor of the French and the Yankees in relation to the invasion of Mexico; and that the consideration to Lincoln for his acceptance of the condition was the nonrecognition of the Confederate States by the French Government. It is moreover currently reported that the Orleans princes were dismissed from the staff of McClellan, and sent off in order to gratify the Government of the Tuileries. If this really be true, there was seldom, if ever, a more striking manifestation of retributive justice.

There is no abatement in the agony of Belgium. The cotton famine is bowing her down to the very earth. Unfortunately she can not help herself. For her affliction there is no remedy that she herself has the power to employ. She would be at the mercy of the Yankees were she to recognize us in advance of the two great western powers,

and she is as destitute of strength for raising a blockade as though she were an inland State like Switzerland. What is to become of her during the approaching winter if she do not receive at least small supplies of our staple I can not foresee...

58. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé et confidentiel - Paris, 22 août 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 6.

Rouher confie à Sanford que la presse officieuse française a été gagnée au Sud et que l'on agite la question d'une médiation conjointe de diverses puissances — dont la Belgique — dans les affaires américaines. En Angleterre, le parti gouvernemental y serait opposé par crainte de difficultés avec le Gouvernement fédéral.

...I had long conversation yesterday with M. Michel Chevalier and M. Rouher... (⁴²) He (Rouher) admitted the partisan character of the Semi-official press, and thought that the Southern agents must have made some "sacrifices" to secure such ardent support, but he denied that they (the Govt.) had given any encouragement (I do not doubt it is given constantly by M. Persigny (⁴³) who, as having control of the Press, is the *inspirer* of much that appears in the semi-official sheets, and who, report says, has in view the 500.000 bales cotton promised by M. Slidell for recognition by France). They (the Southern agents) have, he continued, an advantage over your minister here in so far that they speak the language, and being very earnest and active, have created an ardent party in society and the press,

(⁴²) Michel Chevalier (1806-1889), économiste et homme politique. Ancien directeur du *Globe*, il fut compromis dans le mouvement saint-simonien et dut s'exiler aux Etats-Unis. Professeur d'économie politique au Collège de France, il fut un des grands théoriciens de l'économie libérale. Sénateur, il s'opposa à la guerre franco-allemande et proposait l'organisation de l'Europe sur le modèle des Etats-Unis. *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, t. 8, c. 1068-1069. Eugène Rouher (1814-1884), ministre du gouvernement impérial; il servit comme ministre d'Etat de 1863 à 1869, puis comme président du Sénat.

(⁴³) Jean-Gilbert Fialin, duc de Persigny (1808-1872); il fut le compagnon de conspiration du futur Napoléon III qu'il servit ensuite à diverses reprises comme diplomate et surtout comme Ministre de l'Intérieur. Il était un des principaux partisans de l'Empire autoritaire.

while your representatives here owing to ignorance of the language have more difficulty in their communications, and they have had, on this account perhaps, more success socially here than in London.

With regard to the projected intervention, he said the idea had been entertained in the form of a joint proposition of mediation on the part of a number of European Powers (he mentioned Belgium for one) but that they (the French Govt.) had become convinced that it would be now of no practical benefit and were no longer giving it thought. I told him the political men in England insisted that the idea of intervention originated here and was still persistently urged upon England which had declined. He said with a good deal of impatience that this was unfair — and it was not true — that he had, when lately in England, conversed with most of the members of Govt. and prominent statesmen of that side (naming many of them to me), that while they were publicly declaring they were against intervention, they were in their conversations, urging it upon other powers, they expressed themselves as unable to take part in the proposed intervention on the ground, as they alleged, of unfriendly feeling of the U. States towards England growing out of the Trent affair, which might militate against the success of the proposed step. France had declined he said, because they could see no practical good to result from it and they were not prepared...

59. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 66 - Bruxelles,
26 août 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 6.

Rogier a nié avoir été approché en vue d'une médiation conjointe, mais forme des vœux pour une paix rapide, qui allègerait la crise économique provoquée par la guerre. Il remarque que le sort des noirs n'est guère amélioré dans les Etats du Nord et s'inquiète des résultats d'une émancipation. Sanford lui répond que les noirs seraient surtout confinés dans le Sud et attribue à une oligarchie esclavagiste la responsabilité du conflit. Les tentatives de Mann auprès du Gouvernement belge n'ont pas eu de résultat.

Sir : I have the honor to report to you my arrival at Liverpool on the 9th and at my post on the 23rd inst.

I saw M. Rogier on the occasion of a friendly call the following

day. He was preparing for a journey to England the next morning and our conversation on public topics was quite informal.

He assured me, in answer to my enquiry, that his Government had not been approached by any of the other powers with a view to joint action in respect to the war in the United States. Belgium was a neutral and a small power, he said, and could not be expected to take part in such schemes did they exist. They were suffering greatly from the effects of the war, he continued, and he inquired as to its probable duration, and if there was no prospect of a compromise.

I replied, the duration of the war would depend very much on the encouragement given to the insurgents by European powers, that they had to thank for the present distress, the eager haste of England and others in according belligerent rights to the insurgents in anticipation of hostilities — and which greatly stimulated and aided their efforts — that there was no thought of compromise or cessation of the war till the whole country had returned to its allegiance. The war was a domestic affair, in which neither intermeddling nor intervention would be tolerated from any quarter. We were grieved that its effects weighed so heavily on Europe, but it was Europe that had constantly reproached us with the crime of slavery and urged upon us its abolition, and it was but fair it should now bear its share of the burdens, which the war, the result of that “institution, and which would probably cause its extinction had created”.

M. Rogier remarked that the condition of the negro if free, did not seem to be much ameliorated in the Northern States, where he was not tolerated as an equal, and inquired what would be done with the slaves if emancipated. With regard to that, I replied there certainly was a prejudice in the United States against the African race which local and municipal legislation had given expression to, and certainly the negroes, a tropical race, had not thriven nor could thrive in the temperate regions of the North, and were, consequently, not generally regarded with favor. I did not perceive why they might not labor as freed men as well in the Southern States as in a condition of slavery. They were found as slaves to be a source of great profit to their masters, why could not their labor be turned to their own profit? It was certain that the white man could not be employed to advantage in Tropical cultivation, and it seemed to me that the negro or some other tropical race would always be needed there to cultivate the free cotton and rice to take hereafter the place of slave-grown cotton and rice. I had been struck on a recent visit to the French and

Danish West India colonies with the good results attending a judicious administration of their vagrant or labor laws; I found that the emancipated blacks were happy, contented, and laborious, and that the products of the islands were steadily increasing with their free labor. But these were questions to be treated as they arose.

The war, I went on to say, had its origin in the ambition of a few politicians who had sought to build up a slave empire for the benefit of themselves and a small oligarchy of slave holders, and for the overthrow of liberal institutions, and universal suffrage. Unlike revolutions in old Europe this was an aristocratic party against democracy. They had, under various false pretences as the war progressed, induced a large portion of the population to join in resisting the Federal authority, and the struggle would I feared be a long one. Our present care, I continued, was to restore the authority of the laws — if slavery, the cause of it, was destroyed in the process, it would be for us to provide as we could for that event.

M. Dudley Mann, agent of the insurgents, is still here and he has vainly sought to be received by the Government. He has sent a long communication to M. Rogier in favor of the cause he represents, which has received no reply. The King is still an invalid and still under the care of physicians, but is much better than at the time of my departure. The Queen of England is expected here to make him a visit of three days, on her way to Cobourg, a few days hence. I have, etc...

60. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 21 - Bruxelles,
1^{er} septembre 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

La circulaire de Seward dans le but de développer l'émigration vers les Etats Unis couvre un appel aux mercenaires européens. Un manifeste confédéré éclairerait l'opinion publique en Europe. La Reine Victoria est attendue à Bruxelles.

Sir : The following Circular to the Diplomatic and Consular Agents of the United States came into my possession a few days ago :

Department of State
Washington, August 8, 1862

At no former period of our history have our agricultural, manufacturing, and mining interests, been more prosperous than at this juncture. This fact may be deemed surprising in view of the enhanced price for labor occasioned by the demand for the rank and file of the Army of the United States. It may be, therefore, confidently asserted that even now nowhere else can the industrious laboring man and artisan expect so liberal a recompense for his services as in the United States. You are authorized and directed to make these truths known in any quarter and in any way which may lead to the migration of such persons to this country. It is believed that a knowledge of them alone will cause them to be acted upon. The Government has no legal authority to offer any pecuniary inducement to the advent of industrious foreigners.

(signed) Will H. Seward

To defeat the purpose of this circular as far as possible is the object of my constant thoughts. It is clear to my mind that the Yankees are using extraordinary exertions to enlist an army of foreign mercenaries, and Seward indicates the manner in which the object is to be accomplished⁽⁴⁴⁾. The right of expatriation, where no military service is due, is admitted by most European nations, by all indeed whose inhabitants are disposed to emigrate to America. I do not therefore see how any Government can properly interfere to prevent the departure of such of its subjects to the so-called United States as choose to emigrate thither. The proclamation of Queen Victoria, which is virtually European law, as relates to the penalties incurred by such subjects of European nations, as shall enter the service of the one or the other of the American belligerents, is perhaps as great a restraint as can be properly exercised in the premises. Had Seward overtly instead of covertly asked for foreign recruits there assuredly is no Government that would not have promptly resented that which could be regarded in no other light than as an indignity to their sovereignty. Such an attempt at the infringement of the asserted neutrality of Great Britain would certainly have been resented even by the timid school of politicians at whose head stands Earl Russel. But Seward, true to his instincts, is quick at unscrupulous shifts. He so arranges his plans as to expect to accomplish his ends

(44) Sur cette circulaire et ses listes, voir Fr. BALACE, *En marge de la guerre de sécession... Recrutements en Belgique pour les troupes fédérales (1864-1865)*, loc. cit., p. 464-467.

without giving offence to the powers and States from which he desires to derive recruits. It is more than probable that he has numerous emissaries at work in Germany and Switzerland to influence able-bodied men to proceed to New York, there to enlist in the Yankee Army. My son, who has long been perfectly familiar with those countries, will leave in a day or two for Cologne, Hanover, Bremen, Hamburg, Frankfort, Basel, Zurich, and Berne to endeavor to counteract the schemes of Seward for obtaining physical aid from abroad in support of the desperate fortunes of the Lincoln concern.

It seems to me that those European mercenaries who may be found upon our soil in hostile array are in principle no better than the worst pirates that ever infested the high seas. In crossing the Atlantic they are to take up arms against our people, actuated solely by the lust of money. For this consideration they are prepared to murder, rob, or to commit any other enormity. Hence, when captured they should not, in my opinion, be treated with the same clemency as ordinary prisoners of war. According to every principle of justice they place themselves beyond the pale of mercy.

I have never encouraged a foreigner to enter our army. Many applications have been made to me by persons who warmly espoused our cause, and who were animated by the noble desire to assist that which appeared the weaker against the stronger side, but I could favor them with no assurances that their services were needed. By fighting our own battles and winning our own victories, without any exterior assistance whatever, we have commanded the admiration of mankind, and deserved that which I am confident we are incessantly receiving, the blessings of the All-Wise Ruler of the Universe.

Permit me to suggest to you the importance of transmitting immediately and by the most expeditious conveyance to Messrs. Mason, Slidell, Rost, and myself, a circular or manifesto upon the conditions of affairs at home, and expressive of the views of the Administration upon the system of foreign enlistments to which I have adverted, signed by the president and attested by yourself. Documents of this kind are customary in Europe when a nation is passing through a grave crisis. They are usually short and explicit. We could communicate it directly to the different European cabinets, as well as to the public through the press. Every State paper that bears the signature of the President attracts general attention in this hemisphere...

(digression sur la situation en Italie et les visées françaises en Amérique)

...Queen Victoria is expected here today, to remain a short time with King Leopold. The two Sovereigns will perhaps converse freely upon the best means of alleviating the condition of their destitute and distressed subjects.

Good to us in this connection will, I trust, result from their meeting. One word from her Britannic Majesty in behalf of our recognition would influence all Western Europe.

I have, etc...

61. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 67 - Bruxelles,
2 septembre 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 6.

Sanford attribue la crise cotonnière gantoise à la surproduction des années précédant la guerre. Le renchérissement du coton a, selon lui, été profitable aux manufacturiers et a diminué les effets de la crise de surproduction. La classe ouvrière, loin d'être excitée contre les Etats-Unis, sympathise avec ceux-ci et leurs institutions démocratiques.

Sir : I returned yesterday from Ghent, where I have been to inform myself concerning the condition of the working classes, as affected by the scarcity of cotton. For months past, public and private charity throughout the Kingdom have been invoked in behalf of the distressed workmen of Ghent, and these appeals have been regarded to with great liberality by all classes of people in the country, who have contributed over 350,000 francs in aid of these suffering artisans.

Ghent is, as you are doubtless aware, the principal centre of cotton manufacture in Belgium, about two-thirds of the 70,000 bales manufactured in this country being consumed in that city and employing, of the 40,000 workmen engaged here in various branches of manufacturing industry, 10,157 in nearly equal proportions as cotton spinners and weavers. Of these, 3,818 are entirely out of work, and of the remainder, 3,650 are employed from five to nine hours

per diem, 1,472 from 9 to 12 hours and 1,217 from 12 to 14 hours in the day.

The plan first proposed of employing these people on the public works, has been abandoned, as they are found to be physically unfit for out-of-door labor, and where (*sic*) not sent, as has been and is still done, so far as practicable, to districts occupied in other branches of manufacturing, such as linens, woolens, etc... they will have to be supported by public or private contributions.

The result of my visit to Ghent has been to confirm the impression which enquiries elsewhere had created, that the distress of the workmen in the cotton manufacturing districts is not to be ascribed solely to the want of cotton and to the war in the United States, but rather to the over-production of previous years which had led to accumulation of stocks of manufactured goods.

Thus the price of American cotton has increased since the commencement of the war four fold and India cotton five fold, while the price of the manufactured goods in ordinary use has only doubled in the same period. The manufacturers with whom I conversed, all admitted that the difficulty, for their workmen, was not want of cotton, but want of orders — those mills which are the most occupied now, being engaged in filling orders dating long back and from cotton purchased months ago — that they have the English market to buy from, and do buy, as they need for the trifling orders they receive — that American cotton is not a necessity; on the contrary, that they are learning to do without it — not five per cent of their present consumption being from the United States — the India cotton having taken its place and the stock thus for (340,000 bales are now on the way from India) has been and is likely to be for some months to come sufficient for the diminished demand of manufacturers.

The war has in fact been a piece a good fortune to the cotton manufactures generally, insomuch as they have made probably more money from the rise of cotton (the manufactures of Lancashire are reputed to have made from twenty to thirty millions of pounds sterling) than they would have gained in their ordinary business had there been no scarcity, and they have also been saved from a crisis, the result of over-production, which would have certainly thrown many workmen out of employ and caused similar distress to that which is now so industriously ascribed to the war in the United States.

Cotton has been also sold in Ghent for exportation, but the amount is small. To the honor of the manufacturers, there seems to

have been less disposition in Belgium to speculate in cotton and sell their stocks, leaving their workmen idle, than in neighboring countries. I have also observed that there seems no disposition here to mislead the working classes with regard to the real cause of their distress.

It is a source of satisfaction to observe that the appeals made in other countries to the passions of the working classes in ascribing their sufferings as due to "the injurious and useless war in the United States", have been thus far without the desired result of exciting hostility to the cause of Union and consequent favor to that of the rebellion. So far as I have had opportunity to contact with them or those who represent them here and elsewhere, they feel that they have a part in this war for which they are ready if need be to suffer, as they suffer now and have before, from the speculations of their masters, that it is a cause worth suffering for — that of humanity, of freedom and self-government — that democratic institutions — which the People everywhere in the civilized world hold in affection are now on their trial, and that upon its issue depends greatly the cause of progress, and of liberal institutions everywhere. I have, etc...

62. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 22 - Bruxelles,
5 septembre 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann espère que l'influence du Roi Léopold aura pu s'exercer sur la Reine Victoria et sur Lord Russell pendant leur séjour à Laeken à l'occasion des fiançailles du Prince de Galles et que la Grande-Bretagne reconnaitre l'indépendance des Etats du Sud pendant le mois de novembre.

Sir : Under the auspices of King Leopold, whose sound judgment is usually consulted on such occasions by his numerous princely relations, a matrimonial alliance has just been arranged at Brussels between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal of Denmark. This interesting ceremony, which is invested with an unusual degree of political importance, took place at the Palace of Læken, during the recent visit of Queen Victoria to her royal uncle. His Majesty has now become the chief of the Coburg family, and enjoying, as he does, to an unlimited degree, the confidence of the Queen, all the preleminaries for the marriage were made under his supervision. Earl Russell

was in attendance upon the occasion and is reported to have conducted the negotiations on the part of the Prince of Wales. This alliance of the reigning houses of Great Britain and of Denmark is viewed with more than ordinary interest, as its tendency is to strengthen the ties now uniting the Protestant States of northern Europe and to facilitate political combinations against any future aggressions of France and Russia.

I incur no risk in assuring you that those two distinguished Sovereigns are alike convinced that the subjugation of the Confederate States is too absurd a notion to be entertained in royal circles. At this time there is not probably a court in Europe that believes the restoration of the late Union a possibility.

Earl Russell expressed himself, as I am informed upon the most credible authority, perfectly satisfied that there is not so much as the shadow of a chance for the Yankees to overpower the united and resolute South, and that he would not be opposed to intervention if a reasonable hope could be entertained of its acceptance by the administration at Washington. He thinks, however, that a bare suggestion of such a movement on the part of Great Britain would make the menaces of the North more furious and ferocious than ever.

His lordship is in attendance upon the Queen and is expected to remain with her during her stay at Gotha. He will not probably return to his post in London until about the beginning of next month. I expect to be there at that time myself. If our arms meet with no serious reverses in the meantime. I believe that Great Britain will recognize our independence during the month of November. This will be promptly followed by the continental sovereigns, and unless I am much deceived, by none more willingly than King Leopold. A letter which I received to-day from an influential Englishman in London says : "I have seen my friend in Piccadilly lately. No change, but I conjecture from conversation a steady progress of opinion in the one direction". Lord Palmerston, the friend alluded to, is certainly up to his work, and he will find a great obstacle to the consummation of his purposes removed, in the modified views of the foreign secretary, for it is well known that this high functionary has ever sympathized with the Lincoln Government.

I have, etc...

63. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 23 - Bruxelles,
15 septembre 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Le message présidentiel confédéré a été bien reçu par la presse belge, mais Mann s'inquiète de la circulaire de Seward sur l'émigration. La famine cotonnière augmente à Gand et la presse réclame la levée du blocus des ports du Sud.

Sir : The President's message reached here immediately after I closed my N° 21. It promptly appeared in excellent French in "l'Indépendance Belge" (until lately rabidly hostile to our cause) and in other journals, accompanied by notices of a highly gratifying character. No State paper, I am bold to state, of American emanation was ever more favorably received in Europe than this. It is producing salutary results everywhere. Although Mr. Mason will send you the London Times, I nevertheless, for fear of casualties, clip from that journal its leader upon the subject and transmit it herewith. I trust this article will be conspicuously inserted in all our leading journals.

[*Mann se réjouit de l'influence sudiste dans la presse anglaise et notamment le Blackwood's Magazine*]

The circular of Seward has been ably exposed by the Belgian journals and by the Times. I herein inclose a specimen of their remarks upon it. Still I must confess that my mind is far from being at ease with respect to the object at which that circular aims. I am doing all I can do to defeat it, both here and in Germany and Switzerland; and in the course of four or five weeks I expect to be prepared to inform you whether or not the Yankees will be enabled to realize their wishes in the manner so insidiously indicated by their Secretary of State.

[*informations sur l'emploi du fulmicoton*]

The cotton famine at Ghent continues to increase. The charitable institutions have only about \$ 10,000 left to supply the wants of more than 4,000 families during the coming winter. In consequence of this distress the press of this country is beginning to clamor for the raising of the blockade of our coast, or at least for some arrangement by which if the war continue all obstacles to the exportation of cotton shall cease on the part of the North.

Full details as conveyed through Yankee channels of our continuous victories in Virginia and Kentucky to the 5th instant have just come in. Prior to the arrival of the steamer which brought them I received from a distinguished Englishman the following information : "The time for recognition is very near at hand and the object of this letter is to tell you so."

I have, etc...

64. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 64 -
Washington, 18 septembre 1862 - N.A., St.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

Préoccupé par la crise cotonnière, Rogier oublie que pour les Etats-Unis la question vitale est celle du maintien de l'Union.

Sir : Your despatch of August 26th has been received. The general scope of the conversation with Mr. Rogier, which you report, shows how impossible it is for the European States to apprehend the course of an American one in regard to its domestic questions — even when they are brought to the unconstitutional test of civil war. To us the paramount, the vital question in this struggle the preservation of the national integrity, or, in one word, the Union. Mr. Rogier turns, at once, from this to the question — when will peace come with the blessing to Europe of a fresh supply of cotton ? This matter being dropped he passes next to the economical results of emancipation as a result of the war. Thus it is that the European mind is occupied with more collateral incidents and ultimate consequences of the war, while the vital question, of course, absorbs all the thoughts and anxieties of this Government. There is nothing in all this to complain of. It is the experience of nations...

[la suite de la dépêche donne des nouvelles de la situation militaire]

65. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 69 - Bruxelles,
26 septembre 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 6.

Rogier lui ayant recommandé un arrangement avec le Sud dont l'esprit guerrier est remarquable, Sanford rétorque que c'est l'aide indirecte de l'Europe qui a favorisé la naissance de celui-ci dont l'esprit est également expansionniste. Les intérêts manufacturiers de l'Europe sont avec le Nord. Le Congrès International des Sciences Sociales a évité de discuter le problème américain.

Sir : The King, who is restored to tolerable health, made his entry into Brussels yesterday, on the occasion of the national fêtes, and was enthusiastically received by all classes of the people.

I duly received your despatch N° 62, and communicated its contents to M. Rogier yesterday — saying that I desired to keep him advised of the views of the Government in the various phases of the crisis which the country was passing through. He expressed his hopes that an arrangement could be made now, he thought we would have to end by making one. I replied, I knew of no possible one on a basis of a division of the Union. He remarked upon the strength and military spirit shown by the rebels. I replied that they fought well, they were our own race, that the men were fighting from a mistaken sense of loyalty, with the idea inculcated by their leaders, that they were resisting invasion and threatened servile insurrection, and they were developing rapidly into a military people. It might be a source of reflection to European Powers who had encouraged these rebels at the outset, that they had contributed towards building up a military power that would if the rebellion succeeded, be likely to cause them trouble. That the idea of the getters up of the rebellion was to form a great military aristocracy based upon slavery, which would make the whites all fighting men, and to extend the area of slavery over Mexico, Central America, and Cuba, on a grand filibustering scale — and holding a vast territory and the monopoly of cotton to pursue the same wilful reckless career for power and conquest which had characterized their efforts, made powerless however by the North, for years past — that the idea entertained by many of a great profitable trade with the South would be found illusive — a population composed of slaves who would require nothing from Europe of a poor and numerous class of whites devoted to agriculture and with few and simple wants, and a comparatively few weal-

thy slave holders, would never require large amounts of trans-atlantic manufactures compared with the Northern States, which for years past had consumed nine tenths of the foreign importations of the whole country. M. Rogier remarked that whatever might occur he thought the cotton monopoly of the South was at an end forever.

An International Congress for the promotion of Social Science which has been in session here for four days has closed to-day. It was proposed, I believe by some of the English members, to make our war and the project of an address to the American people, a subject of discussion at the general meeting of the Congress to-day⁽⁴⁵⁾. The possibility of an amendment touching the revolt in India or the opium war in China or some other equally appropriate subject for discussion by the Congress for the promotion of Social Science, perhaps may have prevented the carrying out of the plan of the English philanthropists who have however called a meeting at one of the Hotel here of such of the Members as are so disposed, for the discussion of a proposed address to the American people. The address will probably be found to contain the ideas of a class of Englishmen whose interests and whose policy are for the dismemberment of the Union.

I have, etc...

66. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 70 - Bruxelles, 26 septembre 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 6.

L'argent nécessaire au payement des commandes du Sud à Verviers se trouverait au Consulat de France à la Nouvelle-Orléans.

Sir : When in Verviers a few days since, I was told that the payments for the Rebel contracts for Military cloths, of which I wrote to you fully in Nov. and December last (see especially confidential 28th Nov. 1861) and amounting to 1.750.000 francs had not been made, and that the three months Bills given for the same had been renewed as they fell due. Assurance had, however, now been given

(45) Après le Congrès, le 27, une réunion consacrée à la guerre d'Amérique se tint à l'Hôtel de Suède. Sur la proposition de Sir J. Bowring et du Français J. Garnier, une adresse fut rédigée pour "adjurer le peuple américain de mettre fin à une lutte fratricide" et fut signée par de nombreux congressistes (*L'Economiste Belge*, 27 septembre 1862, p. 228).

that the money for the same was *deposited with the French Consul at New Orleans* and would be shortly received.

It would be well, I think, to cause enquiries to be made as to who the depositors of the money sequestered by Genl. Butler were, and for whom it was intended.

As I advised you at the time, large purchases of cloth, blankets, shoes and arms, etc... were made for account of Ed. Gautherin of New Orleans for Rebel authorities whose agents this appeared to be, through their correspondant G.S. Le More & C^o of Havre, the real purchaser on this side the Atlantic being apparently Baron Sellières the noted furnisher of military cloth for the French Govt.

If any of these names appear in any wat connected with those deposits at the French Consulate, the presumption would be that they are for payments by the Rebel authorities for military supplies. I have, etc...

67. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
27 septembre 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 6.

Une tentative de motion pacifiste a échoué au Congrès des Sciences Sociales. L'opinion ne croit plus au succès du Nord et recommande un armistice.

Dear Sir : Sir John Bowring (⁴⁶) is the head man in this attempt which I refer to in my official, to get up a discussion in the Social Science Congress ou our affairs. I suspect he was influenced by the fear of ridicule in the possibility as I suggested to him of the proposition to discuss at the same time some English questions such as the Indian "mutiny" etc... !

He has intimated around, not to me however, that he was influenced in this, by the wishes of President Lincoln who desired to

(⁴⁶) Sir John Bowring (1792-1872), diplomate et écrivain. Un des fondateurs de la *Westminster Review* et rempli de nombreux mandats aux communes où il fut le défenseur du libre-échangisme. Consul à Canton et chargé d'affaires en Chine, il entra en conflit avec le gouvernement chinois en 1856, ce qui provoqua une crise politique en Grande-Bretagne. Il était membre de la *Social Science Association*. Voir *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. II, p. 984-988.

find some honorable way of making peace with the South and at the expense of separation !

There was some little discussion on our affairs in one of the sections of the Congress the day previous in which Eug. Pelletan, the writer, of Paris, spoke very warmly for our cause...

...The late news from home causes our best friends over here to say "you will never succeed — you had better make up your minds before utterly exhausted to a separation which seems inevitable." I can only reply with my faith and that apart from the justness of our cause, battles are generally won always in the long run by the one who has most men and most money.

Respecty. etc...

68. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 65 -
Washington, 6 octobre 1862 - N.A., St.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. 1.

Seward se réjouit de voir l'Europe se libérer peu à peu du monopole cotonnier des Etats du Sud. Les patrons cotonniers sont cependant en faveur du ceux-ci et leur influence entraînera l'Europe à se mêler des affaires d'Amérique.

...I am glad to learn from it that the pressure in the cotton market in France is less severe than the vague reports of the press which are received here would induce us to suppose. It is still more agreeable to learn that Europe is coming, though slowly, towards an attitude of independence of the cotton supply from this Country. The obstinacy of the cotton producers in demanding an overthrow of this Government as a condition for allowing the material for European manufactures and their persistancy in this desperate policy must soon bring home to Europe the question which engages us namely; with us all human interests, all human rights, all moral principles and all political systems throughout the world, with all their influence upon civilization, present and future, are to be controlled and settled by a monopoly of slave-holders in this country ? We have reached the question whether slavery shall live and free Government perish on the American Continent. We must try it with Europe against us, if such an ill omessed alliance cannot be averted. We

trust, however, that it may be averted, and in that case, the trial is already approaching its end...

69. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 66 -
Washington, 6 octobre 1862 - N.A., St.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

Seward tranquillise Sanford et lui affirme que ce n'est pas une série de défaites militaires qui abattra la puissance du Nord. Il lui transmet ses objections pratiques à toute action au sein de la presse européenne.

Sir : Your note of the 15th of September last has been received Manifestly it was written under much excitement and in a moment of despondency. The news you had just then received produced the same effect here. The despondency of our friends in Europe is not, therefore, surprising. But there was no real occasion for gloomy apprehensions on either side of the ocean. Reverses are as unavoidable in civil wars as successes are certain with a good cause, large forces, and abundant resources. The reaction has only recently commenced here, and it will be felt in Europe when the despatch shall arrive.

Rest assured that it is not one or even a series of defeats of the national arms that can destroy this Government. Nor is it in the power of the metropolitan presses of Europe to shake its foundations. We are solving for ages the question whether there shall be one free political State in our great country which shall peacefully regulate all conflicting interests by debate, as heretofore or whether we shall now adopt the European system of independent States indefinitely, multiplied and maintaining themselves with standing armies, keeping peace only by temporary and over uncertain truces. The condition of things existing in Europe may pass away, but ours will not.

How could we attempt to regulate the press of Europe when we cannot regulate our own ? Where are the funds which would be necessary ? Who the agent that could be trusted with them ? What an endless chapter of political intrigues should we be opening ? Who in our country has the skill to conduct them ? No, no. Let us trust in the mighty interests this nation has at stake, the enduring principles it maintains, the noble sentiments the struggle inspires, and the in-

telligence and virtue of a people who have a higher and happier destiny before them than was ever set before any other portion of mankind. The interest of Europe is to let us alone, and the sentiments of mankind will not allow interference which is at once wrong and pernicious to the world's peace.

I am, etc...

70. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 25 - Bruxelles,
7 octobre 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol 16.

La motion pacifiste du Congrès des Sciences Sociales sera rejetée par les Fédéraux. La proclamation d'émancipation de Lincoln sera considérée comme une mesure inhumaine et ralliera de nouveaux sympathisants à la cause du Sud. La présence de la Reine Victoria à Bruxelles sera bénéfique pour celle-ci.

Sir : The "Social Science Congress of all Nations," which this year held its annual meeting here, terminated its deliberation on the 27th ultimo. Previous to its adjournment, it addressed a letter to the Executive of the Federal Government, of which the following is a translation : (...)

As far as the proceedings of this Social Science Congress have developed themselves to my eye, no specific allusion was made to the institution of slavery in the Confederate States. It was in this congress, as you will recollect, during its session in London in 1860, that one of the most distinguished members, Lord Brougham, assailed the slave-holding States so vituperously, in the presence of Mr. Dallas, the then United States minister. This body is chiefly composed of European savants, most of them sickly minded philanthropists, without any well defined rational object to engage their deliberations. How their kindred spirits in Yankeedom — those who desire the desecration of our homes, whatever the cost in blood — will receive this letter it is not difficult to conjecture. It will, of course, meet with unqualified condemnation, in and out abolition circles, as the impertinent intermeddling of Europeans in matters exclusively American, but it will nevertheless exercise a salutary influence in our interest, wherever circulated in this hemisphere. If the voice of the antislavery agitators of Europe urge upon Lincoln a cessation of hos-

tilities, all calm, reflecting men everywhere can scarcely fail to become warmly enlisted on our side if he refuse to give his assent to their request. In any point of view the procedure can not fail to be highly beneficial to the Confederate States. In the opinion of an enlightened world the North must speedily appear in the ignoble attitude of the outcast of nations. Nor will the proclamation of Lincoln for the liberating of the slaves in the disloyal States benefit in the slightest degree her desperate fortunes. This measure will be regarded, even by European abolitionists, as infinitely more fiendish than humane. The same steamer which conveys this telegraphic intelligence also conveys the intelligence of the existence of a state of siege in all the Federal States. This is the finishing blow to the Constitution of 1787, and the consequent end of public liberty in the region of America ruled by the Cabinet of Washington. Napoleon never did anything so bad — Robespierre, except in his hasty executions, nothing worse. This act must silence even the Brights and the Cobdens (⁴⁷) of Great-Britain in their advocacy of the North, as well as the most clamorous French, German, and Italian Red Republicans. I behold in it a tower of strength looming up for the Confederate States. It will add millions to the already large number of our friends.

The asserted brilliant victories of McClellan in Maryland, pompously heralded all over Europe ten days ago, are now regarded as but little better than so many defeats, according to the accounts just in, even in New York circles. No information upon the subject has yet been received through Southern channels.

Queen Victoria is to be here on the 13th instant, on her return from Germany to Osborne House. She is to stay two or three days with King Leopold. If the high source from which I derive my information upon the subject is not deceived she will be at home but a very few days until our recognition is consummated...

[*paragraphe traitant de la question romaine*]

...Mr. Gladstone has just delivered a speech in Newcastle in which he remarked, "There is no doubt that Jefferson Davis has

(⁴⁷) Sur l'attitude de R. Cobden et de J. Bright pendant la guerre civile américaine, voir E. D. ADAMS, *op. cit.*, *passim*; J.G. GARFIELD, *Lincoln and John Bright*, dans *Yale Review*, 1945, XXXIV, p. 292-304; *Letters of Richard Cobden to Charles Sumner 1862-65*, dans *American Historical Review*, 1897, II, p. 306-319.

made a nation of the South." This clearly foreshadows our early recognition, as no member of the British cabinet is in closer relation with the premier than the chancellor of the exchequer. The assertion produced a profound sensation upon the auditory to which it was addressed, and such is the importance attached to it that it has been telegraphed all over Europe.

You will perceive, in the enclosed extracts from the newspapers of this metropolis, that the condition of the industrial classes in Belgium is lamentable in the extreme.

I am still without any later dispatch from you than that brought over by Mr. de Leon.

I have, etc...

71. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 72 - Bruxelles,
8 octobre 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 6.

Le Roi a recommandé la cessation des hostilités et la paix mais Sanford lui a répondu que la soumission du Sud en était la condition. Rogier s'est inquiété de la proclamation présidentielle d'émancipation et y a vu une mesure qui exaspérerait les Sudistes et prolongerait leur résistance. Le commerce belge avec les Etats-Unis est en amélioration.

Sir : The diplomatic corps which had expressed the desire to offer its congratulations to the King on his recovery, was received by His majesty to day at the Palace.

In the short conversation which the King had with me on this occasion he referred to the war in terms of regret, as dividing so fine a race of men, and desolating so fine a country, as he expressed himself, and added the hope that some means would be found to bring about an early termination of a contest whose effects were wide-spread and were sensibly felt here. I replied that it was thought, with the additional forces now being brought to bear upon the Southern States, that the insurgents would be restored to their allegiance to the government (the only possible means to secure peace); that the disastrous consequences of the war, to which he had referred and in which we shared heavily, were a source of regret. We appreciated the distress caused by a conflict which had been forced upon

the government in defence of its authority, and saw but one way of relieving it — the success of our arms.

I availed myself on the occasion to congratulate His Majesty on his restoration to health and to add that these congratulations would be most heartily shared by the Government and the people of the United States as I had occasion on a recent visit to my country to have personal cognizance of the warm and wide-spread interest and concern which his illness had excited. He thanked me, and said that he had indeed reason to be convinced of that regard in the numerous and high evidence of consideration he had received from the United States during a long reign which had been marked with the most pleasant relations. He had known personally, he added, some of our most prominent citizens and felt real interest in the progress and prosperity of the country. M. Goodrich the Secretary of this Legation accompanied me to this reception and was presented by me to His Majesty.

I have had the honor to receive your Dispatch N° 64 and your circular despatch of the 22nd ult° communicating a copy of the Proclamation of the President of that date ⁽⁴⁸⁾. I read the circular to M. Rogier yesterday. He said the proclamation was an act of great gravity and inquired what the probable result would be upon the war. I replied that I could not anticipate events. It was to be hoped that, with the further increase of our forces on land and sea, the insurgents would soon perceive the uselessness of further resistance and come back to their allegiance while it was still time to avert the additional calamities impending over them. He expressed his fears that it would tend to prolong and add exasperation to the war, the results of which were weighing so heavily upon this country. I rejoined that the peace and traffic he so much desired could only be obtained by the submission of the insurgents; that the "arrangement" so much desired in Europe and which meant disunion, was simply impossible.

I would remark, in connexion with this great cause of sollicitude in a country so dependent, as is Belgium for its prosperity upon foreign markets, that trade has revived considerably with the United States within the past few months; and it is a source of remark and astonishment, as indicative of wealth and prosperity instead of exhaustion, that, notwithstanding the heavy increase and duties on im-

(48) Proclamation du 22 septembre 1862 libérant à partir du 1^{er} janvier 1863 tous les esclaves des territoires en rébellion par l'autorité fédérale.

ports and the high rates of exchange, the northern States are, in these time of war, so largdy increasing over the previous year their importations of European manufactures. I have, etc...

72. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 68 -
Washington, 13 octobre 1862 - N.A., St.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

L'opinion de Rogier sur la solution du conflit américain a pour origine les intérêts particuliers de l'Europe. La croyance en un compromis possible est démentie par l'effort de guerre du Nord.

Sir : Your two despatches of September 26th n° 69 and 70 have been received. It is an occasion of sincere satisfaction to the President to know that His Majesty the King has recovered his health and that his popularity has augmented during his long and painful confinement.

The remarks of Mr. Rogier, concerning the condition of our domestic struggle, might surprize us if we had not too many other proofs that Europe as might naturally be suspected, reasons in regard to our affairs under the influence of its own temporary interests and impulses, and not those which are inspired by concern for our own permanent safety and welfare, or even the permanent welfare of Europe itself. There is, nevertheless, an opinion in foreign circles that does appear unaccountable, namely that this Government with the loyal people that are sustaining it are desiring, or being prepared to desire a compromise with the insurrection.

Nou country in the world has ever poured out, in a equal period, so much of its treasure and its blood to save its integrity and its independence...

These facts may be expected to satisfy Europe that the insurrection is not likely to be brought to an end by the surrender of the destinies which the country claims as its own. Our cause is now, as it was in the time of our great revolution the cause of human nature. It deserves and it yet will win the favor of all nations and of all classes and conditions of men.

[digression sur l'occupation de la Louisiane par le Général Butler]

The International Congress for the promotion of Social Sciences seems to have been wise in foregoing a discussion of American Affairs under influences committed to the extension of slavery which desolates one continent in preparing scourges for another and hindrances to civilization throughout the whole world. There is one fundamental principle of social science which cannot be too steadily kept in view by all who desire to promote the advancement of civilization, namely the principle that every people ought to be left free to establish their own institutions, regulate their own affairs, and arbitrate their own domestic conflicts.

I am, etc...

73. A. D. MANN à Ch. ROGIER - Bruxelles,
13 octobre 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Les victoires du Sud lui donnent le droit à la reconnaissance de son indépendance. Des germes de sécession existent dans les Etats du Nord qui se démembrent probablement. Les Border States doivent revenir aux Etats du Sud. En dépit des assertions de Seward, la situation économique du Sud est prospère et Mann dénonce une de ses circulaires sur l'émigration comme dissimulant des enrôlements militaires en Europe.

In a written statement, dated the 29th of May last, which the undersigned, accredited commissioner plenipotentiary of the Confederate States of America to the Government of his Majesty the King of the Belgians, had the honor to communicate to his excellency Mr. Rogier, minister of foreign affairs, of the claims of his country to a recognition by enlightened powers and States as an independent Republic, he took occasion to remark :

That the Confederate States have experienced serious reverses in the capitulation to their enemy of seaports and other valuable positions the undersigned unhesitatingly admits, but he can not admit that those reverses have occasioned the slightest dismay among his countrymen as concerns ulterior results. They have not been without their uses in rendering dearer than ever the cause of the infant Confederation to its unwearied supporters. They have conclusively established the fact that the citizens

of the Confederate States are ready to sacrifice their earnings in the face of staring indigence, rather than that their foe should be even remotely benefited by the yield of their fields. Men who are equal to such trials are not born to be conquered. This was illustrated by the Russians at Moscow, to say nothing of numerous other instances.

If hopes are indulged in the cotton manufacturing districts of Europe that the raw material will find its way to them through ports occupied by the North, they will prove mournfully, perhaps ruinously, delusive. Were the planters so far forgetful of the obligations of patriotism as to send their crops to New Orleans, the North would continue to monopolize them for her own manufacturies, and, in this manner, endeavor to possess herself exclusively of the markets of the world, to the irreparable injury of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Switzerland, the Germanic States, and other countries whose inhabitants have been employed in this industrial pursuit.

The undersigned can freely assure Mr. Rogier that the planters would be but too happy to place every pound of their products not absolutely needed for their own consumption at the disposal of the peoples of Europe, and take in return for them, as far as might be wanted, articles of European manufacture, but they will never agree that 1 pound shall pass through a port other than that over which they have entire control. Never! They would deserve to be stigmatized as sham patriots all over the earth's surface if, for the sake of pecuniary gain, they would feed the foe that would rob them of their last crumb of bread and then apply the torch of their domiciles.

His Excellency, Mr. Rogier, will have perceived that the undersigned was not too confident in the expectations which he then entertained and thus expressed. With the successful resistance on the 15th of May, at Fort Darling, on the James River, to the approach of the Federal gunboat fleet to Richmond, the victories of the Confederate arms commenced and with comparatively unimportant exceptions continued to the date of the last advices which have been received from the different theaters of war.

The strongest tide of Northern invasion, that which entered Virginia and Tennessee, has been rapidly rolled back, and with such overwhelming force as to cause the invaders to tremble with fear for the security of a portion of the domains which they rule by military law. Maryland is more likely to be united with the South than ever Virginia was to be united with the North. The clique of Unionists who

ruled Kentucky have been driven from their stronghold and pursued to the borders of Indiana and Ohio, where they seek gunboat protection. In short, all the patriotic citizens of those two States, as well as those of Missouri, resolutely aim at severing, forever, their political relations with that which remains of the old Federal Union and uniting their destinies with their Southern brethren. Nor is it probable that stipulations of peace will be accepted by the Confederate States which do not explicitly admit such a consummation. Those States have a complete identity of interest, as well commercial and agricultural, as political and social. There are rapidly multiplying indications that the States which are now leagued in warfare against the South must themselves be eventually divided and subdivided. In the extremities to which they have been driven by the Lincoln Government they are beginning to discover that their interests lie in different directions. It is ascertained practically, that that which is beneficial for New York is injurious to Pennsylvania, and that that which causes Massachusetts to prosper causes Ohio to languish. Then again they contain the most heterogeneous population that ever constituted a nation. New England is peopled almost exclusively by the descendants of the old puritanical stock. The immigrant has never been a favorite in that pharisaical land. New York is made up of every description of folk. It is difficult to determine what nationality predominates in its population. In the Northwestern States the naturalized Germans exercise a controlling political influence.

The chances are that the Pacific States will soon go off to themselves. New York will desire deliverance from New England dictation and will declare herself independent. Pennsylvania and New Jersey, having many ties in common, will unite and follow her example. The Northwestern States will act similarly. Thus the fragment that now exists of the United States will probably be partitioned into five parts.

It is quite perceptible, therefore, to the calm, observing eye that the Confederate States will constitute, according to the European mode of classification, the only power, within the embraces of the old Union, while none of the other parts, of which it was composed, will rise above a second-rate State. The undersigned can not refrain on this occasion, from an expression of his amazement at an assertion contained in the manifesto of the Federal Government to foreign Governments, over the signature of Mr. W. H. Seward, dated Wa-

shington, September 22, 1862, which appeared in the *Indépendance Belge* of the 10th instant, that-

You will easily satisfy yourself that the financial resources of the rebellion are rapidly declining and that its means for raising troops have been exhausted. On the other hand, you will perceive that the financial situation of our country is favorable, and that a prompt response will be made to the new call for troops without the material forces of the people being seriously affected.

Never did a public paper, whatever its emanation, display a more palpable misrepresentation of facts than that to which utterance is given in the above extract. The "financial resources" of the Confederate States are in a steadily improving condition, while their armies are as rapidly augmenting. On the other side, the financial situation of the Federal States is rapidly declining, while to obtain recruits it was deemed necessary to proclaim martial law. When this so-called circular was dated, gold in New York was at a premium of about 17 per cent upon the securities of the Federal Government.

On the 29th ultimo it had advanced to 23 $\frac{1}{2}$. On the 20th of September, three days after the battle of Antietam Creek, the premium on gold at Richmond receded 3 per cent. The last received quotations from New York marked gold at a premium, as has just been stated, of 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent upon Federal obligations. The last received quotations from Richmond marked gold at a premium of 20 per cent upon Confederate obligations. It may be safely assumed that the amount of the indebtedness of the Federal States is five times as large as that of the Confederate States, while the ability of the Confederate States to provide for their obligations is five times as large as that of the Federal States. For the fiscal year terminating on the 30th of June next the Federal States will not likely have within their limits for exportation to foreign countries articles to the value of 400,000,000 francs. It is believed that during the same period the Confederate States will have within their limits for exportation to foreign countries staples of the value of 2,500,000,000 francs. At the existing prices in Europe the surplus of those staples at present within their embraces would command the sum of 6,000,000,000 francs.

The undersigned deems it to be his duty to inform his Excellency, Mr. Rogier, that the Confederate States have not solicited the aid of a solitary foreign mercenary to assist them in fighting their battles.

No half-pay or other officers or privates have been invited from their homes under promises of high pecuniary reward to enter their service. From the first they had a reliant confidence that their own strength was equal to the emergency in which they found themselves placed. Nor have they attempted to allure emigrants from abroad to their own shores by inducements contained in Cabinet circulars for foreign circulation like the following :

Department of State,
Washington, August 8, 1862

At no former period of our history have our agricultural, manufacturing, and mining interests been more prosperous than at this juncture. This fact may be deemed surprising in view of the enhanced price for labor occasioned by the demand for the rank and file of the Army of the United States. It may be therefore confidently asserted that even now nowhere else can the industrious man and artisan expect so liberal a recompense for his services as in the United States.

Even in the instances where combatants are in all respects equal, honor forbids the engagement of outside aid by the one or the other and assuredly none but the most depraved of poltroons would seek for such employment with the party which avowed a vast superiority in strength, in skill, and in weapons. No one who really is a man in anything but in mere designation could enlist in a service so disgraceful. There is in no living language an epithet too strong to apply to a human being who could act so ignobly as to draw his sword against the weaker of two belligerents when that belligerent was fighting against superior numbers for the maintenance of rightful independence. The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to renew to his Excellency, Mr. Rogier, the assurance of his distinguished consideration.

(s)
A. Dudley Mann

74. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 26 - Bruxelles,
14 octobre 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann envoie le texte de sa seconde note à Rogier, affirme l'échec de la diplomatie fédérale auprès du Roi Léopold et dénonce les sympathies nordistes de l'Indépendance Belge.

Sir : Herewith I transmit a copy of a note which I yesterday sent to Mr. Rogier, minister of foreign affairs, of Belgium.

From the time of our separation with the North the Lincoln Cabinet has been most anxious to secure the good will of King Leopold, but I have satisfactory reasons for believing that it has completely failed in the accomplishment of its purpose. So upright a man and just a sovereign can assuredly see nothing to admire in a concern, scarcely deserving to be dignified with the title of government, which has notoriously outraged all the respected and respectable usages of civilization.

There can be but little doubt that l'Indépendance Belge, the most popular perhaps, but certainly not the most able, of continental journals, is under a peculiar influence in its violent hostility to the Confederate States, and yet were it left to my judgment to choose between its animosity and its friendship I would accept the former in preference upon the principle that an unwilling witness imparts inordinate importance to his own testimony. L'Indépendance occasionally has to reveal truths, and when it does so, which is not unfrequent, it serves our cause more than it harms it by the publication of glaringly false statements. Such an admission as the following contained in the last received New York Times undoes of itself all the misrepresentations prepared at Washington for circulation in Europe with respect to the Yankee victories claimed in Maryland :

General McClellan's report represents a fearful picture of life wasted in South Mountain and Antietam battles. The price paid was worth the capture or annihilation of the rebel army. What officer, or what difficulties of country, or what combination of circumstances is to be held responsible for this worst of all bargains.

I have the honor to be, etc...

75. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 74 - Bruxelles,
24 octobre 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 6.

Sanford insiste sur l'importance du rôle de l'opinion publique dans la position des Etats-Unis à l'étranger. Si les amis du Nord ne reçoivent pas les fonds nécessaires à leur action au sein de la presse, l'opinion finira par adopter les thèmes de la propagande sudiste et des milieux interventionnistes.

Sir : I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch n° 65 and 66 under date of the 6th instant.

I could not, no any thing I may have said respecting the press and public opinion in Europe, and to which you refer in your N° 66, be interpreted as desiring to suborn its organs or buy their support to our cause. It does, however, seem to me that we should not be entirely indifferent to the course of public opinion in Europe, nor to the active exertions made to mislead it to ou prejudice by various interests commercial, political and revolutionary. It is to be feared that they may lead public sentiment into channels, where it may continue long after the war shall have finished. My conviction is, that active and systematic efforts are called for, to meet these constant attacks, to reply to falsehoods by facts, to place our cause in the interest of truth, of justice and of civilization rightly before the European public and to seek to prevent its committal to the false issues *constantly pressed upon it.*

This need not, as it should not, require sacrifices to the cupidity of mercenaries. Such corrupt influence we can afford to leave to those we are fighting in the field.

What is wanted is constant, authoritative, thorough reputation of the unscrupulous falsehoods and perversions touching the United States and the war, of the partues and press in the interest of the Slave holders Rebellion.

To do this, requires special writers, men thoroughly acquainted with the politics and history of the United States and fully informed in all that relates to the war. Such men are wanting in the Continental press generally, and hence the too feeble defence of the Liberal organs to the bold assertion of the press opposed to the United States.

It seems to me but right that we should supply our friends here with the material for successful defence of our cause and refutation of the interested and unscrupulous attacks of our opponents. And we

cannot do this without offering compensation to those writers whose labor, however much their heart may be with us cannot be expected to be gratuitous.

Unless some systematic exertions are made in this field it is to be feared that public opinion will in the end, be moulded to suit the purposes of those who are laboring for the dismemberment of the Union, and that the masses will against their instinctive sympathies, be finally brought to believe there constant assertions : that the cause of all their sufferings is a thirst for empire by a cruel Government which seeks by a barbarous war to crush and subjugate a people struggling for their independence, and that the only means of terminating their distress is by putting an end to the war through intervention !

I have, etc...

76. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 29 - Hambourg,
26 octobre 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Pendant sa visite à Hambourg, Mann a reçu la visite de Bosch Spencer, ancien Ministre de Belgique à Washington, qui lui a confirmé les tendances sudistes de Rogier.

...I have just received a visit of two hours length from my old acquaintance Mr. Bosch Spencer, former minister of Belgium at Washington and present minister of that country to Sweden, and Norway, Denmark, the Hanseatic Republics, Hanover, and Oldenburg. He is an unusually well-informed diplomat, and he fully corroborates, from careful observation, the statements which I have made in the preceding paragraph. He espoused our cause during the latter days of Mr. Calhoun (⁴⁹) and has been devoted to it ever since. I have met with no foreign official who rejoices more at its triumphant establishment than he. He informed me that Mr. Rogier, minister of foreign affairs of Belgium, had just left here and that he made no concealment whatever of his proclivities for the Confederate States...

(⁴⁹) Guillaume Henri Bosch Spencer (1802-1873) fut chargé d'affaires de Belgique à Washington de 1849 à 1853 et de 1855 à la fin de 1857. John C. Calhoun (1782-1850), politicien de Caroline du Sud et ancien Vice-Président des Etats-Unis, fut le principal leader du mouvement des Southern Rights et joua un rôle déterminant dans la formation de l'idéologie qui aboutit à la sécession. *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 3, p. 410-415.

77. „Memorandum of an interview of Mr Slidell with the Emperor at St. Cloud on Tuesday, October 28, 1862,, - L.C., P.P., vol. 55/1.

Reçu par l'Empereur, Slidell lui expose ses doutes quant à la coopération britannique à une intervention dans les affaires d'Amérique. L'Empereur est sûr de l'appui Anglais car il a reçu une lettre du Roi Léopold lui recommandant toute mesure pouvant amener la paix aux Etats-Unis. Cette lettre, écrite pendant le séjour de la Reine Victoria à Bruxelles, lui paraît être le gage de l'appui anglais.

The Emperor received me in a most friendly manner; taking me by the hand, he inquired how I had been; invited me to be seated. He then asked me what news I had from America, and how our affairs were going on...

[*Slidell brosse un tableau de la situation militaire aux Etats-Unis*]

The Emperor asked : "What do you think of the joint mediation of France, England, and Russia ? Would it, if proposed, be accepted by the two parties ?" I replied that some months since I would have said that the North would unhesitatingly reject it, but that now it would probably accept it; that I could not venture to say how it would be received at Richmond. I could only give him my individual opinion.

I had no faith in England and believed that Russia would lean strongly to the Northern side; that the mediation of the three powers, when France could be outvoted, would not be acceptable; that we might perhaps, with certain assurances, consent to the joint mediation of France and England; but, knowing, as I did, the Emperor's sentiments, I would gladly submit to his umpirage. The Emperor said : "My own preference is for a proposition of an armistice of six months, with the Southern ports open to the commerce of the world. This would put a stop to the effusion of blood, and hostilities would probably never be resumed. We can urge it on the high grounds of humanity and the interests of the whole civilized world. If it be refused by the North, it will afford good reason for recognition and perhaps for more active intervention."

I said that such a course would be judicious and acceptable. Indeed, it was one that I had suggested to Mr. Thouvenel when I first saw him in February last; that I feared, however, he would find it as difficult to obtain the cooperation of England for it as for recognition. He said that he had reason to suppose the contrary; that he had a letter from the King of the Belgians which he would show me. He did so. It was an autograph letter from King Leopold to the Emperor, dated Brussels, 15 th October. The date is important, as Queen Victoria was then at Brussels (⁵⁰).

The King urges in the warmest manner, for the cause of humanity and in the interests of the suffering populations of Europe, that prompt and strenuous effort should be made by France, England, and Russia to put an end to the bloody war that now resolates America.

