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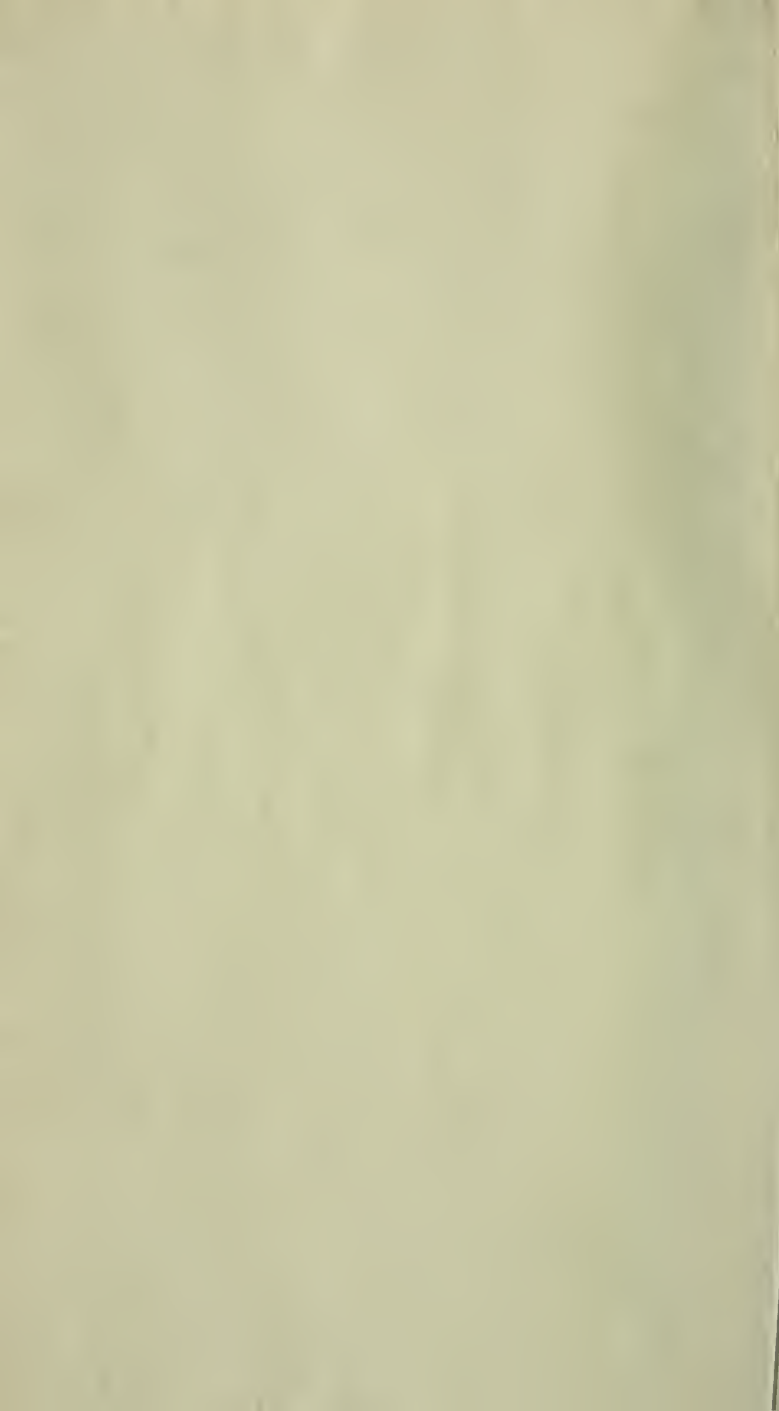
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U. S. FLAGS. 1872.

U.S. PENNANT

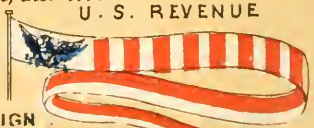


Worn by Commanders of vessels of the U.S.N. below the rank of Commodore and in the bows of their boats.

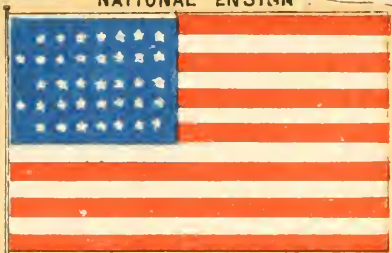
U. S. REVENUE



U. S. REVENUE



NATIONAL ENSIGN



PEN NANT

JULY 1871.

PEN NANT

1779 1871.

Hoisted at the Main of ships of war and in the bows of boats when the President of the U.S. is on board.

U. S. REVENUE FLAG.



Worn by Revenue Cutters and on all buildings under the control of the U.S. Treasury Department.

U. S. REVENUE JACK.



Worn at the bowsprit of U.S. Revenue vessels.

UNION JACK.



Worn at the main when the Sec^t of the Navy is on board a U.S. vessel of war, and in the bows of his boat. Worn the Bowsprit of U.S. vessels of war.

OUR FLAG.

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS

OF THE

Flag of the United States of America,

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT

OF THE

SYMBOLS, STANDARDS, BANNERS AND FLAGS
OF ANCIENT AND MODERN NATIONS,

BY

GEO. HENRY PREBLE, U. S. N.

“When the standard of the Union is raised and waves over my head—the standard which Washington planted on the ramparts of the Constitution, God forbid that I should enquire whom the people have commissioned to unfurl it, and bear it up; I only ask in what manner, as an humble individual, I can best discharge my duty in defending it.”—DANIEL WEBSTER.

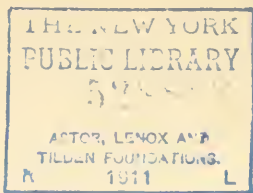
“There is but one other emblem so significant as a flag, viz: the cross.”



ALBANY:
JOEL MUNSELL.

1872. 5.

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“Not to the living, but to the dead.”

THIS

BOOK IS DEDICATED

TO THE

MEMORY OF THOSE GALLANT SPIRITS

WHO, BY

LAND OR SEA HAVE FOUGHT AND CONQUERED,

OR

Fallen in Defence

OF THE

BANNER IT COMMEMORATES.

207

"This is a maxim which I have received by hereditary tradition, not only from my father, but also from my grandfather and his ancestors, that after what I owe to God, nothing should be more dear or sacred than the love and respect I owe to my country."—DETHOU.

"Land of my birth! thy glorious stars
Float over shore and sea,
Made sacred by a thousand scars
They were not born to flee;
Oh may that flag forever wave
Where dwell the patriot and the brave
Till all the earth be free:
Yet still the shrine be here as now
Where freeman, pilgrim like, shall bow."

"There is the national flag! He must be cold, indeed, who can look upon its folds rippling in the breeze without pride of country. If he be in a foreign land the flag is companionship, and country itself with all its endearments. Who as he sees it can think of a state merely? Whose eye once fastened upon its radiant trophies can fail to recognize the image of the whole nation? It has been called 'a floating piece of poetry;' and yet I know not if it have any intrinsic beauty beyond other ensigns. Its highest beauty is in what it symbolizes. It is because it represents all that all gaze at it with delight and reverence. It is a piece of bunting lifted in the air; but it speaks sublimely and every part has a voice. Its stripes of alternate red and white proclaim the original *union* of thirteen states to maintain the declaration of independence. Its stars, white on a field of blue, proclaim that *union* of states constituting our national constellation which receives a new star with every new state. The two together signify union, past and present. The very colors have a language which was officially recognized by our fathers. White is for purity; red for valor; blue, for justice; and all together, bunting, stripes, stars and colors, blazing in the sky, make the flag of our country, to be cherished by all our hearts, to be upheld by all our hands."—CHARLES SUMNER.

P R E F A C E .

Proudhon the French socialist had a peculiar manner of proceeding in the composition of a work which is thus stated.

“When an idea struck him, he would write it out at length, generally in the shape of a newspaper article; then he would put it in an envelope and whenever a new idea occurred to him, or he obtained additional information, he would write it on a piece of paper, and add it to the envelope. When a sufficient quantity of material was assembled he would write an article for some review or magazine. This article he would place in a larger envelope, and add thoughts and information until, at last, the article became a book; and the day after the publication of his book, he would place it in a pasteboard box, and add thoughts and additional information as he came into possession of them.”

Very much in the same way have these memoirs grown to the size of this volume. More than twenty years since their compiler became interested in tracing out the first display of Our Starry Flag on foreign seas, and the notes he then gathered resulted in the preparation of an article entitled “The First Appearance of the Flag of the Free,” which was published in

the *Portland Daily Advertiser*, and thence extensively copied into other journals. Around that article from time to time became concreted numerous additional facts which were embodied in another and longer newspaper article on the same topic. His interest in the subject grew with the increase of knowledge. New facts were accumulated and sought for wherever to be obtained. The war of the rebellion added a fresh impulse to his inquiries, and new and interesting incidents. The result is the present volume of memoirs which, if not rendered interesting by the graces of a practised authorship, can claim to be a faithful record of facts.

Following the idea of Proudhon, the writer would say, he will be glad to receive from his readers any added facts and incidents, or corrections that will enable him to complete his memorial of our grand old flag, and help to perpetuate it as the chosen emblem of Liberty and Union.

Collected as these memoirs were chiefly for his own amusement and instruction, in committing them to the public, the compiler hopes they may interest and amuse others as much as the collecting them has himself. If they serve to revive and preserve in the smallest degree, a patriotic sentiment for our starry banner, his ambition will be accomplished, his end attained.

Among the many books examined, and to which due credit should be given for many facts, have been the volumes of the *Historical Magazine*, 1st and 2d series, 18 vols.; the *Massachusetts Hist. Coll.*; Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington and Franklin*; the *N. E.*

Hist. and Gen. Register, 25 vols; the *Life and Works of John Adams*; Hamilton's and Sarmiento's *Histories of the Flag*; Savage's *Lectures*, 1853; the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 150 vols; the *London Magazine*; the *American Archives*; Cooper's *Hist. U. S. Navy*; Clark's *Hist. U. S. Navy*; Boynton's *Hist. U. S. Navy*; *U. S. Naval Chronicle*; the *Naval Monument*; the *Naval Temple*; Botta's *Am. Revolution*; *Life of Elbridge Gerry*; Smith's *Hist. Newburyport*; the *U. S. Statutes*; Frothingham's *Siege of Boston and Life of Warren*; the *Penny Cyclopedia*; the *American Cyclopedia*; Kitto's *Bible Cyclopedia*; the *London News*, and Brewster's and Chambers's *Encyclopedias*; the *Encyclopedia Americana and Britannica*; Benton's *Debates*; the *Army and Navy Regulations*; Bancroft's *Hist. of the U. S.*; the *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 1835 to 1841; *London Notes and Queries*, 40 vols; the *United Service Magazine*, 90 vols.; the *British Naval Chronicle*, 40 vols.; *Army and Navy Journal*, 9 vols.; *United States Ser. Magazine*, 5 vols.; Chambers's *Book of Days*; Fairholt's *Dict. of Terms of Art*; Various books of Heraldry, etc.; James's, Entick's, Lediard's, Burchet's *Naval Histories*; Sir Nicolas Harris's *Hist. Royal Navy*, 2 vols; Brunet's *Regal Armorie*; Westcott's *History of Philadelphia, etc., etc., etc.*

More than a thousand volumes have been examined in the preparation of these memoirs, and an extensive correspondence has been a necessity. I may, therefore, say to my readers as *Montesquieu* remarked to a friend concerning a particular part of his writings: "You will read it in a few hours, but I assure you it has cost me so much labor that it has whitened my hair."

I would express my obligations to Messrs. John A. McAllister, Wm. J. Canby, Wm. D. Gemmill, and Chas. J. Lukens of Philadelphia, and Messrs. B. J. Lossing and Chas. J. Bushnell of New York, for valuable suggestions and facts, and particularly to Mr. John A. McAllister, who has been unwearied in searching for and completing evidences of facts which were otherwise beyond my reach. There are other friends too numerous to mention, who have given me their assistance, who will please accept my silent acknowledgments.

In 1864 the manuscript of this book, in its then incomplete state, was forwarded from abroad to the managers of the National Sailors' Fair at Boston, as a contribution to that charity, which resulted in the establishment of the National Sailor's Home at Quincy, Mass. It arrived, however, too late to be printed for its benefit.

Naval Rendezvous, Navy Yard,
Charlestown, Mass.

September 10th, 1872.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

COLORED PLATES.

	Page.
I. United States National and Revenue Ensigns, Jacks and Pennants, 1872,	to face the title.
II. The Flags of European States, 1872, - - - - -	67
III. The Flags of American States, Oriental Nations, &c. (Part II),	- 101
IV. The New England Colors, 1686, - - - - -	- 123
V. St. George's and St. Andrew's Crosses; The Union or King's Colors, 1606; Union Ensign, 1707; Grand Union Flag, Jan. 1, 1776,	- 133
VI. Flags of 1775, 1776, - - - - -	- 143
VII. The Grand Union Flag of 1776 a Facsimile of the Flag of the Schooner Royal Savage, - - - - -	153
VIII. The Stars and Stripes 1777-1872; Proposed United States Standard, 1818 (Part III), - - - - -	179
IX. Southern flags, 1861-64 (Part V), - - - - -	287
X. Distinctive Flags of the United States Navy, 1776-1872 (Part VI),	455
XI. Distinctive Pennants, and Flags United States Navy 1866-1872, -	467
XII. American Yacht Ensign, with the Club Signals and Pennants of the New York, Boston, Portland, Eastern, San Francisco, South Boston, Bunker Hill and Dorchester Clubs, - - - - -	485

Portrait of Commodore Hopkins, Commander-in-Chief of the American Navy being an albert-type facsimile of a mezzotinto engraving published by <i>Thos.</i> <i>Hart</i> Aug. 22, 1776, - - - - -	164
The Standard of the Philadelphia Light Horse, presented to that corps by Capt. Abraham Markoe, 1774-75, lithographed, from a drawing taken from the original standard by C. J. Lukens of Philadelphia, - - - - -	183

WOOD ENGRAVINGS.

	Page.		Page.
Pulaski's Banner, 1778, - - -	17	The Long Parliament Flag, - - -	118
Flag of Washington's Life Guard, 1776, - - - - -	18	The Three County Troops' Standard, 1659-77, - - - - -	123
De Montfort's Banner, - - -	23	Colors of Capt. Noyes's Company, 1684, - - - - -	124
Bannerole of Oliver Cromwell, -	24	The King's colors at New York, 1670, - - - - -	126
Pennon of Sir John Dauberon, 1277, - - - - -	25	St. George's Cross, 1679, - - -	126
Ten Ensigns of the 11th Century from the Bayeux Tapestry, -	27	Flag of American Merchantmen, 1709, - - - - -	128
Ancient Ship and Ensign, -	27	English Ensign, 1707, - - -	129
Streamer and Ship of the Earl of Warwick, - - - - -	31	Scotch Ensign, 1707, - - -	129
Knights Templar Standards, -	40	East India Co. Ensign, 1707, -	129
Hospitaller's Standard, - - -	41	Scotch Union Flag, 1707, -	129
Egyptian Standards, - - - -	42	Irish Ensign, 1707, - - -	129
Standards of Pharaoh, - - - -	42	New England Ensign, 1707, -	129
Assyrian Standards, - - - -	44	New Netherlands Seal, - - -	137
A Roman Standard, - - - - -	46	American Revolutionary Flag, 1775,	139
Labarum of Constantine, - - -	47	The Pine Tree Flag, from a map, 1776,	140
Roman Imperial Standards, - -	47	American Floating Battery, 1776,	140
Imperial Standard of Japan, -	61	The Snake Device, - - -	148
Balboa taking possession of the Paci- fic Ocean, 1513, - - - - -	66	Flag destroyed at Cheapside, 1644,	154
A Spanish Standard, 1558, - - -	67	East India Co.'s Flag, 1704, - -	156
Royal Standard of Russia, - -	68	East India Co.'s Flag, 1834, -	155
Royal Standard of Portugal, - -	68	Dutch W. I. Co.'s Flag, 1622, -	156
Banner of Charlemagne, - - -	71	American Flag at White Plains, 1776, - - - - -	177
The Auriflamme, - - - - -	72	Device on Standard of the Philadel- phia, Light Horse, 1775, -	183
The Bourbon Royal Standard, -	73	Bark Maria, 1859, - - - - -	215
The Crest of the Black Prince, -	82	A Proposed U. S. Standard, 1818,	255
Banner of Henry Plantagenet, -	83	Fac-simile of Copper Plate, 1785,	258
Two Standards of Henry VIII, -	85	Raising our Flag at Sumter, 1860,	313
The Standard of Edward III, -	86	Steamer Star of the West, 1861, -	317
The Douglass Standard, 1388, -	88	Nailing the Flag to the Mast at Sumter,	334
Arms of Henry V, - - - - -	86	Repossession of Sumter, 1865, -	347
Flag unfurled by Columbus, 1492,	110	Challenge Cup won by Yacht Ame- rica, 1851. - - - - -	488
Standard of Spain, 1492, - - -	110		
Raleigh's Ship, 1585, - - - - -	115		

PART I.

THE STANDARDS, FLAGS, BANNERS, ETC., OF
ANCIENT AND MODERN NATIONS.

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS

OF THE

Flag of the United States of America.

OF NATIONAL STANDARDS, FLAGS, BANNERS, SYMBOLS,
DEVICES, ETC.

Symbols and colors enabling nations to distinguish themselves from each other, have from the most remote periods exercised a very powerful influence upon mankind. That a standard or ensign was borne in the armies of all nations from the most distant era, is a fact too well established both by sacred and profane history to admit of the slightest doubt. A colored banner was one of the earliest, as it was the simplest of military ensigns, and as tribes and nations multiplied, these banners naturally became particolored by stripes and other linear divisions, and then emblazoned with the devices of the several chieftains. Thus these symbols, which during peaceful times seem but trivial ornaments, became in political or religious disturbances, a lever like unto that of Archimedes and convulsed the world. Before commencing the memoir of the particular flag which this volume commemorates, I propose to briefly notice some of the standards and banners of other nations.

History has, in general, failed to appreciate the value of these symbols, which have often given ascendancy to party, and lead armies on to victory with more certainty and dispatch than the combinations of tactics and the most disinterested valor.

We talk of the wars of the white and red roses, of the contest between the crescent and the cross, and of the eagles of the Romans; of the meteor flag of England, and of the cross of St. George; of the white plume and banner of Henry, and lilies and tri-color of France, and of our own starry banner

which, said Edward Everett (May 27, 1861), "speaks for itself. Its mute eloquence needs no aid to interpret its significance. Fidelity to the Union blazes from its stars, allegiance to the government beneath which we live is wrapped in its folds."

OF FLAGS.

FLAG. Swed. *flake*, Teutonic and old French *flacke*, Bel. *flack*, *flak*, derived from the early use of rushes for streamers, is defined by the London Encyclopedia as "a small banner of distinction used in the army, and stuck in a baggage wagon, to distinguish the baggage of one brigade from another, and of one batallion from another," but is most properly used to denote the colors worn at the mastheads of national vessels to mark the rank or quality of the person commanding a squadron or fleet. The admiral of a squadron or fleet is commonly styled the flag officer or flag, from the square flag hoisted at one of the mastheads of the vessel on which he is embarked, and which denotes to the rest of the fleet his presence there, and causes his ship to be designated as the flag ship.

In common parlance, however, under the generic name of flag is included, standards, ancients or ensigns, banners, banneroles, colors, streamers, pennons, pennoncelles, gonfanons, guidons, coronetts or coronells (hence the title of colonel), and the like.

The first flag of Great Britain (see plate II) is generally known as the Royal standard; that is, a banner or square flag blazoned with the arms of the United Kingdom which is hoisted at the masthead, whenever the sovereign of the realm, or any member of the royal family is embarked on board a vessel, or is hoisted on the flag-staff over their residence wherever they may be on shore. The royal salute for this flag is twenty-one guns.

The second flag is that of the lord high admiral or of the commissioners performing the duties of that high office. This flag is "a crimson banner," with "an anchor argent gorged in the arm with a coronet and a cable through the ring fretted in a true lover's knot with the ends pendant." (Plate II).

Thus it was carried by the Earl of Southampton in the reign of Henry VIII; by the Earl of Lincoln in the time of Mary, except that he bore the stem and flukes of the anchor argent,

the ring and stock or, and the cable azure. The Duke of Buckingham used the anchor cable entwined, all or, much as it now is. In the reign of Charles II, the Duke of York placed his arms on an anchor surmounted by his coronet. The only account we have of the flag of the lord high admiral being carried *at sea* by an individual, is in the Memoirs of Sir John Leake, which say "The Earl of Berkeley being then (21st March, 1719), vice admiral of Great Britain, and first lord commissioner of the admiralty, endeavored to come as near the lord high admiral as possible both in power and state; by a particular warrant from the crown he hoisted the lord high admiral's flag as it is called — the first time I believe it was ever worn in command at sea — and had three captains appointed under him as lord high admiral; Littleton then vice admiral of the White being his first captain. The Earl of Berkeley was one of fortune's favorites. As lord Dursley at the age of twenty he commanded the Lichfield, fifty, his second command. When twenty-three he commanded the Boyne, 80, at twenty-seven was vice admiral of the Blue, and a few months afterward vice admiral of the White, and in the following year being then only twenty-eight, vice admiral of the Red. At the age of thirty-eight he hoisted his flag, on the Dorsetshire as lord high admiral, being then actually vice admiral of England and first lord of the admiralty. He died near Rochelle in France, August 17, 1736, aged fifty-five.

The lord high admirals flag is entitled to a salute of nineteen guns.

The third flag is that of the lord lieutenant of Ireland, which is the Union Jack having in the centre of the crosses a blue shield emblazoned with a golden harp. (Plate II). This flag is worn at the main top gallant mast-head of any ship in which his excellency may embark within the Irish waters or in St. George's channel, and is entitled to the same salute as that of the lord high admiral.

The fourth flag is the Union or Union Jack, as it is called, in which are blended the crosses of St. George, St. Andrew and St. Patrick, emblematic of the United Kingdom of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and appropriated to the admiral of the fleet of the United Kingdom; it is worn at the main, and is entitled to a salute of seventeen guns.

Next and fifth in rank is the cross of St. George, a white flag with a red cross, the sign of the old crusaders, which is worn by the admirals of the royal navy at the main by vice admirals at the fore, and by rear admirals at the mizzen mastheads of their respective ships. Until 1864, Great Britain had admirals, and vice, and rear admirals of the red, white and blue. By act of parliament that year, the red ensign was wholly given up to the use of the merchant marine. The blue ensigns assigned to merchant and packet ships commanded by the officers of the newly organized naval reserve or naval militia, and the white ensign, alone reserved for the royal navy. (Plate II). The salute of an admiral is 15, of a vice admiral 13, and of a rear admiral 11 guns in the royal navy.

Merchant vessels frequently carry small flags at their mastheads, bearing the arms, monograms, or other devices of their owners or commanders, or designating the province or port to which the vessel may belong.

The flag of the president of the United States, hoisted at the main, to denote his presence on board a ship or vessel of war is appropriately the *National Ensign*, the flag of the sovereign people of whom he is only the popular representative, and from whom he derives power and authority.

The vice president and members of the cabinet (the secretary of the navy excepted), are also designated by the national flag worn at the fore during their presence on board a vessel of war, and it always floats at the Capitol over the senate chamber and house of representatives whenever those bodies are in session, a custom which is followed in most of the states of the Union, whenever their legislative bodies are in session.

A special mark of the secretary of the navy, established in 1866, was a square blue flag having a white fowl anchor placed vertically in the centre with four white stars surrounding it, one in each corner of the flag. By an order dated 1869, this flag became obsolete, and the union jack was substituted and established as his designating flag, to be hoisted at the main when he is embarked on board a vessel of the navy.

The first rear admiral's flag in our navy, was the plain, blue flag which had been used by the rank of flag officer established before the introduction of admirals to the service. This flag to be worn at the main by the three senior rear admirals, at the fore

by the next three in seniority, and at the mizzen by the three junior rear admirals, was first hoisted at the *main* on board the *Hartford*, in 1862, by Rear Admiral Farragut, who had previously as flag officer, carried it at the fore. The absurdity of a rear admiral wearing his flag at the fore or main was so apparent and so contrary to the custom of other nations, that at the suggestion of Hon. R. H. Dana, Jr., the following congress repealed the law, after which a square flag, blue, red or white, hoisted at the mizzen, according to the seniority of the officer was adopted. Next after the introduction of the grades of admiral, and vice admiral, the device adopted for the admiral was four white stars arranged as a diamond in a blue field to be hoisted at the main (the flag of Farragut). For the vice admiral three white five pointed stars arranged as an equilateral triangle on a blue field to be hoisted at the fore. For rear admirals a square blue, red or white flag at the mizzen according to their seniority with two stars placed vertically in the centre of the flag. The color of the stars, to be white when the flag was blue or red, and blue when the flag was white. The commodore's broad pennants were swallow-tailed flags or banners, the same in color according to their seniority as the rear admiral's flags, and until the regulation of 1866, were studded with a constellation of stars equal in number to the states of the Union, but by the regulations then established, only one star in the centre, was emblazoned on their field.

In 1869, another radical change was made in the designating flags of admirals and commodores; square flags with thirteen alternate red and white stripes, were then prescribed for all the grades of admirals, their position on the fore main or mizzen mast showing the grade of the officer whether admiral, vice, or rear; and if two rear admirals should happen to meet in the same port in command, then the junior is directed while in the presence of the senior to wear two red stars perpendicular in a white canton on the upper luff of the flag. The commodore's pendant is swallow-tailed, but otherwise like the admiral's flag, and worn at the main fore or according to seniority when more than one are in port together.

Each of the states of our Union and most of the territories has a flag of its own, generally of one color, white, blue, or red, and

blazoned with the arms of the state. This flag is carried by the state militia into battle or on parade side by side with the national standard. The state flag of Vermont has thirteen stripes like those on the national flag, and a blue union with one large white star, bearing in its centre the state arms. The national standard of Texas, in 1836, previous to its admission into our Union, was a blue flag bearing a golden star in its centre. Its national flag had a blue perpendicular stripe its whole width next the staff bearing a white star, and the fly of the flag divided into two equal horizontal stripes, white and red, white uppermost. The naval flag of Texas was the same as our national flag, except that the Union had but one white star. Since her admission to the Union, Texas has legalized no other flag.

In answer to a letter of inquiry, the secretary of the state of Iowa in 1866, wrote me : "The state has no state flag other than the stars and stripes, a large interest in which she claims ;" and Brigham Young, in reply to a similar inquiry respecting Utah, said, "We have no territorial flag, our flag is that of the nation, the stars and stripes."

An interesting relic of the period of the revolution of 1776 is the banner or flag of Count Pulaski, presented to him by the Moravian sisters of Bethlehem, Penn.

Count Pulaski was appointed a brigadier in the Continental army on the 15th of Sept., 1777, just after the battle of the Brandy wine, and was given the command of the cavalry.

He resigned the command in a few months, and obtained from congress permission to raise and command an independent corps to consist of 68 horse and 200 foot, which was chiefly raised and fully organized in Baltimore in 1778. Pulaski visited Lafayette while wounded and a recipient of the care and hospitality of the Moravian sisters at Bethlehem, Penn. His presence, and eventful history made a deep impression upon the minds of that community, and when informed that he was organizing a corps of cavalry, they prepared a banner of crimson silk, with designs beautifully wrought with the needle by their own hands and sent it to Pulaski with their blessing. The memory of this event has been embalmed in beautiful verse by Longfellow.

Pulaski received the banner with grateful acknowledgments, and bore it gallantly through many a martial scene, until he fell

in conflict at Savannah, in the autumn of 1779. His banner was saved by his first lieutenant (who received fourteen wounds), and delivered to Captain Bentalon, who on retiring from the army, took the banner home with him to Baltimore. It was used in the procession that welcomed Lafayette to that city in 1824, and was then deposited in Peale's Museum, where it was ceremoniously received by several young ladies. Mr. Edmund Peale presented it to the Maryland Historical Society, in 1844, where it is now carefully preserved in a glass case. Little of its former beauty remains. It is composed of double silk, now faded to a dull brownish red. The designs on each side are embroidered with yellow silk, the letters shaded with green, and a deep bullion fringe ornaments the edge. The size of the banner is twenty inches square. It was attached to a lance when borne in the field.

On one side of the banner are the letters U. S., and in a circle around them, the words UNITAS VIRTUS FORCIOR — Union makes valor stronger. The letter C in the last word is incorrect, it should be T. On the other side in the centre, is the all-seeing eye, with the words NON ALIUS REGIT — No other governs.



Pulaski's Banner.

One of the most interesting of our Revolutionary flags is the flag of Washington's Life Guard which is preserved in the Museum of Alexandria, Va. It is of white silk on which the device is neatly painted. One of the guard is holding a horse, and in the act of receiving a flag from the Genius of Liberty personified as a woman leaning upon the Union shield, near which is an American eagle. The motto of the corps, CONQUER OR

DIE, is on a ribbon over the device. This Life Guard was a distinct corps of mounted men, attached to the person of Washington, but never spared in battle. It was organized in 1776,



Flag of the Washington Life Guards.

soon after the siege of Boston, while the American army was encamped near the city of New York. It consisted of a major's command, one hundred and eighty men, and its chief bore the title of captain commandant. The uniform of the guard consisted of a blue coat with white facings, white waistcoat and breeches, blue half gaiters, and a cocked hat with a white plume. They carried muskets, and occasionally side arms. Care was taken to have all the states, from which the Continental army was supplied with troops, represented in this corps.

BANNERS, BANDEROLES, GUIDONS, PENNONS, ENSIGNS, ETC.

BANNERS.

BANNER; Dutch, *Baniere*; French, *Banniere*; German, *Bannier*; Italian, *Banda*, *Bandiera*; Swedish, *Baner*.

A flag the bond-roll or bond sign, the sign of union, the flag or standard under which men were united or bound for some common purpose.

Various opinions are entertained as to the etymology of the name. Some derive it from the Latin *bandum*, a band or flag, others from the German *ban*, a rallying point, a field, a tenement, because only landed men were allowed a banner. Others again believe it a corruption of *panniere* from *pannus* cloth, because banners were originally made of cloth. The Germans are said

¹ Shakespeare uses *colors* to denote military flags.

to have fastened a streamer to a lance, which the duke carried in front of the army, and which was called *band*, afterwards a large cloth was used, ornamented with emblems and inscriptions.

Knights wore a pointed flag, pennant, or streamer. Bannerets, or little banner men, were of a rank above a simple knight, and yet below that of a baron. They were usually created on a battle-field, when the candidate presented his pennon to the king or general, who cut off the train of it, and thus making it square, returned it to the *banneret* as the symbol of his increased rank. From these customs may be traced the broad pennants worn by commodores and the square flags of our admirals.

The form of the banner has been made to assume almost every shape so small a parallelogram could be converted into, though as a general rule in banners of cognizance or individual escutcheons, its size bore relation to the respective rank of the parties; thus the banner of an earl would be larger than that of a baron, and his still larger than that of a banneret. Anciently banners were plain, and of several colors, but they were early ornamented with devices of men and animals, and finally used as a flying shield to display the blazonry of the bearer, the symbols of a nation, or the heraldry of a particular order, or a department of the state.

The banner, says Burke in his *Heraldic Register* for 1849-50, is coeval with the introduction of heraldry, and dates consequently from the 12th century. It was of nearly a square form, and served as a rallying point of the several divisions of which the army was composed. To judge from the siege of Carleverock,¹ it would seem that early in the 14th century there was a banner to every twenty-five or thirty men at arms, and that thus the battle array was marshaled. At that period the English forces comprised the tenants *in capite* of the crown, with their followers; and it appears that such tenants were entitled to lead their contingent under a banner of their arms; but the precise number so furnished which conferred the privilege, has

¹ The siege of Carleverock is the title of a poem descriptive of the banners of the peers and knights of the English army who were present at the siege of Carleverock castle in Scotland, in Feb., 1301. A fine copy of this work has been recently added to the Boston Public Library.

not been ascertained. When the tenant *in capite* was unable to attend in person from illness or other cause, he nevertheless sent his quota of soldiers and archers the tenure of his lands enjoined, and his banner was committed to the charge of a deputy of equal rank to his own. Thus at Carleverock, the Bishop of Durham sent one hundred and sixty of his men at arms, with his *banner*, entrusted to John de Hastings; and the good Edmund Lord d'Eyncourt, who could not attend himself, "ses deux bon filz en son lieu mist," sent his two brave sons in his stead with his banner of blue billetée of gold, with a dancettée over all. The right to bear a banner was confined to bannerets and persons of higher rank. In 1361, Edward III granted to Sir Guy de Bryan two hundred marks a year for having discreetly borne the king's banner at the siege of Calais, in 1347, and Thomas Strickland, the esquire, who so gallantly sustained Henry's banner at Agincourt, urged the service as worthy of remuneration from Henry VI. In Scotland the representative of the great house of Scrymgeour still enjoys the honor of being hereditary banner bearer of the queen, an office which by special grant Alexander I, in 1107, appointed a member of the Carron family, and gave him the title *Scrimgeour*, for his valor in a sharp fight.

Two manuscripts in the British Museum, not older in date than the reign of Henry VIII, afford us the most authentic information as to the sizes of banners, standards and pennons; extracts from them are printed in an article on banners which appeared in the *Retrospective Review*, in 1827. That valuable work, *Excerpta Historica*, has many interesting details on the subject.

Everard, a correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1792, is authority for stating that bannerets "were feudal lords who, possessing several large fees led their vassals to battle under their own flag or banner when summoned thereto by the king, whereas the *bachlarius eques* or *little* knights in contradistinction to bannerets who were *great* knights, followed that of another." To be qualified for a banneret, one must have been a gentleman of family, and must have had the power to raise a certain number of armed men, with an estate enough to subsist twenty-eight or thirty

¹ *Retrospective Review*, 2d series, vol. 1, page 113.

men. This must have been very considerable in those days ; because each man, besides his servants, had two horsemen to wait on him armed, the one with a cross bow, the other with a bow and hatchet.

As no one was allowed to be a *baron* who had not above thirteen knights' fees, so no one was admitted to be a banneret if he had less than ten.

Some have it that bannerets were originally persons who had some portions of a barony assigned them and enjoyed it under the title *baro proximus*. Some again find the origin of bannerets in France, others in Brittany ; others in England. These last attribute the institution of bannerets to Conan, lieutenant of Maximus, who commanded the Roman legions in England under the empire of Gratian, in A.D. 383. This general, they say, revolting, divided England into forty cantons, and in the cantons distributed forty knights, to whom he gave a power of assembling on occasion under their several banners, as many of the effective men as were found in their respective districts ; whence they are called bannerets. However this may be, Froissart says that anciently such of the military men as were rich enough to raise and subsist a company of armed men, and had a right to do so were called bannerets. Not, however, that these qualifications rendered them knights, but only bannerets ; the appellation of knights being only added thereto because they were simple knights before. John Chandos is said to have been made a banneret by the Black Prince, and the king of Castile at Najara, April 3, 1367.

Bannerets in England were second to none but knights of the garter. They were reputed the next degree below nobility, and were allowed to bear arms with supporters ; which none else could under a baron. In France the dignity was hereditary, but in England it died with the person that gained it. The order dwindled after the institution of baronets, or hereditary knighthood by King James I, in 1611, and at last became extinct in England.¹ The last person created a *banneret*, was Sir John

¹ The first baronet was Sir Nicolas Bacon, created May 22, 1611 ; baronets of Ireland, were created 1629 ; of Nova Scotia, 1625 ; all baronets created since the Irish union 1801, are of the United Kingdom.

Smith, who received the dignity after the Edge Hill fight for his gallantry in rescuing the standard of Charles I (Oct. 23, 1642). George III, however, revived it in 1764, and made Sir William Erskine a banneret.

The banners of the knights of the garter, blazoned with their arms, hang over their stalls or seats in Sir George's Chapel at Windsor. Those of the knights of the bath over their stalls in Henry VII's chapel, Westminster Abbey. In Roman Catholic countries, banners form an important feature in religious services, processions, etc. Before the reformation, all the monasteries in England had banners preserved in their wardrobes, from which they were brought, on anniversaries, festivals, and on other important occasions, and sometimes displayed in battle. Edward I paid eight and a half pence per day to one of the priests of Beverley for carrying in his army the banner of St. John, and one penny per day while taking it back to his monastery.

The union jack of Great Britain is a religious banner, being composed of the crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick. In former times, the corporations had their banners, and the several trading companies — the livery companies of London — still retain them for public occasions as do the St. Patrick, St. Andrew, and other societies of the United States. No political procession or demonstration, would be considered complete in the United States without a display of banners. The study of this subject is of the greatest importance to the historical painter, and but few sources of information are available.

Drayton, in his *Battle of Agincourt*, says :

A silver town Dorset's red banner bears,
The Cornishmen two wrestlers had for theirs.

All the great nobles of England and Scotland carried banners blazoned with their family arms, thus :

Beauchamp, had a bear and ragged staff.

Fitzalan, The white horse of Arundel.

Vere, The blue boar.

Percy, The crescent and manacle, etc., etc., etc.

John of Dreux, Earl of Richmond, in the reign of Edward I, bore a banner charged with the chequy coat of Dreux surrounded

by a bordure of England and a canton of Bretagne. The bordure of England is described as "a red orle with yellow leopards." The banner of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, is thus



De Montfort's
Banner.

(see cut) simply represented on a window in the Cathedral at Chartres, while on his shield he carries a lion rampant. *Banners* and *banner-ols* were usually carried at the funerals of the great in England, from the 11th to the 16th century. They consisted usually of the banners of the arms of the individual and of the families to which he was allied; but upon some occasions ecclesiastical banners were displayed. In 1388, John Lord Montecute, brother of the Earl of Salisbury, ordered in his will that

no painting should be placed about his hearse, excepting one banner of the arms of England, two charged with that of Montecute and two with the arms of Monthermer. It was customary in the 14th century for those who were either descended from or nearly connected by marriage to the royal family, to use the royal arms in some way or other in conjunction with their own. Isabel, Countess of Suffolk, in 1416, and the Earl of Huntington, in 1380, forbade any banners to be borne at their funerals, but Richard, Earl of Salisbury, in 1458, ordered that at his interment "there be banners, standards and other accoutrements according as was usual to a person of his degree." At the ceremony of exposing the body of Richard II, in St. Paul's Cathedral 1400, four banners were affixed to the carriage or bier that supported it; of which two contained the arms of St. George, and the other two the arms of Edward the Confessor. In 1542, Sir Gilbert Talbot, of Grafton, desired that four banners should be carried at his funeral, one of the Trinity, one of the Annunciation of Our Lady, one of St. John the Evangelist, and one of St. Anthony; and Sir David Owen, who died the same year, ordered by his will, a dated 1529, that his body should be buried after the degree of banneret, that is with helmet and sword, his coat armor, his banner, his standard, and his pendant, and set over all a banner of the Holy Trinity, one of Our Lady, and another of St. George, borne after the order of a man of his degree; and that the same should be placed over his tomb in the priory of Essebourne.

During the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth, and even later, care was observed that the proper banners should be carried at the funerals of persons of rank.

The *banderole* or *banneral*, was a small banner about a yard square, several of which were carried at funerals. They generally displayed the arms and the matches of the deceased's



Oliver Cromwell's Funeral
Bannerol.

ancestors, especially of those which brought honor or estate into the family. These arms filled the entire flag, which is on some occasions fringed with the principal metal and color of the arms of the deceased. The bannerol which was placed at the head of Cromwell at his magnificent funeral, exhibited his arms, viz: *Sable*, a lion rampart *argent*; impaling Stuart *or*, on a fess chequy, *argent* and *azure*. An escutcheon

argent debruised with a bend fretty, *or*. At the restoration, Cromwell's body and those of some of his associates were dug up, suspended on Tyburn gallows for a whole day, and then buried under it. The head of Cromwell was taken off, carried to Westminster Hall and fixed there, where it remained some time; but the great tempest at the commencement of 18th century blew it down, when it was picked up by the great-grandfather of its present possessor, a citizen of London — a significant commentary on earthly greatness. "The body of Cromwell, carried to his burial in royal state, only a few years after his interment is rudely torn from its last resting place, and the half decayed carcass, dragged by the heels through the mud and mire of London, is hanged upon Tyburn tree, the head afterwards torn off and placed so that in grinning horror it ever looked towards the spot where King Charles was executed."²

The *guydon* or *guidon* Fr. (derived from *guide-honores*), resembled a banner in form and emblazonment, but was one-third less in size, and frequently had the end rounded off. It was the standard of a company of soldiers and borne by their cornet.

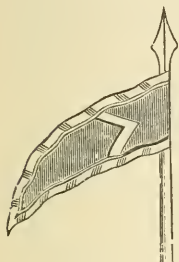
¹ *Fairhol's Dictionary of Terms of Art.* ² *Anonymou.*

“The Guydhome must be two yards and a half, or three yards longe, and therein shall no armes be putt, but only the mans crest, cognizance & devyce, and from that, from his stand-ard and streamer, a man may flee, but not from his banner or pennon bearinge his armes.”

“Place under the Guidhome fifty men, by the conduct of an Esquire or gentleman.”¹

Every guidon carried in chief, a cross, of St. George.

The PENNON (Fr.), was a small banner or streamer half the size of the guidon, of a swallow-tailed form attached to the handle of a spear or lance, such as the lancers of the present day carry. Afterwards it became by increase in length and breadth a military ensign, and was charged with the crest badge, or war cry of the knight: his *arms* being emblazoned on his banner. The pennon charged with a cross, is borne by St. George, St. Michael, and St. Ursula: that of John the Baptist is simply inscribed with his words announcing the coming of Christ: *Ecce Agnus Dei*. The illustration



represents a pennon of the earliest form, and is copied from one held by the figure of Sir John Daubernoun (1277), as represented on his monumental brass in the church of Stoke D'Aubernoun, Surrey.

A manuscript, giving the size of banners, etc., in the 15th century says, “Every knight may have his pennon, if he be chiefe captaine and in it sett his armes; and if he be made a *Banneret* by the King or the Lieutenant, shall make a slitte in the end of the pennon, and the heraldes shall raze it oute: and when a knight is made a *Banneret* the heralds shall bringe him to his tente, and receive for their fees, three pounds, eleven shillings and four pence for every bachelor knight, and the trumpetter twenty shillings.”

ENSIGN. Wal. *insigna*, Spa. *ensena*, Lat. *insigne*, Fre. *ensigne*, also in English *antient* or *ancient*, applied both to the flag

¹Manuscripts, British Museum.

and its bearer. Edward the Black Prince commanded his "ancient" bearer, Sir Walter Woodland, to march forward.¹ King Richard took with him on his crusade the standard and *ensigns* of his kingdom.² Of late years, the national flag borne by vessels whether of war or merchant ships have been known as *ensigns*, and a grade of junior officers have been introduced into the United States navy, who are styled *ensigns*, though their duties do not necessarily have any connection with the colors. The French also have a class of officers in their navy styled *ensigns de vasseaux*.

That celebrated piece of royal embroidery, the Bayeux tapestry, said to be the handiwork of Matilda, the consort of William the Conqueror, exhibits a complete display of the military ensigns in use at the period of the conquest by both the Norman invaders and the Saxon occupants of England.³ The opposite examples taken from it afford an idea of the shape and devices of the ensigns of the military chieftains of the 11th century.