He expresses his perfect conviction that all attempts to reconstruct the Union of the United States are hopeless; that final separation is an accomplished fact! and that it is the duty of the great powers so to treat it that recognition or any other course that might be thought best calculated to bring about a peace should at once be adopted.

The appeal is made with great earnestness to the Emperor to bring the whole weight of his great name and authority to bear on the most important question of his day. It is universally believed that King Leopold's counsels have more influence with Queen Victoria than those of any other living man, that in this respect he has inherited the succession of the late Prince Consort. I repeated to the Emperor what I had said to Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys of the assertions of Lord Cowley and others, that no intimation of his wishes and views in the question had been made to the British Government. He smiled and said he supposed that it was in accordance with diplomatic usages to consider nothing to exist that had not been formally written; that

(⁵⁰) Sous la pression de la crise du Lancashire et des victoires de l'armée du Sud en Maryland, Russell et Palmerston envisagèrent une médiation avec la France dans la guerre d'Amérique. Ce plan fut communiqué le 24 septembre à Gladstone et au Roi Léopold. La France et la Grande-Bretagne, et peut-être aussi la Russie, proposeraient une médiation aux deux belligérants. Si le Nord refusait, la reconnaissance des Etats du Sud par les puissances européennes en serait la conséquence. Le Roi Léopold avait été approché par Palmerston (pour sonder sans doute les intentions françaises, car des remaniements ministériels en France avaient fait passer le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères aux mains de Drouyn de Lhuys) et la Reine Victoria s'était arrêté à Bruxelles deux ou trois jours après le 13 octobre en revenant d'Allemagne.

Mr. Thouvenel must have spoken to Lord Cowley, and intimated perhaps Mr. Thouvenel might not have endeavored to impress Lord Cowley with the idea that he was much in earnest. I have had strong suspicion on this score for some time past and am inclined to think that the feeling that Mr. Thouvenel did not fairly represent his views on this as well on the Italian question may have had some influence on the decision of the Emperor to dispense with the services of Mr. Thouvenel as minister of foreign affairs. It is very certain that his resignation was invited by the Emperor...

[l'entretien se poursuivit en traitant de la marine confédérée]

I forgot to mention that King Leopold, in his letter, spoke of his wishes for the success of the French arms in Mexico and the establishment under their protection of a stable and regular Government. This gave me an opportunity of alluding to the propositions I had made at Vichy and to hold out the advantages which would result to France from a cordial and close alliance between the countries, not so much depending on treaties and mere paper bonds as resulting from mutual interests and common sympathies...

78. John SLIDELL à James MASON - Paris,
29 octobre 1862 - L.C., MASON PAPERS, vol. 3.

Slidell espère que la lettre de Léopold Ier à l'Empereur au sujet d'une intervention conjointe pourra modifier l'attitude du Cabinet Britannique.

...I had a important satisfaction interieur yesterday with the Emperor at St. Cloud... I will therefore only say now that the Emperor has exerted himself to induce England and Russia to join him in proposing an armistice for six months with our ports open to all the world. He showed me an autograph letter from King Leopold warmly urging him to use every exertion to induce England and Russia to join him in recognition or any other issue likely to put an end to the war. You know I suppose the great affection and respect of Queen Victoria for her uncle. The Emperor thinks that his counsels will have great influence and perhaps Lord Palm. when he finds the Queen with us may be willing to act...

79. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 28 - Bruxelles,
29 novembre 1862 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 6.

La Société Générale de Commerce Belge, fondée récemment à Anvers, est une entreprise sudiste pour obtenir des appuis et du matériel en Europe. L'échec des tentatives de direct trade rend les Belges circonspects.

Sir : Among the many schemes of the Southern Insurgents for getting favor in Europe is that of direct trade. An individual named M. Bellot des Minières had lately made himself conspicuous in Antwerp in connection with the formation of a joint Stock Company called the "*Societe Generale de Commerce Belge*" with a capital fixed at \$ 40 million and of which \$ 20.000.000 is declared to be already subscribed : he being designated as "Governor" of the same; some prominent names in Paris are published as connected with this Company, as well as many persons in the Southern States ⁽⁵¹⁾.

I enclose the statutes of the Company as published in "L'Avenir" a journal of Antwerp which has the reputation of being in the interest of the Company and the Southern cause, the means and machinery for all which appears to come from Paris.

The only undertaking which have come to my knowledge thus far, in the part of this Company and its "Governor" are negotiations for the supplies for the Southern Armies. A large order for Military cloth, amounting I am told to about \$ 400.000 has been offered at Verviers and some large contracts for shoes have also been proposed to parties in Belgium.

The Company thus far would seem to be on paper only, and not to inspire much confidence. The unfortunate result of a similar direct-trade enterprize, some two years since, is still too fresh in the minds

(51) Cet Ernest Bellot des Minières était d'origine française et était en relations suivies avec les agents du Sud en Europe. En 1861, il avait aidé J. M. Vernon dans ses rapports avec les milieux économiques belges désireux d'établir le *direct trade* avec le Sud. Il fonda la *Société Générale de Commerce Belge* pour relancer les projets de commerce entre les Etats du Sud et la Belgique et en même temps fournir du matériel à ceux-ci. Constituée par actes les 16, 19 et 30 août 1862, dissoute le 7 octobre, reconstituée le 20 octobre, la *Société* connut de nombreux avatars et disparut rapidement. Le journal *Le Précurseur* mena une vigoureuse campagne contre Bellot et ses entreprises et entra en polémique avec des feuilles favorables à la *Société*. (Voir *Le Précurseur*, 22 et 24 août 1862, 21, 22, 23 et 24 octobre 1862).

of citizens here not to cause similar undertakings, however high-sounding their titles or accessories, to be looked upon with suspicion.

Some, who are the friends of this new "Societe Generale de Commerce Belge", intimate that it is a French enterprize located in Belgium in view of the advantages to be derived from a neutral port in the anticipated event of difficulties with the United States growing out of projects of intervention.

I have, etc...

80. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 32 - Londres,
21 novembre 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann a été informé que le Roi Léopold avait, le 15 octobre, écrit à l'Empereur pour lui recommander une médiation en Amérique qui pourrait avoir comme conséquence la reconnaissance des Etats du Sud. L'échec de la proposition française de médiation conjointe ne doit pas être attribué à Palmerston. La crise cotonnière est toujours aussi grave.

...In my N° 28, dated Brussels, November 1, I took occasion to inform you that "I shall start to Paris and London to-morrow or next day." I reached the former metropolis during the evening of the 3d and the latter on the morning of the 7th.

A few days after the date of my note to Mr. Rogier of the 13th October, a copy of which I transmitted to you with my N° 26, I received intelligence, through a channel which I am not at liberty to mention, that King Leopold had written an autograph letter on the 15th of that month to Louis Napoleon, requesting him to recognize the Confederate States and to use his influence to hasten the termination of the war of aggression prosecuted by the North. This letter was succeeded by letters of a similar character addressed by the King of the Belgians to the sovereigns of other powers and States (⁵²).

(⁵²) Le 7 octobre, le Roi avertissait Maximilien de sa démarche. "Dernièrement, lui écrivait-il, j'ai essayé de donner une impulsion à l'affaire d'Amérique. L'opinion publique très timide a fait depuis des progrès en Angleterre, pour préparer la reconnaissance des Etats du Sud comme étant tout à fait dans son intérêt. La coopération la plus franche de l'Empereur Napoléon était absolument nécessaire et il me l'a promise. La forme serait d'offrir de bons offices

The Emperor of the French declined to recognize immediately, but after a delay of two weeks, in a note addressed to the cabinet of London and St. Petersburg, by Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, his minister of foreign affairs, a copy of which is herewith transmitted, he asked Great Britain and Russia to unite with him in proposing an armistice to the belligerents of six months duration by sea and land. To this request Great Britain declined to comply for the reasons set forth in the accompanying reply of Earl Russell. Russia also declined for reasons of a somewhat similar character (53).

The animadversions of the opposition party here and of the public generally in Paris upon the refusal of the British Government to cooperate with the Government of Louis Napoleon in its benign object are extremely severe, in which our countrymen sojourning in both capitals naturally enough participate.

par l'Angleterre, la France et peut-être avec l'adhésion de la Russie. Si ces bons offices, comme il est probable, sont refusés, la reconnaissance des Etats du Sud en sera la suite logique. Lord Palmerston est de cet avis, mais il y a en Angleterre encore bien des trembleurs. Ils redoutent la capacité d'intervention des Américains. Ils devraient donc à fortiori saisir l'occasion actuelle d'agir en commun avec la France, occasion qui ne sera peut-être jamais plus si favorable. J'ai fait sentir à Napoléon combien est importante pour son opération mexicaine la reconnaissance des Etats du Sud..."

Léopold à Archiduc Maximilien - Laeken, 27 octobre 1862 - Wiener Haus - und Hofarchiv, Archives de Miramar, 1.69, El. II, n° 365. Voir E. C. CORTI, *Maximilien et Charlotte du Mexique*, Paris, 1927, t. I, p. 149.

(53) Dès le 30 octobre, l'Empereur avertissait son Ministre à Washington de sa proposition de médiation et d'un armistice de six mois. Le lendemain, Drouyn de Lhuys prévenait Lord Cowley de la décision de son maître et lui remettait une note demandant une action conjointe de la Grande-Bretagne et de la Russie, entraînant un armistice et la levée du blocus. La Russie, favorable au Nord, déclina immédiatement la proposition française. En Grande-Bretagne, Palmerston fit trancher la question par le Cabinet les 11 et 12 novembre. Lord Russell se fit l'avocat de l'acceptation du projet français mais rencontra la ferme opposition d'une partie du Cabinet groupée autour de George Lewis, qui craignait une réaction violente des Etats du Nord devant un armistice par trop favorable au Sud. Palmerston soutint faiblement Russell tout en essayant de sauvegarder sa position au sein du Gouvernement. En conséquence, le 13, Russell informait Cowley du rejet par le Cabinet britannique de la proposition française de médiation conjointe. La tiédeur subite de Palmerston envers une médiation s'explique par la défaite du Sud à Antietam à la mi-septembre. Le 22 octobre, il avait averti Russell de ses résolutions attentistes devant l'échec de Lee et il ne fit presque rien pour soutenir son collègue devant le Cabinet. Russell excusa le refus britannique par celui de la Russie et la crainte d'un conflit avec les Etats du Nord. Le 13 novembre, averti du refus anglais, l'Empereur fit publier dans les organes gouvernementaux le texte complet de ses notes, rejettant ainsi sur la Grande-Bretagne la responsabilité du prolongement d'une crise désastreuse pour l'industrie européenne.

I was fully prepared beforehand for that which has occurred, and it has been an invariable rule with me never to lose the equanimity of my temper while engaged in the attainment of a diplomatic object, I have carefully restricted a manifestation of my dissatisfaction at the decision of the British monarchy; and the more so as I have the best of reasons for believing that good to our interests in this instance will proceed from that which is condemned as an evil.

I fear I shall subject myself in the estimation of my Government to a classification with the overcredulous, on account of my mistaken faith (so frequently expressed in my dispatches) in the earnest desire of the venerable British Premier for our triumphant and early success; but I have now unquestionable proofs which I communicate to the President to-day, in a letter to be filed in the Executive office, that I have not been mistaken in the confidence which I have reported since the affair of the *Trent* occurred in the renowned statesmen of Europe.

You must not infer that it is from a want of unlimited confidence in the discreet administration of the State Department that I directly address the President. I do so solely because a dispatch directed to yourself as Secretary of State is placed among the public records, and as public property may, however confidential, be called for by Congress and furnished to that body 20 years after its date; whereas a letter written by a representative abroad to the President belongs exclusively to that eminent personage and may, at his option, be destroyed or taken away with him when he retires from his position.

I design to leave here for Brussels via Paris to-morrow. It is not unlikely that I shall seek an audience of King Leopold shortly after my arrival there.

The last centime of the fund created by public and private charity for the relief of the operatives at Ghent and elsewhere in Belgium, has been expended. A bill providing 500,000 francs for their benefit was introduced in the chamber last Monday, the first day of the session. The British Parliament, when that body meets in February, will have to vote at least £ 5,000,000 for the alleviation of the distress in Lancashire.

I have, the honor, etc...

81. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 33 - Bruxelles,
29 novembre 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann demande son élévation au rang d'envoyé extraordinaire et ministre plénipotentiaire comme une mesure de déférence envers le Roi Léopold et son attitude envers le Sud.

Sir : My N° 32 was dated "London, November 21, 1862", On the 23d I returned to this metropolis.

It is proper that I should mention that your N° 3 has not been received, and equally so that I should be informed whether all my dispatches reached their destination. The first number was dated London, February 17, 1862.

If King Leopold, acting understandingly with the Governments of Europe as "Le doyen des Souverains," were to manifest his readiness to recognize the Confederate States, I should find myself in a most embarrassing position. From some cause or other, which I have been indifferent to ascertain, I am simply accredited as a joint commissioner to the minister of foreign affairs, while my other colleagues are furnished with letters to the potentates of the country wherein they are to reside in an official capacity, and commissioned as envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary.

My instructions, dated Richmond, August 23, 1861, prepared by your worthy and distinguished predecessor, Mr. Hunter, simply remarked : "I have the honor to inform you that it is the President's desire that you should represent the Confederate States in Belgium, to the Government of which country you already have letters of credence and introduction."

"The instructions, which you received on your departure from Montgomery you will follow as far as advisable during your residence at Brussels."

"I have further to inform you that the President has appointed the Hon. James M. Mason, of Virginia, commissioner to Great Britain. On his arrival in London he will confer freely with you on the subject of his mission and I am confident that you will give him the benefit of your advice and experience in relation thereto."

I have no vanity to gratify, no ambition to satiate in desiring the appointment of special envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Kingdom of Belgium. To bask in the rays of royalty may be an enjoyment to many of my countrymen, but I must confess

that I have seen enough of court and court life to gratify my curiosity. But in my opinion it is eminently due to one of the best and wisest of existing monarchs that, in view of the friendly interest which he has manifested in our behalf, he should be treated by us with the highest consideration that it is in our power to bestow.

If I had a letter of introduction to him, designating me as special envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary it is not unlikely that he would at once formally receive me and thus officially acknowledge the independence of the Confederate States. There is not so much as the shadow of a doubt that his Majesty superinduced the note of Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, addressed to the cabinets of London and St. Petersburg. I have the honor, etc...

82. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 35 - Bruxelles,
18 décembre 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann estime que l'échec de la proposition française d'armistice est due à Napoléon III qui n'a pas soutenu à fond les vues du Roi Léopold. Il croit à des menaces du Gouvernement fédéral qui auraient empêché la Belgique de prendre l'initiative d'une reconnaissance du Sud. La solution serait peut-être que les Etats européens demandent au Roi, leur doyen, de prendre cette mesure et promettent de le soutenir.

Sir : The proposal of the Emperor of the French for an armistice has, it appears, been received in the United States with unqualified disfavor. I was quite confident that this would occur. The Democrats dared not, as a party, give it their sanction. They were too astute to put themselves in a position which would have been considered one of downright hostility to the prosecution of the war. That which I believe they would have rejoiced secretly at beholding, was the unconditional recognition of the Confederate States by the Government of Europe. This would have made them potent, if not irresistible in promptly arresting the bellicose propensities of the Lincoln concern. They could have justly taken the high ground that our independence was regarded by civilized nations as an accomplished indisputable fact, and that it was wearying universal public reason longer to war for the reestablishment of the Union.

If the honest counsels of King Leopold had prevailed, if the thought that was uppermost in his mind had been accepted by Louis Napoleon, I believe that by this time we might have gone safely into winter quarters, from thence never to emerge to enter the battlefield. When I learned that a proposal for an armistice was substituted for a matter-of-fact measure I saw and sorrowed silently over the termination of the hopes which I indulged for such a benign result. The advantages that had been secured in our interests in the recent elections, it was quite apparent to my mind would be neutralized, temporarily at least, by an offer which the triumphant party was unprepared to espouse.

Now what is to be done to recover the ground which has been lost ? The question is not easy of solution. I am disposed to believe that Seward has assumed insolent language, made up of threats, against this Government, and that in the absence of a Navy and ample coast defenses, it would be deemed rashness for Belgium to formally take the initiative of our acknowledgment. To obviate this difficulty I am anxious to get an understanding between the European powers and States, that they shall indicate to the King of the Belgians, as their doyen, their desire for our recognition, and that if he will agree to set the example, they will immediately emulate it and share with him any consequences which may grow out of the procedure. With the best will imaginable of the King of the Belgians, this is as much as he can reasonably be expected to do.

83. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
18 décembre 1862 - S.P., 140/10.

Par l'intermédiaire d'amis, Sanford s'est efforcé de combattre un mouvement d'opinion en faveur de l'intervention dirigé de Paris. Les embarras français au Mexique empêcheront une action dans les affaires américaines.

Dear Sir : There is a systematic effort emanating from Paris to popularize the idea of intervention in some shape in our affairs. Not only elaborate articles in the Reviews, etc... but also in the newspapers. I have been providing through friends for replies to some which have appeared here.

The Mexican expedition is giving France a satiety of foreign intervention (.....) The Emperor must soon be compelled to make a new loan, and with these necessities he will hardly be apt to frighten the financial world, with prospects of serious difficulties with us. You will doubtless have noticed how the Chambers of Commerce are stimulated to endorse his Armistice proposition. The intercepted Jecker correspondence comes here in good time — of course it has received publicity here and will naturally be intercepted at the french frontier.

The President's message ⁽⁵⁴⁾ is received generally with favor and comes opportunely in aid against the instantly reiterated assertion that tariffs and not slavery is the cause of the war and its object — and the evidence of our formidable power and resources as given in the reports of secretaries cannot but work good fruits in the minds of the interventionists.

Very, etc...

84. L. JOTTRAND père à H. S. SANFORD - non daté -
S.P., 123/7.

Jottrand transmet deux mémoires demandés par Sanford sur des institutions belges. Il a échoué dans son rôle d'intermédiaire auprès du Journal de Bruxelles qui a refusé de publier une réfutation de ses articles sur l'Amérique qui devait être préparée par Jottrand. L'Observateur lui étant d' difficile d'accès, Jottrand propose à Sanford de s'adresser au Précurseur d'Anvers, qui lui semble être très bien disposé envers le Nord. Espérant une victoire rapide de celui-ci, il prépare un article dans ce sens pour la Revue Trimestrielle.

...You will find herewith the paper I have written, at your desire, on our law in matter of bankruptcy. I have been brought in writing it a little further than I intended at first. But I think that my paper, as it is now, may be of some usefulness to anyone who should be entrusted with the care of making a law on bankruptcy. I regret that I were not able to write it in English, my knowledge of that language not being sufficient to audace me to try it in writing on long and special subjects.

(54) Voir note 56.

I beg you to remember that you will have the paper on our military school about the end of this year 1862, on the conditions you empowered me to make in favour of the clerk of the military school to whom the redaction of that paper has been ordered.

I will have redeemed so the double pledge I had ten with you these last weeks.

Now, respecting my interference with the *Journal de Bruxelles* for the publication of some refutation you desired of the articles on America published lastly by the said newspaper, I regret to make you know that my interference has failed. The *Journal de Bruxelles* did not admit my request and would not give motives thereabout. In the situation I am with that newspaper, whose opinions are not at all mine, the matter must drop. The good dispositions I was in to prepare myself the refutation, with the aid of your notes, will have no effect, as I object very to make communications of any kind to the *Observateur belge* whose editors are not well known to me, since my friend Mr. Van Be[mm]el⁽⁵⁵⁾ has ceased to be amongst them. For the *Précurseur d'Anvers*, whose correspondance from New-York is very favorable to the Northern part of the States, I think, you would find in that newspaper, which enjoys a much larger circulation than the *Observateur*, a very good organe, if you wanted one for the elucidation before our public of the american affairs. The *Précurseur* objected hastily to the translation and publication of the correspondance on the Jecker's affair, because the length of the documents should have encombered his sheet of paper and because he had published a good analyse of that correspondance in the sample once I send you last week. But I think he would be disposed to place himself at your disposal as I said hereabove. It would only be necessary to send him the matters entirely prepared for publication, in the french language, So I think, because what I write here is partly based on mere conjunctions. Have that Antwerp newspaper directly searched on the matter if you think it proper.

I congratulate you upon the success of Burnsides in crossing the Rappahannock and partake of your hope he will hold for Christmass holidays in the capital of *Secessia*. Let all the friends of humanity at

(55) Eugène Van Bommel (1824-1880), professeur à l'Université de Bruxelles, directeur de la *Revue Trimestrielle*, placée sous le signe du libre-examen et du libéralisme. Il collabora comme éditeur à l'*Observateur* pendant les six premiers mois de 1862. *Biographie Nationale*, t. XXVI, c. 163-167.

large get rid of that abominable aristocracy of northern planters (*sic*): a good bargain at seice for true Democrats and (.....) Christians.

I think that the paper I intend to prepare on your affairs for publication in the *Revue trimestrielle* of next april, will come as a review of your *then settled* difficulties. So much the better, the trial of your political institutions will have been complete then in a short time and proved good in every rapports in peace and in war, in moral power and in material power, in judicious saving and energetic spending; in quest of happiness during life, and neglect of life when liberty, the just cause of that happiness is at stake. How long do you think the wretched monarchs of the continent will yet last in contrast with you republican examples ?

Heartfully your most obedient, etc...

85. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 88 - Bruxelles,
25 décembre 1862 - N. A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 6.

Le Message Annuel de Lincoln a produit une bonne influence sur l'opinion publique. Cependant, même les amis de l'Union ne croient pas à sa victoire et sont partisans d'une solution négociée.

Sir : I have had the honor to receive your dispatches to n° 77 inclusive. The impression caused by the President's Message (⁵⁶) here, and, so far as my observation extends, elsewhere is excellent. Notwithstanding the enimity, and even the malignity which prevails in many quarters against the cause of the Union, I have not seen one attempt at a reply to it. It has done much to disarm our opponent, and strengthen the hands of our friends abroad. The reports of the Secretaries, as showing the immense power and resources of our country, especially in the creation of a large and effective navy, have made a deep impression and I am struck with the tone of apprehension, now, of those hitherto disposed to sneer at the "fall of the great republic". At last we become a war power of the first order, likely to impose our principles and policy upon European powers.

(⁵⁶) Second Message annuel du Président Lincoln sur l'état de l'Union - Washington, 1^{er} décembre 1862 (publié dans *The State of the Union Messages of the President 1790-1966*, ed. par F. L. Israel, New York, 1967, vol. II, p. 1068-1084.)

I think intervention is failing with disrepute with these evidences of power and the success of our arms. Still, the general sentiment, I regret to say, is that the restoration of the Union is impossible; and there are among our friends those who counsel the acceptance of a separation rather than continue a struggle which they fear may lead to exhaustion, and perhaps further scission...

86. J. SLIDELL à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 22 - Paris,
27 décembre 1862 - L.C., P.P., vol. 55/1.

Slidell a reçu la visite d'Edouard Blondeel, Ministre de Belgique à Washington, alors en congé en Europe. Ce dernier lui affirme les bonnes dispositions du Roi Léopold pour le Sud et l'assentiment originel du Cabinet anglais à la proposition française de médiation.

...Mr. Blondeel, whom you will recollect as Belgian minister at Washington and who is now on leave of absence, called to see me a few days since. He informs me that the King of the Belgians is most earnestly in favor of our recognition or of any other kindred measure, and speaks confidently of the early assent of England to the overtures of France (⁵⁷).

(⁵⁷) Au cours de cet entretien, Slidell confia à Blondeel que le Roi avait envoyé une lettre autographe à Napoléon III. Craignant les répercussions d'une indiscretion de Slidell ou d'un autre diplomate confédéré, Blondeel lui recommanda le silence et s'empessa de prévenir Rogier. "En passant par Paris, lui écrivait-il, j'ai été informé que notre Roi avait adressé une longue lettre autographe à l'Empereur qui l'a communiquée à Monsieur Slidell. J'ai recommandé à ce dernier la plus stricte discrétion sur ce document. Je crois lui avoir démontré que cette discrétion lui était commandée par ses propres intérêts. Toutefois, il pourrait n'être pas le seul qui ait reçu cette confiance et pour le cas où le bruit en arriverait à Washington, j'ai voulu, dans ma lettre à Mr. Seward préparer d'avance le terrain d'une explication..." Notre diplomate profita donc d'un rapport amical sur l'opinion européenne adressé au Secrétaire d'Etat fédéral pour placer, sans citer nommément le Roi ni des circonstances précises, de telles initiatives de paix sous le couvert de l'intérêt porté aux Etats-Unis eux-mêmes. "C'est qu'il y aurait, écrivait-il à Seward, erreur de croire que les partisans d'une médiation sont par là-même les ennemis de l'Union, de l'Amérique. Ils peuvent se tromper, leur *amicale sollicitude* peut fort bien ne pas vous convenir, mais ils ne sont pas guidés par un sentiment hostile..." Copie de cette lettre fut transmise à Rogier par Blondeel.

E. Blondeel à Ch. Rogier - Borgo San Sepolchro, 28 décembre 1862.

E. Blondeel à W. H. Seward - Turin, 14 décembre 1862. A.G.R., Papiers Rogier, farde 122.

Mr. B. also informed me that he knew from unquestionable authority that the Prince of Wales openly and unreservedly expresses his warm sympathies for the Confederate cause and declares himself in favor of immediate recognition.

...

87. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
11 décembre 1862 - S.P., 140/10.

En cas de décès du Roi, la situation serait grave pour la Belgique car le Duc de Brabant lui semble manquer de popularité et de largeur de vues.

...The King, while called well, is far from being so. The stone is succeeded by the gravel; one kidney is seriously affected; should the other be attacked his chances are slight. On the 16th, the diplomatic corps will assist at a Te Deum on his 73rd birthday. I do not think his prospects good for another. The coming year with the storm clouds hanging over Europe and the possible demise of the King, will be a critical one for Belgium. It is a great misfortune that the duc de Brabant is an invalid and not popular. An amiable prince of good education and studious habits, he lacks the talent of attracting people to him, has made but trifling advances to the Bourgeoisie which is the brain of the country and will control its destinies and they do not seem to like him. No prince of Europe has greater opportunities for distinction and popularity than he, taking the lead in this little state in the way of liberal progress. It could be made much more than it is commercially and politically with a prince of vigor and practical intelligence to open the way. He does not seem to understand that to secure the throne to which the people called his father, he must do something, give some evidence of his ability and liberal spirit, pledges for the future. In these times, Kings seem to be put aside as readily and with as little disturbance as formerly were Ministers. Both the princes are well educated, have all the domestic virtues, but they seem to lack vigor, initiative, as rulers they would be as cautious conservative as the father, but more will be required of them, who cannot bring on the other side the position and influen-

ce among reigning families of the King, which has given Belgium a position in Europe far beyond it would be entitled to of itself.

Very respectfully, etc...

88. J. BIGELOW à H. S. SANFORD - Paris, s.d. (fin 1862) - S.P., 115/12.

Bigelow a essayé d'entrer en contact avec Berardi pour la publication d'articles rassurants sur l'état des finances nordistes. Il minimise l'importance du mouvement pacifiste aux Etats-Unis.

My dear Sanford : Berardi left Paris day before yesterday. I called immediately upon the receipt of your note to learn that fact. I send him a letter to night which I hope he will show you and publish. I give him the exact statement of our public debt up to Oct. 3d which I red. from Chase (⁵⁸) yesterday. The letter for the paper purports to come from a friend in New York. Beckwith is alarmed about the armistice movement. I tell him not to peal till the water comes but he insists that he must. Is there any thing whatever in story farther than that the South and its sympathisers failing in assassinating Lincoln, in dividing the North, in securing for able intervention or some friendly mediation from foreign powers, are now supplicants for an armistice and like the Irishmen wishing to hold on while they spit in their hands.

I think it is the old story of the hoosier who came to General Jackson for a foreign mission and failing in getting that and many other less desirable offices would up with begging for a pair of the General's old pantaloons. Tell me what Berardi says if he does not publish.

Yours, etc...

(⁵⁸) Salmon P. Chase (1808-1873); ancien démocrate opposé à la direction sudiste du parti, il revint républicain. Sénateur depuis 1849, il devint Secrétaire au Trésor sous Lincoln de 1861 à 1864. Avec l'aide de Jay Croke, il put faire admettre par le public de grandes quantités de papier-monnaie. Opposé à la "modération" de Lincoln, il fut proposé comme successeur de Lincoln par les radicaux. Il démissionna en 1864 et devint *Chief Justice* à la Cour Suprême. *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 4, p. 27-34.

89. H. B. ANTHONY ⁽⁸⁰⁾ à H. S. SANFORD -
Washington, 3 janvier 1863 - S.P., 114/3.

Le Sénateur Sumner et l'évêque Fitzpatrick attribuent à l'influence de Sanford les sentiments pro-fédéraux de l'opinion belge.

...Sumner ⁽⁸⁰⁾ shewed me, the other day, a letter from Bishop Fitzpatrick ⁽⁸¹⁾ in which he praises you very highly. Speaking of the exception, which Belgium presents to the general sentiment of Europe against our cause, he attributes it altogether to you and believes, as I do, that if we had such men as you at all the courts, a very different feeling would prevail towards us...

90. A. D. MANN à Ch. ROGIER - Bruxelles,
5 janvier 1863 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann transmet à Rogier une note demandant officiellement la reconnaissance des Etats du Sud par la Belgique. Il justifie cette demande en rappelant les tentatives belges de direct-trade et les intérêts commerciaux existant entre les deux pays. Une reconnaissance du Sud par le Roi Léopold entraînerait l'adoption de cette mesure par les autres gouvernements européens et forcerait le Nord à négocier, mettant ainsi fin aux hostilités.

In the communications which the undersigned has hitherto addressed to his Excellency Mr. Rogier, minister of foreign affairs,

⁽⁸⁰⁾ Henry Bowen Anthony (1815-1884), journaliste et politicien. Républicain modéré, Gouverneur du Rhode-Island puis Sénateur de 1858 à 1884. *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 1, p. 316-317.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ Charles Sumner (1811-1874), avocat et homme politique, leader abolitionniste. Sénateur en 1851, il fut le principal opposant aux délégués des Etats du Sud. Dès octobre 1861, il se prononça en faveur de l'émancipation totale des noirs. Président du Comité du Sénat pour les affaires étrangères, il exerça une influence modératrice, notamment pendant l'incident du *Trent*. Après la guerre, il fut le chef de la fraction du Sénat opposée à la politique du Président Johnson, et continua son opposition sous Grant. *Idem*, vol. 18, p. 208-214.

⁽⁸¹⁾ John Bernard Fitzpatrick (1812-1866), troisième évêque catholique de Boston et partisan des Etats du Nord. Il séjourna à Bruxelles de la mi-1862 à l'été 1864. *Idem*, vol. 6, p. 440-441.

he has refrained from asking for the formal recognition of the independence of the Confederate States of America by the Government of Belgium, as ample as were his justifications for proceeding to make such request. The time, however, has at length arrived when, without a disregard of the trusts which were confided to him, he can no longer delay signifying his solicitude that such recognition shall occur.

In performing this duty it is proper that the undersigned should inform his Excellency Mr. Rogier that when the Confederate States, immediately after the adoption of their Constitution, determined to send commissioners to Europe to establish relations with the most influential nations thereof, they primarily associated Belgium with Great Britain, France, and Russia, contracted was her dimensions relatively, and small as were her population. Those commissioners, Mr. Yancey, Mr. Rost, and the undersigned, were accredited jointly with full powers to the minister of foreign affairs of each of the Empires and Kingdoms above mentioned. Subsequently the commission was divided and enlarged so as to include Spain, when the undersigned was designated as commissioner plenipotentiary near the Government of this realm. The considerations which actuated the President of the Confederate States in embracing Belgium in the sphere of the commission were, as doubtless has appeared obvious to his Excellency Mr. Rogier, of a twofold character.

1. The exalted position which as a potentate and statesman his Majesty the King of the Belgians enjoyed among the rulers of the earth.

2. The earnest and ardent desire manifested by Belgium, alike by her Government and her people, to establish direct-trade intercourse with the Confederate States prior to their withdrawal from the former Union.

The undersigned scarcely need state to his Excellency Mr. Rogier that his Majesty the King of the Belgians is believed to exercise, in all questions affecting their welfare, a benign influence upon the councils of civilized nations. His long and successful reign, attended with the largest amount of individual prosperity to the governed, has been a source of unceasing and gratifying interest to the self-governing citizens of the Confederate States. Between Belgium and those States there is almost a perfect identity of material interests. They are, in fact, natural commercial allies which even the dissimi-

larity in their institutions has a tendency to strengthen rather than so sever. Under judicious treaty stipulations, the former may become to a considerable extent the workshop of the latter, thus rendering the latter practically more valuable to the former as a customer than ever was a colony to a crown. Consequently, it is quite natural that the Government and citizens of the Confederate States should entertain the belief that it is eminently fit and proper for King Leopold I to take the initial step in the unconditional acknowledgement of their independence. Such a measure, it is confidently believed, would be joyously hailed and promptly emulated by every member of the European family. Moreover, a majority of the people who now constitute the United States would, in view of the utter hopelessness of the war now prosecuted, most probably find in it anodyne for their increasing cares and sorrows, and silently embrace it as an emanation calculated to eventuate in the early reestablishment of peace. The fanatical Executive and Cabinet which hold the reins of Government would alone rave, but their ravings would be as the ravings of madmen against measures of undoubted necessity.

Every man in the North who is animated by ennobling sentiments is beginning to ask : "For what good is this war still prosecuted ?" A dwarf, as has been well said by a popular author, may trip up the heels of a giant, and for a time bend him to the ground. Such has virtually been the case with a desperate faction in the power which it has managed to exercise over the democracy of the North. But that democracy, conservative in its character as concerns the Constitution, has recently caused its voice to be distinctly heard, and the indications are multiplying that the employment of its strength will soon be severely felt at Washington. The strongest weapon that could be placed in the hands of the advocates of peace in the North for the termination of hostilities assuredly would be the recognition of the Confederate States by a universally esteemed European Government. No sovereign ever has accomplished, or ever can accomplish in his exterior policy, a more sublime work. It would, indeed, be eminently worthy of the sage and just King of the Belgians. When the States which had previously pronounced their everlasting separation from the Federal Union met in convention and formed a Confederacy, their title to independence was as legitimate as that of any nation that ever existed. This title had its foundation in the sovereignty of each, as was explained to his Excellency Mr. Rogier by the undersigned in his note of the 29th May last. But if there had

not been so much as the shadow of such a title, they have incontestably established their rights of unassailable validity to unqualified admission into the family circle of nations. There is not a solitary requisition for such admission, as international law has hitherto been administered in similar cases, that they did not comply with long ago.

To establish this assertion it is only necessary to state irrefutable facts. From the day of its creation in February, 1861, the Government of the Confederate States has been as stable as any government within the confines of civilization. Under its salutary counsels it commands the sincere affections and the consequent unanimous enthusiastic support of the governed. It has brought, with a matchless rapidity, armies into the field, which, with comparatively unimportant exceptions, have beaten in action the armies of their enemy seldom less than double their number in rank and file, and composed, in a great degree, of German, Irish, and other European mercenaries. Its power for repelling aggression becomes more manifest as the contest is lengthened as may be distinctly seen in the inglorious retreat of General Burnside before one-third of the number who were arrayed against his forces in the battlefield adjacent to Fredericksburg. This Government, the undersigned is authorized to assure his Excellency Mr. Rogier, entertains no Utopian theories, no propaganda schemes, no notions of bettering the condition of other countries by attempting to intermeddle directly or indirectly in their affairs. In its intercourse with foreign Governments its steady policy will be the maintenance of cordially harmonious relations. Peace and commerce with all well-intentioned countries will be its cherished wish and its constant resolute aim. The undersigned, before closing this note, may state to his Excellency Mr. Rogier that he is not unmindful of the vehement threats for revenge which have been made by the Lincoln Administration against such nations as might recognize the independence of the Confederate States ; but those threats were practically as meaningless, as regards execution, as the promises of that Administration, commencing over eighteen months ago and regularly renewed ever since, that the South should be subjugated within ninety days were practically valueless. Similar threats were uttered against such foreign Governments as might have the temerity to recognize the Confederate States as a belligerent, and, as has been seen, in no case has their execution been attempted. Such a procedure would have been as absurd as that of undertaking to coerce, *vi et armis*, those States into submission to the North. It would have

assuredly provoked the unmitigated indignation, and, if necessary, the unsheating of the sword, by most of the powers and States within the confines of civilization. As the principles of public life are eternal, so all orderly Governments have a paramount interest in repressing international outlawries. Without the existence of such an interest, national law would become invalid and international law a lamentable mockery. The undersigned deems it to be his duty to transmit herewith a certified copy of the Constitution of the Confederate States.

The undersigned avails himself of thi opportunity to express to his Excellency Mr. Rogier the assurance of his distinguished consideration.

(s.) A. Dudley Mann.

91. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
16 janvier 1863 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 6.

La question de l'esclavage influence l'opinion en faveur du Nord et la presse belge lui emboîte le pas. Mgr. Fitzpatrick, évêque de Boston, a été très utile à Sanford en se faisant le propagandiste de la cause nordiste auprès des milieux catholiques belges.

Dear Sir : I have not written of late for the reason that I have nothing of interest to write about, if I had the spirits.

I have been confined here, owing to daily social duties, and have not yet made my projected trip to Lille, nor been lately to Paris. We are gaining steadily in public opinion in Europe on account of our action touching slavery. Jeff Davis retaliatory proclamation has an excellent effect for us. We are beyond the necessity of care for European opinion, we shall be left to fight ou own battles without interference.

Whatever the tone of the press in other capitals, I am happy to say that here the principal organs of public opinion, Liberal or catholic, are friendly to us, only one having made under the impulse of a series of articles from Paris a feeble attempt to injure us. The "suffering cotton interests" I hear about occasionally and when from officials, the reproach receives curt retort. I am quite out of patience with the impudent tone of patronage of foreign governments about the influence of our war upon some of their particular interests.

Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston is with me and I have brought

him at my table in relation with the most prominent members of the Government, of the court and society. In this ultra Catholic community, the dicta of a high church functionary touching our war, its cause and bearings, have great weight. He has done us much good in strengthening our cause with that class which has been most prejudiced against us. The statistics of the Catholics North and South and their relative increase in the past 50 years he has used with great effect. He has charming genial manners and the women are crazy about him.

The Kings condition again inspires disquietude ; he will have to undergo an other operation when in condition to endure it; another stone remains to be crushed and removed. He has not appeared at the Court Balls, where he has been represented by the Duchess of Brabant and the Count of Flandres, with which latter by the way, I am on very pleasant terms of almost daily intercourse...

[le reste de la lettre concerne le rachat du péage de l'Escaut]

The winter is exciting apprehensions for the next crops, owing to its mildness another crop failure in Europe would cause immense distress but would insure us peace abroad, immense emigration and another year of large grain exports. Very, etc...

92. J. P. BENJAMIN à A. D. MANN - n° 7 - Richmond,
17 janvier 1863 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Benjamin se réjouit de l'intervention du Roi Léopold auprès de l'Empereur mais refuse d'élever Mann au titre d'Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire à Bruxelles.

...The President is fully sensible of the generous and independent course adopted by His Belgian Majesty in his recent correspondence with the French Emperor, and his interviews with the British Queen. His earnest and urgent autograph appeal to the former has been communicated to us from another source and merits our warm and sincere acknowledgment. On conference with the President however I find that he entertains doubts which cannot easily be removed as to the propriety of the course suggested by you of sending

to you a special commission as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to that Court. His principal objection seems to consist in the unwillingness to set the example, at the very outset of our career, of establishing our foreign intercourse on a scale of useless prodigality. A diplomatic agent of such high grade at the Court of Brussels would render necessary a like agency at all other European Courts of the same dignity, under penalty of giving offence or at least ground for misconstruction and complaint. It is believed that the United States have never had an agent at that Court of higher grade than Minister Resident. Under the circumstances it seems more proper, as well as more just to yourself, no to change your present position as Commissioner, as the President will thus have it in his power to assign to you after our recognition, at some one of the Continental Courts, a position with such grade as would be agreeable to yourself, while at present it would not be expedient to send you a commission of higher grade than Minister Resident for the Belgian Court...

93. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé Bruxelles,
20 janvier 1863 - S.P., 140/11.

Les complications internationales empêcheront une immixtion européenne dans les affaires américaines et l'accentuation de la politique d'émancipation gagnera au Nord les sympathies populaires. En France, on s'agite beaucoup en faveur d'une médiation et le Roi Léopold serait disposé à y prêter son concours.

...I think matters are getting more satisfactorily muddled in Europe every day. Greece with its Republican tendencies, Turkey with its crazy Sultan, Russia's movements on her borders, Prussia with the gathering storm between King and people, are all reasons for keeping European fleets and armies at home and from complications abroad. [...] Meanwhile, the work of reaction touching our war is bravely going on. Whatever the doubts of policy at home, for Europe the more plain spoken and decided is emancipation, the more popular sentiment declares for us. [...] The proclamation of course takes well in Europe, however much an interested press in England may inveigh against it. In France I notice pressure of all kinds is

brought to bear on public opinion in favor of mediation. The *Moniteur* is treating us very unfairly. I have little doubt that King Leopold would also like to "mediate". I treat all suggestions on this subject very curtly...

94. A. MALESPINE ⁽⁶²⁾ à H. S. SANFORD - Paris,
25 janvier 1863 - S.P., 139/11.

Le journaliste français Malespine, aux gages de Sanford, hésite à collaborer au journal L'Europe, de Francfort, comme le souhaitait le diplomate fédéral. Continuant ses articles anti-esclavagistes dans l'Opinion Nationale et l'Indépendance, il réclame de nouveaux subsides.

Cher Monsieur : J'ai été malade pendant plusieurs jours. Je craignais que vous ne fussiez venu pendant ce temps à Paris, et je regrettais de n'avoir pas eu l'occasion de vous demander si vous teniez essentiellement à ce que j'envoie de temps à autre des correspondances ou des articles à l'*Europe*. Je n'ai pu voir à Paris M. Ganesco, et pour diverses raisons toutes personnelles, il m'est impossible de m'entendre à ce sujet avec celui qui le remplace. D'un autre côté, j'aurais vraiment peu de goût à écrire dans l'*Europe* ; c'est un journal qui, jusqu'à présent est très mal fait, dans un esprit douteux, très peu lu et n'exerçant aucune influence. Je vous avouerai en outre que j'ai peu de temps libre. L'*Opinion Nationale*, le *Siècle*, le *Monde Illustré*, l'*Indépendance* et l'*Annuaire Encyclopédique* me laissent peu de loisirs, bien que je n'écrive très régulièrement et tous les jours que dans l'*Opinion Nationale*. La plupart des articles que je fais exigent beaucoup de recherches ; mais ne vaut-il pas mieux en publier un moins grand nombre et les nourrir de chiffres et de renseignements ? A quoi servirait de multiplier des phrases vides de sens et de prodiguer au Nord des louanges banales ? Ce qu'il faut ce sont des

(62) A. Malespine, collaborateur de l'*Opinion Nationale*, était coutumier de la propagande "inspirée". Lorsqu'il collaborait à l'*Opinion*, il était également à la solde de la Légation de Prusse et se mit entièrement au service de celle-ci lorsqu'il était propriétaire de la *Presse Libre*. Voir Lynn M. CASE, *French Opinion on War and Diplomacy during the Second Empire*, in-8°, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1954, p. 5.

faits indiscutables. Si vous y tenez beaucoup cependant, indiquez moi par quel moyen je puis faire parvenir mes articles à Mr. Ganesco ; je lui en enverrai.

L'article que j'ai publié dans l'*Opinion Nationale* me vaudra beaucoup de récriminations. Mais le ton, le sommaire des lois qui régissent l'esclavage dans le Sud et les chiffres que j'ai groupés (les seuls exacts qui aient encore été publiés) ont déjà vivement attiré l'attention. Dans le second article, je reproduirai en partie un [effacé] et très beau discours relatif à l'abolition de l'esclavage, prononcé par M. Ch. Faulkner ⁽⁶³⁾ en 1832 devant la Législature de la Virginie.

Vous verrez très probablement ce soir ou demain dans l'*Indépendance*, sous forme de correspondance ou autrement un article de moi sur la législation qui régit les Français possesseurs d'esclaves à l'étranger. Un certain nombre d'entre eux ont positivement l'intention de protester contre la proclamation du premier janvier, qu'ils assimilent à un acte de confiscation les frappant illégalement. Voilà pourquoi j'ai résumé cette question au point de vue du droit. Je pense qu'il suffira d'ébruiter les scandaleuses prétentions de ces quelques Français pour en faire justice.

Les dernières nouvelles des Etats-Unis ont produit un bien fâcheux effet, et il est sérieusement à craindre, si ce n'est déjà fait que le gouvernement français ne reprenne son projet de médiation. Le Ministre de France à Washington, M. Mercier, comme on peut s'en convaincre par la publication des pièces diplomatiques, est tout à fait sécessionniste, et est plus que jamais, assure-t-on, à la recherche d'un nouveau prétexte pour réclamer l'intervention européenne. La perte doublement regrettable du *Monitor* a redonné du courage et réveillé l'arrogance de ceux qui commençaient à avoir peur de la marine des Etats-Unis et malheureusement l'échec de la flotte fédérale devant Galveston est venu compliquer encore la situation.

Les sécessionnistes résidant à Paris ont depuis quelques jours redoublé d'audace et d'a...[effacé] et pour leur tenir tête, il faut avoir dans le succès du Nord une confiance bien robuste.

Je vous remercie des mille francs que vous avez eu l'obligeance de me faire parvenir. Lorsque je vous demandais, il y a plusieurs semaines, si je pourrais compter pour le mois de janvier sur les deux

⁽⁶³⁾ Charles J. Faulkner (1806-1884), congressman, ministre à Paris de 1859 à 1861. Général dans l'armée du Sud. *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 6, p. 298-299.

mille francs que vous avez eu l'obligeance de me promettre, c'est que je comptais refuser tout travail qui m'aurait détourné de la question américaine, et je savais cependant qu'au mois de janvier j'aurais besoin de cette somme. Je dois quitter à la fin de ce mois l'appartement que j'occupe rue St... [effacé] 71 à Batignolles, pour aller résider Avenue de la Porte Maillot n° 3 et les mille francs restant pour le trimestre courant me seraient infiniment plus utiles à présent que plus tard.

Je regrette vraiment beaucoup d'avoir à vous reparler de cela, et je vous avouerai qu'il en coûte énormément à mon amour-propre. Je préférerais m'adresser à ceux qui me doivent 45 à 60.000 fr. à la Nouvelle-Orléans ; mais tout est perdu pour moi. Un cousin de Breckinridge (64) me doit une partie de cette somme ; c'est dire que je n'en recevrai jamais rien.

Ne craignez pas que je m'endorme pendant le reste du trimestre parce que j'aurai tout reçu ; ce sera au contraire une raison de plus pour que je travaille d'avantage. J'aurai à défendre comme par le passé une cause que je crois juste, et j'aurai de plus à acquitter envers vous une dette de reconnaissance. Agréez, etc...

(s.) A. Malespine

La *France* que je vous envoie donne des détails sur la nouvelle démarche du gouvernement français. Je réponds à cet article dans le Bulletin de l'*Opinion Nationale* de ce soir.

95. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 39 - Bruxelles,
10 février 1863 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann a reçu notification par le Comte de Borchgrave du refus du Gouvernement belge de reconnaître l'indépendance des Etats du Sud la suite de la note confédérée du 5 janvier 1863. Mann rejette cet échec sur les cabinets de Londres et de Paris et leur politique « de médiation impaticable ».

(64) John C. Breckinridge (1821-1875), vice-président des Etats-Unis sous Buchanan, candidat du parti sudiste à la présidence en 1860, partisan du compromis Crittenden. Pendant la guerre, il fut général dans l'armée du Sud, puis ministre de la Guerre. *Idem*, vol. 3, p. 7-10.

Sir : I am now enabled to inform you authoritatively that my note to Mr. Rogier of January 5 received the most respectful consideration from the Government of his Majesty King Leopold. It engaged the deliberations of the cabinet from time to time for more than a month. Finally it was decided that Belgium, in view of the obligations imposed upon her at the commencement of her existence, could not take so grave a step as to recognize us, when the great western powers shrunk from the performance of such an undertaking.⁽⁶⁵⁾ This decision was communicated to me in person at my residence, in a most courteous manner, by the Count de Borchgrave⁽⁶⁶⁾, chef de cabinet of the foreign office, a functionary who peculiarly enjoys the confidence of the Sovereign.

My primary object in making the explicit request for recognition, as I intimated to you in my N° 36, was to induce King Leopold, after he had failed in his purpose with England first, and France afterwards, to endeavor to operate upon those powers to encourage a simultaneous European movement upon the subject. I was careful to remark in my note that "Such a measure it is confidently believed would be

(⁶⁵) Avant de prendre cette décision, Rogier avait approché ses collègues français et britannique. Le but de Mann avait donc été atteint : présenter aux grands cabinets européens la question de la reconnaissance du Sud par la Belgique et hausser de cette façon ce problème à un niveau supérieur.

Le 13 janvier 1863, nos ministres à Londres et à Paris furent avisés de la présence de Mann dans notre pays et des divers rapports qu'il avait eus avec le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. Après avoir insisté sur le caractère non-officiel de ceux-ci, Rogier passa en revue les arguments de Mann et souligna ses "considérations très flatteuses pour la Belgique et pour le Souverain qui préside à ses destinées". Persuadé que notre pays était la première puissance à laquelle la reconnaissance des Etats du Sud était demandée, il pria nos représentants de s'informer à Londres et à Paris. Nos diplomates se mirent à l'œuvre et se heurtèrent aux avis négatifs et très réservés des deux cabinets. Lord Russell tout comme Drouyn de Lhuys, prêcha la prudence à notre gouvernement, le sort des armes étant encore indécis aux Etats-Unis.

Ch. Rogier à F. Rogier et S. Van de Weyer - minute commune - Bruxelles, 13 janvier 1863. A.M.A.E., Cor. Politique, Grande-Bretagne, t. 43.

S. Van de Weyer à Ch. Rogier - n° 22 - Londres, 19 janvier 1863. *Idem*.

S. Van de Weyer à Ch. Rogier - n° 23 - Londres, 20 janvier 1863. *Idem*.

F. Rogier à Ch. Rogier - n° 102 - Paris, 23 janvier 1863. *Idem*, Cor. Politique, France, t. 21.

(⁶⁶) Comte Paul-Edouard de Borchgrave d'Altena (1827-1901); ancien Ministre de Belgique au Brésil, il fut nommé Chef du Cabinet de Charles Rogier au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. Il devint ensuite le secrétaire et le Chef du Cabinet du Roi Léopold II. Voir *Biographie Nationale*, t. XXIX, Supplément, c. 319-321.

joyously hailed and promptly emulated by every member of the European family.”

I have the best of reasons for believing that I succeeded in my purpose. But unhappily the Government of the Tuileries persisted in its policy of impracticable mediation, while Lord Palmerston could not consummate his long-cherished wishes without incurring the risk of being deprived of the seals of office by a coalition of the Conservatives, Radicals, and ultra-Abolitionists. The speeches of Earl Derby and Mr. Disraeli the first night of the session quite clearly indicated the plans which were arranged for the readvent to power of the former premier and former chancellor of the exchequer. Many of our friends in England calculated largely, until the meeting of Parliament, upon the opposition for the acknowledgment of our independence. I never for a moment indulged any such expectation. While there are many prominent members of that party who earnestly desire such an occurrence, its leaders assuredly do not nor ever have.

I am confident now, as I have been confident for many months, that the two first statesmen of Great Britain, Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone, have our cause sincerely at heart, while their two rivals, Earl Derby and Mr. Disraeli, regard with the coldest indifference the successful struggles which we have made to cast off the iron yoke which the North was anxious to impose upon us. Even Lord Malmesbury ⁽⁶⁷⁾ could not find it in his heart to raise his voice in behalf of recognition, although cordially approving the first proposition of the Emperor of the French ; while Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald ⁽⁶⁸⁾ his former first undersecretary, who was believed to be among the most ardent of our admirers, was entirely silent upon the occasion.

An answer from Washington to the last suggestion of Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys is daily looked for. No good to us, in my opinion,

⁽⁶⁷⁾ James H. Harris, 3^e Lord Malmesbury (1807-1889), figure dominante du parti conservateur et de son aile protectionniste. Il avait d'anciens liens de sympathie avec l'Empereur Napoléon III. Il essaya en vain de faire tomber le Gouvernement Palmerston en juillet 1864. Il servit comme secrétaire au Foreign Office sous divers ministères conservateurs. Il exerça ses dernières fonctions publiques comme Lord du Sceau Privé. Voir *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. IX, p. 9-12.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ William Robert Seymour Vesey Fitzgerald (1818-1885), homme politique. Représentant conservateur du Sussex de 1852 à 1865. Sous-secrétaire d'Etat au Foreign Office sous Malmesbury de 1858 à 1859. Il fut par la suite Gouverneur de Bombay. *Idem*, vol. VII, p. 151-152.

will proceed from so irresolute a proposition. It will likely be received as having been engendered in timid counsels and will be declined with an immense array of words and a grand flourish of patriotism. Will Louis Napoleon then pronounce in favor of unconditional recognition, as he has been so earnestly implored to do by the nestor of sovereigns ? I fear that he will not...

96. J. SLIDELL à J. MASON - Paris, 11 février 1863 - L.C.,
MASON PAPERS, vol. 4.

Slidell ne croit pas au succès des efforts de Léopold 1er auprès du Cabinet britannique.

...I don't think that the efforts of King Leopold will be of any avail. I saw on Thursday a letter from a member of the British Cabinet (perhaps Sir Charles Wood) ⁽⁶⁹⁾ which declares on the most unqualified terms that no action in our affairs will be taken by the government...

97. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 40 - Bruxelles,
27 février 1863 - L.G., P.P., vol. 16.

En cas de conclusion d'un traité avec la Belgique, Mann défendra les vues du gouvernement confédéré sur la traite des noirs. Sa demande d'élévation de rang était faite pour rendre hommage au Roi.

...Should any question be raised, when I may hereafter open negotiations with this Government for the conclusion of a general treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation, in relation to a stipulation concerning the African slave trade, I shall furnish the Belgian plenipotentiary with a copy of your unanswerable instructions upon the subject, contained in your dispatch of the 17th ultimo. Even

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Sir Charles Wood, 1^{er} Vicomte Halifax (1800-1885), homme politique; longtemps membre des Communes, il occupa de nombreuses fonctions publiques sous des gouvernements libéraux. Secrétaire d'Etat pour l'Inde de 1853 à 1866. Lord du Sceau Privé (1870-1874). *Idem*, vol. XXI, p. 824-825.

in the absence of such instructions I never would have entertained for a moment a proposition by which my Government would be required to take upon itself obligations to another Government with respect to this traffic.

The whole tenor of yours of the 17th, which I shall mark N° 7, is such as to be exceedingly gratifying to my feelings. I can not appreciate too highly the partiality of the President for me, in the reason which you assign for his hesitancy in appointing me *special* envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary near this Government. My only object in making the request was to bestow the highest compliment possible upon the most earnest, the most energetic, and the most constant friend we have ever had among the sovereigns of the earth...

98. J. P. BENJAMIN à J. SLIDELL - n° 14 - Richmond,
24 mars 1863 - L.C., P.P., vol. 15.

Le Gouvernement Confédéré ne croit pas au succès de l'initiative du Roi Léopold, et à une reconnaissance du Sud par la France en cas de refus du Gouvernement de Washington d'accepter une médiation. La situation troublée en Europe, surtout en Pologne, inciterait plutôt l'Empereur à éviter toute difficulté supplémentaire.

...In a dispatch of 29th January last, received from Brussels, we are informed that the proposition of Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys (which has been refused by Mr. Seward in one of the most contemptuous dispatches ever addressed to the cabinet of a great nation) was prompted by a second letter addressed to the Emperor by King Leopold, urging him most earnestly to take the initiative in our recognition ; and the writer gives us the assurance, which corresponds with your own anticipations, that a refusal by the Washington Cabinet to accept the proposition would be followed by our immediate recognition. We do not rely on this result, the more especially as the insurrection in Poland by its increasing proportions threatens complications in Europe that may involve the French Government and thus render it averse to any hazard, however remote, of difficulties with the United States. We await, however, with curiosity, if not with impatience, the news of the action of a cabinet little accustomed to

such cavalier treatment as Mr. Seward has ostentatiously paraded both in his reply to Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys and in the unequivocal démenti given to Mr. Mercier on the subject of the latter's account of the circumstances attendant on his visit to Richmond...⁽⁷⁰⁾

99. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 100 - Bruxelles,
29 mars 1863 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 6.

Sanford a communiqué à Rogier la résolution du Congrès quant à une intervention européenne et s'est déclaré satisfait de l'attitude belge.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your circular despatch under date of March 9th, transmitting a copy of the Concurrent Resolutions of Congress concerning Foreign intervention in the existing Rebellion.

I communicated them to day to M. Rogier in conformity with your instructions, by leaving a copy with him, assuring him at the same time that they were "entirely in harmony with the principles and policy by which all the President's proceedings in regard to the question involved have been and will continue to be regulated".

The effet of these resolutions in connection with your recent despatch on the same subject has been, so far as my observations extend, most salutary. We shall probably hear no more of "friendly" intervention in our domestic affairs.

I have, etc...

100. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 43 - Bruxelles,
10 avril 1863 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Le Gouvernement fédéral a accepté de participer au rachat du péage de l'Escaut. La propagande nordiste dépeint la situation du Sud comme désespérée.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Sur le visite du Baron Mercier à Richmond et ses conséquences diplomatiques, voir F. L. OWSLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 282-294.

...The government of Lincoln has agreed to assume the payment of the sum of 2,779,200 francs in the matter of the capitalization of the Scheldt Tolls. It remains to be seen whether the amount will be provided when it shall be required.

The Diplomatic and Consular Agents of the North in Europe, as also the abolition citizens thereof and the newspaper press, were never more mendacious in their assertions that we were to be immediately forced to submit to the rule of the United States, than they have been for the last week. The 30th of this month is understood to be the last day of grace which Seward asked foreign governments to accord to him for the consummation of this object. Hence the desperate exertions of his *employés* and partizans. Great pains are taken to create an impression that if we are not even overpowered, we will fail by starvation. Such assertions are as uncurrent, with those whose opinions are of any value, as would be notoriously base coin...

101. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
28 avril 1863 - S.P., 140/11.

L'éventualité d'une guerre anglo-américaine inquiète l'opinion libérale. La France ne se joindrait pas à la Grande-Bretagne contre les Etats-Unis mais en profiterait pour assurer son hégémonie en Europe. L'opinion belge s'en inquiète. Palmerston et Russell craignent qu'une telle guerre n'entraîne la chute du Cabinet et des troubles internes.

Dear Sir : A good deal of alarm begins to manifest itself with regard to the prospects of a war with England. The Liberals so far as I come in contact with them, look upon such an event as fatal to their cause in Europe ; "bear with England till you get through your civil war", they say. You will never want pretexts or opportunity to pay off your debts ; but war now is playing into the hands of France and of Russia, and it has the look of being a concerted arrangement with Russia and against Poland, and consequently against liberalism in Europe. On the other hand, the Imperialists chuckle at the prospect "We shall not be drawn into an alliance with England, in a war with you" said Prince Murat, who has been here on a visit, to me yesterday. "We will join her in recognizing the South, if she

is for that, for we would not leaver to her all the benefits to be given by the South in return for such recognition, but if engaged in a war with you, she would have full occupation for her forces. Austria would be thus left alone and would be neutralized by Hungary — and we should have plain sailing in European affairs. One hundred thousand men would suffice to throw into Poland and once there, we would keep them there till Poland was reconstituted”, etc, etc...

Here in Belgium where there is a very keen susceptibility, with regards to the movements on the European chessboard, in view of their bearing on the very existence of the State, opinion is divided as to the prospects of war. All seem to believe that war will break out with another year, and I find some of cool judgment who are convinced that it will commence this summer — our relations with England will have a great bearing upon it.

I confess that I am not among the pessimists either to a European war this summer, or one with England. It seems to me, whatever the pressure of the party (and it is a powerful one in England) who prefer rather to risk a war with us than the blow to their maritime preponderance which nonseparation would ensure, that the Government is not seriously bent on avoiding it. Palmerston and Russell are old men, cling to office, which they would assuredly lose in the event of a war, and the daily increasing distress in England is becoming alarming — a war with its paralyzing influence upon supplying foreign markets, would be apt to lead to internal disturbance by increasing this distress and an Irish Rebellion would be a probable contingency...

102. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 45 - Bruxelles,
8 mai 1863 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Edouard Blondeel désire entrer en contact avec Mann. Celui-ci considère une telle démarche comme très importante pour l'avenir de la cause du Sud et espère beaucoup d'une visite du Roi en Angleterre.

Sir : Mr. Blondeel, the representative of Belgium near the Government of Lincoln, is expected here from Italy, where he has been abiding for several months on his way to his post. I received a message from him about two weeks ago that he was anxious to see

me. This influenced me to postpone my contemplated visit to London. Mr. Blondeel is in high favor with his sovereign, and is one of the most shrewd and experienced of European diplomats. He may, if he will, when he arrives at Washington, going fresh from the acknowledged sage par excellence of Europe, render invaluable services to our cause. The bare possibility of the capture of this at sea prevents me from being more explicit upon the subject. King Leopold, if his health continues as good as it is at present, will probably proceed to England in a short time. He is anxious to see his beloved niece and her children. I am quite certain that when he meets her Majesty, he will express himself to her earnestly and persuasively in behalf of our recognition, and were she to indicate that in her opinion the good of her subjects imperatively required the adoption of such a measure, no serious opposition to it would be manifested in any quarter...

103. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 114 -
confidentiel - Bruxelles, 23 mai 1863 - N.A., St.D.,

Le Roi Léopold suggère à Sanford qu'une paix de compromis, même au prix de la séparation du Sud, serait préférable à une guerre désastreuse et aux haines que susciterait un écrasement du Sud. Quant à l'émancipation générale des noirs, le Roi y voit le germe d'une crise économique et de troubles. Tout en affirmant que le Nord combat pour l'Union et non pour l'abolition, Sanford défend les positions de son Gouvernement.

Sir : The audience which I had of the King to day was a lengthened one, and mostly occupied with our war. He commenced as soon as he had saluted me, by saying that he wished to have some conversation with me on our affairs ; the friendly feeling manifested for him on so many occasions on the part of our most distinguished citizens as well as by my government, he continued in substance, gave him a title to take a special interest in what passed in our country. It was painful to see this continued destruction of life and resources, needs this war to go on, and must such a fine race of men continue to destroy each other, and carry ruin to such a beautiful land, heaping up enduring animosities and hate between each other ?

Was there no remedy short of this terrific slaughter between those who were brethren ?

I replied to His Majesty that my government was engaged in defending its very existence ; it had sought no war, and desired no more now than every government worthy of the name owed to itself and its people to secure, and I saw no end of the contest, save in the restoration of the authority over the whole country, and from the exhaustion of resources in the South this end could no be far distant. But this did not appear so manifest, His Majesty rejoined, and he enquired if I did not think if some ground of arrangement were found, even were it at the expense of separation, it would be more advantageous to us than to continue this dreadful slaughter. Even if finally we succeeded in subduing the insurgents, it seemed to him that in the condition of a subjugated people, a durable peace would be difficult, as well as the restoration of those relations of harmony so essential to our well-being. Such must be the view of many of our people, he thought, and he cited a letter of the late General-in-chief, as showing a disposition to let our "wayward sisters go in peace". In such event, he continued, the Northern States must ever continue to be the dominant power on our continent being inhabited by a more active, vigorous and industrious, as well as more numerous people, and the Southern States would, doubtless, find it to their interest, in addition to their ties of blood, race, language and common origin, to have the closest relations with us, and might thus be won back to their former allegiance, whereas now every days continuance of war but aided to increase alienation. His Majesty referred, in this connection, to the relations of Holland and Belgium. It had taken over thirty years to appease the bitterness and animosity, between the two people caused by the Revolution of 1830, and the Belgians had, for a long time, been designated as "those Flemish Rebels". They had, however, finally come to those closer friendly relations, which ought to distinguish two neighbouring people, who had so much in common. His Majesty expressed with earnestness and great show of feeling, his hope that we would make some arrangement by which this desolating war would be brought to an end. I replied to His Majesty, that none could more deplore this civil war than we who had not sought it, but we felt, and the great bulk of the people — even those who had at the outset thought it were better to let the rebellious States go in peace — earnestly supported this view of the government, that the war must be continued till those misguided

people were restored, by compulsion if it must be so, to their allegiance. The yielding to the ambitious schemes of a few leaders, who had inveigled the people into the war, was simply an encouragement to unprincipled men to attempt new Revolutions and spread anarchy over the country. This pernicious doctrine of the right of secession had got to be met now, and finally and forever put at rest ! With regard to the difficulties incident to government of a "subjugated people", I begged to refer His Majesty to what had occurred in Maryland and Western Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, which had been in great part "subdued", and where now, not only a large majority were loyal, but in the three first named, largely in favor of emancipation and in the way of accomplishing it. With our system of government, the exercise of the central authority was so indirectly and so little felt, and internal institutions and offices so entirely left to the popular will, that no lasting antagonism seemed possible between the general government and the parts composing the Republic, and, moreover, peace, even if difficult to obtain after "subjugation", would be still more so in the hypothesis of separate governments — an hypothesis which we could not entertain. His Majesty then referred to the slavery question ; was it certain that this precipitate and wide-spread emancipation was of benefit to the negro, and would it not be disastrous to the country, withdrawing so many people from its productive labor ? The negro would be apt to understand liberty as idleness, whatever philanthropists might say, the race was inferior to the white, and removed so suddenly from restraint, would they themselves be improved and must not the convulsions to follow from this revolution in the system of labor likely to be most disastrous to the country at large. His Majesty referred to emancipation by Great Britain in the W. India colonies as shewing a great loss of national wealth, as well as little, if any benefit to the negro. I replied that a great moral problem was being worked out, of which no one could foresee the end. — Slavery had received the death blow at the hands of its votaries, we were not making the war for abolition, but for the Union.

With regard to the effects of this great change, they would undoubtedly for a time be disastrous and injurious to the material prosperity of the country, and would cause much personal suffering both to whites and negroes ; no great change over was accomplished without shock and without suffering ; still, I did not agree with His Majesty, that this great element of nations wealth, the labor of

millions of slaves, was to be lost to the country, because the negro was freed from his slavery to a master, he was none the less under obligation to society — liberty did not necessarily mean licence and vagrancy. In all countries there were laws to regulate both, and I referred to the course of events in Louisiana where the freed slaves, under administrative action, were returning to the plantations to work for wages. They were all wanted in those countries and would probably all remain, and I saw no reason why emancipation might not be as successfully earned out in the Southern States as it had in the French and Danish West India colonies, which I had visited the past summer. I had found the laws strictly enforced, touching labor and vagrancy, and in the Danish islands they even compelled the attendance of the children to their free school under penalty of punishment of the parents, and I had found that, under the influence of these laws and restrictions, the negroes were not only contented, prospering, and increasing in numbers, but that the products of the French colonies especially, had rapidly increased since emancipation. With regard to the British colonies, I thought that their Home government had failed to do its duty, and, leaving them to idleness and wretchedness, had neglected to care and provide for the condition of the freed men. — Still the smaller islands, such as Barbadoes and Trinidad, notwithstanding the neglect of the Government, were more prosperous than ever before. Our conversation continued at length upon this kindred subject and I have given you above the substance, so far as it related to our affairs. It was marked by great earnestness of manner on the part of the King and show of warm friendly feeling and real interest in the progress and prosperity of our people. His Majesty is evidently a close observer of what is passing in our country and honestly believes that the continuance of the war will be injurious to our best interests. As I presume you will reply to his Award by an autograph letter from the President, the opportunity will thus be given to present any views you may wish me to express to His Majesty.

I was glad to find the King's health so much improved ; although still suffering from his malady, he looks now as well and vigorous as before his attack.

I have, etc...

104. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 96 -
Washington, 24 mai 1863 - N.A., St.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

Seward s'inquiète d'une correspondance interceptée selon laquelle le Sud ferait construire des cuirassés en Belgique.

Sir : I enclose a copy of a letter of the 15th of March last, from London, addressed by a Mr. Theodore MacGruder to Mr. Moore ⁽¹⁾, the insurgent Governor of Louisiana, from which it appears that rams are building for the rebels in Belgium, as well as in England.

It is hoped however, that there must be some mistake in this, for it is presumed that so important a step would not have been taken by them in that country, in defiance of your usual activity and vigilance to detect and thwart it. The original of the letter referred to was intercepted by General Banks.

I have, etc...

105. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 116 - Bruxelles,
28 mai 1863 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 7.

Sanford proteste contre un article le dépeignant comme la dupe d'un espion du Sud.

Sir : My attention has been directed to an article in the New York "Evening Post" of the 1st instant, which, speaking of a Dr. Gustavus Holland at Richmond as "an agent of the Rebels" says, "while there (in Europe) and out of funds, he represented himself, as we are informed, to Mr. Sanford, our Minister to Belgium, as a necessitous and thoroughly loyal Union man, and so wrought upon his sympathies that he was employed and paid to do copying for the Legation. Having obtained some inside information in the way, he soon after sold it to the agents of Mr. Jeff Davis' government".

I beg leave in reply to state that Dr. Holland has never, to my

⁽¹⁾ Thomas Overton Moore (1804-1876), riche planteur de Louisiane, fut Gouverneur démocrate sécessionniste de cet Etat de 1860 à 1864. *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 13, p. 138-139.

knowledge, been in Brussels, nor has been employed by me for this Legation in any capacity whatever.

I have, etc...

106. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 49 - Bruxelles,
5 juin 1863 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann attend avec impatience la venue de Blondeel. La participation américaine au rachat de l'Escaut est une tentative pour gagner le Roi à la cause du Nord. Les élections en Belgique n'ont pas d'importance, les deux partis étant favorables au Sud.

...M. Blondeel, Minister of Belgium to the United States, has not yet returned from Italy. His delay is occasioned by the sickness of one of the members of his family. I await his coming somewhat impatiently. His government is peculiarly anxious just now, for his presence at his post.

I have abundant reasons for believing, implicitly, that King Leopold has availed himself of every suitable opportunity presented to him, since the receipt, a year ago, at the Foreign Office of my first Note to Mr. Rogier, to hasten the formal Recognition of our Independence. To day he is more desirous than ever perhaps, for the realization of this event.

As I took occasion to inform you in my N° 43, the Lincoln Administration, with its accustomed sneaking subtility, has endeavored to bias the judgement of this government adversely to our cause by the zeal which it manifested for the capitalization of the Scheldt Dues and the readiness with which it proposed to provide \$ 550.000 for that object.

A wise and just statesman and ardent and conscientious humanitarian, the King would be faithless to his honestly acquired fame were his affections otherwise than warmly enlisted — regardless of all pecuniary considerations — for an early triumphant termination of our sacrifices and our sorrows.

The elections for a moiety of both branches of Congress take place in this Kingdom next week. There is a bare possibility that at the next session the present Ministry may find itself in a minority. In that case the extreme Catholic party will come into power. I may

remark that this party is quite as favorably inclined towards the Confederate States as that which is now in the ascendent.

Rumors have been in brisk circulation for several days in the newspaper press, that the Cabinet of Richmond had made humiliating overtures to the Cabinet of the Tuileries for mediation. The enclosed slips will explain their nature. Of course, I know them to be utterly untrue, but they are nevertheless injurious to our fame, inasmuch as it is easier to circulate falsehoods than to follow them with contradiction...

107. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 119 -
confidentiel - Bruxelles, 9 juin 1863 - N.A., St.D.,
BELGIUM, vol. 7.

Sanford s'est plaint à Van Praet de la construction en Angleterre de corsaires confédérés et a insisté sur les conséquences que la généralisation de cette politique à d'autres Etats belligérants pourrait avoir pour la Belgique.

Sir : I sought to day M. Van Praet who, as I have had frequent occasion to state, is the confidential and permanent minister of the King. After giving him at length the history of the "Alabama" ⁽⁷²⁾, "Japan", etc... built and fitted out in England, and manned by English seamen, which had never even touched at an American port, destroying our merchant vessels upon the seas wherever met, and after portraying the feeling these acts had excited in the United States, I called his attention to the vessels now fitting out in England for the Confederates especially the iron clads ⁽⁷³⁾; I told him, that while

(72) A la suite de l'inaction et des réticences des autorités anglaises, le "n° 290", plus tard baptisé *Alabama*, put s'échapper de Liverpool le 28 juillet 1862. Quand les officiers de la Couronne décidèrent d'empêcher sa sortie des eaux anglaises, il était trop tard. Armé par un navire anglais et utilisant un équipage presque complètement britannique, l'*Alabama* causa des pertes énormes au commerce des Etats du Nord et excita une vive indignation contre la Grande-Bretagne. Voir E. D. ADAMS, *op. cit.*, p. 116-122; F. L. OWSLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 395-411.

(73) Le 5 avril, Lord Russell avait fait arrêter la construction de l'*Alexandra* armé par Bulloch, l'agent maritime du Sud. Son action fut contestée et le litige soumis à la Cour de l'Echiquier, qui se prononça le 22 juin contre le

it might be assumed that they did not, as not being provided with cannons, etc..., are within the provisions of the laws respecting armed vessels, they were, nevertheless, whatever the technical distinction, the most formidable war-vessels that could be employed to do us injury; that their being allowed to leave could not fail to still farther to encrease the hostile spirit already excited among our people, and with it the probabilities of a rupture, and that it seemed to me that the King could not use his wellknown influence in England to better purpose than by the councils which should tend to the repression of such wellfounded causes of complaints against a state which professed to be friendly.

It should be borne in mind, whatever the temporary gain to English commerce, I continued, that these unrepressed acts were creating precedents which would be turned against Great Britain, and with infinite mischief; A great maritime power, she was liable at any time, to be in collision with other powers, and in such event, what cause of complaint could she have, if our shipbuilders were permitted to pursue the same course towards her enemies, as as now practised towards us with impunity in England ?

Again, France was now at war with Mexico; Supposing the hypothesis was not only possible, but highly probable — that similar vessels should be fitted out in England on Mexican account; did he suppose that France would suffer the destruction of a single French vessel, without holding Great Britain to stern and prompt account ?

M. Van Praet listened attentively, and said he would not fail to communicate what I had said to His Majesty.

There is a very natural dread here of any rupture between France and Great Britain as their battles would probably commence on

Gouvernement et affirma le droit de la Grande-Bretagne, en tant que neutre, à construire des navires et à les vendre à la Confédération comme à tout belligérant. Il était toutefois interdit à ces navires d'entrer en campagne dès la sortie des eaux britanniques, sans avoir auparavant touché un port confédéré. Le Ministre des Etats-Unis Charles Adams dénonça de son côté, le 11 juillet 1863, la construction de cuirassés par les chantiers Laird à la Mersey. Ces derniers navires furent saisis, ou plutôt rachetés par l'Amirauté, à la fin de septembre, après que Charles Adams ait adressé à Russell un véritable ultimatum, lui laissant prévoir une guerre en cas de refus.

J. D. BULLOCH, *The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe or how the Confederate cruisers were equipped*, 2^e ed., New York-Londres, 1959, p. 331-340; F. L. OWSLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 399-402; W. B. JONES, *The Confederate rams at Birkenhead; a chapter in Anglo-American relations*, in-8°, Tuscaloosa, 1961.

Belgian soil, and result in some change of proprietorship, and, I therefore laid considerable stress in what I said upon the likelihood of the success of the "Confederates" stimulating similar enterprizes in the interest of Mexico against France, as most likely to have influence here. I have, etc...

108. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 120 - Bruxelles, 9 juin 1863 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 7.

Sanford dément la construction de navires cuirassés pour le Sud en Belgique.

Sir : I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch n° 96 with enclosure relative to the construction of rams for the Insurgents. I am inclined to think the letter a hoax. There have been no facilities in Belgium for the construction of ironclad vessels till quite lately. A contract has been lately entered into with the only works which I know calculated for such an undertaking, on account of the Russian Government for two ironclad vessels and which can only be completed in two years. I will give the subject renewed and particular attention. I have, etc...

109. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles, 11 juin 1863 - S.P., 140/11.

Sanford a suggéré à Rogier, en cas d'un changement de Ministre à Washington, d'y nommer une personnalité libérale sympathisante et bien disposée envers les Etats-Unis. Rogier considère le Chargé d'Affaires Berghmans comme inexpérimenté.

Dear Sir : I have your communication marked "Private" under date of 25th ultimo, respecting a possible change in the Belgian Legation at Washington by the withdrawal of M. Blondeel.

Having heard some rumors of M. Blondeel's desire to secure another post, I expressed, in the course of a friendly conversation with M. Rogier some weeks since, my hopes, if any change was made,

a person should be appointed to represent Belgium in the United States whose position at home, and whose sympathies with liberal institutions, would be such as to strengthen and make more cordial even the relations between the two countries — that the party of liberal progress which had now the administration of this Government, and which was continually holding our institutions as models for imitation in Belgium, it seems to me, owed it to themselves to send us one of their prominent men of political experience and large views, whose feelings and sympathies and principles would lead him to study, and from a democratic republican stand-point, what might be worthy of the attention of those who were in the old world, striving for liberal progress; that Belgium was, after Switzerland, the only State approaching Republicanism in Europe, and having so much in common, it behoved them to send us a Representative man, whose presence would be likely to be mutually advantageous.

I added that I believed M. Blondeel to be quite acceptable at Washington, and that I only gave expression to these views which were personal, for the event of the post becoming vacant.

M. Rogier replied to me, that there was no vacancy in the posts understood to be desired by M. Blondeel, nor was any change contemplated in the mission at Washington. He responded very cordially to the views I had expressed, and said that such was his own feeling, and he added that were he a younger man, he would be tempted to seek the mission to a country towards which he felt great sympathy and admiration, but he feared he was now too old to undertake such a long journey.

Quite lately, M. Rogier had some conversation with me respecting M. Blondeel. He said his leave of absence had expired; he had sent to Rome and various places peremptory instructions for him to return to his post, but no one knew where he was — he seemed to be hiding, and was exposing himself to serious trouble by not returning — it was evident that he did not wish to return, but there was no present intention of providing for him elsewhere or permitting him to remain in “non activity”. He continued that they needed his presence at this time at Washington; that M. Berghmans was not of the stuff, as he expressed himself, to take the place of a Minister, and seemed to be laboring under physical disability as well. I asked if he had any cause to be dissatisfied with M. Berghmans, he said no; but he had not been long enough in the career, nor had the experience or training which the direction of such a Mission in these times required.

Under these circumstances, which bearing in mind the views as expressed in your letter, I do not think any suggestion of the character indicated would be, at this moment, opportune — should M. Rogier leave the Cabinet, it is barely possible that he might be tempted as he intimated to go to Washington, but the consideration of inadequate salary might have a controlling influence.

I feel constrained to add in this connection, that I do not doubt that a suggestion of the appointment of M. Berghmans would excite a disagreeable surprize here. Neither his political position or social status, or past career are such as to give him any claim *here* for *such* distinction. Very etc...

110. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 125 -
confidentiel - Bruxelles, June (s.d.) 1863 - N.A., St.D.,
BELGIUM, vol. 7.

Sanford a présenté J.M. Forbes, agent spécial du Gouvernement fédéral, à Van Praet. Ce dernier a demandé à Forbes de rédiger un mémorandum pour le Roi au sujet des cuirassés sudistes construits en Grande-Bretagne.

Sir : In my despatch n° 119, I informed you of my communication to M. Van Praet, on the subject of ironclads constructing in England for the Confederates.

J.M. Forbes, Esq. (⁷⁴) of Boston, was here on the 10th and at my instance, he accompanied me to see M. Van Praet and furnished

(⁷⁴) John Murray Forbes, homme d'affaires et politicien (1813-1898). Bien connu dans le milieu financier de Boston, il s'intéressa au commerce avec la Chine avant de jouer un rôle important dans la construction de plusieurs réseaux de chemin de fer, notamment le Chicago, Burlington et Quincy Railroad. Sa carrière politique débuta avec la Guerre Civile. Il fut le principal collaborateur du Gouverneur John A. Andrew en mettant l'Etat du Massachusetts sur pied de guerre, et en organisant des régiments noirs. Sa connaissance des affaires maritimes fut précieuse pour *le Navy Department*. En 1863, il fut envoyé en mission non officielle en Grande-Bretagne pour tenter d'y acheter les *Laird Rams* que l'on y construisait pour les Confédérés. Il organisa également la *Royal Publication Society*, organisme de propagande pro-gouvernementale. Figure importante de l'aile radicale du parti républicain, Forbes critiqua souvent les tendances temporisatrices de Lincoln et prôna l'armement des esclaves libérés. Voir *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 6, p. 507-508.

him the details, which his more intimate knowledge of the subject enabled him to do.

M. Van Praet informed me that he had reported to the King, what I had said to him on the subject, and enquired if Mr. Forbes would be willing to give a memorandum of the details which he had just furnished him.

This Mr. Forbes did, and as it was with my sanction, I deem it my duty to communicate the same to you.

I have reason to think that the subject has attracted the serious attention of the King. I have, etc...

111. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
16 juin 1863 - S.P., 140/11³

Sanford croit que l'envoi de Van Praet à Londres a pour but de conseiller au Cabinet britannique l'interdiction de construire des cuirassés sudistes en Grande-Bretagne.

...The King's private Secretary was despatched to London yesterday morning and as he is generally employed in confidential missions of the King's, I suspect, taken with some other circumstances, that his Majesty has taken in hand the question of the Ironclads fitting out for the Confederates.

Forbes arrived here just in time to give efficient help and I hope you will not think I have been over officious in this matter. There is no man living whose voice is more potent at this moment in the councils of the British Government than the King...

The King's health is improving. His last surgeon (N° 4) seems to have been more successful than his predecessors.

I am tempted to give you some of the official scandal in Paris which is not without its bearing on passing events there, but I fear you will think me a gossip and I forbear. Never has there been more gross corruption and depravity than now...

112. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
17 juin 1863 - S.P., 140/11.

Le pacifiste W.C. Jewett est arrivé à Bruxelles, mais Sanford le considère comme un illuminé.

...Mr. Wm. Cornell Jewett ⁽⁷⁶⁾ "acknowledged as an independent advocate for peace in America upon the inaugurating mediation of his Majesty Napoleon III" etc. etc... is here and favored me with a visit to day. A commission de lunatico inquirendo seems to be needed in his case...

113. J. SLIDELL - „Memorandum of an interview with the Emperor at the Tuileries, Thursday, 18th June, 1863,, - L.C., P.P., vol. 55/1.

L'Empereur Napoléon craint de s'engager seul dans la reconnaissance des Etats Confédérés. Slidell lui promet l'appui de diverses puissances, dont la Belgique, mais l'Empereur désire la coopération d'une grande puissance maritime comme la Grande-Bretagne.

...The Emperor received me with great cordiality.

He said that he had read the memorandum presented to him by the Count de Persigny (...); that he was more fully convinced than

⁽⁷⁶⁾ William Cornell Jewett (1823-1893), originaire du Massachusetts, fit fortune au Colorado et, dès 1861, avait tenté de lancer une convention en faveur de la paix. Disposant de vastes ressources personnelles, il se rendit en Europe à diverses reprises et assaillit littéralement les Gouvernements et leurs souverains de lettres, télégrammes et pamphlets leur demandant d'intervenir en faveur d'une médiation et stigmatisant la politique du "serpent Lincoln". Il fondait de grands espoirs sur l'aide de Napoléon III. A la mi-mai 1863, il terminait des démarches sans succès auprès du Cabinet britannique. Le 17 juin, il demanda audience au Roi Léopold par l'entremise de Rogier. A son retour d'Europe, il s'installa au Canada pour échapper à une arrestation arbitraire. Rentré à New York en janvier 1864, il y lança un manifeste en faveur de la paix. Avec l'aide de l'agent sudiste Sanders, il mit au point la conférence du Niagara le 20 juillet 1864 entre H. Greeley, Holscombe et Hay pour mettre un terme à la guerre. Leurs efforts furent vains, à cause des déclarations intempestives de Jewett à la presse. Celui-ci abandonna la politique en septembre, se retira en Europe et mourut à Genève en 1893. Voir *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 10, p. 73, A.M.A.E., Cor. Politique, Etats-Unis, vol. 9.

ever of the propriety of the general recognition by European powers of the Confederate States, but that the commerce of France and the success of the Mexican expedition would be jeopardized by a rupture with the United States; that no other power than England possessed a sufficient navy to give him efficient aid in a war on the ocean, an event which indeed could not be anticipated if England would cooperate with him in recognition. I replied that I was well satisfied that recognition by France and other Continental powers, or even by France alone, would not lead to a war with the United States, as they already found ample occupation for all their energies at home; that he could count on the cooperation of Spain, Austria, Prussia, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark. He remarked that none of these powers possessed a navy of any consequence...

114. H. S. SANFORD a W. H. SEWARD - n° 127 - Bruxelles,
23 juni 1863 - confidentiel - N.A., St.D.,
BELGIUM, vol. 7.

A la suite des démarches de Sanford, le Roi a écrit à la Reine Victoria pour lui recommander l'interdiction de construire des navires pour le Sud. Le Roi s'est déclaré contre la Grande-Bretagne dans le litige de celle-ci avec le Brésil.

Sir : With reference to my nos. 119 and 125, I learn from good authority that the King addressed, soon after my conversation with M. Van Praet, a strong letter to the Queen of England to urge the importance of not permitting the departure of the Ironclads, fitting out for the Confederates in British ports, on in the sense of the observations reported to you.

The same authority assures me that the British Cabinet is seriously occupied with the subject, and, as is believed here, with a sincere desire to prevent the departure of these vessels, although embarrassed by the terms of their law.

The King has given his decision in the pending question between Brazil and Great Britain touching the treatment of certain British officers near Rio, which has been referred to him for arbitration, and it is against the pretensions of the British Government.

I am assured that he has also expressed himself strongly against

the whole course perused by Lord Russell towards Brazil and I suspect that this opportunity to do so has been given by the British Government, which is very desirous of renewing relations with that power. I have, etc...

115. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - Bruxelles,
25 juin 1863 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

De tous les Souverains, seul le Roi Léopold a manifesté une sympathie efficace envers le Sud. Mann souhaite que l'indépendance du Sud puisse être accomplie sans intervention européenne, et s'indigne de la présence à Bruxelles d'un pacifiste, qu'il déclare être à la solde de Seward.

...The time has at length arrived when, in my opinion, we can well afford to be indifferent to the formal recognition of our independence by any Government. There is assuredly not a statesman in either hemisphere, deserving of consideration as such, who can conscientiously assert that we are not justly entitled to a place in the family of nations, or that we are not in all respects more worthy of it than the dismembered United States. Injustice, the most flagrant and hurtful injustice, was committed by the western powers in not entering into relations with us when the measure was so earnestly urged by the King of the Belgians last autumn. Such a procedure might, and I believe would, have eventuated in terminating the war before the beginning of spring, and thus have prevented the ever-to-be-deplored loss of valuable life and blood which we have experienced since then. But the "divinity that shapes our ends" willed otherwise. In its mysterious dispensation it seems that we are required to suffer still more, and as I can not now doubt, for the ultimate realization of a vastly large amount of durable good and glory than would have been possible without such requirement...

[digression sur les droits du Sud à l'indépendance et à la reconnaissance par les puissances européennes].

Of all the potentates and rulers of the earth, one alone (too feeble, alas, in the diminutiveness of his realm to give forcible expression

to his wishes) had the recognition of our independence and our quick deliverance from Yankee aggressions upon our rights sincerely at heart. But we shall cut the Gordian knot ourselves, humbling our fiendish enemy to the very dust, and consequently forever remain free from such obligations as the United States came under, in their infancy, to France.

When the old Union was in the meridian of its greatness, annexing Texas in defiance of the "balance of power" doctrine of the cabinets of London and Paris, my pride was not infrequently wounded in my intercourse with the French by the remark in substance, "Without our timely intervention there had never been an independent America." Observations of such import concerning the Confederate States are forever precluded.

Thanks, eternal thanks to the Supreme Disposer of events, those States as far as relate to mortal agencies, have been the unassisted creators and maintainers of their lifelong cherished independence.

The journals of this metropolis announce that a "philanthropic American" has arrived here from Vienna, whither he has been on like errand for the purpose of endeavoring to induce King Leopold to mediate for the restoration of peace. I have not seen nor heard from him. I would prefer that my tongue should be palsied and that my right hand should fall lifeless from the wrist to the employing of the one or the other in communication with miscreants of this kind. When the Lincoln concern is ready to treat for a cessation of hostilities it has no other mode to adopt, according to my notions of international propriety, than to address itself directly to President Davis. The sneaking Seward is likely to overrun Europe with secret agents of the kind referred to before autumn.

Now that the abolitionists are quite convinced that we can not be subdued they will resort to every imaginable artifice to procure a foreign intervention that will have for its basis the early destruction of our institution of negro slavery. Their leaders are doubtless persuaded that their own personal safety demands that they should show that they have accomplished something by the war. For a long time, as my despatches will explain, my mind has not been entirely at ease upon the subject. I wish that I could justly dismiss my fears that the Emperor of the French is not animated by an *arrière-pensée* prejudicial to our honor and our interests. It is reported that he has again made overtures to Lord Palmerston to unite with him in a proposition for an armistice and afterwards in a joint mediation. In my opinion no-

thing could be more injurious to our complete success than the cessation of hostilities on our part, however short the period, while a Yankee foot presses our venerated soil.

I have, etc...

116. H. S. SANFORD à Th. WEED - Bruxelles,
25 juin 1863 - S.P., 100/4.

Sanford tente de faire appel à des hommes d'affaires pour lancer un organe de propagande fédérale en Europe, qui encouragerait l'émigration vers les États-Unis. Il se félicite de l'intervention du Roi dans l'affaire des cuirassés.

My dear Mr. Weed : I write by this mail to Mr. Pruyn ⁽⁷⁶⁾ to try to stir him up to doing something towards procuring means for disseminating information through the press in Europe to encourage emigration to our shores, — and tell him to take up this matter himself. I think if he could start a suscription paper with a talking heading and under good auspices, he could accomplish a good deal. I was not aware when I wrote to you that the Loyal Publication Society was so radical, and I would not have suggested it or its Secty., whom I do not know personally, to these who are not of that stripe — as it might have the air of a partisan scheme which it could be desirable to avoid. I will write to Belmont ⁽⁷⁷⁾, Duveau and some others ⁽⁷⁸⁾ in the same tenor I have written to Mr. Pruyn.

[donne des nouvelles de la politique intérieure française, concernant Persigny et Walewski, et de la situation en Grande-Bretagne]

The King is better — the cause of all his troubles — the stone

⁽⁷⁶⁾ John V. L. Pruyn (1811-1877), homme d'affaires, un des artisans de l'expansion des chemins de fer, notamment du *New York Central Railroad*. Actif également en politique et au sein d'organismes philanthropiques. *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 15, p. 253-255.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ August Belmont (1816-1890), hommes d'affaires d'origine allemande, représentant des Rothschilds aux États-Unis. Devenu un des principaux banquiers new-yorkais, il fut actif au sein du parti démocrate. Pendant la guerre civile, il aida la cause du Nord par ses relations avec les milieux politiques et financiers d'Europe. *Idem*, vol. 2, p. 169-70.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ Sanford écrivit également à Forbes et à Aspinwall, magnat des transports.

— has been removed and his chances seem now good as long a term as the Emperor. He is occupying himself as actively as ever in European affairs and I am glad to say has given wise councils to the Queen touching the necessity of stopping the Confederate Ironclads.

With cordial greetings, etc...

117. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 102 -
27 juin 1863 - N.A., St.D., Instr., BELGIUM, vol. I.

Seward approuve les démarches de Sanford auprès de Van Praet au sujet des corsaires sudistes.

Sir; Your despatch N° 119, marked confidential, and dated June 9th has been received. Your interview with Mr. Van Praet of which it gives an account was as well turned was the execution of the purposes you had in view in seeking it, was happy. I am, etc...

118. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
2 juillet 1863 - S.P., 140/11.

Sanford fait part à son chef de ses projets de création de journal, pour lequel il a obtenu l'aide de financiers et d'un ancien diplomate, et qui ne compromettrait pas le Gouvernement.

...I am seeking to stir up our loyal rich men at home to raise some money for the dissemination in Europe of information touching us and our affairs, and to help or rather stimulate emigration, — and I have asked for \$ 100,000 and Messr. Forbes and Aspinwall⁽⁷⁹⁾ have promised to give their aid at home on their arrival. If \$ 100,000 could be sent out, it would be a good commencement, and I have faith enough in the patriotism of the people applied to, to believe it will be forthcoming. Mr. Davis, formerly Secretary of Legation at Lon-

(79) William H. Aspinwall (1807-1875), riche marchand new-yorkais, développa une ligne de chemin de fer et de bateaux à vapeur à travers l'isthme de Panama qui lui assura le quasi-monopole des transports vers la Californie à l'époque de la ruée vers l'or. *Idem*, vol. 1, p. 396-397.

don, has agreed to devote himself to the subject here, and is so far as England is concerned, just the man to undertake it. I hope that we can thus be able to do what I have long been anxious to see accomplished — control a systematic permanent action with respect to the European press with which the Government will be in no wise compromised...

119. John BIGELOW à H. S. SANFORD - 4 juillet 1863 -
S.P., 115/12.

Bigelow continue à payer Malespine et regrette de ne pouvoir contrôler l'Indépendance au moyen de capitaux amérissains;

Enclosed is a receipt from Malespine for 500 francs. I have just received your letter. I have done nothing about the press because I do not see any plan that will result in anything. Something more definite and practical must be concerted to induce our people to send any large amount of money to Europe now. Besides, I do not see much good to be accomplished with money in the press unless we can get the control of a leading journal like the *Belge* and that is not practicable, as I see. And if practicable, I do not know where to look for the man to run the machine.

120. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 105 -
confidentiel - Washington, 9 juillet 1863 -
N.A., St.D., Instr., BELGIUM, vol. I.

En réponse à la suggestion d'un compromis faite en mai par le Roi, Seward dépeint la situation du Sud comme désespérée.

Sir : I have not been forgetful of the suggestions concerning our affairs which were made to you by our excellent friend the King of Belgium, in the conversation with which he favored you on the 23rd of May last.

But at the time they were received here military matters were in such a condition as to make it almost certain that any comment I

might make upon the views of the King, would be rendered worthless by decisive events to occur before the comment would be submitted to His Majesty. For this reason, I delayed...

[*Seward donne des informations sur la défaite de l'armée de Lee à Gettysburg et la prise de Vicksburg par les forces nordistes*]

...The nation having arrived at the point where restoration is beginning to seem not only possible but necessary the obstacles presented by slavery seem the only ones to overcome. These have already become less formidable than ever before. If the King will look at the Map I herewith send you and will notice the local habitations of slavery in the United States, in relation to the actual position of our land and naval forces, he will at once perceive that it is not now in the power of Slavery to dictate but it is its interest to propose terms to the Union. This is entirely different from what has heretofore been understood in Europe to be the relative positions of the two great political forces. Persevering resistance by Slavery is abolition : — surrender by slavery is probably equivalent to gradual and orderly emancipation.

I am authorized by the President to submit these views for the consideration of the King of Belgium. In performing this duty I cannot omit to say that His Majesty has by his desinterested and generous course towards the United States, well entitled himself to advice the Government in the present emergency and that his suggestions have been received and considered in a spirit of respectful and grateful affection.

I am, etc...

121. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 130 - Bruxelles,
14 juillet 1863 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 7.

Recevant une lettre de remerciements de Lincoln pour son intervention dans l'arbitrage du Macedonia, le Roi recommande l'élaboration d'une paix de compromis avec le Sud.

Sir : I had on the 10th instant an audience of the King, at the Palace at Laeken, to deliver a letter of the President to his Majesty.

On presenting the letter, I said to his Majesty that the President, desiring to manifest his appreciation of this new proof of friendly feeling towards the government and people of the United States had acknowledged the receipt of the award which his Majesty had given in the Macedonian case ⁽⁸⁰⁾, by a letter which I had the honor to deliver to his Majesty.

The King responded in the usual friendly and cordial spirit towards the United States which has always marked my interviews and expressed his pleasure in contributing to continue and strengthen those friendly relations which had ever existed between the two countries.

He then referred to the war and, speaking with earnestness of his desire to see peace established, expressed the hope that an arrangement would be made which should put an end to this destruction of life and resources and enable the country to resume its career of prosperity. Even if peace were acquired only at its cost of a separation, the Northern States must ever continue the dominant power, he continued; and was it not better to stop the war now, even on that condition, rather than continue the struggle till complete exhaustion? He spoke, he said, in our own interests, and in a spirit of friendliness to the United States. I replied, after the many proofs we had received of his Majesty's friendly feelings towards us, we could have no doubt of the disinterestedness of his Majesty in giving this expression of his views. We were convinced, however, that the only way to secure permanent peace was to suppress the rebellion, by force if necessary, and we still thought we had the strength to do it.

A lengthened conversation touching the United States and the war followed, in the course of which, referring to the many marks of respect which had been shown to him by the people and the government of the United States, and his intercourse with many of our eminent citizens, he spoke in terms of gratification of the visit of Mr. Seward here, over three years ago, and the enlightened interest then

(80) Le Roi avait rendu le 15 mai 1863 sa sentence arbitrale dans le conflit du *Macedonia*, litige reposant essentiellement sur des problèmes de droit maritime et qui était pendant entre les Etats-Unis et le Chili depuis 1822. Sur cet arbitrage soumis au Roi en 1861, voir aux Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Correspondance Politique, - Dépêches du Ministre aux Autorités Belges, t. 7, p. 1 à 11 (consultations juridiques avec le Ministère de la Justice) et - Missions Etrangères, t. 6.

manifested by him in the freedom of the Scheldt, now so happily accomplished.

I have, etc...

122. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 106 -
Washington, 13 juillet 1863 - N.A., St.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

Croyant en l'intervention du Roi Léopold dans l'affaire des cuirassés construits pour le Sud en Grande-Bretagne, le Président Lincoln prie Sanford d'en remercier le Roi.

Sir : Your confidential despatch of the 23rd of June N° 107 has been submitted to the President. Assuming that your relation of the proceeding of the King of Belgium concerning the naval preparations in England, hostile to this country, is true, the President desires that you will in a proper way, express in his behalf the most sincere and grateful acknowledgements to His Majesty. It is a new evidence of his earnest love of peace, and his unwavering devotion to justice, as the regulating principle of Human Government...

[Seward donne des nouvelles de la situation politique en Europe et des opérations militaires aux Etats-Unis]

123. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 54 - Bruxelles,
15 juillet 1863 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

La bonne volonté du Roi Léopold a échoué devant la tièdèur de l'Empereur. Blondeel sera peut-être le premier Ministre de Belgique à Richmond.

...In the Autograph Letter which King Leopold addressed to His Imperial Majesty on the 15th of October last, the sincerity of the latter's friendship for us was put to the test. The sequel has sufficiently explained that this was, to say nothing more decided, of doubtful existence. He cannot, if he would, now help himself in preventing

our entrance into the family of nations, and I shall ever be reluctant in according to him any merit for the necessity which our own glorious deeds have forced upon him.

Far different are my feelings toward the King of the Belgians. During the long period that he was bowed down with an agonizing malady, he often expressed his regrets that his position in the family of nations was not sufficiently commanding to warrant him in making an open manifestation in behalf of the Confederate States. I have reason for believing that he exceedingly enjoys the triumphant march of our army into Pennsylvania, and that he is at a loss which most to admire, our Executive Statesmanship or our Field Generalship.

Mr. Blondeel, the Belgian Minister to the United States, has obtained an extension of his leave of absence and continues to sojourn in Italy. In fact, he does not intend, as I am informed, to go back to Washington, and probably desires to be appointed the first Minister to the Confederate States.

I trust the President will send to this government an eminently discreet Minister. As you so kindly signified his intention to bestow upon me a mission of the first grade, I venture to hope that it will not be improper to indicate my preference for Italy...

124. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
7 août 1863 - N. A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 7.

Le pacifiste américain W.C. Jewett a été reçu par Rogier et le Roi. En dépit de ses promesses, il a fourni à la presse sa version de ces entretiens. Sanford demande à Rogier de lui donner un démenti officiel.

Dear Sir : "Colorado" Jewett has been spoken to by the King and is happy ! The "Etoile Belge" of this morning has a telegram from him and I enclose ⁽⁸¹⁾ it. I received a line from M. Rogier

(81) *L'Etoile Belge*, 7 août 1863, p. 1, c. 2.
Après avoir entendu les projets du "médiateur américain", le Roi lui aurait déclaré "qu'il croyait qu'un arbitrage équitable était le seul moyen de rétablir la paix dans la Confédération américaine". On pourrait prendre comme base de négociation l'abolition graduelle de l'esclavage, "l'Amérique" devant s'entendre

some after its appearance asking to see me. He informed me that this individual had bored him into an interview and he had heard what he had to say and talked with him as he would to any other private individual, that he had promised on his word of honor not to recount nor speak of his interview and to his surprize he found it mentioned next day in the "Etoile", that he had asked to be received by the King and had been informed by him (Rogier) that the King was at Ostend; that if he wished to see him it was for him to apply. M. Rogier, however, transmitted his application to the King, saying that he knew nothing about him, but that he seemed to be a respectable man.

He now expresses himself astonished and indignant at this fellows conduct and wishes it understood that he has simply had a private conversation with this stranger. Had he an official character he would not he said have received him any more than M. Mann. whom he declined to receive.

I said that I had not considered Jewett's interview with him as meriting notice, and had to inform you. There were, however, positive statements made in this telegram touching what the King had stated with regard to our war and interference in it from this side, which, while I did not credit, I thought ought to be denied in the Moniteur. This Jewett was of no importance before, but this interview had given him now importance enough to notice in this

avec l'Europe pour assurer la position des nègres. Cette proposition de médiation ne pourrait donc être comprise comme une tentative d'intervention et notre Souverain aurait promis à Jewett de discuter de cette question avec la Reine Victoria et le Cabinet britannique.

Sanford ignorait sans doute les détails précédant cette entrevue avant d'en être informé par Rogier lui-même et, semble-t-il, par l'*Etoile*. Il attendit cependant que Jewett ait été reçu par le Roi avant d'en informer Seward.

Le 3 août, Jewett était à Bruxelles et envoyait à Rogier une dépêche sollicitant une audience, prétendant avoir des communications importantes à faire. Le 4 août, Rogier le reçut et au cours de cette entrevue, Jewett demanda une entrevue personnelle avec le Roi. Au sortir de cet entretien, il n'hésita pas à confier à l'*Etoile Belge* que son but était d'obtenir l'influence du Roi sur la Reine Victoria afin d'engager l'Angleterre "à coopérer avec la France dans une médiation collective et universelle en Amérique". Il était persuadé de l'acquiescement probable du Sud et de "tous les Etats de l'Europe" à son projet, la Grande-Bretagne seule étant réticente mais pouvant se laisser convaincre par notre Souverain. "Mr. Rogier, continuait l'*Etoile*, s'est exprimé en termes chaleureux à Mr. Jewett en faveur d'une prompte cessation des calamités de cette terrible guerre civile et de ses sympathies pour le peuple américain".

(voir la note sur Jewett aux A.M.A.E., *loc. cit.* et l'*Etoile Belge*, 5 août 1863, p. 2, c. 3.)

way, and I hoped he would be able to give in a categorical form, the lie to this statement so that it would go out by the same steamer for I could not conceal from him that the effect in the U. States would be.

M. Rogier said he could not say what the King said or omitted to say. He had a doubt that the statement was exaggerated and he suggested that, as we would both be in Ostend over Sunday, perhaps I could be able to telegraph to Queenstown any rejoinder that might be decided upon after he had seen the King.

He was a good deal exercised about this matter, particularly after I told him of some little incidents in Jewetts life touching money matters and his financial operations.

Jewett is made happy, but you may be sure the King is not, and that the lesson will not be lost as to treat haunting Americans in the future. I suspect that M. Rogier's visit to Ostend tomorrow is on this business which cannot but mortify him.

I will, of course, address you an official on the subject next day. In haste, very, etc...

125. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
11 août 1863 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 7.

Sanford a communiqué à Rogier des documents relatifs au caractère équivoque de Jewett et le Duc de Brabant les a lus. Jewett a envoyé une lettre de protestation contre ces accusations.

Dear Sir : I have said as little about Jewett as I well could, for Rogier feels very much mortified and I have reason to believe the King as well, at this whole Jewett's business. I suggested to Mr. Rogier to make some enquiries at the Grand Hotel, Paris, as to who he was, and the answer was an enquiry in return whether he could not be arrested in Ostend for obtaining money under false pretences ! he having given some drafts on London which had been returned with "no assets". I received about the same time a long letter from Simenton of San Francisco, denouncing him as a combination of knave and fool in the most stringent terms. This letter I gave to M. Rogier and as we were coming up from Ostend (where I have been for over Sunday) this morning, the Duke de Brabant, who was also

in the train, invited us into the Royal car to made the journey in company and Rogier showed him the letter which he read. M.R. told me he should communicate it to the King. I had not the heart to say anything new of this fellows making a pedestal for himself of the King and Mr. Rogier.

The man has been here this morning to prove a character by a long letter which he addresses to me about himself and his enemies (⁸²), I having deemed it but fair to him to tell him as he attempted to shake hands with me yesterday, the charges which were made against him. Respy., etc...

126. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 140 - Bruxelles, 11 août 1863 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 7.

Sanford transmet la version officielle de l'incident Jewett et les mises au point de Rogier.

Sir : The enclosed slip from the "Etoile Belge" of the 7th inst. has been widely circulated in the newspapers.

The mania for public notice which seems to afflict the individual referred to has, it appears, impelled him to Ostend to see the King who has honored him with a conversation, and his version of the same is now published and circulated in pamphlet form by permission, as he affirms, of His Majesty.

I am informed by Mr. Rogier that the King, in the more free and unconstrained intercourse which is observed at Ostend, had, indeed, received Mr. Jewett as he had received many others of the seekers after pleasure or health who frequent that watering place, but that no authority had been given him to make any statement on the subject. I suggested the propriety of giving a denial accordingly in the *Moniteur* but he thought it would be giving more importance to Mr. Jewett than he deserved. Mr. Rogier informed me, moreover,

(⁸²) Sanford s'était lui-même adressé à un compatriote établi à Paris pour obtenir des informations sur les indécrottes de Jewett. Voir Dewey à H. S. Sanford - Paris, 9 et 11 août 1863 - S.P., 95/2; G. Sauer à H. S. Sanford - s.d., - S.P. 129/14; W. C. Jewett à Dewey - Bruxelles, 3 août 1863 et W. C. Jewett à H. S. Sanford - Ostende, 9 août 1863 - S.P., 123/3.

that he also has yielded to this person's importunity, granted him an interview and had some conversation with him as a private individual and to his surprize (Mr. Rogier's) and irritation, notwithstanding his promise on his word of honor to the contrary, an account of that interview had also been communicated to the public journals. I have, etc...

127. Brochure publiée par William Cornell Jewett à Londres
peu après son entrevue avec le Roi Léopold. -
N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 7.

HIS ROYAL MAJESTY LEOPOLD I., KING OF THE BELGIANS,
in audience with

The Independent American Peace Advocate
MR. WILLIAM CORNELL JEWETT,
of the United States of America;
upon
"MEDIATION"

Mr. Jewett urges the aid of his Royal Majesty the King, to induce England to join in the Mediation move of France, to secure an international friendly invitation to the Washington Government of the United States, for a suspension of hostilities, with a view to a just Arbitration, now that European powers and the South are favourable.

with

MR. JEWETT'S PERSONAL APPEAL
to His Majesty the King of the Belgians
and European Governments

HIS MAJESTY'S REPLY
in a Letter addressed by Mr. Jewett to
HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT LINCOLN, AND
THE CABINET OF THE UNITED STATES

also

LETTER TO HIS ROYAL MAJESTY KING LEOPOLD I.
with an appeal
"TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN"

I had the honour, at an audience granted this day by his Royal Majesty Leopold First, King of the Belgians, to make the following appeal to his Royal Majesty and European Governments asking for the co-operation of his Royal Majesty in securing American peace as due to humanity, the interests of nations, and to secure a general peace — his Majesty giving permission for the promulgation of his views, as expressed thus during the audience : —

1st. In the judgment of His Royal Majesty the King a just tribunal judgment for the consideration of the American people, was the only reliable means to secure a desirable peace.