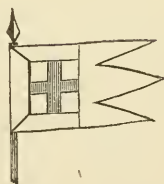
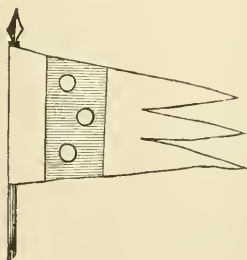
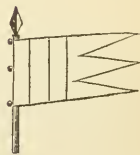
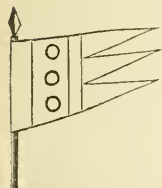
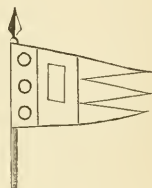
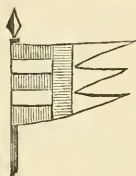
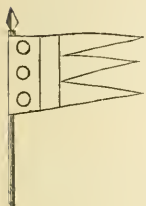
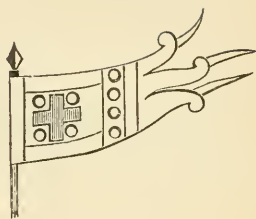
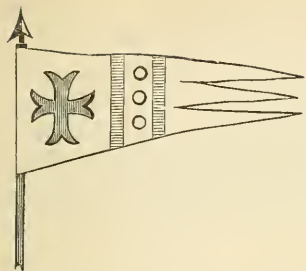
The Bayeux tapestry is *nineteen* inches wide, and *two hundred and fourteen feet* long, and is divided into compartments showing the events from Harold's visit to the Norman court, to his death at Hastings; it is now preserved in the public library at Bayeux, near Caen, Normandy. A copy drawn by C. Stothard, and colored after the originals, was published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1821-3. It has been recently announced that a fac simile in chromo-lithograph, the full size of the original, is to be published.

GONFANONS. Dr. Myrick considers the small pennon attached to a lance in the hand of William the Conqueror on his great seal as a *gonfanon*, differing from a banner in this respect; he says that instead of being square, and fastened to a transverse bar, the gonfanon though of the same figure was fixed in a frame, made to turn like a modern ship's vane, with two or three streamers or tails. The object of the gonfanon was principally to render great people more conspicuous to their followers, and to terrify the horses of their adversaries, hence the gonfanon became a mark of dignity. From the Bayeux tapestry it would appear that a kind of standard was borne near the person of the commander

¹ *Butt's Heraldry*.

² Stow.

³ Hakluyt.



Ensigns from the Bayeux Tapestry.

in chief, and which is described by the writer of the period as a gonfanon. Wace says :

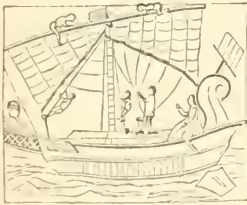
The barons had gonfanons,
The knights had pennons.

The Conqueror's gonfanon as depicted on the Bayeux tapestry¹ has three tails, and is white within a blue border charged with a cross, *or.*

THE EARLY USE OF ENSIGNS AND COLORS ON BOARD SHIPS.

According to Wilkinson and Bonomi there are no flags depicted upon either Egyptian or Assyrian representations of vessels ; but in lieu of a flag, certain devices are embroidered on the sail, such as a phenix, flowers, etc., whence the sails bearing the device was called *nes* or ensign.

The utility of vanes and pennons must have been soon suggested, as a means of ascertaining the direction of the wind. The blazoning them with the arms of the owner, or the name of the vessel naturally followed. Livy mentions that Scipio (B. C. 202), was met by a ship of the Carthaginians "garnished with infules, ribbands and *white flags of peace*, and beset with branches of olives, etc. A medal of the time of Antiochus VII, king of Syria, B. C. 123, shows a galley without mast or sail having a swallow-tailed flag, not slung upon a spreader but hoisted on an ensign staff abaft. The prophet Ezekiel, whose prophecies date some 600 years B.C., when metaphorically comparing the maritime city of Tyre to one of the ships by which they carried on their commerce, speaks of her *banner* as made of fine linen.



The illuminated copies of *Froissart's Chronicles* in the British Museum present many curious illustrations of the manner of carrying the flags at sea. Some of the vessels have a man at arms in the top holding on a staff the banner of the nation to which it belongs. One of the illuminations of the time of Henry

¹ *Retrospective Review.*

VI, (1430-61), represents a ship with shields slung along her topsides, a very ancient practice, which was continued by painting the arms and devices on the bulwarks, and from whence come the figure heads and stern carvings of modern ships. In some instances the banners of ships were consecrated. Baldwin, Earl of Flanders (1204), had one of this description, and William the Conqueror, when he invaded England (1066), hoisted at the mast-head of the *Mora*,¹ the ship that conveyed him to its shores, a square white banner. This banner was charged with a gold cross within a blue border, surmounted by another cross of gold consecrated by Pope Alexander II, expressly for the occasion.

A variety of colors were borne by ships in the fourteenth century. Besides the national banner of St. George and the banner of the king's army, which, after the year 1340, consisted of three lions of England quartered with the arms of France — azure semée of gold fleur-de-lys — every ship had pennoncel with the arms of St. George and two streamers charged with the image of the saint after whom she was called, but if she had not a Christian name, the streamers contained other charges. About 1346, one hundred and sixty pennoncel, with the arms of St. George, were made for ships. The standards of St. George had sometimes a leopard, *i. e.*, the lion of England, in chief.

In 1337, the St. Botolph and the Nicholas carried streamers with the images of the saints of those names. These streamers were from fourteen to thirty-two ells long, and from three to five in breadth. Before the battle of Espagnols sur Mer, in 1350, two standards and two streamers were issued to all the king's ships, those called after saints having their effigies. Some of the other streamers were peculiar. That of the Jerusalem was white and red, and contained white dragons, green lozenges, and leopards' heads. That of the Edward had the king's arms with an E, and the streamer and banner of the ship appointed for the king's wardrobe, was charged with his arms and a *black key*. Two *gonfanons* are stated to have once been supplied to

¹ Her name, The *Mira* or *Mora*, is supposed to mean *Mansion*. She was presented to the Conqueror by his Dutchess Matilda as a parting gift. A picture of her is preserved on the Bayeux tapestry. Her sail is painted in three stripes, viz: red or brown, yellow, and red. All the ships of William's fleet were painted in horizontal stripes differently colored. The *Mora* was painted alternately brown and blue.

ships, probably to distinguish the vessels that bore them from other vessels. Also a *streamer* charged with a dragon.

STREAMERS were considered warlike ensigns, for one of the requisitions made to the mayor of Lynn on the part of the French ambassadors appointed to carry the treaty of Montreuil into effect, was, that the masters of ships belonging to Lynn, who were going to those ambassadors in Hainault, should be forbidden to bear unusual streamers, or other signs of mortal war, until commanded to do so by the king, to avoid incurring the dangers mentioned in the eighth article of a convention agreed to before Pope Boniface the Eighth, for settling some disputes between the French and the inhabitants of Lynn, and of other maritime towns of England and Gascony.

The banner of the admiral of a fleet was hoisted on board his ship; and when any eminent person was passenger, his banner seems also to have been displayed. In 1337, Sir John Roos, admiral of the northern fleet, was sent to convey the bishop of Lincoln and the earls of Salisbury and Huntingdon, on their return to England from a foreign mission; and the Christopher was furnished with banners of the arms of Sir John Roos, of the bishop of Lincoln, and of the earl of Salisbury. These banners were one ell and three-quarters long, and two cloths wide. The Christopher also received a banner of the king's arms, and two worsted standards, which were nine ells long and three cloths wide.

Besides streamers containing a representation of the saint after whom a ship was named, his image seems to have been likewise sent on board. When Edward the Third embarked in his cog, the Thomas, in 1350, before the battle with the Spaniards, an image of St. Thomas appears to have been made for that vessel; and an image of our lady which had been captured in a ship at sea by John de Ryngeborne, was carefully conveyed from Westminster to Eltham, and there delivered to the king, in February, 1376. Targets and pavises, or large shields, great numbers of which were placed on every ship, were sometimes painted with the arms of St. George, and at others with an escutcheon of the king's arms within the garter.¹

¹ Sir N. Harris Nicolas's *History of the Royal Navy*, vol. II.

On a manuscript relating the principal events in the life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, written by John Rous, a chanting priest of Guy's Cliff, there is a representation of a ship



having a main and mizzen mast with the sail braced up for sailing on a wind, contrary to the earlier practice of sailing always before the wind. The streamer does not fly in accordance with the angle of the sail; but this anomaly by the priestly artist may be supposed to have arisen from his desire to make the best display of

the armorial bearings on the streamer, which it appears from the following bill copied from the original preserved in *Dugdale's Warwickshire*, was made in 1437, viz :

“These be the parcells that Will Seburg, citizen and peyn-tour of London, hath delivered in the month of Juyn (July) the xv yeer of the reign of King Harry Sext (1437) to John Ray, taillour of the same city, for the use and stuff of my Lord Warwick.

“*Item*, for a grete Stremour for the ship of xl yerdes lenght, and vij. yerdes in brede, with a grete Bear and Gryfon holding a ragged staff, poudrid full of ragged staves, and for a grete crosse of St. George, for the lymming and portraying 1. 6. 8.

Item, for a guiton for the shippe, of viij. yerdes long, poudrid full of ragged staves, for the lymming and workmanship 0. 2. 0.

“*Item*, iij. Pennons of satyn entreteyned with ragged staves, for the lymming full of ragged staves, price the piece, ijs, 3. 6. 0.”

The *gryfon* mentioned in this account, does not appear on the streamer; but probably it was painted on the side that is not seen; and with this exception, the streamer of the ship is identified with that described in the bill, and shows that the ship was equipped July, 1437. The use of streamers was

confined to ships, and still exists in the narrow pennant or coach whip pennants of modern ships of war.

When Eustace, the monk, in 1217 put to sea from Calais with a fleet of eighty ships besides galleys and smaller craft intending to proceed up the Thames to London, and was descried off the coast of England, a writer of the time says, some one exclaimed "Is there any one among you who is this day ready to die for England," and was answered by another "Here am I." When the first speaker observed, "Take with thee an axe and when thou seest us engaging the tyrant's ship, climb up the mast, and cut down the banner, that the other vessels may be dispersed for the want of a leader." From this we may infer that the French commander of a fleet carried a distinguishing banner. Yet nothing can be found showing that the English admiral in the reign of Edward II, bore any distinguishing ensign by day; but as the admiral and his vice admiral certainly carried distinguishing lights by night, it is extremely probable that his ship should have been indicated by having his banner at the mast head, and which agrees with the fact that vessels were supplied with the banner of the admiral who sailed in them. In 1346, on an expedition against Normandy, Froissart says Edward took the ensign from the admiral, the Earl of Warwick, and declared that he himself would be admiral on the voyage, and running ahead, led the fleet.

On a *rose noble* of Edward III, the king is represented as standing on a ship which carries at its mast head a pennon of St. George.¹ On a rose noble of Queen Elizabeth, her majesty is seated in the ship, which is charged with a Tudor rose and carries at the bow a banner bearing an initial letter -- a gothic E.

In 1520, Henry VII, ordered built a great ship such as had never been seen in England, which was called the *Harry Grace de Dieu*, or *Great Harry*. A drawing of her, preserved in the Pepsian collection at Cambridge, England, shows her at anchor profusely decorated with *twenty-five* flags and standards. The ship has *four* masts and the high poop and forecastle of those

¹ For a description of this rose noble, see *The American Journal of Numismatics* for Jan. 1872, also Entick's *Naval History*, published 1757. It was coined to assert King Edward's dominion of the sea, title to France, and to commemorate his Naval victory over the French fleet in 1340; the greatest that had ever been obtained at sea by the English, and the *first* wherein a king of England had commanded in person, wherein the French are said to have lost 30,000 men.

times. Each of her round tops at her lower and topmast's heads, and the bowsprit end (nine in all), are furnished with a streamer or standard bearing a cross of St. George at the luff, with the ends divided longitudinally by a red and white stripe, the red in chief. At three of the mastheads are St. George ensigns, and on the principal mast a flag or standard blazoned with the royal arms, and having a St. George cross in the fly. The poop, waist, and forecastle show a line of flags or banners, *two* of which are St. George flags with a blue fly bearing a fleur de lis, and *one* bearing a rose, also *two* plain blue flags charged with a fleur de lis and rose. Four are striped horizontally red and white, and four striped horizontally yellow and white.

A drawing of the same ship under sail given by Allen exhibits a banner with the royal arms at the main masthead, a blue banner bearing a rose on the mast next abaft it and St. George flags white with a red cross at both the fore and mizzen mast-heads. A large royal standard on the ensign staff at poop, and seven streamers or standards of various colors and devices, scattered about the rigging.

An engraving prefixed to Heywood's description of the Sovereign of the Seas, built in 1637 by Charles I, and which "was just as many tons burthen as the year of our Lord in which she was built," shows that famous ship with four masts. A white ensign cantoned with a St. George's cross flies from a staff on a bowsprit, and a St. George flag or jack at the fore. A banner blazoned with the royal arms is at the main, and the unionjack of 1606 at the mast next abaft.

A better picture of the same ship painted by Vanderveldt exhibits her with only three masts, and under sail, with a union jack at the bowsprit. A banner bearing the royal arms and supporters is on the ensign staff, and flags at the fore and mizzen mastheads, are blazoned with the crown and royal cypher surrounded by the garter and mottoes on ribbons.

A ship on the tapestry of the house of lords, which has since been destroyed by fire, exhibited the royal standard at the main, swallow tailed banners at the fore and mizzen, and a St. George ensign.

In a very old representation of the fight with the Spanish armada on the coast of England, which has been engraved, all the ships wear ensigns, flags and streamers.

The Venetian galleys of the 14th century carried blue banners and ensigns, blazoned with the winged lion and book of St. Mark, or.

A manuscript in the British Museum of the time of Henry VIII, assigning directions relative to the size of banners, standards, etc., says, "A streamer shall stand in the toppe of a shippe, or in the fore castle, and therein be putt no armes, but in mans conceit or device, and may be of the lengthe of twenty, thirty, forty or sixty yardes, and it is slitte as well as a guyd homme or standarde, and that may a gentler man or any other have and beare." This answers to the description of the modern coach ship pennant used to denote the commander of a single ship of war.

When William, Prince of Orange, sailed for England on the 21st Oct., 1688, with five hundred sail, he carried the flag of England, and his own arms with this motto: "*I will maintain the Protestant Religion and the Liberties of England.*"

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SEA.—STRIKING FLAGS.

As early as the reign of King John (A. D. 1200–13), England claimed the sovereignty of the narrow seas, surrounding her bright little isle, and it was enacted that if any commanders of the fleets should meet with those of foreign nations at sea, the masters of which refused to strike to the English flag, such ships or vessels, if taken, should be deemed good and lawful prizes, though the state to which they belonged was at peace with England.¹

In the reign of Mary, 1554, a Spanish fleet of one hundred and sixty sail, *having Philip their king on board* to espouse Queen Mary, fell in with that of England under the command of Lord Wm. Howard, lord high admiral in the narrow seas, consisting of twenty-eight sail. Philip had the *flag of Spain* flying at the main topmast head, and would have passed the English fleet without paying the customary honors, had not the English admiral fired a shot at the Spanish admiral, and *forced the whole fleet to strike their colors, and lower their topsails as an*

¹ *Kent's Brig. Nau.*, vol. 1.

homage to the English flag before he would permit his squadron to salute the Spanish prince.

In the reign of James I, in 1604, a dispute having arisen between the English and Dutch with respect to the compliment of the flag, a fleet was sent to sea under the command of Sir Wm. Monson who on his arrival in the Downs for Calais discovered a squadron of Dutch men of war, whose admiral, on Sir William Monson's passing their squadron, struck his flag three times. This English admiral, not satisfied with the compliment, persisted in his *keeping it struck during* his cruise on the English coast.

Nov. 1625. Sir Robert Mansell fell in with six French men of war on the coast of Spain, and obliged their admiral to strike his flag, and pay him the usual compliments.

In 1629, the various disputes constantly arising respecting the honor of the flag which the English claimed, induced the famous Hugo Grotius to write a treatise called *Mare Liberum*, on the futility of the English title to the dominion of the sea, which he considered was a gift from God common to all nations.

In 1634, Mr. Selden wrote a treatise in answer, called *Mare Clausem*, in which he asserts that Britons "have an hereditary and uninterrupted right to the sovereignty of their seas conveyed to them from their ancestors, in trust for their latest posterity." A copy of this book was ordered by the king "to be kept in the Court of Admiralty, there to remain as a just evidence of our dominion of the sea." A proclamation was published the same year asserting the sovereignty of the sea, and to regulate the manner of wearing the flag.

In 1635, the combined fleets of France and Holland vauntingly gave out that they intended to assert their own independence and to dispute that prerogative which the English claimed in the narrow seas; but as soon as they were informed an English fleet of forty ships was at sea, and in search of them, they quitted the English coast and returned to their own.

On the 20th of Aug., 1636, the Dutch vice admiral, Van Dorp, saluted the English admiral, the Earl of Northumberland, by lowering his topsails, striking his flag, and firing of guns; and the same year on the earl's return to the Downs, he discovered twenty-six sail of Spaniards bound to Dunkirk, who upon his approach paid him like marks of respect.

On the 4th of April, 1654, a peace was concluded between England and Holland, by which the Dutch, in one of their articles, consented to acknowledge the sovereignty of the sea to the English.

“That the ships of the Dutch, as well ships of war as others, meeting any of the ships of war of the English commonwealth in the British seas, shall strike their flags, and lower their topsail, in such manner as hath ever been at any time heretofore practiced under any forms of government.”

This appears to be the first instance of England’s establishing her right by a formal treaty.¹

In 1673, an order was issued to all the commanders of his majesty’s ships of war, that in future they were not to require from the ships of war of France the striking of the flag or topsail, or salute; neither were they to give any salute to those of the Christian king.²

On the 9th Feb., 1764, another treaty was made with Holland, in which it was stipulated, that any Dutch ships of war or others meeting those of the king of Great Britain, “in any of the seas from Cape Finisterre to the middle point of the land Van Staten in Norway, shall strike their topsail and lower their flag, in the same manner, and with the like testimony of respect, as has been usually paid at any time or place heretofore by the Dutch ships, to those of the king or his ancestors.”

In 1704, a dispute arose at Lisbon respecting the ceremony of the flag, in which the English admiral Sir George Rooke, the king of Spain, and the king of Portugal, were participators. The king of Portugal required that on his coming on board the admiral’s ship in his barge of state, and striking his standard, the English flag might be struck at the same time; and that when his catholic majesty, with himself, should go off from the ship, his standard might be hoisted, and the admiral’s flag continued struck until they were on shore. This proposition was made from the king of Portugal to the king of Spain. The admiral replied, “that his majesty so long as he should be on board, might command the flag to be struck when he pleased; but that whenever he left the ship, he was himself admiral, and obliged

¹ *Anderson’s Origin of Commerce*, vol. II.

² *Memoirs Relating to the Navy*.

to execute his commission by immediately hoisting his flag." "So the flag of England was no longer struck than the standard of Portugal."¹

As late as 1769, a French frigate anchored in the Downs, without paying the customary salute, and Capt. John Hollwell of the Apollo frigate sent an officer on board to demand it. The French captain refused to comply; upon which Capt. H^o ordered the Hawke sloop of war to fire two shots over her, when he thought proper to strike his colors and salute.

Falconer's Dictionary, published the same year, giving the principal regulations in the royal navy with regard to salutes, says: "All foreign ships of war are *expected* to take in their flag and strike their topsails in acknowledgment of his majesty's sovereignty in his majesty's seas, and, if they refuse, it is enjoined to all flag officers and commanders to use their utmost endeavors to compel them thereto, and not suffer any dishonor to be done his majesty."¹ "And it is to be observed in his majesty's seas his majesty's ships are in no wise to strike to any; and that in other parts, no ship is to strike her flag or topsail to any foreigner, unless such foreign ship shall have first struck or at the same time strike her flag or topsail to his majesty's ship."

Instances of former British arrogance in claiming this sovereignty of the narrow seas, so called, could be multiplied.

The present rule for ships of the United States meeting the flag ships of war of other nations at sea, or in foreign parts, is for the United States vessel to salute the foreign ship first if she be commanded by an officer his superior in rank, and he receives assurance that he will receive gun for gun in return. The national flag of the vessel saluted is displayed at the fore and the jib hoisted at the first gun and hauled down at the last.

"No vessel of the navy is to lower her sails or dip her colors to another vessel of the navy; but should a foreign vessel or merchant vessel of the United States dip her colors or lower her sails to any vessel of the navy, the compliment shall be instantly returned."

¹ *Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, vol. III. *James's Naval History*; *Lediard's ditto*; *Entick's ditto*; *Burchet's ditto*; *Harris's Hist. Royal Navy*; *Scomberg's Naval Chronology*, etc.

MASONIC STANDARDS. — STANDARD OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR.

MASONIC STANDARDS. The standard designated as the principal or general standard of symbolic masonry, is described as follows :

The escutcheon or shield on the banner is divided into four compartments or quarters by a green cross, over which a narrower one of the same length of limb, and of a yellow color, is placed, forming what is called a cross *vert*, voided *or* ; each of the compartments formed by the limits of the cross is occupied by a different device. In the first quarter, is placed a golden lion in a field of blue, to represent the standard of the tribe of Judah ; in the second, a black ox on a field of gold to represent Ephraim ; in the third, a man in a field of gold to represent Reuben, and in the fourth, a golden eagle, on a blue ground to represent Dan. Over all is placed on a crest, an ark of the covenant, and the motto is "Holiness to the Lord." Besides this, there are six other standards proper to be borne in processions, the material of which must be white bordered with a blue fringe, or ribbon, and on each of which is incised one of the following words : FAITH, HOPE, CHARITY, WISDOM, STRENGTH, BEAUTY.

In the royal arch degree, as recognized in the United States, there are five standards :

The royal arch captain carries a white standard emblematic of purity of heart and rectitude of conduct.

The standard of the master of the third veil is scarlet, emblematic of fervency and zeal, and is the appropriate color of the royal arch degree.

The standard of the master of the second veil is purple which is emblematic of union, being a due mixture of blue and scarlet, the appropriate colors of the symbolic and royal arch degrees ; and this teaches to cultivate the spirit of harmony and love between brethren of the symbolic and companions of the sublime degrees which should ever distinguish the members of a society founded upon the principle of everlasting truth and universal philanthropy.

The standard of the master of the first vail is blue, the peculiar color of the ancient craft, or symbolic degrees, which is emblematic of universal friendship and benevolence.

In the royal arch degrees, as practiced in the chapters of England, twelve standards are used illustrating the twelve tribes of Israel, which are as follows :

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 Judah, scarlet, a lion couchant. | 7 Ephraim, green, an ox. |
| 2 Issachar, blue, an ass. | 8 Manasseh, flesh color, a |
| 3 Zebulon, purple, a ship. | vine by the side of a wall. |
| 4 Reuben, red, a man. | 9 Benjamin, green, a wolf. |
| 5 Simeon, yellow, a sword. | 10 Dan, green, an eagle. |
| 6 Gad, white, a troop of horse- | 11 Asher, purple, a cup. |
| men. | 12 Naphtali, blue, a hind. |

The banner, or grand standard, of masonic knighthood is of white silk, six feet in height, and five feet in width, made tripartite at the bottom, fastened at the top, to the cross bar by nine rings. In the centre of the standard, a blood red passion cross edged with gold over which is the motto "*In hoc signo vinces*" and under "*Non nobis Domini, non nobis sed nomini tuo da Gloriam!*" The cross is four feet long, and both upright, and is seven inches wide. On the top of the staff is a gilded ball or globe four inches in diameter surmounted by a patriarchal cross twelve inches in height.

The grand standard of the ancient and accepted Scottish rite is of silk three and a half feet long by two and a half wide, edged with gold, gold fringe and tassels. In the centre a double headed eagle under which on a blue scroll the motto "*DEUS MEUMQUE JUS.*" In the upper part of a triangle irradiated over the crowned heads of the eagle, are the figures 33 in the centre.¹

KNIGHTS TEMPLAR originated in the piety of nine French knights, who in 1118 followed Godfrey de Bouillon to the Crusades. They were suppressed March 22, 1312.

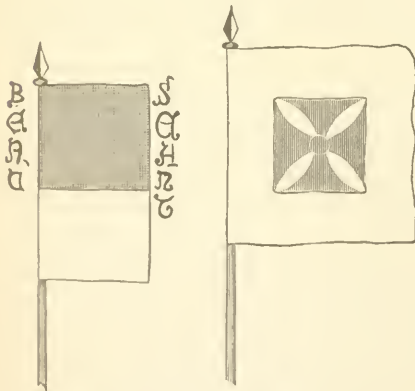
St. Bernard thus described the Knights Templar in their early days : "They lived without anything they could call their own.

¹ *Macoy's Cyclopædia of Masonry.*

Not even their fair will : they are generally simply dressed, and covered with dust, their faces embrowned with the burning sun, and a fixed, severe expression. On the eve of battle, they arm themselves with faith within and steel without ; these are their only decoration, and they use them with valor, in the greatest perils fearing neither the number nor the strength of the barbarians. Their whole confidence is placed in the God of armies, and fighting for his cause they seek death. Oh, happy way of life, in which they can await death without fear, desire it with joy, and receive it with assurance!" The oath they took on their entrance, was found in the archives of the Abbey of Accobaga, in Aragon ; it is as follows :

"I swear to consecrate my words, my arms, my strength and my life to the defense of the mysteries of the faith ; and that of the unity of God. I also promise to be submissive and obedient to the grand master of the order. Whenever it is needful I will cross seas to fight. I will give help against all infidel kings and princes ; and in the presence of three enemies, I will not fly, but fight, if they are infidels."

The Knights Templar, instituted A. D. 1118 by Baldwin II, of Jerusalem, carried at their head their celebrated standard,

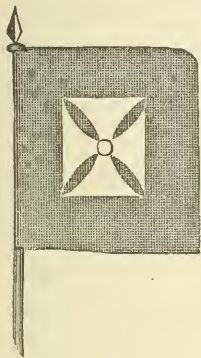


Knights Templar Standards.

called the *beauceant* or *seant*, which bore the motto : "*Non nobis Domine, non nobis sed nomini tuo da gloriam ;*" and after this they marched to battle reciting prayers, having first received the holy sacrament. It was in 1237, that the knight who carried the *beauceant* in an action when the Mussulmans had the advantage, held it raised

above his head until his conquerors, with redoubled blows, had pierced his whole body and cut off both his hands.

The beauceant was of woolen or silk stuff six feet in height and five feet in width, and tripartite at the bottom, fastened at the top to the cross bar by nine rings. The upper half of the standard is black, and the lower half white. The illustration of this standard is as it is represented in the Temple church at London. They also displayed above their formidable lance, a second banner of their own colors, white, charged with the cross of the order of eight points.



Hospitaller's Standard.

In 1309, the Knights Templar were suppressed, and by a papal bull, dated April 3, 1312, their order was abolished. Numbers of the order were tried, condemned and burnt alive or hanged 1308-10, and it suffered great persecutions throughout Europe: eighty-eight were burnt at Paris, 1310. The grand master De Molay was burnt alive at Paris, March, 1314.

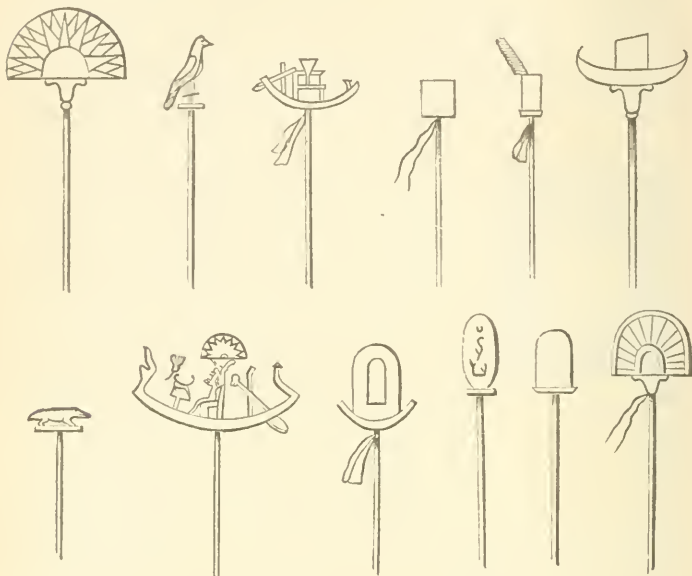
The banner of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem was charged with a white or silver cross of eight points. They were also called Knights of St. John and Knights of Rhodes, and finally Knights of Malta. The order was founded about 1099 and confirmed by the pope, 1113. The Emperor Paul of Russia, declared himself grand master of the order, June, 1799, and the Czar of Russia has continued to be the grand master and patron of the order to the present time.

ANCIENT MILITARY STANDARDS. THE EGYPTIAN, GRECIAN, HEBREW, ASSYRIAN, PERSIAN STANDARDS.

OF STANDARDS.

The ancient military standards consisted of a symbol carried on a pole. In more modern times they were the largest and most important flags borne. Fixed on the tops of towers or elevated places, or on platforms, and always the rallying point in battle, they obtained the name of standards from being stationary. *Ducange* derives the name from *standarum* or *stantarum*, *standardum*, *standate*, used in corrupt Latin to signify the principal flag in an army. *Menage* derives it from the German *stander*, or English *stand*.

The EGYPTIANS, according to Diodorus, carried an animal at the end of a spear as their standard. Sir G. Wilkinson in his



Egyptian Standards, from Wilkinson.

work on the ancient Egyptians, speaking of their armies says (I, 294), "Each battalion and indeed each company had its



Standards of Pharaoh.

particular standard which represented a sacred subject, a king's name, a sacred boat, an animal or some emblematical device." Among the Egyptian sculptures and paintings there also appear standards which either resemble at top a rounded headed table-knife, or an expanded semi-circular fan. Another of their ancient standards was an eagle stripped of its feathers — the emblem of the Nile. The illustration represents a

group of Egyptian standards as they were used in the army in the time of Pharaoh.¹

¹ *Ten Thousand Wonderful Things.*

The GREEKS set up a piece of armor at the end of a spear as a rallying signal, though Homer makes Agamemnon afterwards use a purple vail with which to rally his men. The Athenians bore an owl, the emblem of Minerva, and the olive for a standard. Other nations the effigies of their tutelary gods, or their particular symbols at the end of a spear. Thus: the Corinthians bore a winged horse or Pegasus on theirs. The Messenians, the letter *M*. The Lacedemonians the letter *L*, in Greek Λ . Alexander, called the Great, when he began to claim for himself a divine origin, caused a standard to be prepared, inscribed with the title of *Son of Ammon*, and planted it near the image of Hercules, which as that of his tutelary deity was the ensign of the Grecian host.

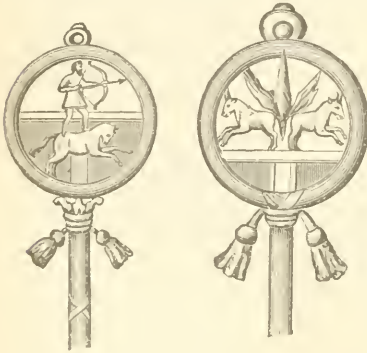
The HEBREWS in the time of Moses had their emblems. We find in the second of Numbers, 1491 B.C., 1st chap., 52d verse, the children of Israel directed to "pitch their tents every man by his own camp, and every man by his own *standard* throughout the hosts," and 2d chapter 2d verse, every man was "to pitch by his own *standard* of their father's house far off about the tabernacle."

In the wilderness, says Adam Clarke, they were marshalled according to their tribes, each tribe being subdivided into families. Every head of a subdivision or thousand was furnished with an ensign or standard under which his followers arranged themselves according to a preconcerted plan, both when in camp and when on the march; and thus all confusion was prevented how hastily soever the order might be given to proceed or halt and pitch their tents. The four leading divisions, viz: Reuben, Ephraim, Judah and Dan, were designated by the component parts of the cherubim and seraphim, a man, an ox, a lion, and an eagle. According to the Talmudists, the standard of Judah had on it a lion painted with this inscription "*Rise, Lord, let thine enemies be dispersed, and let those that hate thee flee before thee.*" They gave to Issachar, an ass; to Zebulun, a ship; to Reuben, a river and sometimes the figure of a man; to Simeon, a sword; to Gad, a lion; to Manasseh, an ox; to Benjamin, a wolf; to Dan, a serpent or an eagle. The ensign of Asher was a handful of corn, and that of Naphtali a stag.

¹ See pages 38, 39.

Allusions to standards, banners, and ensigns are frequent in the Holy Scriptures. The post of standard bearer was at all times of the greatest importance, and none but officers of approved valor were ever chosen for such service; hence Jehovah, describing the ruin and discomfiture which he was about to bring on the haughty king of Assyria, says, "And they shall be as when a standard bearer fainteth."

ASSYRIAN STANDARDS. Among the sculptures of Nineveh, which Layard brought to light, are representations of the



Assyrian Standards.

standards of the Assyrians carried by charioteers. These sculptures have only two devices: One of a figure standing on a bull and drawing a bow; the other two bulls running in opposite directions, supposed the symbols of peace and war.

PERSIAN STANDARDS.

The standard of ancient Persia, adopted by Cyrus, according to Herodotus, and Xenophon, and perpetuated, was a golden eagle with outstretched wings painted on a white flag.

The standard of Koah, the sacred standard of the Persians, was originally the leathern apron of the blacksmith, Kairah or Koah, which he reared as a banner B. C. 800, when he aroused the people and delivered Persia from the tyranny of Sohek or Bivar, surnamed Deh-ak (ten vices). It was embroidered with gold, and enlarged from time to time with costly silk, until it was twenty-two feet long, and fifteen broad; and was decorated with gems of inestimable value. With this standard the fate of the kingdom was believed by superstitious Persians to be connected.

This standard was victorious over the Moslems at the battle of El Iser, or the battle of the bridge, A. D. 634, and was captured by them two years later at the battle of Kadesir, which the Persians call, of Armath; the Moslems, "The day of succor

from the timely arrival of reenforcements." To the soldier who captured it thirty thousand pieces of gold was paid by command of Saad, and the jewels with which it was studded were put with the other booty. In this battle, which is as famous among the Arabs as Arbela among the Greeks, thirty thousand Persians are said to have fallen, and seven thousand Moslems.¹ Thus after 1434 years service this standard was destroyed.

THE ROMAN STANDARDS.

Each legion of the Roman army was divided into ten cohorts, each cohort into three maniples, each maniple into two centurions, which would give sixty centurions to a legion, the regular force of which was therefore 6,000; but sometimes the number of men in a legion varied, and in the time of Polybius, a legion had but four thousand two hundred.

When the army came near a place of encampment, some of the tribunes and centurions, with proper persons appointed for that service, were sent to mark out the ground, and assigned to each his proper quarters which they did by erecting flags (*vexillas*) of different colors. The place for the general's tent was marked with a white flag.

Each century, or at least each maniple, had its proper standard and standard bearer. The standard of a manipulus in the time of Romulus was a bundle of hay tied to a pole. Afterwards a spear with a cross piece of wood on the top, sometimes the figure of a hand above, probably in allusion to the word *manipulus*, and below a small round or oval shield on which were represented the images of warlike deities, as Mars or Minerva, and in later times of the emperors or of their favorites. Hence the standards were called *numeria legionum* and worshiped with religious adoration. There were also standards of the cohorts. The standards of the different divisions of the army had certain letters inscribed on them, to distinguish the one from the other. The standard of the cavalry was called *vexillum* (a flag or banner) from being a square piece of cloth fixed on the end of a spear, and Cæsar mentions it as used by the foot particularly by the veterans who

¹Irving's *Successors of Mahomet*.

had served out their time ; but under the emperors were still retained in the army, and fought in bodies distinct from the legion and under a particular standard of their own. Hence these veterans were called *vexillarii*.

To lose the standard was always disgraceful, particularly to the standard bearer, and was at times a capital crime. To animate the soldiers their standards were sometimes thrown among the enemy. After a time a horse, a bear, and other animals, were substituted for the bundle of hay, open hand, etc. In the second year of the consulate of Marius, 87 B.C., a silver eagle, with expanded wings, on the top of a spear with the thunderbolt in its claws the emblem of Jove, signifying might and power, with the figure of a small chapel above it, was assumed as the common standard of the legion, hence *aquila* is often put for legion. The place for this standard was near the ordinary place of



Roman Standard.

*Bronze horse one half the size
of the original preserved
at Goodrich Court.*

the general, in the centre of the army. When a general after having consulted the auspices, had determined to lead forth his troops against the enemy, a *red* flag was displayed on a spear from the top of the *prætorium* as a signal to prepare for battle. The standard of Augustus was a globe to indicate his conquest of the globe. Roman standards were also ornamented with dragons and silver bells as a trophy, after Trajan's conquest of the Dacians, A.D. 106, as shown on Trajan's column. From the Roman standard is derived the numerous brood of white, black, and red eagles with single or double heads which are borne on so many of the standards of modern Europe. The countries they represent claim to be fragments or descendants of the great Roman empire. The various changes of the Roman standard marked the epoch of their conquests, first of the Greeks then of the barbarians. The double headed eagle of Russia marks the marriage of Ivan I, with a Grecian heiress the princess of the Eastern empire. That of Austria the investiture of the emperors of Germany with the title of Roman emperor.

The *labarum* or imperial standard of Constantine the Great, which he caused to be formed in commemoration of his vision of a shining cross in the heavens two miles long, is described as a long pike intersected by a transverse beam surmounted by a golden crown, which enclosed the mysterious monogram, at once expressive of the figure of the cross, and the two initial letters



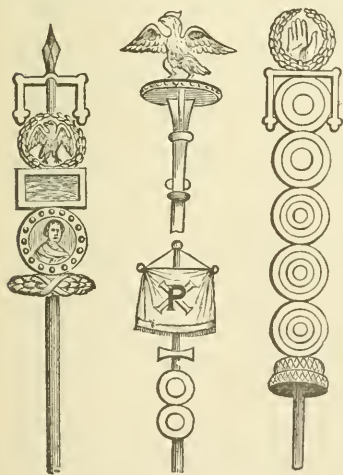
(X and P), of the name of Christ. The purple silken banner, which hung down from the beam was adorned with precious stones, and at first was embroidered with the images of Constantine or of the reigning monarch and his children, but afterwards the figure or emblem of Christ woven in gold was substituted, and it bore the motto *In hoc*

Imperial Standard of Constantine. *signo vinces*—In this sign thou shalt conquer.

The *labarum* is engraved on some of the medals of Constantine with the famous inscription *ΕΝΤΟΥΤΩΝΙΚΑ*.

The *labarum* is believed to have been the first military standard emblazoned with the cross. It was preserved for a considerable time, and brought forward at the head of the armies of the emperor on important occasions as the pallasium of the empire. With it Constantine advanced to Rome, where he vanquished Maxentius, 27 Oct., 312.

The safety of the *labarum* was entrusted to fifty guards of approved valor and fidelity. Their station was marked by honors and emoluments; and some fortunate accidents soon introduced an opinion that as long as the guard of the *labarum* were engaged in the



Roman Imperial Standards.

execution of the office, they were secure and invulnerable among the darts of the enemy. In the second civil war Licinius felt and dreaded the power of this consecrated banner, the sight of which in the distress of battle, animated the soldiers of Constantine

with an invincible enthusiasm, and scattered terror and dismay through the adverse legions. Eusebius introduces the labarum before the Italian expedition of Constantine; but his narrative seems to indicate that it was never shown at the head of an army till Constantine, above ten years afterward declared himself the enemy of Licinius and the deliverer of the church. The Christian emperors who respected the example of Constantine, displayed in all their military expeditions the standard of the cross; but when the degenerate successors of Theodosius had ceased to appear at the head of their armies, the labarum was deposited as a venerable but useless relic in the palace of Constantinople.

The etymology of its name has given rise to many conflicting opinions. Some derive it from *labar*; others from the Greek for *reverence*, others from the same *to take*, and others for the Greek for *spoils*. A writer in the *Classical Journal* makes *labarum* to be like S. P. Q. R., only a combination of initials to represent an equal number of terms, and thus L. A. B. A. R. V. M., will stand for *Legionum aquila Byzantium antiquâ Româ, urbe mutavit*. The form of the labarum and its monogram is preserved as the medal of the Flavian family.

The hand appearing on the top of the Roman standard was probably an ancient symbol perhaps of oriental or Phenician origin. It is found as a symbol in ancient Mexico.

Cæsar has recorded that when he attempted to land his Roman forces on the shores of Great Britain, meeting a warmer reception than was anticipated, considerable hesitation arose among his troops; but the standard bearer of the Tenth legion with the Roman eagle in his hand, invoking the gods, plunged into the waves, called on his comrades to follow him, and do their duty to their general and to the republic, and so the whole army made good their landing.

The bronze or silver eagle of the Roman standards must have been of small size not larger than the eagles on the color poles of modern ensigns,¹ since a standard bearer under Julius Cæsar is said in circumstances of danger, to have wrenched the eagle from its staff, and concealed it in the folds of his girdle, and the

¹ The cut of the horse (page 46), which is one-half the size of the original, is confirmatory of this.

bronze horse preserved in the collection at Goodrich Court is equally small. Another figure used as a standard by the Romans was a ball supposed to have been emblematic of the dominion of Rome over the world.

STANDARDS, ETC., OF THE TURKS AND MOSLEMS.

TURKISH AND MOSLEM STANDARDS. The Basarac or Sandshaki sheriff, or cheriff, the green standard which was borne by Mahomet, and believed by his devout followers to have been brought down from Heaven by the angel Gabriel is preserved with the greatest veneration. It is enveloped in four coverings of green taffeta enclosed in a case of green cloth, and is carefully preserved in the seraglio in a case built into the wall on the right hand side as you enter the chamber in which is the grand signior's summer bed. The standard is twelve feet high and the golden ornament, a closed hand, which surmounts it, holds a copy of the Koran written by the Calif Osman III. In times of peace this banner is guarded in the hall of the Noble Vestiment as the dress which was worn by the prophet is styled. In the same hall are preserved the sacred teeth, the holy beard, the sacred stirrup, the sabre and the bow of Mahomet. Every time this standard is displayed, by a custom which has become law, all who have attained the age of seventeen who profess the Mahometan faith are obliged to take up arms, those who refuse being regarded as infidels unworthy the title of Mussulmans or True Believers. The unfurling of this standard is supposed to ensure success to the Ottoman arms, and despite the many tarnishes its honor has suffered, the Turks continue to rally around it with implicit belief in its sanctity, and so jealously is it watched over, that none but emirs may touch it. Emirs are its guard, and the chief of the emirs is alone privileged to carry it. Mussulmans are alone permitted to see this holy trophy, which if touched by other hands would be defiled, and if seen in other hands profaned. The ceremony of presenting the banner is called *alay*, a Turkish word, signifying triumph. The ceremonies consist of an open air masquerade. All the trades, professions and occupations of the inhabitants, seated in gaudy carriages are paraded in front of the assembled army, each trade per-

forming in dumb show the mechanical manipulations of its art : The carpenter pretends to saw ; the ploughman to drive his oxen ; the smith to wield his hammer, etc. After these have passed, the sandschaki cheriff is brought out with great veneration from the seraglio, and solemnly carried along and presented to the army.¹ The blessed banner having been presented to the admiring and adoring eyes of the true believers, is carried back to its depository, and the troops, supposed to be inspired with confidence and victory, set forth on their march to death and glory. The observance of this ceremony in the war between Turkey and Russia in 1768, was the occasion of some frightful outrages upon the Christians. So long a period had elapsed since the last demonstration, that much of the sanctity of the occasion had been forgotten, and the Christians expressing a wish to observe the ceremony found the Turks ready and eager to let windows and housetops at high prices to unbelievers who accordingly mustered strong to gratify their curiosity, on the line of the procession. A few minutes, however, before the starting of the banner, an emir appeared in the streets crying : “ Let no infidel dare to profane with his presence the holy standard of the prophet, and let every Mussulman, if he sees an unbeliever, instantly make it known on pain of punishment.” At this, a sudden madness seized upon the people, and those who had let their premises to the greatest advantage became the most furious in their bigoted zeal, rushing among the amazed Christians, and with blows and furious violence tearing them from their houses, and casting them into the streets among the infuriated soldiery. No respect was paid to age, sex, or condition. Women in the last stages of maternity were dragged about by the hair and treated with atrocious outrage. Every description of insult, barbarity and torture was inflicted upon the unoffending Christians, the usual gravity of the Turk having on the instant given way to a fanaticism more in accordance with fiends than men. The whole city as one man was seized with the same furor and if a victim managed to escape from one band of miscreants he was certain to fall into the hands of others equally savage and remorseless.² According to another account, this sacred standard of Mahomet is not green but black ; and was instituted in direct contradistinction to the great *white*

¹ *Dictionary of Useful Knowledge.* ² *Baron Toll's Memoirs of his own Times.*

banner of the Koraishites, as well as from the appellation *okab* (black eagle) which the prophet bestowed upon it. Mahomet's earliest standard was the white cloth forming the turban which he captured from Boreide; but he adopted subsequently for his distinguishing banner the sable curtain which hung before the chamber of his wife Ayesha, and it is this standard which it is said is so sacredly preserved and so jealously guarded from infidel sight. It descended first to the followers of Omar, at Damascus, and thence to the Abassides, at Bagdad and Cairo, from whom it fell to the share of the bloodhound Selim 1st, and subsequently found its way into Europe under Amurath 3d. The device upon it is *Nasrum min Allah*, the help of God.