2nd. Should slavery be abolished, to be gradual; and with the freedom of the slave, provision to be made for their welfare by Europe and America.

3rd. That mediation, as inaugurated by France, was not interference, and that no Government should hesitate, thus friendly, to entreat America to arbitrate a peace, through humane wisdom rather than the impossible mode of the sword, from the peculiar high-spirited determined policy of both North and South.

4 th. His Majesty sympathized with the American people in their at present distracted condition, and his Majesty would do all in his power to promote a speedy and desirable peace, honourable alike to both North and South; that it was his Royal Majesty's firm conviction, instead of European action tending to promote the downfall of the American Republic, its tendency would be to cement more firmly the foundation pillar of American liberty.

5th. That he would cheerfully urge the Queen and Cabinet of England in response to my desire to join France and European Powers in efforts to secure American peace; that I could rely upon his Royal Majesty's warm-hearted co-operation in the object of my laudable mission; that the time and the age demanded one to rise up, of my impartiality of views and independent position — outside of party, Governments or interest — to secure peace; that my independent position was my strength, and that nations, as well as America, should second and applaud my efforts.

I deem these views from a King standing so high in the estimation of the world from his connexion with numerous arbitrations, as more important than any movement yet made to strengthen the position of his Majesty Napoleon before the world, as connected with mediation, and in view of the many unkind criticisms upon my independent action, as a providential means to urge me on in a work

in which my whole heart enlisted to serve humanity and perpetuate American liberty through a restored peace and prosperity to my native land.

Wm. Cornell Jewett

AN APPEAL
to
HIS ROYAL MAJESTY LEOPOLD I., KING OF THE BELGIANS
and
EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS
made in the presence of His Majesty, at the Palace,
Ostende, Belgium,
At à Special Audience granted Aug. 6th, 1863.

Here, upon sacred soil; made so from its associations with antiquity, its uninterrupted wars for a thousand years, followed with a peace during thirtyfive years of the reign of your Royal Majesty, which, with an unexampled series of arbitrations, has established your wisdom, I do invoke the aid of the Almighty in efforts to enlist foreign Governments to a joint action with the illustrious Napoleon III, Emperor of France, in securing peace upon the American Continent through an appeal to England, now that European Governments are opposed to Southern recognition, and favourable, with the South, to "Mediation".

History will chronicle the mediation movement as inaugurated by his Imperial Majesty Napoleon III., Emperor of France, through the despatches of his Excellency M. Drouyn de Lhuys, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to England and Russia, dated October 29 th, 1862, and both Governments as having declined action : England deeming it "*not the time*" words as memorable as the "*irrepressible conflict*" term of the Hon. W.H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United Staes; *the one* prolonging the war, with a responsibility for its continuance, *the other*, a means of securing the war, more savage, unrelenting, and unjust than any recorded upon the pages of the annals of time.

Having earnestly entreated his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon to extend the invitation to America alone, and believing this would be done, to establish a practical foundation for future movements, should it be rejected, I returned to the United States to advocate its favourable reception, to accomplish which undertaking : —

1st. To change public sentiment, in the error that mediation was interference.

2nd. To gain over to mediation the Republican and Abolition sentiment, controlling the Government in opposition to the Democratic party, who favouring Constitutional justice to the South, opposed the slave-war policy, upon the military necessity plea of President Lincoln, believing that military necessity, as applied to the slave, was only in a revolution or overthrow of the legitimate form of Government for its reestablishment. The South did not seek this, but simply Constitutional right under an independent Government, they deeming it an impossibility to secure it under a Federal Union, with a hostile party in power.

To more practically illustrate the point, I contend, now that the North and South are in hostility, not upon a difference of opinion as to Government, that the war should be maintained upon Constitutional grounds, and to be consistent, the North cannot interfere with the Southern slave jurisdiction right, while she can claim Southern allegiance; that then to determine the points at issue, it is better to do so through human reason than the sword.

Thus a settlement under which the people, both North and South, may again unite, either upon one or two Governments, with one President or more.

On the other hand, continue the war to a successful revolution — that is the overthrow of the Constitutional Administration at Washington, either by the North or South — *for both North and South now war with the Government* — then should the North and South not re-unite under the old Constitution, military necessity may seek on the part of the North the overthrow of slavery; and on the part of the South the overthrow of free labour, to give place to either a *slave* or entire *free* nation.

3rd. To remove the prejudice of the American people as to the deemed hostility of motive of his Majesty Emperor Napoleon in the mediation movement.

The FIRST was removed through the press; it being finally conceded *mediation* was friendly advice, *intervention* was war.

The SECOND, in part through the open favour of Hon. Horace Greely, the leader of the Abolition party, and who, with most commendable zeal, urged a peace upon a just tribunal basis, and which position he still holds, as shown in the *New York Tribune*, issue July 8th last, thus : — “*We have never been able to see why our Govern-*

ment should repel the friendly interposition of other Governments for the restoration of peace to our distracted country."

The THIRD, through the American press, thus : —

Special Despatch to the New York Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, Jan. 8 th, 1863.

The French Minister, in an interview granted to-day to William Cornell Jewett, declared that the policy of the Emperor of France in proposing mediation was wholly friendly to the United States, and was inspired by a desire to see the Union re-established upon a basis of mutual concession; that Napoleon was sincerely interested in the prosperity and progress of the American nation, and that for the sake of that nation and the interests of humanity he had made a friendly call upon European Powers to join him in proposing to both parties to the war in America to sheath the sword and to deliberate; that France had no desire to be herself an arbiter between the contending States, but that if the mediation of other nations was accepted, or if we ourselves should meet in Convention, she would be glad to tender her friendly offices; that in this spirit only was it proposed by France that England and Russia should join her in the suggested mediation, and which could only take place with the consent and expressed desire of the American people and Government; that Napoleon thought the war and the causes that led to it could not now be settled without concession, and he was also of opinion that a conciliatory spirit, under a suspension of hostilities, would lead to peace. Monsieur Mercier also declared that he wished it understood that the large expedition to Mexico was meant only to repair the honour of France, injured by military defeat, and that it had no connexion with or regard to the American war. Indeed, that the American people could not point to any act of France of a character to justify the charge that she was hostile to their union, or their rights or interests. Monsieur Mercier finally showed to Mr. Jewett, and gave him permission to make use of the following passage in a recent despatch to him from Drouyn de Lhuys :

"Explain frankly, and in such a manner as to be well understood by the American people around you, that the Government of the Emperor would always be happy if he could contribute to the pacification of a friendly nation, at all times, on any conditions, alone, or, as proposed, with the concurrence of Great Britain and Russia, or with that of any other power that may be desired by America to co-operate, as a duty to humanity and good policy, and with a view to the best conditions for the future of the American nation."

France did make a suggestion to the Northern Government for

an armistice and commissioners. Mr. Seward replies, proposing, as a substitute, a representation of the South in the vacant seats of Congress. I then determined upon a return to Europe to re-urge international action, and through the advice of J.G. Bennet, Esq., the ablest of the American editors, concluded to favour Mr. Seward's idea, inasmuch as through that a just constitutional tribunal could be secured. European Governments opposing Southern recognition, the South will now yield to a mediation policy; thus, with the European Governments favourable, the responsibility is upon England.

To European powers, to you, great King Leopold I. of Belgium, to whose memory posterity must erect an enduring monument as the peace arbiter of nations, and a wise and just ruler, I do most earnestly pray that you will rise up in judgment against England, proclaiming it her duty to aid in securing American peace.

WM. Cornell Jewett

To his Royal Majesty King LEOPOLD I.

Hotel Fontaine, Ostende, Belgium.

Aug. 8th, 1863.

SIRE, — The Honourable Mr. Sanford, American Minister, has arrived at Ostende, no doubt with a view, in part, to defeat, as far as in his power, my purpose for a just arbitration of the American question. He having expressed to me an entire condemnation of my policy, with the opinion peace was now only through the at present victorious armies of the North, I deem it due to myself and my country to state, that I do not even entertain the idea that your Royal Majesty, the *Salomon* of the present century, and as such to be associated with coming ages, can be influenced by an opinion, biassed as must be that of the Honourable American Minister, through a representation of the extreme radical Abolition sentiment of his party, and which view, by the late American news, has been repudiated by Mr. Seward, in his late expressed desire for a peace, before the Cabinet of the Washington Government, upon a basis of re-union, under the withdrawal of the Slave proclamation, and a limit of slavery to the Southern possessions; a *policy*, Sire, impracticable, inasmuch as the South will not yield a *deemed* right to independence, nor to the *justice* of a return to the Union, unless through a disinterested tri-

bunal settlement. Thus my demand, as an American citizen, unre-presented as I am by any legitimate constitutional form of govern-ment, *from the claimed independence of the one and the usurpations of the other*, for international friendly action, in which view I am supported by the favourable judgment of your Royal Majesty.

Nor it is out of place to remind your Royal Majesty of the civil war in Rome, at the height of her power as a Republic, when the Italian States rose up in opposition to the claim of the Roman Senate, that a usurpation of the rights of Roman citizenship would not be permitted to the Italians. In this long and bloody struggle the Con-federated Italian States gained many victories over the Romans, until Sylla rose, crushing the Italian forces, and compelling many Italian States to return. Yet, notwithstanding this, after the sacrifice of army after army, the Roman Senate yielded to the demands of the Italian Confederacy; thus, then, the late, *at best incomplete and questionable victories* over the South by the Northern armies of America, are no evidence of the success of a force, slave, war or union policy, even if just, but to my mind tend so secure a more determined purpose.

I do again, then, make bold to appeal to your Royal Majesty to rise up in judgment, in accordance with views as expressed to me by your Royal Majesty, and now promulgated throughout the land, to act upon England, thereby a means for a speedy peace in America, which course must meet with the approval of nations, mankind, and high Heaven.

I remain, your Royal Majesty's
Most humble and obedient servant,

WM. Cornell Jewett,

U.S. of America.

AN APPEAL

To whom it may concern.

Important matter connected with the purpose of my independent national trip to Europe to urge upon nations the duty of efforts to secure American peace, has been suppressed by the American Govern-ment and the Press of Europe and America, for which humanity will in due time rise up in judgment against them, for "TRUTH IS MIGHTY, AND WILL PREVAIL."

Now that the acknowledged wise ruler of Belgium, King Leopold I., not only approves of the Independent character of my mission, but has pronounced my policy practicable, it is to be hoped at least the Washington Government of the United States of America will not continue this injustice, and that the ceremonial usage of foreign Court, not permitting audiences, but to accredited diplomatists, may under extraordinary circumstances, as in the position of the American Republic, be made an exception, and which exception, in many honourable instances extended, has enabled me to secure for "Mediation," as connected with the American War, the very gratifying and firm position I now claim for it, through the timely-promised co-operation of his Royal Majesty King Leopold I., in inducing England to join with France and other Powers in an invitation to the North to suspend hostilities, for deliberation.

I do not hesitate to proclaim the general war policy of the "Lincoln" Government as without precedent, in a want of common sense, judgment, and justice, and which policy, in connexion with the early unwise position of the South for independence, POSSESSING AS THEY DID THAT INDEPENDENCE THROUGH A CONTROLLING VOICE IN THE COUNCILS OF THE NATION, secured that alarming sacrifice of human life, with national and individual misery, that has unfortunately marked the annals of the war. Yet advantageous in the promise of a pure patriot representation from the ranks of the people to govern America under an undisputed constitutional Southern slave-right jurisdiction, with an humane policy of gradual emancipation for the negro, to meet the demands of the age and the progress of American liberty.

WM. Cornell Jewett (⁸⁸)

Savill and Edwards, Printers, Chandos Street, Covent Garden.

(⁸⁸) Le diplomate amateur n'en resta pas là et de Liverpool, le 2 septembre 1863, il envoyait à l'éditeur du *Daily Post* de Londres une lettre dans laquelle il racontait son entrevue avec le Roi et n'hésitait pas à déclarer que la France renouvellerait sans doute ses propositions de médiation, grâce aux "bonnes dispositions maintenant bien connues du Roi Léopold". Selon lui, les vœux de ce dernier allaient à "un arbitrage ou à la décision d'un tribunal impartial qui prononcerait sur les différends entre le Nord et le Sud". Jewett dénonçait l'opposition du gouvernement fédéral à une telle politique et voulait susciter contre lui "un mouvement indépendant des Etats" et de l'opinion pacifiste

128. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
13 août 1863 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 7.

Jewett, qui aurait été chassé de Belgique par Rogier, se plaint des attaques de Sanford. L'élection de Maximilien au trône mexicain suscite l'appréhension de difficultés avec les Etats-Unis.

Dear Sir : I am vexed to have to speak again of "Colorado" Jewett. From the tenor of one of his wild epistles just recd., he is evidently seeking to make himself a martyr, the victim of a personal attack, etc (⁸⁴)... It seems he went again to M. Rogier yesterday and was almost kicked out by the indignant minister who did not spare the epithetes he knows well how to administer. His parting advice being to lose not an hour in leaving the country if he wished to avoid a possible arrest for obtaining money under false pretences at the Grand Hotel in Paris.

Jewett started for London and addresses from there a long letter and encloses a new pamphlet in which I see he has a letter warning King Leopold against the presumed object of my visit to Ostend.

So far from going down on account of the fellow, I was on the point, when I heard of his audience of the King, to give up my room engaged there two days previous, and keep away, but some such conclusions as Jewett's would be arrived at.

I have had no opportunity to get much information touching the views of the Archduke Maximilian as to his election. From what the Duke of Brabant said to one of my colleagues and repeated to me, I infer that it is not looked upon here with favor.

conduite par le Sénateur Vallandigham (reproduit dans la *Revue Trimestrielle*, t. 41, p. 228-229).

Une brochure publiée à Londres par les mêmes éditeurs que celle reproduite ci-dessus, aux environs de l'automne 1863, et rédigée au Canada par Jewett, mit une fois de plus le Roi Léopold en cause. "My late trip, écrivait Jewett, has resulted in not only the favour of the continental governments, but now England and the South, which must, in part, be attributed to the frankly-avowed views of Count Rechberg and King Leopold expressed to me and promulgated through the press... the peace-tribunal policy of the illustrious Emperor of France, based as it is upon a desire to see perpetuated the American form of Government, and now supported by Europe, the South and the acknowledged wise King Leopold..." (*National Appeal in connection with the Independent Peace Mission of William Cornell Jewett to the Courts of Europe...*, in-8°, Londres, 1863, S.P., 145/16).

(⁸⁴) W.C. Jewett à H.S. Sanford - Londres, 12 août 1863 - S.P., 123/3.

In Paris the opinion seems to incline to his acceptance, to his demurring that universal suffrage ought to ratify so important an act, the reply is all ready, that universal suffrage is impossible in Mexico, but that the election of the "notables", shall be confirmed by the provincial legislature and it is thought he will leave in December to commence his reign with the new year. There will be no difficulty on the side of Austria, I imagine, which having nor money, men or guarantees to give, will see in the act an honor shown to their Royal and Imperial House and an Archduke the less at home.

There seems to be a general conviction that this Mexican business contains the germs of difficulties between us and France.

If France can only get involved in a war with us, it will be an immense relief for the European powers from their perpetual nightmare, the Emperor, and a great satisfaction to his dear "ally" "perfidious Albion"...

[*le reste concerne la politique anglaise*]

129. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 56 - Bruxelles,
15 août 1863 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann croit que Léopold 1^{er} a soutenu la cause du Sud pendant une visite de la Reine Victoria. Les nouvelles militaires rassurent les partisans du Sud. La bonne volonté du Roi se heurte à la politique française de duplicité, à la fois vis-à-vis des Etats-Unis et de Maximilien, dont il prévoit le sort.

Sir: After a sojourn of about forty-eight hours with King Leopold at his country palace, Queen Victoria left here yesterday for Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. The King, I am quite confident, conversed freely and fully with her upon the importance, almost paramount in the interests of humanity and advancing civilization, of terminating hostilities in America by the concerted moral action of European potentates. Personally I incur no risk in stating that her Majesty's feelings are as warmly enlisted for the success of the Confederate States as are the feelings of her most sympathizing subjects in behalf of those States. She would not have within her bosom the heart of a noble woman were it otherwise.

The serious reverses which we experienced about the 4th of July disheartened for a time many of our best friends in western Europe. Indeed, a number of them utterly despaired. They are no, however, slowly recovering their spirits. Each arrival from New York is more assuring than its predecessor. Charleston continues invincible; General Lee is master of his position. The armies of the North are at a dead standstill. The expired term of service is drawing brigade after brigade from the field; the enforcement of the conscription is delayed, if not abandoned. These occurrences, which can not be concealed by the Washington Cabinet, must, if we meet with no terrible disaster, speedily satisfy the world of enlightened mankind, as it has not been satisfied before, that the costly and brutal attempt to conquer us has resulted in a complete and disgraceful failure.

The influence of the King of the Belgians upon the different governments of Europe was never so powerful as at present. He seems to be a sort of privy councillor to each. His health has been so perfectly reestablished and his spirits so fine that he never displayed more activity and more interest in public affairs than he does now. I esteem him as our best European friend, and I believe that he has our case earnestly under consideration and anxiously awaits the hour when he can make a manifestation in our favor which will carry all Europe with it.

His mind is, naturally enough, occupied with the embryo Mexican throne and its contemplated occupant. He will take care that his son-in-law Maximilian shall not inconsiderately grasp at that which may turn out to be nothing more than the merest of shadows.

It is apprehended that Louis Napoleon has other aims than benefiting the House of the Hapsburgs in the selection which he has made of a ruler for Mexico. That he will be content with nothing less than "the lion's part" of the benefits derived from his triumphant invasion of that country; that when Maximilian is crowned he will let him discover that he has no other support upon which to rely than French bayonets; and that if the Emperor of his creation adopt any policy or express any opinion contrary to his wisdom those bayonets will be withdrawn and the Austrian prince subjected to the unrestrained revenge of Mexican revolutionists...

[Mann croit que Napoléon III voudrait envoyer le Prince Napoléon au Mexique pour se débarasser d'un rival possible]

...Rather than be subjected to the iron yoke of the North; rather than belong to a Union in which such guerillas as have manifested themselves since the beginning of the war would be members, there is no hope that I would not catch at for self-preservation, however desperate. I would even gladly see my Government entering into an offensive and defensive treaty with the Emperor of the French. But I must confess that unless the United States shall suddenly spring a war upon France, which is not within the range of reasonable likelihood, there is no conceivable contingency in which such an alliance can be formed. The diplomacy of the cabinet of the Tuileries is directed in a masterly manner to the retention of amicable relations with the Cabinet of Washington. If the Emperor of the French has occasionally expressed himself favorable to us, it has been more with a view to show the North that it was her interest to be acquiescent as to that which he was accomplishing in Mexico than to benefit ourselves. It is palpably his policy to nourish the exhaustion of each of the belligerents as much as possible. He waited for a propitious time to overrun that distracted country, and he doubtless look forward to the day, not far distant as he supposes, when he can establish Mexico as she once was with utter impunity. If he had ever our cause earnestly at heart, wished sincerely for a speedy termination of our sufferings and the consolidation of our independence, he had never arrested by pressing interference the war which otherwise was inevitable between Great Britain and the United States, engendered by the *Trent* affair. Nor can I — I who so acutely felt the disappointment — ever cease to doubt his professed good intentions in our behalf when I recur to the contents of the autograph letter of King Leopold, of October 15 of last year.

I still believe, and shall still believe, whatever disaster we may experience in the field, that our independence was an accomplished fact the moment that it was asserted. Every victory that the North has achieved has weakened her power for consummating her cherished final end. I did believe that we were destined to overrun her, and while that belief is not entirely relinquished, I am very sure that there is not the remotest chance or shadow of a chance that she can overrun us. I have, etc...

130. Evêque FITZPATRICK à H. S. SANFORD - Bruxelles,
19 août 1863 - S.P., 120/9.

Mgr. Fitzpatrick a engagé un agent pour le Service Secret à la demande de Sanford.

Dear General : I have at length seen your man ⁽⁸⁵⁾ at ½ past 8 this evening. He is hungry for the job. The letter written to you last night was only a sham. So he says. He has communicated it to the Chief of Police as he threatened to do. But his object is to make it appear that there has been a rupture and that hencefull he has nothing to do with the matter. In a word, he wants to cover all tracks. He will right, I presume, meet you tomorrow at Paris, although he does not punctually say so and he took the address which you left wit me. I told him you were to start on tomorrow evening and return to Brussels. I think that he can render great services but says that a few days sooner or later will make no difference. He is mighty, sharp and requires to be watched.

Yours truly
JBF

131. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 112 -
Washington, 3 septembre 1863 - N.A., St.D., INSTR.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

Seward considère l'incident Jewett comme étant clos et estime que la conduite de ce dernier compense la faute commise par Rogier en le recevant.

Sir : Your despatches of August 6th, N° 139 and August 11th N° 140 have been received.

Your proceedings in regard to William Cornell Jewett are approved. If Mr. Rogier has reason to regret the want of consideration towards the United States which he manifested in giving audience to

⁽⁸⁵⁾ Il s'agit de Charles Jacquin, un ancien repris de justice français vivant en Belgique qui fut employé comme espion par Sanford, notamment dans l'affaire des vaisseaux construits pour le Sud en France. Sanford Papers, box 139, liasse 10.

an adventurer and introducing him to His Majesty the King ⁽⁸⁶⁾, we have equal reason to regret that a citizen of the United States has not show a better return for the hospitalities thus undeservedly conferred upon him. Both parties, however, may derive some comfort from the fact that in revolutionary times like these, volunteer diplomats are furnished by other countries than our own, and are entertained at other Courts, as well as that of Belgium, with results certainly as embarrassing as any that have thus far attended the self-appointed Missions of American mediators. For my own part, I have from the first, with the authority of the President, thought it wise to shut out from all audience unaccredited agents of friendly nations, and held us intercourse with subjects of foreign powers without frankly making it known to the proper governments.

I am, etc...

132. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 145 - Ostende,
4 septembre 1863 - N.A., St. D., BELGIUM, vol. 7.

Sanford affirme au Roi Léopold que le retrait des droits de belligérance accordés au Sud par la France et la Grande-Bretagne hâterait la fin de la guerre et que la constructions de navires pour le Sud irrite l'opinion du Nord à un point tel qu'une guerre pourrait en être la conséquence. Le Roi recommandant l'adoption d'une paix de compromis avec le Sud, Sanford réaffirme que seule la soumission des rebelles apportera la paix.

Sir : I have to acknowledge the receipt of your circular despatch under date of 12th ult^o. and the accompanying map.

I deemed it important in connection with conversation with the King previously reported to you, to bring the facts and conclusions

⁽⁸⁶⁾ Par crainte d'éventuelles remontrances de Washington, Rogier avait pris les devants et avertit dès le 17 août notre Chargé d'Affaires Berghmans des diverses tentatives de Jewett et de Mann auprès de lui, le priant de le justifier auprès de Seward. Berghmans accompagnait alors le Secrétaire d'Etat dans une excursion et devant son silence, renonça à prendre l'initiative d'une explication "d'autant plus que Mr. Jewett n'occupe pas une position qui puisse donner d'importance réelle à ses démarches". (Berghmans à Ch. Rogier - n° 386 - Washington, 7 septembre 1863. A.M.A.E., Cor. Politique, Etats-Unis, t. 7.)

therein set forth without delay before his Majesty and accordingly, asked for an audience, which was granted me to day.

After the usual interchange of courtesy, in reply to the inquiries of His Majesty touching the progress of the war and to the expression of the hope that it was approaching its end, I said that I had come, remembering the enlightened interest in our affairs he had shown in previous interviews, and in connexion with a recent conversation reported to you, to bring for his perusal a recent dispatch, in which you had sent forth with great clearness and agency the progress we had made towards the restoration of the authority of the government in the rebellious States, and the expediency, in view of the early restoration of its former commercial intercourse, for Europe to leave us to settle our domestic affairs without interference therein. The suppression of the rebellion, I continued was simply a question of time — how much time, depended greatly upon the action of European powers. If this course of giving aid by the recognition of belligerent rights; of aiding to injure our commerce by countenancing the building of vessels-of-war to be used by the insurgents to destroy our merchant ships; of giving aid and protection to these vessels, and even the means for continuing this nefarious business; of holding out hopes of recognition, etc..., if these were continued of course, the war would be prolonged, and a restoration of commerce be delayed, in a corresponding degree.

If the recognition of belligerent rights to the insurgents was withdrawn, my opinion was that the bubble of the Confederacy would collapse immediately. We considered it would, in any event, be soon pricked by the action of our arms, and the re-action of the people, who were beginning to perceive that they had been led astray and wickedly used, to further the ambitious designs of a few selfish and miserable politicians. I said, further, that in this connexion with the subject of supplying ships of war to those in rebellion to the Union, I felt constrained to say, as a personal opinion, that if it was continued in England, if the ironclad vessels now in process of construction there were permitted to leave, it seemed to me a continuation of peaceful relations with that country would be impossible; that there was a rising wave of indignation and hostility surging up against Great Britain among our people, in consequence of similar acts, with every desire on the part of the government to keep the peace, be likely, in the contingency suggested, to culminate in an overwhelming outburst of feeling that would, in my view, make war inevitable.

I added that I hoped every lover of peace would aid to avert such a calamity by counsel in favor of a course of conduct due towards a friendly power, as well as in the interests of Great Britain, who was raising precedents which, in the future, would be likely to be turned with mischievous results against her.

It was difficult, His Majesty replied, for neutrals to satisfy either party, and he expressed, in general terms, the hope that there would be no cause for difficulty. His Majesty expressed surprise of the marked progress of our arms, as shown upon the map. He said he hoped an early peace would be arrived at; that he had received too many evidences of regard from the United States not to feel a deep interest in the prosperity, well-being and peace for our country; and it seemed to him that some way might be found for an arrangement, and the avoidance of further bloodshed. When two gentlemen, he continued, had fought gallantly, and with mutual losses, it was generally found that a means of settlement could be arrived without continuing the combat till one succumbed; and so, in this case, would not the feeling hereafter be likely to be less bitter, and would there not be more future harmony, were this occasion of exhaustion and discontent in the south, to which I had adverted, availed of to come to an arrangement by mutual compromises ?

There was no disposition, I replied, to destroy the southern people, or to crush and humiliate them unnecessarily. When they expressed the desire to return to their allegiance, it would be found, I thought, that the return would be made as little onerous or humiliating as was compatible with the future security of the State. A recent letter written under high authority as I believed and published in North Carolina, as well as various other indications, showed that the people were taking this question of a return to the Union into their own hands and it was through the people, not their leaders, that I looked for the settlement and the restoration of peace over a united country.

During a lengthened conversation, His Majesty was reserved in the expression of opinion touching the repeal of the recognition of belligerent rights to the insurgents, and the building of ships of war for them. He expressed himself warmly, as touched by the cordial friendly spirit of your late communications for him; and in reply to my remark, that the feelings we entertained for him were almost these of affection, he said he appreciated this regard evinced for him, he

felt that it was because we must know that he sought to *do good*. I have, etc...

133. J. BIGELOW à H. S. SANFORD - Paris,
15 septembre 1863 - S.P., 115/12.

Bigelow rédige avec l'aide de Malespine une brochure sur la guerre civile aux Etats-Unis et demande à Sanford d'en acheter pour distribuer en Belgique.

...Malespine made no reply or rather no complaint and offered no argument in reply to your letter which I read to him. The paper has done better than ever since Guerroult⁽⁸⁷⁾ himself has written two or three articles much bolder and more tranchant than any that have ever appeared in the *Opinion* on our side. I would not renew the subsidy. That is not a good form. I meant to have told you in my letter last night that Malespine is getting up a brochure for me, to consist of Seward's circular to the Consuls *with the map* showing the progress made by our arms since the commencement of the Rebellion, and also the Raleigh pronunciamento. Malespine translated it, has the map engraved and the whole neatly printed after the model of Laboulaye's "Etats-Unis"⁽⁸⁸⁾ and I engaged to take 500 copies at 1fr a copy, to indemnify against loss and he takes the chance of selling more to make a profit. I have found a place for the 500 and if you are disposed to take any for distribution in Belgium or elsewhere, he would appreciate that attention from you just as much perhaps as any other you could pay him. He must now within a few days have money to want, if any, as no more will be printed than are ordered in advance. They will be 1fr the copy...

(87) Adolphe Guérault, éditeur de l'*Opinion Nationale* et député. Il était au service de l'Italie. L. M. CASE, *French Opinion on War and Diplomacy*, p. 553.

(88) E. LABOULAYE, *Les Etats-Unis et la France*, Paris, 1862.

133bis. J. BIGELOW à H. S. SANFORD - Paris,
5 octobre 1863 - S.P., 115/12.

Enclosed please find a receipt for a package of 100 brochures sent by the factage Parisien at your address. The rest of your order is already delivered to parties whom the subject of the circular is supposed to concern.

...I am going to publish a couple of thousand copies of the most available parts of Sumners last speech. Malespine is getting it up and to receive \$ 200 for 2000 copies. The money is already secured. Shall you want any ? ...

*

Paris, 14 octobre 1863.

Received of H.S. Sanford five hundred francs in payment for five hundred copies of Seward's circular on foreign affairs distributed at his request.

(s) John Bigelow U.S. Consul

134. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Ostende,
16 septembre 1863 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 7.

Le propagandiste fédéral Henry Ward Beecher obtient une audience du Roi Léopold et lui exprime l'opposition du gouvernement américain à l'Empire mexicain et à une solution négociée de la guerre civile aux Etats-Unis, souhaitée par le Roi.

Dear Sir : I have had Mr. Harvey and Henry Ward Beecher ⁽⁸⁹⁾ the past week to see the King and parted both as to what would best tell in the Mexican question.

⁽⁸⁹⁾ Henry W. Beecher (1813-1887), pasteur presbytérien et leader abolitionniste, frère d'Harriett Beecher Stowe. Très actif au sein du mouvement antiesclavagiste et orateur réputé, il fut un des propagandistes de la guerre civile. En 1863, il se rendit en Europe et fit une série de conférences en Grande-Bretagne en faveur de l'Union. Après la guerre, sa popularité baissa à la suite de scandales de sa vie privée. *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 2, p. 129-135.

Beecher yesterday was rec[eive]d by the King of Ghent (I did not accompany him, but provided for the audience there) and used most emphatic language in expressing the conviction that no foreign prince would be allowed to remain in Mexico, that the adventurers from our armies must inevitably find place by tens of thousands under the Mexican standard in more than sufficient numbers to drive out the Frenchmen.

The King still holds on to his arrangement theory in our affairs, and would like, I have reason to believe, the opportunity to exercise his wisdom in it.

He has rec[eive]d no encouragement from me and most emphatic assurance in his late conversation with these gentlemen that the only possible settlement is surrender by those in arms. Beecher made some good hits on this point.

The President's letter responds very opportunely to constant enquiries touching the conduct of the war and its end and will tract the popular heart in Europe but does not the mission to speak of the reestablishment of a Union as it was and for which over here we proclaim to be our object, tend to weaken our position abroad ! In haste, very, etc...

135. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 61 - Bruxelles,
25 septembre 1863 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Le Roi Léopold eût souhaité aider d'avantage le Sud. L'hostilité des Etats-Unis envers l'Empire du Mexique et les rumeurs qu'elle suscite pourraient exercer une influence en faveur du Sud.

...King Leopold has just delivered a speech at Ghent, the Manchester of Belgium, from which I extract the following paragraph :

“I thank you for the sympathetic reception you have given to the toast, proposed to you by Mr. Burgmaster. I am happy to find myself again among you, and I seize this opportunity of expressing how much I have been moved by the patience and constancy with which the populations have supported the crisis which, unfortunately, is beyond our control. It is known to you that for years Ghentish industry has been the object of my live-heart sollicitude...”.

“Unfortunately” also for the Confederate States, as well as for this realm, the subject is, indeed, “beyond” the “control” of the wise and human King of the Belgians. Had he possessed the power of either France or Great Britain, our ports had never been blockaded nor our homes devastated. He is a Sovereign of honest purpose and of eminent good faith. I wish, with all my heart, that I could think as favorably of one of his mighty neighbours.

The hostile demonstrations of the North, irrespective, against the establishment of an Imperial Throne in Mexico — as manifested in the New Yorks or other Federal journals — is likely to exercise an important influence in our favor in Western and Central Europe... (...)

It has been intimated, as I am informed, by some of Seward Representatives, as well as other Northerners in Belgium, England and France, that “it may occur that the Washington Government will find it to be its imperative duty to recognize the Government of Richmond, provided, that the latter Government will consent to enter into a treaty offensive and defensive for the protection of the North-American Continent against European *domination*.” In that case, it will proceed, as stated, to drive Great Britain out of the North and France out of the South, and *foster* the Confederate States as their most natural political and commercial ally. — Stranger events, than such a proposal, have occurred ...

136. J. P. BENJAMIN à A. D. MANN - n° 10 - Richmond,
1^{er} octobre 1863 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Benjamin marque sa satisfaction de l'attitude du Roi et effectue une mise au point quant aux prétentions de Mann à une promotion.

Sir : My last was confined to the sole object of transmitting to you the President's instructions that you should proceed to Rome for the purpose of presenting the letter addressed by him to His Holiness Pope Pius IX (⁹⁰).

(⁹⁰) Le 18 octobre 1862, Pie IX avait adressé aux archevêques de New York et de la Nouvelle-Orléans, Mgrs. Hughes et Odin, une lettre leur demandant d'user de leur influence sur ouailles en vue d'une solution pacifique du conflit. Cette lettre fut publiée aux Etats-Unis et Jefferson Davis fit remettre au

I now desire to acknowledge the receipt of your several despatches from Nos. 44 to 58 both inclusive. Nos. 56,57 & 58 having arrived together on the 30th ultimo.

The accounts given by you of the state of public affairs in Europe are read with interest, and the President is happy to be informed of the continued good will entertained towards us by His Belgian Majesty, and of the efforts made by him to induce European nations to render us the tardy justice of placing us in all respects on an equal footing with our enemies.

While on this subject I must allude to a matter personal to yourself and on which I fear you have attached a rather wider meaning to my language than it was intended to convey.

In answer to your request to be placed at Brussels on the same footing as is occupied by our Commissioners at Paris and London I explained in my N^o 7 the reasons which rendered it improper to yield to your wishes, and added that the refusal to make any change in your position was more just to yourself, "as the President will thus have it in his power to assign to you, after our recognition, at some one of the Continental Courts, a position with such grade as would be agreeable to yourself, while at present it would not be expedient to send you a commission of higher grade than Minister Resident for the Belgian Court."

In your N^o 54 you remark "as you so kindly signified his (the President's) intention to bestow upon me a mission of the first grade etc etc";

I did not mean in the language used by me to convey the idea thus stated by you. The President has never to my knowledge since entering on the duties as Chief Executive promised or signified in advance an intention to confer an appointment in any branch of the service. What I intended to convey was this, that if your request was

Pape, par l'intermédiaire de Mann, une lettre très déferente le remerciant de son initiative en faveur de la paix. Le 11 novembre 1863, Mann était à Rome et entendait ne pas se limiter à la remise de la lettre au Davis, mais obtenir l'appui du Pape pour arrêter l'enrôlement d'émigrants catholiques dans les armées fédérales et favoriser une médiation européenne aux Etats-Unis. Reçu par le Cardinal Antonelli puis par le Pape le 13, Mann déploie ses efforts et le Souverain Pontife lui promet une lettre qui pourrait être publiée adressée à Davis et plaidant la cause de la paix.

Voir L. F. STOCK, *Catholic participation in the diplomacy of the Southern Confederacy*, dans *Catholic Historical Review*, t. XVI, 1930, pt. 1-18; F. L. OWSLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 517-526.

acceded to, the appointment sent to you could not be of a grade higher than Minister Resident, and that your position would thus become fixed in that grade, whereas if matters remained as at present, your name, in the event of our recognition, would doubtless be taken into consideration by the President in assigning our diplomatic agents abroad to proper posts, instead of your being regarded as definitely assigned to duty as a Minister Resident. I regret that I failed to make myself properly understood, and it is due to you and to the President that I should not allow your misapprehension of my meaning to remain without correction...

137. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
15 octobre 1863 - S.P., 59/4.

Le Nord pourrait gagner des appuis en Europe en y diffusant un plus grand nombre de ses emprunts.

Dear Sir : I enclose you herewith an open letter to Mr. Chase, for you to read closing and forwarding to him. Apart from financial consideration, ought we not *now* seek to strengthen ourselves abroad by increasing the number of *Union Stockholders* here ? The political influence of a hundred million Dollars in U.S. Bonds in the Strong Boxes and pockets of the people, whether of high or low degree, would have a not inconsiderable bearing upon their feelings and conduct towards us. Very, etc...

138. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 68 - Rome,
21 novembre 1863 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann espère que la lettre promise par Pie IX exercera une telle influence que la reconnaissance des Etats du Sud s'ensuivra.

...Of course, I can form no conjecture when the letter of his holiness to the President will be ready for delivery ⁽⁸¹⁾. Weeks, per-

⁽⁸¹⁾ Le 8 décembre 1863, le Cardinal Antonelli remit à Mann une lettre du Pape adressée à Davis et plaidant la cause de la paix.

haps month, may elapse first. With my explanations to him upon the subject of slavery, I indulge the hope that he will not allude, hurtfully to us, to the subject. As soon as I receive it I will endeavor to prevail with him to have the correspondence published in the official Journal here, or to give me permission to bring it out in the Paris Moniteur. Its information would be powerful upon all the Catholic Governments in both hemispheres, and I would return to Brussels and make an appeal to King Leopold to exert himself with Great Britain, Prussia, etc, in our behalf. Thus I am exceedingly hopeful that before spring our independence will be generally acknowledged. Russia alone will most probably stand aloof until we are recognized by the North, as she has now, at least ostensibly, identified her fortunes with that distracted and demon-like division of the old Union. So far my mission has not found its way into the newspapers, I wish to keep it secret in order that the publication of the letters may, from the unexpectedness, cause a salutary sensation everywhere when it occurs.

I have reason to believe that what I have said in high places in relation to Irish emigration to New York were words in season.

I have, etc...

139. L. DOCHEZ ⁽⁹²⁾ à H. S. SANFORD - Bruxelles,
5 décembre 1863 - S.P., 139/8.

Dochez, pressenti par Sanford pour l'organisation d'un recrutement de matelots en Europe, présente des objections pratiques à ce projet.

Sir : Since I had the honour of seeing you, I have considered the project you spoke of, of providing sailors from Europe for the United States Navy. Before entering into any particulars, I have to thank you for the high compliment you paid to my poor abilities in judging me capable of carrying out this important business.

Having come to Europe on a mission not altogether different

(⁹²) Sur L. Dochez, voir F. BALACE, *En marge de la Guerre de Sécession. Recrutements en Belgique pour les troupes fédérales 1864-1865, passim.*

from the one now offered, my ambition is justly flattered and I can see no objection in devoting the whole of my time to it. Allow me however, Sir, to expose you my views on the matter, which are all taken from my own understanding of the note of the Secretary of the Navy.

The whole affair, if I remember, is to furnish in New York or some other northern point a certain number of able seamen who would receive two months wages in advance on the day of their enlistment, the United States Government remaining outside of my responsibility whatever. Whether such an understanding is possible remains to be shown by experiments. For my part, and I base my saying on personal experience, I doubt of the success, if there are no additional articles of guarantee added to the proposition.

1°. Where will you find in Europe houses that will forward sailors the whole matter depending on their reliability? (of the sailors). If chances are uncertain for landsmen, they are certainly much more so for seamen who in general are very well acquainted with the different ways of desertion.

2°. How will you ship the men if nobody is officially responsible? By this, I especially mean that it will be difficult to ship men to New York under my unknown responsibility. This matter of personal responsibility will work in different ways; it may carry pretty far and create unknown difficulties. By experience again, I hope to be relieved of it in some way so as not to stand alone in the back of the medal.

I could enumerate a great many objections but they deriving more or less from the two formers you may think I want to discuss in detail an affair which in the working may come out quite differently. The only point on which I wish to call your attention is the pecuniary one. Perhaps after the Government will be more acquainted with the business and be convinced of its being carried out in a true conscientious honest way, will they make more convenient concessions but before beginning I wish you could obtain some guarantees for the undertakers. By the proposition, they have none whatever, for the two months wages entirely rest with the men... [*illisible*]. If they choose to keep the whole nobody can prevent the... [*effacé*]. The whole matter being based on the above; could this sum not be made payable to the forwarders?

I have written to several parties living in seaports to know the number of sailors at present in their respective places. As soon as I

shall have obtained information I will take the liberty of communicating it to you. Hoping, Sir, that you will prepare the business so that I may carry it out safely and successfully, I remain very respectfully your most humble and obedient servant.

(s) Louis A. Dochez

N.B. I thought proper to write the above now, though I might have obtained more information by waiting, but your correspondance with Washington on this subject will give you an opportunity to communicate them in time the objections made by the party more directly interested.

L.D.

140. H. B. ANTHONY à H. S. SANFORD - Washington,
21 décembre 1863 - S.P., 114/3.

Anthony expose à Sanford les motifs d'ordre financiers qui s'opposent à une élévation de rang de la Légation américaine à Bruxelles.

...I have read your despatch and have talked with Seward on the subject of it. Seward appreciates your services very highly, and says also that you send him more informations than any other man abroad. Moreover he would like to compliment the King, but although he would agree cordially to raise the grade of the mission, he will not recommend it, having made a point of keeping the expenditure of his department within their present limits. I have talked with Sumner, who shewed me the Bishops letter, and with Foster⁽⁹³⁾ who is on the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Both agree that the mission should be raised and I think it could easily be carried through that committee, but the stich will be in the Finance Committee where Fessenden⁽⁹⁴⁾ opposes all increase of appropriation and Sherman will not agree to set example of raising a mission...

(93) Lafayette S. Foster (1806-1880), juriste et homme politique. Editeur du *Norwich Republican*. Sénateur du Connecticut 1855-1867 et justice à la Cour supérieure de son Etat, 1870-1876. *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 6, p. 553-554.

(94) Voir note 113.

141. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé -
28 décembre 1863 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 7.

L'opinion semble admettre le succès du Nord comme assuré.

...I found everywhere the sentiment prevalent that our success was assured — of course, I received no very warm congratulation on the event among the aristocratic classes, — but it is a great gain to find that this belief is almost universal that the Union is, after all, not to perish.

The telegraphic résumé of the Message had only appeared in the papers and it was everywhere favorably received...

142. L. de GIVE ⁽⁹⁵⁾ à J. P. BENJAMIN - 20 janvier (1864) -
L.C., P.P., vol. 18.

Le Consul de Belgique à Atlanta demande l'autorisation de rentrer dans les Etats du Sud et s'inquiète des conditions qui pourraient y être posées.

Monsieur le Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat, Très honoré Monsieur!:

Lorsque, dans l'été de 1862, après la perte de tous mes enfants, je dus reconduire en Europe ma femme malade, je croyais ne revenir dans votre pays qu'après la paix, qui me paraissait prochaine. Dieu en a décidé autrement. Un de mes parents, que j'avais laissé à Atlanta pour prendre soin de mes biens est venu malheureusement à mourir le 18 mai 1863, laissant tout ce que j'ai à l'abandon. C'est seulement en octobre que je l'ai appris. J'étais dès lors forcé de revenir et je me suis mis en route par le Nord, la seule route ouverte. L'honorable Monsieur Seward, sur l'énoncé de mes motifs de retour, n'a pas hésité à m'accorder une passe. J'ose espérer, très honoré Monsieur, que je

⁽⁹⁵⁾ Laurent M.J. de Give (1828-1910) fut désigné au printemps 1860 comme Consul de Belgique à Atlanta, dont les essais de *direct-trade* avec la Géorgie avaient motivé la désignation. Il rentra en Belgique à la suite de tragédies familiales puis retourna à son poste à Atlanta où il vécut jusqu'à sa mort. Il était assez favorable à la cause du Sud. Voir aux A.M.A.E., dossier Personnel 1172, Corresp. Politique, Etats-Unis et Consuls et P. EVANS et TH. P. GOVAN *A Belgian Consul on Conditions in the South in 1860 and 1862*, dans *Journal of Southern History*, 1938, p. 478-491.

rencontrerai chez vous la même bienveillante courtoisie et que vous me permettez de regagner la Géorgie.

On vient cependant de me dire, sur ce navire, que vous avez exigé que le Consul de France, à Richmond, ne revînt que sur un navire de guerre de sa nation. Si cela est vrai, veuillez me permettre de vous faire remarquer que la Belgique, nation neutre et essentiellement pacifique, n'a aucune marine militaire et que dès lors je ne pourrais me conformer à semblable condition.

Si, contre mon attente, vous ne vouliez pas consentir à me laisser passer purement et simplement, veuillez au moins, très honoré Monsieur, m'admettre comme un étranger appelé dans votre pays par le soin de ses intérêts matériels. Je vous prie, etc... Le Consul de Belgique à Atlanta Laurent de Give, Ship Flag of Truce, mercredi soir.

143. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 184 - Bruxelles, 29 janvier 1864 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Sanford demande au Roi Léopold d'intervenir auprès du Cabinet britannique pour qu'il retire aux Etats du Sud les droits de belligérance. Le Roi se borne à assurer Sanford de son désir de voir une paix de conciliation adoptée aux Etats-Unis.

Sir: I had yesterday an audience of the King, which I had asked for in order to express to His Majesty some considerations touching the withdrawal by the Great Maritime Powers of their recognition of the American Insurgents as Naval belligerents, in the sense of your despatch n° 125.

After some conversation on other topics (which will be referred to in another communication) in reply to the expressed by his Majesty for an early termination of the war, the effects of which were so deeply felt in Europe, I said that my government, and the people of the United States, had full confidence in bringing it to an early termination, and in the only way possible to secure permanent peace — a restoration of the authority of the government over the whole territory of the Union. That after over two years and a half of war, and after furnishing over a million and a half of volunteers and fifteen hundred millions of dollars, the confidence in the result and the

determination to put down the rebellion had any cost had been but strengthened, as his Majesty might perceive in the facility with which the government obtained fresh resources in men and money from the people. About 5/6 of the territory and population claimed by the insurgents was already restored to the authority of the government, and the remainder exhausted, crippled, and demoralized, were weaker than the proportion would express. Without pretending to fix a term to the war, which might be closed the next campaign, or might continue over several, the result, it seemed to me, could no longer be doubtful, and depended upon the action of the great maritime powers of Europe.

We were not fighting alone the rebellion, but we had to contend against the support, moral and material, given by those powers in Europe who called themselves our friends. The recognition of belligerent rights had been and continued to be an immense aid to the Insurgents. Not alone in stimulating the hopes of their leaders for a political recognition, and exciting to more desperate resistance, but in enabling them to procure the means to exercise, under the protection of those powers, detestable acts of spoliation and destruction of peaceful merchantmen upon the high seas. At this moment there were in the ports of France no less than three English vessels with English crews and armaments fitting out to continue their work of piracy under the so-called Confederate flag.

If European governments desired peace, let them withdraw their moral support to the Rebellion, and refuse these vessels access to and protection in their ports. Such course would surely hasten the end. The contrary course would but prolong the struggle and the sufferings in Europe, but could not effect the result which the deliberate resolution of the government and the people of the United States had determined upon. We could, I continued, carry on the war for still a considerable period without serious disturbance to our financial or industrial interests, but could Europe long afford to continue to aid to prolong the war? Every days continuance of the war, and a war-tariff on foreign goods, was adding to our independence of her and her manufactures and consequently tending to close her most important markets. Instead of sending two hundred millions Dollars worth of goods to the United States to buy cotton, France and England were now sending specie to distant lands to pay five prices for cotton to people who needed few clothes and were but trifling consumers of their manufactures. If this were long continued to the

great embarrassments of a financial crisis, would be likely to be added the calamity of a monetary crisis, and with it, suspension of specie payments; again the continuation of the war would but make more wide spread the desolation in the cotton producing states, and inflict upon Europe a more prolonged period of high prices for cotton. Was not the time come for this subject to be seriously considered by European Governments? — Now, the withdrawal of the recognition of Belligerent rights to the Insurgents, would be considered a gracious and friendly act, which would do much to allay the irritation which had been excited among our people; the time might no be far distant when the condition of the South would necessitate its withdrawal, and when we should have a right to claim it from those who would remain our friends.

His Majesty had already lent his powerful influence in favor of justice and peace in the matter of the stoppage of the ironclad vessels building for the Confederates in England and his action, as on other important occasions, had been highly appreciated by my government. Could not this influence, acquired by the exercise of well directed efforts in favor of peace and of good relations between people of both hemisphere, be now employed to promote the cause of peace in America and would it not be an act of humanity not only to the Insurgents, but to the suffering classes of Europe to counsel a withdrawal of that aid hitherto given to the Rebellion, against the government and integrity of a friendly power?

His Majesty listened attentively to the remarks of which the above is the substance, and said I was right in supposing that his earnest efforts in the future, as in the past, would be directed in favor of peace. He would be gratified, he continued, if any way could be found by which that desirable end could be obtained in the United States towards which he had long entertained, as he had now, feelings of friendly interests, and he hoped to see an early termination of this war, the disastrous effects of which were so wide-spread and that it should be effected in a spirit of conciliation.

If, he said further, the President should ever desire his aid in the cause of peace it would be cheerfully given. His Majesty, save in expressions of assent, to various propositions made in the course of my remarks, did not express, (nor did I expect him to) any opinion upon their subject matter, viz the expediency of the withdrawal of belligerent rights to the Insurgents. I have, etc...

144. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 185 - Bruxelles,
29 janvier 1864 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Le Roi recommande à Sanford la création d'une ligne de vapeurs entre New York et Anvers. Sanford pense qu'une telle mesure favoriserait l'émigration.

Sir: The King in his audience to-day, after expressing the gratification with which he had perused the letter of the President to His Majesty on reply to his award in the "Macedonian" case, and requesting me to communicate the same to him personally, spoke with a good deal of earnestness of the desire he had to have a line of steamships established between Antwerp and the United States. He expressed the hope that we would, on our side, lend our aid to this end. His Majesty seemed to count more upon American enterprise for such an undertaking than upon that of Belgium.

I said to the King in reply, that I thought it very possible if the project of aiding emigration to the United States should be realized, that Antwerp, the natural outlet for a large portion of the continent, might be made the seat of a bureau of Emigration and a point of departure for Emigrants. This would greatly promote the creation of a Steamship line, and, I added, that when the war was over, some of our national vessels, which had been purchased from the merchant service and were adapted for such purposes, would possibly be employed in the transportation of mails to countries with which we had not now direct communication. Under our new postal Convention, providing for special transit privileges through Belgium for correspondence, Antwerp or Ostend, would be the most favorable point on the Continent for the distribution of mails and consequently for the terminus of a such line.

While our present practice was not to grant subsidies to mailships, otherwise than the allowance of the postage earned, His Majesty might be assured that there would be, on our part, every desire to aid, in making still closer and more intimate friendly relations between the two countries in the way he had indicated. I have, etc...

145. CRAWFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 32 - Anvers,
29 janvier 1864 - N.A., St.D., Consulets, ANVERS, vol. 2.

Le Consul Crawford analyse l'influence de la guerre sur le commerce transatlantique. Il signale le début des agences d'émigration de Louis Dochez, et il espère que ce nouveau mouvement d'émigration se continuera.

...The unnatural rebellion which exists in a section of our country has had more or less influence upon the commerce of Europe. Perhaps the Kingdom of Belgium has suffered as little as any other portion. Iron nails, glass, cloth and lace are the principal articles manufactured and exported. The manufactures are all in successful operation and are sending a large amount of goods to the United States. On account of the piratical vessels of the so-called Confederate States, these goods are unfortunately shipped on board of neutral vessels, confidence being impaired in our flag, although it has heretofore conferred the advantage of most of the carrying trade between Belgium and the United States.

The shipping interest has suffered much during the past year; there being no arrivals of American vessels at this port, direct from the United States during the past eight months...

[Crawford se félicite du rachat du péage de l'Escaut pour l'avenir du commerce belgo-américain]

...In the matter of emigration, I have to report that upwards of two thousands emigrants have left this port in sailing vessels during the past year. A large proportion of them were Germans, carrying with them considerable means with which to purchase homes on our broad prairies. Notwithstanding Belgium is the most densely populated part of Europe, comparatively few have emigrated to the United States to seek homes where, instead of cultivating their little patches with the spade, our western prairies would afford them farms sufficiently large to reward their industry. Being patient and industrious, accustomed to be governed rather than to govern they would be a desirable class of emigrants and operate as a check on the more excitable and ambitious classes who are now emigrating to the United States from other countries.

Louis A. Dochez, Esq. of Illinois, ⁽⁹⁶⁾ the accredited agent of several coal companies arrived in Belgium last autumn with full powers to send over, at the expenses of the Companies, a large number of Belgian miners. One hundred and fifty have already gone and two thousand more are engaged whi will leave in the spring.

As soon as peace is restored, Europe will send forth an emigration unparalleled in our past history and fill up the void which has been caused by the loss of the brave men who have fallen in defence of those free institutions which command the respect and admiration of all civilized countries...

146. J. WILLIAMS ⁽⁹⁷⁾ à J. MASON - Wiesbaden,
22 janvier 1864 - L. C., IASON PAPERS, vol. 6.

James Williams, citoyen confédéré rentrant d'Autriche où il a rencontré à diverses reprises l'Archiduc Maximilien, signale l'importance du Roi Léopold pour la cause sudiste.

...King Leopold the Father of the Archduchess, I have no doubt takes a deep interest in the Mexican scheme; and I have as little doubt that he thoroughly understand the importance of the South as an independent nation, towards giving security to the Mexican Empire. I have been *strongly advised* to have an interview with him upon the general subject, especially as he goes soon to England and will no doubt express his views freely to the ministers of the British Government. But for the present at least I shall not proceed farther in the matter, as I might justly subject myself to the charge of officious intermediary. Thus far I have not done so. I have done

⁽⁹⁶⁾ Sur ces opérations et Louis Dochez, voir F. BALACE, *En marge de la Guerre de Sécession... Recrutements en Belgique pour les troupes fédérales 1864-1865*, p.