Besides their sacred standard the Turks have the *sanjak*, which is a red banner. The *alem*, a broad standard, which instead of a spear head has in the middle a silver plate of a crescent shape. And the tug consisting of one, two, or more horsetails, the number varying with the rank of the person who bears it. The sultan having seven, and the grand vizier three, and so on.

In the time of Omar the General Mesiera Ibu Mesroud was given a black flag inscribed "*There is no God but God. Mahomet is the Messenger of God.*"¹

At the battle of Yermouk, Abu Obeidah, a Moslem general, erected for his standard a yellow flag given him by Abu Beker Mahomet's immediate successor, being the same which Mahomet had displayed in the battle of Khaibab. One of Mahomet's standards was a black eagle.² When Monwyah rebelled against Ali, the bloody garment of Othman was raised in the mosque at Damascus as the standard of rebellion.

The standard with the star and crescent upon it (Plate II), was first hoisted by Mahomet II, after the capture of Constantinople, A. D. 1453. Prior to that event the sign was very common on the arms of English knights and esquires, but fell into disuse when it became the device of Mahometans. The star and crescent were selected by Mahomet II from their being the device of Diana Byzantina, the patroness of Byzantium. The history of the device belongs to the Grecian, if not the more extensive sphere of the Aryan mythology.³

¹ Burkhardt's *Notes on the Bedouins*.

² Irving's *Successors of Mahomet*.

³ *Notes and Queries*, 4th series, Vol. VIII, 1870, pp. 405.

The great standard won by the king of Poland from the infidels in 1683, at the affair of Kalemberg, was about eight feet in breadth shaped thus **P** and of a green and crimson stuff, of silk and gold tissue mixed, bearing a device in arabesque characters signifying "There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his Prophet." The ball on the top of the staff, about the size of a man's joined fists, is of brass gilt. This standard was sent by the king of Poland to the pope who caused it to be suspended from the roof of St. Peter's by the side of another standard taken from the infidels at the battle of Ohotzen. Irving (*Life of Mahomet*), mentions that the *General* always carried the standard into battle.

The pirates of Algiers and of the coast of Barbary are the only people who ever bore an hexagonal flag or standard. Theirs was a red flag, with a Moorish head coifed with its turban, etc., designed as the portrait of Hali, the son-in-law of Mahomet, who ordered his effigy expressed on the standards of his followers, which these Africans were, believing himself so formidable to Christians that the bare sight of his image would carry undoubted victory over them. This device was the more remarkable as the Koran expressly forbids the making of any image or representation of any man, for they who make it will be obliged at the day of judgment to find souls for them or be themselves damned. This superstition has been so modified that within the last few years Muley Abbas, the brother of the emperor of Morocco, has sat for his photograph, and the present sultan has allowed his portrait to be painted at the request of the foreign ambassadors to his court.

The fashion of pointed, or triangular flags, we are informed, came from the Mahometan Arabs or Saracens, upon their seizure of Spain, A. D. 712, before which time all the ensigns of war were square and stretched or extended on cross pieces of wood or yards like church banners, on which account they were called *vexilla*.

SLAVONIC STANDARDS AND ENSIGNS — DRAGON STANDARDS.

THE BANNERS AND NATIONAL COLORS OF POLAND, ETC. In our research concerning the religious and military ensigns, standards and flags of all nations, ancient and modern, one

family of them, the Slavonic, mighty in renown for great achievement, has in a measure disappointed our exertions. Ancient Greek writers knew them not by any name that can be positively brought home, and the Romans felt them more than they have described them. It remains a question whether they were in full or in part, or at all included in the antique denomination of Scythians. The surpassing military achievements of the Jazyges, Dacians, Sarmatians, and many others of the Slavonic race of later date, we find in the Roman bas-reliefs of Roman triumphs over these barbarians. The civilized sedentary nations have always shown most anxiety to commemorate victories over enemies they could not subdue. The Egyptian victories of Thosmes II and III, or of Sesostris over nations probably of Slavonic stock, painted on the walls of Thebes, are of this description. The columns of Trajan and Antonine show imperfectly the Slavonic cavalry, and give representation of the ensigns which those riding and migratory nations were obliged to adopt for convenience of carrying on horseback, before the stirrup was invented. In China, Japan and Tartary to the west of ancient Germany, dragon-shaped symbols all resolvable into some sort of flag, were adopted for the military ensigns, from the earliest age to the present. In ancient times the southern and western nations had originally all effigy standards, consisting of statues or sculptured objects without cloth beneath them, or at most a knotted shawl or cloth. These dragon standards consisted of a metal or wooden head, representing the supposed figure of a dragon, with the mouth open, and perforated at the neck, to which a long bag in the shape of a serpent was fastened; the lower jaw was also bored through for the purpose of receiving the point of a spindle whereon it turned according to the wind which blowing in at the open month, dilated the pendulous bag, and gave it the appearance of a twisting snake. There were instances when in the mouth tow and burning materials were placed in order to give the dragon an appearance of breathing fire. Indications of this practice occur in early Chinese works, and in the Tartar armies that invaded Europe. In the Teutonic armies they are numerous, it appearing that one dragon standard belonged to about every thousand men. In a letter of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, he states his camp is invested by a German force of seventy-four dragons, forming

an army of seventy-nine thousand men. Now when this form of ensign was adopted over so vast a territory, was so long in use, and so multiplied, it is evident in order that friend and foe might discriminate one from another, that all the minor differences of form, color and adjunctive ornament must have been resorted to. Black, golden, and silver dragons were most common in the far east. White, red, and green were more general colors among the Celtæ, and the last in particular was held in high respect by the Scandinavians, and Slavonic nations caused their dragons to appear therein, or at last to introduce it in stripes, bands or in additional ribbons and part of their ensigns. All these modifications may be traced on the dragon ensigns of the Sarmatians and Daci of the Trajan column at Rome.

As the Slavonic nations still numbered among them many pagan tribes to the middle of the thirteenth century, the solar worship typified by Thor, or the bull god, originated effigies of the bull, his head, skull or horns as national ensigns, others adopted the skull or figure of the horse. The Moxian's national ensign was a stuffed horse skin. The skull of a horse, with the tail hung behind it, was borne in the religious processions of the Rugii, and was well known in Sweden as an attribute of Odin. There was a tribe in the palatinate of Bielsk, which had for a standard a white bear skin. Another carried a pair of urus horns. The Ostii the head of a wild boar. The Jazyges carried horse tails. All these ensigns preceded Christianity in Poland. When Ringold in 1237, assembled the Poles, Lithuanians, and Samogitians to oppose the Tahtan Bati, each tribe received an ensign made for the occasion, most likely a simple red or black cloth secured like a vexillum. In Poland a simple black flag or labarum, was early the particular distinction of the court, the palace, and the royal person, and it may be that this color was connected with the assertion of Andre Barden, that several Sarmatian tribes "*portaient dans leurs bannières l'image de la mort.*" The Cossacks when they shook off the religious oppression which King Vladislaus VII, wanted to fix upon them, had on their ensigns no emblazonment, but according to their ancient legendary songs, only invocations and imprecations.

From the period when serfship was introduced (10th and 11th century), all tribal symbols disappeared, or were appro-

priated by the nobles who then began to imitate the feudal inventions of western Europe.

Stephen the Saint, King of the Magyars, received a white patriarchal cross from the pope, which was carried as a standard on the top of a pole, and had a guard purposely instituted to surround it. From that time the eagles or heron's wings, the ancient ensigns of the Huns or of the Onoguro fell into disuse, or were left to adorn the lances of private warriors. Attila is said to have carried a hawk for his standard.

There was in Constantinople a monkish order¹ who wore a green habit with a scarlet mantle, with a patriarchal yellow or blue cross on the breast. This order spread westward, and possibly constituted the guard of St. Stephen's cross in Hungary. When Hedwega united Lithuania with Poland by her marriage with the pagan Duke Jagillon in the fourteenth century, his national standard with mounted warrior, in token of his conversion to Christianity received in addition this cross on the shield of the horseman. It remained however a distinct banner in the Polish armies — a double white cross bordered with gold borne in a blue field. There is a doubtful legend that this cross was placed in the shield to commemorate a victory over the Teutonic knights.

A white eagle displayed on a red ground was the cognizance of the kingdom of Poland as early as the eleventh century, and is most likely coeval with the numerous eagles of the German empire all originally single headed. Lipsius gives a cut of one with two heads and wings displayed, as in modern heraldry which he states is copied from the Theodosian column.

The Polish silver eagle on a red ground, is probably of the same age as the golden eagle on a red field, the imperial ensign of the house of Saxony, and long impaled with the gold and sable bars traversed with a bend of green rue. Silesia, Moravia and Prussia assumed eagles in like manner differenced in their structures or by means of particular marks on their breast. We have no knowledge when the two headed eagle was assumed by Russia, but the mounted horseman of the Muscovites may be the original type of the Lithuanian ensign. In western Europe at

¹ *The Fratres Constantinopolitani.*

the time of the first crusade, and then also among the Moslems, standards and ensigns were very generally without charge or symbolic figures, unless it were the cross, which whenever it occurs, is always the imitation of the cross mark, standing for the sign manual of the person whose ensign it was.¹ Thus in England the crosses on rough Saxon coins, commonly called *sciatta*, are the mark of the sign manual of the sovereign who caused them to be struck, and also the cross which he placed upon his banner, for in several it is represented in a flag upon the coins themselves.²

The black ensign of the crown of Poland probably derived from or imitated from the Tahtar standards, was no doubt older than the white eagle, or white cross on a blue field of the *Gonesa* as the latter banner was called. It may have been plain or marked with a skeleton *l'image de la mort*, and later with the cross or sign manual of the reigning prince until diminishing in consideration, the St. Stephen's patriarchal cross became the religious ensign. The arrow, consecrated by the blood of the martyr St. Sebastian, which formed part of the royal sceptre of Poland, may likewise have had its symbolical figures on a banner. The name of *Gonesa* given to the banner, which united the devices of Lithuania and Poland we find nowhere explained.

When the white eagle and horseman became national, other symbols were appropriated by the provinces. There is a list of the ensigns of the western Slavonic nations in the British Museum, from which it appears that each of the armorial ensigns of the provinces was borne on the breast of the white eagle, thus clearly showing the allegiance of the provinces to the national standard.

In a curious plan of the battle of Praga, near Warsaw, A. D. 1656, there is in the foreground a representation made by a Swedish artist of the Polish standards surrendered to Charles X, nearly all of which bear evidence of bearing the symbols and distinctions of the great nobles.

A national custom among the Poles of bearing military signa attached to the backs of warriors, deserves attention, because it is of Mongolic origin, and can be traced even to Mexico. The western Slavonians appear to have copied the custom from the

¹ *United Service Magazine*, Oct., 1844.

² *United Service Journal*, Oct., 1844.

Tahtars, who often bore a slight staff with a flag or bundle of feathers secured by straps in a scabbard between the shoulders. There exists copper plate etchings of these horsemen. In Poland, as late as the reign of John Sobieski, wings of swans and eagles spread out open, appear to have been secured to the backs of knights. A body of gallant warriors thus equipped figured in a magnificent charge, when that hero relieved Vienna, and a similar contrivance was attached to each side of the back of the saddles of several nobles at the surrender of Praga. This last was in part of metal and produced in the act of galloping, a crashing noise, designed to increase the terror of horses opposed to them, who had to encounter at the same moment the bewiiding flutter of the small flags on the lances, which are still retained, by modern Uhlans, Hussars, Lancers, etc.

MEXICAN, CHINESE, JAPANESE, JAVANESE AND EAST INDIAN STANDARDS.

MEXICAN STANDARDS. The ancient standard of Mexico, or rather of the Aztecs, which has been compared to the Roman standard, was an eagle pouncing on an ocelot emblazoned on a rich mantle of feather work — that of the Tlascalans a white heron, the cognizance of the house of Xicontencatl. All the great chiefs of Mexico in the time of Cortez had their appropriate devices and banners. The standards of the Aztecs were carried in the centre of the army. Those of the Tlascalans in the rear. The Rio de Vanderas (river of banners) was so named by Alvarado from the ensigns displayed by the natives on its borders. The banner staff was attached to the back of the ensign so that it was impossible to be torn away. Prescott, in his *Conquest of Mexico*, says “the Tlascalans, allies of Cortez led by Xicontencatl, fifty thousand strong, marched proudly under the great national banner, emblazoned with a spread eagle the arms of the republic.” According to Clavigero, it was a golden eagle, but as Bernal Diaz speaks of it as white, it may have been a white heron which belonged to the house of the youthful leader. Elsewhere Prescott speaks of the great standard of the

¹ *United Service Journal*, 1844.

republic of Tlascala, as a golden eagle with outspread wings in the fashion of a Roman signum richly ornamented with emeralds and silver work. Ellis, in his *Antiquities of Heraldry*, after quoting Prescott, says the natural emblem of the Mexicans was a swan. The Spanish historian Sagahan relates that about two centuries before their conquest by the Spaniards, the Aztecs or Mexicans proper were compelled to surrender their emblematical bird, the swan, to a neighboring kingdom that oppressed them.

Our North American Indians were found by the early voyagers and discoverers to carry as their standard, a pole full fledged with the wing feathers of the eagle.

The principle standard of Cortez¹ at his conquest of Mexico, was of black velvet embroidered with gold and emblazoned with a red cross amidst flames of blue and white, with this motto in Latin beneath: FRIENDS, LET US FOLLOW THE CROSS AND UNDER THIS SIGN IF WE HAVE FAITH WE SHALL CONQUER, a legend which was doubtless suggested by that on the labarum of Constantine.² This famous standard of the conqueror is still preserved in the Hospital of Jesus in the city of Mexico. A recent newspaper,³ says "the banner of Cortez, the renowned conqueror of the Aztecs is still to be seen in the principal palace of Tlascala, Mexico."

IMPERIAL STANDARD OF CHINA. This standard is of yellow silk ornamented with a dragon.⁴ [See Plate iii.]

The viceroy, as generalissimo of the Chinese army, whenever he is about to start on a warlike expedition, must *worship his flag*. Whenever he sends away any high military officer with a detachment of soldiers as his deputy to fight the enemy, and generally whenever any high military officer is about to proceed into battle, the flag of his division or brigade must be worshipped. The worship is often performed on the public parade ground in the suburbs near the south gate of the city. The viceroy sometimes chooses to sacrifice to the flag on his own parade ground connected with his gamuns. The time selected is often about daylight or a little later. Usually, however,

¹ Bernal Dias; Prescott's *Mexico*. ² Bullock's *Six Months in Mexico*. ³ *Boston Journal*, Dec. 24, 1869. ⁴ *London Illustrated News*.

the day, hour and minute are fixed by some fortune teller. Oftentimes the high officials, civil and military, connected with the government, are present. It is necessary that all the officers who are to accompany the expedition should not only witness the ceremony, but take part in it. The same remark is true of the soldiers who are to be sent away, or to engage in the fight. In the centre of the arena is placed a table having upon it two candles, one censer, and several cups of wine. The candles are lighted at the proper time. Some officer kneeling down holds the large flag, by means of its staff near the table. The viceroy or the officer who is to command the expedition, standing before the table and the flag, receives three sticks of lighted incense from the professor of the ceremony, which he reverently places in the censer arranged between the candles. He now kneels on the ground and bows his head three times. Some of the wine taken from the table is handed him while on his knees, which he pours out on the ground. Then a cup of wine is dashed upon the flag, the professor of ceremony crying out "Unfurl the flag, victory is obtained; the cavalry advancing, soon it is perfected." The whole company of officers and soldiers who had previously knelt down and bowed their heads in the prescribed manner, now simultaneously rise up with a shout and commence their march at once, for the scene of action, or their appointed rendezvous.¹

The exalted conception which the Chinese have of the dragon has made the word a favorite one to symbolize and represent the dignity and supremacy of the Chinese emperor. He is spoken of as seated on the dragon throne. To see him is to see the dragon's face. His standard is the dragon standard and his coat of arms embroidered on the breasts and back of his followers is a dragon. This monster is not regarded by the Chinese as a fabulous animal, but as a real existence.

In 1854, the writer of these memoirs, then in command of the United States chartered steamer *Queen*, a little vessel of 137 tons, mounting four iron 4 pounders and a 12 pounder brass boat howitzer, the latter loaned from the U. S. ship *Macedonian*, participated in an expeditionary force, English, American,

¹ *Doolittle's Social Life of the Chinese.*

and Portuguese the whole guided by a Chinese admiral's junk, against the piratical strongholds at Tyho and Kulan, which resulted in the complete destruction of the piratical fleet and batteries. As one of the fruits of this victory he forwarded to the navy department at Washington, twelve flags taken by his force from the pirate's junks and batteries. These are believed to be the first flags ever captured from the Chinese by our arms. One of these trophies, a large white cotton flag, was inscribed in bold Chinese characters, stating it was "the flag of Lue-ming-suy-ming of the Hong-shing-tong company, chief of the sea squadron," and "that he takes from the rich and not from the poor, and that his flag can fly anywhere." Another large triangular flag was curious from having the inscriptions upon it written *with blood*. These inscriptions, as translated by a learned Chinese teacher, are: No. 1, across the top corner, "The band of Triads." No. 2. Up and down next the staff. "May the Manchoos be overthrown and the wings restored." No. 3. Centre character. "SHOU," the name of one of the five originators of the Triad society. No. 4. Up and down the flag. "Let the seas be like oil swept of our foes" or perhaps "we the Triads spring up in every quarter." No. 5. On the fly or extreme end of the flag, is a character which signifies "*Victory*." From these inscriptions it would seem that this *pirate* was a rebel from the Mandarin or Manchoo authority, and a Triad.

Rear Admiral John Rodgers has recently (Aug. 31, 1871), forwarded to the navy department at Washington, twenty-one standards and pennants, together with four staffs from which the colors have been torn, all of which were captured by the late Naval Expedition to the Corea. The secretary of navy has forwarded them to the Naval Academy at Annapolis to be deposited there with similar trophies.

These banners present every variety of color and design, but still indicate some method and arrangement. The flag of the commanding general, and those of the principal officer are of flowered silk, and those of the subordinate officers, of cotton, the latter closely woven. The staffs are nearly all alike, and from six to eight feet long, and shod at the foot with iron, that they may be driven into the ground. The head of each staff is ornamented with carved wood, painted in brilliant colors, and

capped by a rim of brass. The middle of each staff is painted with a series of white and black rings, which according to their number seem to indicate some rank or station. The staff of the flag representing superior officers is surmounted by a bunch of pheasant's feathers, those of a lesser rank by a flat piece of iron fancifully cut, and others have no mounting. The flags generally are a square of one color surrounded by a border of another color. A few smaller and which appear to be inferior flags have two equal stripes of different colors. The interior squares of the superior flags bear representations of flying dragons, flying serpents, turtles, etc., printed in brilliant colors and not badly drawn. The flag of the Corean commanding general is of fine yellow silk, with figures representing a tiger rampant and is surrounded by a border of green silk. Flag No. 2, is of plain blue silk bound with black, with a representation of a flying turtle. It is badly torn by shell and bullets. No. 3 is of yellow silk trimmed with brown; to its centre are sewed two card boards with hieroglyphics covered with silk. No. 4, is similar to No. 3, but of plain light blue silk. No. 5, is of yellow silk, bound with pale red silk and bears the representation of a flying serpent. This flag is much torn by bullets. The remaining flags are of cotton dyed in various colors. One has a Corean inscription signifying it is "The flag of the squad captain of the rear batallion of the regiment." Another has a representation of an officer on horseback; another of a flying serpent, another has a turtle; several are blood stained. Accompanying the flags are four pennants of silk and cotton of various colors, printed with curious devices. Specimens of Corean spears, with little flags attached, resembling a guidon, were also received at the navy department.



Imperial Standard of Japan.

JAPANESE STANDARDS. The imperial standard of the Japanese is in their opinion something sublime and sacred, and it is only when they are assured that it will always be treated with respect that they allow a drawing of it to be made.

Its elegant three fold device symbolizes several things. The triple lobes represent Sin-to-ism, the religion of the Kamis, Budd-

him, and Confucism. They also symbolize the three annual and three monthly festivals: 1st, the great New Year which lasts a month. 2d, the feast of spring held the third day of the third month, or that of the flowers and young maidens; and 3d the feast of neighbors, in the "won't go home until morning" style. The three *monthly* festivals are 1st, the day of the new moon, 2d, the day of the full moon, 3d, the eve of the new moon. The colors of the standard are white and purple.

All the great nobles of Japan have a device or coat of arms which is blazoned on their banners, and on their tents, and worn, which is on their shoulders and on the backs of their dresses. The naval flag recently adopted by the Japanese bears on the centre of a white field, a red ball or globe supposed to represent the sun. [See Plate III.]

JAVANESE STANDARDS. Though the natives of Java have taken after Europeans in the use of standards, yet their prince's rallying sign continues to be the *payong*, or par-a-sol, which is the peculiar object of respect and veneration among the Javanese bands. The *tombak pussaka* or lances hallowed by age, which they have inherited from their ancient sovereigns, serve for the same purpose as the payongs, and are distinguished by the horse tails which dangle from them.¹

EAST INDIAN STANDARDS AND ENSIGNS. The great banner of Mewar,² (whose prince was the legitimate heir of the throne of Rama), first of the thirty-six royal tribes, exhibits a golden sun on a crimson field; those of the chiefs bear a dagger. Amber displays the han-changra or five colored flag. The lion rampart on an argent field is extinct with the states of Chanderi. The use of armorial bearings among the Rajpoot tribes can be traced anterior to the war of Troy. In the Mahabharet or great war, B.C. 1200, we find the hero Bheesama exulting over his trophy, the banner of Arjoona, its field adorned with the figure of the Indian Hanuman (monkey deity). The peacock was the favorite emblem of the Rajpoot warriors; it is the bird sacred to their Mars (Kamara) as it was to Juno his mother in the west. The emblem of Vishnu is the eagle. Chrisna was the founder of the thirty-six tribes who ob-

¹ Col. Pffiffer's *Sketches of Java*. ² Col. Tod's *Annals of Rajahstan*.

tained the universal sovereignty of India and lived about B.C. 1200. These thirty-six tribes had their respective emblems, as the serpent, the horse, hare, etc. One of these tribes, the Sacesenî, supposed to be the ancestors of the Saxon race, settled themselves on the Araxes in Armenia adjoining Albania. These migrating tribes of course carried with them their respective emblems, and hence the identity of European and Asiatic devices. The blue eagle belongs to the ensign of Vishnoo, the red bull to that of Siva and the falcon to that of Rama. The ensign of Brahma bore a white lion. The sun rising behind a recumbent lion blazed on the ancient ensign of the Tartars, and the eagle of the sun on that of the Persians. The Humza or famous goose, one of the incarnations of Boodha, is yet the chief emblem of the Burman banners.

The ensigns of the Bijala reigning at Kalyan, were the lion, the bull, and the goose. The Tadu and the Silahara adopted a golden garuda (eagle) on their ensigns. The Rattas tribe¹ had the golden hawk and crocodile. A hymn to Camdeva, the god of love, has this line: "Hail warrior with a fish on thy banner." Sir William Jones, says Camdeo, the Hindoo God, is represented attended by dancing girls or nymphs, the foremost of whom bears his colors, which are a fish on a red ground.¹

THE STANDARDS AND FLAGS OF EUROPEAN STATES.

ITALY, DENMARK, SPAIN, AUSTRIA, RUSSIA, BELGIUM, GREECE, HOLLAND, PORTUGAL, SWEDEN AND NORWAY, GERMANY.

ITALIAN STANDARDS. About A.D. 1040, the Italians at Milan invented the famous carriocium or car standard, which was introduced into France about A.D. 1100. The Italians, however, borrowed the idea of a car standard from the Persians who in turn borrowed it from the Egyptians. The pompous and cumbrous apparatus of the Italians consisted of a standard or banner royal, fastened to the top of a mast or small tree planted on a scaffold and borne by a chariot which was drawn by oxen covered with velvet housings decorated with the devices or

¹ *Journal Royal Asiatic Society.*

cypher of the prince. At the foot of the mast was a priest who said mass early every morning. Ten knights kept guard on the scaffold by day and night, and as many trumpets at its foot never ceased flourishing to animate the troops. This cumbrous machine continued in use about one hundred and thirty years. Its post was in the centre of the army, and the greatest feats of daring were in attacks upon it, and in its defence. No victory was complete, and no army reputed vanquished until it had lost this standard.

Alviano, the great champion of the Orsini family, when he took the city of Vitebro, caused to be embroidered on his standard a unicorn at a fountain surrounded by snakes, toads, and other reptiles, and stirring the water with his horn before he drinks; motto, *venana pello* — I expel poisons — alluding to the property of detecting poison assigned to the horn of the unicorn. This standard was lost on the fatal day of Vicenza. Marc Antonio Monte who carried it being mortally wounded, kept the tattered remnant clasped in his arms, and never loosed his grasp until he fell dead on the field.

The Marquis of Pescara's standard at the battle of Ravenna bore for a device a Spartan shield, with a motto, the injunction of the Spartan mother to her son before the battle of Mantinea, *aut cum hoc, aut in hoc*, — "either with this or on it." Pescara lies buried in the church of Domenico Maggiore at Naples. Above his tomb hangs his torn banner, and a plain short sword said to have been surrendered to him by Francis I, at Pavia.

The ensign of the Roman family of Colonna is a silver column with base and capital of gold surmounted by a golden crown, the grant of the emperor Louis of Bavaria in acknowledgment of services rendered by Stefano Colonna who when chief senator of Rome crowned Louis in the Capitol contrary to the wishes of the pope.

THE MAGIC STANDARD OF DENMARK. The banner of Denmark taken from the Danes by Alfred the Great was a famous magical standard. According to Sir John Spelman, it had for a device the image of a raven magically wrought by three sisters, Hungar and Hubba on purpose for the expedition in revenge of their father Lodebrock's murder. It was made, said the sisters, in an instant, being begun and finished in a noon tide.

The Danes believed it carried great fatality with it, and therefore it was highly esteemed by them. They believed that when carried in battle, towards good success the raven would clap his wings, or make as if it would.

The embroidery of flags, as in this instance, afforded occupation and amusement to the ladies of the middle ages, thence their value became enhanced, and it was considered highly shameful for a knight not to defend to the death what his mistress's hands had wrought.¹

When Waldemar II, of Denmark, was engaged in a great battle with the Livonians in the year A. D. 1219, it is said that a sacred banner fell from heaven into the midst of the army, and so revived the courage of the troops that they gained a complete victory over the Livonians. In memory of the event Waldemar instituted an order of knighthood, called St. Dannebrog or the strength of the Danes, which is still the principal order of knighthood in Denmark. This legend or superstition, seemingly proved the paramount importance of this sacred banner as a means of inspiring the men with confidence and courage.

At the present time the Danish ensign is red charged with a white cross, and the flag is swallow tailed. On the standard the cross is quadrate and charged with the royal achievements, the shield being encircled with the collars of the orders of the Elephant and Dannebrog.

SPANISH STANDARDS AND FLAGS. The standard of Fernan Gonsales, Count of Castile, in the eleventh century was a massive silver cross two ells in length, with Our Saviour sculptured upon it, and above his head in Gothic letters "I. N. R. I.;" below was Adam awaking from the grave with the words of St. Paul, "Awake, thou who sleepest and arise from the tomb, for Christ shall give thee life." This standard is said to be still preserved in a Spanish convent.

When Vasco Nunez de Balboa, September 7, 1513, first touched the shore of the Pacific at a bay which he named St. Michael, after the saint on whose day it was discovered; the tide

¹This practice of embroidering flags and their being presented by ladies to troops is continued to our time, as shown in numberless instances during our civil war. I have in my possession a blue silk guidon so embroidered, with the name "Gentilly Rangers," which was taken from the Challamette Regiment, below New Orleans, April 24, 1862.

was out, and so gradual was the incline of the strand that the water was full half a league distant. Nunez Balboa seated himself under a tree until it should come in. At last it came dashing on to his very feet with great impetuosity. He started up, seized a banner on which was painted a virgin and child, and under them the arms of Castile and Leon. Then drawing his sword he advanced into



Balboa's Discovery of
the Pacific Ocean.

the sea until the water was up to his knees, and waving the standard exclaimed with a loud voice : " Long live the high and mighty monarchs Don Fernand and Donna Juanna, sovereigns of Castile and Leon, and of Aragon in whose name I take real and corporal and actual possession of these seas islands coasts et cetera in all time so long as the world endures, and until the final day of judgment to all mankind." His followers having tasted the water and found it indeed salt, returned thanks to God. When the ceremonies were concluded Vasco Nunez drew his dagger and cut three crosses on trees in the neighborhood, in honor of the

three persons of the Holy Trinity, and his example was followed by many of his soldiers.

Ferdinand and Isabella in their Moorish wars used a massive cross of silver presented to them by Pope Sixtus 4th, as a standard, which Ferdinand always carried in his tent during his campaigns.

The ceremonials observed on the occupation of a new conquest, says Marineo, were for the royal alferaz or ensign to raise the standard of the cross, the sign of our salvation, on the summit of the principal fortress, when all who beheld it, prostrated themselves on their knees in silent worship of the Almighty, while the priests chanted the glorious anthem *Te Deum Laudamus*. The ensign or pennon of St. James, the chivalric patron of Spain, was then unfolded, and all invoked his blessed name. Lastly was displayed the standard of the sovereigns emblazoned with the royal arms, at which the army shouted forth as if with one voice, "Castile, Castile !" After these solemnities a bishop led the way to the principal mosque, which, after rites of purification, he consecrated to the service of the true faith.

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FLAGS OF EUROPEAN STATES, 1872.

GREAT BRITAIN.



ROYAL STANDARD



LORD HIGH ADMIRAL.



LORD LT. OF IRELAND.



UNION JACK.
ADMIRAL OF FLEET.



MAN-OF-WAR.



NAVAL RESERVE.



MERCHANTMAN.

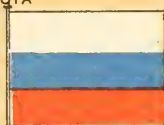


ADMIRAL OF ALL GRADES.

RUSSIA



MAN-OF-WAR



MERCHANT.

SWEDEN



MAN-OF-WAR



MERCHANT.

NORWAY



MAN-OF-WAR



MERCHANT

GERMANY



MAN-OF-WAR



MERCHANT

DENMARK



MAN-OF-WAR



MERCHANT



FRANCE

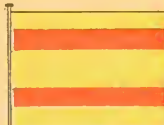


AUSTRIA

SPAIN



MAN-OF-WAR



MERCHANT.



ITALY



PORTUGAL



BELGIUM



NETHERLANDS

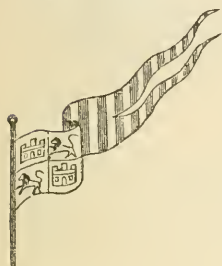


GREECE



TURKEY

The flag of Pizarro is preserved in the Municipal hall at Carracas, S. A., enshrined in a glass case. It was sent from Peru in 1837. All the silk and velvet are eaten off, but the gold wire remains, with the device of a lion and the word *Carlos*. The flag is about five feet long and three broad, and being folded double in the frame, only one-half is seen. They will not allow it to be taken out.¹



Spanish Standard.

From the map of North America by Diego Hoem, 1558.

The present royal standard of Spain bears the arms of Catharine of Aragon with those of Anjou in pretence displayed over its whole area. The ensign is yellow, interposed between two horizontal bars (each of them half its own depth), of red, and it is charged towards its dexter with the arms of *Castile and Leon* impaled within a red circular bordure, and ensigned with the Spanish crown.

AUSTRIAN STANDARDS AND FLAGS. The field of the imperial standard of Austria is yellow, with an indented border of gold silver blue and black, and it displays the eagle of the empire. The national flag is formed of three equally wide horizontal divisions, the central one white and the two others red; on the central division towards the dexter is a shield charged as the flag itself, having also the imperial cypher within a narrow golden border ensigned with the imperial crown. The flag of the merchant service omits the shield and crown.

The national colors of Hungary are red, white and green, arranged horizontally, the green in chief, and the red at the base. The imperial eagle of Austria claims to be the successor to the eagle of the German emperor, which in its time succeeded to the eagle of ancient Rome. It continues to bear the two heads, which significantly symbolized the eastern and western Roman empires.

THE RUSSIAN FLAG has three horizontal divisions, the uppermost white, the central blue, and the lowermost red. The *naval flag* is white with a blue diagonal cross; and this flag is charged in the dexter chief quarter of the larger flags, of red, white and blue for the three squadrons of the Russian navy.

¹ *All the Year Round*, 1866.

The Czar of all the Russias considers himself entitled to bear for his standard the double headed eagle as an imaginary successor to the Roman Cæsars; the two heads of his eagle how-



Royal Standard of Russia.



Royal Standard of Portugal.

ever, might denote European and Asiatic Russia, his western and eastern empires.

THE BELGIUM STANDARD AND FLAG. The standard is black, yellow, and red, arranged vertically, the red to the fly. The arms with the supporters and crown are charged on the central yellow division. The ensign is the same without the arms. (Plate II).

GREECE. The flag of Greece is blue with a white cross, and this is cantoned on the ensign, which is white with four blue bars (eight alternate stripes blue and white). (Plate II).

STANDARD AND FLAG OF HOLLAND. The flag is of red white and blue, horizontally arranged, the red in chief and white in the centre. The standard has the royal achievement of arms charged upon the white. (Plate II).

STANDARD OF ITALY. The present standard of United Italy is green, white and red arranged vertically, and has the arms ensigned with the crown on the central white division. The red is to the fly. (Plate II).

The arms of the house of Savoy are *gu, a cross argent*; within a border componée and azure.¹

STANDARD AND ENSIGN OF PORTUGAL. The standard is red, charged with the arms and crown. The arms are *argent*,

¹ *Boutell's Heraldry, Historical and Popular.*

five escutcheons in cross azure each charged with as many plates in sabbire ; the whole within a border gu., upon which seven castles or.

The ensign is half pale blue and white, vertical and similarly charged, the blue next the staff. (Plate II).

STANDARD AND FLAGS OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY. The flag of Sweden is blue with a yellow cross, and that of Norway is red with a blue cross, having a white fimbriation. These two flags are combined to form a united ensign, after the manner of the union jack of Great Britain, and the united flag is cantoned in the national ensigns. (Plate II).

The standard is also charged with the royal arms crown and supporters.¹

FLAG OF THE EMPIRE OF GERMANY. The latest flag added to the family of nations is the black red and gold flag of the United North German empire, and which is said to have come from the time of Barbarossa. That emperor was crowned A. D. 1152, the ruler of Germany, in the Frankfort Cathedral. The way from the Dom to the Romer palace where the public festivities were held, was laid with a carpet representing the colors black, red and gold. After the coronation this carpet was given to the people, and everybody tried to cut off a piece, which was then carried about the city as a flag. In the year 1184, at the Reichstag at Mayence, these colors were recognized as the true German ones, and they were retained until Napoleon put an end to the empire in 1806. Since that time the Burschenschaften have kept the old colors in memory. In the revolutionary year 1848 the German colors were again brought to light by the members of the national assembly at Frankfort. There was considerable discussion at the time as to which color had the precedence. Freilgrath said: "Powder is black, blood is red, and golden flickers the flame! That is the old imperial standard." Frederick Wilhelm II, however, was the author of the motto bearing the meaning of the German standard—"From night, through blood, to light."

This flag supersedes and covers not only the black eagle flag and standard of Prussia, but also the flags of all the lesser states

¹ *Boutell's Heraldry, Historical and Popular.*

and principalities and free towns which are united under the new German confederation, viz: Hamburg, Bremen, Mecklenburg, Saxony, Hanover, Brunswick, Oldenburg, Lubec, Hesse Cassel, Frankfort, Baden, Bavaria, Nassau, Hesse Darmstadt, and Wurtemberg, etc., etc.

THE STANDARDS OF THE FRANKS, AND GAULS. FRENCH STANDARDS, BANNERS, AND FLAGS.

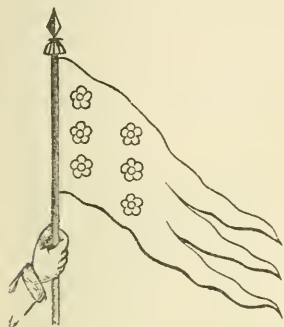
THE STANDARDS OF THE FRANKS, GAULS, ETC. The emblems attributed to the barbarous hordes which rushed upon the Roman Colossus, and overrun and subdued Gaul, and finally established themselves in the place of the aboriginal inhabitants, are so numerous and diverse it is difficult to determine with precision the ensigns of each. To the Franks are successively ascribed, the half-moon, toads, serpents, and the lion, and this last is the supposed parent of the seventeen Belgic lions. According to several officers, the Sicambri, bore a bull's head; the Suevi, a bear; the Alani, a cat; the Saxons, a horse; the Cimbri and most of the Celts, a bull; and the military ensigns of the Goths, was a cock.¹

FRENCH STANDARDS. Down to the reign of Louis XIV, every king of France had his own devices; thus, Charles IX had pillars; Henry II, a half moon; Henry III, three crowns; Henry IV, a Hercules club: Philip Augustus chose a lion; Louis VIII, a boar; St. Louis, a dragon; Philip the Bold, an eagle; Charles the Fair, a leopard; John, swans; Charles V, greyhounds and a dolphin; Charles VII and VIII, the winged stag; Louis XII, the gentlest of sovereigns, a porcupine; Francis I, the salamander. The illustration of a consecrated banner presented to Charlemagne by the pope, is from a Roman mosaic in the Triclinium of San Giovanni de Laterno built under Charlemagne by Pope Leo, which has been partially destroyed and is very ill restored. The mosaic represents St. Peter presenting Leo III, with the insignia of the popedom and giving the standard of war to Charlemagne, who is represented as kneeling.²

¹ *United Service Journal.*

² *Deodorus's Christian Iconography.*

For many centuries it was customary to choose for a military standard, the colors of a saint in whose intercession most confidence was placed. Often its supposed power and sanctity was increased by its being charged with the custody of some relic of the saint.



Banner presented to Charlemagne
by the Pope.

The ancient kings of France bore Saint Martin's blue hood or cap for their standard for six hundred years. This early Christian saint¹ the son of heathen parents, was born about A. D. 316, in Hungary. He was elected bishop of Tours, 374, and died 397 or 400. He was the first saint to whom the Roman church offered public veneration. St. Martin's standard was the richest of all the flags borne by the ancient kings of France. It was

made of taffety, painted with the image of the saint and it was laid upon his tomb for one or two days to prepare it for use.

The St. Martin standard was succeeded by the famous *auriflamme*, or *oriflamme* of St. Dennis, which in turn gave place to the *cornette blanche*.

The *auriflamme*, or sacred banner, of Clovis, was originally the church banner of the Abbey of St. Dennis, suspended over the tomb of that saint, and was presented by the lord protector of the convent whenever it was necessary to take up arms for the preservation of its rights and possessions. It was a piece of red silk with flames of gold, worked in gold thread upon the silk (hence its name), fixed on a golden spear, in the form of a

¹ The principal legend connected with St. Martin is that he divided his cloak with a poor naked beggar whom he found perishing with cold at the gate of Amiens. This cloak being miraculously preserved, long formed one of the holiest and most valued relics of France; when war was declared, it was carried before the French monarchs, as a sacred banner, and never failed to assure a certain victory. The oratory in which this cloak or cape—in French *chape*—was preserved, acquired in consequence the name *chapelle*, the person entrusted with its care being termed *chapelain*; and thus, according to Collin de Plancy, our English words *chapel* and *chaplain* are derived. The canons of St. Martin, of Tours, and St. Gratian had a lawsuit for sixty years about a sleeve of this coat, each claiming it as their property. The Count Laroche-focault at last put an end to the proceedings, by sacrilegiously committing the contested relic to the flames.—*Chambers's Book of Days*.

banner, and cut into five points, each of which was adorned with a tassel of green silk.



The Auriflamme.

Guillaume Guiart describes it as “a banner made of silk stronger than guimp of flaring cendal, and that simply, without any figure upon it.” At a later date it was powdered with golden flakes of fire. The illustration represents Henry of Metz receiving the oriflamme from the hands of St. Dennis, and is derived from a painted window in the church of Notre Dame de Chatres. According to another account¹ its color was purple, azure and gold, the two colors producing orange were separated in the *oriflamme* but reunited in its name. The oriflamme

borne at Agincourt was, according to Sir H. Nicolas, an oblong red flag, split into five points. It sometimes bore upon it a *sattire* wavy, from the centre of which golden rays diverged.

The oriflamme was entrusted by the community of St. Dennis to the kings of France who were graciously pleased to rank themselves as vassals of the abbey in their capacity of counts of the *vexin*. Louis le Gros was the first king who took the oriflamme to battle, A. D. 1124.² It appeared for the last time at Agincourt, A. D. 1415,³ others say Monterey, A. D. 1465.

“The banner of St. Dennis,” says a recent writer (1867), “is still suspended from an eminence at the eastern extremity of the venerable abbey church of St. Dennis beyond the high altar.”⁴ The monks of old were in the habit of assuring the people that this banner was brought to the abbey by an angel, about the period of the conversion to Christianity of old King Clovis. Tradition assigns the age of thirteen hundred and seventy years to this old silken remnant of monastic superstition and imposition.

The *cornette blanche*, or white banner, emblematic of the purity of the Virgin Mary, succeeded the oriflamme, and was adopted in the fifteenth century.

The fleur-de-lys, with which it was powdered, are generally

¹ Fairholt's *Dic. Terms of Art.*

² Henault.

³ Tillet.

⁴ It was said to have been destroyed when the tombs of the kings of France were desecrated and despoiled at the time of the first French revolution.

supposed to be the flower of the lily. In its origin, it may be a rebus signifying the flower of Louis. Mr. Planche, after stating this supposition, says that *Clovis* is the Frankish form of the modern *Louis*, the C, being dropped as in *Clothaire* which is now written *Lothaire*, etc. If *Clovis* himself bore the fleur-de-lys, it may have been assumed by him as *his* rebus from his favorite clove-pink or gillyflower. The fleur-de-lys was first borne on a royal seal by Louis VII of France, A. D. 1137-1180. Edward III of England quartered the French shield on his great seal A. D. 1340, and the fleur-de-lys were not removed from the English arms or shield until 1801.¹



The Bourbon Royal Standard.

The golden eagle of Napoleon sitting calmly vigilant on an azure field surrounded by a swarm of golden bees succeeded the golden fleur-de-lys that for so many centuries were identified with the heraldry and standards of France.² The republic had no standard. What will succeed the standard and arms of the second empire recently fallen, and which were the same as those of the first empire, remains in futurity.

The *flag of Elba*, presented by Napoleon to the National Guard of Elba, 1814, and used by him on his return to France, the following year, is now on exhibition in the collection of Madame Tassaud & Sons, London. It is composed of tricolored silk, and the whole of the ornaments are elaborately embroidered in silver. The reverse side has exactly the same ornaments with the inscription *CHAMPS DE MAI*, where it was presented by the emperor to his guards at that celebrated meeting before they marched for Waterloo, where it was taken by the Prussians, and sold by them to an English gentleman who brought it to England. It was in the possession of Bernard Borcas, Esq., of Wakefield, until his death, when it was sold at auction by Mr. Robins.³

The tricolor of France (Plate II) is supposed to be an union of the blue banner of St. Martin, the red banner or oriflamme of St.

¹ In the old time the French royal banner was *semée-de-lys*, that is completely covered with them, but from the time of Charles VI it invariably consisted of three golden fleur-de-lis on a blue field.—*Fairholt's Dictionary*.

² *Boutell's Heraldry, Hist. and Popular*.

³ *Madame Tassaud's Catalogue*.

Dionysius or St. Denys, and the cornette blanche, there being evidence that those colors have been regarded in France as the real national emblems for centuries. Yet the choice of the tricolor as the emblem of Liberty at the time of the Revolution which cost Louis XVI his head, is said to have been purely accidental. Blue and red, the ancient colors of the city of Paris, were first assumed, and all the citizens mounted guard in a blue and red cockade; but the National Guard which was not unfriendly to the throne, admitted the white of the legitimate standard, and thus reproduced the tricolor as the standard of the French nation.

London Notes and Queries has several communications on the origin of the French tricolor. A correspondent who signs himself *Andrew Steinmetz* (2d ser. vol. vi, 164), says: In 1789 after the defection of the French Guards, it was determined to raise a city guard of 40,000 men, each district to contribute a battalion of 800 men. The name of the guard was the Parisian Militia; their colors the *blue and red of the city*, mixed with the white of their friends. This Parisian militia became the National Guard, and their colors the *tricolor*, from the union or fraternization. Another correspondent (H. F. H.), says: In or about 1356, during the captivity of John of France in the Tower of London, and the regency of the Dauphin Charles, the states-general of Paris effected great changes in the mode of government. Paris became in fact a sort of republic, and the municipality governed the estates and in truth all France. At this time it was decided that the city of Paris should have colors of its own, and under the authority of Etienne Marcel a flag was selected half blue and half red with an agrafe of silver and the motto, *a bonne fin*. Shortly after, when Etienne Marcel was murdered with sixty of his followers, the colors of the city were suppressed, and remained in obscurity until 1789. Upon the accession of Charles V, he erected the Bastille St. Antoine on the very spot where Etienne Marcel had been slain, as the first monument of defiance on the part of the crown against the capital and which remained for centuries a state-prison and symbol of despotism. By a singular coincidence the Bastille was destroyed on the anniversary of the day upon which the ancient colors of Paris — the colors of Etienne Marcel — became victorious over royalty. On that day, July

14, 1789, Lafayette restored the colors of the city to the people, adding thereto the royal emblem *white* and thus composed that *tricolor* which according to Lafayette's prophetic words, "Devait faire le tour du monde."

It appears that at first the French revolutionists adopted a *green* cockade which was however quickly discarded, from the recollection that it was the livery of the Counts d'Artois. On the night of the 11th of July, after the dismissal of Neckar, at the first meeting of the populace in the Palais Royal they were there harangued by Camille Desmoulins, who told them "there was no resource but to fly to arms and take a cockade by which to recognize each other." He was rapturously applauded and went on: "What colors will you have? cry out, choose! Will you have green the color of hope? or the blue of Cincinnatus, the color of liberty of America and of democracy?" The people cried "The green, the color of hope!"

A. A., another correspondent of *Notes and Queries*, says the tradition in France concerning the adoption of the tricolor, is that it was originally the field of the arms of the Orleans family which was made up in fact of the red of the ancient oriflamme, which was gules semée of lys, or; of the arms of Valois, azure semée in like manner; and of Bourbon, argent, semée of the same. As the Orleans claimed to be descended of all three branches, they took for the field of their escutcheon their three tinctures, and blazoned them "tierce in pale azure, argent, and gules semée of fleur de lys or." The tradition is, when Philip of Orleans threw himself into the arms of the republicans and called himself L'Egalite, he caused the fleur-de-lys to be erased from the escutcheons which were stuck up in the Palais Royal. The field being left, it was identified with his name, and by degrees became the Republican flag.

Sieur de Aubigny, marshal of France, one of the most experienced commanders in the service of Charles VIII and Louis XII, as a relative of James IV, bore the red lion of Scotland on a field argent, which he caused to be semée of buckles, signifying that he was the means of holding united the kings of Scotland and France against England, with the motto *Distantia jungit*, "It unites the distant."

It is related of Philip the Bold of Burgundy in his preparation for the invasion of England, his ship was painted outside in

blue and gold, and there were *three thousand* standards with his motto, assumed no doubt for the occasion, but which he afterward always retained *Moult me tarde*. It was also embroidered on the sails of his ships encircled by a wreath of daisies in compliment to his wife. Philip the Bold's war cry was *Moult me tarde* and after the battle of Rosbee, so satisfied was he with the people of Dijon, that he allowed the city to bear his arms and use his *cri*. As this motto was inscribed in this way

MOULT	TARDE
ME	

their standards, many in reading saw only the two words moult, tarde; hence the sobriquet of *Montarde des Dijon* — moult being the old French for *beaucoup* — much.

Charles III, seventh Duke de Bourbon, the celebrated constable, had displayed near his tomb at Gaeta his great standard of yellow silk embroidered with flying stags and naked flaming swords, with the word *esperance*, *esperance*, in several places, meaning he hoped to revenge himself by fire and sword upon his enemies.

The banner of Robert de la Mark, the Great Boar of Ardenes, had a figure of St. Margaret with a dragon at her feet.

A French military author, who served and wrote in the time of Charles XIV, intending to express the importance of preserving the colors to the last, observed that, on a defeat taking place the flag should serve the ensign as a shroud; and instances have occurred of a standard bearer, who being mortally wounded tore the flag from its staff and died with it wrapped around his body. Such a circumstance is related of Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, at the battle of Alcaza, and of a young officer named Chatelier, at the taking of Taillebourg during the wars of the Huguenots.

The imperial standard of France (the Napoleon standard), was the tricolor, semée of golden bees, and charged with the eagle of the empire upon the central division of the white field.

In the guard chamber of Windsor Castle, England, suspended over the marblé busts of the dukes of Marlborough and Wellington, hang two little French flags of peculiar significance. The one a white flag of the Bourbons spotted with fleur-de-lys. The other the tricolor. These flags are presented by the dukes to the reigning sovereign of Great Britain on the anniversa-

ries of the battles of Blenheim and Waterloo, and are the tenure of service by which the noble dukes hold the estates of Blenheim and Stratfieldsaye, settled on them by Parliament. The banner annually rendered by the Duke of Marlborough was formerly suspended in Queen Anne's closet in Windsor where she first received intelligence of the victory of Blenheim.¹

The flags and standards taken in battle, which were removed from the Hotel des Invalides on the approach of the Prussian army in 1870, and placed in safety at Brest, have been recently restored to their old places about the tombs of Napoleon I, or in the chapel. Their number is but small, for it will be remembered that in 1814, the governor of Les Invalides ordered the whole collection to be burnt, to save it from the hands of the enemy. At that time, the chapel alone contained *sixteen hundred* flags and standards, trophies of the triumphs of Napoleon I.²

ANGLO-SAXON, SAXON, EARLY BRITISH STANDARDS, BANNERS, ETC.

STANDARDS, BANNERS AND DEVICES OF THE ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS. In the Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf, supposed to have been written in the tenth century, we read "then to Beowulf he gave a golden banner." St. Oswald, who fell fighting in defence of Christianity against Penda, was buried at Bardney Abbey, gorgeously enshrined, with a banner of gold and purple suspended over his remains. The Picts regarded with reverence the banner called *Brechannoch* from its association with St. Columb, the irspiritual father. The keeper of this sacred relic had lands assigned him for its custody.

Ossian mentions the standard of the kings and chiefs of clans, and says that the king's was blue studded with gold. The Anglo-Saxon ensign was very grand. It had in it the white horse, as the Danish was distinguished by the raven. William the Conqueror sent Harold's standard captured at the battle of Hastings which bore the device of a dragon, to the pope. His own standard was sumptuously embroidered with gold and precious stones, in the form of a man fighting.

¹ *Guide to Windsor.*

² *London Times, New York Tribune, July, 1871.*

When he sailed for England, the white banner, consecrated by Pope Alexander II expressly for the occasion, was hoisted at the mast head of the ship on which he was embarked.¹ The Saxons who entered Britain about A. D. 449, by invitation to protect the Britons, were marshaled under banners bearing the figure of a man and a horse, from which symbols the chiefs of the Saxon force derived the names of *Hengist* and *Horsa*, which has been the ensign of the county of Kent from the fifth century to the present day. The badge assigned to Arthur, the mythic king of Britain in the sixth century is azure — three crowns proper — and over this the motto, *Trois en un*. King Arthur's shield forms the centre of the star of the Bath.

The standards of the successive rulers of Britain may be found in Sir Winston Churchill's curious work, *Divi Britannici*, which gives the white horse for Kent, the white dragon for Wessex.²

Among the Saxon kings of England there were two who were reputed saints. Edmund the Martyr, and Edward the Confessor, and these with St. George, are the three patron saints of England. The red cross on a silver shield of St. George, is the badge of the order of the Garter. The banners of these saints accompanied the English army, and waved over the fields where the Edwards and Henrys fought.

St Edmund's banner is generally considered to have been azure, three crowns or, 2 and 1; the same as the badge assigned to Arthur; but it is certain from the description by Lydgate, that two banners were appropriated to that saint, of which drawings are given in that writer's works. One of them is that which is just mentioned.

“ Over he [the king], seyde *Lady Hevene Quene*,
Myn own baner, with here shall be.”

This other standard, feeld stable off colour yude
In which off Gold been notable crownys thre
The first tokne in cronye men may fynde
Graunted to hym for Royal dignyte
And the second for virgynyte,
For martirdam the thrydde in his suffryng
To these annexyd ffeyth, hope and charyte
In tokne he was martyr mayde and kyng.
'These thre crownys Kyng Edmund bar certeyn

¹ See *ante*, page 29.

² *Retrospective Review*.

Whan he was sent be grace off Goddis hond
At Geynesburnh for to slen Kyng Sweyn."

"By which myracle men may understand
Delyvered was from trybut all thys lond
Mawgre Danys in full notable wyse
For the hooly martyr dissolvyd hath that bond
Set this Region ageyn in his franchise."

"These thre crownys history aly t' aplye. *Applicacio*
By pronostyk nobally sovereyne
To sixte Herry in fygur signefye
How he is born to worthy crownys tweyne
Off France and England, lynealy t' atteyne
In this byff heer, afterward in hevене
The thrydde crowne to receyve in certeyne
For his merits above the sterry swene."

The other represented Eve in the Garden of Eden, and the serpent tempting her

"The feeld powdered with many hevenly sterre
And halff cressantis off gold ful bright and cleer
And when that evere he journeyde nyh or ferre
Ny in the feeld, with hym was this baneeer."
* * * * *

"This hooly standard hath power and vertu
To stanche fyres and stoppe flawmys rede
By myracle, and who that kan take heede
God grantyd it hym for a prerogatyff," etc.
* * * * *

"This vertuous baner shal kepen and conserve
This lond from enmyes dante ther cruel pryde
Off syxte Herry, the noblesse to preserve
It shall be borne in werryng by his syde."

It is to be observed, that the banners of St. Edmund, or St. Edward do not occur in any of the illuminations of the chronicles or other manuscripts in the British Museum ; and the only proof of their being used so late as to reign of Henry V, besides the allusion to the banner of St. Edmund by Lydgate who wrote in the reigns of Henry V, and VI, are the statements of cotemporary chroniclers. Le Fevre, Seigneur de St. Henry, in his account of the battle of Agincourt, informs us, that Henry had five banners, that is to say, the banner of the Trinity, the banner of St. George, the banner of St. Edward, and the banner of his own arms. This list, however, enumerates but four, the

fifth was probably one of the banners of St. Edmund. The banner of the Trinity, we may infer from a painting of the arms of the Trinity in Canterbury Cathedral, and which have been thus blazoned, were "Gules an orle and pall, argent inscribed with the Trinity in Unity." Lydgate says the fifth banner alluded to by St. Remy was that of the Virgin Mary; after enumerating the banners of St. George, the Trinity, and St. Edward, he adds,

The device on the banner of St. Edward the Confessor was without doubt the cross and martlets, as they are carved in stone in Westminster Abbey, where he is buried,¹ and which Richard II impaled with his own, as may be seen by the banner of that king on the monumental brass of Sir Simon de Felkrig his standard bearer, at Felkrig in Norfolk.² Arms were invented for Edward the Confessor in the time of Edward I. The Anglo-Norman heralds were probably guided in their choice by a coin of that monarch, upon the reverse of which appears a plain cross with four birds one in each angle. The arms as then blazoned, are azure, a cross flory, between five martlets or, and formed the standard of St. Edward as usually displayed by the English monarchs down to the fifteenth century. The dragon was used as the national device of England by Harold at Hastings; by Richard I, in 1191; and by Henry III in 1264. Edward III blazoned his standard with the arms of England and France in 1340.³

The banners of the sovereigns of England up to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, bore their family devices, when the last brilliant relics of the feudal system, the joust, the tournament, and all their paraphernalia fell into disuse. William Rufus bore a young eagle gazing at the sun, with the motto, *Perfero*, "I endure it." Stephen of Blois is said to have borne an archer, because he ascended the throne when the sun was in the sign, Sagittarius; or by others because he gained a battle by the aid of his archers.

Henry II bore the broom sprig or *Plante Genet* ("Il portoit ung G-enett entre deux Plantes de Geneste.") This well known badge is supposed to have been derived from the ancestor of the Plantagenets, Foulke, Count of Anjou, who bore a branch of the broom in his helmet, either by way of penance

¹ *Boutell's Heraldry.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Retrospective Review*, 2d series, vol. 1.

or in sign of humility. Richard I, his son, bore a star, probably of Bethlehem, issuing from the horns of a crescent in token of his victories over the Turks, a mailed hand holding a shivered lance, motto *Labor vivis Convenit*, Labor suits or is fitting for men. A sun, or, two anchors; motto, *Christo Duce*, Christ is my leader;¹ and on assuming the title of king of Jerusalem he hoisted the banner of the holy city, the dominion of Judah, the badge of David and Solomon. On the second great seal of this king is the first representation of the three lions or leopards, which have from that time descended to us as the royal arms of England.²

John and Henry III bore the star and crescent, and John was the first to add *Dominus Hibernia* to the royal titles.

Edward III bore silver clouds proper, with rays descending. He also bore a blue boar with his tusks, and his clies and his members of gold. He was the first monarch that used the English vernacular dialect in a motto. His standard as given by Sir Charles Barker is the lion of England in a field semée of rising suns and crowns; motto, *Dieu et mon droit*.²

Edward III first granted the fleur-de-lys of France, and on his third great campaign we find for the first time the lion stantant quadrant as it still continues on the royal standard and arms. His own standard erected at Cressy was of red silk embroidered with lilies of gold.²

The Black Prince bore "a sunne arysing out of the cloudes betokening that although his noble courage and princely valour had hitherto been hid and obscured from the world, now he was arysing to glory and honnor in France."²

The cherished and popular belief is that the crest and motto of the Prince of Wales, was won by the Black Prince at Cressy.² But this tradition is unsupported by history, for the crest of

¹ *Boutell's Heraldry.* ² *Boutell and Historical Badges and Devices.*

² There lay the trophy of our chivalry

Plumed of his ostrich feathers, which the Prince

Took as the ensign of his victory,

Which he did after weare, and ever since

The Prince of Wales doth that achievement beare,

Which Edward first did win by conquest there.— *Alleyne.*

From the Bohemian crown the plume he wears,

Which after for his credit he did preserve

To his father's use, with this fit word — "*I serve.*"— *Ben Jonson.*

the blind king of Bohemia was not a plume of ostrich feathers, but the wings of a vulture expanded. On the other hand an ostrich feather silver, its pen gold, was one of the badges



Crest of the Black Prince.

of Edward III, and was with some slight difference adopted by the Black Prince, and by all his sons and their descendants. The Black Prince used sometimes three feathers, sometimes one argent. His brother John of Gaunt three or one ermine, the stems or labels or, on a sable ground. A single feather was worn by his younger brother, Thomas of Gloucester, and by their nephews Edward, Duke of York, and Richard, Duke of Cambridge. It is more likely then, that Edward I adopted this crest at the battle of Poitiers, joining to the *family* badge the old English word *Ic den* (Theyn) *I serve*, in accordance with the words of the Apostle, "the heir while he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant." The feathers are placed separately upon the tomb of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral. The feather badge was also used by Richard II, and by Henry IV, both before and after he came to the throne; by his brother Humphrey the good Duke of Gloucester and all the members of the Beaufort branch. Henry VI bore two feathers in saltire. Three or one was adopted as a cognizance by his son Prince Edward, and was worn as such by Warwick at the battle of Barnet.¹

Richard II adopted the white hart couchant on a mount under a tree proper, gorged with a crown and chained, the device of his mother the fair maid of Kent. Richard wore two harts as supporters, and is the first king whose supporters are authenticated. His standard has the hart with two suns.²

Edward I was the first English monarch who assumed a rose, or, stalked proper for a badge.³

Richard II's successor, Henry IV of Bolingbroke or Lancaster, introduced the red rose of Edmund of Lancaster (whose daughter and heiress was Henry's mother), which became ever after the badge of the Lancastrians as opposed to the white rose of York. He also had for cognizance the antelope as well as the silver

¹ Boutell's *Heraldry*; *Hist. Badges and Devices*; Ellis's *Heraldry, and Retrospective Review*.

swans of the De Bohuns. The *banner* of Henry IV of England has a swan and a large rose, the field semi of foxtails, stocks of trees, and red roses, and is per fesse argent and azure, the livery colors of the Lancastrians having at the head the red cross of St. George on a white field.¹

When Henry V entered the lists against Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, his caparisons were embroidered with the antelope and swan; Henry's antelope appears at his interview with King Charles at Melun.



Banner of Henry Plantagenet
of Bolingbroke.

“The king of England had a large tente of blue velvet and green, richly embroidered with two devices: the one was an antelope drawing in a horse mill, the other was an antelope sitting on a high stage with a branch of olife in his mouth, and the tente was replenished and decked with this poysie.”²

“*After busie labour commith victorious reste.*”

He also used at times a beacon or cresset, and a fleur-de-lis crowned and a fox's tail. With reference to the last when Henry V made his solemn entry into Rouen, a page carried behind him, in guise of a banner, a fox's tail attached, and when presented to Katharine, he wore in his helmet a fox's tail ornamented with precious stones. After the victory of Agincourt he assumed the motto, *Non nobis domine.*³

On the banner of Henry VI, were antelopes and roses, and he was the first sovereign to use the motto, *Dieu et mon Droit.* He also had for his devices a panther passant gardant argent, spotted with many colors with vapor issuing from his mouth and ears, and two feathers in saltieres, the sinister argent surmounted by the dexter or.⁴

The sun in splendor and sable bull denoted the IVth Edward and the white boar and dun cow Richard III.⁴

¹ *Boutell's Historical Badges and Devices.* ² *Harleian Manuscripts.* ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Edward IV placed the white rose *en soled* on his standard in commemoration of his victory at the battle of Mortimer's Cross, 1471, when “before the battle, it is said, the sun appeared to the Earl of March (afterwards Edward IV), like three suns, and

The honor of bearing Edward IV's standard at the battle of Towton devolved upon Ralph Vestyn den, afterwards first yeoman of the chamber who had for his services at the battle an annuity of £10 granted to him "yerely unto the tyme he be rewarded by us of an office." Edward's standard at that battle was "the bull sable, corned and trooped or." It was used by him on other occasions, and others of the house of York having been a cognizance or device of the Clares (Earls of Gloucester) from whom the house of York was descended. His brother Richard III, had for his standard at the battle of Bosworth a dun cow.

Henry VII, after the battle of Bosworth, offered at St. Paul's three standards. The first bore the figure of St. George; the second, a red dragon on white and green sarcanet; and the third, a dun cow upon yellow tartan. Hutton says: Henry III, on his arrival in London carried in from Richard III, three standards, the chief of which was St. George, and erected them in St. Paul's church, also that his, Henry VII's standard at Bosworth, was a red dragon upon green and white silk.¹ The dragon being Henry's, it is reasonable to consider the other two as Richard's standards. Henry VII also carried a portcullis as his badge, as well as the red and white roses combined, emblematic of the union of the rival houses.

suddenly it joyned altogether in one; for which cause some imagyne that he gave the sun in its full brightness *for his badge or cognizance.*"

“EDWARD.— Dazzle mine eyes, or do I see three suns ?

RICHARD.— Three glorious suns, each one a perfect sun, etc.,

* * * * See, see they join, embrace and seem to kiss.

EDWARD.— Tis wondrous strange, the like yet never heard of.

I think it cites us, brother, to the field ;

That we, the sons of brave Plantagenet,

Each one already blazing by one meedy,

Should notwithstanding, join our lights together,

And over shine the earth, as this the world,

Whate'er it bodes, henceforward will I bear

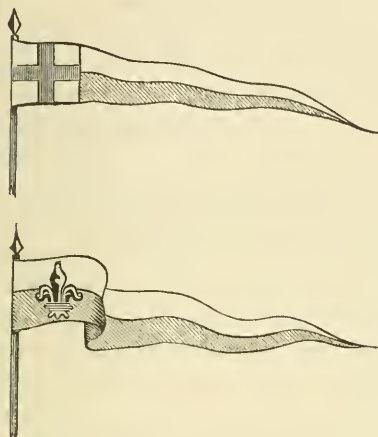
Upon my target three fair shining suns.”

Henry VI, 3d pt. act 11, sc. 1.

¹ The red dragon of Cadwallader, "Red dragon, dreadful." Henry claimed an uninterrupted descent from the aboriginal princes of Britain, Arthur and Uther, Caradoc, etc. His grandfather, Owen Tudor, bore a dragon on his device in proof of his descent from Cadwallader, the last British prince and first king of Wales, A.D. 678. The dragon, it must be borne in mind, for a long time was the customary standard of the kings of England. It was used by Harold at Hastings. It was borne in the battle between Canute and Edmund Ironsides. It is figured in the Bayeaux tapestry. It was carried before Henry III, at the battle of Lewes. Edward I, when in Wales, fought under the dragon.

“In the marriage procession of Henry Tudor and Elizabeth of York,” says an agreeable writer. “Each partizan of Lancaster gave his hand to a lady of the York party, holding a boquet of

two roses, red and white entwined, and at the birth of Prince Henry, the armorists composed a rose of two colors (the leaves alternately red and white), as an emblematical offspring of the marriage. Horticulturists also forced nature into an act of loyalty and produced the party colored flower known to the present day as the rose of York and Lancaster.”



Two standards of Henry VIII,
From the picture of his embarkation at Dover Castle
for the Field of Cloth of Gold.

The same cognizances were used by Henry VIII, and Edward VI, the former of whom displayed

sometimes a greyhound courant and collared, and at others after the siege of Boulogne, a white swan, the arms of the city. Queen Mary, before her accession, adopted the red and white roses, but added a pomegranate to show her descent from Spain; but on assuming the sceptre she took “winged time drawing truth out of a pit” with this motto, *Veritas temporis filia*. The badges of good (?) Queen Bess, were the white and red roses, the fleur-de-lis and Irish harp, all ensigned by the royal crown, to which James I added the Scotch thistle.”

According to historic traditions, see *Shakespeare, Henry VI* (1st part), the *Roses* — “The fatal colors of our striving houses.” “The pale and purple” rose of York and Lancaster were first chosen during the momentous dispute about 1450, between Somerset and the Earl of Warwick, in the Temple garden, when Somerset, to collect the suffrage of the bystanders, plucked a red rose and Warwick a white rose, and each called upon every man present to declare his party by taking a rose of the color chosen by him whose cause he favored. This was the

prologue to the great national tragedy which ended in the extinction of the royal line and name of Plantagenet.

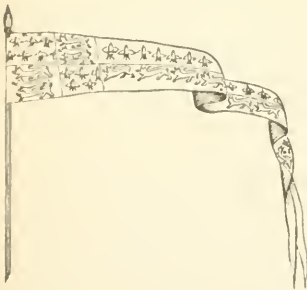
“ This brawl to-day
Grown to this faction, in the Temple Garden
Shall send between the red rose and the white,
A thousand souls to death and deathly night.”

King Henry VI, 1st part, Act ii, sc. 4.

But the roses were only renewed. Both Edward I and his brother Edmund of Lancaster wore the red rose, which was taken by John of Gaunt on his marriage with Blanche, the heiress of Lancaster. When John of Gaunt adopted the red rose, his younger brother Edmund Langley, Duke of York, assumed the white derived from the castle of Clifford, which he transmitted to his descendants, the house of York. Mr. Planche inclines to derive the rose originally from Eleanor of Provence, queen of Henry III.

The chronicler of Caerleverock describes the royal banner of Edward I after this characteristic manner: “ On his banner were three leopards, courant, of fine gold, set on red; fierce were they, haughty and cruel, thus placed to signify that, like them, the king is dreadful to his enemies. For his bite is slight to none that inflame his anger; and yet, towards such as seek his friendship or submit to his power, his kindness is soon rekindled.”¹

The royal banners of England from the time of Edward, have always borne the same blazonry as the royal shield. Edward III placed on his standards his quartered shield as their head and powdered them with fleur-de-lys and lions. Drawings of many curious examples of these banners and standards are preserved in Herald's College. Several of the English sovereigns, in addition to the banner of their royal arms, used other banners and standards charged with their badges. The royal banner of arms charged their



Standard of Edward III.

¹ *Siege of Caerleverock.*

insignia upon the *entire field* without any accessories until the time of the Stuarts, when the arms were sometimes associated with other devices, or the flag bore the *entire royal achievement* charged upon the centre of its field. Curious examples of these royal standards thus emblazoned appear in the pictures now at Hampton Court, representing the embarkation of Charles II, in 1660, and of William III, in 1688. Of late the royal banner is blazoned with the arms of the United Kingdom over the whole field.

The battles of Caton Moor or Northallerton, fought Aug. 22, 1138, is called the "battle of the standard," because the English barons rallied around a sacred stand, constructed of a ship's mast, fixed in a four wheeled vehicle and bearing the banners of St. Peter's of York, St. John of Beverly, and St. Wilfred of Ripon, surmounted by a pyx containing a consecrated host. This standard was brought forth by the archbishop of York when the English were hotly pressed by the invaders headed by King David.

The banner or standard of St. Cuthbert of Durham, made in 1346, of which a particular and minute account has been preserved in a curious little volume entitled, *The antient Rites and Monuments of the Monastical and Cathedral Church of Durham*, 1672, contained a singular relic of the saint which was thought to endow it with peculiar sanctity and power. This banner, a yard broad and five quarters deep, was of red velvet embroidered and wrought with flowers of green silk and gold, the nether part of it indented in five parts and fringed with red silk and gold. "In the midst of the banner cloth, was the corporax cloth, with which St. Cuthbert in his life time had been used to cover the chalice when he said mass. This corporax cloth was covered over with white velvet half a yard square every way, having a red cross of red velvet on both sides over the same holy relique most cunningly and artificially compiled and framed, being finely fringed about the skirts and edges, with fringe of red silk and gold, and three little silver bells fastened to the skirts of said banner cloth like unto sacring bells." This banner, the account goes on to state, was never carried or showed in any battle, but by the especial grace of God Almighty and the mediation of holy St. Cuthbert, it brought home the victory.

After the Reformation, St. Cuthbert's banner fell into the hands of Whittingham, who was made dean of Durham, and his wife, a French woman, is reported to have burnt it.¹

In the middle ages, the standard was not a square flag like the banner, but elongated like the guidon and pennon but much larger, becoming narrow and rounded at the end, which was slit, unless the standard belonged to a prince of the blood royal.

The size of the standard was regulated by the rank of the person whose arms or device it bore. The standard of an *emperor* was eleven yards in length; of a *king* nine yards; of a *prince* seven yards; of a *marquis* six and a half yards; of an *earl* six yards; of a *viscount* or *baron* five yards; of a knight banneret four and a half yards; of a baronet four yards. These standards were generally divided into three portions, one containing the arms of the noble, then came his cognizance or badge, and then his crest; these being divided by bands on which was inscribed his war cry, or motto, the whole being fringed with his livery or family colors.

Certain relics or memorials of the fight of Otterburne Aug. 15, 1388, are still preserved in Scotland. The story of the battle represents Douglas as having a personal encounter with Percy in front of Newcastle, taken from him his spear and hanging flag, saying he would carry it home with him and plant it on his castle of Dalkeith.²



The Douglas Standard, 1382.

The battle itself was an effort of Percy to recover this valued piece of spoil, which however, found its way to Scotland, notwithstanding the death of its captor. One of the two natural sons of Douglas, founded the family of Douglas of Cavers in Roxburghshire, which still exists in credit and renown; and in their hands are the relics of Otterburne now nearly five hundred years old. It is found, however, that history has somewhat misrepresented the matter. The Otterburne flag, proves not to be a spear pennon, but a standard *thirteen feet long* (two yards longer than the regulated sizes of an emperor's standard) bearing the

¹ *Penny Cyclopædia.* ² *Chambers's Book of Days.*

Douglas arms; it evidently has been Douglas's own banner, which of course his sons would be most anxious to preserve and carry home. Here is a standard laid up in store at Cavers more than a hundred years before America was discovered.¹

THE ROYAL STANDARD OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. The origin of the emblazonments on that gorgeous banner may be thus historically sketched.² The lions passant gardant or, on a red field were the arms of Normandy and two of them were introduced by William Rufus; the third was added by Henry II for the duchy of Aquitaine, which he possessed in right of his wife. Edward III quartered with the lions the fleur-de-lis powdered on a blue field, of which five were entire, and borne in the first and fourth quarters. This he did on claiming the sovereignty of France, in right of his mother, Isabel, sister and heiress of



Arms of Henry V, of England.

Charles the Fair; thus the royal standard was composed of the arms of France and England combined, and such it continued until the reign of Henry V, when the French king having reduced the number of *fleur-de-lis* to three, Henry did the same and they so appear on the standard carried by the Great Harry, in the time of Henry VIII, and they occur the same on a royal standard at the main of a ship of war (supposed to be the Ark Royal of Raleigh) of the time of Elizabeth, as represented on the tapestry of the old house of lords, and which was destroyed by the fire. On a staff abaft, this ship has a plain square flag of St. George—white with a red cross. On the union of England and Scotland, through the accession of James I, the standard underwent a change, the first and fourth quarters being each the arms just described, the second introducing the lion of Scotland, and the third quarter the harp of Ireland.

William III placed an escutcheon of pretence upon the royal standard, for Nassau, which was removed by Queen Anne, and the standard then stood, the first and fourth quarterings the lions of England and Scotland, the second quarter the fleur-de-lis, and

¹ *Chambers's Book of Days.*

² The royal banners of England have always borne the same blazonry as the royal shield.

the third quarter the harp. George I again changed it, and the arms of Brunswick, of Lunenburg, of ancient Saxony, the crown of Charlemagne formed during his reign the *fourth* quarter, the other quarters remaining as in the reign of Queen Anne. On the legislative union with Ireland in 1801, the fleur-de-lis of France were removed.

Charles I, in his issue with the parliament, having decided to make a solemn appeal to the sword, published a proclamation requiring all his subjects who could bear arms to meet him at Nottingham on the 23d of Aug., 1641, when he designed to raise his royal standard, the first and only times of such a rally since the raising of the standard by the barons at Northallerton, A. D. 1138. At the appointed time a numerous company, mounted and on foot, came from the surrounding country, rather to indulge their curiosity with respect to the mode of conducting an ancient ceremony never before witnessed in the memory of man, than to offer loyal assistance to their sovereign.

On the hill, three troops of horse and a corps of about six hundred foot were drawn up to guard the standard. Just as the herald was about to begin, King Charles desired to see the proclamation; and calling for pen and ink, placed the paper on his knee as he sat in the saddle, and made several alterations with his own hand, afterwards returning it to the herald, who then read it; but on coming to the passages which the king had corrected, with some embarrassment. Immediately after the reading, the trumpets sounded, the standard was advanced, and the spectators threw up their hats, shouting "*God save the king!*" The standard raised was a large blood red streamer bearing the royal arms quartered, with a hand pointing to the crown which stood above, and inscribed with the motto "*Give Cæsar his due.*" Farther on towards the point were represented at intervals the rose, the fleur-de-lis, and the harp, each surmounted by a royal crown.

Some delay now took place. It was with difficulty the standard could be fixed in its place, from the ground being solid rock and no instruments to pierce it having been provided. Scarcely had this object been accomplished by digging into the firm stone with the daggers and halbert points of the soldiers, when a fierce gust of wind sweeping with a wild moan across the face of the hill

laid prostrate the emblem of sovereignty. This accident was regarded as a presage of evil, and a general melancholy overspread the assembly. That day no further attempt was made, and the standard was borne back into the castle in silence. The next day and the day following the ceremony was repeated, the king attending on each occasion with less gloomy auspices.¹

THE ROYAL STANDARD OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND was established, and was first hoisted on the Tower of London, and on Bedford Tower, Dublin, and displayed by the Foot Guards, Jan. 1, 1801.² When the new standard was first hoisted on board the Royal William at Spithead after the union, it was considered of ominous import by the sailors of the fleet, that a gale of wind blew it from the mast-head and it was lost.³ It is a gorgeous banner, and when flashing its golden splendor in the bright beams of the sun presents a beautiful appearance. The emblazonry represents the arms of the time being of the nation, as impressed upon the coins and borne upon the great seal and seals of office. Its bearings have been several times changed, as circumstances rendered necessary.

The royal standard is never hoisted except on occasion of the first ceremony. It is never displayed on ship board except when the sovereign or some member of the royal family is actually present,⁴ or on the sovereign's birthdays, when the commander-in-chief of a fleet hoists it at the main. In garrisons at such times it always supersedes the jack, or common garrison flag.

¹ Cattermole's *Great Civil War*.

² Haydn's *Book of Dates*.

³ *British Naval Chronicle*.

⁴ The only occasion on which the royal standard is known to have been displayed within the United States of America was when the Prince of Wales embarked at Portland, Maine, Oct. 15, 1860, to return to England after his tour through the United States and Canada.

"The prince's last act on American soil was to take leave of the mayor of Portland. He then stepped hurriedly down the carpeted steps where he embarked to his barge, which had a silken union jack flying at the stern. The moment he stepped on board, a sailor at the bow unrolled a small royal standard of silk attached to a staff and placed it at the bow of the boat. As soon as it was in place the whole British squadron, mustering eight or ten ships, honored it with a royal salute of twenty-one guns. The yards of the ships were at the same time manned, and when the prince stepped on the deck of the *Hero*, his own ship, the royal standard was run up at her main, and again saluted by the whole fleet, which immediately after weighed and put to sea, the *Hero* leading. As they passed Fort Preble, the American ensign was run up at the fore and saluted by the whole fleet with twenty-one guns from each ship, which was returned by the guns of the fort."—*Goold's History of the Portland Rifle Corps*.

As established in 1801, it was heraldically described as "Quarterly first and fourth, gules three lions passant gardant in pale or, for England. Second, or, a lion rampant gules within a double tressure flory counter flory of the last for Scotland. Third, azure, a harp or, stringed argent, for Ireland. On an escutcheon of pretence, ensigned with the electoral bonnet; and divided per pale and per cheveron, enarched with three compartments, the arms of his majesty's dominions in Germany, viz: two lions passant gardant in pale or, for Brunswick. Second or, semée of hearts proper, a lion rampant azure, for Brunswick. Third, gules, a horse courant argent, for Saxony. In the centre on an escutcheon gules, the crown of Charlemagne proper, being the badge of the office of arch treasurer to the holy Roman empire."¹

The white horse on a red field, was the armorial bearing of ancient Saxony or Westphalia, and has for centuries been borne by the illustrious house of Brunswick. The banner of Wittekind bore a black horse, which on his conversion to Christianity by Charlemagne, was altered to *white* as the emblem of the pure faith he had embraced. In 1700 a medal was struck at Hanover to commemorate the accession to the electorate of George Lewis, Duke of Hanover, afterwards George I. This medal bears on one side the head of the elector, and on the reverse the *white horse*. On the accession of George I, the white horse was introduced as a royal badge in the standards and colors of certain regiments of cavalry and infantry.

When Queen Victoria came to the throne, under the operation of the Salic law, she was compelled to relinquish the kingdom of Hanover to her uncle the Duke of Cumberland, and the escutcheon of pretence with its electoral bonnet, blue lion and white horse, was removed, leaving the original quarterings for the three estates of the realm, England, Scotland and Ireland as it now is. (Plate II.)

¹ *Naval Chronicle*, vol. v.

² The schooner *Duke of Gloucester*, 14, was captured at York, now Toronto, capital of Upper Canada, when that place was taken by a land and naval force under Gen. Pike and Commodore Isaac Chauncey, on the 25th of April, 1813. A royal standard was captured at the same time. [Description of Flags in the Gunnery room of the U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md., 1871.] This is probably the only instance of the royal standard of the united kingdom having come into the possession of an enemy.

The kingdom of Hanover has since been incorporated with the empire of Germany.

Sir Walter Scott, alluding to the royal banner of Scotland, says that upon it,

“The ruddy lion ramps in gold.”

The Scottish lion being rampant gules on a field or, as seen in the present standard of the united kingdom.

THE UNION JACK OR FLAG OF GREAT BRITAIN. The combination of the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew produced the first union jack, which was declared in 1606 by King James I, to constitute the national ensign of Great Britain, happily symbolizing the union of England and Scotland, in the union of the crosses of the two realms. In 1801, in consequence of the legislative union with Ireland, a second union ensign superseded its predecessor. The new compound device was required to comprehend the three crosses of St. George, St. Andrew and St. Patrick in combination. (Plate II.) The blazonry of this second union jack is borne by the Duke of Wellington charged upon a shield of pretence over his paternal arms, as an “augmentation of honor” significant and expressive. The Duke of Marlborough bears in like manner, the cross of St. George upon a canton in commemoration of the services of his ancestor.

At what time or for what reason the name of *jack* was given to this flag is conjectural by the old historians, but in old records it is almost universally styled the UNION FLAG. Some have attributed the name to the upper part of a trooper’s armor being so named, which name was transferred during the time of the Crusades to the St. George’s cross on a white field which the soldiers wore over their armor both before and behind. Others think that the new flag received this name in honor of James I, the abbreviation of whose signature *Jac*, they say it is. The name is mentioned in 1673, in the English treaty with the Dutch, which obliges “all Dutch ships or squadrons of war meeting those of Great Britain, carrying the king’s flag called *the jack* within certain seas and bounds to strike their topsail and lower their flag with like ceremony and respect as heretofore by Dutch ships to those of the king of England or his ancestors.”

The royal ordinance establishing the first union jack is as follows :

“ Whereas some differences hath arisen between our subjects of South and North Britain, travelling by sea, about the bearing of their flags ; for the avoiding of all such contentions hereafter, we have, with the advice of our council, ordered from henceforth all our subjects of this Isle and Kingdom of Great Britain and the members thereof, shall bear in the main top the red cross, commonly called St. George’s cross, and the white cross commonly called St. Andrew’s cross, joined together, according to a form made by our heralds ; and sent by us to our admiral, to be published to our said subjects ; and in the foretop our subjects of South Britain (England) shall wear the red cross only, as they were wont ; and our subjects of North Britain (Scotland) in the foretop the white cross only, as they were accustomed, wherefore we will and command all our subjects to be conformable and obedient to this our order, and that from henceforth they do not use or bear their flags in any other sort, as they will answer to the contrary at their peril.

“ Given at our Palace this 12th day of April, 4th Iacques, A. D. 1606.”¹

There are instances in which this union flag is represented, with the St. George’s cross forming the entire head, and the St. Andrew’s the entire fly. There is no drawing extant “ of the form made by the heralds ” sent to the admiral to be published, but as the paintings of Vandervelde and others show on the bowsprits of vessels of war, the flag known as the union jack, to which the cross of St. Patrick was added in 1801, it is presumptive proof that such was the form of union devised by the heralds. In a drawing of the Duke of York’s yacht, visiting the fleet in the Medway painted by Vandervelde, preserved in the British Museum, all the ensigns have merely a red cross in a canton, but every bowsprit is furnished with a *union jack*, and two of the largest ships carry it aloft, one the Breda at the main, and another at the mizzen. There is also an admiral’s ship with the white at the main.

In a paper, dated Friday, the 14th Jan., 1652, given, “ By the commissioners for ordering and managing y^e affairs of the Ad-

¹ *United Service Journal.*

miralty and Navy," ordering what flag shall be worn by various flag officers, it is ordered "all the ships to wear jacks as formerly."

The king's proclamation Jan. 1, 1801, establishing and ordering the present red ensign, known as the "Meteor flag of old England," to be worn by all the merchant ships of the kingdom instead of the ensign before that time usually worn by them, goes on to say, "to the end that none of our subjects may presume on board their ships to wear our flags, jacks and pendants which, according to ancient usage, have been appointed as a distinction to our ships, or any flags, jacks or pendants in shape or mixture of colors so far resembling ours, as not to be easily distinguished therefrom, we do, with the advice of our privy council, hereby strictly charge and command all our subjects whatsoever that they do not presume to wear on any of their ships or vessels, *our jack* commonly called the *union jack*, nor any pendants, nor any such colors as are usually borne by our ships without particular warrant for their so doing from us, or our high admiral of Great Britain, or the commissioners for executing the office of high admiral for the time being; and we do hereby also further command all our loving subjects, that without such warrant as aforesaid, they presume not to wear on board their ships or vessels, any flags, jacks, pendants or colors made in imitation of or resembling ours, or any kind of pendants whatsoever, or any other ensign, than the ensign described on the side or margin hereof," &c. The proclamation then proceeds to except from this order certain vessels temporarily employed by the government, which are to "wear a red jack with a union jack described in a canton at the upper corner thereof, next the staff." All merchant ships displaying the union jack, &c., were to have their colors seized, and the masters and commanders and other persons so offending were to be duly punished. This union flag or jack was worn, and continues to be worn on the bowsprit of all ships of war. Is also worn by the admiral of the fleet at the main royal mast head of his flag ship, and is the common garrison color hoisted over all the forts belonging to her majesty's dominions. It is heraldically described thus: The crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, on fields argent and azure, azure, the crosses saltiere of St. Andrew and St. Patrick quarterly, per saltiere counter

charged argent and gules, the latter fimbriated of the second, surmounted by the cross of St. George, fimbriated as the saltiere."¹

In 1823 it was royally ordained that no merchant ship or vessel should carry the union jack, unless it was bordered on all sides with white, equal in breadth to one-fifth of the breadth of the jack exclusive of the border. The penalty for using the royal union jack on board a merchant vessel is £500.

The military flags of Great Britain now in use may be grouped in the two grand divisions of *cavalry banners* (they are styled STANDARDS, but they are and ought to be banners), and *infantry colors*. The banners of the cavalry are small in size; their color is determined by the color of the regimental facings; they are charged with the cypher, number, peculiar heraldic insignia, and the honors (such as Waterloo, Alma, Solferino, etc.), of each regiment. The banners of the household cavalry, however, are all crimson, and are richly embroidered with the royal insignia of England.

Every infantry regiment or battalion of the line has its own "pair of colors." Of these, one is the queen's color, a union jack charged with some of the regimental devices, the other is the regimental color, and its field is of the same tincture as the facings; it is combined with a small jack, and bears the cypher, number, device, motto, and honors of the corps. At first, each infantry regiment had one color only; then there were three to each regiment. In the reign of Queen Anne, the colors were reduced to their present number, a "pair." The colors of the Foot Guards reverse the arrangement of those of the line. Their queen's color is crimson, either with or without a cantoned jack, but always charged with the royal cypher and crown, and the regimental devices. The regimental color of the Guards is the union jack. The Guards also have small company colors.