⁽⁹⁷⁾ James Williams (1796-1869), journaliste et diplomate, originaire du Tennessee. D'abord connu comme "Old Line Whig" dans la presse, il passa aux Démocrates à la suite de l'attitude anti-esclavagiste du parti whig. En 1858, le Président Buchanan le nomma Ministre en Turquie. Lorsque la guerre civile éclata, il tenta vainement de parvenir à un compromis, puis retourna en Europe comme propagandiste sudiste, y publiant notamment *The South Vindicated*. Il visita longuement l'Archiduc Maximilien à Miramar et l'influença en faveur des Etats du Sud. Il mourut en exil en Autriche. *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 20, p. 267.

what probably any other private citizen would have done. I have availed myself of certain facilities, to do what I believed might in a small way contribute to the good of the cause, but there is a point where I should stop, and that point I have now reached...

147. J. WILLIAMS à J. MASON - Wiesbaden,
5 février 1864 - L.C., MASON PAPERS, vol. 6.

James Williams expose les motifs pour lesquels il n'a pas cherché à rencontrer le Roi Léopold, cad son caractère officieux.

...The object for which it was suggested that I should have an interview with the King of... was special and referred to a visit he is expected to make to England and perhaps to France. I have concluded however to go no farther in the matter. As a private citizen I might legitimately go as far as I have gone, but to proceed farther as you will readily proceive would be passing beyond my legitimate sphere...

148. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 80 - Bruxelles,
11 mars 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann pense que le Nord pourrait faire des ouvertures de paix aux Etats Confédérés par l'entremise du Roi Léopold.

...King Leopold, who went to England to be present at the christening of the infant Duke of Cornwall, will remain a few days longer and then return to Lacken. When the Washington Cabinet becomes satisfied that it can no longer prosecute the war with the shadow of a hope of success, it is my settled opinion thay it will make indirect advances to us for a suspension of hostilities through this sovereign. Nor is that time far off...

149. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 83 - Bruxelles,
4 avril 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

La ratification par le Sénat américain du traité de rachat de l'Escaut aurait pour but de gagner les sympathies du Roi.

...The Senate of Lincoln & C° has ratified the treaty concluded here last summer, stipulating for the payment of about \$ 550,000 in specie for the abrogation of the Scheldt tolls levied upon the navigation and commerce of the United States. Upon the first vote the treaty was rejected, but the question was reconsidered and it was then passed almost unanimously. Sumner was the champion of the measure, Sherman⁽⁹⁸⁾ its chief opponent. The former advocated its ratification as a means of propitiating King Leopold and securing his good will in the interests of the North. In this sense it was carried, and so viewed it is little less than a deliberate attempt at bribery...

150. G. SAUER à H. S. SANFORD - privé - Bruxelles,
21 avril 1864 - S.P., 129/14.

Le Consul Sauer rend compte à Sanford de la visite à Bruxelles des agents sudistes Mason, Gwin et Macfarland, qu'il attribue à l'affaire du Mexique, et de ses contacts en vue de l'achat de fusées pour l'armée du Nord.

Dear Sir: The "Kearsage" is still at Ostend ; Capt. Winslow came to Brussels this morning being desirous to obtain, through the Judge, permission to visit the fortifications at Antwerp. The ship is painting up, etc... I refer to the enclosed report cut out of the "Independance".

(98) John Sherman (1813-1900), un des fondateurs du parti républicain. Sénateur de 1861 à 1877, Secrétaire de la *Treasury* jusqu'en 1881, puis Sénateur jusqu'en 1897. Pendant la guerre, il se fit le défenseur d'un programme de stricte économie et de rigoureuse taxation. D'abord modéré, il passa après la guerre aux radicaux. *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 17, p. 84-88.

Mason, Gwin⁽⁹⁹⁾ and Macfarland⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ have arrived here from Paris this morning; they stay at the Hotel Bellevue; went out abt. 11 o'cl. to call on Dudley Mann; — returned abt. 1 o'cl. — at. 2. Mann called, and the worthy quartett had a ride out on the Boulevard for an hour or so. They subsequently called on a Mr. Olivier in the rue Ducale 37. This man is described to me, as a sort of Banker, or Money Broker and “*courtier marron*”. They stopped about an hour, all four, at this house, and on leaving him drove down to “*Dubos*” the restaurant in the “*Fosse aux loups*”.

If I get tomorrows report (Friday) in time for the mail, shall transmit it to you. The courier says they are en route to Vienna, and I have no doubt whatever their visit here is on an errand connected with Mexico — the resolution just passed in the house giving them unfortunately some hope.

The fusees have not come. The man promised to be here himself but did not make his appointment good. Respy. ..., etc...

150bis. Rapport non daté et non signé - S.P., 139/2.

Pendant la visite des agents sudistes à Bruxelles, un homme de main de la Légation a été chargé de les surveiller.

Monsieur Mason et Mackfairland ont été visiter plusieurs fabrick industriel et après ils ont était au chateau de Laken, mais on n'est pas sure s'ils ont vu le Roi, ils y ont reste un demi heure et après ils sont descendu rue ducale n° 49.

(⁹⁹) William Mckendree Gwin (1805-1885) orateur méthodiste, médecin et politicien. Il se lança dans la vie politique à San Francisco en 1849, au temps de la ruée vers l'or et bataille pour la reconnaissance de la Californie comme Etat. Il se fit le défenseur des thèses esclavagistes, et représenta la Californie au Sénat des Etats-Unis de 1850 à 1861. Arrêté au début de la guerre civile, il fut détenu jusqu'en décembre 1861. En 1863, il se rendit à Paris où il eut des entretiens avec Napoléon III en faveur de l'implantation de colons sudistes au Mexique, dans les mines de Sonora et de Chihuahua. Il se rendit dans ce but au Mexique en 1864 mais Maximilien refusa ses projets. Il fut arrêté à sa rentrée aux Etats-Unis en 1865. Son caractère énergique et intrigant lui avait donné un éphémère puissance en Californie.

Voir *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 8, p. 64-65.

(¹⁰⁰) James E., Macfarland, fut nommé par le président Davis “Secrétaire de Légation” à Londres en 1861 et servit auprès de Mason dans cette capacité pendant toute la guerre.

150bis. Evêque FITZPATRICK à H. S. SANFORD -
Bruxelles, 28 avril 1864 - S.P., 120/9.

...You will have learned from Sauer that Mason and Gwynn have just visited Brussels. A spy employed by Sauer took note of all their doings while here and you will of course hear a full report...

151. G. SAUER à H. S. SANFORD - Bruxelles,
28 avril 1864 - S.P., 129/14.

Sauer communique à Sanford ses informations sur la visite des agents sudistes à Bruxelles. Il se plaint du peu de succès des collectes en Belgique pour les blessés du Nord et des suites de l'affaire Van Campen à Liège.

Dear Sir : I advised you by last steamer that Mason and Gwin, had been to Laeken; they were an hour in the Palace and about the grounds, but it is denied that they had seen the King. Macfarland and Dr. Gwin left on Monday returning to Paris. Mason has gone on to Cologne on Tuesday — it is said en route to Wiesbaden. Their errand here apparently was — money! I have not been able to ascertain anything about this Mr. Olivier, but am inclined to think he is of no account. I have not been too successful with regard to the Sanitary Fair, as I had wished — and expected.

Nevertheless I remitted \$ 400 in cheques on New York — a handsome glass table service, which ought to bring \$ 600 to 800 in New York and about 500 francs worth of lace goods. I continue my exertions.

Van Campen ⁽¹⁰¹⁾ has finally left, in the most disgraceful manner. I will keep all the fees arising from his consulate at your disposal and deem it best to pay all small matters as stationery etc,... so as

(101) G. Van Campen, Consul des Etats-Unis à Liège, contracta d'importantes dettes et négligea complètement ses fonctions. Voir aux A.M.A.E., le dossier Personnel 1462, Agents des Etats-Unis en Belgique.

to avoid scandal. The Hotel-bill is frs. 3762 and the landlord has sent through the "Juge de Tribunal re instance" a petition to the government.

The fuses have at last come to hand and were sent yesterday to Milles to go forward by this steamer. I am, etc...

152. L. de GIVE à J. P. BENJAMIN - Atlanta, 7 mai 1864 -
L.C., P.P., vol. 18.

Le Consul à Atlanta demande que son coton soit respecté dans le cas où une avance nordiste obligerait les Confédérés à brûler leurs stocks.

Très honoré Monsieur!: A mon passage à Washington, lors de mon retour d'Europe, au commencement de cette année, je me suis enquis si mon coton serait respecté par le gouvernement fédéral dans le cas où j'en posséderais dans les lieux où son armée, par suite de la fortune de la guerre, pourrait pénétrer.

L'honorable Monsieur Blondeel me répondit qu'en ma qualité de sujet belge et surtout de consul, je ne devais pas avoir la moindre inquiétude, principalement en ce qui concernait la confiscation et que, le cas échéant, il en ferait son affaire, étant du reste parfaitement renseigné sur les intentions des autorités fédérales à cet égard.

Confiant dans cette assurance et fort d'ailleurs d'un droit consacré par les lois internationales, je n'ai pas hésité à acheter et je me propose d'aller jusqu'à quelques centaines de balles. D'un autre côté, connaissant par une expérience de trois ans, le respect que votre Gouvernement a toujours montré pour les droits des neutres, je n'avais nullement pensé que quelque danger pût venir du Sud. Mais il m'a été dernièrement suggéré que les chefs et commandants militaires pourraient, en cas d'avance de l'ennemi, ordonner que les cotons soient brûlés, dans les lieux menacés par celui-ci, pour éviter qu'ils ne tombassent en ses mains et ne fussent confisqués. Je comprends cette triste nécessité pour le coton de vos concitoyens! mais semblable confiscation n'étant pas à craindre pour le mien, cette mesure cesse d'être nécessaire. Ce simple raisonnement me paraîtrait suffisant au point de vue rationnel. Toutefois, il peut arriver que

des ordres donnés par des généraux soient exécutés par des officiers inférieurs aveuglés par des préjugés envers les étrangers ou assez bornés pour refuser d'admettre qu'on cesse la cause, l'effet doit cesser, ou même assez peu intelligents pour ne pas entrevoir une différence réelle entre les cas, et je crois que la prudence exige que je me prémunisse contre semblable éventualité.

C'est pourquoi j'ai l'honneur de venir solliciter de Votre Excellence la délivrance d'un ordre qui me protégerait contre toute tentative d'incendie de la part de l'Armée ou des soldats confédérés, ordre que je pourrais montrer ou opposer à tout individu qui prétendrait incendier ma propriété en vertu d'ordres émanés, directement ou indirectement, des autorités civiles ou militaires. La Justice de ma demande et votre courtoisie bien connue, me font espérer, très honoré Monsieur, que vous daignerez m'accorder cet ordre, ou me le faire délivrer par les autorités compétentes à cette fin.

La tournure que prennent les affaires et les événements récents rendent peu probable l'arrivée des troupes fédérales en Géorgie : mais il me semble toujours plus prudent de me munir de l'ordre que j'ai l'honneur de solliciter. J'ajouterai enfin que ce coton est destiné à être transporté et vendu en Belgique où le prix le plus avantageux peut être obtenu. Je prie, etc...

153. L. de GIVE à J. P. BENJAMIN - Atlanta, 28 mai 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 18.

Le Consul à Atlanta défend sa position de neutre et affirme qu'il appartient au Gouvernement Confédéré, et non à la Belgique, de prendre des mesures pour le respect de ses propriétés.

Très honoré Monsieur! : J'ai l'honneur de venir vous accuser réception de votre honorée dépêche du 21 mai dernier et de soumettre en même temps à votre sagesse quelques observations relativement à la demande dont ma dépêche du 7 mai était l'objet. Votre courtoisie et les sentiments de justice dont vous êtes sans nul doute animé me font espérer que vous voudrez bien vous arrêter un instant à les peser.

En vertu des liens qui unissent ensemble tous les membres de

la grande famille humaine, en vertu des communications, du commerce et des relations de toute espèce qui existent entre nations et que celles-ci sont obligées de tolérer, il a été reconnu nécessaire et admis par tous sans conteste, que les sujets d'un pays puissent se rendre dans un autre, y séjourner et y être respectés dans leurs personnes et dans leurs biens. Le droit des gens confie la protection du sujet étranger à la Justice, à la bonne foi et à l'honneur de la nation au milieu de laquelle il se trouve. Du reste, le droit de souveraineté qui appartient à chaque peuple sur son territoire ne permet pas à un autre peuple voisin de s'arroger le droit de venir sur le territoire du premier exercer des droits de protection; ces droits sont le privilège exclusif du souverain du lieu. Et je prie Votre Excellence de bien vouloir remarquer que les devoirs imposés à une nation à l'égard des sujets d'une autre, sont des devoirs absolus, indépendants de la présence ou de l'absence sur ce territoire de consuls ou d'agents diplomatiques appartenant à la nation étrangère. L'état de guerre avec le peuple auquel le sujet appartient, ou la nécessité de représailles, pourraient seuls justifier la violation de ces devoirs: et encore l'Angleterre, la nation la moins sentimentale et la moins chevaleresque du globe, s'est-elle fait un mérite et une gloire, pendant toutes les guerres avec la France, de 1790 à 1815, de protéger les personnes et les biens des sujets français qui sont paisiblement demeurés sur son sol. Si, parfois les nations étrangères se sont trouvées obligées de venir sur le territoire d'un autre peuple, protéger par la force leurs sujets, c'est que ce dernier refusait de remplir les devoirs prescrits par la loi des nations, ou bien était impuissant à le faire. C'est ce que nous avons vu chez certains peuples à moitié barbares, non civilisés, ou bien dans des contrées où les chefs d'Etat sont absolument impuissants pour conduire leurs sujets. Ainsi la France et l'Angleterre, à diverses reprises, dans ce siècle, se sont vues obligées de protéger par la force les personnes et les biens de leurs sujets à Tunis, en Syrie, à Damas, etc...

C'est en conformité de ces principes incontestables que les belges se sont trouvés et se trouvent aujourd'hui sur ce territoire protégés par la Justice, la bonne foi, et l'honneur du peuple souverain qui l'habite. Et il importe peu que ce peuple se soit séparé du Nord et soit séparé du Nord et soit aujourd'hui les Etats Confédérés: car en se séparant du tout, il a hérité des obligations et des devoirs imposés auparavant à l'ensemble. Du reste les lois des nations n'obligeaient pas le gouvernement siégeant à Washington; elles obligeaient chaque

portion du peuple américain, chaque individu, avant comme après qu'il a répudié toute connexion avec ce gouvernement. Une portion du peuple américain, en se constituant en gouvernement séparé, ne cesse pas d'être soumise aux mêmes lois générales qui dominent l'humanité entière et dont les peuples barabares seuls s'affranchissent.

Telle étant la position des belges sur le territoire confédéré, au milieu d'un peuple civilisé, la Belgique n'a jamais du ni pu penser à prendre des mesures pour protéger les droits, la vie et les biens de ses enfants. C'eût été une offense grave faite au peuple Souverain qui l'habite et une offense gratuite puisque ce peuple et son Gouvernement étaient parfaitement capables de protéger ceux que la loi des nations confie à leur honneur: puisque même jusqu'à ce jour, elle n'a encore eu aucun sujet de suspecter aucun des gouvernements de ce continent d'avoir l'intention de décliner les devoirs qu'ils ont toujours accomplis jusqu'à présent envers les sujets belges!

Au moment où j'écris, si les sujets d'autres puissances ont eu à souffrir de la part du gouvernement fédéral, il est certain qu'aucune atteinte n'a encore été portée, ni par ce gouvernement, ni par le gouvernement confédéré, aux droits personnels ou aux biens des belges. Jamais, jusqu'à ce moment, il n'a été confisqué ni un atôme de propriété, ni un atôme de coton appartenant à un belge. Aussi bien au Nord qu'au Sud, et j'en parle à Votre Excellence par science personnelle, aucun belge, qui n'a pas perdu cette qualité aux termes du code Napoléon, et qui était pourvu de papiers en règle, n'a été conscript contre son gré. Dans tous les cas de conscription qui se sont présentés à l'égard de sujets belges, votre Gouvernement et le Gouvernement fédéral ont fait droit à leurs demandes. J'ai la certitude que si quelque question d'atteintes aux droits de propriété d'un belge se présentait devant ce dernier, il se hâterait d'y faire justice. Ce serait du reste alors et seulement alors, le moment pour le Gouvernement belge de prendre des mesures pour la protection des droits de ses sujets, afin d'obtenir la réparation du tort causé. Ces mesures, je puis assurer à Votre Excellence, qu'il les prendrait, surtout si le sujet lésé était un consul, son représentant. Comme aussi je puis assurer qu'il l'obtiendrait même amiablement, parce que jamais aucun acte de Justice n'a été refusé au Gouvernement de ce Roi vénérable, personnification vivante de la sagesse et de la justice, que les têtes couronnées et les républiques prennent pour arbitre de leurs différends. D'ailleurs, si je ne me sentais pas fort de mon droit, et sûr de

le voir respecter, aurais-je, arrivé d'Europe, hier, placé la fortune de mes enfants sur d'aussi fragiles fondements ?

J'espère avoir convaincu Votre Excellence que le gouvernement belge ne pouvait ni de devait prendre aucune mesure pour la protection des droits de ses sujets, aussi longtemps qu'aucun de ces droits n'avait été violé. En outre, comme consul, je donne à Votre Excellence l'assurance que le Gouvernement belge, se conformant à ses antécédents, prendra toutes les mesures en son pouvoir pour arriver à la réparation des torts qui seraient causés à ses sujets, et particulièrement à ceux qui ont l'honneur de les représenter à l'étranger. Si maintenant, j'étais à côté de la vérité, s'il était quelque mesure spéciale que mon Gouvernement dût prendre et que mes études sur le droit public ne m'ont point révélées, je serais reconnaissant que Votre Excellence voulut bien m'en faire informer, afin que j'en instruisse aussitôt nos autorités.

Avant de terminer, je désire faire remarquer à Votre Excellence que je ne demande pas protection, mais respect de mes droits, que je ne sollicite pas un ordre qui ordonne à vos autorités militaires de protéger mes propriétés, mais un ordre de les respecter. N'est-ce pas ici le lieu d'ajouter que l'honneur, la bonne foi et la courtoisie imposent à tout gouvernement, même à celui qui est incapable de contrôler ses sujets ou ses soldats (et certes ce n'est pas le cas ici) de faire au moins acte de bonne volonté en ordonnant à ces derniers de respecter la propriété des sujets étrangers ?

D'un autre côté, aucune raison d'état, que je sache, ne peut, dans notre cas, être un obstacle au respect de ma propriété. Sa destruction ne peut bénéficier en rien au Sud: son respect, ou plutôt sa conservation, ne peut lui nuire, ni bénéficier à ses ennemis. Enfin, il ne pourrait être un mal qu'éventuellement mes quelques balles de coton arrivassent en Europe, puisque ce gouvernement autorise chaque jour pour son compte et pour compte d'autrui que les navires chargés de coton sortent de son territoire.

Telles sont les obligations que je viens respectueusement soumettre à Votre Excellence et j'ose espérer qu'Elle les trouvera de nature à la décider à m'accorder l'ordre de respecter ma propriété que j'ai l'honneur de solliciter. Son très humble, etc...

154. L. de GIVE a J. P. BENJAMIN - confidentiel -
Atlanta, 29 mai 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 18.

de Give proteste de ses sympathies pour le Sud et explique l'attitude du gouvernement belge par sa faiblesse maritime.

Très honoré Monsieur! : Lors de ma dernière visite à Monsieur Blondeel, qui m'honore de son amitié, il m'a recommandé, si j'en avais quelque besoin un jour, de m'adresser en son nom à vous, me disant que vous feriez en faveur de lui, tout ce qui était en votre pouvoir. J'ai donc l'honneur de venir faire un appel à votre bon vouloir et de vous donner, en ma qualité privée, d'autres raisons à l'appui de ma dépêche ci-jointe.

C'est à la suite des démarches, des promesses brillantes et de toutes espèces de Mr. Howell Cobb ⁽¹⁰⁸⁾, aujourd'hui décédé, et de la députation des planteurs du Sud, que j'ai été nommé en 1860, Consul de Belgique en Géorgie et délégué par le Gouvernement Belge pour le représenter à la grande exposition de Macon. Désirant personnellement me dévouer au direct trade, j'apportai ma fortune dans ce pays et Dieu sait ce que j'en retirerai jamais ! De son côté, la Belgique envoie à cette exposition un navire chargé des produits les plus remarquables de ses manufactures: il arrive, vous vous le rappelez, au milieu de vos troubles politiques et la panique commerciale, inséparable de semblables évènements fut cause que nos marchandises se vendirent jusqu'à 40 et même 90 % de perte.

Postérieurement, depuis la guerre, je me suis efforcé constamment de faire connaître à Mr. Blondeel dans mes rapports, l'état du pays si complètement dénaturé aux yeux des gouvernements et des peuples européens : il est vrai que je n'accomplissais qu'un acte d'impartialité et un devoir, mais toujours est-il qu'il vous était favorable. Mes rapports empruntaient un tel cachet de force à la vérité, qu'après avoir été lus par les représentants des gouvernements étrangers à Washington, ceux-ci en ont demandé les copies.

(108) Howell Cobb (1815-1868) fut Sénateur et Gouverneur de Géorgie. D'abord modéré et opposé aux extrémistes du Sud, il se rallia à la sécession après l'élection de Lincoln et devint général dans l'armée confédérée. Il combattit les tendances séparatistes du Gouverneur J. Brown. *Dictionary of American Biography*, t. 4, p. 241-244. Il fut président de l'Association des planteurs de Géorgie qu'il représenta à Bruxelles en 1860 lors de la formation de la *Compagnie belge-américaine* destinée au *direct-trade*.

Enfin, mon dernier rapport, fait en avril, vous est plus favorable qu'aucun article de vos meilleurs et de vos plus ardents défenseurs, puisqu'il part d'une plume désintéressée et impartiale.

Le Gouvernement confédéré peut-il, en présence de ces faits, ordonner la destruction de la propriété d'un sujet belge et surtout d'un sujet belge qui est venu, appelé par vos amis et par les auteurs des événements actuels, confier sa personne, et ses biens à la garde de la loyauté de la justice et de l'honneur du peuple du Sud?

Je comprends que les Etats Confédérés éprouvent quelque mécontentement de l'attitude passive de certains gouvernements européens : mais, vous le savez aussi bien que moi, très honoré Monsieur, la petite Belgique, le désirât-elle, ne peut marcher en avant, elle ne peut que faire des vœux dans le fond de son cœur ! Il suffit de rappeler qu'elle n'a pas un seul navire de guerre !

Enfin, permettez-moi de vous dire, dans toute la sincérité de mon âme, que de quelque côté que j'envisagerais la question, après les explications que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous donner aujourd'hui, il me serait impossible de rattacher le refus de respecter ma propriété à aucun sentiment noble et généreux et que votre Gouvernement s'écarterait singulièrement de la ligne de conduite qu'il s'est imposée jusqu'à ce jour.

Plein d'espérance, dans votre justice, je vous prie, etc...

155. H. de MAREIL à H. S. SANFORD - New York,
30 mai 1864 - S.P., 95/3.

Le directeur du Messenger Franco-Américain, de New-York, demande à Sanford de souscrire à une édition européenne de sa feuille et de la diffuser.

Sir : Since the installation of the present administration, the columns of the "Messenger Franco-American" have given abundant proofs and evidence of its staunch devotion and energetic support of the Union cause.

The tenor of all the Messenger's articles treating of the many grave questions which have come into life since the inception of the Rebellion has exercised an healthy influence upon the minds of the French population of the country, wherever the paper has circulated

has been fully and incontestably proved. We are anxious that the influence should be more thoroughly and extensively exercised than hitherto in Europe, we desire that the views expressed by this journal should be those of the enlighten public in Europe in order to combat the disastrous effect which the organs devoted to the Southern Cause have unfortunately wielded too long already.

Our articles have already been favorably commented by portion of the Paris Press and the opinions of the Messenger are being constantly republished by such sheets as the "Débats", the "Siècle" and the "Opinion Nationale" of Paris, the "Echo de Bruxelles" and the "Levant" of Brussels.

In order to be able to exercise this influence, we contemplate the publication of a semi weekly edition of the Messenger, specially intended for Europe and which, by the low subscription price will be within the reach of. This European Edition will be composed of such articles as will truly set forth the domestic and foreign policy of this country and will form an impartial record of passing events.

We recently requested the Secretary of State to have the kindness to ask officially your support in this matter, when Mr. Seward informed us that the laws and diplomatic usage prevented him from assenting to our request in that manner, but that we were at liberty to state that we were authorized by him to convey to you in the most positive terms that he would be pleased to see you give your support to the Messenger by subscribing yourself and by commenting the journal to the notice of your friends.

We shall feel greatly obliged by your early reply. Should you desire to subscribe to the Messenger, of which we cannot doubt, please advise us and forward the Subscription price (25 francs per annum) to Mr. Chas. Lafitte, banker, Paris, when you will receive the paper regularly at the address sent us. Very, etc...

156. A. D. IANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 92 - Bruxelles,
2 juin 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

En cas d'échec militaire, le Gouvernement fédéral chercherait à obtenir la médiation du Roi Léopold, qu'il considère comme son obligé depuis le rachat du péage de l'Escaut. Mann cherche à obtenir une audience du Roi pour combattre cette influence et développer les

thèses sudistes. La crise politique en Belgique est sans influence sur l'attitude envers le Sud.

...When the Lincoln Government is brought to a dead standstill in the prosecution of hostilities, as I believe will be the case if Grant fails to carry Richmond, it is almost certain that it will seek the mediation of the King of the Belgians for the arrangement of the starting point for Peace negotiations. That Government, doubtless, supposes that it has placed him under weighty obligations by the provision which it so promptly made, at a heavy sacrifice, for the capitalization of the Scheldt Tolls. I design to seek an Audience of His Majesty, in a few days, in order to enlarge upon the benign workings and general nature of the institution of the States composing our Confederacy. I think he is anti-slavery in the sense that most British noblemen are, but he is a wise and just Sovereign and not likely to be led astray by illusive theories...

[digression sur la politique française et la question romaine]

...After a Ministerial crisis in this Government, of upwards of four months duration, the old Ministers withdrew their resignations a few days ago. The Chambers were re-opened on the 31st ultimo and respective parties therein are now arrayed against each other more violently and resolutely than ever before. A single vote may defeat the measures of the administration and turn the Cabinet out. The Opposition, it is quite evident, cannot form a Ministry that can successfully rule for a lengthened period. On side is just as favorable to us as the other, and I therefore take not the slightest interest in the struggle.

I have, etc...

157. H. HOTZE à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 43 - Paris,
3 juin 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 54.

Le propagandiste sudiste Henry Hotze dépeint la presse française comme mercenaire et dépendant de l'agence Havas pour ses informations. Seule L'Indépendance Belge, est bien informée et a un caractère international.

...Paradoxical as it may appear at first sight, in this country of centralization the periodical political press is less metropolitan than in England; that is to say, the journals of the capital have relatively less and those of the Provinces relatively more power. In England nearly the whole of the power of the press is concentrated upon London, the London papers being read almost simultaneously in every town and village of the United Kingdom; here this power is broken up into a number of centers of which Paris is one, but not the only one.

Secondly, the French press is in no degree cosmopolitan. With the exception of the *Indépendance Belge* of Brussels, but few, if any, newspapers in the French language maintain regularly a staff of correspondents abroad. At least nine-tenths of what purports to be foreign correspondence is manufactured in the office, and this is so well understood that instead of being a fraud upon the reader it is simply a convenient form. All translations from papers in other languages, even English, are made for the whole French press, both Parisian and provincial, by an agency, the Agency Havas (¹⁰⁴), which daily furnishes to each journal a copious selection ready to hand, from which each editor takes what suits him and comments upon it after his fashion. It is clear, therefore that whatever is not contained in the "Blue Sheet" of Havas can only by the merest accident reach the columns of a French paper, and, on the other hand, whatever is there contained can scarcely escape the notice of every editor in the Empire. Heren then, is the true focus of centralization, which seems at first to be paradoxically wanting.

Thirdly, the French press is almost entirely in the hands of professional writers, while the English press derives its most valuable assistance from men of every profession, including the highest social spheres. It results from this that the French press is intellectual rather

(¹⁰⁴) L'Agence Havas-Bullier était approvisionnée par Hotze lui-même en nouvelles concernant le Sud et se fit ainsi un remarquable instrument de propagande. Voir Hotze à Benjamin — n° 47 — 29 juillet 1864 et F.L. OWSLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 169-171.

Sur Henry Hotze, né en Suisse en 1834, ancien Secrétaire de Légation à Bruxelles, chef de la propagande confédérée en Europe et de la mission commerciale du Sud à Londres, voir: E. LONN, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, in 8°, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1940, p. 69-73; F.L. OWSLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 154-202; J.F. JAMEJON, (ed.), *The London Expenditures of the Confederate Secret Service*, dans *American Historical Review*, t. XXXV, p. 811-824.

than intelligent, and furthermore that it represents cliques, sets, individual, idiosyncrasies, rather than classes or shades of public opinion. If I have succeeded in expressing my idea you will be at no loss to understand why a person attempting negotiations with this press should find it, to him at least, so much more unscrupulous and mercenary than the English...

158. J. SLIDELL à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 64 - Paris,
11 et 12 juin 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 55^a.

L'Indépendance Belge répand la rumeur que le Duc de Morny aurait été envoyé en Angleterre par l'Empereur pour négocier une action conjointe dans les affaires d'Amérique.

June 12, 1864... The Duke de Morny has gone to London. Some of the newspapers and especially the *Indépendance Belge*, a journal sometimes well informed but frequently circulating incorrect intelligence, says that he goes on a mission to bring about concerted action between the two Governments on American affairs. The report is not improbable, as I am informed that it is not unusual for the Emperor to charge persons outside of his regular diplomatic representatives with special missions of this character...

Mr. iy.g.i expected to have been the person selected for this purpose in the event of the Emperor deciding to make direct overtures to England on the subject. I will endeavor to obtain information as to the truth of the report but in such matters the Emperor often acts without consulting his ministers.

159. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 93 - Bruxelles,
13 juin 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Dans l'attente d'une victoire du Sud, Mann a remis sa demande d'audience du Roi à plus tard. Ce délai est d'autant plus profitable que l'attitude hostile des Etats-Unis envers l'Empire Mexicain influencera probablement le Roi.

...Of course my uppermost thoughts are ever upon our two

great armies. Indeed, at such a time, no other subject can even slightly interest me. If they are victorious it seems to me that but little will be left undone for the consummation of all our dearest hopes.

I have deemed it prudent, as long as I have no intelligence of an important success of our arms to communicate to King Leopold, not to ask for an Audience of him. When I do see him I want to give him assurances of so convincing a character as to influence him to make another appeal to the great Potentates of Europe in our interest. It is not likely that he read, with very agreeable emotions the correspondence which has just been published at Paris, between Mr. Seward and Mr. Dayton, relative to then Monroe doctrine. Now that his daughter and son-in-law are in Mexico, he must, quite naturally, earnestly wish for the consolidation of the Empire.

The popular branch of the Belgian Chambers resumed its deliberations on the 31st ult. Language of as violent a character as ever was employed in a Legislative body has been uttered therein nearly every day since. The one party is fully as ferocious as the other, and both so as much as they could well be without appearing in their seats armed *cap-à-pié*. The Ministry has a majority of one, with which it expects to carry its Budget. In that case, it may, possibly, determine upon a dissolution...

160. A. GOODRICH à W. H. SEWARD - n° 12 - Bruxelles,
13 juin 1864 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Selon l'agent nordiste Jacquin, un Sudiste nommé Rancy aurait fomenté un complot pour couler le "Kearsague" à Ostende.

Sir : I herewith transmit a copy of a communication this day received from one of the Secret agents, or police, of this city, who has also been in the Service of Mr. Sanford, for the past two years as I am informed and believe.

It is in part a continuation of the "Kearsague" affair, to which I called the attention of the Department in my despatches N° 6 and 9 dated respectively April 22d and May 4th 1864. I have, etc...

Ch. JACQUIN à A. GOODRICH - Bruxelles, 12 juin 1864.
N.A., St. D., *idem*.

Monsieur: Il y a ici, en ce moment, un agent très actif du Sud; c'est Mr. Rancy; il occupe un appartement à Louvain rue Ste Barbe 12.

Mr. Rancy est ordinairement embarqué sur le navire l'Alabama, où il exerce une grande autorité.

Il est bourré de billets de Banque, et tout cet argent provient de sa part dans les prises opérées par l'Alabama.

Rancy, à ce que j'ai remarqué, aime bien à boire et quand il est un peu en train, il bavarde volontier.

C'est ainsi, qu'il m'a confié qu'à Ostende un pilote avait reçu 20.000 frs pour sombrer le "Kearsague"; ainsi comme j'ai eu l'honneur de vous l'écrire.

J'ai toujours pensé que cet accident était le résultat de la malveillance. Pendant que le Kearsague était occupé des suites d'un accident, qui pouvait être beaucoup plus considérable, on pillait un navire fédéral nommé, je crois, Persia.

Le Sud n'a plus de confiance pour la construction de navires; c'est en Angleterre que ces constructions se font, soit-disant, pour le compte de l'Egypte ou d'un autre Etat secondaire.

Toutes les poudres s'embarquent à Anvers pour le Service des bâtiments confédérés. Elles sont enfermées dans de petits tonneaux, qui eux-mêmes sont cachés dans de grands tonneaux remplis de tabacs.

M. Rancy doit bientôt aller à Cadix; mais pendant le temps qu'il doit rester encore ici, si vous aviez besoin de renseignements quelconques, je serais, peut-être, assez heureux pour vous les donner. J'ai l'honneur, etc...

C. Jacquin.

161. Ch. JACQUIN à H. S. SANFORD - Bruxelles,
22 juin 1864 - S.P., 139/10.

Rapport de l'agent nordiste Jacquin sur l'Alabama et un complot fantaisiste contre le Kearsague.

Monsieur : Le Capitaine Semmes ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾, commandant de l'Alabama, est un belge des environs de Louvain; son véritable nom est Maes.

Les Confédérés sont furieux parce qu'ils prétendent que l'Alabama étant armé commercialement, le Capitaine ne devait pas accepter un combat dont les conséquences ne pouvait [*sic*] être d'aucune utilité, et dont le but n'était que la satisfaction d'un vain orgueil.

Il y avait sur l'Alabama une cinquantaine de Belges engagés au prix de 300 frs par mois.

Les agents Confédérés songent à remplacer l'Alabama par un navire qui se trouve à Lutz (Angleterre). Le prix d'achat serait de deux millions.

Il y a un projet dans le but de tirer une vengeance éclatante du Kearsage.

J'ai l'honneur, etc...

162. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 195 - Bruxelles, 28 juin 1864 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

De retour des Etats-Unis, Sanford dépeint à Rogier les progrès des Etats du Nord et l'assure de leur proche victoire.

Sir : I have the honor to report my arrival here on the 25th instant, having landed at Southampton on the 15th.

I had an interview with M. Rogier on the following day. The conversation was desultory, the main object of my visit, after paying my respects to the Minister of foreign affairs, being to have a day fixed for the Exchange of the Ratification of the Treaties of which I was the bearer from Washington.

M. Rogier made enquiries touching the progress of our war, the colossal proportions of which, and the frightful loss of life had, he said, astonished the world, and asked when I thought it would terminate. I replied : with the suppression of the Rebellion; — that

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Raphael Semmes (1809-1877) était originaire du Maryland. Ayant démissionné en 1861 de la marine fédérale, il servit comme capitaine des fameux corsaires confédérés le *Sumter* et l'*Alabama*. Après la perte de ce dernier, il devint contre-amiral et servit dans les Etats du Sud jusqu'à la fin de la guerre. *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 16, p. 579-582.

neither men, means, nor determination on the part of the government and people were wanting to that end; — that I had been confirmed by my visit to the United States and contact with our people in all parts of the country, in the conviction that the government would be upheld in its purpose of restoring its authority over the whole country; we had strong faith that the next campaign would bring the war to an end; that this campaign would result in the defeat of Lee, and fall of Richmond. But would we be able to provide for the expense of a long continued war ?, he rejoined ? — I replied, that the history of the past three years would serve to form a judgment for the future; our people had bent over seventeenhundred millions Dollars to the General Government, besides furnishing hundreds of millions additional, to the State and municipal governments and to soldiers to aid in the prosecution of the war; — they were still supplying the means to carry on the war and it was to be doubted if these resources exceeded the surplus gain of the country. The markets of Europe, too, were open to us if we deemed it expedient to accept their proffers of money, which had not been wanting. I had seen no signs of exhaustion in the country; — So far from growing weaker physically by the war, we were daily gaining strength — our population to day was three millions more than at the commencement of the war. Whatever the difficulties attendant upon carrying on the war, it must and would go on. Mr. Rogier expressed his astonishment at the evidences of the power and wealth of the United States, which this war had brought forth, and his hope that it would be brought to an early termination...

163. A. D. MANN à Ch. ROGIER - Bruxelles, 28 juin 1864 -
L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann proteste contre l'organisation via Anvers d'un trafic d'émigrants allemands destinés à l'armée fédérale et réclame l'intervention du Gouvernement belge.

In a note which the undersigned accredited commissioner plenipotentiary of The Confederate States of America to the Government of his Majesty the King of the Belgians, had the honor to address to his Excellency, Mr. Rogier, minister of foreign affairs of Belgium, dated October 13, 1862, he took occasion to state :

The undersigned deems it to be his duty to inform his Excellency, Mr. Rogier, that the Confederate States have not solicited the aid of a solitary foreign mercenary to assist them in fighting their battles. No half-pay or other officers or privates have been invited from their homes under promises of high pecuniary reward to enter their service. From the first they had a reliant confidence that their own strength was equal to the emergency in which they found themselves placed. Nor have they attempted to allure emigrants from abroad to their own shores by inducements contained in Cabinet circulars for foreign circulation, like the following :

Department of State
Washington, August 8, 1862.

“At no former period of our history have our agricultural, manufacturing and mining interests been more prosperous than at this juncture. This fact may be deemed surprising in view of the enhanced price for labor, occasioned by the demand for the rank and file of the Army of the United States. It may be, therefore, confidently asserted that even now nowhere else can the industrious laboring man and artisan expect so liberal a recompense for his services as in the United States”.

Even in instances where combatants are in all respects equal, honor forbids the engagement of outside aid by one or the other; and assuredly none but the most depraved poltroons would seek for such employment with the party which avowed a vast superiority in strength, in skill, and in weapons. No one who really is a man in anything but in mere designation could enlist in a service so disgraceful. There is in no living language an epithet too strong to apply to a human being who could act so ignobly as to draw his sword against the weaker of two belligerents when that belligerent was fighting against superior numbers for the maintenance of rightful independence.

The undersigned, when he brought this subject to the consideration of his Excellency, Mr. Rogier, knew that he could not be mistaken in the aims of the Secretary of State of the United States. The purpose of that functionary, in the circular referred to, was stealthily, and I might even remark, inhumanely, to allure from their homes persons engaged in industrial pursuits in order to secure their services in the armies of the Government at Washington. Thousands upon tens of thousands of recruits have thus been obtained for the prosecution of hostilities against the Confederate States, and I am well assured that a large number of recruiting agents are now covertly engaged in Europe in this nefarious pursuit.

In this connection it becomes the imperative duty of the undersigned to call the attention of his Excellency, Mr. Rogier, to the recent arrival at Antwerp of the steamer *Bellona* ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾, expressly for the purpose of conveying something like 500 able-bodied men, designated as "workmen" to New York. They are reported to have been engaged by a Pole, who, with his associates, has contracted for the delivery in that port of 5,000 of the same description.

The undersigned will add that while his country is not in the slightest degree appalled or disheartened by the Legions of European mercenaries, who are so wickedly decoyed into the ranks of its enemy, it nevertheless expects and has a right to expect that a Government so well intentioned and ever just and upright as that of his Majesty King Leopold will leave no efforts unemployed that can eventuate in the maintenance of a straightforward, honest, rigid neutrality.

Nor can it fail to strike his Excellency, Mr. Rogier, as a singular coincidence, that at the very time the embarkation of those "workman" is about to commence in the principal harbor of Belgium, a large man-of-war of the Federal States, the *Niagara*, should make her appearance in that harbor. The ostensible object of her visit is reported to be to coal and obtain provisions. It is more likely, however, that her mission is to convoy the "workmen" to the Atlantic, or at least to take care that they shall not be exposed to the risk of capture upon the high seas, as well as to complete, perhaps, by clandestine enlistments, the number of her own crew.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to express to his Excellency, Mr. Rogier, the assurances of his continued distinguished consideration.

(s) A. Dudley Mann.

164. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 95 - Bruxelles,
30 juin 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann transmet à Richmond sa protestation contre le trafic d'émigrants allemands pour l'armée fédérale, via Anvers. Il s'est plaint auprès de Rogier et signale l'arrestation d'un des racleurs.

(106) F. BALACE, *op. cit.*, p. 494-509.

Sir : Herewith I transmit a copy of a note which I had the honor to address to his Excellency, Mr. Rogier, minister of foreign affairs at Belgium, on the 28th instant.

The extremities to which the Lincoln Government are driven to obtain recruits for the field tend largely to create an impression abroad that its condition is becoming more and more feeble for the prosecution of hostilities, while its unscrupulousness in insidiously violating the spirit of the laws of neutrals in this respect is engendering the ill will of the public authorities.

The worse than Hessian mercenaries who have been engaged to proceed via Antwerp to New York are, as I understand, principally Germans. As they are merely passing as emigrants through this Kingdom, where no passports are required and where travel is entirely free to foreigners, no legal steps can be taken for arresting their movements.

Yesterday, as you will perceive, by the enclosed slip, a Federal agent was seized by the police while attempting to induce Belgian subjects to desert their employers and repair to New York. ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

I have, etc...

165. H. HOTZE à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 45 - Londres,
4 juillet 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 54.

La fin du corsaire Alabama a provoqué une réaction sympathique de la presse française envers le Sud, à l'exception de quelques feuilles notoirement pro-nordistes, dont l'Indépendance Belge.

...The principal event is the extraordinary impression produced in France by the gallant end of the *Alabama* I can not but think that a permanently beneficial impression has been made on public opinion.

It is observed that, so far as known, only three newspapers printed in the French language have spoken in other than sympathetic or at least respectful language of the *Alabama* and her fate — the

⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ *Etoile Belge*, 28 juin 1864, p. 2, c. 3 "Un nommé D... venu de l'Amérique" aurait été arrêté à Seraing pour embauchage d'ouvriers. Voir F. BALACE, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

Opinion Nationale, in Paris, which has been severely taken to task for the offense by its contemporaries; the Phare de la Loire, an obscure provincial paper; and the Independance Belge, of Brussels, in a Paris letter which its regular correspondents disclaim...

I mention these facts, not merely because they are gratifying in themselves, but because they show that although we can never hope to bring French public opinion to investigate, much less to understand our social and political theories, or to overcome its instinctive repugnance to them, there are yet levers by which this public opinion may be moved...

166. A. D. MANN à Charles ROGIER - Bruxelles,
4 juillet 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann proteste auprès de Rogier contre les annonces demandant des émigrants et les dénonce comme dissimulant un trafic d'engagements militaires. Il demande leur interdiction au nom de la neutralité à observer.

Sir: The "Edition du soir" of L'Etoile Belge of this day's date (herewith enclosed), contains the following advertisement which I hasten to communicate to your Excellency in order that the immediate attention of the Government of his Majesty, the King of the Belgians, may be brought to the subject to which it relates :

(Translation)

AMERICA

A demand is made for healthy unmarried men from 21 to 40 years of age to emigrate to the United States of America. Useless to apply without certificates of military service. Address L. Dochez, bureau of emigration, N^o 2, Rue de Brabant, Brussels.

A more palpable, if not daring, avowal never was made in any country, at any time, to violate the obligations imposed by international proprieties upon a neutral than is demonstrated in this deliberate attempt to obtain recruits for a belligerent.

Indeed, since the appearance of the *Bellona* in a Belgian port, chartered expressly for the purpose of conveying enlisted troops,

designated as "workmen" to New York, followed as she was by the *Niagara*, a man-of-war of the Washington Government. Antwerp resembles much more, in the practically bellicose attitude it has assumed, a recruiting station in the Federal States than the port of a neutral kingdom.

Such flagrant outrages upon a belligerent, recognized all over the earth as such, as is the case with the Confederate States of America, can not fail to be arrested by a Government which enjoys so high a reputation as that of Belgium for a scrupulous observance in its relations with other peoples of the principles of good faith.

The heart of the just ruler and philanthropic statesman, wherever he may abide, must sicken at the disgraceful artifices employed by the Government at Washington to fill up the constantly diminishing columns which it sends to the field. That Government engages the most debased of agents to prowl about all over Europe in search of victims for its unrighteous ambition.

The war had been ended triumphantly for the Confederate States months ago, but for the succor which the Federal armies clandestinely received from this hemisphere. Notwithstanding this succor, the Government of those States is still equal to the accomplishment of the benign work which their patriotism inspired them to undertake, but the disgraceful foreign enlistments may possibly prolong the day of its consummation.

The most superficial observer can not but perceive that the Federal States virtually admitted that they had not the power, of themselves, to combat victoriously the Confederate States when they were compelled to become importunate beggars, covertly and overtly abroad, for venal soldiers to place in their front in battle.

The Government of the Confederate States would despise itself if it were to ask anything more favorable from any nation than strictly fair play. This, it is its right, as it is its duty to insist upon, and with nothing less ought it to be tacitly content.

I have the honor, etc...

167. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 97 - Bruxelles,
7 juillet 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann se plaint du recrutement en Belgique pour l'armée fédérale et adresse une note de protestation à Ch. Rogier. Il envoie son serviteur et son fils enquêter à Anvers et à Bruxelles. Il dénonce l'action de propagande de Mgr. Fitzpatrick auprès du clergé et des milieux catholiques belges.

Sir : In view of the bold attempts, made immediately under my own eyes by the agents of the Lincoln Administration, to induce able-bodied men to embark at Antwerp for New York, I took occasion to address a second note to Mr. Rogier, a copy of which I herewith transmit.

There is not so much as the shadow of a doubt that all the so-designated "workmen" who are proceeding from Germany through this Kingdom to the Federal States are intended for military service, yet regular enlistments for such employment have been carefully avoided.

I sent my servant, a trusty Italian, to Antwerp yesterday to ascertain the manner in which the Northern Army could be entered by him. He was told that he could only be engaged as a laborer on this side of the Atlantic, for a term of three years, but after he arrived in New York he could readily become a soldier if he chose. As an inducement for him to go, if he would sign the obligation which all the "workmen" were required to sign, he would receive his passage free and two francs per day after his arrival. This morning he made a similar enquiry at the agency in this metropolis and received precisely the same answer. He was assured in both instances that he would have his choice when he reached New York to work upon railroads or canals. This is the same system for obtaining recruits that was adopted in Ireland more than a year ago, and which is carefully observed all over Germany and elsewhere. The authorities are precluded from taking any legal exceptions to it, as the right of expatriation is not prohibited. Moreover, for more than a quarter of a century there had been numerous American agencies at Bremen, Hamburg, Rotterdam, Antwerp, and Havre for inducing immigrants to the Western and other States of the then Union.

The Belgians are not inclined to engage themselves as "workmen" to proceed to New York. They are too well advised of the

meaning of the word when illustrated by the "drugging", which persons so classified, under the machinations of the wicked Washington Cabinet undergo upon their debarkation. The newspaper press here has been careful to enlighten them on that point. Such as are desirous of quitting their country are preparing to embark for Vera Cruz. A corps of 2,400 effective men have been regularly enlisted in Belgium as the guard of Empress Charlotte, to start about the 1st of September.

Germany has been thoroughly scoured by the meanest of mercenaries for suitable material to swell the rank and file of the armies of the North. Worse specimens of living men were assuredly never seen than those who have been recently swarming in the streets of Antwerp. Many of them are the merest of vagrants, such as were forbidden admission into the United States prior to the war.

Mr. William Grayson Mann, who speaks the German as fluently as he does the English language, passed two or three days in Antwerp just before the departure of the *Bellona* which took away about 450 of them, and on carefully informing many of the more intelligent of what they would have to undergo when they reached their destination, influenced 40 or 50 to desert. Indeed, there was well-nigh a mutiny upon the *Bellona* before she proceeded to sea, so dissatisfied were they with the inevitable condition in which they unexpectedly ascertained that they were likely to be placed. They saw distinctly for the first time that they were to be the victims of matured criminal intent.

I may mention that the Federal frigate *Niagara* left Antwerp on the 2d, and in so much haste that several of her crew on shore were unable to join her.

About three months after I entered upon the duties of my present post the Lincoln Cabinet dispatched Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston, to this metropolis, to use all the influence that he could command in enlisting the sympathies of the Catholic clergy in particular, as well as the population generally, on the side of the Abolitionists. Ever since his arrival he has been most diligent and vigilant in the discharge of the trusts confided to him, rarely ever absenting himself a day from the legation of the United States of which he is occasionally the chief. I am happy to inform you that his mission has been entirely unsuccessful. The clergy are almost to a man for us, and the Catholic press, at the head of which stand the *Journal de Bruxelles* and *L'Emancipation* earnestly and boldly advocate our

cause and hold up the enormities of the North to the animadversion of continental Europe. The bishop is believed to have been abundantly supplied with greenbacks and I understand that he was excessively chagrined a few days ago, when, wishing to realize upon them, his broker refused to purchase from him at a higher rate than 2 francs on the dollar. Seward has assuredly been very prodigal of the contingent foreign intercourse fund in his desire to impress this little country favorably. That he has notoriously failed in his purpose no better evidence could perhaps be adduced than that of Bishop Fitzpatrick himself. I have the honor, etc...

168. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 200 -
confidentiel - Bruxelles, 7 juillet 1864 - N.A., St.D.,
BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Sanford avertit Seward du départ du Bellona et des émigrants pour l'armée fédérale, ainsi que des plaintes de Mann. Devant l'inaction du Gouvernement belge et l'absence de dispositions légales, l'action des agents recruteurs pourrait s'intensifier et Sanford suggère la création d'un centre d'engagements maritimes à Anvers.

Sir : Rumor has been busy of late with the asserted recruiting of soldiers for our army in Belgium and neighboring countries, to be shipped from Antwerp. One Steamer, the "Bellona" sailed to day with about six hundred men for Boston, and a sailing vessel is also about being dispatched also filled with men. The arrival of the "Niagara" was even announced in some papers as being for Escort of these vessels.

M. A. Dudley Mann has protested to this Government against the enlistment of soldiers in this country for the United States; a protest which a received the usual treatment accorded to his effusions — Silence. I have to say in this connection, that there is no law in this country which inhibits the enlistment of soldiers or sailors for foreign service save when the Service is against a State with which Belgium is at peace. A Belgian, however, in case of such enlistment, forfeits his nationality as such, save when he receives permission to take foreign service.

A Belgian Legion was recruited here for Portugal in the time

of Don Pedro; Many Belgians have recruited into the French foreign legion. Troops for the Pope were recruited here at the time of the war in Italy and quite lately there have been, as I am informed, a large number of Belgians, recruited for Service in the Army of the Argentine Republic. ⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

I mention these facts, as shewing that if any of our local authorities, State or Municipal, are sending here for "Emigrants", I see no reason why it cannot be done openly and without making any mystery or causing inference of illegal conduct. Large numbers of men can be obtained here, who have served as soldiers, and to whom a free passage would be sufficient inducement, and, I presume many thousands (say 30 to 50.000) Frenchmen, who have served in the Army would be obtained if an "Emigrant Office" was established not far from the frontier.

It is, however, for the procurement of sailors that I would call your attention to this subject. With a vessel like the "Niagara" stationed at Flushing or Antwerp as a receiving ship, with a recruiting office at Antwerp, thousands of the best sailors in the world could be procured. The Tory London press might have something to say about it and Messr. Laird, or Lindsay or some other Rebel sympathizer might make it the occasion of remark in the House of Commons, but the reply would be that "it was none of their business!".

The only difficulty I can see is that it is just possible that Great Britain might try to put obstacles to the visits of our men of war to Antwerp, as contrary to the spirit of the Treaties of 1831 — but, I hardly think any objection would come from this side. This Government and people are too anxious to shake off the shackles which the jealousy of the four Powers placed upon her in 1831, and as certain of the frontier fortifications, which were by the Convention of 14 December 1831 to be maintained, have been demolished, all stipulations of similar tenor, I believe, are generally regarded as obsolete.

If such steps as indicated above were taken for recruiting seamen, we could secure, I have little doubt, all the sailors, we need, and of the very best class. I have, etc...

(108) Voir J. LORETTE, *Les expéditions militaires belges au Portugal en 1832 et 1833*, in-8° Bruxelles, 1950; L. LÉCONTE, *Les Belges au service de Rome*, dans *Carnet de la Fourragère*, Le série; J.R. LÉCONTE, *Enrôlement clandestin de Belges pour l'Armée de la République Argentine 1861-1866*, Bulletin des séances de l'A.R.S.O.M., X, p. 1535-1568.

169. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
15 juillet 1864 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Les spéculateurs européens détenteurs d'obligations fédérales s'inquiètent de la chute en Bourse de celles-ci et de la différence grandissante entre la valeur du papier-monnaie et de l'or.

...Our friends abroad who have invested in our Bonds, begin to cry aloud at their steady descent in the European markets with the steady ascent of the price of gold in ours. A good deal has been done in them here, and those who have speculated have suffered.

The manufacturers here too, rather than remit their proceeds at the highrating Exchange, have been allowing them to accumulate in the U. States and now needing their funds, begin to get alarmed.

Large remittances have been made in our Bonds which have been thrown upon the market, and while it has temporarily helped diminishing the rate of exchange, it has not helped our credit.

I hope no effort will be made *now* to negotiate a loan in Europe, and that the enormous margin of the difference between paper and gold may be saved to our people and that we shall not have to pay it abroad. The sudden rise of the price of gold has paralysed purchases for the United States. I am told that this steamer takes over to merchants back empty... Our liabilities in Europe must, therefore, fall off considerably, and I am not sorry for it even if it does decrease our revenue from imports, for I foresee that little of our grain will be wanted in Europe this year; the crops are excellent everywhere and prices will be low...

170. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 98 - Bruxelles,
16 juillet 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

L'affaire des émigrants exerce une bonne influence en faveur du Sud. Mann croit à une prochaine intervention européenne en faveur de la paix auprès du Cabinet de Washington.