The royal artillery and rifles of the line have no colors. The volunteer regiments have at present been left to determine both whether they shall carry colors, and also what shall be the character of the colors whenever they decide to adopt them. What may be termed *the* volunteer banner, is worthy of the

¹ *British Naval Chronicle*, vol. v, pp. 64, 65.

force. It is charged with the figures of an archer of the olden time and a rifleman of to-day, with the motto *Defence, not defiance.*¹

In the military hospital at Chelsea there is preserved a large number of military trophies, and among them the following American flags :

1. An American national color of 2d regiment of the line taken by Gen. Brock on the frontier.
2. An American flag when taken probably in the revolutionary war.
3. An American flag the same as the above.
4. A regimental color of the 4th American regiment.
5. An American flag taken by the 85th regiment on the left bank of the Mississippi.
6. An American flag, taken in the first war probably at Boston.
7. An American regimental flag of the 2d regiment.²

The flag which floated over the Nelson column in Trafalgar square in 1844, was part of the ensign which thirty-eight years before waved over the immortal hero on the memorable day of his last great achievement and death.³

A gentleman residing at Sacramento, California, has in his possession a genuine flag of Old Erin, a banner of green, with a golden harp in the centre. It is the identical banner carried by the rebels of 1789 in Ireland, and most notably at the siege of Drogheda. It was brought to the United States by the father of its present possessor, James Gildea. The flag is thirty feet long by ten wide and has been well preserved.⁴

An idea was long entertained in England that the admiral's red flag had been taken or stolen from the main masthead of the admiral's ship, and that the Dutch obtained that trophy in one of the battles between Blake and Van Tromp. It was a mistaken notion, for the red flag was and never has been taken or surrendered. The last admiral who wore it before it was re-

¹ *Boutell's Heraldry.*

² *Army and Navy Chronicle*, from a London paper, 1836. The American ensign of the Canadian rebel steamer *Caroline* is preserved in the museum of the Royal Military and Naval Institute, Scotland Yard, London.

³ *London Nautical Magazine*, 1844.

⁴ *Valley's Cal. Chronicle*, Oct. 28, 1871.

stored to the navy by the creation of a batch of admirals and rear and vice admirals of the red after the battle of Trafalgar, Oct. 21, 1805, was Sir George Rooke as admiral of the fleet, when commander of the combined forces of England and Holland in the Mediterranean in 1703. Upon the union of England with Scotland, the red flag was discontinued to be worn, and the union jack superseded the red flag at the main, as the distinguishing flag of the admiral of the fleet.¹

Up to 1864, the royal navy wore ensigns of the three colors red, white or blue, according to the rank of the officer commanding. In that year, as will be seen by the following admiralty circular, the white ensign was alone reserved for the royal navy, the blue and red ensigns being given up to the use of the naval reserve and merchant's marine, and at the same, the several grades of admirals of the red and blue merged, under the white ensign with St. George's red cross on a white field, the white ensign for a distinguishing flag.

DISTINGUISHING FLAGS AND PENNANTS.

Her majesty has been graciously pleased, by her order in council, to direct that the classification of flag officers under the denomination of the red, white, and blue squadrons, shall be discontinued, and that the following regulations shall be henceforward established in regard to distinguishing flags and colors :

DISTINGUISHING FLAGS.

Admirals, vice-admirals, and rear admirals shall, in future, wear respectively a white flag, with the red St. George's cross therein, at the main, fore, or mizzen-top-gallant mast-head.

In boats and tenders with less than three masts, vice-admiral's flags shall be distinguished by one red ball in the upper part of the flag, near the staff, and rear admiral's by two such balls.

DISTINGUISHING PENNANTS.

Commodores of the 1st class shall wear a white broad pennant, with a red St. George's cross therein, at the main-top gallant mast-head.

Commodores of the 2d class a similar broad pennant at the foretop-gallant mast-head.

When two or more of her majesty's ships are present in ports or road-

¹ *British Naval Chronicle*, 1805, also 1816.

steads, a small broad pennant (white, with a St. George's cross) is to be hoisted at the mizentop-gallant mast-head of the ship of the senior officer.

When more than one commodore of the 1st class shall be present, the junior commodore shall wear such distinguishing mark or pennant as the commander-in-chief (or senior officer) may order, under the authority given by article 8, section IX, chapter 2.

Commodores of the 2d class, when carrying their pennants in boats and tenders, shall be distinguished by a red ball in the upper part of the pennant next the mast.

The fly of the long pennant for her majesty's ships shall be, in future, white.

COLORS, NAVY.

All her majesty's ships of war in commission shall bear a white ensign, with a red St. George's cross and the union in the upper canton.

COLORS, NOT NAVY.

Merchant ships and vessels employed in the service of any public office shall carry the blue ensign and a small blue flag with the Union described therein, as prescribed, blue being substituted for red.

The blue ensign and union jack with a white border may be borne by ships and vessels commanded by officers of the Royal Naval Reserve Force, and fulfilling in other respects the conditions required to entitle them to the privilege.¹

¹ CONDITIONS. The commander must be an officer of the royal naval reserve, and 10 of the crew must be royal naval reserve men.

One third part of the seamen of the crew must be men belonging to the royal naval reserve.

Before hoisting the blue ensign the ship must be provided with an admiralty warrant.

Ships failing to fulfil the above conditions, unless such failure is caused by death or other circumstances over which the owners have no control, will no longer be entitled to wear the blue ensign.

The ship, if fitted by the shipowners with magazines for the ammunition, will be supplied on demand with an armament (as per scale).

The owners must undertake that the guns, stores, and ammunition be taken care of by the officer R. N. R. Commanding, and that the guns and stores be returned as far as possible in good order, in such manner and at such times and places as the admiralty may direct.

Carrying guns is left *optional* with the shipowner, but a privilege in respect of drill will be given to officers and men who have sailed from a port in the united kingdom during the year, and have been drilled on board ships carrying guns and the blue ensign. Such officers and men will only be subjected to a *test drill of two days*, on board one of her majesty's drill ships, which, if they pass satisfactorily, will entitle them to release from further attendance at drill that year.

Officers commanding H. M. ships meeting with ships carrying the blue ensign will be authorized to go on board such ships, at any convenient opportunity, and see that these conditions are strictly carried out, provided that they are superior in rank to the officer R. N. R.

Applications for permission to wear the blue ensign will be forwarded to the admiralty from the lords of the committee of privy council for trade, who will issue regulations as to the mode of proceeding.

The red ensign and union jack with a white border are to continue, the national colors for all other British ships, with the exception of yachts and such other vessels as their lordships may from time to time authorize to bear distinguishing flags. *No. 1. 1864*

All regulations not conflicting with the foregoing remain in force.

By command of their Lordships :

Admiralty, 5th August, 1864.

C. PAGET.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
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FLAGS OF AMERICAN STATES &c.



MEXICO.



SAN DOMINGO



HAITI



U.S. of COLUMBIA.



HONDURAS



NICARAGUA



COSTA RICA



BRAZIL



PARAGUAY



GUATEMALA



ADMIRAL BRAZIL



SAN SALVADOR



VENEZUELA



ARGENTINE



PERU



BOLIVIA



CHILI



URAGUAY



ECUADOR



PARAGUAY ADMIRAL

FLAGS OF ORIENTAL NATIONS.



PERSIA



JAPAN



CHINA



SIAM

PACIFIC ISLANDS.



HAWAII



TAHITI



NEW ZEALAND

AFRICA



LIBERIA

Those Flags marked † are man-of-war Flags, Merchantsmen have the same without the arms or device.

P A R T I I .

A. D. 860-1777.

THE EARLY DISCOVERIES OF AMERICA, AND THE FIRST BANNER PLANTED ON ITS SHORES,

A. D. 860-1634.

COLONIAL AND PROVINCIAL FLAGS,

1634-1766.

FLAGS OF THE PREREVOLUTIONARY AND REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD, PRECEDING THE STARS AND STRIPES,

1766-1777.

And then the blue-eyed Norseman told
A saga of the days of old,
There is, said he, a wondrous book
Of the dead kings of Norroway,—
Of legends in the old Norse tongue,
Legends that once were told or sung
In many a smoky fire-side nook.

* * * * *

And he who looks therein may find
The story that I now begin.—*Longfellow.*

Far o'er yon azure main thy view extend,
Where seas and skies in blue confusion blend :
Lo ! *there* a mighty realm, by Heaven designed
The last retreat for poor oppress'd mankind ;
Formed with that pomp which marks the hand divine,
And clothes yon vault where worlds unnumbered shine,
Here spacious plains in solemn grandeur spread,
Here cloudy forests cast eternal shade ;
Rich valleys wind, the sky tall mountains brave,
And inland seas for commerce spread the wave.
With noble floods, the sea like rivers roll,
And fairer lustre purples round the pole.
Here, warmed by happy suns gay mines unfold
The useful iron and the lasting gold ;
Pure, changing gems in silence learn to glow,
And mock the splendors of the covenant bow.

* * * * *

Far from all realms this world imperial lies
Seas roll between and threat'ning tempests rise,
Alike removed beyond ambition's pale,
And the bold pinions of the venturous sail ;
Till circling years the destined period bring,
And a new Moses lift the daring wing.

* * * * *

On yon fair strand behold that little train
Ascending venturous o'er the *unmeasured* main ;
No dangers fright, no ills the course delay ;
Tis virtue prompts, and *God directs the way.*

* * * * *

Here empire's last and brightest throne shall rise,
And peace, and right and freedom greet the skies ;
To morn's fair realms her trading ships shall sail
Or lift their canvas to the evening gale :
In wisdom's walks her sons ambitious soar,
Tread stary fields, and untried scenes explore,
And hark ! what strange, what solemn breaking strain
Swells, wildly murmuring o'er the far, far main !
Down time's long lessening vale the notes decay,
And lost in distant ages roll away.

Timothy Dwight's Prophecy of America, written 1771-1774.

PART II.

THE EARLY DISCOVERIES OF AMERICA, AND THE FIRST BANNER PLANTED ON ITS SHORES,

A. D. 860-1634.

Expeditions to the shores of North America are said to have gone forth from the British Isles in very ancient times, and even in advance of the Northmen; first under the conduct of Madoc, a prince of Wales, and afterwards under the lead of Irish adventurers. No other than vague traditionary accounts of these expeditions have come down to us, but records of early voyages from Iceland have been found, which afford the strongest circumstantial evidence that the New England coast was visited, and that settlements thereon were attempted by Scandinavian navigators full five hundred years before the first voyage of Columbus.

Naddod, a Scandinavian called the Sea king, in the year 860, and Gardar, a Dane, soon after, are said to be the first Northmen who, driven by storms, came in sight of Iceland, and reconnoitered it. The good news they brought home induced others to follow in their track, and the Northman, Ingolf, A.D., 874, was the first who settled there. He and his men found there the Christian Irishmen, the Papas or Papar, whom they dispossessed and drove out.

In 877 another north-east storm drove one of these Icelandic settlers, named Gunnbjorn, to Greenland, which he appears only to have seen in the distance. It was a long time before any other adventurer followed in his track. At last, in the spring of 986, Eric the Red sailed from Iceland with the intention of seeking for Gunnbjorn's country. Having found it, he established a settlement he called Brattalid, in a bay which after him was called Eric's Fiord. He found the country pleasant, full of meadows, and of a milder climate than the more northern Iceland. He gave it the name of Greenland, saying that this would be an inviting name,

which might attract other people from Iceland. Another adventurer, Heriulf, soon followed him, and established himself not far from our present Cape Farewell, at a place which after him was called Heriulfanäs.

Heriulf had a son, Biarne, who when his father went first to Greenland, was absent on a trading voyage to Norway. Returning to Iceland in 990 and finding his father with Eric the Red had gone to the west, he resolved to follow them, and to spend the next winter in Greenland.

Boldly setting sail to the south-west, he encountered northerly storms; after many days sail they lost their reckoning or course, and when the weather cleared descried land, but entirely unlike that described to them as Greenland. They saw it was a much more southern land, and covered with forests. It not being the intention of Biarne to explore new countries, but to find his father in Greenland, he improved a south-west wind and turned to the north-east, and after several days sailing by other well wooded lands bordered by icebergs reached Heriulfnäs. His return passage occupied nine days, and he speaks of three distinct tracts of land along which he coasted, one of which he supposed to have been a large island.

The results of the expedition of Biarne may be stated to have been these: He was the first European who saw though from a distance and very cursorily, some parts of the coasts of New England, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. He also probably crossed the Gulf of Maine, without stopping however to explore its waters, or giving them names. When he returned to Norway (probably in 994), he was blamed by many for not having examined the new found countries more accurately.

In Greenland, too, there was much talk about undertaking a voyage of discovery to the west. Leif, the son of Eric the Red, the first settler in Greenland, having bought Biarne's ship in the year 1000, equipped her with a crew of thirty-five men, among whom was Biarne himself, and went out on Biarne's track to the south-west. They anchored and went on shore at what was probably Newfoundland, and after a brief delay pursued their voyage and came to a low wooded coast with shores of white sand, which they named Markland, (woodland) our present Nova Scotia. Continuing their course, in two days they again

made land, a promontory projecting in a north-easterly direction from the main, corresponding pretty well to our present Cape Cod.

Leif rounding this cape to the west, sailed some distance westward, entered a bay or harbor, and went on shore. Finding the country very pleasant, he concluded to spend the winter there, and formed a settlement which was called Leifsbudir (Leif's block house or dwelling). It is with a great degree of probability supposed that this settlement was on the south coast of Rhode Island somewhere in Narragansett bay, perhaps not far from Newport. Leif and his men made several exploring expeditions to the interior. On one of these, a German, named Tyrker, who had long resided with Leif's father in Iceland and Greenland, lost his way and was missing. Leif with some of his men went in search of him, and had not gone far, when they saw him stepping out from a wood, holding something in his hands and coming towards them, very much excited and speaking in German. At last he told them in true Norse "I found vines and grapes," showing them what he held in his hands. Leif, being an Icelander and Greenlander, had probably never seen fresh grapes, and asked "Is that true, my friend?" and then Tyrker said that he might well know they were real grapes having been born and educated in a country in which there were plenty of vines. The Northmen collected their long boat full of grapes, and from this circumstance Leif gave his new southern country the name of *Vinland* (the country of vines), which was afterwards extended to the whole coast as far north as Markland (Nova Scotia). During the winter Leif observed that the climate of Vinland was quite mild, and that throughout the year the days and nights were much more equal in length than in Greenland. On the shortest day in Vinland the sun was above the horizon from 7:30 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. This astronomical observation confirms the generally adopted view, that their settlement was in the southern part of New England. Filling their vessel with wood they returned to Greenland in the spring.

Leif's brother, Thorwald, being of opinion the new country had not been explored sufficiently, borrowed Leif's ship, and aided by his advice and direction, commenced another voyage to

this country in 1002. Sailing on the track of his predecessors he arrived at Leifbudir in Vinland, and spent the winter in fishing and cutting wood. In the spring he sent out his long boat to the southward on a voyage of discovery, and she did not return until the fall of the year.¹

The next year (1004) he undertook another voyage, and visited, it is supposed, the coast of Maine and Cape Cod, and had a battle with the aborigines, it is supposed near the harbor of Boston, and that this first battle between the Europeans and American aborigines was fought on the same ground where in modern times were fought the first battles of the American colonists with the British troops. Of course the victory was with the Europeans. After the victory, Thorwald asked his men whether any had been wounded. Upon their denying this he said "I am: I have an arrow under my arm will be my death blow!" Advising them to take their departure as soon as possible, he requested them to bury him on a hilly promontory overgrown with wood which he had previously selected as his abode, saying: "I was a prophet, for now I shall dwell there forever. There you shall bury me, and plant there two crosses, one at my head and one at my feet, and call the place Krossances, the promontory of the

¹ These events were about the time of the never to be forgotten massacre of the Danes in England and the revengeful invasion of the English coast by Sweyne, whose sister Gunhilda had been put to death with her husband and son, in the presence and by command of Edric Streone, one of the Anglo-Saxon chieftains. He ravaged Devonshire, Dorsetshire and Wiltshire, as also, other parts and burnt several towns until Etheldred was glad to purchase a two years respite at a cost of £36,000, equivalent to the worth of 720,000 acres of land at that time. He was also compelled to feed his invaders.—*Southey's Naval History*.

The Danish ships with which Sweyne, or Swaen, made his descent upon the English coast in 1004, have been described with some minuteness by contemporary chroniclers, and afford us some idea of the vessels in which Leif and his brother Thorwald sailed along the American coast.

Each vessel, says Sir N. Harris Nicolas (*History of the Royal Navy*, vol. 1), copying from the contemporaneous chronicles, had a high deck and bore a distinctive emblem indicating its commander, similar in its object probably to the banners of later chieftains. The prows of the ships were ornamented with figures of lions, bulls, dolphins, and of men, made of copper gilt, and at the mastheads of others were vanes in the shape of birds with expanded wings, showing the quarter whence the wind blew. Their sides were painted with various colors, and the shields of the soldiers of polished steel were placed in rows around the gunwales. Sweyne's own ship, which was called the Great Dragon, is said to have been built in the form of the animal whose name it bore; its head forming the prow, and its tail the stern. The mysterious Scandinavian standard of white silk having in its centre a raven, with extended wings and beak open, the supposed ensurer of victory, which had been embroidered by three of Sweyn's sisters in one night amidst charms and magical incantations, (see page 64), was on board his ship, but it was not displayed until he landed in England."

crosses, for all time coming.”¹ Thorwald upon this died, and his men did as he had ordered them.

Thorwald's men returned to the settlement at Leifsbudir, and spent with them the following winter. But in the spring of 1005, having collected a cargo of wood, furs and dried grapes, they sailed to Greenland. The results of Thorwald's expedition were, that he and his men staid on the coast of New England nearly two years principally occupied in explorations. They sailed along the south coast of New England towards and perhaps beyond New York. They recognized and described more minutely the important headlands of Cape Cod, and gave it the appropriate name of Kiarlarnes (Ship nose). They intended an expedition along the coast of New England toward the north, which was turned back near the harbor of Boston by the death of Thorwald.

The next voyager was Thorstein, Eric's third son, who resolved to proceed to Vinland in his brother's ship with twenty-five able and strong men, to obtain his brother's body. His wife Gudreda, a woman of energy and prudence, accompanied him. They got no farther than Greenland when a sickness broke out. Thorstein and others died, and Gudreda returned with the ship to Eric's fiord on the southern coast of Greenland. In the following summer (1006), two ships arrived at Eric's fiord from Iceland. Thorfinn, a wealthy and powerful man of illustrious lineage, who commanded one of them, fell in love with Gudreda, the widow of Thorstein, and married her. Thorfinn, urged by his wife and by others, resolved to undertake a voyage to the south, and in the summer of 1007, prepared three ships, their united companies amounting in all to one hundred and sixty men, and with the intention of colonizing in the new and beautiful land, took all kinds of live stock along. They sailed in the spring of 1008, and were the first European navigators that made a coasting voyage along the coast of Maine, keeping in sight of the land until they came to Cape Cod, which from its long sandy beaches and downs they named *Furder strandr*, beaches of wonderful length. Their settlement was formed near Leifsbudir, on the other side of the

¹ *Query.* May not this have been the promontory near the Clifford House beyond Plymouth, Mass., which is first beyond Cape Cod?

water, at a place which pleased Thorfinn better, and which was called Thorfins-budir. It stood near a small recess or bay, called by them hop or corner. On the low grounds around this hop, they found fields of wheat growing wild, and in the rising ground plenty of vines. Here Gudreda, the wife of Thorfinn, gave birth to a son who received the name of Snorre, who may be considered the first American child born of European parents. In a subsequent attempt to explore the coast of Maine, Thorhall, one of Thorfinn's men, was driven over to the coast of Ireland. After a while, discontent and dissensions broke out among the settlers, and Thorfinn with his wife, Gudreda, and his American son, Snorre, then three years of age, left the country together, and with a good southerly wind returned to Greenland. It is probable a party of his men remained behind and continued the settlement of Vinland. Thorfinn never returned there, but went afterwards to Norway, and from thence in 1014 to Iceland where he bought him an estate and resided for the remainder of his life with his wife and son. After his death and the marriage of Snorre, his widow Gudreda made a pious pilgrimage to Rome where she was received with distinction. She afterwards returned to her son's estate in Iceland, where Snorre had built a church, and where after all her adventures she long lived as a religious recluse.

In 1121 the voyage to Vinland of a bishop of Greenland named Erik is mentioned in *Icelandic Annals*. The fact that such a high ecclesiastical functionary should go to Vinland, appears to be good proof that since Thorfinn's time, Northmen settlers or traders had tarried there. Of the results of his expedition we have no particular information. After his voyage we hear no more of Vinland for more than one hundred years, nor of countries south-west of Greenland. Then in 1285, two Icelandic clergymen, Aldatrand and Thorwald Helgason visited on the west of Iceland, "a new land," and some years afterwards the king of Denmark sent out a ship commanded by a certain Rolfe to pay a visit to this new land, supposed to have been Newfoundland.

Another hundred years after this event, the *Icelandic Annals* had the following remarkable, though short report: "In the year 1347, a vessel having a crew of seventeen men sailed from

Iceland to Markland." From the middle of the fourteenth century down to the modern discovery of America by Columbus, Cabot, and others, we learn no more of Scandinavian undertakings in this direction. The heroic age of the Northmen, and their power and spirit of enterprise had long passed by.¹

These early voyagers left no traces of their presence on the continent, unless it shall be conceded that the round tower at Newport, about the origin of which, history and tradition are alike silent, was built by them : it stood there when the first English people visited Rhode island, and the Narragansett Indians had no traditions of its origin.

Information of these voyages seems not to have spread in Europe. The great discovery was forgotten or remembered only in dim traditionary tales of the exploits of these old sea kings of the North ; or these new lands were considered a part of the European continent, connected along the ice-bound regions of the north. When Columbus conceived the grand idea of reaching Asia by sailing westward, no whisper of these Scandinavian voyages was heard in Europe.

It is almost equally certain that the junks and boats of the Asiatic nations driven by storms from the islands and coasts of Asia, drifting along on the recently discovered kuro-sima or black current, which skirts the coast of Japan and is lost in the Behring's straits, and which, though more powerful, answers in the Pacific to the Gulf stream of the Atlantic, were thrown upon the Pacific coast of America, and that their shipwrecked crews and passengers found their way into the interior of the continent. It seems also to be highly probable that other northern Asiatics found their way by the Aleutian isles and Behring's straits from the projecting capes of Asia to our Pacific shores. Some refer the origin of the Indian tribes of America to the Phenicians ; others perceive evidences of their Egyptian or Hindoo parentage, and others claim they are the lost tribes of Israel " who took counsel to go forth into a far country where never mankind dwelt."

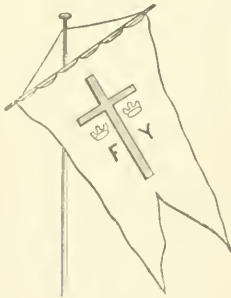
Within almost every state and territory, remains of human skill and labor have been found, which seem to attest the ex-

¹ This account of the Scandinavian voyagers is derived chiefly from 1st vol. of the 2d series of the Collections of the Maine Historical Society, containing a *History of the Discovery of Maine*, by J. G. Kohl, published in 1869.

istence here of a civilized nation or nations before the ancestors of the present Indian tribes became masters of the continent. Some of these appear to give evidence of intercourse between the people of the old world and those of America centuries perhaps before the birth of Christ, and at periods soon afterwards.¹ Remains of fortifications, similar in form to those of ancient European nations, have been discovered — fire-places of regular structure, weapons and utensils of copper and walls of forts and cities. A Roman coin was found in Missouri ; a Persian coin in Ohio ; a bit of silver in Genesee, N. Y., with the year of our Lord 600 engraved on it, etc. Near Montevideo, South America, a tomb was found in which were two ancient swords, a helmet and shield with Greek inscriptions showing they were made in the time of Alexander the Great 330 years before Christ.

The flags, banners or standards which these peoples planted upon the shores of America in token of their occupancy and sovereignty, must ever remain conjectural. Nothing concerning them can come down to us.

Beyond a doubt, the first banners displayed upon the shores of the new world of which there is any account, were those unfurled by Columbus, when he first landed upon the small out-



Flag unfurled by Columbus.



Standard of Spain.

lying island of St. Salvador, Oct. 12, 1492, which fortunately are thus described by his son : “ Columbus dressed in scarlet first

¹ *Lossing's History of the United States.*

stepped on shore from the little boat which bore him from his vessels, bearing the royal standard of Spain emblazoned with the arms of Castile and Leon [a turreted and embattled castle or, on a field gules for Castile, quarterly on a field argent, a lion rampant gules for Leon] in his own hand, followed by the Pinzons in their own boats each bearing the banner of the expedition, viz.: a white flag with a green cross, having on each side the letters F and Y surmounted by golden crowns.”¹

In 1498, Columbus discovered the continent and planted the Spanish banners at the mouth of the Oronoco, supposing it to be an island on the coast of Asia. He lived and died in ignorance of the real grandeur of his discoveries, while Americus Vesputius a Florentine, who explored the eastern coast of South America, north of the Oronoco, a year later, 1499, made the first formal announcement to the world of the great discovery, in 1507, and gave name to the new continent of the west. At the court of England, “there was great talk of the undertaking of Columbus, which was affirmed to be a thing more divine than human, and his fame and report increased in the hearts of some of the king’s subjects, a great flame of desire to attempt something alike notable.” Thus inspired, king Henry VII of England, March 5, 1496, issued a patent to John Cabot and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian and Sancius, to sail with five ships “under the royal banners and ensigns to all parts, countries and seas, of the east, of the west, and of the north, and to seek out and discover what soever isles, countries, regions, and provinces in what part of the world soever they might be, which before this time had been unknown to Christians. The king gave them further license “*to set up the royal banners and ensigns in the countries, places or mainland newly found by them, and to conquer, occupy, and possess them as his vassals and lieutenants.*”²

The patentees having to arm and furnish their vessels, to buy victuals, and to provide all other things necessary at their own cost, were not able to make use of the royal permission until more than a year after it was issued, and did not sail from Bristol until May, 1497. It is asserted by some that the expedition

¹ Narrative of Don Fernando.—*Irving’s Life of Columbus.*

² See patent in Latin in *Hakluyt’s Dion’s Voyages.* London, 1860.

comprised four vessels, but we only know with certainty that the admiral's ship was called the *Matthew*, that she was the first vessel that touched our American shores, and the only one that returned in safety to Bristol. Relative to the course which the Cabots followed on this voyage we have no definite information. Formerly it was supposed that they made their landfall near some cape of the island of Newfoundland, but a more careful examination of the known facts has induced Baron Humboldt, and all recent writers, to believe that what they called *Prima Vista* (the first country seen), June 24, 1497, must be found in Labrador, in 56 or 58° north latitude).

We hear that they sailed along the coast about three hundred leagues. The *Matthew* arrived at Bristol early in August, for there is an entry in the privy purse accounts of Henry VII, dated "Aug. 10, 1497," in which the king says "that he has given a reward of ten pounds to hym that found the new isle" and "Pasqualigo" under date "London, 23 Aug. 1497," announces to his brothers in Venice the return of John Cabot from his voyage of discovery, that he had found at a distance of seven hundred leagues in the west a firm land along which he had coasted for the space of three hundred leagues, not having met a living person at the points where he had landed, but still having observed there some traces of inhabitants, trees notched, and nets for catching game. On his return, he had seen on his right hand two islands, where however he had not wished to go on shore on account of the failure of his provisions; he had returned to Bristol after a voyage of three months having left in the lands which he had discovered a grand cross, with the banner of England and that of St. Mark of Venice.

If this be true, then under King Henry's patent, and orders "to set up his royal banners and ensigns in the countries, &c., newly found," it is more than probable that the English standards and ensigns with the Venetian banner of St. Mark were the first ever planted by any European nation planted upon the shores of North America since those of the Northmen, and that they were set up a year earlier than Columbus raised the castles and lions of Castile and Leon at the mouth of the Orinoco. On their return from this voyage the Cabots believed they had discovered portions of Asia, and so proclaimed it. But the more extensive discoveries

of a second voyage corrected this view and revealed nothing but a wild and barbarous coast stretching through 30 degrees of latitude, and forming an impassable barrier to the rich possessions of China which they hoped to reach. Doctor Asher, a German writer, in his *Life of Hudson*, published in London in 1860, observes "The displeasure of Cabot involves the scientific discovery of a new world. He was the first to recognize, that a new and unknown continent was lying, as one vast barrier, between Western Europe and Eastern Asia."

The voyages of these enterprising mariners along the entire coast of the present United States, and along the whole extent of a great continent, in which at this time the English race and language prevail and flourish, has always been considered as the true beginning, the foundation and corner stone of all the English claims and possessions in the northern half of America.

English flags were the first which were planted along these shores, and Englishmen were the first of modern Europeans, who with their own eyes surveyed the border of that great assemblage of countries in which they were destined to become so prominent; and were also the first to put their feet upon it. The history of each one of that chain of states stretching along the western shores of the Atlantic begins with Sebastian Cabot and his expedition of 1498.¹

On the map of the eastern coast of North America by Juan de la Cosa, in the year 1500, the discoveries of the Cabots are marked by English standards, while the Spanish possessions of Cuba and other West India Islands are similarly marked with Spanish standards.

During the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, several expeditions were made by the English to the north-east of America. Their leading motive in those expeditions was the hope of finding a shorter passage to the rich countries of eastern Asia. The last English expedition of this kind in 1536, ended

¹M. D'Avezac, in a letter to Dr. Woods, dated Paris, Dec. 15, 1868, advocates that John Cabot discovered North America in 1494, and that he kept his discovery secret to escape the exclusive pretensions of Spain and Portugal, until he had obtained the letters patent from Henry VII, signed March 5, 1496, and returned from his voyage in Aug., 1496. See *Maine Historical Collections*, vol. 1, new series.

with such loss of life, and other disasters, that a most unfavorable impression appears to have been made by it on the nation. After this, for nearly fifty years, the English seem to have entirely abandoned the east coast of America. The expedition commanded by John Rut, in 1527, after Cabot, was the second expedition which sailed along the entire east coast of the United States, as far south as Carolina, and was the last official enterprise of the English in our waters until the expedition of Sir John Hawkins in 1565.

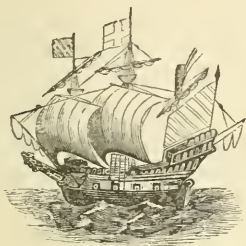
It was not until the twentieth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and almost eighty years after the discovery of the continent by Cabot, that healthy efforts to found colonies in the new world were matured by the English. In June, 1578, Sir Humphry Gilbert, a step brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, obtained a liberal patent or grant from the queen. Raleigh gave him the aid of his hand and fortune; and early as 1579, Gilbert sailed for America with a small squadron accompanied by his step brother. Heavy storms and Spanish war vessels compelled them to return, and the scheme for a time was abandoned. Four years afterwards (1583), Gilbert sailed with another squadron, and after a series of disasters reached the harbor of St. John, in Newfoundland. There he set up a pillar with the English arms upon it, and proclaimed the sovereignty of the queen. Proceeding to explore the coast southward, after being terribly beaten by tempests off the shore of Nova Scotia, and Maine, and losing his largest ship, he turned his vessel toward England, and during a September gale his little bark, the *Squirrel*, of ten tons, went down with all on board, and only one vessel of the expedition reached England.

In 1784, Raleigh obtained a patent for himself of all lands in America, (between the Santee and the Delaware rivers), and dispatched Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow to explore the American coast. They approached the shores of Carolina in July, and took possession of the islands in Pamlico, and Albemarle sounds in the name of Queen Elizabeth. They remained a few weeks exploring and trafficking, and returned to England with two Indians named Manteo and Wanchese. The glowing accounts of the newly discovered country filled Raleigh's heart

with joy. The queen declared the event one of the most glorious of her reign, and in memorial of her unmarried state, she gave the name of VIRGINIA to the enchanting region.

April 19, 1585, Raleigh dispatched a fleet of seven vessels under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, with a governor

and colonists for the purpose of making a permanent settlement of the inviting land. A series of disasters followed, and induced by misfortunes and fear, the emigrants abandoned their settlement on Roanoke island and were all conveyed to England, by Sir Francis Drake, June, 1586. Raleigh undismayed by the result of his first attempt, dispatched a band of agriculturists and artisans with their families April 26, 1587, to found an industrial state in



Raleigh's Ship.

Virginia. This attempt at colonization like the others proved a failure, and a century after the discoveries of Columbus and Cabot, there was no European settlement upon the North American continent.

Twelve years after the failure of Raleigh's colonization efforts, Bartholomew Gosnold sailed in a small bark directly across the Atlantic for the American coast, and after a voyage of seven weeks, discovered the continent, May 14, 1602, near Nahant. Sailing southward he landed upon a sandy point which he called Cape Cod, and afterwards discovered Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and the group of islands known as Elizabeth's Islands, which he named in honor of his sovereign. Upon an islet in a tiny lake he built a fort and store house, but alarmed at the menaces of the Indians and the want of supplies, he returned to England in June.

In 1605, Capt. George Weymouth entered the Sagadahock, and took formal possession of the country in the name of King James, and the same year De Monts, a wealthy French Huguenot, organized a French settlement at Port Royal (now Annapolis) and called the territory around it Acadia. In 1606, the Plymouth company obtained their charter and soon after dispatched an agent to examine north Virginia. In 1607 Jamestown was

founded, and in 1607 Popham, with one hundred emigrants landed at the mouth of the Kennebec where they erected a stockade, a storehouse and a few huts. All but forty-five returned to England in the vessels, those who remained named the settlement St. George. A terrible winter ensued. Lacking courage to brave the perils of the wilderness the emigrants abandoned the settlement, and returned to England in the spring of 1608.¹

From the foregoing it will be seen that every attempt of Englishmen during the reign of Queen Elizabeth to colonize the new world proved abortive, and it was not until the accession of her successor James I, and union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland, that her flag was permanently planted upon its shores.

COLONIAL AND PROVINCIAL FLAGS.

1634-1766.

The flags used by the American colonies prior to their separation from the mother country would naturally be those of England, though such does not appear to have been invariably the case. Several flags differing more or less from the standards and ensigns of that kingdom seem at times to have been in use.

The ancient national flag of England, the cross of St. George, a white banner with a red cross, was the universal badge of the English soldiery as early as the 14th century, and was worn by them over their armor, and blazoned on their shields. Why St. George was constituted the patron saint of England, has

¹The English claimed dominion over a belt of territory extending from Cape Fear, in North Carolina, to Halifax, in Nova Scotia, and indefinitely westward. This was divided into two districts. One extended from the vicinity of New York city northward to the present southern boundary of Canada, including the whole of New England, and westward of it, and was called North Virginia. This territory was granted to a company of "knights, gentlemen and merchants," in the west of England, called the Plymouth Company. The other district extended from the mouth of the Potomac southward to Cape Fear, and was called South Virginia. It was granted to a company of "noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants," chiefly residents of London, called the London Company. The intermediate domain of almost two hundred miles, was a dividing line, so broad that disputes about territory could not occur, as neither company was allowed to make settlements more than fifty miles beyond its own boundary.—*Lossing's History of the United States.*

been and continues to be a puzzle to antiquarians, but "St. George for England," or "Merrie England," was a usual war cry, and his banner above all others was the national banner of Englishmen. Whatever other banners were carried, it was always foremost in the field. Adopted as the national standard and ensign, it continued to be such until A. D. 1606, when King James I by his royal proclamation,¹ united with it the cross of St. Andrew, a diagonal white cross, on a blue ground, (which had been the flag and badge of the Scots from the time of the Crusades), as a distinguishing flag, for all his subjects traveling by sea.

This union of the crosses in 1606 of the two kingdoms which had been united by the accession of James in 1603, was called *the king's colors*. They were required to be displayed from the main tops of all British vessels, those of South Britain (England), however, were to carry the St. George's cross, and those of north Britain (Scotland), the St. Andrew's cross, in their *fore tops*, to designate which section of the united kingdom they hailed from; the union flag of course taking precedence in the main top and at the after part of the vessel.²

The first grant of the crown of England under which effectual settlements were made in North America, was dated April 10, 1606, the very year the crosses of the two kingdoms were united by royal proclamation. By this charter all the country in America between latitude 34° and 45° north, was called Virginia; two companies were constituted, one called the London Company the other the Plymouth Company. To the first named was assigned of this vast territory all that portion lying between the parallels of 34° and 41° north latitude under the name of South Virginia. To the latter all lying to the north of 41°, called North Virginia. Such was the vague extent of the old dominion of Virginia.³

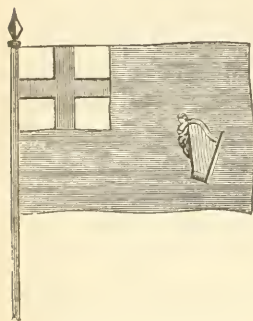
After the execution of Charles I, the new council of states on the 22d Feb., 1648-9, passed a resolution: "That the ships at sea in the service of the states shall bear the red cross in a white flag. That the engraving upon the sterns of the

¹ See *ante*.

² Rushworth says, 1634 (vol. 11, pp. 247) that "the *union flag*, that is the St. George's and St. Andrew's crosses joined together, was still to be reserved as an ornament proper to the king's own ships, and ships in his immediate service and pay, and *none other*. English ships were to bear the red cross, Scotch the white.

³ See note *ante*.

ships shall be the arms of England and Ireland in two escutcheons as is used in the seals.” Soon after we read of vessels sailing



Long Parliament Flag.

under the long parliament flag which bore on a blue field the yellow Irish harp, with the St. George's cross next the staff in a white canton. Under the protectorate we find a blue flag in use, bearing in the field the two shields of England and Ireland, viz: argent, a cross gules, and azure a harp or. These were joined together in a horse shoe shape, and surrounded by a white label of three folds, the motto in black letters "*Floreat Res. Publica,*" and outside two golden branches of laurel,

leaved green. Another flag of this period preserved as late as 1803 in one of the storehouses of Chatham dock yard, bore the same shields slightly separated on a red field, and surrounded by branches of palm and laurel.

On the fleet which restored Charles II to the throne of his father, the royal cypher took the place of the state's arms, and the harp was removed from the long parliament flag, which they also bore as having been instrumental in the restoration of that body during the previous year. Soon after this, under James duke of York, who had been appointed the lord high admiral of England, Ireland, Wales, &c., and of the *dominions of New England, Jamaica and Virginia, &c.*, in America, we find the flags of the navy to have been the royal standard; the lord high admiral's flag, then as now a foul anchor or, on a red field, the union jack or flag and the English ensign *red*, cantoned with the St. George's cross.

During the civil war, the colors or flags were principally red for the royalists, orange for the parliamentarians, and blue for the Scotch, and all of them cantoned with a red St. George's cross on a white field.

The complete union of the kingdoms was not fully accomplished until a hundred years after this union of crosses in the king's colors, in 1707, viz: when under Queen Anne, the kingdom of Great Britain, including England, Wales and Scotland, was established by treaty and the first union parliament assembled.

The act of parliament which ratified this union of the kingdoms, January 16, 1707, ordained "that the ensigns armorial of our kingdom of Great Britain" shall be "the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew conjoined (the same as heretofore described as the king's colors), to be used on all flags, banners, standards and ensigns *both at sea and land*," "and the ensigns described in the margin hereof (the crosses or king's colors conjoined in the upper corner of a crimson banner, since known as the meteor flag of England, to be worn on board all ships or vessels belonging to any of our subjects whatsoever." These flags were known familiarly as union flags, from their typifying the union of England and Scotland, and were commonly used by the American colonies in connection with other devices until their rupture with the mother country. Thus early the idea of a union flag became familiar to them.

As the king's colors had been authoritatively prescribed for subjects traveling by sea only, it is probable the St. George's cross continued to be very generally used by the English subjects of Great Britain on land until the act of 1707, for the parliament of the Commonwealth under Cromwell adopted the old standard.

Ireland was conquered in 1691, but was not incorporated into the kingdom until Jan. 1, 1801, long after our revolution, and then the cross of St. Patrick, a red diagonal saltiere was fimbriated on the white cross of St. Andrew and conjoined to the other two, and the union jack of the united kingdom assumed its present form. The present ensign of Great Britain was never worn by any of the American colonies.¹

It is to be presumed the cross of St. George was hoisted over the Mayflower when she disembarked our Pilgrim fathers at Plymouth in 1620, as it was the common sea ensign of English ships of that period. Belonging to South Britain she may also

¹The proclamation declaring what ensigns, colors, etc., are to be borne by the subjects of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland may be found in full in the *British Naval Chronicle*, vol. v, 1801.

One of the British flags surrendered at Yorktown, and presented to Washington by congress, was the same as the king's colors, established by James I, excepting that in the centre of the cross there is a white square with a crown above the garter. The garter is inscribed with the usual motto, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, and enclosing a full blown rose. This flag is now in the museum at Alexandria, Va. It is made of heavy twilled silk, and is six feet long and five feet four inches wide. Lossing has an engraving of it in his *Field Book of the American Revolution*.

The garrison flag of Great Britain is the union jack or flag, prescribed Jan. 1, 1801.

have displayed the king's colors from her main top, and a St. George's cross at the fore, as required by the king's proclamation of 1606.

From the records of Massachusetts, we gather that the red cross of St. George was in use in that colony in 1634, if not earlier.

In that year according to the records, complaint was entered, "that the ensigns at Salem had been defaced by Mr. Endicott's cutting out one part of the red cross. Roger Williams is accused of having agitated the matter, and therefore accountable for the trouble it occasioned. The case was examined as a high handed proceeding which might be construed into one of rebellion to England, on the complaint of Mr. Richard Browne, ruling elder of the church at Watertown, before the court of assistants. The court issued an attachment against Ensign Richard Davenport, then the ensign bearer of Salem, whose colors had been mutilated, to appear at the next court, which was not held until a year after his flag was so mutilated. It was then shown that the mutilation complained of was done not from disloyalty to the flag but from an entire conscientious conviction that it was idolatrous to allow it to remain, and that having been given to the king of England by the pope, it was a relic of anti-Christ. Endicott was judged to be guilty of a great offence inasmuch as he had 'with rash indiscretion and by his sole authority, committed an act giving occasion to the court of England to think ill of them' for which he was deemed worthy of admonition, and should be disabled from bearing any public office for one year."

The provincial authorities were, however, doubtful of the lawful use of a cross in the ensign, and had there been no fear of a royal governor little would have been heard about this mutilation of the colors at Salem, for only two months later all the ministers except Mr. Ward, of Ipswich, were assembled at Boston, to consider among other things whether it was lawful to carry a cross in the banners. The opinion of the meeting on that subject being divided, the matter was deferred to another meeting in March, at which Mr. Endicott was called upon to answer. This meeting was able to agree no better than the previous one, and the record continues, "because the court could

not agree about the thing, whether the ensigns should be laid by in that regard that many refused to follow them, the whole case was referred to the next general court, and the commissioners for military affairs gave orders in the mean time that *all* ensigns should be laid aside."

In the interim a new flag having for an emblem the red and white roses in place of the cross was proposed, and letters in relation to the matter were written to England, for the purpose of obtaining "the judgment of the most wise and godly there." This project seems not to have met the approval of the wise and godly in England, for in December, 1635, it is recorded that the military commissioners "appointed colors for every company," leaving out the cross in all of them and appointing that the king's arms should be put into them, and in the colors of Castle island, Boston.

All ships in passing the fort at Castle island, were bound to observe certain regulations, but after these occurrences the fort wearing for a time no flag to signify its real character, presented the appearance of a captured or deserted fortress.

Under these circumstances in the spring of 1636, the ship *St. Patrick*, Capt. Palmer, was brought to, by Capt. Morris, the officer in command of the fort, and made to strike her colors. Capt. Palmer complained to the authorities of the conduct of the commander of the fort, as a flagrant insult both to his flag and country. They therefore ordered the commander of the fort before them, and in the presence of the master of the ship, informed him that he had no authority to do as he had done, and he was ordered to make such atonement as Capt. Palmer should demand. The captain was very lenient, only requiring an acknowledgment of his error on board of his ship, "that so all the ship's company might receive satisfaction." This Lieut. Morris submitted to, and all parties became quieted; but within a few days another circumstance occurred respecting the fort with a somewhat different result. The mate of a ship called the *Hector* pronounced all the people traitors and rebels because they had discarded the king's colors, and was brought before the court and made to acknowledge his offence and sign a paper to that effect.

These occurrences troubled the authorities lest reports should be carried to England that they had rebelled,¹ and that their contempt of the English flag was proof of the allegation. To counteract such representations, Mr. Vane, the governor, called the captains of the ten remaining ships then in harbor together, and desired to know if they were offended at what had happened, and if so what they required in satisfaction. They frankly told him that if questioned on their return to England "what colors they saw here," a statement of the bare facts in relation to it might result to their disadvantage. Therefore they would recommend that the king's colors might be set up in the fort. The governor and his advisers arrived at the same conclusion, and directed to give warrant to spread the king's colors at Castle island, where ships passed by.

There being no king's colors to be found to display at the fort, the difficulty was met by two of the shipmasters offering to present them with a set, but so fearful were the authorities of tolerating a symbol of idolatry, they declined receiving the colors thus offered until they had first taken the advice of Mr. Cotton in regard to them. It was finally concluded that although they were of the decided opinion that the cross in the ensign was idolatrous and therefore ought not to be had in it, nevertheless as the fort was the king's and maintained in his name, his colors might be used there. In accordance with this opinion the governor accepted the colors of Capt. Palmer, sending him in requital three beaver skins, and directed Mr. Dudley to give warrant to Lieut. Morris, the commander of the fort, to spread the king's colors whenever ships were passing.

This tempest in a tea pot, having been satisfactorily adjusted, the king's colors were continued at the castle, but excluded from use elsewhere in the colony, where through the religious prejudices of the people, the flag bearing the king's arms, continued in use until the establishment of the commonwealth.

In 1638, the subject of forming a confederacy of the New England colonies was discussed, but owing to divers differences the matter was delayed.

¹ A seafaring man on approaching in his ship, having noticed that the flag displayed was destitute of a cross, "spoke to some one on board the ship that we had not the king's colors but were all traitors and rebels."—*Smith's Hist. Newburyport.*

NEW ENGLAND COLORS.



FLAG OF NEW ENGLAND under SIR EDMUND ANDROS.

(FROM A DRAFT IN THE BRITISH STATE PAPER OFFICE)
NEW ENGLAND PAPERS, VOL. IX PAGE 229



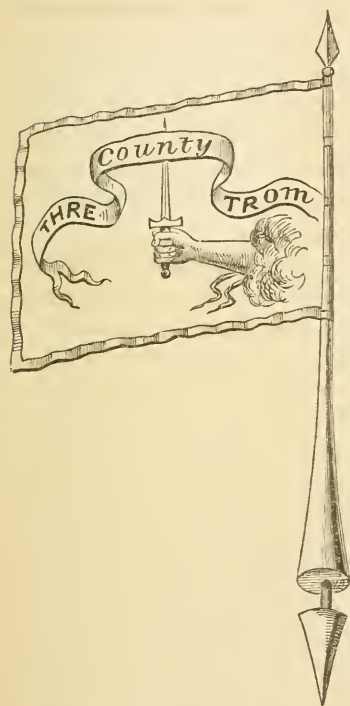
*Tac Simile
of the*

SEA COLORS OF NEW ENGLAND.

*from an
ENGLISH WORK PUBLISHED
BEFORE 1700.*

In 1643, the confederacy was formed, and in the articles of compact, the colonies were styled, THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND. The union was declared to be perpetual, and the will of six of the eight commissioners chosen (two for each colony), was to be binding on all. We do not learn however that any common flag was adopted, until several years later (1686), when Gov. Andros received one from the king. (Plate IV.)

In 1651, the English parliament revived and adopted the old standard of St. George as the colors of England, and the General Court of Massachusetts *Ordered*, "as the court conceive the old English colors now used by the parliament to be a necessary badge of distinction betwixt the English and other nations in all places of the world, *till the state of England alter the same, which we very much desire*, we being of the same nation, have therefore ordered, that the captain of the castle shall advance the aforesaid colors of England upon all necessary occasions."



Mr. Whitmore, in the *New England Hist. and Gen. Register* for July, 1871, furnishes an interesting account of a local company of cavalry raised in 1659, just before the restoration of Charles II, the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Middlesex, Mass., and hence called *the Three County Troop*, and which according to the records continued in existence until 1677, and possibly longer. His paper is illustrated with the annexed drawing of the standard and a bill of its cost copied from an

entry in a Herald painter's book of the time of Charles I, now preserved in the British Museum.

It is as follows :

“ Worke don for New England

For painting in oyle on both sides a Cornett one rich crimson damask, with a hand and sword and inveloped with a scarf about the arms of gold, black and sillver [£2. 0. 6.]

For a plaine cornett Staffe, with belte, boote and swible at first penny 1. 0. 0

For silke of crimson and sillver fring and for a Cornett String 1. 11. 0

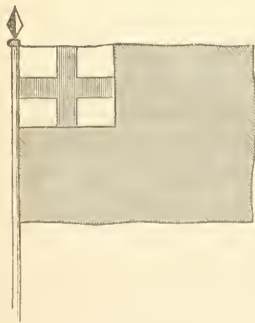
For crimson damask 11. 0

£5. 2. 6

(NOTE.— The first item £2.0.6 is not given but is deduced from the adding. The term “ at first penny ” may be the same as at first cost).

The existence of this troop being clearly shown by the Mass. records of 1659–77, there can be no doubt the drawing represents its standard. We may imagine it was ordered from England before King Philip’s war, and that under its folds the best soldiers of the three counties took part in the fight. Two copies from the drawing agree in representing the inscription on the flag as “ *thre county trom,*” which is supposed to be a mistake, and that the flag really bore the words “ Thre County Troop,” the name of the company for which it was ordered.

On the 31st of May, 1684, the Hon. Nathaniel Saltonstall “ late of Haverhill ” one of the council for the colonies, wrote to Capt. Thomas Noyes of Newbury, Mass., concerning the colors of a company of foot commanded by the latter, as follows : “ In y^e Major General’s letter, I have ordered also to require you, which I herein do, with all convenient speed, to provide a flight of colors for your foot company, ye ground field or flight (fly) whereof is to be *green*, with a red cross with a white field in y^e angle, according to the antient customs of our own English nation, and the English plantations in America, and our own practise in our ships and other vessels. The number of bullets to be put into



Colors of Capt. Noyes
Company 1684.

your colors for distinction may be left out at present without damage in the making of them.”

“So faile not,
 “Your friend and servant,
 “N. SALTONSTALL.”¹”

In 1686, the flag of New England under the administration of Sir Edmund Andros, as appears by a drawing of it in the British State Paper office, was the cross of St. George borne on a white field occupying the whole flag, the centre of the cross emblazoned with a yellow or gilt crown over the cypher of the sovereign, King James I. (Plate IV.)

The early colonial documents of New York have several mentions of flags in use in that colony, in the latter half of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Sept. 10, 1650, Augustin Herman brought with him from Holland a flag for the burgher's corps of New Amsterdam, but Stuyvesant, who he wrote was doing as he pleased, “would not allow it to be carried.”

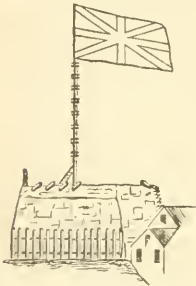
Jan. 17, 1653. The patroon and his codirectors of the colonie of Rensselaerswyck, complained that “*their* flag had been hauled down in opposition to the will and protest of their officers.” What that obnoxious flag was we have now no means of ascertaining, but the directors of the chamber of Amsterdam reply “they are ignorant where the flag was down.”

Jan. 11, 1664, an English flag seems to have been displayed with considerable bravado by one John Schott in sight of the astonished burghers of New Amsterdam. “Capt. John Schott,” says the record, “came to the ferry in the town of Breucklin (Brooklyn) with a troop of Englishmen mounted on horseback, with great noise marching with sounding trumpets, &c.,” and hoisted the English flag, and as soon as John Schott arrived, they uncovered their heads and spoke in English. Secretary Van Ruyven asked the captain to cross over, to which John Schott answered “No! Let Stuyvesant come over with a hundred soldiers. I shall wait for him here.”

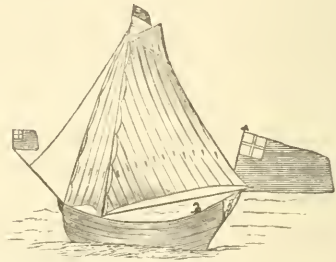
¹ Coffin's *History of Newbury*, credited to Robert Adams's Manuscript.

In September of that year the red cross of St. George floated in triumph over the fort, and the name of New Amsterdam was changed to New York. Early in Oct., 1664, New Netherland was acknowledged a part of the British realm, and Col. Richard Nicolls its conqueror became governor.

The journal of a voyage to New York in 1679–80, by Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, translated from the original Dutch manuscript and published by the Long Island Historical Society in 1867, has several fac simile engravings from the original drawings. One of these, a curious picture of New York in 1679, has the union flag or king's colors flying over the fort, and another a view of New York from the north, has a rude drawing of a sloop sailing along with flags at the masthead, bowsprit end and stern bearing the St. George cross.



King's colors flying over fort at New York, in 1670.



St. George's Cross on sloop, in 1679.

Fortunately the same writers under date Boston, Thursday, July 23, 1680, give us a precise description of the flag then in use in that colony, by which it seems those colonists' objection to the cross as an idolatrous symbol, near half a century earlier (see ante, p. 116) still existed. Our voyagers say: "New England is now described as extending from the Fresh [Connecticut] river to Cape Cod and thence to Kennebec, comprising three provinces or colonies. Fresh river, or Connecticut, Rhode island and the other islands to Cape Cod, and *Boston*, which stretches from thence north. They are subject to no one, but acknowledge the king of England for their *honeer* [probably *beer*,

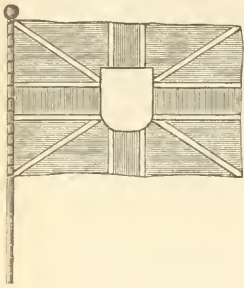
that is lord, is intended] and therefore no ships enter unless they have English passports or commissions. * * *

“ Each province chooses its own governor from the magistracy, and the magistrates are chosen from the principal inhabitants, merchants or planters. They are all *Independent* in matters of religion, if it can be called religion; many of them perhaps more for the purpose of enjoying the benefit of its privileges than for any regard to truth and godliness. I observed that while the *English flag or color has a red ground with a small white field in the uppermost corner where there is a red cross, they have dispensed with this cross in their color, and preserved the rest.*” The diary goes on to give a poor and perhaps prejudiced account of the morality of the community which it would be out of place to copy here. Nov. 13, 1696, Messrs. Brooke and Nicoll, in a paper addressed to the H. M. commissioners for trade and plantations, relating to the requisites for the defence of New York, ask to be furnished with “*six large union flags, for his ma^{ty}es several forts*” in that colony, and Feb. 1, 1696-7, the lords of trade, write Governor Fletcher, his majesty has ordered with other stores that had been asked for “*six union flags, which we doubt not the agents will accordingly take care to see shipt.*”

Dec. 29, 1701, Lieut. Gov. John Nanfan writes from New York to the lords commissioners for trade and plantations: “Since my last to your Lordships of the 20th October, by Mr. Penn, I have the honor of your Lordship’s letter of the 14th August, with their excellencies the Lord Justice’s order on the reading the report from the lords of the admiralty relating to a flag of distinction from his majesty’s ships of war to be worn by all ships that shall be commissioned by the governors of His Majestys Plantations, which I shall punctually observe.” What these colors were does not appear, but J. Burchett writes to Mr. Popple from the admiralty office, April 19, 1708, that the lords, etc., instruct Lord Lovelace, the governor of New York, “they have no objections to certain colors proposed for privateers.”

Among the instructions furnished to Robert Hunter, governor of New York, dated Dec. 29, 1709, is the following, numbered

85: "Whereas great inconveniences do happen by merchant ships and other vessels in the plantations wearing colors born by



Flag ordered for the Merchant service in 1709.

our ships of war under pretence of commissions granted to them by the governors of the said plantations, and that by trading under those colors not only amongst our own subjects but also those of other princes and states and committing divers irregularities, they do very much dishonor our service for prevention whereof you are to oblige the commanders of all such ships to which you shall grant commission to wear no other jack than according to the sample here described, that is to say

such as is worn by our ships of war, with the distinction of a white escutcheon in the middle thereof, and that the said mark of distinction may extend itself one half of the depth of the jack, and one-third of the fly thereof."¹

The lords of trade to the Duke of Newcastle, under date Aug. 20, 1741, forward instructions to the Hon. George Clinton, governor of New York, by one of which orders colonial vessels are "to wear the same ensign as merchant ships, and a *red jack*,² with the union jack in a canton at the upper corner next the staff."

Gov. Clinton writes the Duke of Bedford from New York, June 17, 1750, that the Greyhound man of war fired on a vessel with an intention of bringing her to, "she having a Birdgee flag hoisted," a shot struck a young woman Elizabeth Stibben by name, in the vessel, so that she expired a few hours afterwards. The vessel belonged to "Col. Richetts of the Jerseys, a hot headed, rash young man, who declared before he put off from the wharf he would wear that pendant in defiance of the man of war." This affair caused no little excitement, and was the occasion of considerable correspondence between the governor, the commander of the Greyhound, and the magistrates, etc.

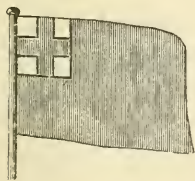
¹ Instructions to Governor Hunter, *N. Y. Colonial Hist.*, vol. v, p. 137.

² See *Account of Landing of British Troops at Boston*, 1768.

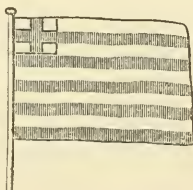
The cross of St. George from its establishment in 1651, by the commonwealth of England, continued in general use in the American colonies with occasional variations throughout the 17th century, and until the Union flag of James I, devised for his English and Scotch subjects in 1606, was prescribed by act of parliament for general use throughout the British dominions in 1707.

A crimson flag of which the jack was a red St. George cross on a white field, was the ensign most generally in use in New England. Sometimes a tree, at other times a hemisphere, was represented in the upper canton next the staff formed by the cross, and occasionally the fly or field was blue.

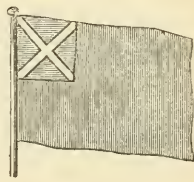
In a little book, something of the character of the Gotha Almanac, entitled *The Present State of the Universe*, by John Beaumont, Jr., printed at London, by Benjamin Motte, 1704, there is a picture of a New England ensign, with a tree, like the one above described. Another book entitled, *A General Treatise of the Dominion of the Sea*, etc., *Third edition*, printed at London for the executors of J. Nicholson, with no date, but judged about 1707, has a folding plate of national flags, among which is a New England ensign of the same character, a tracing of which is here annexed.



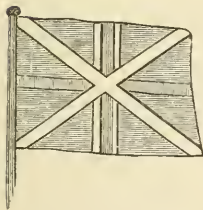
English Ensign.



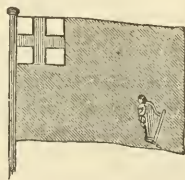
East India Co.



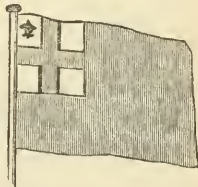
Scotch Ensign.



Scotch Union Flag.



Irish Ensign.



New England Ensign.

From a plate of National Flags in the *Dominion of the Sea*.

1707.

Alexander, Justices, *Dominions and Laws of the Sea*, London, 1705,¹ (probably an earlier edition of the book above mentioned), represents the same flag. Another work, published in 1701, has a representation of this flag, and in still another work there is a representation of the flag of the New England colonies, which has a dark blue fly or field, with the St. George cross on a white jack, while in place of the tree a half globe is represented. Lossing, in his *Field Book of the American Revolution*, has a picture of the New England flag, with the tree, which he copies from an old Dutch work containing the flags of all nations, which all preserved in the library of the New York Historical Society.

A correspondent of *London Notes and Queries*² writes, that he has a French work on flags, published in 1737, which describes a *Pavillon de Nouvelle Angleterre en Amerique*, "as azure, on a canton argent, the red cross of St. George having a globe in the first quarter."

The earliest notice of a new England flag emblematic of the union of more than one colony I have been able to find, is that of 1686, heretofore described.³ (p. 119, plate IV).

The departure from the authorized English flag and assumption of standards of their own by the colonists evinces a growing feeling of independence among the colonies, while the absence of a desire for separation is evident in the acknowledgment of allegiance implied by representing on them the colors of England, or when from tenderness of conscience they were left out, the substitution of the arms of the king.

A green tree was the favorite emblem of Massachusetts, and appeared on the coins of that colony as early as 1652.

By order of the general court in that year, a mint was established, and it was ordered that all pieces of money should have a double ring with this inscription "Massachusetts," and a tree in the centre on one side, and "New England" and the year of our Lord on the other. This was strictly adhered to by the mint master, and for thirty years all the coins not known as *pine tree* shillings, sixpences, etc., bore the date An. Dom. 1652. The rudeness of the impressions on these early coins may ren-

¹ I. J. G., *Hist. Mag.*, Sept. 1867.

² Vol. xii, 2d Series, 1861.

³ See pages 116-118.

der it uncertain whether a pine tree was intended to be represented or some other tree, though at length it received the name of one of the commonest tribes of trees in New England. Mr. Drake, in his *History of Boston*, says, the tree on the New England flag, of which he gives an illustration, "no more resembles a pine tree, than a cabbage." The following story confirms the idea that a pine tree may not have been the original design:

When Charles II learned the colonies' assumption of one of his prerogatives to coin money, he was very angry, but his wrath was appeased by Sir Charles Temple, a friend of the colony, who told him they thought it no crime to coin money for their own use, and took some of the money from his pocket and handed to the king who asked him what tree that *was upon it*. "That," replied Sir Charles, "is the *royal oak* which preserved your majesty's life." The remark put the king in good humor, and he heard what Sir Charles had to say in their favor, calling them "a parcel of honest dogs."¹

This New England flag was undoubtedly the earliest symbol of a union of the colonies, and it probably went out of use after the adoption of the union flag of King James, by the act of parliament in 1707, for all the subjects of the British realm. As we have seen, that with the additional device of a white shield at the union of the crosses it was ordered (see *ante*), in 1709, to be worn by all merchant vessels commissioned by the colonial authorities of New York.

On Will Burgess's map of Boston, engraved in 1728, there is pictured four ships at anchor and a sloop under sail, all wearing ensigns bearing the union jack of King James on a staff at the stern. One of the ships appears to be dressed with flags and is firing a salute; another flies a long coach whip pennant at her main.

Sir Wm. Pepperrell, commander of the expedition against Louisbourg, in 1745, furnished the motto for the expeditionary flag, viz: *Nil desperandum, Christe duce*—Never despair, Christ leads us—which gave the enterprise the air of a crusade. Among those engaged against Louisbourg was William Vaughan, a

¹ *Curwin's Journal*.

graduate of Harvard University, and holding the honorary rank of lieutenant colonel. He conducted the first column through the woods, within sight of the city, and saluted it with three cheers. He headed a detachment consisting chiefly of New Hampshire troops and marched to the north-east part of the harbor in the night, where they burned the warehouses, containing the naval stores, and staved a large quantity of wine and brandy.

The smoke of this fire being driven by the wind into the grand battery, so terrified the French, that they abandoned it and retired to the city, having spiked the guns and cut the halliards of the flag staff. The next morning May 2, 1745, as Vaughan was returning with thirteen men only, he crept up the hill which overlooked the battery, and observed that the chimneys of the barrack were without smoke and the staff without a flag. With a bottle of brandy which he had in his pocket, he hired one of his party, an Indian, to crawl in at an embrasure and open the gate. He then wrote to the general: "May it please your honor to be informed, that by the grace of God, and the courage of thirteen men, I entered the royal battery about nine o'clock, and am awaiting for a reinforcement and a flag." Before either could arrive, one of the men climbed up the staff with a red coat in his teeth which he fastened by a nail to the top. This piece of triumphant vanity alarmed the city, and immediately an hundred men were dispatched in boats to retake the battery. But Vaughan with his small party on the naked bank and in the face of a smart fire from the city and the boats, kept them from landing, till reinforcements arrived.¹

The name of the man who hoisted this impromptu flag with so much rash daring, is given in an obituary notice containing the following exaggerated version of his feat, printed in the *Boston Gazette*, of June 3, 1771: "Medford, May 25, 1771. This day died here Mr. William Tufts, Jr., aged about 44 years. * * * * When about 18 years of age he enlisted a volunteer into the service of his king and country in the expedition against Cape Britain [Breton], under the command of Lt. General Pepperrell, in the year 1745, where he signalized his courage in a remarkable manner at the Island Battery, when

¹ Belknap's *History of New Hampshire*.

THE
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX & TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.



ST. GEORGES CROSS.



ST. ANDREWS CROSS.



UNION OR KINGS COLORS. 1606.



UNION ENSIGN . JAN. 16. 1707.



GRAND UNION FLAG. JAN. 1. 1776

the unsuccessful attempt was made by a detachment from the army to take it by storm. He got into the battery, notwithstanding the heavy fire of the French artillery and small arms, climbed up the flag staff, struck the French colors, pulled off his red great coat, and hoisted it on the staff as English colors, all which time there was a continued fire at him from the small arms of the French, and got down untouched, tho' many bullets went thro' his trowsers and cloathes."¹

Gov. Thomas Pownall, in his *Journal of A Voyage from Boston to Penobscot River*, May, 1759, mentions calling the Indians together and giving them a union flag, probably, the union jack with a red field or flag, for their protection and passport. He also furnished them with a red and also a white flag, as emblems of war and amity. Afterwards he mentions hoisting the king's colors, on a flag staff at Fort Point, with the usual ceremonies, and saluting them.²

FLAGS OF THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY AND REVOLUTIONARY PERIODS.

1766-1777.

In the cotemporary newspapers for ten years preceding the commencement of our revolutionary struggle, liberty poles and trees and flags of various devices are frequently mentioned.

The obnoxious stamp act was passed March 22, 1765, but did not go into effect until November of the same year. It proved such a source of disaffection and rebellious utterances and acts, that it was repealed March 18, 1766, after having been in operation only four months. As soon as the glad tidings reached America, the colonists saw in its repeal a promise of justice for the future, and went into frenzies of rapture. They had celebrations and bonfires, and were ready to purchase all the goods that England had to sell. At New York, they put up a liberty pole in The Fields, with a splendid flag inscribed "*The King,*

¹ J. L. Sibley to the *New England Hist. and Gen. Register*, Oct., 1871.

² *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. v.

Pitt and Liberty.” They ordered a statue of Pitt, who had insisted on the repeal, for Wall street, and another of George III for the Bowling green.

It was soon found that the repeal of the obnoxious act was only a snare of their rulers, under cover of which, advantage was taken of their grateful mood, to wring concessions. Citizens were seized by the British men of war in the harbor and made to serve in the crews. Fresh taxes were levied. The soldiers openly insulted the people, and in a few weeks cut down their liberty pole. The angry but patient people raised a new pole, still with the loyal motto. The next spring (1766), the soldiers cut it down again. Next day came the Sons of Liberty, a society grown up with the peril of the times, composed of brave, loyal and intelligent men, and set down a new pole sheathed with iron around its base — still with the old loyal motto: “To his most gracious majesty George III, Mr. Pitt and liberty.” For almost three years this staunch liberty pole stood, though the soldiers attacked it once or twice. Finally one January day in 1770, a squad of red coats mustered at its base, and the gallant pole came down. The liberty boys were ready with another pole, but the timid corporation forbade them to raise it on public ground. So the liberty boys bought a strip of private ground close by the old stand, eleven feet wide and a hundred feet deep, and from the shipyard, where it had been formed, they escorted their new mast, six horses, gay with ribbons, drawing it, a full band going before, and three flags flying free, inscribed *Liberty and Property*.¹ They took the mast to the field, and dug a hole twelve feet deep in which they stepped the liberty pole, after girding it with iron two-thirds of its length from the ground, defying the red coats to cut it down. On it they shipped a topmast twenty-two feet long on which was inscribed the word *Liberty*. This pole the British cut down in 1776.

At Charleston, South Carolina, under a wide spreading live oak tree, a little north of the residence of Christopher Gadsden, within the square now bounded by Charlotte, Washington, Brundy, and Alexander streets, the patriots of 1765

¹ *Valentine's Manual of the City Councils of New York.*

were accustomed to assemble to discuss the political questions of the day, and from this circumstance that oak, like the great elm in Boston, obtained the name of liberty tree, and it is claimed and generally believed in South Carolina that under it, Gadsden, as early as 1764, first spoke of American Independence. Underneath it, on the 8th of August, 1776, the declaration of independence was proclaimed to the people. In 1766, the Sons of Liberty met under it and with linked hands pledged themselves to resist when the hour for resistance came. Its history and associations were hateful to the officers of the crown, and after the city surrendered in 1780, Sir Henry Clinton ordered it cut down, and a fire was lighted over the stump by piling its branches around it. Many cane heads were made from its stump in after years, and a part of it was sawed into thin boards, and made into a neat ballot box and presented to the '76 association. It was destroyed by fire at the room of the association during the great conflagration of 1838.¹

The old liberty tree in Boston was the largest of a grove of beautiful elms that stood in Hanover square at the corner of Orange (now Washington) and Essex streets, opposite the present Boylston market. The exact site is marked by a building, erected by the late Hon. David Sears, in whose front is a bas-relief of the tree with an appropriate inscription.² It received the name of liberty tree, from the association called the Sons of Liberty holding their meetings under it during the summer of 1765. The ground under it was called Liberty hall. A pole fastened to its trunk rose far above its branching top, and when a red flag was thrown to the breeze the signal was understood by the people. Here the Sons of Liberty held many a notable meeting, and placards and banners were often suspended from the limbs or affixed to the body of the tree. Nov. 20, 1767, the day on which the new revenue law went into effect, there was a seditious hand bill posted on it. It contained an exhortation to the Sons of Liberty to rise on that day and fight for their rights, stating that if they assembled they would be joined by legions; that if they neglected this opportunity, they would be cursed by all posterity. In June, 1768, a red flag was hoisted over it, and

¹ *Lossing.*

² *Riverside Magazine.*

a paper stuck upon it, inviting the people to rise and clear the country of the commissioners and their officers.¹ July 31, 1769, on Governor Bernard's being ordered to England, the general joy was manifested by congratulations among the people, salutes from Hancock's wharf, the union flag flying above liberty tree, and bonfires on the hills. The flag was kept flying for several days. August 14, 1773, the anniversary of the uprising against the stamp act was celebrated with great spirit, and a union flag floated over the tent in which the company had their entertainment. Nov. 3, 1773, a large flag was raised above the liberty tree and the town crier summoned the people to assemble. The destruction of the tea followed this meeting. In the winter of 1775-76, the British soldiers cut down this noble tree which from these associations had become odious to them. It furnished fourteen cords of wood, and probably went to ashes in the stove set up in the Old South meeting house, when the soldiers occupied that building for a riding school, and kindled fires with books and pamphlets from Prince's valuable library, the remnant of which is now preserved in the Boston Public Library. The destruction of the liberty tree was bitterly resented.

At Taunton, Mass., in October, 1774, a union flag was raised on the top of a liberty pole, with the words *Liberty and Union* thereon.

In January, 1775, the sleds containing wood for the inhabitants of Boston bore a union flag. The colonists had long been familiar with union flags, they now began to associate liberty with them.

In the earliest days of the revolution each state seems to have set up its own particular banner. There were probably no

¹ In 1768, Paul Revere published a view of a part of the town of Boston in New England, and British ships of war landing their troops, Friday, Sept. 30, 1768, of which a fac simile has been recently printed by Alfred L. Street, publisher of the *Little Corporal*, Chicago, Ill.

All the ships in front of the town, viz : The Beaver, Donegal, Martin, Glasgow, Mermaid, Romney, Launceston and Bonetta, with several smaller vessels carry the English red or union ensign of the time on a staff at the stern, a union jack on the bowsprit and a red pennant with a union at the main except the Glasgow, which has a red broad pennant at her main. The Glasgow several years later played an important part at the battle of Bunker's hill. The troops are landed and being landed on long wharf, and have two pairs of colors, one of each pair is the ordinary union jack, the other a red flag with a union jack in the centre of it. This is probably the *red* union jack, elsewhere mentioned.

colors worn by the handful of Americans hastily called together at the battle of Lexington, but immediately after, the Connecticut troops had standards, bearing on them the arms of that colony, with the motto, *Qui transtulit sustinet*, in letters of gold, which was freely translated, "God who transported us hither, will support us." By an act of the provincial congress of Connecticut, July 1, 1775, the regiments were distinguished by the colors of their standards, viz: for the 7th, blue, 8th, orange, etc.

In March, 1775, a union flag with a red field having on one side this inscription, *Geo. Rex and the Liberties of America*, and on the other *No Popery*, was hoisted at New York. The armed ships of New York of that time are said to have had a black beaver for their device on their flag. This was the device of the colonial seal of New Netherland, and is still seen on the seal of the city of New York.



Colonial Seal of New
Netherland.

No description of the union flags of these times has been preserved. Aged people living a few years since who well remembered the processions and the great flags, could not recall their devices, nor has any particular description of them been found in the cotemporaneous private diaries or public newspapers;

nevertheless it is more than probable and almost certain, that, these flags were the familiar flags of the English and Scotch union, established in 1707, and long known as union flags, inscribed with various popular and patriotic mottoes.

The Hist. Chronicle of the *Gentleman's Magazine* under date April 17, 1775, records "by a ship just arrived at Bristol from America, it is reported that the Americans have hoisted their standard of liberty at Salem."

Neither contemporary accounts nor the recollections of old soldiers, are satisfactory respecting the flags used at the battle of Bunker hill, on the 17th of June, 1775.¹ It is not positively

¹ The British used the following signals: "Signals for boats in divisions, moving to the attack on the rebels on the Heights of Charleston, June 17, 1775, viz.: 1. Blue flag, to advance. Yellow ditto, to lay on oars. Red ditto, to land."—*Orderly Book of Major Gen. Howe.*

ascertained that any were used by the Americans, certainly none were captured from them by the British.

A eulogy on Warren, however, written soon after the battle describing the astonishment of the British on the morning of the battle says :

“Columbia’s troops are seen in dread array
And waving streamers in the air display.”

It is to be regretted that the poet does not give a description of these fanciful waving streamers ; probably, says another writer, “they were as various as the troops were motley.” Tradition asserts a red flag was used with the motto, *Come if you dare*.¹ Trumbull in his celebrated picture of the battle now in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington has represented a red flag having a white canton bearing a green pine tree.²

In a manuscript plan of the battle, colors are represented in the centre of each British regiment.

Botta³ says that Doctor Warren, finding the corps he commanded pursued by the enemy, despising all danger stood alone before the ranks endeavoring to rally his men and to encourage them by his example. He reminded them of the motto inscribed on their ensigns, on the one side of which were these words “An appeal to Heaven” and on the other “*Qui transtulit sustinet*,” meaning that the same Providence which brought their ancestors through so many perils to a place of refuge would also deign to support their descendants.

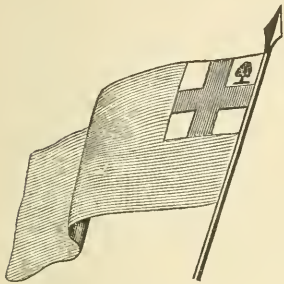
¹ At a patriotic celebration in 1825, a flag was borne which was said to have been unfurled at Bunker hill, and tradition states that one was hoisted at the redoubt, and that Gage and his officers were puzzled to read by their glasses its motto. A whig told them it was “*Come if you dare*.”

² This, however, cannot be considered authoritative. Painters frequently take a poet’s license and are not always particular in the accuracy of the cotemporary accessories of their paintings. Thus Leutze in his celebrated painting of Washington crossing the Delaware, Dec. 25, 1776, conspicuously displays the American flag with the blue field and union of white stars, although the flag had no recognized existence before the 14th of June following. Yet this inaccurate historical tableau has been selected to embellish the face of the fifty dollar notes of our national banks.

The gold medal awarded to General Daniel Morgan for the battle of Cowpens, January 17, 1781, has on its reverse a mounted officer at the head of his troops charging a flying foe, while behind and over the officer are two large and prominent banners simply striped with thirteen stripes alternate red and white without the stars, though the stars had been for more than three years blazoned on the American ensigns. The medal was probably struck in France.

³ *History of American Revolution.*

An intelligent old lady (Mrs. Manning) informed Mr. Lossing¹ that her father who was in the battle assisted in hoisting the standard, and she had heard him speak of it as a noble flag. The ground of which was blue with one corner quartered by the red cross of St. George, in one section of which was a pine tree.



Revolutionary Flag.

On the 18th of July, a month after the battle, Major General Putnam assembled his division on the height of Prospect hill, to have read to it the manifesto of congress signed by John Hancock its

president, and countersigned by Charles Thomson, secretary. The reading was followed by a prayer suited to the occasion, and at the close of the prayer, at signal from the general, the troops cried *Amen*, and at the same instant the artillery of the fort thundered a general salute and the colors recently sent to General Putnam bearing on the one side, the Connecticut motto, "*Qui transtulit sustinet*," and on the other the recognized motto of Massachusetts, "*An appeal to Heaven*," were unfurled, the same ceremony was observed in the other divisions.²

Lieut. Paul Lunt in his diary, which has been printed, says: "May 10, 1775, marched from Newburyport with 60 men, Capt. Ezra Lunt, commander, and May 12, at 11 o'clock arrived at Cambridge. * * * June 16, our men went to Charlestown and entrenched on a hill beyond Bunkers Hill. * * * June 17, the regulars landed a number of troops and we engaged them. They drove us off the hill and burned Charlestown. July 2, Gen. Washington came into the camp. * * * July 18th. This morning a manifesto was read by the Rev. Mr. Leonard, chaplain of the Connecticut forces upon Prospect Hill in Charlestown. Our standard was presented in the midst of the regiments with this inscription upon it '*Appeal to Heaven*,' after which Mr. Leonard made a short prayer, and

¹ *Field Book of the American Revolution*, vol. 1, p. 541.

² *Bancroft's History of the United States. Frothingham's Siege of Boston.*

then we were dismissed, by the discharge of a cannon, three cheers and a war whoop by the Indians.”

June 19, 1775, two days after the battle of Bunker Hill and before the news could have reached Georgia, there was a meeting of a committee of the leading men of Savannah, to enforce the requirements of the American association. After the meeting a dinner was had at Tondee’s tavern, where a union flag was hoisted upon a liberty pole, and two pieces of artillery placed under it.



The Pine Tree Flag,
from a map published in Paris, 1776.

In September, 1775, Arnold made his famous expedition through Maine to Canada, and when drifting down the gentle current of the Dead river, came suddenly in sight of a lofty mountain covered with snow, at the foot of which he encamped three days, raising the continental flag over his tent. What its color was, or the devices upon it, we have no means of ascertaining. The mountain is now known as Mount Bigelow, tradition asserting that Major Bigelow of Arnold’s little army ascended to its summit hoping to see the spires of Quebec.

During Sept., 1775, two strong floating batteries were launched on the Charles river, and opened a fire toward the last of Oc-



American Floating Battery, used
at the siege of Boston,
from an English manuscript.

tober upon Boston that produced great alarm and damaged several houses. They appear to have been made of strong planks pierced near the water line, for oars; and along the sides higher up for light and musketry. A heavy gun was placed at each end, and upon the top were four swivels. Their ensign was a pine tree flag,¹ the six schooners first commissioned by Washington and the first vessels commissioned by the united colonies sailed under the pine tree flag.² Col. Reed in a letter

¹ *Lossing’s Field Book of the Revolution.*

² Capt. John Selman and Nicholas Broughton were commissioned by Gen. Washington (according to the statement of Selman to Elbridge Gerry), in the fall of

from Cambridge to Cols. Glover and Moylan under date Oct. 20, 1775, says: "Please fix upon some particular color for a flag, and a signal by which our vessels may know one another. What do you think of a flag with a white ground, and a tree in the middle, the motto 'AN APPEAL TO HEAVEN,'

1775, both living at Marblehead. "The latter as commodore of two small schooners, one the *Lynch* mounting six four pounders and ten swivels, and manned by seventy seamen and the other the *Franklin* of less force having sixty-five. The commodore hoisted his broad pendant on board the *Lynch*, and Selman commanded the latter.

"These vessels were ordered to the river St. Lawrence to intercept an ammunition vessel bound to Quebec, but missing her, they took ten other vessels and Governor Wright of St. Johns, all of which were released, as we had waged a ministerial war and not one against our most gracious sovereign."— *Letter of E. Gerry to John Adams, dated Feb. 9, 1813.*

The form of commission issued by General Washington to the officers of the vessels fitted out by him, under authority of the continental congress, and the officers so commissioned, was as follows :

By his excellency George Washington, Esq., commander-in-chief of the army of the united colonies.

To William Burke, Esq.
By virtue of the powers and authorities to me given by the honorable continental congress, I do hereby constitute and appoint you captain and commander of the schooner *Warren* now lying at *Beverly* port, in the service of the united colonies of *North America*, to have, hold, exercise, and enjoy the said office of captain and commander of the said vessel, and to perform and execute all matters and things which to your said office do, or may of right belong or appertain, until further order shall be given herein by the honorable continental congress, myself, or any future commander-in-chief of said army, willing and commanding all officers, soldiers, and persons whatsoever, any way concerned, to be obedient and assisting to you in the due execution of this commission.

Given under my hand and seal, at *Cambridge*, this 1st day of *February, Annoque Domini, 1776.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

By his excellency's command.

To Captain *William Burke*, of the *Warren*.

Officers of the armed vessels, fitted out by order of General Washington, on the 1st day of February, 1776.

<i>Hancock</i> ,	John Manley,	Captain and Com.	1	January, 1776.
	Richard Stiles,	1st Lieutenant,	1	January, 1776.
	Nicholas Ogilby,	2d Lieutenant,	1	January, 1776.
<i>Lee</i> ,	Daniel Waters,	Captain,	20	January, 1777.
	William Kissick,	1st Lieutenant,	20	January, 1776.
	John Gill,	2d Lieutenant,	20	January, 1776.
	John Desmond,	Master,	20	January, 1776.
<i>Franklin</i> ,	Samuel Tucker,	Captain,	20	January, 1776.
	Edward Phittiplace,	1st Lieutenant,	20	January, 1776.
	Francis Salter,	2d Lieutenant,	20	January, 1776.
<i>Harrison</i> ,	Charles Dyar,	Captain,	20	January, 1776.
	Thomas Dote,	1st Lieutenant,	23	January, 1776.
	John Wigglesworth,	2d Lieutenant,	20	January, 1776.
<i>Lynch</i> ,	John Ayres,	Captain,	20	January, 1776.
	John Roche,	1st Lieutenant,	20	January, 1776.
	John Tiley,	2d Lieutenant,	20	January, 1776.
<i>Warren</i> ,	William Burke,	Captain,	1	February, 1776.

American Archives, 4th series, vol. iv, pp. 909, 910.

this is the flag of our floating batteries." Colonels Moylan and Glover replied the next day that as Broughton and Selman who sailed that morning had none but their old colors (probably the old English union ensign) they had appointed as the signal by which they could be known to their friends the ensign at the main topping lift.

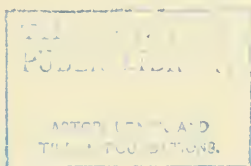
The suggestion of Col. Reed seems, however, to have been soon adopted. The *London Chronicle* for January, 1776, describing the flag of a captured cruiser says: "There is in the admiralty office the flag of a provincial privateer. The field is white bunting. On the middle is a green pine tree, and upon the opposite side is the motto, '*An appeal to Heaven.*'" April, 1776, the Massachusetts council passed a series of resolutions providing for the regulation of the sea service, among which was the following:

"*Resolved*, That the uniform of the officers be green and white, and that they furnish themselves accordingly, and that the colors be a white flag with a green pine tree and the inscription '*An appeal to Heaven.*'"

According to the English newspapers, privateers throughout this year wearing a flag of this description were captured and carried into British ports. "Jan. 6, 1776, the *Tartar*, Capt. Meadows, arrived at Portsmouth, England, from Boston with over seventy men, the crew of an American privateer that mounted 10 guns taken by the *Fowry* man-of-war. Capt. Meadows likewise brought her colors, which are a pale green palm tree upon a white field with this motto: '*We appeal to Heaven.*'" She was taken on the Massachusetts coast, cruising for transports and was sent out by the council of that province.

Commodore Samuel Tucker, in a letter addressed to the Hon. John Holmes, dated March 6, 1818,¹ says: "The first cruise I made was in Jan., 1776, in the schooner *Franklin* of 70 tons, equipped by order of Gen. Washington, and I had to purchase the small arms to encounter the enemy, with money from my own pocket or go without; and my wife made the banner I fought under, the field of which was white, and the union green made therein in the figure of a pine tree, made of cloth of her own purchasing, at her own expense."

¹ *Shepard's Life of Commodore Tucker.*



FLAGS OF 1775-76.



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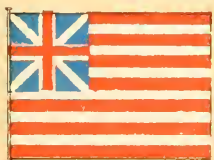
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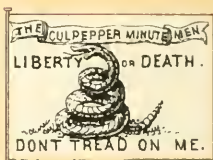
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Under these colors he captured the ship *George* and brig *Arabella* transports, having on board about two hundred and eighty Highland troops of Gen. Fraser's corps.

“Halifax, Nova Scotia, June 10, 1776, on Sunday, arrived from off Boston, a privateer brig, called the *Yankee Hero*, Capt. Tracy. She was taken by the *Milford* frigate 28 guns, Capt. Burr, after an obstinate engagement, in which the captain of the privateer received a ball through his thigh, soon after which she struck. She is a fine vessel and mounts twelve carriage guns and six swivels. Her colors were a pine tree on a white field.”

Instances of the use of this pine tree flag from Oct., 1775, to July, 1776, could be multiplied.

On the 13th of Sept., 1775, Col. Moultrie received an order from the council of safety for taking Fort Johnson on James island, S. C.,¹ and a flag being thought necessary Col. Moultrie was requested to procure one by the council, and had a large blue flag made, with a crescent in the dexter corner to be uniform with the troops of the garrison who were clothed in blue and wore silver crescents in front of their caps,² inscribed “Liberty or Death.” He said “this was the first *American* flag displayed in the south.” When Moultrie hoisted this flag the timid people said it had the appearance of a declaration of war, and the captain of the *Tamar*, then being off Charleston, would look upon it as an insult and flag of defiance. A union flag had been displayed at Savannah the preceding June.³ June 28, 1776, the standard advanced by Col. Moultrie on the south-east bastion of Fort Sullivan, or Moultrie as it was afterwards named on account of his gallant defence of it, was the same crescent flag with the word LIBERTY emblazoned upon it.⁴

At the commencement of the action, the crescent flag that waved opposite the *union flag* upon the western bastion, fell upon the outside upon the beach. Sergeant Jasper leaped the parapet, walked the whole length of the fort, picked up the flag, fastened it on a sponge staff, and in the midst of the iron hail pouring upon the fortress, and in sight of the whole British fleet fixed the flag firmly upon the bastion. Three cheers greeted him as he leaped within the fort. On the day after the battle

¹ *Holmes's Annals.*

² *Col. Moultrie's Memoirs of the Revolution*, vol. 1, p. 90.