Sir: The extremities to which the Lincoln Government has been driven to obtain troops for the prosecution of hostilities against us are rendered strikingly apparent to the Belgians by the character

of the emigrants from Germany who have recently been passing through Antwerp on their way to New York. There is but one opinion in intelligent, well-meaning circles in relation to the matter. It is considered as irrefragable evidence of the desperation of an enemy that is fighting for an unjust cause, and which is alike bankrupt in men and money.

It is proper that I should explain the reason why the bees of the German hive have been brought latterly to Antwerp for shipment. It has resulted exclusively from the renewed blockade of the ports of Hamburg and Bremen. Now that peace is almost as good as reestablished, the "White-slave trade" as it has been correctly termed, will resume its usual channel of conveyance. It is my belief, however, that this infamous traffic is near its end. The horrors attending it are more than even the idealogues of Europe, who have been so violent from the first in their opposition to us, can contemplate without shuddering.

The stupendous failure of Grant's campaign, the perilous if not inextricable position in which Sherman has placed himself, the resignation of Chase, and the continued rapid depreciation of "greenbacks" occasion me to fervently indulge the hope that the North will swiftly be more humiliated in the sight of the powers and States of the world than any nation or people, recognized as constituting a nation, ever was before. How proud I am, apart from all the other joyous considerations which attach to such a consummation, that this will have been the work alone of the President and our officers and citizen soldiers. Subjected to a flagrantly one-sided neutrality by the two western powers, in their persistently refusing to recognize us, we shall have no obligations to pay to either, nor any acknowledgment to make for favors, however slight, to any one of the large countries of the earth. We shall present for the admiration of just contemporaries and a truth-seeking posterity the sublime spectacle of inflexible right, overpowering to utter disgrace, unscrupulous might.

Out of tenderness to the Federal States, in the dismay which must inevitably seize them on account of their continued deeply damaging disasters, I expect to see the joint mediation of France, Great Britain, and Russia proposed at an early day to the Washington Cabinet for an armistice. If offered to the President in advance of our unqualified recognition I am persuaded that it will be indignantly rejected. We have now taken the bull by the horns, after he has gored us mercilessly, and when he is fatigued to the point of certain

death, unless we receive repose, and we shall be egregiously and inexcusably at fault if we suffer him to harm us any more.

I have, etc...

171. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 206 - Bruxelles,
21 juillet 1864 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

La présence du Niagara et du Sacramento à Anvers exerce une bonne influence. Les navires de guerre fédéraux auraient intérêt à faire escale dans l'estuaire de l'Escaut pour éviter les restrictions franco-anglaises à leur ravitaillement. Un centre de recrutement de marins baltes et belges pourrait y être créé.

Sir: I have had the honor to receive your dispatch n° 133 under date of the 4th instant, with inclosure.

The "Niagara" and "Sacramento" are now at Antwerp, have been well received and no objection offered to their frequent visits, to taking supplies, or getting repairs; — on the contrary, I have reason to believe that their visits afford gratification to the authorities, as their presence has been of excellent effect upon them and the people of the country generally.

So long as the policy of Great-Britain and France forbids the usual courtesy and aid to our national ships, which we extend to those of all friendly powers, the Scheldt, with its easy access, commanding position, safe shelter, and abundant supplies, would seem to afford all facilities which are denied them elsewhere. I am informed by Commodore Craven and Captain Walker, that the authorities at Flushing have also given them a hearty welcome and extended to them every accomodation, and I cannot but express the hope, that we shall ask as little hospitality as is compatible with the exigencies of the public service, in the ports of those countries which give it so graciously. Supplies of all kinds can be obtained — probably cheaper than at any other port — at Flushing or Antwerp. — Arrangements can easily be made, here or in England, for the delivery of coals alongside the ships at stated places, and the Belgian coals are, I believe, preferred by our engineers. The ships could appear constantly off the French and English ports, and communicate with

our officials, and exercise all necessary vigilance without entering them, save by stress of water, if this treatment of our national flag is to continue. There seems, however, to be a disposition not to insist upon a rigorous application of the existing regulations to, our ships of war, judging from the fact that the "Kearsage" is permitted, without objection, to lay in wait for the "Rappahannock" now at Calais, from the opposite port of Dover.

The destruction of the "Alabama" by the "Kearsage", and the frequent appearance of our ships of war, in, or, off neighboring ports has been productive of good effects on the public mind. Attention has been thus drawn to our naval strength, and details concerning our vessels, their armament etc... are given in the press, and eagerly sought by the public. An end, too, has been put to the reproach so often made, that while making so frequent reclamations touching the building or harboring of Rebel craft, we did not show interest enough in their capture to keep even a force equal to that of the "Confederates" within ten days said of our principal navy yard; that but one steamer, the "Kearsage" was in the waters off the French and English coast when three Confederate war vessels, and seven more, rapidly approaching completion, were in ports of France.

In this connection, I would again call your attention to the possibility of procuring seamen for our navy in this country. As has been before observed, there is no legal impediment in Belgium to the engagement of soldiers or sailors for our service.

Apart the easy access from the Baltic ports, where the best sailors of Europe are to be found, there are many Belgians employed on the canals here, who have been for the most part sailors or fishermen on the high-seas, who are now owing to the competition of the Railways finding their calling unremunerative, and they would, if opportunity offered, seek, I doubt not, service in our navy. If we had, as suggested in a previous dispatch, a receiving ship in the Scheldt (say at Flushing) to which sailors could be directly sent, and from which they could be transferred for distribution to our navy yards or to other vessels, I think a great saving might be made in the bounties now given for seamen, as well as of time in procuring the crews we so urgently need.

I have, etc...

172. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé et
confidentiel - Bruxelles, 21 juillet 1864 - N.A., St.D.,
BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Sanford envisage de placer l'agent double Sanders auprès de Mann.

Dear Sir : I have seen Mr. Sanders ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ twice within a few days, and am favorably impressed with his intelligence and prudence.

He says he has an opp[ortunit]y to take the place of Mann's son as Secretary. I strongly advise his availing himself of it, as he would not be confined here and for his purposes, would find such position a most valuable aid.

He says the Confederates here are counting upon insurrection in New York and Baltimore to aid in their Northern invasion. When will we put the strong hand upon that crowd of Secessionists at New York and their abettors ! They are rendering more efficient aid to the South today than Liverpool or Nassau.

Very respy. and truly yours...

173. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 99 - Bruxelles,
22 juillet 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann se plaint des efforts de Sanford auprès du Roi Léopold et affirme que la ratification du Traité du Rachat du Péage de l'Escaut par le Sénat américain aurait été utilisée comme moyen de pression. Par contre, il espère que le Roi, au cours de son entrevue avec Napoléon III à Vichy, soutiendra le Sud dans l'optique de sa politique mexicaine, mais ne croit pas au succès.

Sir : Yesterday was the thirty-third anniversary of the reign of King Leopold. It was celebrated generally and cordially throughout

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Il s'agit probablement de "Reid" Sanders, fils de George N. Sanders qui avait été un agent semi-officieux du Sud en Europe pendant les premières années de la guerre. George Sanders rentra dans le Sud puis servit en Amada jusqu'à la fin de la guerre, et fit mêlé à la Conférence de paix du Niagara. Son fils "Reid" le remplaça en Grande-Bretagne Sur George N. Sanders, voir *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 16, p. 334-335, F.L. OWSLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 363-365.

the realm. But his Majesty, for reasons publicly unexplained, suddenly decided to absent himself from his metropolis, contrary to his usual observance upon such an occasion. Two days before the anniversary he repaired to Vichy, where the Emperor of the French annually sojourns from about the 10th of July to the 10th of August.

Various and numerous are the conjectures in relation to the motives of his unexpected departure. In my opinion an influencing if not a superinducing one was the indelicate and persistent exertions of the Lincoln legation here to obtain from him on his fête day a manifestation that could be construed as favorable to the Federal cause.

The Federal frigates *Niagara* and *Sacramento* came up the Scheldt and were at anchor yesterday in the harbor of Antwerp. Mr. Dayton, the minister at Paris, and other Federal functionaries had arrived here in advance of them, in joyous expectation, as it is understood, of a visit of the King to those vessels of war. Mr. Sanford, the minister of Lincoln to Belgium, pledged himself, it is asserted, to the Senate at Washington to the effect, that if that body would ratify the treaty which he negotiated for the payment of 2,750,000 francs for the capitalization of the Scheldt tolls, that the Federal Government would be more than compensated by the benefits which it would derive from the influence King Leopold would be induced to exert in behalf of their interests, as the Doyen of sovereigns, with European nations. Sumner stated as much in his effort to carry the treaty when the vote by which it had been defeated was under reconsideration, and upon this assuring statement alone he influenced Sherman of Ohio and other Senators to withdraw their objections.

King Leopold can not but view with disgusted feelings the vile artifices resorted to by the Lincoln Government to procure troops in Europe, now that they have been brought so immediately under his own eyes. With his long experience in public life he assuredly has never seen a belligerent actuated by baser passions, or one having recourse to such unjustifiable means. I am quite confident that he will bring the subject to the consideration of Louis Napoleon during his stay at Vichy, connecting with it our just claims for formal admission into the family of nations; but from that potentate I expect as little, even now, in our behalf as I have expected all along. He is precluded from recognizing us by his implied, if not secretly expressed, engagements with the incumbent of the White House.

Lincoln, through Seward, has virtually covenanted that the Monroe doctrine shall continue obsolete, as far as concerns Mexico, while he remains in office, and in return the Emperor of the French has virtually covenanted that he will decline entering into official relations with us. In the presence of such an understanding the good offices of the King of the Belgians in our favor, however faithfully exerted, could not prove otherwise than unavailing with him. It is currently reported that the true object of the meeting of the King and the Emperor was to negotiate a marriage between the Count of Flanders and the Princess Anna Murat. The count had been on a visit to Fontainebleau during the recent sojourn of the imperial family there, when he was presented to the princess, whose rare personal attractions are said to have captivated him. It is supposed that their union would be advantageous in strengthening both the dynasty of Napoleon III and of Leopold I. It is known, too, that the latter is exceedingly anxious, while yet he lives, to see his son eligibly married. Nor is he without care for the future of his daughter. Her letters to him from the City of Mexico, as I learn, are less satisfactory than he was encouraged to believe that they would be. The *arrière pensée* of Louis Napoleon, when he undertook to create a Mexican Empire, will, in my opinion, yet disclose itself at a suitable time.

The ministry of Belgium, after several weeks of unsuccessful attempts to administer the Government, since withdrawing its resignation, had no alternative but to decide upon a dissolution of the popular branch of the chambers. The new election is fixed for the 11th of August. The canvass is likely to be the most exciting one ever experienced in the realm.

The chances this moment are in favor of the opposition. I have the honor, etc...

174. B. W. SANDERS à H. S. SANFORD - Londres,
7 août 1864 - S.P., 139/3.

Les agents sudistes Buchanan et Mann envisageraient une démarche auprès du Roi pour lui demander d'offrir sa médiation.

Dear Sir : If you have received any communication from Gov.

Seward in relation to my acceptance of the position of which we spoke, please have the kindness to let me know.

An effort is being made to get out an other vessel similar to the *Alabama* but we will take care to thwart them at the proper moment. Old Judge Buchanan (*) of Baltimore has gone over to lend a helping hand to Mr. Mann, but I doubt not that you will be able to care fore them both, and see that they do no harm. It is my opinion that overtures have been or will be made to the Court at Brussels to offer its mediation in American affairs. Of this, however, you will be duly informed by the proper authorities.

I would be glad to receive a line from you at your earliest leisure...

175. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 140 -
Washington, 8 août 1864 - N.A., St.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

Seward communique le refus du Département de la Marine de procéder à des recrutements de matelots en Belgique.

Sir : I submitted to the Secretary of the Navy your dispatch n° 200 marked *confidential*, in which you suggest the feasibility of enlisting foreigners in Belgium for our naval service. In returning the despatch to this Department, he states that the proposed measure is both inexpedient and unnecessary as we are now receiving recruits in abundance. I am, etc...

176. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
12 août 1864 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Les nouvelles d'Amérique sont déformées dans un sens défavorable au Nord, dont l'opinion conservatrice redoute l'influence révolutionnaire en cas de victoire.

...The system of distorting all American news against us is

(*) Voir note 128.

continued in all the organs of public opinion nearly, save those that represent the Liberal side. It is tacitly admitted on all hands, if not openly avowed, that it is to the interest of the present system of Govt. in Europe that we do not succeed, that our systems being antagonistic, our success is to be an encouragement to the Revolutionary party. While I tell these people who open up to me their fears and their sympathies in this direction, that we are too far off to have the influence they seem to dread, I take care to say that we are not too far to use our friends in Europe, if they drive us to it by intermeddling in our affairs, — that their sympathies are or ought to be of less account than their fears or their interests and both these should counsel abstention and at least moderation in respect to us. We are attending to our own affairs and shall insist upon being unmolested in doing so. This defiant tone is about all that is left to us and I confess to avoiding rather than seeking public men at this juncture. There is so much in the late news which is sad and humiliating...

177. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 101 - Bruxelles,
12 août 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann voit avec plaisir la victoire du Gouvernement libéral en Belgique. Les Catholiques sont également très bien disposés envers le Sud et Mgr. Fitzpatrick a échoué dans ses efforts pour les rallier au Nord.

Sir : The dissolution of the Chamber of Representatives of Belgium has resulted in a complete victory to the Liberal Party. That party has secured, in the Election of yesterday, a majority of eleven members. Such a majority was as unexpected to itself as to the Opposition.

The government will now be enabled to move along harmoniously for two years and probably for a much longer period in the policy which, ever since its creation, has been observed, in the administration of the affairs of the realm, except at comparatively short intervals.

Although the King manifested no interest whatever in the contest between the two parties, it is well known that at heart he

ardently desired the success of the Liberals. In this success, so signal, he cannot but perceive an almost certain guarantee for orderly rule for the remainder of his reign.

I carefully avoided the expression of any interest whatever, in the result of this most exciting Election. Had my feelings even been warmly enlisted in behalf of one of the contestants, I should have entirely concealed my sentiments upon the subject from the public. In my opinion, a foreign representative should never take sides either overtly or covertly in any question which is agitated in the country to which he is accredited.

The more devoted Catholics in Europe — all in fact except the idealists — and the Press which represents them, are singularly unanimous in their desire for the formal general recognition of our Independence and an early termination of the war which is prosecuted against us. I learn from a reliable authority that the Catholic priesthood, throughout the world, with scarcely an exception, cordially detest the Federal Government. Bishop Fitzpatrick, of Boston, has gone off well convinced, as I am creditably assured, that his two years labor in this kingdom have been utterly profitless to his employers.

Pope Pius IX is entitled to much praise for the salutary influence which he has exerted over the Church, of which he is the worthy head, in our behalf. Numerous and mighty efforts were made to turn his mind in a contrary direction...

[Mann se plaint de l'attitude anti-sudiste du Comte Sartiges, Ambassadeur de France à Rome]

178. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 103 - Bruxelles,
20 août 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann insiste sur le tort subi par la cause nordiste à la suite des recrutements dans les dépôts de mendicité belges. L'emprunt fédéral et coté très bas à la Bourse.

Sir: I think I can now safely venture to assure you that we have nothing to apprehend from any considerable accession of strength to the Federal Army hereafter, derived from European

supplies. Such has been the demand for recruits at New York and elsewhere in the North that there is at length an exhaustion of this war material, available for that purpose, in this hemisphere. It is a bankrupt of criminals and paupers. All the houses of correction and poorhouses have been drained. The fact that immigrants of this description were acceptable to the Lincoln Government, now that it is becoming generally known, has alone a tendency to deter from emigrating persons who can make a living by industry. The following statements, recently published in all the Belgian papers, and also extensively circulated in Germany, has been productive of an immense amount of harm to Lincoln and C°. In all circles in which it has been read it has created an impression that a Government that is driven to the necessity of having recourse to such soldiers to fight its aggressive battles is in reality a Government in deep despair. This very occurrence will, in all probability, deprive it of regiments that it might clandestinely have raised in Germany.

“We read”, says *l’Indépendance Belge*, “in a journal of Mons that the Dis-United States use up so large a supply of men in their fratricidal war that they are forced to resort to every other country in search of “food for powder”. Day before yesterday 45 inmates of the house of correction at this city were liberated, in order to proceed to New York, where, immediately after their arrival, they will be regularly enrolled in the Army. They are to embark at Antwerp in about a week from now.”⁽¹¹⁰⁾

The bonds of the Federal Government have experienced a fall of 3 per cent this forenoon at the exchange of Frankfort on the Main. They are at this moment quoted there at 39, the lowest point of depression which they have ever touched, being a little less than half the value of the Confederate loan, according to actual sales in London yesterday. I have, etc...

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ *Indépendance Belge*, 9 août 1864, p. 2, c. 4. Sur les recrutements dans les dépôts de mendicité, voir F. BALACE, *op. cit.*, p. 510-511.

179. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Londres,
26 août 1864 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Un journal juariste va être publié à Londres, tandis qu'à Bruxelles une nouvelle feuille pro-unioniste prônera l'émigration, dont Sanford souligne l'intérêt pour la conscription aux Etats-Unis. Il insiste à nouveau sur le recrutement de matelots pour le Nord en Belgique.

Dear Sir : A journal is about being issued here in the interest of Juarez and will be scattered widely. One of my friends will be concerned in it and if you have any documents or information to be disseminated, this will, doubtless, be the best channel which could be found.

A journal is also to be started or is in contemplation in Brussels, in the interests of emigration and, of course the Union. The advantages of Belgium over any other country for the collection and shipment of "emigrants", will make it I think a central point for the State agents who are employed to fill up State quotas.

I notice that the Secy. of the Navy thinks is "inexpedient and unnecessary" to recruit seamen in Belgium and yet the *recruits* which they are getting are costing the country from \$ 300 to 1,000 \$ a piece and not half of them sailors at that — while *sailors* can be procured in the Scheldt without paying these "excessive bounties", which, whether paid by the General or State Treasuries, still come out of the people money...

[le reste de la lettre traite de la politique britannique]

180. D. DE HAERNE à H. S. SANFORD - Bruxelles,
28 août 1864 - S.P., 95/4.

Le Chanoine De Haerne ⁽¹¹⁾ attire l'attention de Sanford sur des articles de la presse catholique relatifs aux Etats-Unis.

(11) Désiré de Haerne (1804-1890), influencé par les idées menaisiennes avait été élu député de Roulers au Congrès National puis à la Chambre jusqu'en 1833. Député de Courtrai de 1844 à sa mort, il se distingua par des prises de position progressistes et par son intérêt pour l'économie politique. Il était chanoine honoraire de Bruges.

Le Chanoine de Haerne s'était signalé pendant la guerre par la publication

My dear Excellency : If you have nothing to do I pray you to read the following articles :

1° *Gazette de Liege* 16 August, second page, first col. (from the *Messenger franco-americ.*)

2° *La Patrie*, 21 Aug.: *Les Aménités de la Conscription, etc*

3° *La Patrie*, 28 Aug.: *La franc-maçonnerie américaine*

I put something like in the *Journal d'Anvers* of the 21 Aug. I am, etc...

181. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Ostende, 1^{er} septembre 1864 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Le Roi se montre réservé dans l'expression de ses opinions sur la crise américaine mais croirait à l'existence d'un accord entre le Sud et le parti pacifiste du Nord pour la cessation des hostilités.

Dear Sir : The King's silence touching our affairs was marked, whether he don't like to be reported and put in print, or whether he thought the conversation might lead to ground he had rather not entered upon. I cannot even summarise. We have had two or three little chats on the public promenade already but not a word on American politics. I know that he has given to one of his *intimes* very strong intimation that our war was approaching its end. My own belief is that this opinion, like that in official circles in Paris, is based upon the idea that an important political party at home and the "Confederate leaders" have come to an understanding for the termination of the war.

It was this assertion made by Slidell as I firmly believe, and backed by letters from influential northern politicians, which, in my opinion, induced the writing of that famous mediation letter by the Emperor without consulting anybody. And this string is now played upon with more [...] effects, in connection with the peace meetings

d'une étude sur *La question américaine dans ses rapports avec les mœurs, l'esclavage, l'industrie et la politique*, dans *Revue Belge et Etrangère* t. XIV, 1862, p. 29-65, 157-192. Cet article fut éditée en brochure séparée à Bruxelles et en traduction anglaise à Londres. de Haerne fut un des rares catholiques belges à soutenir avec vigueur la cause Unionniste. Voir du BUS, *Le Congrès National*, in-4°, Bruxelles-Paris, 1930, p. 52.

at home, the peace articles in some of our influential newspapers and the known and prolonged conferences of prominent political leaders with the Rebel agents at Niagara Falls...

182. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 214 - Bruxelles, 7 septembre 1864 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Interrogé par Sanford, Rogier déclare que le Gouvernement belge est et restera étranger à la formation d'une légion belge pour le Mexique.

Sir: I enclosed to you on the 6th of July, in my despatch N° 199, a notice published by General Chapelié, inviting recruits for a Belgian Legion to serve in Mexico. ⁽¹¹²⁾

Soon after, I called Mr. Rogier's attention incidentally to this notice, and asked him if the Government was a party to this organization of troops. He replied that it was not, that, as a Government, they had nothing to do with it — that they had, however, given permission to Belgians in their service who desired to go, for without it they forfeited their nationality as Belgians. There was nothing in their laws, he continued, which prevented recruiting in Belgium for foreign service, provided it was not against a nation with which they were at peace.

This subject coupled with the appearance in the streets of the recruits in Mexican uniform, has naturally excited public attention, and in the sitting of the 2d, on a motion by Mr. Coomans, he enquired of the Minister of war, if it were true that Belgian soldiers had received authorization from the Government to take military service in Mexico, and upon what law it was based. The Minister replied, that it was in accordance with numerous precedents, and he did not see an exception should be made against those Belgians wishing to serve a daughter of the King, who is a sovereign in an other country. An animated and interesting debate followed, which I enclose from the *Moniteur* and which shews considerable embarrassment on the

⁽¹¹²⁾ Voir A. DUCHESNE, *Au service de Maximilien et de Charlotte. L'expédition des volontaires belges en Mexique 1864-1867*, in-8°, Bruxelles, Centre d'Histoire Militaire, 1967, p. 299-300.

part of the Government, and on the part of its friends to defend its course, such as it is, for its effect would seem to tend to put the representative of Liberalism in Belgium in a false attitude before the liberal sentiment of Europe. The motion of Mr. Coomans, expressing the regret of the House that the Government had authorized the promotion in Belgium of a Belgian military Corps for service in a foreign country, failed by a vote of 39 for and 53 against. A substitute of Mr. Bara declaring that "the House in presence of the formal declaration that the Government has remained and will remain completely aloof from the encouragement of a corps destined to serve in Mexico, proceed to the order of the day" passed by a vote of 50 for and 36 against.

I have, etc...

183. J. OPPENHEIM et J. ERRERA à H. S. SANFORD -
Bruxelles, 13 septembre 1864 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM,
vol. 8.

Les banquiers susnommés proposent au Gouvernement fédéral de vendre lui-même ses coupons en Europe, réalisant ainsi un bénéfice entre la cotation européenne et la cotation inférieure aux Etats-Unis. Le banquier choisi centraliserait les coupons à rembourser en or et accepterait du Gouvernement fédéral d'être payé par d'autres obligations. Bruxelles serait le marché idéal pour ces opérations.

J. OPPENHEIM et J. ERRERA à H. S. SANFORD -
Bruxelles, 13 septembre 1864.

Monsieur le Ministre,

En suite de la conversation que Monsieur Jacques Errera a eu l'honneur d'avoir avec vous, hier, je vous remets ci-inclus une note pour Monsieur Fessenden ⁽¹¹³⁾, Ministre des Finances à Washington.

⁽¹¹³⁾ William Pitt Fessenden, (1806-1869) succéda à Salmon P. Chase comme secrétaire de la *Treasury* le 30 juin 1864. Il restaura la confiance dans les finances publiques et les développa considérablement. Il représentait au sein du Cabinet de Lincoln l'élément républicain radical. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II, p. 90-91. Burton J. HENDRICK, *Lincoln's War Cabinet*, in-8°, Boston, 1946, *passim*.

Je vous serais obligé de vouloir bien la lui faire parvenir et je serais heureux si grâce à votre bienveillant intermédiaire, il en pourrait résulter des affaires suivies entre le Gouvernement américain et ma maison.

Veillez, etc...

(s) Joseph Oppenheim
Jacques Errera

**J. OPPENHEIM et J. ERRERA à W. P. FESSENDEN -
Bruxelles, 13 septembre 1864.**

Sir;

The continually increasing price of gold during the last year in the United States has rendered it necessary for European commerce to devise another description of exchange than the precious metals. The bonds of the American debt, redeemable after the 30th day of April 1867 and payable after the 30th day of April 1882, have seemed sufficiently suited to effect this purpose, and that for two reasons: the first being that the payment of coupons and the reimbursement are effected in gold so that the actual exportation of these bonds is equivalent to an engagement to export gold; and the second that the low price of the stock compared with the former debt payable in 1868, was favorable to the opening of a sufficiently extensive market in Europe.

Speculation soon busied itself with this stock and at the present moment the stock exchanges of the North of Europe carry on a considerable amount of business in the bonds in five twenty; and what is remarkable, almost the entire speculation is engaged à la hausse, so that our prices have been also well sustained and have remained considerably higher than those indicated by the quotations of New York. The result has been that those bankers who have bought in America and sold in Europe have made a very considerable profit.

I do not think that the Government of the United States has any reason to be dissatisfied with this exportation of its bonds. It is true that it is equivalent to an engagement to supply Europe with considerable quantities of gold, but this supply is spread over a long series of years and with the aid of political and military events this

exportation will be made every succeeding year in a more and more advantageous manner, whereas if commerce had been under the necessity, during the last year of exporting gold in stead of bonds the exportation in question would have been carried out on much more onerous conditions for the citizens of the United States, and we should have seen the premium on this metal rise to a height far greater than those indicated by the New York quotations.

But if the Government has no interest in preventing exportation of its bonds it may on the other hand secure a considerable profit from the difference of quotations existing between the exchanges of Europe and that of America. Instead of selling at New York to the bankers before alluded to who alone profit by this difference in value could not the Government put itself in direct communication with the European market and thus reap, itself, the profit of the operation ? This system has been again and again employed successfully by the European Governments themselves, (those of Austria and Italy, for instance, amongst others) who make it their business to possess themselves in a direct way of the markets of consumption without having recourse to costly go-betweens.

To carry out this idea it suffices to address a banker well established and known in the market aforesaid to place in his hands a certain quantity of bonds with instruction to sell either at the current price or at a price fixed beforehand and as soon as that price can be attained. It is also well to leave a certain latitude for the purchase of a restricted quantity of bonds in order to stimulate the market price and to get rid of any superfluity such as may occur at certain moments. As to the reimbursements to be made by the banker to the Government a very profitable circumstance presents itself at this moment.

Although several houses have announced for some days past already that they are prepared to pay at once the coupon due only the 1st November next, few of the holders will be disposed to detach the said coupon from their bonds which would thus become unsaleable for the two following months. But the 1st of November next a very considerable amount of coupons will come onto the market, thus forming an advantageous reimbursement for the Government in as much as these coupons instead of being presented to it by the holders in exchange for gold will be returned to it by its banker in exchange for bonds sold on its account.

And if the amount of the money to be remitted to the Govern-

ment exceeded the value of the coupons to be collected, the Government might draw on its banker and sell its bills on the American exchange. With a view to this transaction the Government would supply bills on its banker which he would make payable in such and such towns in Europe (London, Paris, Hamburg, etc...) as the Government might prefer.

If the Government of the United States were favorable to the method proposed about I beg to place myself entirely at its disposal.

The situation of Brussels in the centre of markets of consumption, in a country where no interruption can take place in the regularity of its communications, the position of my house possessing extensive and long established relations with all the chief towns of this continent, will render it needless for me to insist on my fitness for this purpose.

To enable you to form a precise idea of the sum represented by the sale of 10.000 Dollars of five twenty in Europe, I send you with this a supposititious account with the different stock-exchanges cited in the present communication.

The produce is transferred into Sterling at an exchange of 25 francs 30/100 for one pound, which has been the average exchange for the last three months.

Awaiting the honour of your reply, I beg to subscribe myself

your obedient servant

(s) Joseph Oppenheim
Jacques Errera

184. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
17 septembre 1864 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Sanford ne croit pas le banquier bruxellois J. Oppenheim capable d'exécuter le plan de vente des emprunts fédéraux et recommande la banque S. Oppenheim de Cologne car les emprunts se vendent surtout en Allemagne et aux Pays-Bas.

Dear Sir: I enclose herewith two letters touching the disposal of our Bonds in Europe, the one addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury by Joseph Oppenheim, a Banking House of this city, and

the other addressed to me by the senior partner of Salomon Oppenheim & C°, one of the oldest and largest houses on the continent. I have to request that, after their perusal, you will forward them to Mr. Fessenden.

I think the suggestion made by Mr. Oppenheim of Cologne merits attention, and there can be little doubt, if it will be carried out, we might put out quietly in Europe a large amount of our Bonds without exciting public distrust — the point being to keep before the public the same show of indifference to European loans and that we should thus have gold to receive from Europe, in increasing volume, instead of having to send it abroad to pay our coupons.

The House of Joseph Oppenheim of this city, is a respectable but not a large house, and hardly of the force to carry out more than a local agency. Certainly not one of the magnitude indicated by the German House, and which requires influential and wide-spread relations as well as European celebrity, and the statement touching difference of exchange as favoring Brussels, which, doubtlessly correct for the date given, could hardly be relied upon as a permanent basis of calculation.

The German House applied to me last year about a loan it wished to make our Govt., of from 60 to 100 millions Dollars, and I sent their letter to you to be given to Mr. Chase. Gold was then at 125 and he did not wish to borrow. I was rather in hope this proposition would have been taken up as their associate House in Paris is Fould, Oppenheim & C° (Achille Fould, Minister of Finances) and it would have helped secure a powerful political influence there. When I came out last, Mr. Chase recalled this proposition of the Oppenheims and asked me to enquire if they were still willing to undertake a loan, but they declined and on meeting the senior partner at Ostend, he made the suggestion which I asked him to embody in a letter which is enclosed.

Germany and Holland are the principal fields, as you are aware, for the disposal of our Bonds, and it is immense if we know how to occupy it. Speculation has now taken hold of them in this rich country and some large operations are made here.

Whatever we do in this connection, I hope will be done without going to England or calling in the aid of English Bankers. The systematic hostility of the representatives of the moneyed and aristocratic classes there to our credit, the worse than luke-warmness of those from whom we had a right to expect support, make me wish

that we show we can do without them and that London is not for us the pivot upon which the world turns, and apart from this, Bonds scattered through these widespread agencies suggest *stay* there among the people and would not return to us *en masse* as they would from great financial centers on occasion of distrust or financial crisis.

Excuse these crude suggestions — their only merit is that they are well meant and may have some practical value if not smoothly stated.

Very respy. and truly yours..

185. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - privé -
Washington, 17 septembre 1864 - N.A., St.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

Seward ne voit pas d'intérêt à stimuler l'émigration militaire.

...I have your private note of the 26th of August and I thank you for the information you give concerning the new journals to be established in London and Brussels.

Recruiting here is altogether successfull and we have no real reason or sollicitude about adequate reinforcement of our armies...

186. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 148 -
Washington, 26 septembre 1864 - N.A., St.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

Les volontaires belges au Mexique deviendront probablement républicains.

Sir: I thank you for your interesting despatch of the 7th of september n° 214.

The wisdom of allowing Belgian subjects to take military service against the republic of Mexico is the question which seems to have been discussed in the Belgian Legislature.

One important point was omitted: namely how long the fidelity of a foreign legion employed in America in such a cause can be

depended upon. It will be seen I think in the end that European soldiers coming hither ultimately become American Republicans.

I am, etc...

187. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - privé -
Washington, 4 octobre 1864 - N.A., St.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

Seward considère que la position de Blondeel à Washington serait délicate s'il reprenait ses fonctions auprès du Gouvernement fédéral après avoir été accrédité auprès de l'Empereur Maximilien.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 15th of September n° 215, which mentions a probability that a special and extraordinary mission will be sent by the Belgian government, to the so called Imperial government in Mexico. I have also received your private note which mentions that Mr. Blondeel van Cuelebroeck now Minister Plenipotentiary here will likely be appointed to fill that extraordinary mission.

This Government can have no right to question such a proceeding by the Belgian Government but it is easy to perceive that if the representative of Belgium shall be sent to Mexico to recognize a foreign Imperial revolutionary Government there while the United States remain in treaty relations with the native Republican Government still existing in Mexico, and if that representation should immediately after performing that function be returned to the United States to renew his mission here, the transaction would then be liable to popular misapprehension, which even though it should not impair his usefulness might at least render his residence less agreeable than it is to be desired.

You may verbally and unofficially suggest these considerations to Mr. Rogier, for his reflection.

I am, etc...

188. J. BIGELOW à H. S. SANFORD - Paris,
11 octobre 1864 - S.P., 115/13.

Bigelow propose à Sanford de faire démentir par Malespine les accusations relatives aux recrutements en Belgique. Un voyage d'Alexandre Dumas en Amérique pourrait être utile à la propagande nordiste.

...I am indebted to Malespine for a copy of the *Courrier des Etats-Unis* containing an article on recruiting in Belgium which indirectly concerns you. If you would like an unofficial correction of these statements made in the *Opinion*, M. [alespine] wished me to say that he would be happy to make it and that it ought to be made promptly if at all. M. also is pressing for the remainder of his 1000 frs. I told him I was already in advance 500 frs and that he must wait a little until I could correct it.

I address this to you at Brussels, as I understand from Sauer yesterday that you were expected there tomorrow...

Alex. Dumas the father has been to see me about going to America to write a book about us. He proposes to leave in December and to be absent some 4 months. He is to correspond for the *Opin. Nation*. When the time is definitely fixed upon for his departure we must have a talk about the matter and take such steps as we can to turn his visit to the best account. The news from home is very refreshing. Yours, etc...

189. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 110 - Bruxelles,
12 octobre 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann dépeint l'indignation de l'opinion belge à la suite des articles publiés sur les enrôlements par le Courrier des Etats-Unis et reproduits en Belgique. Bien qu'il estimât peu important le nombre de recrues belges, Mann compte donner diffusion à ces articles pour stopper tout recrutement nordiste.

Sir: There is an unrestrained expression of indignation throughout this realm at the villainous deception practiced upon the persons who have been induced, through the artifices of the Lincoln Government, to migrate to the Federal States.

L'Independance Belge, which, until about the beginning of September, made no concealment of its enthusiastic devotion to the Federal cause, published conspicuously in its afternoon edition of the 10th instant and morning edition of the 11th instant the enclosed exposition copied from the *Courier des Etats-Unis* of New York.

The Washington Cabinet has connived at the commission of deeds, if indeed it did not originate them, which excite humane civilization to blush for the depravity of that well-nigh fiendish concern. Assuredly no country having the shadow of a claim to respectability ever stood so low in European esteem as the remnant of the old American Union does at the present time. It has displayed its perfidy so strikingly that it is palpable to the humblest laborer. It may win battles with the aid of the recruits which it has so fraudulently obtained on this side of the Atlantic, but it can never more enjoy honor in the opinion of the just minded. The people of the Old World in the main are not so fallen as to recognize as a public principle that the "end justifies the means." They believe that they have something nobler to live for than the gratification of the unhallowed ambition, achieved through the perpetration of flagrant crime.

I shall be careful to have the publication referred to above put into general circulation in Germany. I shall also have it translated and sent to the *London Times*. In Belgium it has already been sufficiently disseminated or will be by the end of this week.

The number of Belgians who have taken service in the Federal Army is very small — not, probably, exceeding 200. Hereafter it will be difficult to secure a solitary recruit for its ranks. In fact, I confidently trust that our lion-hearted citizen soldiers will have no more European mercenaries to encounter in the battlefield. My unceasing efforts shall continue to be directed to such a consummation. If the Yankees are resolved to go on with the war, you may depend upon it that henceforth they will have to do their own fighting. I have the honor, etc...

190. J. MASON à J. SLIDELL - 12 octobre 1864 -
L.C., MASON Pap., vol. I.

Mason discute du mode de remise aux différents gouvernements européens du manifeste des Etats Confédérés. (114)

...It seems to me that in some way this duty should be performed. You, I presume, could properly communicate a copy to the Govt. of the Emperor as Col. Mann might to the King of Belgium but the other foreign govts. and Great Britain there is no Commission accredited. I have thought that the better modes and perhaps the most solemn form would be to communicate the manifesto by a joint note signed by the three commissioners abroad, to be dated at Paris and addressed formally to each of the principal Govts. of Europe, including France and Belgium or not, as you and Col. Mann might prefer. I shall send a copy of this note to Col. Mann and will be pleased to hear your views on the matter. If thus be done should not the communication be sent by a special messenger, say to other govts. than France and Belgium by Col. Manns son and secy. who is on the Continent and foot-loose...

191. D. DE HAERNE à H. S. SANFORD - Bruxelles,
16 octobre 1864 - S.P., 95/4.

De Haerne félicite Sanford de son mariage et lui signale divers articles relatifs aux Etats-Unis.

My dear Excellency,

I have called on you to congratulate your Excellency about your marriage. Being obliged to leave Brussels for a week, I can't renew my compliment immediately; therefore I have the honour of the honor (in American orthography) to make this here by letter, hoping your happy Union will be a good presage of the reviving of the

(114) Ce manifeste fut rédigé par le Congrès Confédéré et approuvé par le Président Davis le 14 juin 1864. Il posait à nouveau les principes d'indépendance des Etats Confédérés. Le texte n'en parvint pas aux envoyés en Europe qui ne purent le diffuser qu'en septembre d'après les versions publiées par la presse nordiste.

great American Union between Mr. South and Lady North, who have been too long and too cruelly divorced.

You know I shed (at least by wishes) since long time some drops into your large rivers, the waters of which have been since more than three years hinderd from flowing, with full American liberty, from North to South, into the Ocean of wealth and happiness. I hope they will soon flow better than ever and that nothing will be drowned in their growth, except *slavery*.

If you have some time to lose [*sic*] you may read the following articles of the Patrie of Bruges: 21, 22, 28 September, 13 & 15 October

wholly yours
D. De Haerne :

P.S. Your little Negro boy (¹¹⁵) at scholl! that is a very wonderful thing for us and a very deserving (spiritually and naturally) for your Excellency. Be blessed, Sir, in your own State! God is charity.

192. G. SAUER à H. S. SANFORD - Bruxelles,
17 octobre (1864) - S.P., 129/13.

Le Consul Sauer attire l'attention de Sanford sur les attaques d'Hymans et demande ses instructions.

Dear Sir: My attention has been drawn to an article in the "Publicite" of y'day, which I enclose herewith. I wait to learn whether you desire that anything should be done in the matter. The author is L. Hymans, (¹¹⁶) member of the Chamber. Respy., etc...

(¹¹⁵) Ce petit noir avait été confié à Sanford par un Congressman pendant son voyage aux Etats-Unis en juin 1864 (S.P., box 95, livre 3).

(¹¹⁶) Louis Hymans (1829-1884), député libéral de 1859 à 1870, avait collaboré à l'*Indépendance*. Rédacteur en chef de l'*Office de Publicité*, il collaborait à l'*Etoile Belge*, puis devint rédacteur en chef de l'*Echo du Parlement* jusqu'en 1878.

193. Ch. ROGIER à H. S. SANFORD - Bruxelles,
17 octobre 1864 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Rogier demande à Sanford de lui fournir des explications au sujet des émigrants belges enrôlés dans l'armée fédérale mais fait preuve de modération.

Monsieur le Ministre,

Au mois de Juillet, vous m'avez recommandé un Sieur Louis Dochez, qui était venu en Belgique à l'effet d'y engager des Belges pour l'exploitation des houillères des Etats-Unis. Cet individu était Belge d'origine mais avait, d'après les renseignements que vous m'avez fournis, été naturalisé Américain. Le "*Courrier des Etats-Unis*" a publié le mois passé une lettre datée de New-York le 20 Septembre et émanée de quatre Belges, engagés par ce Sieur Dochez, et qui auraient vu méconnaître complètement les conditions de leur contrat, parce qu'ils se sont refusés à entrer dans l'armée fédérale.

S'il faut en croire ce que rapportent des journaux américains, des faits de même nature se seraient produits lors de l'arrivée à Boston du trois-mâts *Guerland*. L'intervention d'une compagnie de soldats fédéraux aurait même été employée dans cette circonstance pour chercher à contraindre les émigrants à signer un engagement militaire.

Les assertions qui se sont produites dans la Presse des Etats-Unis sont sans aucun doute erronées; loin que les autorités fédérales aient pu donner leur appui à de semblables manoeuvres, je dois supposer qu'elles se seront empressées de prêter aide et assistance à ceux des citoyens Belges qui auraient été en butte à de mauvais traitements, ou envers lesquels on aurait méconnu les clause de leur contrat. Je serais heureux, Monsieur le Ministre, de recevoir sur ce point des informations rassurantes. Votre recommandation en faveur du Sieur Dochez m'a semblé autoriser la communication que j'ai l'honneur de vous adresser, tout comme elle serait sans doute pour vous, Monsieur le Ministre, un motif de sérieuse intervention de votre part en faveur des Belges enrôlés par cet individu, si les faits articulés étaient malheureusement reconnus exacts. Veuillez agréer, etc...

194. G. SAUER à H. S. SANFORD - s.d. - S.P., 129/13.

Il est absolument nécessaire que Dochez fasse quelque chose pour se disculper.

Dear Sir: I had desired Dochez to come to Brussels, telling him I would remain home at all morning y'day — he did not turn up; but late last night sent his sister saying he would call this morning. There is an *imperative* necessity that he should do something and I shall wait to see him. Very, etc...

195. L. DOCHEZ à H. S. SANFORD - Willebroeck,
24 octobre 1864 - S.P., 139/8.

Dochez tranquillise Sanford et lui promet de ne pas mentionner son nom à propos des recrutements. L'avocat Demeur, chargé de rédiger une réponse aux journaux, a reçu des instructions très précises à ce propos.

Dear Sir,

Unluckily, I did not receive your dispatch, but think you wanted to see me on my late Emigration business. Have arranged every-thing in the best possible manner *exonerating everybody* except myself. Will be in Brussels wednesday morning and shall take the liberty of calling on you then.

If however you should want to have previous to my arrival precise information you might ask Mr. Couvreur van Maldeghem Rue d'or n° 43 or Mr. Demeur ⁽¹¹⁷⁾ n° 19 Rue des Minimes to call at the Legation; they are my counsels and know every thing. Very respectfully yours

Louis A. Dochez

⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Adolphe L. Demeur (1827-1892) ancien membre de la Chambre des Représentants, avocat à Bruxelles, conseiller provincial de Brabant. Représentant de la tendance radicale du parti libéral, il était un des principaux adversaires de la légion belge en Mexique.

N.B. The enclosed I wrote to day to Mr. Demeur after the long conference we had together with Mr. Couvreur; it shows the entire spirit of my reply who is entirely personal.

(annexe)

Bruxelles, 24 octobre 1864

Monsieur,

Ayant encore mûrement réfléchi au projet de lettre dont vous venez de me donner lecture, tout en approuvant l'esprit et le ton en général de ce projet, je crois devoir vous prier de répéter plus d'une fois et d'une manière *insistante* que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis a été constamment entièrement étranger à mes opérations et que jamais je n'ai été que le mandataire d'entreprises particulières et privées. Mon but est de rester bien comme je l'ai toujours été et comme je le suis encore avec le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis et tous ses agents en Belgique.

Agréé, etc...

Louis A. Dochez

196. L. DOCHEZ à H. S. SANFORD - Bruxelles,
27 octobre 1864 - S.P., 101/1.

Dochez protesté contre les accusations de certains journaux et transmet à Sanford ses réponses à ceux-ci. Il n'a fait qu'user de son droit en recrutant des Belges pour les troupes fédérales.

Dear Sir: You have asked me an explanation of certain statements published in the "*Courrier des Etats-Unis*", reproduced in most of the Belgian papers, and which have been communicated to you by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I take the liberty of writing to satisfy your desire.

First, I take leave to call to your attention that though I have resided in the United States since 1856, and was married there, I never ceased to be a Belgian citizen, and that by no action of mine, I ever have given ground to believe to my renouncing my nationality.

For what regards my emigration business itself, and the facts mentioned in the "*Courrier des Etats-Unis*", I declare as far as I am

concerned, that they are *utterly false*. I have sent miners to the United States, who signed contracts according to their profession, and I must say in this case that when the miners had every motive to be satisfied with their contracts, which were beneficial to them, it was I, and my employers, and not they, who became victims of our enterprise.

To give you a brief account of this affair, I will tell you, Sir that after having fulfilled all our engagements, and previously paid all the cost of the transportation of the Belgian miners, they forfeited their word and signature, to join the armed mob then striking for wages in Illinois; and not only did they cost severe losses in money to the coal companies who engaged them under my responsibility, but they destroyed considerable portions of their employers property.

I have also assisted Belgians wishing to emigrate to the United States in view of the military service, and in this I only made use of my right. My conduct has been constantly full of loyalty, and in this circumstance, like in every other circumstances of my life, I have acted as an honest man. To prove it, I just sent by a "huissier" an answer to the "*Office de Publicité*" in which paper a member of the Belgian House of Representatives has attacked me with the habitual levity characterizing his mind. This answer will be published next Sunday when I shall have the honor to forward you a copy. A similar answer has been sent to the "*Etoile Belge*" (¹¹⁸) of which also I shall send you a copy. After reading these papers you will, I am sure Sir, be convinced that I have no reproaches to make to myself; I have used of my right with all the scrupulousness and loyalty peculiar to my character and habits. Besides, Sir, amongst the facts related by the "*Courrier des Etats-Unis*" there are some referring to the Government of the United States, which with a man of your understanding it is unnecessary to explain; be it only sufficient for me to say, that if the Belgian citizens at their arrival in America, had had the slightest right of complaining about the non-execution of their contracts, the Government, I am sure, would have been the first to give them full justice. By the exactness of what has been published in the "*Courrier des Etats-Unis*" about the United States Government, you may judge of the exactness of what has been published about me.

Believe me, Sir, very, etc...

(¹¹⁸) Sur ces articles, voir F. BALACE, *op. cit.* p. 592-594.

197. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 113 - Bruxelles,
28 octobre 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Les emprunts fédéraux subissent une grave crise en Europe et leurs détenteurs commencent à s'en débarrasser. La généralisation de cette mesure entraînerait une panique boursière et la banqueroute du gouvernement fédéral.

...Confidence, I am encouraged to believe, has considerably diminished in the value of those bonds — like, in Belgium, Holland and Germany, — during the last week.. If this impression is correct, no considerable sum can be again introduced into the markets of the Continent without occasioning a panic and a consequent utter loss of faith. In that case, the inevitable financial crash of the Washington government, so confidently expected and so impatiently awaited, which is to redound more to our advantage, in hastening a cessation of hostilities than any victory we ever won, cannot possibly be long delayed. The monetary condition of Europe, incessantly increasing in disorganization, is operating in favor of such a consummation. An intelligent Agent de change has this moment told me that in the present depressed state of the Federal Bonds, many holders thereof are remitting them to New York for sale, expecting to realize much higher prices (from 8 to 10 percent according to the latest quotations) for them than are available here...

198. H. S. SANFORD à Ch. ROGIER - Bruxelles,
29 octobre 1864 - S.P., 101/1, N.A., St.D.,
BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Sanford affirme que le Gouvernement fédéral est resté étranger aux opérations de Dochez. Si les faits imputés à celui-ci étaient réels, des plaintes auraient été déposées auprès des cours de justice américaines ou des consuls plutôt que reproduites dans des feuilles de l'opposition.

Monsieur le Ministre,

I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of the note of Your Excellency under date of the 17th instant, referring to some

statements made in the "Courrier des Etats-Unis", and other newspapers touching alleged malpractices towards Belgians who had entered into engagements for employment in the United States with a M. Louis A. Dochez, A Belgian, as I believe, and for some time resident in the United States.

Immediately upon the receipt of your letter, I sent for Mr. Dochez and asked him to furnish me explanations of the charges made against him. He was written to me a letter on the subject which I enclose herewith for the information of Your Excellency.

The recommendation of M. Dochez to which you refer, Monsieur le Ministre, was an agent for the Coal Mining Companies of Illinois, and in order to suggest, informally the removal of certain obstacles in the way of the departure of the miners engaged by him, in so far as was compatible with existing regulations on the subject.

The high recommendations brought to me by M. Dochez (among others from the Governor of Illinois) gave me assurance of the character and entire good faith of this enterprise, and I think it is to be regretted that it was found impracticable, for reasons which are given in the enclosed letter, to carry out a project which could not but have been of benefit to both countries. As to the employment of M. Dochez, subsequently, by other parties and his acts as their agent, I have no information other than given in the enclosed letter and his verbal explanations, according to which it would seem that, at least some of the Belgians referred to in the statements which have called for the communication of Your Excellency, were paupers, taken from the public poor Houses, at the instance of municipal authorities of Belgium, and who, after being fed, and furnished with free passages to the United States by the principals of M. Dochez, preferred continuing to remain objects of public charity rather than carry out their engagements.

I have received to-day a second letter from Mr. Dochez, in which he states that he has been attached to the Diplomatic Service of Belgium and went to the United States with letters of recommendation from one of your predecessors; I enclose it for Your Excellency's information.

The laws of my country expressly forbid acts of the character cited by Your Excellency, to wit: the compulsory enlistment of immigrants; for Your further information on the subject, I have the honor to enclose herewith, Monsieur le Ministre, a copy of our Law

respecting Immigration, as well as of the instructions of the Secretary of State in that connection.

If the facts were as stated, it is to be presumed that complaints would have been made to the Courts of Justice at Boston, or to the Belgian Consul, and Your Excellency does not state that any information has come to you on the subject, other than what has appeared in Journals notoriously hostile to the Government of the United States.

Should you receive, Monsieur le Ministre, any authentic statement of these alleged malpractices, I would be pleased to have it communicated to me, that the matter may receive due investigation and action at the hands of the proper authorities in the United States.

I pray Your Excellency to receive the renewed assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

(s) H.S. Sanford

**199. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 222 -
Bruxelles, 31 octobre 1864 - N.A., St.D.,
BELGIUM, vol. 8.**

Sanford transmet à Washington sa correspondance avec Rogier et les explications de Dochez dont les activités ont cessé.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith copies of a correspondence with Mr. Rogier touching charges of malpractice towards Belgians who went to the United States under the auspices of a so-called Bureau of Emigration, established here.

These charges appeared in the "Courrier des Etats-Unis" and other partisan journals of the United States which would seem to be the only sources of information of Mr. Rogier with regard to them.

They have been widely reproduced here and have excited considerable remark and feeling. Immediately on their appearance, I sent to the agent of this Emigration enterprize for explanations on the subject.

His letter to the Journals here in reply to their articles, which coincides with his statements to me, has lately appeared, and I enclose it in a slip from one of the newspapers.

The business of aiding the departure of Emigrants to the United States, which seems to have been a private speculation for the purposes of profiting by the large Bounties given to Volunteer, the agent informs me has been discontinued since this going into effect of the act "to encourage Immigration".

I have, etc...

200. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 224 - Bruxelles, 1^{er} novembre 1864 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Sanford demande que des copies des documents officiels américains puissent être distribués en Europe pour éclairer l'opinion.

Sir: I have received from the Dispatch at Havre, 100 copies of the Diplomatic Correspondence for 1863, which, I presume, were forwarded by direction of the Department.

I would suggest that the agency at Havre be made a distributing point for the public documents of general interest which the Department can furnish for distribution in Europe.

Our Diplomatic and Consular agents could then send lists for needed documents and waste, trouble and expense would be avoided.

If Congress could provide for a limited number (say 250 or 500) copies of all public documents, to be furnished to the order of the Department and then sent to the Havre agency, it would be of much public benefit in the discriminating supply of these documents in Europe.

Demands are frequently made for Public documents which can only be supplied through personal application to members of Congress or heads of Department. It is often a source of mortification to be unable to furnish statesmen and editors who are seeking authentic information on our affairs with documents which are distributed by and past over land by Congress but which save through courtesy of individual members do not reach our Legations, except as a part of their archives, and months after they have been issued.

The new tariff act, for example, for which there is frequent enquiry, has only reached this Legation, and our Consulates in Belgium, within the week past, and in the volume of the Statutes at Large.

It is of importance in these times that our agents abroad be able to furnish our friends and all who desire the truth respecting the United States, with public documents which bear upon our affairs, and I know of no more practical means than the one suggested. I have, etc...

201. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 225 - Bruxelles, 3 novembre 1864 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Le rapport du Ministre des Finances sur le commerce extérieur de la Belgique montre une diminution des exportations vers les Etats-Unis, tandis que l'importation de marchandises américaines, surtout le pétrole, est en progression.

Sir: I enclose herewith from the Moniteur of the 29th ultimo a Report to the King by the Minister of Finance giving a statement of the commerce of Belgium with foreign countries in the year 1863.

It would appear by it that the exports and imports mounted to the aggregate sum, at 5 francs to the Dollar of \$ 412,000,000 or 5 % more than the year 1862, or 14 % more than 1861.

The imports amounted \$ 213,000,000 and the exports to \$ 198,200,000 or 4 % and 11 % increase for the first, and 6 % and 17 % for the second, over the years 1862 and 1861 respectively.

The value of foreign goods consumed in Belgium for the year 1863 amounted to \$ 123,250,000 or 5 % more than in 1862 and 11 % more than in 1861.

The importations from the United States which were \$ 4,500,000 in 1862 increased 16 % in 1863 and were \$ 5,240,000; the augmentation being principally in rosin and petroleum, salted meat and lard; there having been a passing off of the importation of coffee and hides from the United States.

The exports to the United States fell off 51 % or \$ 1,250,000 compared with the exports of 1862, the reduction being principally in lead, arms, and wool; the exports of wool, on the contrary, have increased.

The exports, on the other hand, to Mexico and the British Colonies in America, it will be remarked, have increased 192 % and

75 % and the imports from those countries 398 % and 185 % respectively.