³ *See ante.*

⁴ *Bancroft's History of the United States.*

Gov. Rutledge visited the fort, and rewarded Jasper for his valor by presenting him with his own small sword, which he was wearing, and thanked him in the name of his country. He offered him a lieutenant's commission, but Jasper who could neither read nor write declined it, saying "I am not fit to keep officers' company, I am but a sergeant."

On the day after the battle the British fleet left Charleston harbor. The joy of the Americans was unbounded, and the following day (June 30) the wife of Major Bernard Elliot presented Col. Moultrie's regiment with a pair of elegant colors, one of them was of fine blue silk, the other of fine red silk, both richly embroidered. They were afterwards planted on the walls of Savannah (Oct. 9, 1778), beside the lilies of France. Lieutenants Hume and Buck who carried them having fallen, Lieutenant Gray of the S. C. regiment seized their standards, and kept them erect, until he was stricken by a bullet, when brave Sergeant Jasper sprang forward, and had just fastened them on the parapet, when a rifle ball pierced him, and he fell into the ditch. He was carried to camp and soon after expired. Just before he died he said to Major Harry "Tell Mrs. Elliot I lost my life supporting the colors she gave to our regiment."¹

The declaration of independence was read by Major Elliot at Charleston, on the 5th Aug., 1776, to the people young and old and of both sexes assembled around liberty pole, with all the military of the city and vicinity, flags flying and drums beating. Among the flags were without doubt these standards presented by his wife. They were captured when Charleston surrendered, May 12, 1780, and were among the British trophies preserved in the Tower of London.

The general congress, having previously appointed a committee to prepare a plan, on the 13th of Oct., 1775, after some debate "*Resolved*, That a swift sailing vessel to carry the carriage guns and a proportionable number of swivels, with eighty men be fitted with all possible dispatch for a cruise of three months." * * * It was also "*Resolved*, That another vessel be fitted for the same purposes" and "that a *marine committee* consisting of Messrs. Dean, Langdon and Gadsden report their opinion of a

¹ *Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution*, vol. 11, pp. 532, 551.

proper vessel and also an estimate of the expense." On the 17th of Oct., the committee brought in their estimate and report, which after debate was recommitted, and on the 30th the committee reported that the second vessel be of such a size as to carry fourteen guns and a proportionate number of swivels and men ; and it was further resolved that two more vessels be fitted out with all expedition ; the one to carry not exceeding twenty guns, and the other not exceeding thirty-six guns with a proportionate number of swivels and men to be employed for the protection and defence of the United Colonies, as congress shall direct. Four new members were added to the committee, viz : Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Hewes, Mr. R. H. Lee and Mr. John Adams.¹

On the 9th of Nov., 1775, it was "*Resolved*, That two battalions of marines be raised, to be enlisted and commissioned to serve for and during the present war between Great Britain and the colonies, and to be considered as a part of the continental army of Boston, particular care to be taken, that no persons be appointed or enlisted into said battalions but such as are good seamen, or so acquainted with maritime affairs as to be able to serve to advantage by sea, when required." By a resolution of the 30th, they were ordered to be raised independent of the army ordered for service in Massachusetts.

On the 23d of Nov., the naval committee reported rules for the government of the navy, which were adopted on the 28th. On the 2d of Dec., the committee were directed to prepare a proper commission for the captains and commanders of the ships of war in the service of the United Colonies,² and they reported one which was adopted the same day. On the 9th of Dec., congress established the pay of the navy, and on the 11th of Dec., it was resolved that a committee be appointed to devise ways and means for furnishing these colonies with a naval armament and report with convenient speed. It was also resolved that this committee consist of a member from each colony, viz : Mr. Bartlett, Mr. S. Adams, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Deane, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Crane, Mr. Morris, Mr. Read, Mr. Paca, Mr. R. A. Lee, Mr. Hewes, and Mr. Gadsden.

¹ *Journal of Congress*, vol. 1, p. 204. ² *Ibid.*, p. 255.

On the 13th, this committee reported, and it was resolved that five ships of thirty-two guns — five of twenty-eight guns, three of twenty-four guns, can be fitted for sea probably by the last of March next, viz: “in New Hampshire, one; in Massachusetts, two; in Connecticut, one; in Rhode Island, two; in New York, two; in Peru, four; in Maryland, one.” The probable cost of these vessels was estimated at \$866,666 $\frac{2}{3}$. The next day the same committee, Mr. Chase being substituted for Mr. Paca, was appointed to carry out the report.

It will be seen, these provisions for a continental navy were prior to the resolutions of the Massachusetts council, April, 1776, providing a green uniform and the pine tree flag for her state marine; but we do not learn from these resolves that any provision was made for a national flag for this newly created navy of the United Colonies.

John Jay, in a letter dated July, 1776, three months later, states congress had made no order at that date, “concerning continental colors, and that captains of the armed vessels had followed their own fancies.” He names as one device, a rattlesnake rearing its crest and shaking its rattles and having the motto: “Don’t tread on me.”

De Benvouloir, the discreet emissary of Vergennes, who arrived in Philadelphia the latter part of 1775, just after congress had ordered the thirteen ships of war, reports to the French minister: “They have given up the English flag and have taken for their devices a rattlesnake with thirteen rattles and a mailed arm holding thirteen arrows.”

The London Chronicle, July 27, 1776, says: “The colors of the American fleet have a snake with thirteen rattles, the fourteenth budding, described in the attitude of going to strike, with this motto: ‘Don’t tread on me.’”

The number thirteen, representative of the number of colonies, seems to have been constantly in mind, thus thirteen vessels are ordered to be built, thirteen stripes are placed on the flag, thirteen arrows are grasped in a mailed hand, thirteen rattles on the rattlesnake, and later thirteen arrows in the talons of the eagle.

The device of a rattlesnake was a favorite one with the colonists, and its origin as an American emblem deserves investigation, as a curious feature in our national history.¹

“It is not at all improbable that the choice of this reptile, as a representative of the colonies, had attained a firm position in the regard of the colonists long before difficulties with Great Britain were anticipated. As early as April, 1751, an account of the trial of Samuel Sanders, an English transported convict, for the murder of Simon Gerty, occasioned the following reflections, which were published in Franklin’s paper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* :

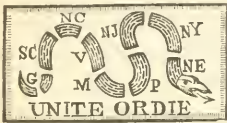
“ ‘ When we see our papers filled continually with accounts of the most audacious robberies, the most cruel murders, and an infinity of other villainies perpetrated by convicts transported from Europe, what melancholy, what terrible reflections, must it occasion! What will become our position? These are some of thy favors, Britain, and thou art called *the mother country*? But what good mother ever sent thieves and villains to accompany her children, to corrupt some with infectious vices and murder the rest? What father ever endeavors to spread plague in his own family? We don’t ask fish, *but thou givest us serpents*, and worse than serpents, in which Britain shows a more sovereign contempt for us than by emptying her jails into our settlements. What must we think of that board which has advocated the repeal of every law that we have hitherto made to prevent this deluge of wickedness from overwhelming us? and with this cruel sarcasm: that those laws were against the public utility, for they tended to prevent the improvement and well-peopling of the colonies. And what must we think of those merchants who, for the sake of a little paltry gain, will be concerned in importing and disposing of such cargoes?’ ”

“ This remonstrance, certainly a bold one for the time, was commented upon in a succeeding number of the same *Gazette*, by a writer who proposed that the colonists should send to England in return ‘ *a cargo of rattlesnakes*, which should be distributed in St. James’s Park, Spring Garden, and other places of pleasure, and particularly in noblemen’s gardens.’ He adds :

¹The account following is derived in part from an article printed in the *Phila. Sunday Dispatch*, 1871.

“ ‘ Let no private interests obstruct public utility. Our mother knows what is best for us. What is a little housebreaking, shoplifting, or highway robbery? What is a son now and then corrupted and hanged, a daughter debauched, a wife stabbed, a husband’s throat cut, or a child’s brains beat out with an axe, compared with ‘ the improvement and well-peopling of the colonies ? ’ ”

“ This idea of rendering the rattlesnake a means of retribution for the wrongs of America could scarcely have been forgotten, and received a new value three years afterwards, when, to stimulate the colonies to a concert of measures against the Indians, the device of a snake cut into eight parts, representing the colonies then engaged in the war against the French and Indians, was published at the head of the *Gazette* with the motto, ‘ Join or die.’ This device was adopted by other newspapers in the



Snake Device.

colonies, and in 1775 it was placed at the head of the *Pennsylvania Journal*, the head representing New England, and the other disjointed portions being marked with the initials, N. Y., N. J., P., M., V., N. C., S. C., and G. The motto then was, ‘ Unite or die.’ These matters may have kept the rattlesnake in the memory of the provincials, and may have led to its early adoption.

“ Bradford’s *Pennsylvania Journal* of December 27, 1775, contains the following remarkable speculations upon the reasons for the adoption of this emblem. This composition has been ascribed to Dr. Franklin, without any very good cause. The journal in which it was published was one with which Dr. Franklin was not friendly. He would have been most likely to have sent his communication to the *Gazette*, which was still partly owned by his old partner, David Hall.

“ ‘ *Messrs. Printers* :— I observed on one of the drums belonging to the marines, now raising, there was painted a rattlesnake, with this modest motto under it, ‘ Don’t tread on me!’ As I know it is the custom to have some device on the arms of every country, I supposed this might be intended for the arms of North America. As I have nothing to do with public affairs, and as my time is perfectly my own, in order to divert an

idle hour I sat down to guess what might have been intended by this uncommon device. I took care, however, to consult on this occasion a person acquainted with heraldry, from whom I learned that it is a rule among the learned in that science that the worthy properties of an animal in a crest shall be considered, and that the base ones cannot have been intended. He likewise informed me that the ancients considered the serpent as an emblem of wisdom, and, in a certain attitude, of endless duration; both which circumstances, I suppose, may have been in view. Having gained this intelligence, and recollecting that countries are sometimes represented by animals peculiar to them, it occurred to me that the rattlesnake is found in no other quarter of the globe than America, and it may therefore have been chosen on that account to represent her. But then the worthy properties of a snake, I judged, would be hard to point out. This rather raised than suppressed my curiosity, and having frequently seen the rattlesnake, I ran over in my mind every property for which she was distinguished, not only from other animals, but from those of the same genus or class, endeavoring to fix some meaning to each not wholly inconsistent with common sense. I recollected that her eye exceeded in brightness that of any other animal, and that she had no eyelids. She may therefore be esteemed an emblem of vigilance. She never begins an attack, nor, when once engaged, ever surrenders. She is therefore an emblem of magnanimity and true courage. As if anxious to prevent all pretensions of quarreling with the weapons which nature favored her, she conceals them in the roof of her mouth, so that, to those who are unacquainted with her, she appears most defenceless; and, even when those weapons are shown and extended for defence, they appear weak and contemptible; but their wounds, however small, are decisive and fatal. Conscious of this, she never wounds until she has generously given notice even to her enemy, and cautioned him against the danger of treading on her. Was I wrong, sirs, in thinking this a strong picture of the temper and conduct of America?

“The poison of her teeth is the necessary means of digesting her food, and, at the same time, is the certain destruction of her enemies. This may be understood to intimate that those things which are destructive to our enemies may be to us not only harmless, but absolutely necessary to our existence. I confess I was totally at a loss what to make of the rattles until I went back and counted them, and found them just *thirteen* — exactly the number of colonies united in America; and I recollected, too, that this was the only part of the snake which increased in numbers. Perhaps it may have only been my fancy, but I conceived the painter had shown a half-formed additional rattle, which I suppose may have been

intended to represent the province of Canada. 'Tis curious and amazing to observe how distinct and independent of each other the rattles of this animal are, and yet how firmly they are united together so as to be never separated except by breaking them to pieces. One of these rattles, singly, is incapable of producing sound ; but the ringing of thirteen together is sufficient to alarm the boldest man living. The rattlesnake is solitary, and associates with her kind only when it is necessary for her preservation. In winter the warmth of a number together will preserve their lives, whilst singly they would probably perish. The power of fascination attributed to her by a generous construction may be understood to mean that those who consider the liberty and blessings which America affords, and once come over to her, never afterwards leave her, but spend their lives with her. She strongly resembles America in this ; that she is beautiful in youth, and her beauty increases with age ; her tongue also is blue and forked as lightning, and her abode is among impenetrable rocks.

“ ‘ Having pleased myself with reflections of this kind, I communicated my sentiments to a neighbor of mine who has a surprising readiness at guessing anything which relates to public affairs ; and, indeed, I should be jealous of his reputation in that way, were it not that the event constantly shows that he has guessed wrong. He instantly declared it his sentiment that congress meant to allude to Lord North’s declaration in the house of commons that he never would relax his measures until he had brought America to his feet, and to intimate to his lordship that if she was brought to his feet it would be dangerous treading on her. But I am positive he has guessed wrong, for I am sure congress would not, at this time of day, condescend to take the least notice of his lordship in that or any other way. In which opinion I am determined to remain your humble servant. ’ ”

Col. Gadsden, who was one of the marine committee, presented to congress on the 8th of Feb., 1776, “ an elegant standard, such as is to be used by the commander in chief of the American navy ; being a yellow flag with a lively representation of a rattlesnake in the middle in the attitude of going to strike, and these words underneath, ‘ *Don’t tread on me.* ’ Congress ordered that the said standard be carefully preserved and suspended in the congress room.”

It would be interesting to know the further history of this flag.

We have shown that the first legislation of congress on the subject of a federal navy was in Oct., 1775, and that after

that national cruisers were equipped and sent to sea on a three months' cruise ; but so far as we can learn, without any provision for a national ensign, and probably wearing the colors of the state they sailed from. Before the close of the year, congress as we have seen had authorized a regular navy of seventeen vessels varying in force from ten to thirty-two guns, had established a general prize law in consequence of the burning of Falmouth by Mowatt, had regulated the relative rank of military and naval officers, and had established the pay of the navy and appointed Dec. 22, 1775, Esek Hopkins, commander in chief of the naval forces of the embryo republic, fixing his pay at 125 dollars a month. At the same time captains were commissioned to the Alfred, Columbus, Andrea Doria, Cabot and Providence,¹ and first, second and third lieutenants were appointed to each of those vessels. The Alfred was a stout merchant ship originally called the Black Prince, and commanded by J. Barry. She arrived at Philadelphia on the 13th of Oct., and was purchased and armed by the committee. The Columbus, originally the Sally, was first purchased by the committee of safety of Pennsylvania, and ten days after sold to the naval committees of congress. The merchant names of the other ships I have been unable to ascertain. Notwithstanding the equipping of this fleet, the necessity of a common national flag seems not to have been thought of, until Doctor Franklin, Mr. Lynch, and Mr. Harrison were appointed to consider the subject and assembled at the camp at Cambridge. The result of their conference was the retention of the king's colors or union jack representing the yet recognized sovereignty of England, but coupled to thirteen stripes alternate red and white emblematic of the union of the thirteen colonies against its tyranny and oppression, in place of the hitherto loyal red ensign.

¹ John Adams, who was a member of the marine committee of congress, gives the following reasons for the choice of these names :

“ This committee soon purchased and fitted five vessels. The first was named Alfred, in honor of the founder of the greatest navy that ever existed. The second, Columbus, after the discoverer of this quarter of the globe. The third, Cabot, for the discoverer of the northern part of this continent. The fourth, Andrew Doria, in honor of the great Genoese admiral ; and the fifth, Providence, for the name of the town where she was purchased, the residence of Governor Hopkins and his brother Esek, whom we appointed the first captain.”

The new striped flag was hoisted for the first time on the 1st or 2d of January, 1776, over the camp at Cambridge. Gen. Washington, writing to Joseph Reed on the 4th of January, says : " We are at length favored with the sight of his majesty's most gracious speech breathing sentiments of tenderness and compassion for his deluded American subjects ; the speech I send you (a volume of them was sent out by the Boston gentry), and farcical enough we gave great joy to them without knowing or intending it, for on that day (the 2d) which gave being to our new army ; but before the proclamation came to hand we hoisted the union flag in compliment to the United Colonies. But behold it was received at Boston as a token of the deep impression the speech had made upon us, and as a signal of submission.

By this time I presume they begin to think it strange that we have not made a formal surrender of our lines."

An anonymous letter, written under date Jan. 2, 1776, says : " The grand union flag of thirteen stripes was raised on a height near Boston. The regulars did not understand it, and as the king's speech had just been read as they supposed, they thought the *new* flag was a token of submission."

The captain of a British transport writing from Boston to his owners in London, Jan. 17, 1776, says, " I can see the rebels' camp very plain, whose colors, a little while ago were entirely red ; but on the receipt of the king's speech, which they burnt, they hoisted the union flag, which is here supposed to intimate the union of the provinces."

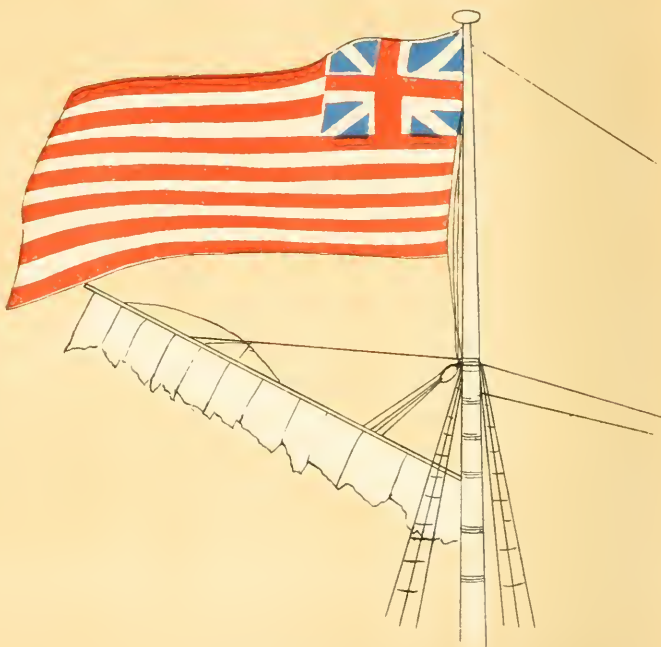
The *British Annual Register* says, " They burnt the king's speech, and changed their colors from a plain red ground, which they had hitherto used, to a flag with thirteen stripes as a symbol of the union and number of the colonies.

A letter from Boston in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, says : " the grand union flag was raised on the 2d, in compliment to the United Colonies," a British lieutenant writing from Charleston Heights, Jan. 25, 1776, mentions the same fact and adds " It was saluted with thirteen guns and thirteen cheers."

Botta, in his *History of the American Revolution*, derived from contemporary documents, writes thus : " The hostile speech of the king at the meeting of parliament had arrived in America,

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" THE GRAND UNION FLAG". 1776.



FAC SIMILE OF THE

FLAG OF THE SCHOONER ROYAL SAVAGE.

DRAWN IN JULY 1776

FROM THE ORIGINAL FOUND BY B. J. LOSSING

IN THE

SCHUYLER PAPERS.

and copies of it were circulated in the camp. It was announced there also that the first petition of congress had been rejected. The whole army manifested the utmost indignation at this intelligence, the royal speech was burnt in public by the infuriated soldiers. They changed at this time, the red ground of their banners, and striped them with thirteen lists, as an emblem of their number, and the union of the colonies."

We have here contemporary evidence enough as to the time and place when "the grand union striped flag," was first unfurled, but it will be observed there is nowhere mention of the color of the stripes that were placed on the *previously* red flag, or the character of its union, or other than presumptive evidence that it had a union.

Bancroft, in his recent *History of the United States*, describes this flag as "the tricolored American banner, not yet spangled with stars, but showing thirteen stripes alternate red and white in the field, and the united crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, on a blue ground in the corner;" but he fails to furnish his authority for this statement. Fortunately we are able to furnish corroborative evidence of his being correct. Since the publication of *Bancroft's History*, Mr. Benson J. Lossing, the eminent American historian, has found among the papers of Major Gen. Philip Schuyler, and has in his possession, a water-color sketch of the Royal Savage, one of the little fleet on Lake Champlain, in the summer and winter of 1776, commanded by Benedict Arnold. This drawing is known to be the Royal Savage from its being endorsed in the hand writing of General Schuyler as Captain Wynkoop's schooner, and Captain or rather Colonel Wynkoop is known to have commanded her at that time. There is no date on the drawing, but nevertheless it may be considered as settling what were all the characteristic features of the new flag. At the head of the main topmast of the schooner, there is a flag precisely like the one described by Bancroft, and it is the only known contemporaneous drawing of it extant. Through the kindness of Mr. Lossing I am able to give a facsimile in size, form and color from the original of this interesting drawing.¹ (Plate VII).

¹ Mr. Lossing informs me in his forthcoming life of Schuyler, he intends reproducing a fac simile drawing of the whole schooner.

In Gen. Arnold's sailing orders for the fleet, he prescribes the ensign at the main topmast head as the signal for speaking with the whole fleet. The same at the fore for chasing a sail.

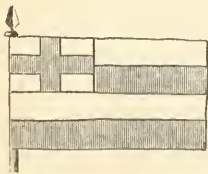
The old red union ensign had been familiarly known for nearly seventy years, and nothing could be more natural, or likely to suggest itself to a people not yet prepared to sever entirely their connection with the parent government, than to utilize the old flag and distinguish in this simple manner, this emblem of the new union, from the old, rather than seek further for new devices.

The flag adopted closely resembled, if it was not exactly like the flag of the English East India Company then in use, and which continued to be the flag of that company with but trifling variation, until its sovereign sway and empire in the east, exercised for over two hundred years, was in 1834 merged in that of Great Britain.¹

¹THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ENSIGNS. This company, whose first charter was granted Dec. 31, 1600, by Queen Elizabeth to "George, Earl of Cumberland, and 215 knights, aldermen and merchants, that at their own costs and charges might set forth one or more voyages to the East Indias," &c., bore as a crest to their armorial ensigns, a sphere without a frame bound with a zodiac in bend or, between two split florant argents, each charged with a cross gules; on the sphere the words *Deus indicet*; on the shield with other devices were three ships rigged under full sail, pennants and ensign being argent, and each charged with the same cross gules. The pennants were long tapering and split at the end while the ensigns were perfectly square.

That the East India Company were entitled to bear on their ships any particular distinguishing flag in the early years of its history does not seem probable since we read that a royal proclamation of James I, was issued April 12, 1606, ordering all subjects of the isle and kingdom of Great Britain, and the members thereof to bear in their maintop the union flag, being the red cross of St. George and the white cross (saltire) of St. Andrew, joined upon a blue ground according to a form made by our heralds, and sent by us to our admiral to be published to our said subjects."

At what time the striped flag was adopted by the East India Company is not evident. A contemporary print preserved in the British Museum representing the Puritans in 1644, under Sir Robert Harlow or Harley, destroying the cross in Cheapside, depicts several flags, one of which bears two red stripes on a white field, and the St. George's cross on a white canton which extends over the first two stripes.



Flag destroyed at Cheapside, 1644.

In 1681, the renewal of the charter of the company by Charles II, vested in it the power and authority to make peace or war with any nation not being Christians, and six years later it was ordered the king's union flag should be always used at the Fort St. George.

In 1698, a new company was established by act of parliament, which soon however became incorporated with the former. Its arms were argent a cross gules in the dexter chief quarter, an escutcheon of the arms of France and England quarterly,

THE GRAND UNION OR CONTINENTAL FLAG OF THE UNITED COLONIES.

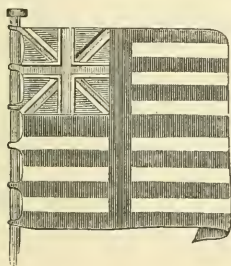
1776-1777.

It has been conjectured the idea of the stripes as a symbol of union may have been derived from the flag of the Netherlands, adopted for the national ensign as early as 1582, and which then as now consisted of three equal horizontal stripes symbolic of the rise of the Dutch republic from the union at Utrecht.¹

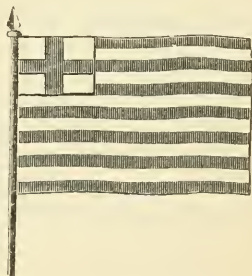
The stripes of this flag at first were orange, white and blue, the *orange* in chief. In 1650, after the death of William II, a red stripe was substituted for the orange, and the flag so remains

crest, two lions rampant, gardant or, each supporting a banner crest argent, charged with a cross gules.

The Present State of the Universe, 4th edition, London, 1704, by J. Beaumont, Jr., gives as the East India Company's ensign, a flag with thirteen horizontal stripes, alternate red and white, with a St. George's cross on a white canton which rests upon the fourth red stripe.



East India Company,
1834.



East India Company's
Ensign, 1704.

In the *Dominion and Laws of the Sea* published in London in 1705, the East India Company's flag is pictured with but ten stripes.

In a Dutch work on ship building by Carl Allard published in Amsterdam the same year, the East India Company's flag has but nine stripes.

¹ A correspondent of *London Notes and Queries*, vol. XII, 2d series, 1861, writes: He has a French work on flags published 1737, which describes

1st. *Pavillon de Nouvelle Angleterre in Amerique*, "as azure on a canton argent, the red cross of St. George having a globe in the first quarter [see ante.]

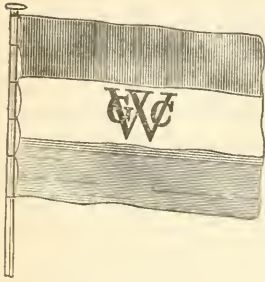
2d. A DUTCH FLAG "*Deuchese en Norte Hollande*," which has *thirteen* stripes, *yellow* and *red*.

3d. "*Pavillon de Rangon de Division d'escadre*" [English] has *thirteen* stripes, *red* and *white* with St. George's cross in a canton argent.

4th. The East India Co.'s flag has *nine* stripes red and white with the canton and cross like number 3.

On the left hand corner of the membership certificate of the society of the Cincin-

without other change to this day. *Hudson*, the first to display a European flag on the waters of New York and explorer of the river that bears his name, sailed up the river in 1609, under the Dutch East India flag, which was the same as above described,



Dutch East India Flag.

with the addition of the letters A. O. C. *Algemeene Oost Indische Compagnie*, in the centre of the white stripe. This was the flag of the colony of Manhattan established under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company, until 1622.

When the government fell into the hands of the Dutch West India Company the letters G. W. C. (*Geocroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie*), were put in the white stripe in place of the

letters A. O. C. This was the dominant flag (with the change of the orange stripe for a red one in 1650), until 1664, when the island was surrendered to the English, and the union jack of England supplanted the tri-color of Holland, and the name of New Amsterdam was changed to New York.¹

“From Holland,” argues a writer on the subject, “came the emigrants who first planted the seeds of civil and religious liberty and popular education in the empire state, and from Holland more than any other land came the ideas of a federal union,² which binds together the American states. From Holland whither persecution had driven them, also embarked the Pilgrim fathers

nati, issued in 1785, there is represented a strong armed man, bearing in one hand a union flag, and in the other a naked sword. Beneath his feet are British flags, a broken spear, shield and chain. Hovering by his side is the eagle, our national emblem from whose talons the lightning of destruction is flashing upon the British lion, and Britannia with the crown falling from her head is hastening to make her escape in a boat to the fleet.

The union flag of this certificate is composed of thirteen alternate red and white stripes and a white union in which is painted the present arms of the United States adopted three years previous, in 1782. A flag of this kind may have been in use in the army earlier.

¹ *Valentine's Manual Common Council, N. Y.*, 1863. In the month of July, 1673, the Dutch again took possession of the city, which they occupied until Nov. 10, 1674, when by virtue of a treaty of peace between England and Holland, the English color, the cross of St. George, was rehoisted over the city.

² The united provinces of the Netherlands on their independence devised for their standard the appropriate device of the national lion of Flanders [rampant gu], borne by the counts from the 11th century, grasping in his paws a sheaf of seven arrows or, to denote the seven provinces, and a naked sword. The shield of the arms, was azure billetée, and the whole achievement was charged upon the white of the flag.

to land upon our winter-swept and storm and rock-bound coast. The rights for which Holland so long struggled, so ably portrayed by our Motley in his *History of the Rise of the Dutch Republic*, are identical with those which the old thirteen colonies so successfully maintained. What more likely then," continues this reasoner, "that in adopting a device for a union flag our fathers should derive the idea from a country to whose example they were already so much indebted."

A more common place origin for the stripes has been suggested by a recent writer. The continental army of 1775 was without uniforms, and the different grades were distinguished by means of a stripe or ribbon. The writer thinks that the daily view of these, the only distinguishing marks of rank, would naturally suggest the same device for representing the United Colonies.¹

Without wandering far seeking for the origin of the stripes upon our flag, it may have been that the stripes on his own escutcheon suggested them to the mind of Washington. They seem also to have been one of the devices on the flag of the Philadelphia troop of light horse, which accompanied Washington from Philadelphia to New York, when proceeding to assume command of the army at Cambridge, where they were first shown; and, it is possible, these stripes, or lists as they were sometimes called, were *adopted* as an easy expedient for converting the ensigns of the mother country by an economical method into a new flag, representing the union of the American colonies against the ministerial oppression, when they were not yet quite

¹ *Sarmiento's History of our Flag*, 1864. The orders to which he refers are to be found in *American Archives*, 4th Series, vol. II, p. 1738, viz:

Head Quarters, Cambridge,
July 23, 1775.

Parole, Brunswick. *Countersign*, Princeton.

As the continental army have, unfortunately, no uniforms, and consequently many inconveniences must arise from not being able always to distinguish the commissioned officers from the non-commissioned and the non-commissioned from the privates, it is desired that some badges of distinction may be immediately provided; for instance, the field officers may have red or pink cockades in their hats, the captains yellow or buff and the subalterns green. They are to furnish themselves accordingly. The sergeants may be distinguished by an epaulette or stripe of red cloth sewed upon the right shoulder; the corporals by one of green."

Head Quarters, Cambridge,
July 24, 1775.

Parole, Salisbury. *Countersign*, Cumberland.

It being thought proper to distinguish the majors from brigadiers general by some particular mark, for the future major generals will wear a broad purple ribbon.

ready to give up their loyalty to the king's colors which the new ensign retained.

It required the after addition of the "new constellation" to render them significant, and to give a poetic life and character to the flag.

When the Virginia convention at Williamsburg instructed its delegates in congress, May 15, 1776, three weeks before the declaration of independence, "to declare the United Colonies free and independent states absolved from all allegiance to dependence upon the crown and parliament of England, and to propose a confederation of the colonies," there was a great civil and military parade, when, according to an eye witness, "the union flag of the American states," waved upon the Capitol during the whole ceremony.¹ This could have been no other than the flag inaugurated by Washington at his camp at Cambridge in January.

July, 1776, a committee consisting of Generals Sullivan and Greene, and Lord Stirling was appointed to devise a system of signals to be hoisted on the Highlands of Neversink, to give the earliest intelligence of the enemy's approach. They proposed, that for any number of ships from 1 to 6, and from 6 to 22, and for any greater number three large *ensigns* with broad stripes of red and white should be hoisted.²

Col. Rud. Ritzema, addressing some members of the New York congress under date New York, May 31, 1776, says that the day before, it was given out in general orders, that Gen. Putnam had received a letter from General Washington requesting all the colonels at New York to immediately provide colors for their several regiments, and he asks that Mr. Curtinius may have directions to provide a pair for his regiment of such a color and with such devices as shall be deemed proper by the congress [*i.e.*, New York Prov. congress.]³

¹ *Niles's American Revolution*, pp. 251, 232. The toasts at the soldiers' banquet were: 1st, the American independent states; 2d, the grand congress of the *United States*, and their respective legislatures; 3d, General Washington and victory to the American arms. These toasts were accompanied by salutes of artillery and *feu de joy* of small arms.

² *Life of Gen. Nathaniel Greene*, vol. 1.

³ *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. vi, page 634, and on page 637 is given the order he refers to, viz:

"After Orders, May 31, 1776.

"General Washington has written to General Putnam desiring him in the most pressing terms, to give positive orders to all the colonels to have colors immediately completed for their respective regiments."

It has been shown that the first legislation of the continental congress on the subject of a federal navy was on the 18th of Oct., 1775, and that national cruisers were about that time equipped and sent to sea on a three months' cruise under the pine tree flag, but without any provision for a national ensign. Before the close of the year and before the grand union flag raising at Cambridge, a regular navy of seventeen vessels varying in force from ten to thirty-two guns, was ordered, a general prize law established, the relative rank of military and naval officers regulated, and Esek Hopkins, Esq., appointed commander in chief of the naval forces of the embryo republic. At the same time ¹ captains were commissioned for the purchased vessels, Alfred, Columbus,² Andrea Doria, Cabot and Providence, and first, second and third lieutenants appointed to each of those vessels. Under the same law, the pay of the commander in chief of the fleet was fixed at one hundred and twenty-five dollars a month. Such was the humble beginning of a national naval organization. Cruisers armed and equipped by, and holding commissions from the several colonies had been fitted and continued to be sent out for some time after under their colonial or state flags, and probably continued to fly them until the close of the war.³

Senior of the five first lieutenants of the new continental navy, stood John Paul Jones (as he chose to be called) who was commissioned to the Alfred, then in the Delaware, designed to be the flag ship of the commander-in-chief Esek Hopkins, and of which Dudley Saltonstall, Esq., was the captain.

¹ Dec. 22, 1775.

² The Columbus was a merchant ship, originally named the Sally.— *Westcott's History of Philadelphia.*

³ Throughout Oct., 1776, the navy board of South Carolina made various provisions for a state navy, and commissioned officers for it and vessels.— *Am. Archives*, pp. 1323-29, vol. II, 5th series.

June 29, 1776, an ordinance passed the Virginia convention establishing a board of commissioners to superintend and direct the naval affairs of that colony.— *Am. Archives*, vol. VI, p. 1598.

April, 1776, the Massachusetts council passed a series of resolutions providing for the regulation of the sea service, among them was the following:

"*Resolved*, That the uniform of the officers be green and white, and that they furnish themselves accordingly and that the colors be a white flag with a green pine tree and the inscription 'An appeal to Heaven.'"

The floating batteries of Pennsylvania, in the Delaware, carried the same flag in the autumn of 1775. According to the English newspapers, *privateers* throughout the year 1776, wearing a flag of this description were captured and carried into British ports. The Yankee Hero was captured under these colors in June. Commodore

Paul Jones has recorded that the FLAG OF AMERICA was hoisted by him, "by his *own hand*,"¹ on board the Alfred,² and adds, "being the first time it was ever displayed by a *regular man-of-war*." From this we infer it is possible it may have been previously displayed by some of the state cruisers. Jones's commission is dated the 7th of December, but as the flag is said to have been hoisted for the first time when the commander-in-chief

Tucker has related that he hoisted them on the Franklin (one of the two schooners equipped by Washington) in Jan., 1776, and captured the ship George and brig Arabella.

Dec. 21, 1775. The province of North Carolina authorized three armed vessels to be fitted out with all dispatch for the protection of the trade of that province.

Nov. 11, 1775. The South Carolina colony schooner Defence proceeding to sink some hulks in Hog island creek, Charleston harbor, was fired at by the king's ships *Tamar* of sixteen, and *Cherokee* of six guns. Fort Johnson discharged some 26 pounders at the king's ships.

Nov. 14, 1775. Clement Lempriere was appointed captain of the ship Prosper, fitting and arming for South Carolina, and other officers were appointed to her.

Dec. 20, 1775. A committee was appointed by the New York Provincial Congress to purchase and equip a proper vessel for the defence of the East river her cost not to exceed £600.

Jan. 22, 1776. The committee of safety of the provincial congress of New York, write to the delegates from New York to the continental congress, that they are informed by one of those delegates that the continental congress will take into the continental service the sloop *Sally* purchased Dec. 20, by Col. McDougall for the defence of the colony for £325 and request, "Should it so be determined *her flag should be described to them*," showing that at that time the New York committee of safety were not informed what the continental flag was.—*Am. Archives*, vol. 14, 4th series.

June 29, 1776. An ordinance passed the Virginia convention establishing a board of commissioners to superintend and direct the naval affairs of that colony, the ordinance is published in full in *Am. Archives*, vol. vi, 4th series.

Philadelphia, June 6, 1776. Two privateers belonging to this port have taken three very valuable ships bound from Jamaica to London, laden with rum, sugar, molasses, etc., having also a large quantity of dollars and plate on board. We hear that on board of the above ships, there were several very fine sea turtles intended as a present to Lord North, one of which with his lordship's name nicely cut in the shell, was yesterday presented by the captain to the worthy president of the American congress.

STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY TO JOHN CLONSTON, COMMANDER OF THE SLOOP FREEDOM, in the service of said state. You are hereby directed and commanded to repair, with the vessel under your command, to the harbor of Boston, in company with the sloop *Republick* commanded by John Foster Williams, now in Dartmouth, and there to await the further orders of the council. By order of the major part of the council, the 4th of September, 1776.

SAMUEL ADAMS, Secretary.
Returns of officers on board the armed sloop called the FREEDOM whereof JOHN CLONSTON is commander: John Clonston, captain, James Scott, first lieutenant, Timothy Tobey, second lieutenant. In council, September 4, 1776, read and ordered that the above officers be commissioned agreeably to their respective rank.

SAMUEL ADAMS, Secretary.

¹ Mackenzie's *Life of J. Paul Jones*, vol. 1, p. 22. *J. F. Cooper's Life of Jones*, p. 17. Emmons, *U. S. Navy, 1775-1853*. *Sands's Life of Jones*, p. 33, who adds "he does not mention the date of this transaction nor has the present compiler been able to fix it."

² All the commissions for the *Alfred* were made out before those for the *Columbus*.—*Sands's Life of Jones*, p. 35.

embarked on the *Alfred*, and his commission was not issued until the 22d of Dec., it would seem probable that either Christmas or New Year's day would be selected for its display. The latter would bring its hoisting to same date as the raising of the union flag in the lines of the army at Cambridge.¹

The *Alfred*, for which the high honor of being the first to wear the flag of America, as well as the standard or flag of the first naval commander-in-chief is claimed, was originally a merchant vessel called the *Black Prince*. She arrived at Philadelphia from London under the command of Capt. Barry, Oct. 13,² and was purchased and armed by the committee. According to our present ideas, she was but a small ship, though considered a stout vessel of her class at that time, mounting 20 nine-pounders on her main deck and from one to two guns on her quarter deck and fore-castle. When captured in 1778, by H. B. M. ships, *Ariadne* and *Ceres*, her captors reported her as mounting twenty nine-pounders and having no spar deck battery. The weight of shot thrown from her entire battery or both broadsides was not equal to the weight of a single solid shot thrown by one of our modern

¹ Could the log-book of the *Alfred* referred to in the following letter be found, the precise date when Jones hoisted the flag of America would be known.

Captain Jones to Colonel Tillinghast.

Sloop Providence, June 20, 1776.

SIR: I have made so many unsuccessful attempts to convey the *Fly* past *Fisher's Island*, that I have determined to give it up, and pursue my orders for *Boston*. When I arrive there I will transmit you my letter of attorney; in the mean time you will singularly oblige me by applying to the admiral for an order to receive for me a copy of the *Alfred's* log-book, which I had made out for my private use before I left the ship, and which was unjustly withheld from me when I took command of the sloop, by the ill-natured and narrow-minded Captain Saltonstall. When the old gentleman was down here he promised to order that my copy should be delivered, but when my lieutenant applied for it, the master of the *Alfred* told the admiral a cursed lie, and said there was no copy made out. On inquiry you will find that *Mr. Vaughn*, the mate of the *Alfred*, made out the copy in question for me before I went to *New York*.

I should not be so particular, did I not stand in absolute need of it before I can make out a fair copy of my Journal to lay before the Congress, for I was so stinted in point of time in the *Alfred*, that I did not copy a single remark; besides, it is a little hard that I, who planned and superintended the log-book, should not be thought worthy a copy, when a midshipman, if he pleases, may claim one. I take it for granted that you will receive the book; I must therefore beg you to send it, if possible, to me at *Mr. John Head's* or *Captain J. Bradford's, Boston*. Regard not the expense, I will cheerfully pay it.

I am, sir, with esteem, your obliged and very humble servant.

J. PAUL JONES.

American Archives, 4th series, vol. VI, page 980.

² The *Black Prince*, Campbell, arrived at Falmouth from Philadelphia, Oct. 31, 1775.—*Boston Gazette*, Feb. 3, 1776. Either this was another ship of the same name, which is unlikely, or there is a mistake of dates.

monitors. Such has been the changes in naval warfare within a hundred years.

I have said that it is probable that Christmas or New Year's day was selected for hoisting the flag of America, but there is evidence to prove that it, or at least a continental flag, was hoisted over the Alfred as early as the 3d of Dec., before any of the officers of our infant navy had been commissioned. A letter addressed to the Earl of Dartmouth and dated Maryland, Dec. 20, 1775, says: "Their harbors by spring will swarm with privateers: an admiral is appointed, a court established, and on the 3d inst. [Dec.] the continental flag on board the Black Prince opposite Philadelphia was hoisted."¹ Another letter addressed to a friend in England says: "The Black Prince, a fine vessel, carries a flag and mounts from 20 to 30 twelve and sixteen-pounders, besides swivels, and fights mostly underdeck."

It is not known with certainty what flag Jones calls the flag of America, though there are several reasons for supposing it the grand union flag of thirteen stripes displayed at Cambridge, and identical with the union flag displayed by the Virginia convention the following May.

In the day signals for the fleet given to the several captains in the fleet, as sailing from the capes of Delaware, Feb. 17, 1776, the signal for the Providence to chase was, a "St. George's ensign with stripes at the mizzen peak." For a general attack, or the whole fleet to engage, "the standard at the maintop mast-head with the striped jack, and ensign, at their proper places." The standard was probably the rattlesnake flag mentioned elsewhere. The striped jack may have been a flag of thirteen stripes with a rattlesnake undulating upon it.²

A contemporary account says that in the succeeding February, Admiral Hopkins sailed from Philadelphia with the American

¹ See letter, signed B. P., *Niles's American Revolution*, Baltimore, 1822, p. 541.

² The following are these orders in full, taken from *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. IV, page 179, etc. They are undoubtedly the first signals used by our navy:

ORDERS GIVEN THE SEVERAL CAPTAINS IN THE FLEET AT SAILING FROM THE CAPES OF THE DELAWARE, FEB. 17, 1776.

SIR.—You are hereby ordered to keep company with me, if possible, and truly observe the signals given by the ship I am in; but in case you should be separated in a gale of wind or otherwise, you then are to use all possible means to join the fleet as soon as possible; but if you cannot, in four days after you leave the fleet, you are to make the best of your way to the southern part of Abacco (one of the Bahama islands) and there wait for the fleet fourteen days. But if the fleet does not

fleet “amidst the acclamations of thousands assembled on the joyful occasion, under the display of the union flag, with thirteen stripes in the field emblematical of the thirteen United Colonies.”

The first achievement of this squadron was the capture of New Providence, and a writer from thence to the *London Ladies*

join you in that time, you are to cruise in such places as you think will most annoy the enemy. And you are to send into port, for trial, all British vessels, or property, or other vessels, with any supplies for the ministerial forces, who you may make yourself master of, to such places as you may think best within the *United Colonies*. In case you are in any great danger of being taken you are to destroy these orders and your signals.

EZECK HOPKINS, *Commandant-in-chief*.

SIGNALS FOR THE AMERICAN FLEET BY DAY.