These figures are curious as shewing the enormous augmentation of contraband trade with the United States through those channels.

The system practised in this country for giving the official value of articles imported and exported as shown in the enclosed report, is worthy of attention. The *Moniteur* of the 30th ulto. contains a statement of the movement of commerce for the first nine months, of this year, which I send to the Department, by which it would appear that, as compared with the same period in 1863 and 1862, there is an increase upon imports of 10 % and 18 % respectively, and upon exports of 15 % over each of those years.

The two items of increase in importation which interest us are rosin and petroleum, which amounts to over \$ 2,000,000 — and what amounting to about \$ 4,000,000. These reports give striking evidence of the constantly increasing prosperity of Belgium. I have, etc...

202. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 114 - Bruxelles,
5 novembre 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann se rend à Paris pour conférer avec ses collègues au sujet d'un manifeste à envoyer aux Gouvernements européens. L'opinion belge est vivement outragée par l'affaire des enrôlements et il se peut que le Parlement proteste. L'emprunt nordiste se vend mal.

Sir: Mr. Mason has requested me to meet him at Paris to-morrow to arrange with Mr. Slidell and himself the mode of communicating the manifesto of Congress to the different Governments of Europe. I shall accordingly repair to that metropolis by the afternoon train, where I shall probably sejourne for a week.

The Belgian Parliament is to convene on the 7th instant. It will be opened by proxy, as the King will not return to Laeken until about the middle of the month.

Public opinion has been so flagrantly outraged by the systematized nefarious plans of the Washington Administration for decoying the laboring population of Europe into the Federal lines that I am

disposed to think that one or the other or perhaps both the chambers here will express decided dissatisfaction with the procedure during the session. If another campaign is to be commenced against us next spring, by the Federal Government, it will have to be undertaken without the shadow of a chance of aid, in troops, from continental Europe. Even the most mercenary of Hessians are now deterred from embarking for New York to enter the field. The odds adverse to their lives overpower their love for the large bounty-money and compensation offered. Nor is it more certain that additional pecuniary assistance will be received from this hemisphere by the Yankees. Confidence has steadily continued to decrease in the so-designated "American securities" since. I had last occasion to advert to the subject. The introduction of fresh batches, under such circumstances, seems to me to be entirely precluded. I have the honor, etc...

203. J. BIGELOW à H. S. SANFORD - Paris,
15 novembre 1864 - S.P., 115/13.

Bigelow, inquiet des répercussions de l'affaire du Florida, propose à Sanford de publier un article pro-fédéral de Malespine dans l'Indépendance.

...I send you a copy of the *Opinion Nationale* — and the way Malespine complains that ours are the only ministers of Foreign Countries who do not subscribe for the *Opinion* — containing an article designed and I hope calculated to suspend public opinion on the Brazilian question. If the *Indépendance Belge* would publish it or something like it, would it not be useful? The official press is as malignant about the sinking of the Florida (¹¹⁹) as it can be here. I have no doubt Seward has a good case and I hope he will stick to it. The *Debats* had a silly article on the matter yesterday, but that

(¹¹⁹) Le corsaire confédéré *Florida* fut pris à l'abordage par le U.S.S. *Wachusets* alors qu'il était au mouillage dans le port de Bahia au début d'octobre 1864. Cette violation de la neutralité brésilienne provoqua un immense tollé, qui s'amplifia lorsque le *Florida*, emmené comme prise dans un port du Nord, y sombra mystérieusement en novembre. Voir L.F. HILL, *Diplomatic relations between the United States and Brazil*, Durham, Duke University, 1932.

journal has always had a devotion for the Braz. Govt. which can only be explained on financial principles. If Malespine had published on saturday instead of monday as he promised, I think that the *Debats* at the worst would have held its peace.

I have a note from Weed this mg. He says Lincoln's Election is fine. He thinks of coming out immediately after the election. I hope, etc...

204. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 115 - Bruxelles,
17 novembre 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann et Mason s'occupent de diffuser la circulaire de Benjamin sur l'état des finances nordistes. Mann croit la ré-élection de Lincoln assurée et se réjouit de l'indignation causée par l'affaire du Florida.

Sir: Just as I was about to return from Paris, I read in the London Times your circular of October 10, addressed to myself. I have already made arrangements to have it extensively published here.

This afternoon my secretary will proceed with Mr. Mason to Frankfort, where he will translate this circular into the German language. It is thus quite sure of a general circulation in Belgium, Germany, and Holland, and I confidently expect good results from such circulation.

Mr. Mason, accompanied by my secretary, contemplates a visit to Amsterdam, where doubtless valuable services may be rendered to our cause by a just disparagement, discreetly made, of the state of the Federal finances. As the Dutch language is but little better than no language at all, and as the French is in general use in Holland, I do not think it necessary to have the document translated into Dutch.

In three days more we shall know who is the President-elect of the remnant of the old Union. Lincoln has doubtless chosen himself, through the influence of a brutal soldiery. If this shall have been the case, I will not regret the occurrence, since he will have sown dragon's teeth broadcast as concerns the security of his monstrous rule.

Our friends everywhere on this side of the Atlantic are delighted

at the success of our arms in Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, and Missouri.

The dastardly act of the *Wachusett* in the port of Bahia has provoked the unqualified execrations of every right-thinking man in Europe. If I mistake not, ample reparation and atonement will be required for this enormous outrage upon clearly defined international usage. Every power and state on earth is interested, by paramount considerations, in causing this to be done. I have the honor, etc...

205. L. JOTTRAND père à H. S. SANFORD - Bruxelles,
17 novembre 1864 - S.P., 123/7.

Jottrand remercie Sanford de lui avoir fourni la correspondance diplomatique américaine, dont il a tiré la matière d'articles pour la Paix. Il en demande la communication à F. Delhasse et C. Serruys. Jottrand propose la création d'un organe pro-fédéral en langue française et rédige un memorandum à ce propos pour Sanford.

I have perused most of the *diplomatic correspondence*, in as much as it concerns the questions agitated between Europe and America. I have extracted from it some documents noting the relations now established between Rome and the United States; and the views of your government respecting the affairs in Mexico. These two points are of particular interest for our public. My extracts will appear in the weekly paper *La Paix*, next summer I intend to continue setting out other extracts, on different purposes, in the same paper.

The perusing of that *diplomatic correspondence* has convinced me, more and more, of the high utility that the publication of some paper in the way I told you lastly, set up in french, would afford both to America and Europe in the present circumstances. I am busy now with an exposition, in writing, of my views about that matter. It will contain the motives at large for such an undertaking; a discussion about the place in Europe where such a public paper would be the most properly be founded, and an evaluation of the times and costs necessary to bring it to be pecuniarily profitable to the undertakers. On this scale, the business requires some lengths of appropriation. You will however have it ready in the fortnight and you will then dispose of it as you like.

A friend of mine, Mr. Delhasse, ⁽¹²⁰⁾ whose aspirations in politics are in my own ways; and who observes your american affairs from the same point of view and with the same hopes I do myself, has seen in my hands the two volumes of the *diplomatic correspondence* and he desires to make a particular study of the documents they contain. He has plenty of time to do so. I think you have told me these volumes were at your disposal to be distributed amongst the enlightened people. If I don't err in my remembrance of the fact, allow me, please, to authorize Mr. Delhasse to send a servant at the american legation and get a copy for him of the *diplomatic correspondence*.

Mr. Serruys, of late our *envoye* at Washington and now on the pension list in our *corps diplomatique*, told me yesterday he would be glad also to have a copy of that most interesting publication. I said him what I thought (as aforesaid) of your disposition to put the book in the hands of persons competent on public affairs in the country. Perhaps Mr. Serruys ⁽¹²¹⁾ will apply for it at the american legation. Excuse me, please, if, by adventure, I had in that circumstance trespassed on your kindness. Your, etc...

206. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 229 - Bruxelles, 25 novembre 1864 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

La réélection de Lincoln a fait forte impression sur la presse belge. Le Journal de Gand y applaudit, en dépit de la crise cotonnière. Le public se divise en deux camps, libéral et conservateur, au sujet du succès de l'Union et des institutions républicaines, tandis que la question de l'esclavage n'est plus que d'une importance secondaire. Sanford réclame la création d'un organe de propagande fédérale.

Sir: The news of the almost unanimous election of the Union ticket reached here on the 21st and has made a profound impression here and throughout Europe. It is received and commented on by the

⁽¹²⁰⁾ Félix Joseph Delhasse (1809-1898), publiciste et homme politique. Ancien directeur de *Débat Social*, il avait toujours professé de vives sympathies envers les Etats-Unis.

⁽¹²¹⁾ C. Serruys, chargé d'affaires à Washington de novembre 1837 à 1845.

public press and the political circles in accordance with sympathies, for or hostile to republican institutions. While the organs which represent the latter feeling consider and deplore this result as giving assurance of a prolongation of the war, the representatives of more liberal sentiment hail it, as a triumphant vindication of the principles of self government, and an assurance that the Union has passed safely through its greatest trial and is to stand as their great exemple through ages.

I enclose some of the comments of the newspapers here on the receipt of the news and would call your attention to an article from the *Journal de Gand* also enclosed, as a fair rendering of the enlightened liberal sentiment of the country. As Ghent is the great centre of cotton manufacture in Belgium this journal may be supposed to speak authoritatively, in so far as this country is concerned, for that class in favor of which the sympathies of the world have been so loudly invoked, by reason of the war.

The deep interest, with which our struggle is regarded in Europe, both by the party of liberal progress and these hostile to it, becomes every day more apparent, and the causes of that interest are more openly admitted. The former see in our success the vindication of the principles they profess, and the reasons for the reforms they are struggling for. The question of slavery seems to them now, so far as my observation extends, however much at the outset it seemed to enlist their sympathy, but of minor importance. While desiring, on the broad ground of philanthropy, that it should be extirpated, they do not appear to consider this extirpation or existence as likely to have any practical bearing on this side of the Atlantic; while, on the other hand, the safe issue of the "grand republic" from this tremendous struggle would, they assert, have a profound and far-reaching influence in the world; that from it would date a new era of progress and reform in Europe, while its fall would be likely to have a contrary effect, and to cause a reaction from the present liberal tendencies of the age.

Their opponents, on the contrary, seem to head our success as likely to prepare the way for trouble and revolutions in Europe, as did the successful result of our revolutionary struggle in 1776, and to think that no effort should be spared to avert it; and hence the bitter usurpations, and mendacious course which their organs in the public press have pursued towards us.

It would do much for the right understanding of our cause

abroad if we had in some journal of Europe a recognized organ, which could give authoritative information touching the war, our finances, and the general progress of the country. Such a journal ought to be independant of local politics. The newspapers which now give the best information on our affairs are organs of the liberal party, which, except in Belgium, is generally in opposition to the Government, and their character for impartiality is, therefore, likely to be called in question. Its appearance would be opportune at this moment, when the popular belief in the unfavorable termination of our war as been so rudely shaken by the result of the presidential election.

While the determination thus evinced by the people of the United States to put down, at any sacrifice, the rebellion, must have great influence in determinating a favorable policy of European Governments towards us, that result would be likely to be more certain if we made an effort at this time for the enlightenment of te public in the direction indicated. I have, etc...

207. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 116 - Bruxelles,
1^{er} décembre 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

Mann a fait publier une édition spéciale de La Finance contenant la circulaire de Benjamin sur les finances nordistes et en escompte une chute des emprunts fédéraux en wurope.

Sir: Herewith you will receive *La Finance* containing a translation of your Despatch of the 10th of October. In addition to its usual circulation of 20.000 copies, this influential weekly has issued an extra edition, of 30.000, of its present number for distribution throughout Germany and Holland. I paid its conductor, of course, a fair consideration for his services in this regard.

It is quite certain that this document will be very generally disseminated in Belgium, Germany and Holland, as well as in the monetary circles in France; and I am equally certain that it will be eminently useful in accomplishing the important object at which it aims — I may state that it has also appeared in the *Deux-Mondes* of Frankfort, while its publication in the *Times* gives it all the circulation that is needful throughout the British Realm. It is distinct to the

vision of every intelligent observer that there is an unmistakeable diminished and diminishing confidence every where in Europe in the Federal Bonds. No Banker is disposed to invest in them as a permanent security. They have assumed the character of a "Fancy Stock" and are operated in almost exclusively by the gamblers at the Bourse. On the 29th ult. there were transactions in them here at 42, and on the 30th they rose to 44 1/2 upon the receipt of the intelligence that Gold had drooped from 238 to 221, consequent upon reported Peace propositions from Lincoln.

Although I do not attach the slightest importance to such propositions, I nevertheless do not regret the currency which has been given to the report that they were in contemplation at Washington, for the reason that they have been instrumental in developping to public view the earnest desire, selfish though it may be, of stock dealers and money lenders for a cessation of hostilities. The financial condition of the Federal Government is such that it cannot promise to pay the interest in Gold on any loans that it shall hereafter contract, even if it be able to comply, six months longer, with its engagements to retire at maturity, its existing coin *coupons*. I have. etc...

208. A. D. MANN à J. P. BENJAMIN - n° 118 - Bruxelles,
9 décembre 1864 - L.C., P.P., vol. 16.

La circulaire de Benjamin sur l'état des finances du Nord décourage les investissements européens en emprunts fédéraux.

...You will be gratified to learn that the Federal Government is no longer receiving pecuniary assistance from Continental Europe. The supply of its bonds in the different markets is quite equal to the demand for them; while the remittance for the interest, in coin or its equivalent, on those held, is contributing to diminish the stock of bullion in New York. This augurs an early failure in the resources of the North for carrying on the war. The true condition of the Federal Treasury must soon manifest itself when deprived of the extraordinary support which was extended to it so confidingly by the Dutch, Germans and Belgians. No where now can the Lincoln concern borrow a dollar outside of the sphere of his rule... Your

circular was just in season for the production of good results. In fact. it came in the verynick of time...

209. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 232 - Bruxelles,
14 décembre 1864 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Le Roi Léopold félicite Sanford de la réélection de Lincoln et demande une élévation de rang de la Légation américaine à Bruxelles

Sir: At a dinner at the Palace yesterday, the King congratulated me on the reelection of his "very good friend" Mr. Lincoln, and expressed the hope that it was an assurance of my longer stay here. and more, he said, of my promotion; His Majesty added that it would be agreeable to him, and that he thought that his position, not only in Europe, but *vis-à-vis* to the New World, deserved recognition by a Representative of higher grade, and requested me to repeat this to my Government. He referred to his refusal to accept the part of Arbiter in the Peruvian question which we proposed to submit to him, as being because he would have been compelled to decide it against us.

I thanked His Majesty for the many proofs he had given of his frendly feeling towards the United States, which I assured him were reciprocated by its Government and people, and also for the complimentary manner in which he had been pleased to speak of me. I added my Government had sanctioned, His Majesty might recollect, the creation of a higher grade for its Representation, but it had failed of the necessary vote in the House of Representatives. Whatever the grade of the Mission was here, I could assure him no Monarch was held in greater personal respect and esteem by the people of my country than was His Majesty.

I have, etc...

210. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 155 -
Washington, 21 décembre 1864 - N.A., St.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

Tout en admettant que la création d'un journal fédéral officieux en Europe pourrait être utile à la cause nordiste, Seward se refuse à engager la responsabilité du Gouvernement dans une entreprise de ce genre.

Sir: Your despatch of November 25th, n° 229 has been received and I thank you very sincerely for the full account it gives of newspapers opinion in Europe concerning the probable influence of the recent Presidential election.

I regret with you that Europe does not see American facts more clearly and reason upon them more wisely. I can well believe that a newspaper in Europe which should speak in the name and with the authority of the Government would in many respects be useful.

But on the other hand, I remain of the opinion I have heretofore expressed to you; that there is no need that the United States should compromise their just dignity by employing other than the customary diplomatic defenders in any part of the world. The rebels naturally subsidize presses in Europe for they seek favor and aid there. We stand or fall not by means of foreign love or hate but exclusively by reason of our own physical and moral strength. We get in return for this benevolence mingled love and hate. This results from the nature of our institutions and our unusually elevated aspirations. Let us be content with this situation. We shall thus get through our troubles all the sooner and be all the safer when they are passed. I am, etc...

211. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
26 décembre 1864 - S.P., 100/4.

Sanford se réjouit de ce que l'Etoile Belge ait renoncé à défendre, comme elle l'avait fait jusqu'alors, les thèses sudistes.

...The little "Etoile Belge" here which has recd. its daily inspirations touching our affairs from Mann and Son, and is supposed to

be in their pay, has been silenced completely. Professing to be a Liberal organ, it seems to have found it impracticable to hold its place in the Liberal ranks and to continue its defence of Secession...

212. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 156 -
Washington, 27 décembre 1864 - N.A., St.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

Seward se réjouit de ce que l'opinion européenne croie en la victoire du Nord. Il importe s'éviter une spéculation sur l'or.

Sir: I have your private note of the 9th of December. I am glad that you begin to notice a change of tone in Europe. Certainly questions of what we shall do next after closing this internecine strife indicate an expectation that a safe and speedy end is attainable. What concerns us most on our side is to sheet out speculation on the future and will finish quietly the great affair on hand.

I do not think that gold speculators can depress our securities at home against the current of victories which seem to assure success.
I am, Sir, etc...

213. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 234 - Bruxelles,
29 décembre 1864 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

L'attitude du Président Lincoln quant à la question de l'esclavage a une influence bénéfique sur l'opinion publique. Sanford demande que les documents officiels du Nord puissent être distribués à la presse et au public d'Europe.

Sir: The Message of the President ⁽¹²⁰⁾ has been widely republished here, and has confirmed and deepened the profound impression produced by the Elections. Its compactness has also contributed

⁽¹²⁰⁾ 4ème Message annuel du Président Lincoln sur l'état de l'Union-Washington, 6 décembre 1864 (publié dans *The State of the Union Messages of the President 1790-1966*, ed. par F.L. Israel, New York, 1967, vol. II, p. 1097-1109).

to assure it a more general circulation than has been usually given to such documents.

Its unyielding position with regard to Slavery has destroyed effectually the only remaining argument of our enemies, which had much influence on the popular mind abroad — that slavery had nothing to do with the war, and would be protected even, if the South would but yield.

The impression of all sides, so far as I can observe, is, that the Rebellion is approaching to end, and that the cause of the Union must triumph.

It would have been of great utility if there had been sent abroad, at the same time with the Message, copies of the Departmental Reports; they excite a good deal of interest, are much sought after and could have been very effectively employed among public men and the organs of public opinion before they came, emasculated in substance and spirit, through the medium of a hostile press. I have, etc...

214. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 157 -
Washington, 30 décembre 1864 - N.A., St.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

C'est uniquement pour des raisons administratives que la Légation de Bruxelles n'a pas été élevée à un rang supérieur.

Sir: Your despatch of December 14th n° 232 has been received.

The President is gratified with the friendly sentiments expressed by his Majesty and they are reciprocated on the part of this Government.

You are authorized to inform the King in a proper way that our omission to raise the rank of the Legation at Brussels to that of a first class mission results simply from domestic reasons and not at all from any want of consideration or of respect towards Belgium, or the King of the Belgians. I am, etc...

215. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
3 janvier 1865 - S.P., 100/4.

La propagande sudiste distribue gratuitement son organe L'Index à Bruxelles et en province.

...The Southern "Index" ⁽¹²¹⁾ is I observed widely distributed over Europe. It is sent free to the Hotels and readings rooms here, and I believe also in use in large towns...

216. L. JOTTRAND père à H. S. SANFORD - Bruxelles,
7 janvier 1865 - S.P., 123/7.

Jottrand communique à Sanford un de ses articles dans La Paix et lui promet de terminer la rédaction de son projet d'organe fédéral en Europe.

...I send herewith to you my second letter on the american affairs now published in the newspaper *La Paix* of the representative Mr. Coomans. ⁽¹²²⁾. Your approval of the first afforded me much

⁽¹²¹⁾ Cette feuille hebdomadaire fut publiée à Londres à partir de mai 1862 par le propagandiste sudiste Henry Hotze et fut considérée comme l'organe officieux des Confédérés en Europe. Elle se signalait par son ton modéré et fournissait aux journaux anglais et européens une grande partie de leurs informations sur la guerre.

⁽¹²²⁾ *La Paix*, 7 janvier 1865, p. 1, c. 3-4, p. 2, c. 1, lettre datée du 3 janvier. Dans cette seconde lettre, Jottrand s'en prenait à la proposition de Coomans, selon laquelle le Nord avait tort de contraindre le Sud à demeurer dans l'Union, au nom du droit de ce dernier à disposer de lui-même. Jottrand déniait cette volonté aux populations sudistes et mettait en relief la faible proportion des propriétaires d'esclaves au sein des Blancs du Sud ainsi que le sort misérable des *Poor Whites*. Il arrivait à la conclusion que les Etats du Sud n'étaient à proprement parler "que des oligarchies de planteurs, maîtres de nègres et oppresseurs de masses blanches". Le premier article de Jottrand avait paru le 31 décembre 1864 (p. 2, c. 1-3) en réponse à deux éditoriaux de *La Paix* précisant la position du journal dans le conflit américain, position pacifiste et plutôt favorable au Sud qu'au Nord (*La Paix*, 17 décembre 1864, p. 1, c. 3 et 24 décembre, p. 2, c. 4, p. 3, c. 1) J.B. Coomans (1813-1880) fonda en 1862 l'hebdomadaire *La Paix* consacré à des questions politiques, sociales et économiques dans la ligne d'un violent antimilitarisme. Député catholique de Turnhout depuis 1848, Coomans se signala par des articles hostiles à la politique militaire du Cabinet Rogier, Progressiste, il était partisan du suffrage universel. Voir L. BERTELSON, *Dictionnaire des Journalistes-Ecrivains de Belgique*, in-8°, Bruxelles, 1960, p. 26.

pleasure. Perhaps, my long application to the history and institutions of your country has rendered to me the intelligence of the present events, in that part of the world, easier than to a great many of my compatriots. I take the liberty to forward to you a sample of my past studies on the matter.

Some extraordinary business and two or three absences from home on that business, have prevented my calling at the american legation, the last months. The same cause has retarded the redeeming of my pledge about the exposition of motives to establish a special organ of american interests somewhere on this our continent.

I will achieve my paper there about in the course of the next week, and will then have the honour to call on you, at a proper hour in the day, in order to submit that paper to your kind examen. I remain, etc...

217. L. JOTTRAND père à H. S. SANFORD - Bruxelles,
18 janvier 1865 - S.P., 123/7.

Jottrand transmet à Sanford son projet de journal et lui renvoie une brochure de propagande fédérale.

...I take the liberty to send to your my paper on the utility of starting an European-American Journal, written in french, anywhere on this continent, but by preference in Belgium.

Have the kindness, please, to peruse this paper, and let me wait on you, at the end of this week or the beginning of next, to talk about the matter if you find it proper.

[.....]

I thank you very much for the *narration of privations and sufferings of prisoners of war*, etc... you had the kindness to favor me with these last days. I had heard of them before in the newspapers but will peruse the narrative with renewed indignation at my first leasure. Your...

218. Projet de création de journal envoyé par L. JOTTRAND
à H. S. SANFORD - Bruxelles, 18 janvier 1865 -
N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

My dear Sir,

Since the conversation we had lately, about the expediency of publishing, elsewhere on the continent, a daily paper, in the french language, both to make the largest part of our European populations acquainted with the true state of affairs in America, and to settle the principles of a good understanding between our future democratic governments and the great transatlantic commonweal [*sic*], I have most carefully perused the *diplomatic correspondance* of the cabinet at Washington, during part of 1862 and 1863, you had the kindness to grant to me, and have found therein plenty of new motives in favor of the ideas I took the liberty to explain to you.

The american ministers to the courts of Europe, point generally to the falsehoods which prevail every where about the American affairs, and make their bitter complaints thereon.

Mr. Seward, from his own part, albeit he affects to play indifference in the matter, acknowledges in more than one place, the necessity of redressing that wrong; nay suggests very often some proper manner of doing so.

[.....]

And, my dear Sir, in our own correspondance from Brussels, I encounter this most singular fact:

King Leopold, whom Mr. Seward in his letter to you dated Washington July 9th 1863 calls "our excellent friend the King of Belgium" (and for one think that, due allowance made for his quality of a King, he is really better to your people than all his brethren in royalty put together, the Holy Father perhaps excepted), King Leopold is described in your dispatch to Mr. Seward dated from Ostend September 4th 1863 as "wanting informations touching the progress of the war". On the explanations you afforded him, about the subject, "he expressed surprise at the marked progress of your arms, as shown upon the map" (page 1081).

That very map is a curious incident in the matter.

It is to be seen, from the president correspondance between yourself and Mr. Seward, that you had previously explained of our King's misinformations about the state of your affairs; and that

Mr. Seward had sent to you that map, in order to facilitate a demonstration to our Leopold that your situation, after all, was not as bad as he thought; a twofold evidence viz that your government resent the bad effect of misinformations amongst *their friends*; and take sometimes care of getting rid of the nuisance.

Beyond our King Leopold's ignorance, which it was your official business to mend, you had, I know, to deplore, more than once, the bad dispositions of our public, in general, toward the northern interests, in your great civil contest. Belgian opinion may be quite a trifle, I suppose, in the eye of the american people. But, in the whole opinion of Europe, it must be, at least, accounted for at the same rate with that of Switzerland and of Holland, as being the opinion of a rather free people, whose suffrage has a certain weigh by an other free people on the transatlantic continent.

Wel, [*sic*] our Belgian public opinion, — though I often acknowledged to yourself and to Mr. Bishop Fitzpatrick, during his sojourn in this country, it proceeded most from old prejudices of education amongst our Catholics, and from misconstrued interests amongst our men of business, both in the political and commercial world, — our belgian opinion is susceptible of very large modifications, if properly taught about the true state of your politics in religious tenets and religious institutions, as well as in constitutionnal tendencies and commercial dispositions.

From all what precedes it follows already that good informations on this continent, about the American affairs, would afford great utility both to America and to Europe.

England, where these informations generally exist, avails very little in the question. England, whose language is little diffused on this continent in comparison with the french language (we have french papers everywhere in Belgium; there exist *Le journal de St Petersbourg* in Russia, the daily paper *L'Europe* at Frankfurt, for Germany; several french sheets in Geneva, Lausanne, Neuchatel, for Switzerland; the *Journal de la Haye*, in Holland, and nowhere English ones, except the *Galignani's Messenger* at Paris), England communicates little more than commercial informations to the public on this continent; and makes altogether sometimes an ill usage of the monopoly it enjoyed in certain kind of informations, for instance: the famous Reuter's telegrams and the own telegraphic dispatches of the *London Times*, via Crookshaven. Let us add to the fact that the english newspapers *The Times*, *the Globe*, *the Morning post* and

the *Morning herald* are the only ones known on the continent; and the public has few notions, if at all, of the *Evening Star*, the *Daily news*, or of other English journals favourable to the northern cause in the United States.

[.....]

Thus, it appears that the United States are not bound, by their policy, to the absolute system of abstention from the affairs of other nations; all must rest upon circumstances *carefully and deliberately searched*.

Now is the time, foreseen by Washington, when the United States might safely and beneficially take part in consultations for the common advantages of nations, yet come? Or does the moment of trans... [*manque*] disturbance whereto Mr. Seward alluded, prevent every kind of intervention from the United States in the general affairs of humanity?

I insist on the question, with the, nowadays, necessary allowance that the safety and benefit of the United States are no more the only requisites for the solution. The gigantick [*sic*] exertions of your government for the abolition of slavery at large, for the emancipation of the mean whites from the oppression of the so-called *Southern Chivalry*, in your rebel provinces, are evidences that you have extended the conception of your duties, as a Christian people, a little beyond the rather pagan idea of mere fleshly attainments. It is, of course, the result of your deep democratic reforms, in these last twenty years. With the universal suffrage, that people, in reality, *whose voice is the voice of God*, has taken the direction, in the biggest and most civilised part of your republic. Thence, the adjunction of a large moral scope to the rather exclusively material one of old, in the policy of that republic.

The principle which induces the North-American to yield to that immense waste of blood and money, for the sake of the delivery of oppressed men, on their own territory, must logically work for the delivery of all oppressed men in the world. On this point, the question is only one of feasibility, and, I must add, of facility, not to charge your model republic with a so weighty burden, in the present conjunctures.

Well, what is easier for the political men at the head of the United States's government, than to cause the publication in Europe of a largely circulated daily paper, which would afford to us a suitable

opportunity of being acquainted with your electoral, representative, judicial, *communal*, educational, religious, financial, naval, military, system, the knowledge of which would, in due time, help us to get rid of class-lugislation, class-judicature, class-administration, intolerant bigotry, burdensome and unjustly divided imposition, insolent and oppressive soldiery.

The aid of your government would only be required for such official, or but semi-official communications of informations or facts which, if periodically and opportunely published, would be of better intelligence, of larger diffusion, than by the condensed publication of your President's messages, secretaries reports, diplomatic correspondances, national almanacs, etc... The aid of a few american capitalists would, of course, be required at the same time, to form the first instalments of a capital about 50.000 dollars (250.000 francs) quite sufficient to start and to diffuse a daily paper, written in french, of the size of New York *Messenger franco-américain*; which would cost no more than vyf [*sic*] dollars (25 francs) a year, if published at Brussels, where we know of no stamp duties on newspapers, and enjoy almost as large a liberty in matter of press as the freedom of the english or american publishers.

Brussels, for other considerations, would be the fittest place for it. It is, after Paris, the most influent city on the continent for french publicity.

When the Russian Government thought of a semi-official publication abroad, started in the french language, for defense of its politics, or the justification (and perhaps too, the dissimulation) of its peculiar views, it chose Brussels for the establishment of its daily paper *Le Nord*. If, these eighteen months past, that newspaper have momentarily been transported to Paris, it has, lately, acknowledged the better appropriation of Brussels, and has been returned here.

The intervention of american capitalists, for the first instalments, would be necessary, because the paper would properly not be a Belgian one, but a publication directed from Belgium to the french reading public at large, throughout Europe. It is certain that Belgian moneymen would take shares also in the enterprise, if conveniently recommanded. However, the American here must be dominant in the undertaking, as well in the material, as in the moral direction, in order to circulate the sheet in the other countries, where a mere Belgian publication would perhaps prove less weighty.

I have sometimes heard, and, I think, from your own mouth

too, Sir, that the American might content themselves for the defense, say the propagation of their interests in Europe, with the newspapers which in Paris, London, Frankfurt, Cologne, St. Petersburg, and Brussels too had taken their part, in the present great contest between North and South. They might rely also, they thought, upon the same for the diffusion of their principles, if that diffusion should become next an incumbent duty of their own. They alleged further that the French paper *Le messenger franco-américain* suffices for the task of counteracting the *Courrier des Etats-Unis*; that French newspapers and French public were abundantly supplied with American informations, if they but had recourse to the french american press in New York.

I think I am able to review the state of the press in Europe about the american affairs, and add some observations more, respecting the french american press. You are aware of my former connexions with the press at large, as having been a newspaper proprietor here before, during and after the revolution of 1830. You know that I spend yet my leisure time as a barrister in more or less frequent essays contributed to our periodical press of both the french and flemish languages. You will allow, I suppose, that some reliance may be taken on the following assertions and considerations.

No doubt, the english press, including the Irish papers, give a sufficient account of the situation in the United States, since the beginning of the civil war. An attentive perusing of the *London Times*, from one part, of the *London Daily-News*, the *Morning* or *Evening Star* from the other, with addition of many direct and genuine documents from America, to be found, periodically, in Irish papers, for instance the *Dublin Irishman*, may procure, in the average, present trans-atlantic *Mammouth-struggle*. But, as I observed before, the english press enjoys but little circulation on our continent. Its informations, except about the most striking events: battles, sieges, raids, riots, large elections, financial laws, and the like, are generally taken no notice of. The Paris press makes seldom use of the most abundant specifications explanations, discussions, which the english papers of Northern or Southern *persuasion*, contradictorily afford for a sound knowledge of the facts and... questions respecting the the intelligence, at length, of all the american problems. The best managed sheets, and the best disposed, at once, toward the Republican party I mean: *Le Siècle*, *L'Opinion Nationale*, *La Presse*, *Le Temps*, *Le Journal des Débats*, allow to your great contest but the

scanty publication of Reuter's telegrams (spurious as they often are) with perhaps, some intermittent scraps from the New York *Messenger Franco-Américain*, and the flourish of some common place so-called article de fonds. No one of these sheets at Paris gratifies the public with any regular correspondance from New York or Washington.

The same may be said of the french Southern sympathizers : *Le Constitutionnel*, *La Patrie*, *La Gazette de France*, *l'Union*, *Le Monde*, with that difference only: they change *Le Messenger Franco-Américain* for the *Courrier des Etats-Unis*.

Except the able and altogether rather impartial accounts which the Paris *Moniteur universel* publishes, from time to time, on the war operations, both naval and military, there is nothing original, nothing sufficient, nothing *relevant* to be found in the newspapers at Paris, about the american affairs.

The papers written in French, in the other countries of Europe: *Le Journal de St Petersbourg*, *L'Europe* at Frankfurt, *Le journal de La Haye*, *Le journal de Genève*, *L'Italie*, are made up on the sample of the Parisian ones.

Here in Belgium, and by exception, we enjoy two newspapers written in French: *L'Indépendance Belge*, at Brussels, and *L'Éscaut*, at Antwerp, which receive and publish genuine letters from America, whose authors are, obviously, clever and well acquainted persons. Their letters, however, enter in no details on the intimate movements of politics. There is no exposition, no critic of your constitutionnal, legislative, administrative, financial daily exertions. It would be vain to seek there for the least notice on your past or future measures about slavery; on your financial ways and means; on your recruiting by voluntary engagement or by draft; on the dissidences of your different religious churches or congregations, in respect to secession, to emancipation of slaves, to *reconstruction*, to *miscegenation*, etc etc; Archbishop Lynch (¹²³) is as little known there as Mr. Wendell Phillips. (¹²⁴)

The Dutch and Flemish press has no importance for the diffu-

(¹²³) Patrick N. Lynch, (1817-1882), évêque catholique de Charleston. Il fut envoyé en mission par Davis auprès de Pie IX en 1864, pour développer les premières relations nouées par Mann. Voir L.F. Stock, *op. cit*; *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 11, p. 521-522.

(¹²⁴) Wendell Phillips (1811-1884), chef de file de l'aile extrémiste des abolitionnistes dès 1837, allant jusqu'à proposer avant la guerre la sécession des Etats du Nord. *Idem*, vol. 14, p. 546-547.

sion of information or the propagation of political tenets, by the narrow boundaries of Holland and Northern Belgium. So is it too with [*déchiré*] Swedish and Danish press, for the [*déchiré*] limits of Sweden and Denmark.

Everyone knows that the Spanish nor the Italian press exert any more influence, now, on the general state of opinions or of affairs in central Europe.

Otherwise is it with Russia and Germany; and men say that Russia, and Germania particularly, take a sanguine interest in american circumstances. The national press in Germany is, in that respect, at a diapason perhaps unknown elsewhere on this continent.

We are often told that the German press is found of direct communication from America. So are the Irish too, and both these peoples have plenty of opportunities for being well and directly informed, by way of the numerous German and Irish newspapers published in the United States, and by way of the private correspondances between the emigrants abroad, and the relations they have left, at home, in Europe.

Be it as it may be, if the Russian, or, at least, the German people enjoy, like the English, true and abundant informations from America, so as to be able to follow her on the steps of democratic civilisation, it would be of the greatest importance, to all mankind, that the nations of Europe which receive their own information from the French press, only, or principally, would not been left adrift, in such a manner that the next step of mankind might not occur with that *ensemble* required for its prompt and final success.

The last considerations will perhaps be of some more serious moment, than all other, in the eyes of politicians who ally the future with the present destiny of mankind in the same scope. A good European-American paper, published in French on our continent, would equilibrate all the sane notions of democratic liberty amongst the latin, german, slavonic peoples in the old world, and render them able to follow, at equal pace, the exemple which the new world is on the eve of illustrating anew, in matter of liberty, and of all the application thereof, so international, as local.

Useless to insist, My dear Sir, on the purely scientific and philosophically practical character of that European-American publication. It would not fit wise and honest men to undertake a properly called material propagand of principles, in direct or indirect hostility against interests of any kind, established in our present european bodies

politic. Diffusion of knowledge, in general, about the american institutions, and their working at home, appropriation to our circumstances of their principles and consequences, in matter of internal administration, military institutions, religious liberty, and the like, this is the stake to aim at.

I would feel much honored and satisfied, Sir, if my ideas being adopted, in the way I indicate hereabove, recourse would be taken to me, by any body, for more detailed explanations, if wanted, about my scheme; or for personal cooperation in the execution of.

I remain with great respect, Sir, your most obedient

L. Jottrand père
avocat

219. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 159 -
Washington, 20 janvier 1865 - N.A., St.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

La Société du "Vrije Woord" à Anvers a envoyé à Lincoln une adresse de félicitations à propos de ce réélection.

Sir: I have received a dispatch from Mr. Crawford, United States Consul at Antwerp communicating a congratulatory address to the President, from the Free Word Society, ⁽¹²⁵⁾ on the occasion of his late reelection. This interesting paper has been submitted to

une adresse de félicitations à propos de sa réélection.
the President, who desires that you will make an acknowledgement of its receipt. In doing so you will state that so far as the sentiments expressed by the Society are personal they are accepted by the President with a sincere and anxious desire that he may be able to prove himself not unworthy of the confidence which has been recently extended to him by his fellow citizens and by so many of the friends of Humanity and Progress throughout the world.

I am, etc...

(125) Cette société de libre-discussion, de tendance progressiste, organisa pour ses membres un cycle de conférences sur la guerre civile américaine. C'est à l'issue de la dernière de celles-ci, le 26 novembre 1864, qu'une adresse de félicitations à l'occasion de la réélection de Lincoln fut rédigée et transmise à Washington par l'entremise du Consul Crawford. *Le Précurseur*, 3 décembre 1864, p. 1, c. 5. Parmi les signatures, on trouve les noms d'E. Gressin-Dumoulin et de Jan Van Ryswick.

220. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
26 janvier 1865 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Sanford envoie à Seward le projet de création d'un journal fédéral rédigé par Jottrand, et le lui recommande hautement ainsi qu'à Th. Weed.

Dear Sir: I commend to your perusal the accompanying letter addressed to me by a prominent lawyer among our friends here, on the expediency of having an organ in the public press of Europe.

I would suppose that means might be found readily at home for such an enterprize. I am myself disposed to subscribe liberally towards it, and believe it could in the end be made a lucrative investment if a general interest in it could be excited in the United States. The advertisements from whence alone ought to be a very important item.

The growing interest in our affairs which is manifested in Europe and which is idly responded to by the press which is friendly to our cause, demands a journal which shall be recognized at home and known abroad as *the American Journal*.

Could not Mr. Weed take up this matter which should be an affair of individual patriotism and liberality and not of Govt. patronage! I appreciate the views contained in your late dispatch and coincide with them in so far forth as the Govt. is concerned, but I cannot be indifferent to individual enterprize in this direction. Very, etc...

(s) H.S. Sanford

P.S. I did not have a suitable opportunity to speak to the King at the Ball last night in accordance with your instructions. I had just sent him a great variety of american game and at the Diplomatic circle when he came up to me he was full of that subject and the pleasure it gave him and the occasion did not seem to me a proper one to broach the matter.

HSS.

221. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 237 - Bruxelles,
2 février 1865 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Les statistiques commerciales de 1864 montrent que la principale production américaine importée par la Belgique est le pétrole.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith, from the Moniteur, tabular statements prepared at the Department of Finances showing the movement of trade and commerce of Belgium with foreign countries for the year 1864.

By reference to theses, it will be seen that the augmentation of Imports and Exports over the year 1863 is 10 % and 9 % respectively.

The importation of wood, linen, hides and woollen fabrics have been in round numbers, to the amount of four and a half; three; one; and one million Dollars respectively, over the importation of 1863; the imports of grain, salt meats, etc. and cotton, have diminished respectively by three, one and one quarter, and half a million Dollars.

The augmentation of exports are on manufactures of linen, and woollen, and iron, and on coal; and the diminution fall principally on refined sugars, butter and fire-arms.

Petroleum has become the most important article among our exports to Belgium; the importation from all countries the past year, according to these Tables amounts to about six millions of Dollars, — of which it is fair to presume that over five sixths is of American origin. I learn from another source that the importations from the United States of this article at Antwerp, the past year, are about nine millions gallons.

These tables give evidence of the steady growth in wealth and prosperity of this country.

I have, etc...

222. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 240 - Bruxelles,
7 février 1865 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

A la suite de l'envoi de Blondeel à Mexico, Maurice Delfosse le remplacera à Washington, ce qui entraînera toutefois un abaissement du grade de la Légation.

Sir: The "Moniteur" of this morning announces the appointment by the King on the 1st ultimo of M. Edouard Blondeel, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington, as Minister of the same grade to Mexico; and of M. Maurice Delfosse, Counsellor of Legation at London, as Minister Resident at Washington. ⁽¹²⁶⁾

M. Delfosse, as I have previously informed you, delayed for some time his acceptance of this appointment on the ground of inadequacy of compensation. He has not yet appeared here, and I am not informed of the date of his departure, for his new post. He has occupied for several years, and with credit, the post at London from which he has just been promoted, speaks our language, and I have no doubt will make himself acceptable both to the Government and people.

It was hardly to be expected, under the circumstances reported to your (in my N° 232) that the grade of full Minister should be continued to the new Representative of Belgium, so long as our Representative here is of inferior grade.

I have, etc...

223. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 162 -
Washington, 14 février 1865 - N.A., S.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

Seward refuse de soutenir officiellement le projet de journal pro-fédéral présenté par Jottrand et se déclare très réservé quant à son éventuel succès.

Sir: I have received your private note of the 26th of January and have read with deep interest the argument of Mr... in favor of establishing an American Journal using the French language in Europe. It is very able and I hasten to ask you to acknowledge in the name of this country its obligations to the writer for the just and generous views he takes of our affairs and for the great ability with which he advocates our cause. ⁽¹²⁷⁾

⁽¹²⁶⁾ Maurice Delfosse fut nommé ministre résident à Washington en janvier 1865 et envoyé extraordinaire et ministre plenipotentiare à Washington en octobre 1872. Il servit jusqu'en 1880.

⁽¹²⁷⁾ Sanford eut la désagréable mission de transmettre à Jottrand le refus de Seward, et sa lettre fut publiée aussitôt dans la correspondance

I accept all he says of the injuring we suffer from uninterested misrepresentations in Europe and of the great benefit which we should derive from a paper that should be able to convey to the European mind truthful information concerning our country, the administration of our government, and the markings of our political and social system. Nevertheless I remain of the opinion I have heretofore exposed that it would be impracticable for this Government to set up and maintain an organ in Europe.

Such an institution would require above all things constancy of tone and candor. But a political system so demonstrative and so federal as ours, is liable to a thousand changes of popular sentiment, policy and purpose which in fact had rendered it impossible for any Executive Administration to maintain such an organ even at home. A year ago the National Intelligencer went abroad as a journal that was not inimical to the Administration of the Government; a political canvas occurred and the National Intelligencer went at once without apology or explanation into opposition to the Executive Administration.

A newspaper to live in the U.S. must be independent and must be known to be independent of the Govt. On the other hand, I might

bruxelloise de l'*Echo de Liège*. "J'ai communiqué au Secrétaire d'Etat, écrivait Sanford, votre intéressant mémoire en faveur de l'établissement à Bruxelles d'un journal spécialement consacré aux intérêts américains. Tout en admettant les avantages à retirer d'une publication qui communiquerait des informations exactes à l'opinion d'Europe sur les Etats-Unis, les institutions, le mécanisme et les effets de nos systèmes politiques et sociaux, mon gouvernement ne croit pas praticable d'établir et de maintenir un organe en Europe. J'ai toutefois reçu pour instruction de reconnaître nos obligations envers vous pour les vues justes et généreuses que vous avez sur nos affaires et la grande habileté avec laquelle vous avez défendu notre cause. J'ai l'honneur...". Cette lettre, datée du 15 mars 1865, fut publiée dans l'*Echo de Liège*, des 18-19 mars 1865, p. 1, c. 4, p. 2, c. 1, correspondance bruxelloise du 17.

Trois mois plus tard, l'*Echo* donnait, d'après "une personne ayant ici des relations avec un américain mieux à même que tout autre de connaître les intentions de son gouvernement", une autre version du refus fédéral.

"Mr. Sanford, notait-il, qui avait songé, il y a quelque mois, à favoriser la création à Bruxelles d'un journal destiné à défendre la politique des Etats-Unis contre les attaques des journaux sudistes, y a renoncé lorsqu'il a vu qu'il devait forcément combattre en même temps le gouvernement belge, ce que sa position de ministre accrédité ne pouvait lui permettre." (*Echo de Liège*, 3-4 juin 1865, p. 1, c. 4).

Il s'agit vraisemblablement d'explications verbales données par Sanford à Jottrand pour lui faire accepter plus facilement le refus des autorités de Washington.

say with equal truth that an Administration to live must not be understood to be connected to a special interest in any political journal. Now suppose we had a newspaper in Brussels. It must think and speak. What Administration could be responsible to Congress and Country for all that it should contain, or for its not containing what at any moment a popular sentiment might demand.

I will very cheerfully submit the argument of Mr... to the gentleman named in your letter and will ask him to consider whether it would be politic to provide through patriotic private contribution the means for establishing and conducting such a paper at Brussels as is suggested. I fear however, that American ideas are not yet sufficiently appreciated in Europe to justify us in expecting readers for them even if the journal that should promulgate them should be offered at cheap cost and in a continental language.

I am, etc...

224. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 244 - Bruxelles,
10 mars 1865 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

James Buchanan, ancien Ministre des Etats-Unis au Danemark, est en relations fréquentes avec Mann et ses agents.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch N° 161, desiring to be made acquainted with any facts concerning the loyalty of Mr. James M. Buchanan, former Minister of the United States at Copenhagen. ⁽¹²⁸⁾

Mr. Buchanan consorts with the secessionists and their agents here and in Paris, etc, and if not a paid agent himself, I have reason to believe is in the confidence and councils of those who are; he seems to be the constant companion of Mr. Mann, the "Commissioner" of the Insurgents here.

I have, etc...

⁽¹²⁸⁾ Parent du Président Buchanan, ancien Juge, origine de Baltimore.

225. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 248 - Bruxelles,
16 mars 1865 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

L'opinion, inquiète au sujet de la politique expansionniste que l'on prête aux Etats-Unis après leur victoire, se tranquillise.

Sir: I have had the honor to receive your despatch (unnumbered), under date of 7th February, relative to the Peace Conference near Fortress Monroe. This despatch has since been published in the public press from documents communicated to Congress, has had wide circulation, and attracted much attention.

So far as my observation extends, it seems to have made a most favorable impression, and to have come very opportunely in aid to counteract a wide spread apprehension of ulterior foreign aggression on our part.

The earnest endeavors of the agents of the Insurgents abroad to convey the belief that the extrinsic policy referred to therein, did not originate with, or was favored by them, seem to have failed. People are beginning to remember that the aggressive spirit and language on our side, which so frequently excited apprehension abroad before the Rebellion, almost invariably emanated from Southern influences, and that the moderation displayed by our Government, amid the trials which have beset it for the past four years are indications that our future course will continue to be equally just and conservative.

There exists still, however, a very general, but diminishing feeling of distrust touching our foreign policy after the peace, which all now anticipate. It is assumed that our great armies cannot safely be disbanded and will require employment, which popular sentiment will favor in the direction of Canada or Mexico.

My reply to the expression of these apprehensions is, that if our past course towards foreign States, is no guarantee to them for the future, — our interests are also opposed to other wars than in defence of our nationality, — that we have now all the territory we can well govern; and the sentiment of the country is opposed to further acquisitions, and that our practical people having learned now, that war means debt, taxation, draft, and deranged trade and finances, will not be apt to favor any "extrinsic policy" likely to renew such costly experience.

I have, etc...

226. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - n° 166 -
Washington, 4 avril 1865 - N.A., St.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

*Les Etats-Unis n'auront pas de politique étrangère agressive
et ne réclameront que le principe de la liberté des mers.*

...The Politicians in Europe who anticipate aggressive views by the United States as a consequence of the expected return of our domestic peace, reason rather from European than American principles. We must insist on the freedom of the seas for our commerce and the safety of our borders against internal violences. Theses rights will doubtless be yielded to us although not without regret and possible reluctance. Beyond that, there are no questions which may not be safely and wisely left to the province of diplomacy...

227. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
14 avril 1865 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

*Le Roi est irrité du duel entre Chazal et Delaet. La Hollande,
comme la Belgique, s'intéresse vivement aux emprunts américains.*

Dear Sir : The duel between Genl. Chazal and M. Delaet ⁽¹²⁹⁾ took place in a riding school with only the seconds present, and the affair will hardly be prosecuted before the Courts as the facts are difficult to be obtained, and there is a general disposition on all sides to hush the matter up.

The King, who is still at Windsor and better of his cold, is, I understand, much irritated that his friend Chazal had got into this difficulty which, apart the scandal of the thing, is a new embarrassment for the Govt.

I have been to Holland for a few days... The sentiments every where where I had an opportunity of testing it, showed improved feeling towards us and faith in our success. Holland like Belgium and Germany, is taking stock largely in the Union and every holder of a 5 % Bond is on our side.

(¹²⁹) Sur le duel entre le Ministre de la Guerre et le représentant catholique anversoïis Delaet, voir A. DUCHESNE, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 286-294.

Some Confederate 8 % (internal debt) have been sold in Amsterdam, some banker told me he had a million (nominal) of it which he had paid 5 % for — it is now quoted at 3 1/2 and is unsaleable...

228. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 253 -
confidentiel - Bruxelles, 16 avril 1865 - N.A., St.D.,
BELGIUM, vol. 8.

A la nouvelle de la prise de Richmond, Sanford, en l'absence du Roi, demande à Van Praet d'obtenir de celui-ci qu'il fasse pression sur le Cabinet anglaise pour le retrait des droits de belligérance aux Etats du Sud, qui ne sauraient que prolonger les entreprises des corsaires confédérés et exciter le ressentiment de l'opinion nordiste contre la Grande-Bretagne.

Sir : The important news of the capture of Richmond and rout of Lee reached here yesterday.

My first impulse was to leave immediately for England and seek an interview with the King, who is still at Windsor, to invoke his weighty influence in the councils of the Queen in favor of the immediate recall of the recognition by the British Government of Naval Belligerent rights to the Insurgents. I learned, however, on enquiry at the Palace, that his Majesty, if well enough, would probably take his departure for Brussels on Wednesday morning (the day after to-morrow).

I concluded, therefore, that the most prompt way of bringing the subject to his Majesty's attention would be through M. Van Praet the Minister of the Kings Household, whose peculiar position of trust and confidence, I have had before occasion to speak of.

I accordingly called upon him, and after thanking him for his congratulations on our late successes, told him, I came to make, informally, a suggestion which I begged leave to request him to transmit to his Majesty; that recalling the interest the King had ever manifested in my country and the cause of peace; the expression to me of his earnest desire to do good in that direction, in so far as he could; and especially his friendly interventiob, at my instance, at a critical moment in our relations with Great Britain when there was danger that the "Confederate" Rams at Liverpool would be allowed to depart —

a most happy and opportune intervention as I thought, in the interest of justice and international peace —; I was emboldened by these recollections, I said, to suggest another opportunity of rendering important service in aid of peace, and of good relationship between the United States and Great Britain. I then sketched rapidly the history of our trial during the past four years in connection with the recognition of Naval Belligerent rights to the "*Alabama*" and kindred piratical craft built in England, manned and equipped by Englishmen in violation of their municipal law, plundering and burning our peaceful merchant men, and then received in British ports on the same footing as our men of war. Here, I continued, was the great cause of the popular feeling of hostility in the United States against Great Britain, so much commented on and deplored.

It had been during these four years a chafing cause of humiliation and sense of wrong. We had protested vainly against this course as unjust. — the long continuation of it in the face of recent events which were decisive as to the fall of the so-called Confederacy, would be likely to be considered and treated as unfriendly. Would it not, I asked, be apt to have an excellent effect, and do much towards restoring that friendly feeling on the part of our people which we desired to promote, if the British Government should withdraw that hateful recognition of Naval Belligerent rights spontaneously before a demand for their withdrawal was made? A large American fleet would probably soon appear in European waters, what, I enquired, under the present condition of things, with the Insurgent officials and their army scattered in flight, would be likely to be the effect in the United States, if the same reception should be accorded to it on its arrival in a British port, as was now given to our cruisers in their waters?

It struck me, I continued, that a simple order in council, forbidding all further aid to, or recognition of these piratical craft on the part of British authorities would have on the other hand a most excellent effect on public sentiment in the United States, besides being but an act of justice towards a friendly power.

M. Van Praet listened attentively, occasionally interrupting me to repeat some points which he wished fully to master, and told me that he would not fail to communicate what I had said to His Majesty.

This afternoon he called to say that it had been done.

I have, etc...

229. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
17 avril 1865 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Les amis de l'Union à Bruxelles ont prévu une sérénade à Sanford pour la victoire et la prise de Richmond.

Dear Sir : I am not without hope that a good effect may follow the step recounted in the accompanying dispatch, that you will approve my action.

We are in great jubilee here over the news from home.

A serenade was announced in the papers to be given to me this evg. by the friends of the Union cause in Brussels, but owing to the critical condition of my next door neighbor who is at the point of death, the family intervened to request its adjournment. The manifestation which would have been an imposing one has been postponed. Everybody I meet looks upon the Rebellion as virtually extinct !

Respy. and truly yours...

230. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 255 - Bruxelles,
24 avril 1865 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Sanford rend compte de la démonstration organisée par le Meeting libéral à l'occasion de la chute de Richmond et de l'adresse au peuple américain qui lui a été remise par une députation.

Sir : The news of the capture of Richmond and rout of Lee is generally received here as a certain indication of the collapse of the Rebellion.

A deputation consisting of the Chairman (M. Picard), officers and other participants of a public meeting of Belgians held in this city, preceeded by music and the Flags of the United States and Belgium and followed by a large procession with torchlights, came to this Legation on the evening of the 22d, to present an address of congratulation upon this event ⁽¹³⁰⁾.

⁽¹³⁰⁾ Cette manifestation avait été organisée par le *Meeting Libéral*, ou Société de *La Louve*, un groupe de libéraux progressistes Bruxellois. La figure le plus marquante de cette société était Paul Janson. Le *Meeting* fit appel à L. Jottrand pour l'organiser. Alexandre Gendebien, malade, ne put présider la cérémonie (Voir *L'Echo de Liège*, 19 avril 1865, p. 2, c. 2; 22-23 avril, p. 2, c. 2; 24 avril, p. 2, c. 2). L'adresse avait été rédigée par A. Lacroix.

I enclose a copy of the address and also of my reply (A), and rough translations of each (B, C.)

In response to the serenade which followed, and the enthusiastic cheers of the immense crowd which had accompanied the deputation, I appeared at the Balcony and thanked them for their congratulations. Although what I said would appear too insignificant to bear repetition, I annex (D) in accordance with general instructions, verbatim in translation of the few words I said to the assembled multitude.

I have, etc...

**231. Adresse au Peuple des Etats-Unis remise à Sanford
le 22 avril 1865.**

“Monsieur,

Delégués par un grand nombre de nos concitoyens réunis en une assemblée publique, nous avons féliciter des éclatants triomphes remportés par le peuple des Etats-Unis, et lui marquer en même temps, les vives sympathies que nous avons toujours eues pour lui.

Nous sommes heureux et fiers d'être auprès de vous, Monsieur, qui représentez ici la grande République américaine, l'organe de cette manifestation. Durant les jours d'épreuve que l'Union a traversés, nous n'avons cessé de faire des vœux pour son triomphe; aujourd'hui que sa noble cause est victorieuse, permettez-nous de nous associer à la joie du peuple des Etats-Unis et de le saluer en frères.

La capitale des rebelles est prise; Richmond voit flotter de nouveau sur ses murs le drapeau étoilé. On peut le dire dès à présent : la révolte est vaincue; l'Union subsistera dans son intégrité.

Il y a dans ces faits plus que des victoires matérielles, et c'est pourquoi nous ne pouvions pas y rester indifférents.

Quand un pays jouit, comme le vôtre, de toutes les libertés, quand chaque portion du territoire, quand chaque individu a sa part de la souveraineté nationale, une résistance aux lois de la majorité est une atteinte au droit; la rébellion armée devient un crime.

La lutte engagée par le Sud contre le Nord était injustifiable. Il ne pouvait être permis que le droit, aux prises avec des intérêts aveugles, sortît meurtri de ce grand combat.

La guerre, ce fléau le plus souvent inique, s'était élevée chez

vous à la hauteur d'une mission de justice et d'humanité. Elle était le bras même, le bras armé de la civilisation.

Le sang versé n'aura point coulé en vain. Les morts ont affranchi les vivants : deux cent mille hommes du Nord ont péri, mais en tombant, ils ont donné la liberté et le droit commun à quatre millions d'esclaves et avec eux à toute une race jusqu'à ce jour opprimée et consumée.

Sacrifice deux fois fécond : il supprime l'esclavage en même temps qu'il raffermirait l'union américaine.

Le peuple entier des Etats-Unis va reprendre désormais le cours serein des travaux de la paix, et nous donner l'exemple bienfaisant du complet épanouissement de ses libertés.

Le vieux monde a tressailli au bruit de vos succès, car il sent que, par delà les mers, vous êtes pour lui un précurseur.

Il sait que les Etats-Unis représentent l'aurore d'une politique nouvelle, appelée à se substituer partout au droit ancien.

Il sait qu'après avoir répudié pour vous les gouvernements basés sur la conquête, la force ou le droit divin, vous avez proclamé depuis longtemps le principe de l'autonomie de chaque nation.

Il sait que chez vous, chaque homme est vraiment un citoyen dans toute l'acception et la grandeur de ce mot et dans toute sa réalité aussi; il sait que chez vous, tous les pouvoirs émanent de la nation : ces principes ne sont point seulement inscrits dans vos chartes; la pratique de chaque jour leur donne sa consécration.

Vous avez le sentiment véritable de la démocratie et ce sentiment a fait tendre incessamment la société américaine vers la réalisation la plus parfaite du *self-government*, cet idéal politique des sociétés.

Aussi, dans tous les domaines, quels résultats merveilleux ont été obtenus par vous. L'invention humaine, reculant chaque jour ses limites; votre réseau de chemins de fer et de télégraphes, plus vaste que le réseau de l'Europe entière, portant les conquêtes de la civilisation des rives du Pacifique aux rives de l'Atlantique; l'instruction populaire, cette source vivifiante, pénétrant de couche en couche jusque chez les citoyens les plus pauvres, et, de savane en savane, à travers l'immensité de vos territoires, jusque dans le plus reculé de vos hameaux; la participation aux affaires publiques de tous les citoyens formés à la double école d'une presse vigilante, qui porte partout l'idée à peine éclosée, et d'immenses assemblées populaires où viennent aboutir et d'où repartent, en tous sens, les grands courants

de l'opinion; cet accord constant du pouvoir avec la nation qu'il représente et dont il est fier d'être le simple organe. Enfin, et même au milieu des plus dures épreuves, ce spectacle admirable de l'ordre de l'opinion; cet accord constant du pouvoir avec la nation qu'il représente et dont il est fier d'être le simple organe. Enfin, et même toujours maintenu au milieu des agitations de la liberté toujours debout.

Tant de nobles efforts, tant de glorieuses conquêtes porteront leur fruit dans l'humanité.

Vous allez, de proche en proche, entraîner votre continent entier dans le courant de votre civilisation expansive.

Ces enseignements que nous donne la jeune Amérique ne seront point perdus pour notre vieille Europe.

Vous aurez préparé ainsi les voies à l'universelle fraternité. Vous avez raffermi l'union chez vous. Nous comptons sur vous pour cimenter l'union des peuples ! » ⁽¹³¹⁾.

Alb. Picard, Avocat, Président du Bureau ⁽¹³²⁾.

Lucien Jottrand, Avocat, ancien Membre du Congrès National.

Albert Lacroix, Conseiller Communal à Bruxelles ⁽¹³³⁾.

Ch. Potvin ⁽¹³⁴⁾.

Fr. Van Meenen, Avocat ⁽¹³⁵⁾.

⁽¹³¹⁾ Comme le notait le Ministre d'Autriche Ch. Hügel, "il est encore plus extraordinaire de ne pas trouver dans cette adresse le plus petit symptôme qu'elle était approuvée et remise par une réunion de Belges, et par conséquent de citoyens d'une monarchie et que le sentiment démocratique et républicain y soit seul représenté !" (Ch. Hügel au Comte de Mensdorff — n° 450 — Bruxelles, 24 avril 1865). Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Vienne — Copie aux A.M.A.E. (A.E.V., n° 4573).

Sur les réactions suscitées par ce texte, voir *Echo de Liège*, 24 avril 1865, p. 2, c. 2-3, *l'Escaut*, 25 avril 1865, p. 1, c. 2.

⁽¹³²⁾ Albert Picard (1821-1880), avocat à la Cour d'Appel de Bruxelles, Secrétaire de l'*Association Démocratique*, puis membre des Sociétés du *Trou* et de l'*Alliance Candidat du Meeting Libéral* aux élections provinciales du Brabant en 1865. Chargé de cours à l'U.L.B. et bâtonnier de l'Ordre des Avocats.

⁽¹³³⁾ Albert Lacroix, né en 1834, ancien élève de l'U.L.B., directeur de la maison Lacroix-Verbroeckhoven qui fut une des principales maisons d'éditions belges de l'époque. DE SEYN, *Dictionnaire des Ecrivains*, vol. II, p. 1116.

⁽¹³⁴⁾ Charles Potvin (1818-1902) joua un rôle important dans l'histoire littéraire belge. Collaborateur de Van Bommel à la *Revue Trimestrielle*. Il fondera en 1872 la *Revue de Belgique*. Il avait fondé en 1849 la *Belgique Démocratique* et dirigé *La Nation*. Directeur de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie.

⁽¹³⁵⁾ François Van Meenen (1817-1881), bibliothécaire de l'U.L.B., fondateur de la *Ligue de l'Enseignement* en 1864, philosophe, animateur du Libre-Examen. DE SEYN, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 1936.

A. Demeur, Avocat.
 Aug. Patte, Négociant.
 Fr. Haeck, Conseiller Communal ⁽¹³⁶⁾.
 Gustave Jottrand, Avocat ⁽¹³⁷⁾.
 Eugène Robert, Avocat ⁽¹³⁸⁾.
 Ed. Schamps, Propriétaire.
 Pierre Splingard ⁽¹³⁹⁾.
 J. Pauwels, Avocat.
 L. Van den Kerckhove, Avocat ⁽¹⁴⁰⁾.
 O. Van Goidstovèn, Homme de Lettres ⁽¹⁴¹⁾.
 Raym. De Vleys.
 J. Collard, Négociant.
 E. Moyson ⁽¹⁴²⁾.

**231bis. Réponse de Sanford à l'Adresse du Meeting Libéral-
 22 avril 1865.**

“Messieurs,

Je vous remercie de cet acte de sympathie pour l'Union américaine et de ces félicitations adressées au peuple des Etats-Unis par vos concitoyens sans distinction de parti, à l'occasion des victoires qui assurent la fin de la rébellion esclavagiste.

Je conçois que les amis de la civilisation, de l'humanité et du progrès dans tous les pays, saluent un événement d'un si grande portée pour les affaires du monde.

⁽¹³⁶⁾ Ancien membre de l'Association Libérale, il passe au libéralisme progressif.

⁽¹³⁷⁾ Il s'agit de Gustave Jottrand fils, membre du *Meeting Libéral*.

⁽¹³⁸⁾ Eugène Robert, docteur en droit de l'U.L.B., fondateur du *Libre-Examen* avec Splingard en 1864; connu pour sa plaidoirie dans l'affaire Peltzer.

⁽¹³⁹⁾ Pierre Splingard (1839-1883), avocat, homme politique, professeur à l'U.L.B. Un des chefs du libéralisme progressif, collabora avec Janson à *La Liberté* en 1865. Il fut bâtonnier de Bruxelles. Il était membre du *Meeting Libéral*, de même que son père l'ingénieur des Ponts et Chaussées François Splingard. Voir *Biographie Nationale*, t. 23, c. 458-465).

⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ Avocat à la Cour d'Appel, il se signala par son activité hostile à la formation de la légion belge pour le Mexique.

⁽¹⁴¹⁾ Principal rédacteur du journal radical *L'Echo de Liège*. DE THEUX DE MONTJARDIN, *Bibliographie Liègeoise*, 2^e ed., Bruges, 1885, c. 1176.

⁽¹⁴²⁾ Emile Moyson (1838-1868), joua un rôle important dans les débuts du mouvement ouvrier gantois et fonda de *Werkerverbond*. Il fit affilier à l'Internationale les associations de tisserands gantois. DE SEYN, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 1356-57.

Le triomphe de cette formidable rébellion, maintenant à l'agonie, aurait été un mouvement rétrograde dans les annales des peuples et une menace perpétuelle pour la paix publique. Elle fut, en effet, l'œuvre d'une classe qui, à son profit égoïste et criminel, visait non seulement à renverser la république, mais à se constituer, en détruisant le suffrage universel, en une oligarchie d'esclavagistes et de flibustiers, et qui croyait pouvoir, avec le monopole du coton, imposer ses conditions à l'univers entier. Et nos victoires ne sont pas seulement la défaite de cette classe d'esclavagistes, elles complètent l'émancipation, elles raffermissent l'union, elles relèvent la nation, elles abaissent ses ennemis, et elles consolident la liberté américaine. Les chefs rebelles chercheront par la fuite à se soustraire autant à la vengeance de leurs concitoyens qu'ils ont trahis, qu'aux pénalités des lois qu'ils ont violées; et le monde verra combien un grand peuple qui, pour écraser la rébellion et pour défendre des institutions chéries, s'est imposé des sacrifices inouïs, sera généreux et magnanime envers des frères momentanément égarés.

Ceux qui croient que l'union ne sortira pas intacte de cette dernière et suprême épreuve qu'elle vient de traverser, se trompent. Il y aura, il est vrai, un changement à notre Constitution : la tache de l'esclavage disparaîtra de ses pages; mais avec le respect pour la légalité, qui est un des caractères les plus frappants de notre peuple et qui ne lui a jamais fait défaut dans cette crise de guerre civile, tout se passera d'une manière légale et en accord avec les prescriptions de cette charte vénérée.

Nous entrerons bientôt, je l'espère, dans une ère de paix. Certes ce ne sera pas le peuple des Etats-Unis qui désirera la voir troublée. Il comprend, et il espère que les autres le comprendront aussi, que chaque Etat a le droit de discuter, de voter, et, s'il le faut, de décider par les armes ses propres questions intérieures, sans intervention de sa part contre les autres ou de la part des autres contre lui.

Je vous remercie encore, Messieurs, et je vous prie de remercier en mon nom vos commettants de leurs sentiments pour le peuple des Etats-Unis, et des sympathies que vous venez de m'exprimer pour notre cause : ils ne pourront que resserrer davantage les liens d'amitié et de confraternité qui rapprochent si visiblement nos deux peuples. »

232. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 256 - Bruxelles,
25 avril 1865 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Sanford regrette que Rogier n'ait pas cru devoir se manifester à l'annonce de la chute de Richmond. Van Praet, par contre, en a félicité le Ministre américain.

Sir : The news of our victories and the assurance of the success of our cause, have elicited many marks of sympathy for it and congratulations to me on the part of numerous individuals, officials and others, less demonstrative to be true, but none the less earnest, than those recounted in the preceding dispatch.

I called immediately on the receipt of my telegram announcing the fall of Richmond and defeat of Lee, to inform Mr. Rogier, telling him at the same time that this event made the collapse of the Rebellion certain; and I feel constrained to say that he has made no sign upon the subject, neither then or since, by word, call, or card, personal or official.

On the other hand, one of the very first to make a congratulatory call was Prince Orloff, the Minister of Russia; — and M. Van Praet, Minister of the King's Household, was also among the first to tender his congratulations to me upon our successes.

I have, etc...

233. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
25 avril 1865 - S.P., 140/12.

Les milieux gouvernementaux belges affectent de passer sous silence le succès de la manifestation unionniste. Sanford espère que cette démonstration de l'extrême-gauche pourra influencer la politique de Rogier.

Dear Sir : The good news of the overthrow of the Rebellion has been damped by the announcement of your severe illness. God grant that you may be spared to the country to complete the great work of guiding the people "through the Wilderness".

The demonstration here of which I make mention in my official is not, naturally, palatable to many — of course not to the Catholic

party in general and the moderate Liberals, who compose the Cabinet, and the majority of that party in the Chambers dont like it either, or rather their chiefs do not as I... (*illisible*) and I observe that their organ the "Echo du Parlement" alone makes no mention of the meeting and address. It is a point gained with the masses with whom our cause is popular, by the Extreme Left. Of course, I have no concern with their local politics — but I hope it will have some influence in this country for good and in stirring up Rogier, whose course touching Mexico and his abstention in throwing any sympathy for our cause save to hope that peace and a renewal of trade would soon come, was not worthy of his position nor his past career.

234. TORRENS à H. S. SANFORD - Londres,
25 avril 1865 - S.P., 132/3.

...The demonstration at Brussels must have been peculiarly gratifying to you in every account. It reals capitally and I shall try to have it exprimed at length by some of our papers here...

235. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 257 - Bruxelles,
28 avril 1865 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

L'assassinat de Lincoln produit une vive impression et les anciens sympathisants du Sud s'en indignent également.

Sir : The tragic tidings from Washington of the assassination of the President and murderous assault upon the Secretary of State has caused a deep impression here of horror and indignation at the cowardice and cruelty of the Confederate plotters.

Following so rapidly upon the excitement created by our late victories and the public demonstrations on account of them, the announcement has aroused unusual agitation in this city and throughout the country.

The King from his sick bed sent to me one of his aid de camps Major General Bormann to express in his name his deep feeling at this tragic event and for the great loss we have sustained.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs and the other members of the Cabinet, the President of the House of Representatives, the high dignitaries of the Court and most of the foreign Legations and a very large number of persons of every rank and station, have come personally to offer their condolence and express their horror at this crowning atrocity of the Rebellion.

M. Rogier informed me he had sent a dispatch to the Belgian chargé d'affaires at Washington to offer directly to the Govt. the expression of their sympathy at the sad event.

Immediately on receipt of Mr. Adams telegram I addressed a circular to our Consuls of which I annex copy.

The shock caused by this news is too great to permit me to appreciate calmly its influence on public sentiment touching our affairs abroad. It cannot fail, I think, to cause a far-reaching reaction in the sympathies heretofore entertained by the so-called "better classes" in Europe for the Rebels and their cause, and to stimulate on the other hand, a more friendly feeling towards us and the cause of the Union.

The fact that the Confederate loan at the London Exchange yesterday rose 3 per cent upon the news is a significant indication of the effect which the instigators of this dreadful crime imagined it would have upon their cause.

The calm transition of the Executive power to other hands, at Washington, contrasted with what would be likely to occur on a similar occasion in most European States, cannot but help strengthen the conviction already becoming general by the influence of the success which has crowned this trial under the strain of the Rebellion of the power, fitness and durability of our system of Govt.

I have, etc...

236. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 259 - Bruxelles, 28 avril 1865 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Pour éviter tout incident, Sanford a refusé de recevoir officiellement une adresse de félicitations des proscrits français de Bruxelles.

Sir: The enclosed letter of congratulation upon our victories from a number of Frenchmen, who call themselves Exiles, was

brought to me some days since with the request that I would name a day to receive a deputation for its presentation.

I informed these Gentlemen that I did not deem it compatible with my functions here to be a means for a demonstration against a friendly power, — that it could not but be considered such both here and in France; and, however much I appreciated the sympathies for our cause, which they expressed, I must decline its presentation in the way and manner proposed. I added that if they wished to address a letter to the President, I would cheerfully forward it. They have, accordingly, transmitted a letter to him, which I have the honor to enclose herewith ⁽¹⁴³⁾.

I have also received a letter of congratulations from M. Kertbeny, on behalf of the Hungarians.

I have, etc...

237. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 261 - Bruxelles, 30 avril 1865 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Sanford transmet officiellement à Washington la lettre de condoléances de Rogier et la motion de la Chambre au même sujet.

Sir : His Royal Highness, the Count de Flandres, sent to me yesterday one of his officers of "ordonnance" to express in his name his condolence on the untimely death of the President.

I also received in the afternoon a private note from M. Rogier expressive of his sentiments, of which as he refers to it in public debates, I venture to enclose a copy A; I replied to it by a few lines of thanks.

In the House of Representatives this afternoon, M. Hardy de Beaulieu ⁽¹⁴⁴⁾, a member of the extreme left, moved, in accordance

⁽¹⁴³⁾ Sanford informa le Ministre de France à Bruxelles de son attitude à ce sujet (de Comminges-Guittaud à Drouyn de Lhuys — n° 13 — Bruxelles, 29 avril 1865 — Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France — Corr. Politique, Belgique — Copie aux A.M.A.E., A.E.F., n° 1596). L'adresse au Président fut signée par une trentaine de proscrits français, dont Rogeard (*Journal de Liège*, 29-30 avril 1865, p. 1, c. 6).

⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ Adolphe Le Hardy de Beaulieu, né en 1814, fut Vice-Président de la Chambre des Représentants.

with previous notice for an expression of feeling at the late tragic events at Washington. He was followed, and warmly seconded by the Canon de Hearne (sic) of the "Conservative" party, who is the author of a widely disseminated pamphlet on our war, and is an ardent friend of the cause of the Union, — and by M. Rogier who announced that he adopted on the part of the Government the views just expressed, and that he hoped the House would join in and added the expression of his desire for the recovery of the "eminent statesman Mr. Seward, to whose existence was attached in so great a degree the definitive pacification of the country for too long a time desolated by war", and after rendering homage to the moderation which he had displayed, the Minister expressed the hope "that they might one day rejoin over the restoration of his healthy, at the same time with the re-establishment of peace between the fractions of a great people whom they admired, and which had always had their sympathies and which he hoped would take again in the world the great part which is assigned to it".

All which, interrupted by frequent marks of approval by the members, was declared by the President to be the unanimous sentiment of the House.

I enclose the Report of the same from the Moniteur (B).

I wrote to thank M. Hardy de Beaulieu and the Canon de Haerne, for initiating this expression of opinion by the House and transmit C. copies of my letters to them.

I have, etc...

**238. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
2 mai 1865 - S.P., 100/4.**

Rogier a écrit à Sanford au sujet des évènements de Washington, afin de pouvoir s'en prévaloir devant les Chambres et déjouer les plans de l'extrême-gauche qui, selon Sanford, voulait critiquer l'attitude du Gouvernement envers les Etats-Unis. L'ancien organe du Sud à Bruxelles considère la cause confédérée comme morte.

Dear Sir : The last telegrams give us the good news that both you and your son are considered out of danger, it is an immense sense of relief not alone to your friends but to every good citizen. God be praised.

I forgive Rogier all his back-slidings touching the cause of the Union for the manner in which he spoke of you in the House of Representatives. The Report of the debate is to be issued in a separate doct. with black margin and an official copy is to be transmitted to me. It may be agreeable to you as an autograph, to have the note of Rogier touching the sad events in Washt. and I enclose it. It was evidently an afterthought and written after he read the notice of M. Hardy de Beaulieu's motion. It enabled him to say in debate that he had already written to me, but it's a private note all... [*illisible*] and the expressions of regard and respect for you make it an interesting autograph for your private... [*manque*].

The Extreme Left opposed to the Cabinet had the honor of originating the demonstration on our victories, and now the action of the House owing to the move of one of the Radicals, seconded by one of the Catholic opposition. The Country will remember this the next Elections or change of Cabinet for the people are with us.

The King is less depressed in spirits... [*donne des nouvelles détaillées de la santé du Roi, de son refus de voir sa famille et croit à la rumeur d'un mariage morganatique avec Madame Meyer. L'Empereur est en Algérie*].

Respy. etc...

H.S. Sanford

"Booth in killing Lincoln slain the Confederate cause also" was the expression in a leading article two days since of the late Confederate organ here. The cause of the South is, indeed, very dead here.

239. H. S. SANFORD à W. HUNTER - n° 266 - Bruxelles,
5 mai 1865 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Sanford se plaint de ce que les secteurs de l'opinion jadis favorables au Sud prônent à présent la modération au Gouvernement fédéral dans le traitement des chefs sudistes vaincus.

Sir : The voice of hostility to the Union is hushed by the universal sentiment of horror and sympathy which has been aroused by the tragic events at Washington. Under the cloak of condolence, however, is a general out-cry on the part of those most opposed to us hereto-

fore, for "moderation", "conciliation", etc... It would seem as if our enemies, assured that this Rebellion was to be a failure, were seeking, under the plea of humanity, to prevent the thorough eradication of treason from our land, in order that its roots may remain and bring forth a new crop of Rebels, to again attempt our destruction.

My reply in my limited sphere to these officious people is, that the treatment of those who plotted and carried on this Rebellion is our internal matter, which concerns ourselves solely, and is the business of those charged to execute our laws, and of nobody else; — that the masses who have been led astray, I doubt not, will be treated as erring brethren, who have already been punished severely enough by the calamities of the war into which their chiefs betrayed them, — but that their political leaders will, doubtless, receive the same punishment if captured, that would be meted to treason in any other country. I have, etc...

240. H. S. SANFORD à W. HUNTER - n° 270 - Bruxelles,
6 mai 1865 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

L'opinion publique semble, après le choc causé par la mort de Lincoln, considérer le système de gouvernement américain comme solidement établi.

Sir : I have had the honor to receive this day your circular dispatch of 17th ultimo, announcing the assassination of the President, and the attempt to murder the Secretary of State.

I have already informed you of the profound sentiment of indignation and sympathy it had excited here.

Unusual interest has been manifested with respect to the new President; and never, perhaps, in Europe have accounts of the past life and public record of the incumbent of that high office been sought for with more interest or been more widely disseminated.

I am happy to state that the result has been to create a most favorable impression on the public mind, which has been augmented by the conservative tone of the President's reply to the British Minister on presenting his credentials.

Public sentiment here, somewhat incredulous at first, owing to the malignant aspersions of enemies, now is, that the succession has

fallen into capable and worthy hands. However much the late tragic events may have caused sadness, there is one feature in connection with them abroad which cannot but cause a melancholy pride, and that is the conviction created thereby in classes, heretofore incredulous, in the permanency of our system of Government, which uninfluenced by what would shake any European Government to its foundations, moves calmly on in its great work, amid the most formidable difficulties with which a Government has ever had to deal.

I have, etc...

241. H. S. SANFORD à W. H. SEWARD - privé - Bruxelles,
16 mai 1865 - S.P., 140/12.

Le succès du Nord excite l'enthousiasme des milieux libéraux et pourrait entraîner des changements politiques en Europe. Mann a quitté Bruxelles après une infructueuse spéculation sur les emprunts nordistes et Jewett a tenté de se faire recevoir par Sanford.

Dear Sir : The telegrams say you are "healed" and there is not a Statesman in Europe but rejoices to know it and derives therefore assurance that the same frank conservative and friendly course which has inspired so much confidence abroad is to be continued for our foreign policy and the conduct of affairs has been ascribed to *you* personally and much of the confidence felt in the continuance of friendly relations is due to the expectation of your continuance in office.

The jubilation of the Liberal masses over our successes and the glorious manner in which we move on to peace cannot but disturb the governing classes. It is not the time to run counter to this current of sympathy in our favor — but it is felt and keenly that the late events in the United States have done much to weaken the system of Govt. based on "divine right". In my mind they assure a republican Revolution in Europe and a successful one.

Dudley Mann has decamped after making one last venture in speculating on the fall of U.S. Bonds before the surrender of Lee — and I hear was severely punished by it. Our Bonds are now becoming a favorite for investments. Rothschild who told me two years ago that he had "written off" his American Securities on his books

— is now not only a heavy purchaser but strongly advises his friends to buy — and the Barings also ! it was time. The English are now commencing and will eagerly pay double what they could have got our Bonds for 9 months ago.

The effect of the immediate reduction of our armies expenses has served to complete the astonishment and admiration of Europeans.

I never was so proud to be an American. I have carried a "high head" here when sick at heart often during these trying years that are past but now it is different. Our worst enemies have to do homage to our Govt. and people. The King is improving and is likely to be comparatively well again. His vitality is wonderful. This disease (of the heart) will carry him off the physicians by some day. With care he may be kept alive a year or two and he may be taken away suddenly. The old Queen Marie Amelie was sent for, I am told by the Duchess, to use her influence to induce the King to die in his family.

"Colorado" Jewett has been here and wish for an interview — but I would not notice him.

Respy. and truly yours.

242. H. S. SANFORD à W. HUNTER - n° 275 - Bruxelles,
19 mai 1865 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Sanford signale le départ du Commissionnaire sudiste A. D. Mann et réduit à une éphémère influence au sein d'un journal bruxellois l'action de celui-ci dans notre pays. Il suggère l'établissement d'une convention d'extradition si les complices de l'assassinat de Lincoln se réfugient en Belgique.

Sir : Mr. Mann, the "Commissioner" of the late insurgents, has, I understand, taken his departure from Brussels and returned again to obscurity. His action and influence here seem to have been mainly limited to furnishing his version of the news from the United States to a small journal here, which was finally compelled, under the pressure of events and the indignant sentiment of the party to which it belonged, to throw him and his cause overboard.

I am not aware that we have any Extradition treaty with Bel-

gium. In view of the probability that many of the accomplices of the assassination at Washington will seek refuge here, I would respectfully call the attention of the Department to this fact.

I have, etc...

243. Loge du SEPTENTRION à H. S. SANFORD - Gand,
20 mai 1865 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

La Loge gantoise du Septentrion transmet à Sanford une adresse de condoléances à l'occasion de l'assassinat de Lincoln.

Monsieur le Ministre,

La loge maçonnique le Septentrion à Gand, ne pouvait rester indifférente devant le forfait qui a jeté la consternation dans le monde civilisé tout entier. Durant la lutte nos sympathies et nos vœux ont accompagnés les héroïques efforts et l'inébranlable persévérance des défenseurs du droit et de l'humanité.

Nous nous sommes associés au triomphe des Américains du Nord, dont la noble persistance a sauvé l'Union fédérale d'un épouvantable déchirement et a fait sortir de la tempête sociale une nouvelle affirmation de l'indissoluble puissance des Etats-Unis.

Et quand nous est parvenu la nouvelle du monstrueux attentat qui venait jeter le deuil au milieu de la joie publique, nous nous sommes sentis frappés comme vous, car Lincoln personnifiait la cause de la liberté et de la fraternité humaine, et cette cause qui réunit les nations dans une aspiration commune, honore et pleure en lui, un de ses plus illustres martyrs.

La loge le Septentrion, dans sa réunion solennelle du seize du mois courant, a décidé à l'unanimité d'adresser, par votre intermédiaire, un tribut de regrets et de sympathies à la République des Etats-Unis.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur le Ministre, l'assurance de nos sentiments de haute considération.

Le Secrétaire

Le Président

Alph. Buisman

R. Madvenninger

244. CRAWFORD à W. H. SEWARD - n° 44 - Anvers,
26 mai 1865 - N.A., St.D., consulates, ANTWERP, vol. 2.

Le Consul Crawford explique les raisons empêchant un développement de l'émigration belge vers les Etats-Unis.

...Emigration, although continuing steadily from Germany via this port, does not, I regret to say, in this country attract that share of public attention which the subject merits.

Ignorance of our country and of its institutions and ressources, — want of pecuniary means — the absence of any special locality in the United States where the Belgians might find those who profess their religion and speak their language, — these are the principal obstacles which now retard emigration from this country to the United States...

245. E. H. WRIGHT à H. S. SANFORD - Newark,
27 mai 1865 - S.P., 133/10.

...The papers have given us graphic descriptions of the grand demonstration in Brussels in honor of the Union successes over the rebels. It must have been most gratifying to you, a proof not only of the kind feelings of the Belgians for our cause but of their appreciation of our faithful representative at Brussels...

246. H. S. SANFORD à W. HUNTER - n° 284 - Bruxelles,
31 mai 1865 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.

Au cours d'un débat à la Chambre provoqué par le combat de Tacambaro, Rogier ayant fait allusion à la présence de Belges dans l'armée du Nord pour dissiper les craintes d'une protestation américaine, le député Louis Hymans a lancé de nouvelles accusations contre les enrôlements clandestins pour l'armée fédérale en Belgique. Sanford regrette de ne pas posséder de documentation officielle réfutant ces accusations, et a protesté auprès du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.

Sir : The order of the day to the Army, of the Minister of War; upon the late disaster to a portion of the Belgian Corps in Mexico, of which mention was made in my dispatch n^o 277, appeared in the "Moniteur" yesterday, and was the subject of *interpellation* by M. Coomans in the House, who expressed his regrets at this association of the Belgo-Mexican Legion with the Army of Belgium.

M. Rogier replied that the Minister of War had communicated the account, received direct from the Military Cabinet at Mexico to the Army, and to the Journals, for the information of all — a sentiment of pride in the gallant conduct of Belgians has, doubtless, influenced him in bringing it thus officially to the knowledge of their former companions in arms; he insisted anew that the departure for Mexico, of Belgian volunteers was not a Government enterprize; that the Belgian Legion, although for the most part going from the Army, was not a part of it, did not serve under the Belgian Flag or wear the Belgian cocarde. There was nothing in this, he thought, to compromise the Government.

He was followed by M. D'Hane-Steenhuysse, who insisted anew upon the enrolment of the Belgian Legion composed, he said, in great part of soldiers of the Army, who had left it for the purpose, under the express authority of the Government, and who might be considered as on leave, as compromising the neutrality of Belgium, likely to expose its commerce to the attacks of Juarez' privateers, and in the end to cause difficulties with the United States.

M. Rogier, in reply, treated as absurd the possibility that, in case of an intervention by the United States in Mexico, Belgium would be held responsible for the presence of a thousand Belgians under the Mexican Flag; those Belgians had, moreover, he continued, contracted an engagement not to compromise the foreign relations of Belgium, and in the event of a regular war, could return home. As many Belgians, he affirmed, had served in the United States, under the American Flag, during the late war, as were now under the Mexican Flag.

M. Hymans considered the discussion useless; that the Mexican question had been long ago decided by the Chambers, and on three occasions in the sense that there was no Belgian expedition to Mexico, and that, if any power could find fault with Belgium under this head, it would be, least of all, the United States, which, according to him, had enrolled and recruited soldiers everywhere, and he again insisted upon the charges he had made in a newspaper, which he edits, that

Belgians had been enrolled by force into the Army of the United States after having been engaged here as laborers.

Others joined in the debate, which I enclose herewith from the "Moniteur", I regret not to have been supplied by the Department with the refutation of these charges, to which M. Hymans referred, and which were brought to your knowledge in my Despatch N° 222 accompanying the letter of M. Rogier on the subject.

A copy of the "Answers of the Governor of Massachusetts to enquiries respecting certain Emigrants who have arrived in this country to Europe, and who are alleged to be illegally enlisted in the Army of the United States, etc... (145)" printed at the Government printing office, came into my hands a short time since, through a private source, and appears to be a complete refutation of these charges. Immediately, on reading the debate referred to, took it to the Foreign Office, and let it for M. Rogier, who was out, with the request, that if it had not already been brought to the attention of this Government by its own agents in the United States, he would take cognizance of it, and I propose seeing him tomorrow, to repeat the hope, I expressed to the Secretary General, that he would have the justice to correct the impression which his silence on the occasion of M. Hymans assertions would seem likely to make on the public, as indorsing these scandalous statements.

I have, etc...

**247. H. S. SANFORD à W. HUNTER - n° 288 - Bruxelles,
13 juin 1865 - N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 8.**

Sanford fait une nouvelle démarche au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères au sujet de l'incident provoqué par les déclarations de L. Hymans et obtient une promesse d'enquête de Rogier.

Sir : With reference to that part of my despatch n° 284 touching assertions by M. Hymans, in the House of Representatives, relative to alleged compulsory enrollment in the United States of Belgian emigrants, I called upon M. Rogier the following day to

(145) Sur l'incident Coomans et la brochure citée par Sanford, voir F. BALACE, *op. cit.*, p. 604-605.

repeat what I had said to the Secretary General. He said that he regretted the incident; that he had himself called out "you are wrong" to M. Hymans, but that his remark had not been reported in the official journal. He would look into the matter, he continued, and thought he would seek an occasion to bring the subject up in the House, in order to make correction if found advisable after looking into the reports of their agents in the United States upon the subject. I expressed the hope that he would make such correction. I have, etc...

248. W. H. SEWARD à H. S. SANFORD - privé -
Washington, 30 juin 1865 - N.A., St.D., Instr.,
BELGIUM, vol. I.

Seward ne s'inquiète pas des sympathies envers des leaders sudistes emprisonnés.

My dear Sir : I have received your private note of May 19 and appreciate your suggestions. European sympathisers with arrested rebel leaders may be spared. They will not even disturb the equanimity of the United States.

Our policy in regard to foreign countries remains unchanged. It will be peaceful but not apologetic and we shall expect courtness and amity from all foreign powers...

249. J. NICOLAY ⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ à H. S. SANFORD - Paris,
5 septembre 1865 - S.P., 95/6.

Le Consul Nicolay envoie à Sanford les brochures sur les finances américaines pour les distribuer à Bruxelles.

⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ John George Nicolay (1832-1901), journaliste et homme politique. Editeur de la *Free Press* de Pittsfield, devint le secrétaire particulier d'A. Lincoln en 1860 et le servit pendant toute la guerre. Consul à Paris de 1865 à 1869 et *marshal* de la Cour Suprême de 1872 à 1877. *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 13, p. 510-511.

My dear Mr. Sanford : At the request of the author, I herewith send you 25 copies of an article on American finances reprinted from the "revue des Deux Mondes" which no doubt you will be able to distribute to good advantage among your friends at Brussels. I have also sent the same number to our Consul Mr. Sauer...

250. TOAST DU CHANOINE DE HAERNE - Annexe
d'une dépêche de Sanford - Bruxelles, 30 novembre 1865 -
N.A., St.D., BELGIUM, vol. 9.

"To the Representative of the Great American Nation, to the Envoy of President Johnson — that distinguished Statesman of whom we admire the wisdom, the moderation, as well as Christian, patriotic, and truly liberal sentiments !

Worthy successor of the wise Washington, — of Madison, that great promoter of religious liberty, — and of Lincoln, that noble victim of the purest patriotism, — Mr. Johnson has given a striking proof of those sentiments in the proclamation which he published one month ago, setting apart, as a day of National Thanksgiving the first Thursday of December, for religious exercises in which all generous and christian hearts should be associated. In that memorable document, the President of the United States renders thanks to the Almighty for the increase of Civil liberty; He invites the people to under thanks to the Creator of the Universe for the benefits and blessings which they have received at His hands. He recommends the whole people to make a confession of National Sins against the infinite goodness of God, and to implore with one heart and spirit, the Divine guidance to walk in the paths of national virtue and holiness. He resumes these beautiful ideas by a phrase worthy of the greatest men of ancient, or modern times "righteousness exalteth a Nation, while Sin is a reproach to any people". Such principles as these are indeed the basis of the grandeur and veritable power of a Nation.

INDEX

Les noms des principaux correspondants (J.P. Benjamin, A.D. Mann, H.S. Sanford et W.H. Seward) ne sont pas repris dans cet index.

- Adams, (Ch. F.), 35, 40, 149n, 301
 Adams, (J.), 58-59
 Albert, Prince-Consort, 27n, 31, 34, 35, 110
 Alexandra, Princesse, 87
 Andrew, (A.), 152n
 Anthony, (H.B.), 125, 192
 Antonelli, (J.), 188n, 189n
 Aspinwall, (W.H.), 158n, 159
- Baker, (G.E.), 51
 Bancroft Davis, (J.C.), 19, 159
 Banks, (N.P.), 146
 Bara, (J.), 242
 Barings, frères, 33-34, 307
 Beecher, (H.W.), 185-186
 Beecher-Stowe, (H.), 185n
 Beckwith, (N.M.), 50, 124
 Bellot des Minières, (E.), 112
 Belmont, (A.), 158
 Bennett, (J.G.), 173
 Berardi, (G.), 29n
 Berardi, (L.), 29, 30, (44), 124
 Berghmans, (A.), 71, 150-152, 181n
 Bigelow, (J.), 50, 124, 160, 184-185, 249, 263
 Blondeel Van Cuelebroeck, (E.), 7n, (14), 71n, 122-123, 141-142, 147, 150-152, 164, 204, 209, 248, 286
 Booth, (J.W.), 304
 Bormann, (Ch. G.), 300
 Bosch-Spencer, (G.H.), 108
 Botta, (V.), 9
 Bowring, (J.), 92n, 93
 Breckinridge, (J.C.), 134
 Bright, (J.), 97
 Brown, (J.), 209n
 Brougham, (H.), 96
 Buchanan, (J.), 12n, 134fl, 199n, 288n
 Buchanan, (J.M.), 235, 288
 Buisman, (A.), 308
- Bulloch, (J.), 148n
 Burke, (E.), 66
 Burnside, (A.E.), 120, 128
 Butler, (B.F.), 72, 93, 100
- Calhoun, (J.C.), 17n, 108
 Cavour, (C.), 9
 Chapelié, (J.J.), 241
 Charlotte, Archiduchesse, (215), 234, 241
 Chase, (S.P.), 124, 189, 229, 242n, 246
 Chazal, (P.E.F.), (241), 290, (310)
 Chevalier, (M.), 79
 Cobb, (H.), 209
 Cobden, (R.), 97
 Collard, (J.), 297
 Coomans, (J.B.), 242, 274, 310, 311n
 Couailhac, 6n, 29
 Couvreur van Maldeghem, (A.), 254-255
 Cowley, 110-111, 114n
 Craven, (Th.T.), 230
 Crawford, 198-199, 283n, 309
 Crittenden, (J.J.), 134n
 Croke, (J.), 124n
- Dallas, (G.M.), 96
 Davis, (J.), 7, 17, 18n, 42, 66, 76, 77, 84, 89, 97, 115, 129, 130-131, 138, 146, 157, 164, 187-189n, 202n, 229, 251n
 Dayton, (W.L.), 6n, 41, 50n, 215, 233
 de Borchgrave d'Altena, (P.E.), 135
 de Chartres, Robert, Duc..., 21
 de Comminges-Guitaud, 302n
 de Give, (L.), 193-194, 204-210
 de Haerne, (D.), 239-240, 251-252, 303, 313
 de Joinville, François, Prince... 21n, 22

Delaet, (J.A.), 290
 de Leon, (E.), 76, 98
 Delfosse, (M.), 286
 Delhasse, (F.), 266
 de Mareil, (H.), 210-211
 de Mensdorff, (A.), 296n
 Demeur, (A.), 254-255, 297
 de Morny, (Ch. L.), 214
 de Paris, Louis-Philippe, Comte..., 21
 de Penthièvre, Duc..., 21n
 de Persigny, (J.G.), 79, 154, 158
 de Talleyrand, 35, 71
 de Tocqueville, (A.), 9
 Derby, Lord S., 47, 136
 De Vleys, (R.), 297
 de Vrière, (A.), 7n, 8, 11, 13-15, 22
 Dewey, 167n
 d'Hane-Steenhuysse, (Ch.), 310
 Disraeli, (B.), 47, 136
 Dochez, (L.A.), 190-192, 199, (221),
 222, 253-256, 258-259
 Douglas, (St. A.), 60
 Drouyn de Lhuys, (E.), 110, 114, 117,
 135n, 136, 138, 170, 172, 302n
 Dumas, (A.), 249
 Duveau, 158

 Eastman, 41
 Edouard, Prince de Galles, 87-88, 123
 Errera, (J.), 242-245

 Fair, (E.Y.), 12, (43)
 Fair, Mrs., 43, 48, 70, 71n
 Faulkner, (Ch.), 133
 Fessenden, (W.P.), 192, 242
 Ficklin, 75
 Fillmore, (M.), 52
 Fitzgerald, (W.R.S.M.), 136
 Fitzpatrick, Mgr. J.B., 125, 129-130,
 180, 192, 203, 225-226, 237, 277
 Flemings, 70
 Fogg, (G.G.), 12
 Forbes, (J.M.), 152-153, 158n, 159
 Foster, (L.S.), 192
 Fould, (A.), 246
 Franklin, (B.), 66
 Frère-Orban, (W.), 22
 Fry, Mrs., 70

Goodrich, (A.), 24, (70), 71, 74, 99,
 Ganesco, 132-133
 Garnier, (J.), 92n
 Gautherin, (E.), 24, 93
 Gendebien, (A.), 293n
 Gladstone, (W.), 97, 110n, 136
 (201)
 Grant, (U.S.), 125n, 212, 229
 Greeley, (H.), 154n, 171
 Gressin-Dumoulin, (E.), 283n
 Guéroult, (A.), 184
 Guillaume III, Roi des Pays-Bas, 22
 Gwin, (W.M.), 202-203
 Haeck, (F.), 297

 Harvey, 185
 Hay, (J.), 154n
 Holcombe, (J.P.), 145n
 Holland, (G.), 146
 Hotze, (H.), 212-213, 221-222, 274n
 Hügel, (Ch.), 296n
 Hughes, Mgr. J.J., 187n
 Hunter, (R.M.T.), 17, 27, 116
 Hunter, (W.), 304, 305, 307, 309
 Hymans, (L.), 252, (256), 310-312

 Jackson, (A.), 124
 Jacquin, (Ch), 180, 215-217
 Janson, (P), 293n
 Jecker, (J.B.), 119
 Jefferson, (Th.), 58-59
 Jewett, (W.C.), 154, (157), 164-176,
 180-181, 307
 Johnson, (A.), 125n, (302), (305),
 313
 Jottrand, (G.), 297
 Jottrand, (L.), 36, 39, 119-121, 274-
 284, 286-287n, 293n, 296
 Juarez, (B.), 239

 Kertbeny, 302
 King, (Th. B.), 7n

 Laboulaye, (E.), 184
 Lacroix, (A.), 293n, 296
 Lafitte, (Ch.), 211
 Laird, (J.), 227
 Lambermont, (A.), 15, (312-313)

- Lee, (R.E.), 114n, 178, 293, 299, 306
 Le Hardy de Beaulieu, (A.), 302, 304
 Lemaire, 26
 Le More, (G.S.), 24-25, 93
 Le More, (J.), 24
 Léopold Ier, Roi des Belges, (4), 10,
 21-22, 23, 31-35, 37, 38, 44, 49,
 54, (56), 70, 72, 76, 82, 85, 87, 91,
 97, 98-99, 100, 101, 106, 110-111,
 115, 116, 118, 122, 123, 126-128,
 130, 132, 135, 137, 138, 142-145,
 147, 148-149, 152-153, 154n, 155,
 156-157, 158-159, 160, 179, 181-
 184, 185-187, 190, 194-196, 197,
 199, 200, 201, 203, 207, 212, 215,
 218, 220, 222, 232-234, 236-237,
 240, 241, 251, 261, 262, 270, 273,
 276-277, 284, 290, 291, 300, 307
 Léopold, Duc de Brabant, 11, 44,
 (72), 123, 166, 176
 Levison, (M.), 55
 Levita, (C.), 29-30
 Lewis, (G.), 114n
 Lincoln, (A.), (3-4), (8), (10), (14),
 (15), 17n, 21n, 33n, 34, 36n, 37,
 45, 65, 72, 78, 93, 97, 99, 106, 117,
 119, 121, 128, 139, 140, 145, 147,
 152n, 161-163, 168, 171, 175, 186,
 196, 197, 201, 209n, 212, 221, 224-
 225, 228, 233, 238, 242n, 264, 269,
 270, 272-273, 279, 283, 300, 202,
 304, 305, 308, 312n
 Lindsay, (W.S.), 41, 46-47, 227
 Livingston, (R.), 55n
 Lopez-Gesinet, 26
 Louis-Philippe, Roi des Français, 36n
 Lynch, Mgr. P.N., 281
 Lyons, Lord, 27n, 34, 35, 305n

 MacClellan, (G.B.), 78, 97, 106, (143)
 Macfarland, (J.E.), 202-203
 MacGruder, (Th.), 146
 Madison, (J.), 59, 63, 313
 Madvenniger, (R.), 308
 Malespine, (A.), 132-134, 150, 184-
 185, 249, 263
 Malézieux, (L.), 6
 Malmesbury, Lord J., 136

 Mann, (W.G.), (84), 225, (232),
 (251), (264), (271)
 Meyer, Mme, 304
 Marie-Amélie, Reine des Français,
 (22), 307
 Marie-Henriette, Duchesse de Brabant,
 130, 307
 Marsh, (G.P.), 8-9
 Mason, (J.M.), 18, 27, 76, 89, 116,
 137, 199-200, 202-203, 251, 262,
 264
 Maximilien, Archiduc, 112-114n, 176,
 178, 199, 202n, (215)
 Meigs, (M.C.), 25
 Mercier de Lostende, (E.H.), 35, 133,
 139, 172
 Miguel, roi de Portugal, 69
 Milles, 204
 Miramon, (M.), 26
 Mocquard, (C), 46
 Monroe, (J.), 59
 Moore, (T.O.), 146
 Morrill, (J.S.), 61
 Moyson, (E.), 297
 Murat, Prince, 140
 Murat, Princesse Anna, 234

 Napoléon Ier, 68, 97
 Napoléon III, Empereur des Français,
 22, 32, 46-47, 74, 76, 79n, 109-
 111, 113-114, 119, 136n, 137, 154-
 155, 157, 163, 169, 170, 176, 178-
 179, 202n, 214, 233-234, 240, 251,
 304
 Napoléon, Prince, 178
 Nicolay, (J.G.), 312-313

 Odin, Mgr. J.M., 187n
 Olivier, 202-203
 Oppenheim, (J.), 242-247
 Oppenheim, (S.), 246
 Orloff, Prince, 299

 Palmerston, Lord H., 28, 41, 47, 52,
 74, 88, 110n, 111, 114n, 115,
 141, 157
 Patte, (A.), 297
 Pauwels, (J.), 297

Pedro Ier, Empereur du Brésil, 227
Pelletan, (E.), 94
Philippe, Comte de Flandres, 11, 123,
130, 234, 302
Philipps, (W.), 281
Picard, (A.), 293-296
Pie IX, 187, 188n, 189-190, 227, 237,
276
Potvin, (Ch.), 296
Pruyn, (J.V.), 158

Rancy, 216
Rechberg, Graf J.B., 176n
Robert, (E.), 297
Robespierre, (M.), 97
Roebuck, (J.A.), 46n
Rogear, (L.A.), 302n
Rogier, (Ch.), 22, 48, 51-52, 56-70,
71, 74, 75, 77, 80-82, 90, 91-92, 99,
100, 101-105, 106, 108, 113, 122n,
125-129, 135, 139, 147, 150-152,
154n, 164-168, 176, 180, 181n, 217-
224, 241, 248, 253, 255, 257-260,
274n, 299, 301, 303, 304, 310-311
Rogier, (F.), 33n, 135n
Rost, (P.A.), 17n, 84, 126
Rouher, (E.), 79
Russell, Lord J., 27n, 47, 52, 83, 87-
88, 110n, 114, 135n, 141, 148-149n,
156

Sanders, (B.W.), 232, 234-235
Sanders, (G.N.), 154n, 232n
Sartiges, (E.), 237
Sauer, (G.), 167n, 201-203, 252, 254,
313
Schamps, (E.), 297
Schuyler, 28
Sellières, 24, 93
Semmes, (R.), 217
Serruys, (C.), 266
Seward, (F.), 304
Sherman, (J.), 201, 233
Sherman, (W.T.), 229
Simenton, 166
Sirtaine, (R.), 25-26

Slidell, (J.), 27n, 46, 79, 84, 109-
111, 122, 137, 214, 240, 251, 262
Springard, (F.), 297n
Springard, (P.), 297
Sumner, (Ch.), 125, 185, 192, 201,
233

Talbot, (M.), 70-71
Thouvenel, (E.), 7n, 33n, 35n, 110,
111
Toombs, (R.), 16-17

Vallandigham, (C.L.), 176n
Van Bommel, (E.), 120
Van Campen, (G.), 203-204
Van den Kerckhove, (L.), 297
Vandenpeereboom, (A.), 23
Van de Weyer, (S.), 135n
Van Goidstnoven, (OO), 297
Van Haeken, 53
Van Meenen, (F.), 296
Van Praet, (J.), 23, 32, 34, 37, 148-
150, 152, 153, 155, 159, 291-292,
299
Van Ryswick, (J.), 283n
Van Wart, 28
Victoria, Reine, 21n, 27n, 31, 32, 33,
34, 37, 44, 82, 83, 85, 87-88, 97,
110, 111, 130, 155, 159, 165n, 169
177, 291

Walewski, (A.), 158
Walker, (J.G.), 230
Washington, (G.), 57-58, 60, 62, 66,
313
Webster, (D.), 63
Weed, (Th.), 28, 30, 33, 34, 35, 40,
158, 264, 284
Welles, (G.), (235), (239)
Wetter, 75
Wilkes, (Ch.), 27n
Williams, (J.), 199-200
Winslow, (J.A.), 201
Wood, (Ch.), 137
Wright, (E.H.), 309

Yancey, (W.L.), 16-17

JOURNAUX ET PERIODIQUES BELGES

- L'Avenir*, 112
La Belgique Démocratique, 296n
Beurzen Courant, 36
Le Débat Social, 266n
L'Echo de Bruxelles, 211
L'Echo de Liège, 287n, 293n, 296n, 297n
L'Echo du Parlement, 252n, 300
L'Economiste Belge, 14n, 92n
L'Emancipation, 225
L'Escaut, 281, 296n
L'Etoile Belge, 164-165, 167, 221n, 222, 252n, 256, 261
La Finance, 268
La Gazette de Liège, 240
L'Indépendance Belge, 6, 29, 30, 41, 44, 50, 70, 89, 104, 106, (124), 132-133, 160, 201, 213, 214, 222, 238, 250, 252n, 263, 281
Le Journal d'Anvers, 240
Le Journal de Bruxelles, 120, 225
Le Journal de Gand, 52, 267
Le Journal de Liège, 302n
Le Levant, 211
La Liberté, 297n
Le Moniteur, 16n, 167, 241, 261-262, 285, 286, 303, 310, 311
La Nation, 296n
Le Nord, 72, 279
L'Observateur Belge, 39, 120
L'Office de Publicité, 252, 256
La Paix, 265, 274
La Patrie, 240, 252
Le Précurseur, 112n, 120, 283n
La Revue Belge et Etrangère, 240n
La Revue de Belgique, 296n
La Revue Trimestrielle, 120n, 121, 296n

JOURNAUX ET PERIODIQUES ETRANGERS

- L'Annuaire Encyclopédique*, 132
The Blackwood's Magazine, 89
Le Constitutionnel, 29, 49, 281
Le Courrier des Etats-Unis, 36, 249, 250, 253, 255-256, 258, 259, 280, 281
The Daily News, 278, 280
The Daily Post, 175n
Les Deux-Mondes, 268
L'Europe, 132, 277, 281
The Evening Post, 50n, 146
The Evening Star, 278, 280
Gallignani's Messenger, 277
La Gazette de France, 281
Le Globe, 79n
The Globe, 277
The Index, 274
L'International, 6
The Irishman, 280
L'Italie, 281
Le Journal des Débats, 211, 263-264, 280
Le Journal de Genève, 281
Le Journal de La Haye, 277, 281
Le Journal de Saint-Petersbourg, 277, 281
Le Messenger Franco-Américain, 36, 210-211, 240, 279, 280, 281
Le Monde, 281
Le Monde Illustré, 132
Le Moniteur (Paris), 132, 190
The Morning Herald, 278
The Morning Post, 277
The Morning Star, 280
The National Intelligencer, 287
The New York Times, 36, 106
The New York Tribune, 36, 171-172
The Norwich Republican, 192n
L'Opinion Nationale, 132-133, 134, 184, 211, 222, 249, 263, 280

La Patrie (Paris), 6, 49, 281
Le Pays, 49
Le Phare de la Loire, 222
The Pittsfield Free Press, 312n
La Presse, 280
La Revue des Deux Mondes, 313

Le Siècle, 132, 211, 280
Le Temps, 280
The Times, 19n, 33n, 72, 89, 264,
268, 277
L'Union, 281
The Westminster Review, 93n

D. 1969/0081/35

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