- For sailing*: Loose the foretopsail, and sheet it home.
- For weighing and coming to sail*: Loose all the topsails, and sheet them home.
- For the fleet to anchor*: Clew up the maintopsail, and hoist a weft in the ensign.
- For seeing a strange vessel*: Hoist the ensign, and lower and hoist it as many times as you see vessels allowing two minutes between each time.
- For chasing*: For the whole fleet to chase, a red pendant at the foretopmast head.
- To give over the chase*: A white pendant at the foretopmast head.
- For the Columbus to chase*: Strike the broad pendant half mast, to be answered by a weft in the ensign, and making sail.
- To chase to windward*: Hoist the ensign lowering the pendant at the same time; if to leeward not.
- To give over the chase*: A white pendant at the foretopmast head, and if at a great distance, fire a gun at the same time. This may serve for any of the vessels to give over the chase and return to the fleet.
- For the Andrew Doria to chase*: A Dutch flag at the foretopmast head.
- To chase to windward*: Hoist the ensign, lowering the pendant at the same time; if to leeward, not.
- To give over the chase*: A white pendant at the foretopmast head, and if at a great distance, fire a gun at the same time.
- For the Cabot to chase*: A white flag at the foretopmast head. To chase to windward, &c., as above.
- For the Providence to chase*: A *St. George's ensign* with stripes at the mizzen peak. To chase to windward, as above.
- For the Fly to chase*: A Dutch flag at the maintopmast head. To chase to windward, &c., as above.
- For the Hornet to chase*: A red pendant at the maintopmast head. To chase to windward, &c., as above.
- For the Wasp to chase*: A Dutch flag at the mizzen peak. To chase to windward &c., as above.

For a general attack, or the whole fleet to engage.

- The standard*, at the maintopmast head, with the *striped jack and ensign* at their proper places.
- To disengage and form into a squadron*: A white flag at the ensign staff and the same into a weft for every vessel to make the best of their way off from the enemy for their own preservation.
- For all captains to come on board the Commodore*: A red pendant at the ensign staff.
- To speak with the Columbus*: A white pendant at the mizzen topmast head.
- To speak with the Andrew Doria*: A Dutch flag at the mizzen topmast head.
- To speak with the Cabot*: A weft in a jack at the mizzen topmast head.
- To speak with the Providence*: A white flag at the mizzen topmast head.
- To speak with the Fly*: A Dutch flag at the ensign staff.
- For any vessel in the fleet that wants to speak with the Commodore*: A weft in the ensign, and if in distress, accompanied with two guns.
- To fall into a line abreast*: A red pendant at the mizzen peak.
- To fall into a line ahead*: A white pendant at the mizzen peak.
- For meeting after a separation*: A weft in an ensign, at the maintopmast head, to be answered with the same, and cluing up the maintop gallant sail, if they have any set.
- For the ship Providence to chase*: A red pendant at the mizzen topmast head. To chase to windward as before.
- To speak with the ship Providence*: A weft in the ensign at the ensign staff.

Among the signal flags to be used by the fleet under Abraham Whipple commodore commanding, given under his hand on board the continental frigate, Providence, Nantasket Roads, Nov. 22d, 1779, are mentioned:

<i>A continental ensign.</i>	<i>A Dutch jack and ensign.</i>	<i>A striped flag and</i>
<i>A continental jack.</i>	<i>A white ensign.</i>	<i>A white jack.</i>
<i>A red ensign.</i>		

Among the signals prescribed to be observed by commanders in the continental navy and issued by order of the marine committee, Jan. 14, 1778, are mentioned as to be used,

<i>A French jack and</i>	<i>A continental jack.</i>
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Magazine, under date May 13, 1776, mentions that the colors of the American fleet were "striped *under the union*, with thirteen stripes, and their *standard* [admiral's flag] a rattlesnake; motto: 'Dont tread on me.'"

At the Naval Academy, Annapolis, there is preserved a mezzotinto engraving of "*Commodore Hopkins, commander-in-chief of the American fleet, published as the law directs, 22d August, 1776, by Thomas Hart, which has been transferred to glass and colored.*"¹ The commodore is represented in naval continental uniform,² with a drawn sword. At his right hand there is a flag of thirteen stripes with a snake undulating across them and underneath it the motto: "Don't tread on me." There is no union to this flag and it may represent the striped jack men-

¹There are extant other copies of this engraving. C. I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York, has one from which our illustration is engraved. It is inscribed like the other, 22d Aug., 1776. Hon. I. R. Bartlett of Providence also has a copy. Mr. Bushnell has a similar mezzotinto engraving of Charles Lee, which has over a cannon, a flag staff, attached to which is a plain white flag bearing the motto: "*An Appeal to Heaven.*" This engraving is inscribed "*Charles Lee, Esq., major general of the continental forces in America. Published as the act directs 31st Oct., 1775, by C. Shepherd. Thomtinson, pinxt.*" Mr. Bushnell has also a similar engraving of Gen. Gates, who has at his right hand a flag with thirteen black bars and thirteen white. It is inscribed "*Horatio Gates, Esq., major general of the American forces. London, published as the act directs 2d Jan., 1778, by John Morris.*" I have seen a white colored copy of this engraving, in which Gen. Gates is dressed in a red coat with white or buff facing, and the thirteen black bars on the flag are painted red.

Our illustration is reduced and printed by the Albert type process, by the Photoplate Printing Company of New York, of which E. Bierstadt is superintendent. It is a perfect fac simile of the original engraving.

²This uniform, the first ordered for the continental navy, as will be seen, was prescribed by the marine committee, just two weeks after this engraving purports to have been published.

Uniform of Navy and Marine Officers.

In Marine Committee, Philadelphia, September 5, 1776.

Resolved, That the uniform of the officers of the navy in the *United States* be as follows:

Captains: Blue cloth with red lappells, slash cuff, stand up collar, flat yellow buttons, blue breeches, red waistcoat, with yellow lace.

Lieutenants: Blue with red lappells, a round cuff faced, stand up collar, yellow buttons, blue breeches, red waistcoat, plain.

Master: Blue with lappells, round cuff, blue breeches, and red waistcoat.

Midshipmen: Blue lappelled coat, a round cuff faced with red, stand up collar, with red at the button and button hole, blue breeches, and red waistcoat.

Uniform of the Marine Officers.

A green coat faced with white, round cuff, slashed sleeves and pockets, with buttons round the cuff, silver epaulette on the right shoulder, skirts turned back, buttons to suit the facings.

White waistcoat, and breeches, edged with green, black gaiters and garters.

Green shirts for the men, if they can be procured.

(Extract from the Minutes):

JOHN BROWN, Secretary.



COMMODORE HOPKINS,
COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN FLEET
1794

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tioned in his signals to the fleet. Over his left hand, there is a white flag with the pine tree device of Massachusetts, and over it the words "*Liberty Tree*," and under it "*An Appeal to God*."

I am indebted to F. J. Dreer of Philadelphia, for a smaller French engraving evidently from the same painting inscribed, "*Commodore Hopkins Commandeur en Chef des Amerj : Flotte*." It is without date, and shows only the flag at Hopkins's right hand, which is hoisted on the ensign staff of a *ship of the line*, and has thirteen stripes *red and white*, without a union, rattle snake, motto, or any other device. The ship has pennants at each masthead. In this French engraving the left hand of the commodore, and ship and flag over it are not shown.¹

Sherburne² says the flag hoisted by Jones was composed of alternate stripes of *red and blue* with a rattlesnake running across the field, and the usual motto.

Cooper is of the opinion that the flag hoisted by Jones was a pine tree flag with a rattlesnake coiled at its roots, and the motto. Such flags were hoisted over the Massachusetts state cruisers, and though unlikely, it is possible such a flag was hoisted over the *Alfred*, previous to the New Year, but Jones would scarcely have called it the flag of America. The proof is *certain*, however, that the squadron *sailed* under striped ensigns. An anonymous writer to the *Boston Post*, in 1853, asserts he had then before him a fac simile of the flag used by the Confederate states, from July, 1776, until the adoption of the stars and stripes, and that in the union emblem of the stripes, there is a rattlesnake *coiled* up and ready to strike, with the usual motto underneath. A writer in *Harper's Magazine*,³ states but without giving his authority: "The *Alfred* was anchored off the foot of Walnut street. On a brilliant morning early in February, 1776, gay streamers were seen floating from every mast head and spar on the river. At nine o'clock a full manned barge threaded its way among the floating ice to the *Alfred* bearing the commodore who had chosen that vessel for his flag ship. He was greeted by the thunders of artillery and the shouts of a multitude. When he reached the deck of the *Alfred*, Captain Saltonstall gave a signal,

¹ Mr. Bushnell has furnished me with a tracing of another French engraving of Hopkins, undated. It is in an oval surrounded by emblems, etc., and under it are the two flags shown in the *Hart* engraving.

² *Life of Paul Jones*. ³ July, 1855.

and Lieut. Jones hoisted a new flag prepared for the occasion. It was of *yellow silk* bearing a pine tree with the significant device of a rattlesnake with the ominous motto: "*Don't tread on me.*" This is like the flag presented to congress by Col. Gadsden, in February, as the one in use by the commander-in-chief of the American navy, with the addition of a pine tree to its devices.¹

A letter from Williamsburg, Va., dated April 10, 1776, states that the Roebuck, a British cruiser had taken two prizes in Delaware which she decoyed into her reach by hoisting a continental union flag. The affidavit of Mr. Berry, master's mate of the ship Grace, captured by the Roebuck confirms the statement of the letter.²

Another letter dating from Williamsburg, Virginia, May 11, 1776,³ describes the colors of the American fleet as follows. The colors of the American fleet have a snake with thirteen rattles, the fourteenth budding,⁴ described in the attitude of going to strike, with this motto, "Don't tread on me!"

It is a rule in heraldry that the worthy properties of the animal in the crest borne shall be considered, and the base ones cannot be intended. The ancients accounted a snake or a serpent an emblem of wisdom, and in certain attitudes of endless duration. The rattlesnake is properly a representative of America, as the animal is found in no other part of the world. The eye of the creature excels in brightness most of any other animal. She has no eyelids, and is therefore an emblem of vigilance. She never begins an attack, nor ever surrenders, she is therefore an emblem of magnanimity and true courage. When injured or in danger of being injured, she never wounds till she has given notice to her enemies of their danger. No other of her

¹ An English writer of the period is quoted by Robert C. Sands in his *Life of Paul Jones*, as saying:

"A strange flag has lately appeared in our seas, bearing a pine tree with the portraiture of a rattlesnake coiled up at its roots with these daring words: '*Don't tread on me.*' We learn that the vessels bearing this flag have a sort of commission from a society of people at Philadelphia, calling themselves the continental congress."

² *Penn. Eve. Post*, June 20, 1776.

³ *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. vi, p. 420, also *Boston Gazette*, April 14, 1777. This letter bears no signature, but immediately above it and on the same page in *Am. Archives* there is a letter of the same date from Williamsburgh addressed by Gen. Charles Lee to Gen. Washington.

⁴ The half formed additional rattle was said by Franklin, to represent the *Province of Canada*, and the wise man added that "*the rattles are united together so that they can never be separated but by breaking to pieces.*"—*Chas. Sumner's Lecture*, "*Are we a Nation.*"

kind shows such generosity. When undisturbed and in peace, she does not appear to be furnished with weapons of any kind. They are latent in the roof of her mouth, and even when extended for her defence, appear to those who are not acquainted with her to be weak and contemptible; yet her wounds however small, are decisive and fatal. She is solitary, and associates with her kind only when it is necessary for their preservation. Her poison is at once the necessary means of digesting her food and certain destruction to her enemies. The power of fascination attributed to her by a general construction, resembles America. Those who look steadily on her are delighted, and involuntarily advance towards her, and, having once approached never leave her. She is frequently found with thirteen rattles and they increase yearly. She is beautiful in youth, and her beauty increases with her age. Her tongue is blue and forked as the lightning.

John F. Watson, in his *Annals of New York*,¹ states that when the Alliance Frigate was commanded by Jones, she bore the then national flag of the coiled up rattlesnake and thirteen stripes. As the Alliance was not launched until 1777, and Jones did not command her until 1779, at which time she must have carried the stars and stripes. Watson is evidently mistaken. On the 17th Dec., 1779, the Dutch admiral at the Texel wrote Jones, asking to be informed whether the *Alliance* was a French or an American vessel; if the first, the admiral expected him to show his commission and display the French ensign and pendant, announcing it by firing a gun; if an American, that he should lose no occasion to depart. The French commissary of marine urged him to satisfy all parties by hoisting French colors, but Jones refused to wear any other than the American flag, and sent word to the admiral, that under that flag he should proceed to sea whenever the pilot would undertake to carry the ship out.

At length on the morning of the 27th of December Jones had the satisfaction of announcing himself at sea in the Alliance, whence he wrote to Mr. Dumas by the pilot: "I am here, my dear sir, with a good wind at East, and under my *best American colors*." Favored by a strong east wind, the Alliance the next day passed through the Straits of Dover, with her colors set, running close to the Goodwin sands, in full view of the fleet, anchored in the

¹ *Annals of New York*, p. 34.

Downs only three or four miles to leeward. On the 29th, she reconnoitered the fleet at Spithead, still showing her colors, and on the 18th of Jan. 1780, was fairly out of the channel.¹

It is claimed for Commodore Barney that he was first to hoist the continental flag in Maryland. He was appointed the second in rank, to the sloop *Hornet*, one of Hopkins's squadron. A crew had not been shipped, and the duty of recruiting fell upon him. Fortunately for his purpose just at this moment the new American flag sent by Commodore Hopkins for the service of the *Hornet* arrived from Philadelphia, the first that had been seen in the state of Maryland. His biographer calls it a star-spangled banner, but that is evidently her mistake. The next morning at sunrise Barney unfurled it to the music of drums and fifes, and hoisting it upon a staff planted it with his own hands at the door of his rendezvous. The heart-stirring sounds of the martial music, then a novelty in Baltimore, and the still more novel sight of the *rebel colors* gracefully waving in the breeze, attracted crowds of all ranks and sizes to the gay scene of the rendezvous, and before the setting of the same day's sun the young recruiting officer had enlisted a full crew of jolly rebels for the *Hornet*.² There seems to be a charm in rebel colors for the Baltimoreans, which has descended to recent times.

That Paul Jones was the first to hoist the new continental flag has been doubted, and he may have been mistaken, Cooper³ remarks. He always claimed to have been the first man to hoist the flag of 1775, in a national ship, and the first man to show the present ensign on board a man-of-war. This may be true or not. There was a weakness about the character of the man that rendered him a little liable to self-delusions of this nature, and while it is probable he was right as to the flag which was shown before Philadelphia, the town where congress was sitting, it is by no means as reasonable to suppose that the first of the permanent flags [stars and stripes] was shown at a place as distant as Portsmouth. The circumstances are of no moment, except as they serve to betray a want of simplicity of character, that was rather a failing with the man, and his avidity for personal distinction of every sort.

¹ *Mackenzie's Life of Paul Jones*, vol. 1, p. 252, 253.

² *Life of Commodore Joshua Barney*, by *Mary Barney*.

³ *Cooper's Life of Paul Jones*, p. 31.

John Adams addressing Elbridge Gerry, who was then the vice president of the U. S., from Quincy, Jan. 28, 1813,¹ disputes the claim of Jones, and says, with the pride of a Massachusetts man jealous of honors for the Pilgrim state: "Philadelphia is now boasting that Paul Jones has asserted in his Journal that 'this hand hoisted the first American flag,' and Captain Barry has asserted that 'the first British flag was struck to him,' now I assert that the first American flag was hoisted by Capt. John Manly, and the first British flag was struck to him. You were not in congress in 1775, but you was in the state congress and must have known the history of Manly's capture of the transport which contained the mortar,² which afterwards on Dorchester Heights drove the English army from Boston, and navy from the harbor."

He also wrote to John Langdon who was a member of the first naval committee Jan. 24, 1813: "My recollection has been excited lately by information from Philadelphia that Paul Jones has written in his Journal, 'My hand first hoisted the American flag,' and that Capt. Barry used to say that the first British flag was struck to him.' Both these vain boasts I know to be false, and as you know them to be so, I wish your testimony to corroborate mine. It is not decent nor just that these emigrants, foreigners of the South, should falsely arrogate to themselves merit that belongs to New England sailors, officers and men."

Mr. Langdon replied from Portsmouth, "Jan. 27, 1813:—"The appointment of Manly and his successors must be well known throughout the United States. As to Paul Jones, if my memory serves me, pretending to say that 'this hand first hoisted

¹ *Austin's Life of Elbridge Gerry.*

² The transport brig Nancy with military stores, several brass guns, and one mortar was captured by the schooner Lee, Capt. John Manly of 4 guns, 10 swivels and 50 men on the 29th Nov., 1775. Dec. 8th, he captured the ship Jenny of 2 guns, loaded with provisions, and the brig Hannah, and beat off a British schooner of 8 guns having two vessels under convoy.

Capt. Barry did not get to sea in the Lexington until Feb., 1776. We have no account of the flag worn by Manly. It was probably the pine tree flag. I think Jones may retain his honors, and that for Barry it can be truthfully claimed, that he was the first under the striped flag to capture an armed vessel of the enemy.

The fortunate capture of the Nancy is alluded to in one of Mr. John Adams's letters.

the American flag,' and Capt. Barry that 'the first British flag struck to him,' they are both unfounded, as it is impressed on my mind that many prizes were brought into the New England states before their names were mentioned." ¹

The Lexington brig mounting fourteen four-pounders and commanded by Capt. John Barry, has been credited as the first of the new *continental* marine to get to sea and to display the striped flag upon the ocean. There had been private and colonial marine enterprises and cruisers previously, as there were later. As we have shown two vessels, the Lynch and the Franklin, had been commissioned by Gen. Washington, and had sailed under the pine tree flag, and two small vessels the Wasp and Hornet had come around from Baltimore to join the fleet in the Delaware,² but it was claimed for the Lexington that she was the first to get to sea, and Cooper in the earlier editions of his *Naval History* so asserted, but in his later editions he says an examination of the private papers of Capt. Barry has shown him, that Capt. B. was actually employed on shore or in the Delaware for a short time after Commodore Hopkins got to sea.³ The first regular commissioned cruisers therefore of the national navy of the United Colonies were those of Hopkins's squadron. The fleet left Philadelphia early in January, 1776.⁴

The following letter contains an account of its departure from thence for Reedy Island :

Newbern, N. C., Feb. 9th, 1776.

“By a gentleman from *Philadelphia*, we have received the pleasing account of the actual sailing from that place of the first *American* fleet that ever swelled their sails on the *Western Ocean*,

¹ *Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. x, pp. 28 and 29, where also are his letters to Elbridge Gerry, pp. 30, 31.

² Tuesday, January 9, 1776.

Resolved, That a letter be written to *Mr. Tilghman* informing him that the *Hornet* and *Wasp* are under orders to sail to the Capes of Delaware, and that such vessels as are ready to sail, may take the benefit of that convoy.

That the committee for fitting out armed vessels, be directed to give orders to the captains of the *Hornet* and *Wasp*, to take under their convoy such vessels as are ready to sail.—*Am. Archives*, 4th series, vol. iv, p. 1637.

³ *Cooper's Naval History*, edition 1856.

⁴ The naval committee were authorized by the committee of safety of Pennsylvania under date Jan. 1, 1776, to engage three of the pilots of that province to conduct the vessels, down to *Reedy island*, and the committee of safety also authorized the loan of a number of men from the armed bodies of that province, to navigate the

in defence of the rights and liberties of the people of these colonies, now suffering under the persecuting rod of the *British* ministry, and their more than brutish tyrants in *America*. This fleet consists of five sails, fitted out from *Philadelphia*, which are to be joined at the *Capes of Virginia*, by two ships more from *Maryland*, and is commanded by Admiral *Hopkins*, a most experienced and venerable sea captain. The admiral's ship is called the *Columbus*, after *Christopher Columbus*, thirty-six guns, twelve and nine pounders, on two decks, forty swivels, and five hundred men. The second ship is called the *Cabot*, after *Sebastian Cabot*, who completed the discoveries of *America* made by *Columbus*, and mounts thirty-two guns. The others are smaller vessels, from twenty-four to fourteen guns. They sailed from *Philadelphia*, amidst the acclamations of many thousands assembled on the joyful occasion, under the display of a union flag with thirteen stripes in the field, emblematical of the thirteen *United Colonies*; but unhappily for us, the ice in the river *Delaware*, as yet obstructs the passage down, but the time will now soon arrive when this fleet must come to action. Their destination is a secret, but generally supposed to be against the Ministerial Governours, those little petty tyrants that have lately spread fire and sword throughout these southern colonies. For the happy success of this little fleet, three millions of people offer their most earnest supplications to Heaven."¹

At Reedy Island the squadron was frozen up for six weeks, and did not leave the *Delaware* until the 17th of February.² On the 19th, the *Hornet* and *Fly* parted company. The first achievement of the squadron under the national flag was a descent upon *New Providence* where near one hundred cannon

vessels belonging to congress down. The naval committee's sailing orders to Hopkins are dated Jan. 5, 1776.—*Am. Archives*, 4th series, vol. iv, pp. 506 and 578. Washington in his letter to Read Jan. 4, 1776, after describing his raising the union flag at Cambridge, says: "I fear your fleet has been so long fitting out and the destination of it is so well known, that the end will be defeated, if the vessel escape."

¹ *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. iv, page 964. John Adams in a letter dated "Quincy, April 13, 1819," writes: "I lay no serious claim to the title of Father of the American navy or of any thing else except my own family. Have you seen the *History of the American Navy* written by a Mr. Clark and edited by Mat. Carey? I gave the name Alfred, Columbus, Cabot, and Andrea Doria to the first ships that sailed under the flag of the United Colonies."—*Watson's Men and Times of the Revolution*.

² *Life of Paul Jones*; *Hopkins' Orders to the Fleet*; *Cooper's Naval History*, etc.

and a large quantity of other stores fell into its hands. After hoisting the striped flag and holding possession of the place for a few days, Commodore Hopkins left on the 17th of March, bringing away the governor and one or two men of note.¹

On this occasion, the first that ever occurred in the regular American navy, the marines under Captain Nicholas appear to have behaved with the spirit and steadiness that has distinguished the corps from that hour down to the present time.

Scattering his small vessels along the southern coast, the commodore arrived with the remainder of his squadron off Montauk point on the 4th of April, where he captured a small vessel of six guns, and on the 6th engaged the Glasgow 20, Capt. Tyringham Howe, which managed to get into Newport where the English squadron then was.

On the 17th of April, in the neighborhood of the capes of Virginia, the Lexington supported the honor of the new flag by capturing after a close and spirited action the British armed brig Edward mounting sixteen four-pounders, two more than her antagonist. The Lexington had but four men killed while the Edward was very much cut to pieces and suffered severe loss. The Lexington's career was short but glorious. In October of the same year near the spot where she engaged the Edward, she was captured by the frigate Pearl. In the night the Americans overpowered the prize crew, and took the brig to Baltimore where she was immediately recommissioned and sailed thence March, 1777, for Europe where she arrived. Cruising in company with the Dolphin and Reprisal she was chased by a ship of the line, but escaped into Morlaix where she was seized and detained by the French government until September. The day after her release she sailed, and the next day surrendered to the British man-of-war cutter Alert, after an action of an hour and a half (during which all her ammunition was expended) and a hard chase of four hours. Conquered but not subdued and unable to return her opponent's fire, Capt. Johnson, her commander, to save the lives of his crew, was compelled to strike her colors.

¹ *Cooper's Naval History.*

When taken she had been in service only about one year and eight months. She was the first vessel that bore the continental flag to victory on the ocean, and in her short career had fought two severe actions under it, was twice taken and once recaptured, was otherwise engaged with armed vessels, and captured several prizes. This *Lexington* of the seas occupies therefore something the same position in our naval annals that the *Lexington* from whom she derives her name does from having been the arena of the first conflict of the colonies with England.

A correspondent in England says: "An American privateer was some time since taken by one of our frigates. She carried the continental colors, which are thirteen red and white stripes; but it was observed that this privateer had but twelve stripes in his colors. On being asked the reason, he answered that since we had taken the province of New York, the congress had a province less; and that whenever they lost any of the provinces, it was their orders to cut away one of the stripes from their colors, so that there should be no more stripes than provinces."¹

It has been suggested as the reason a flag emblematic of the union of the colonies was not sooner adopted, that it required the adherence of Georgia to complete their union. On the 6th of July, 1775, Georgia in her provincial congress assented to all the measures of resistance and united with the other colonies against the ministerial measures, but the flag with thirteen stripes was not hoisted until January.

It is not the province of this work to follow the naval events of the war only as they are connected with the history of the flag under its several phases, and show where and when it first made its mark upon the ocean.

The first American vessel of war to show the continental flag to the European world was the *Reprisal*, Capt. Wickes, a brig like the *Lexington* of 16 guns. She sailed from home soon after the declaration of independence with Dr. Franklin on board as a passenger, and appeared in France in the autumn of 1776, bringing in several prizes. The prizes were directed to quit France without delay, and the *Reprisal* was with the *Lexington* detained until security was given that they

¹ *Low's Astronomical Diary*, 1777.

would quit the European seas. When released, the Reprisal sailed for America agreeably to the conditions of the French government, and foundered on the banks of Newfoundland, when all on board perished with the exception of the cook.

The first vessel to obtain a salute for the new flag from a foreign power was the brig Andrea Doria, Capt. Robinson, mounting 14 four-pounders. This little brig was purchased prior to the resolution of Dec. 22d, 1775, and had already done some active cruising under the command of Nicholas Biddle. She sailed from Philadelphia, July, 1776, and proceeded at once to St. Eustatia to procure some arms. On her arrival at that port, she saluted the Dutch flag, and her salute was returned by the governor who was subsequently removed from office for his indiscretion.¹

On her return the Andrea Doria captured the Race Horse of 12 guns, a vessel of about her own force, and arrived at Philadelphia with her prize. When the evacuation of Fort Mifflin gave command of the Delaware to the British, both vessels were burnt to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

On the 29th of Oct., 1776, the continental congress passed the following resolve, though it does not appear upon its journals that up to that time, or for several months later there was any legislation establishing a national flag.²

Resolved, That no private ship or vessel of war, merchant ship or other vessel belonging to the subjects of these states be permitted to wear pendants when in company with continental ships or vessels of war without leave from the commanding officer thereof. That if any merchant ship or vessel shall wear pendants in company with continental ships or vessels of war without leave from the commander thereof, such commander be authorized to take away the pendant from the offender. That if private ships or vessels of war refuse to pay the respect due

¹ In 1863 the confederate (rebel) cruiser Florida received a return salute from the English authorities at Bermuda, but we do not learn that the governor was removed for his indiscretion.

² *Journal of Congress*, Tuesday, Oct. 29, 1776, vol. 1, p. 531 (edition of Way & Gideon, Washington, 1823).

the continental ships, or vessels of war, the captain or commander refusing shall lose his commission.

This law, says Cooper in his *Naval History*, who gives the date of it a year earlier (1775), "was framed in a proper spirit, and manifested an intention to cause the authorized agents of the government on the high seas to be properly respected. It excites a smile, however, that the whole marine of the country consisted at that time of two small vessels, that were not yet equipped."¹ He might have added and before any national flag to be so respected had been by *legal* enactment, so far as the journals of congress show prescribed. The official legal origin of the grand union striped flag at Cambridge, and the other striped flags worn by the fleet of Commodore Hopkins is to this day involved in obscurity.

It is singular that no mention of their official establishment can be found in the private diaries of the times, the official and private correspondence since made public of the prominent actors of the revolution, the newspapers of the times or the journals of the provincial and continental congresses. We simply know from a variety of testimony, that there was a striped continental flag, representing the majesty and authority of the thirteen *United Colonies*.

A letter dated from Newport, Oct. 21, 1776, says, on the authority of a Capt Vickery just arrived from the West Indies: "No vessel is suffered to wear English colors in any French port, but continental colors are displayed every Sunday and much admired."²

We have established in the preceding pages that the earliest flags planted on the shores of North America, of which there is any record were those of England. That through the colonial and provincial periods they were continued in the Anglo-Saxon settlements with the addition of various devices and mottoes up to the time of the grand union flag raising at

¹ The list of vessels belonging to the U. S. Navy, Oct. 1776, was (the date of the resolve), as given by Cooper: 13 vessels of from 32 to 28 guns building, and 13 vessels in service, viz: 1, of 24, 1 of 20, 2 of 16, 3 of 14, 1 of 12, 2 of 10, and 3 smaller, 814 guns. At the same time (Oct. 10, 1776), a resolution passed congress defining the relative rank of the 24 captains then in the navy.—*Cooper's Naval History*, 1856 ed., pp. 57, 58.

² *American Archives*, vol. 1, 5th series, p. 173.

Cambridge, Massachusetts, Jan. 2, 1776, when the long established and well known red resin of England bearing in its union the blended crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, emblematic of the union of Scotland and England, was striped in its field with thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, as an emblem of the union of the thirteen United Colonies, against the oppressive acts of the ministerial government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, whose symbol they nevertheless retained. We now have arrived at the period when this last semblance of loyalty was to be abandoned, and the striped union flag of the colonies received added beauty and new significance by the erasure of the blended crosses of St. George and St. Andrew and the substitution of a canopy of stars, on a blue field representing a new constellation in the western political heavens, an entire separation of the colonies from Great Britain, and the advent among the nations of the earth of a new power which had, by its declaration of rights, a few months previous, solemnly proclaimed a free and independent state, under the name of THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

When the declaration of independence was declared from the State House, at Philadelphia, the king's arms were taken down by nine associates appointed for the purpose, who conveyed them to a pile of casks which had been erected on the common for a bonfire, and the arms being placed on top were so destroyed.²

Flags with different devices and mottoes still continued, however, to be used by troops in the field.

At the battle of Long Island, Aug. 26, 1776, the Hessian regiment, Rall saw a troop of about fifty Americans hastening towards them with flying colors. Rall commanded to give fire. The Americans, who had lost their way, or who had been cut off from their countrymen, surrendered and begged for quarters, whereupon they laid down their arms. An under officer leaping forward took away the colors. He was about to present them to Colonel Rall when General Von Merbach arrived,

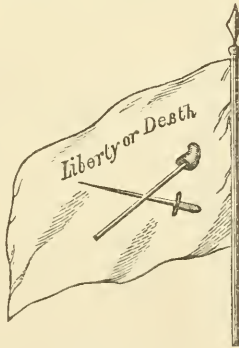
¹ Hinman in his *Conn., in the Revolutionary War*, page 114, notes: "In 1776, the red ground of the American flag was altered to thirteen *blue* and *white* stripes as an emblem of the thirteen colonies united in war for Liberty." His note has no connection with the text, and he does not give his authority for his statement.

² *Diary of Chris. Marshall, 1774-77.*

and was about snatching the colors from the under officer's hands when Rall said in a tone of vexation, "By no means general, my grenadiers have taken those colors, they shall keep them, and I shall not permit any one to take them away." A short altercation now took place between them and they separated in angry mood, but the colors remained for the present with Rall's regiment. The captured colors were of red damask, with the motto *Liberty*. The Americans took their stand at the head of the regiment Rall with their arms reversed, carrying their hats under their arms, and fell upon their knees, and earnestly entreated that their lives might be spared.¹

I have an undated engraving of what purports to be the battle of White Plains [Oct. 28, 1776,] but which seems to represent the scene above described, the Americans carrying a flag of which the annexed is a fac-simile.

¹ Hessian account of the battle of Long Island. *Memoirs of Long Island Hist. Soc.*, vol. II, pp. 434, 435.



American Flag.

From an old English engraving of the battle of White Plains, Oct. 28, 1776.

1875
1876
1877
1878

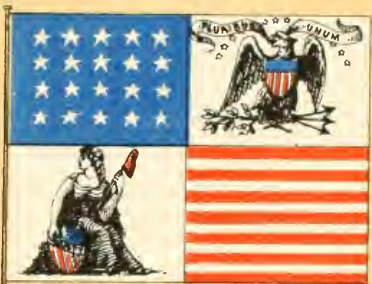
THE STARS AND STRIPES . 1777 - 1872 .



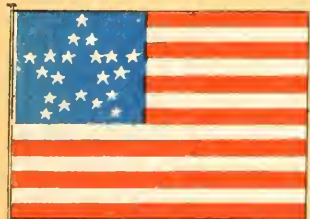
1777 .
13 STARS . 13 STRIPES



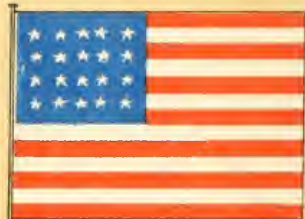
1795
15 STARS . 15 STRIPES



PROPOSED STANDARD
1818



1818



1818



1847
30 STARS . 13 STRIPES



1872
37 STARS . 13 STRIPES

PART III.

THE STARS AND STRIPES.

A. D. 1777-1818.

THEORIES AS TO THE ORIGIN OF THE STARS AND STRIPES AS
THE DEVICES OF OUR NATIONAL BANNER.

THE THIRTEEN STARS AND THIRTEEN STRIPES DURING THE
REVOLUTION.

1777-1783.

THE FLAG OF THIRTEEN STARS AND THIRTEEN STRIPES.

1783-1795.

THE FLAG OF FIFTEEN STARS AND FIFTEEN STRIPES.

1795-1818.

“Thou hast given a banner to them that fear thee, that it may be displayed because of the truth.”—*Psalms* lx., 4.

“As at the early dawn the stars shine forth even while it grows light, and then as the sun advances that light breaks into banks and streaming lines of color, the glowing red and intense white striving together and ribbing the horizon with bars effulgent. So on the American flag, stars and beams of many colored light shine out together. And where this flag comes, and men behold it, they see in its sacred emblazonry no ramping lions, and no fierce eagle; no embattled castles, or insignia of imperial authority; they see the symbols of light. It is the banner of dawn. It means *Liberty*; and the galley slave, the poor oppressed conscript, the down trodden creature of foreign despotism, sees in the American flag that very promise and prediction of God: ‘The people which sat in darkness saw a great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up.’

“In 1777, within a few days of one year after the declaration of independence the congress of the colonies in the confederated states assembled and ordained this glorious national flag which we now hold and defend, and advanced it full high before God and all men, as the flag of liberty.

“It was no holiday flag gorgeously emblazoned for gayety or vanity. It was a solemn national signal. When that banner first unrolled to the sun, it was the symbol of all those holy truths and purposes which brought together the colonial American Congress! * * * Our flag means, then, all that our fathers meant in the revolutionary war; it means all that the declaration of independence meant; it means all that the constitution of our people, organizing for justice, for liberty and for happiness meant. Our flag carries American ideas, American history, and American feelings. Beginning with the colonies and coming down to our time, in its sacred heraldry, in its glorious insignia, it has gathered and stored chiefly this supreme idea: *Divine right of liberty in man*—Every color means liberty; every thread means liberty; every form of star and beam or stripe of light means liberty: Not lawlessness, not license; but organized institutional liberty,—liberty through law, and laws for liberty!

“Accept it, then, in all its fullness of meaning. It is not a painted rag. It is a whole national history. It is the constitution. It is the government. It is the free people that stand in the government on the constitution. Forget not what it means; and for the sake of its ideas, be true to your country’s flag.”—*Henry Ward Beecher’s Address to two Companies of the Brooklyn XIV Regt., 1861.*

PART III.

THE STARS AND STRIPES

1777-1783.

The earliest and *only* suggestion of the stars as a device for the American ensign prior to their adoption in 1777, I have been able to find, is contained in the *Massachusetts Spy* for March 10, 1774, in a song written for the anniversary of the Boston Massacre (March 5). In a flight of poetic fancy, the writer foretells the future triumph of the American ensign thus :

“ A ray of bright glory now beams from afar
The American Ensign now sparkles a star
Which shall shortly flame wide through the skies.”

The supposed earliest instance of the thirteen stripes being used upon an American banner is found upon a standard said to have been presented to the Philadelphia troop of Light Horse in 1774-75, by Capt. Abraham Markoe, and still in the possession of that troop, and displayed at its anniversary dinners.¹ As Gen. Washington, when *en route* to take command of the army at Cambridge accompanied by Generals Lee and Schuyler, was escorted by this troop of light horse from Philadelphia, June 21, 1775, to New York,² he was doubtless familiar with the sight of this standard, and it is possible that it may

¹ I am indebted to my kind and indefatigable correspondent, John A. McAllister, Esq., of Philadelphia, in a letter dated Oct. 26, 1871, for my first knowledge of this standard, which has altogether escaped the notice of previous historians of our flag.

² *Sparks's Life of Washington*, p. 143, also *Bancroft's History United States*. “ On the 23d of June, the day after congress had heard the first rumors of the battle at Charlestown, Washington was escorted out of Philadelphia by the Massachusetts delegates and many others with music, officers of militia and a cavalcade of light horse in uniform. On Sunday, the 25th, all New York was in motion. Washington, accompanied by Lee and Schuyler under escort of the *Philadelphia Light Horse*, was known to have reached Newark. On the news that he was to cross the Hudson, bells were rung, the militia paraded in their gayest trim, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon the commander-in-chief, dressed in a uniform of blue, was received at Lisenard's by the mass of inhabitants. Drawn in an open carriage by a pair of white horses, he was escorted into the city by nine companies of infantry, while multitudes of all ages bent their eyes on him from house tops, the windows and the streets.

have suggested to him the striped union flag he raised at Cambridge six months later.

The first continental congress assembled at Philadelphia, Sept., 1774, and on the 17th of November following, twenty-eight gentlemen of the highest respectability and fortunes voluntarily associated, and constituted themselves the Philadelphia troop of light horse, and elected Abraham Markoe captain. The uniform they adopted was a dark brown short coat, faced and lined with white; high topped boots; round black hat, bound with silver cord; a buck's tail, housings brown edged with white, and the letters L. H., worked on them. Their arms were a carbine; a pair of pistols and holsters; a horseman's sword; white belts for the sword and carbine. Such was the appearance of this troop when it accompanied Gen. Washington to New York, and afterward fought under its standard at Trenton and Princeton.

Capt. Markoe resigned his commission in 1775, in consequence of an edict of the king of Denmark, which forbade his subjects to engage in the war against Great Britain, under penalty of confiscation of their property,¹ and if he presented this standard to the troop before his resignation, and it was their first standard, this would fix the date of its manufacture between 1774 and '5, and prior to the union flag raising at Cambridge. For this reason this flag is considered a relic of priceless value by the troop to which it belongs.

For the following accurate and minute description of this interesting revolutionary relic I am indebted to Mr. Charles J. Lukens, of Philadelphia: ²

“The flag of the Light Horse of Philadelphia is forty inches long and thirty-four inches broad. Its canton is twelve and one-

That night the royal governor, Tryon, landed without any such popular parade.”—*Bancroft's History of the United States.*

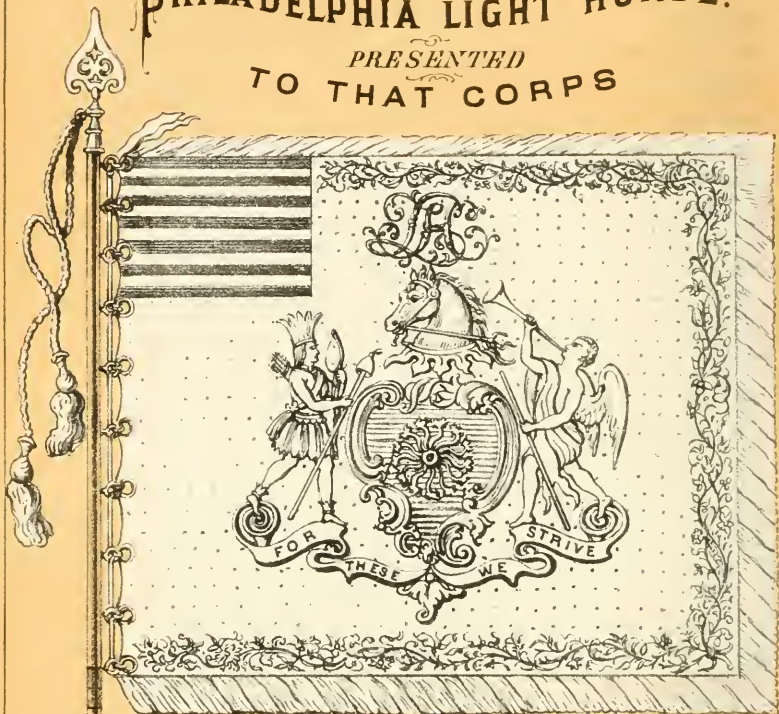
Nov. 21, 1775, Lady Washington was escorted from Schuylkill ferry into the city by the light horse, &c.

Nov. 27, 1775, Lady Washington attended by a troop of horse, two companies of light infantry, &c., left Philadelphia on her journey to the camp at Cambridge.—*Passages from the Diary of Christopher Marshall*, vol. 1, 1774-77, edited by *Wm. Duane*, pub. Phila., 1839.

¹ *By-laws, Muster Roll and Papers of the First Troop of the Philadelphia City Cavalry*, Philadelphia, Jas. B. Smith and Co., 1856.

² Letters of C. J. Lukens to G. H. P., dated Nov. 6, 1871, March 21, 1872, etc. Mr. Lukens says the first troop have always prized their standard very highly, but never suspected its value in the history of the stars and stripes until informed by him.

STANDARD
OF THE
PHILADELPHIA LIGHT HORSE.
PRESENTED
TO THAT CORPS



BY
CAPT. ABRAHAM MARKOE

1774-75.

half inches long and nine and one-half inches wide. The armorial achievement in its centre occupies the proportional space shown in the drawing; both sides of the flag exhibit the same attributes. The left side shows everything as if the material were transparent, giving the right side entirely in reverse, except the cyphers L. H., and the motto: 'For these we strive.' The cyphers, the running vine on both sides, the cord and tassels, and the fringe are of silver bullion twist. The spear head and the upper ferrule, taken together eight inches in length, are of solid silver. The staff is of dark wood, in three carefully ferruled divisions screwing together. Ten screw rings at irregular intervals from two and one-half to three and three-fourths inches, are used to attach the flag to the staff by means of a cord laced through corresponding eyelets in the flag.

"The flag is formed of two sides very strongly hemmed together along the edges, each side being of two equal pieces attached together by means of a horizontal seam, the material of the flag being a light bright yellow silk, and apparently the same tint as that of the present artillery flag of the United States. The *canton* of the flag is 'Barry of thirteen *azure* and *argent*.'¹ The *azure* being deep ultra marine, the *argent* silver leaf. The



achievement in the centre of the flag is: *Azure*, a round knot of three interlacings, with *thirteen* divergent, wavy, bellied double foliated ends *or*, whereof two ends are in chief, and one in *base* as per margin. The scrolled edging of the shield is *gold*, with outer and inner rims of *silver*.

"*Crest*, [without a wreath] a horse's head *bay*, with a white star on the forehead, erased at the shoulders, maned *sable*, bitted and rosetted *or*, and bridled *azure*. Over the head of the charger is the monogram L. H.²

¹ Mr. C. C. Haven read a paper before the New Jersey Hist. Soc., January, 1872, in which he stated that Capt. Barry was presented with a flag in 1779, which had twelve stars and stripes only on an *azure* field. The record of the presentation of this flag, he had seen.

² For Light Horse, though a former member of the troop suggests these letters

“Beneath the shield, the motto ‘*For these we strive,*’¹ in black Roman capitals of the Elizabethan style, on a floating silver scroll, upon the upcurled ends of which stand *the supporters*, DEXTER, a Continental masquerading as an American Indian (probably of the Boston tea party, Dec. 16, 1773), with a bow *or*, the loosened string *blue* floating on the wind, in his left hand, and in his right, a gold rod upholding a liberty cap,² with tassel *azure*, the lining *silver*, head dress and kilt (or ga-ka-ah) of feathers, the former of five alternately of dark red, and gold, with fillet of crimson. The latter of seven alternately of *gold* and of *dark red*. (This may be of eight, and then it would be $5+8=13$, alternately of dark red, and of gold, as the gold at least occupies the extreme natural right of the kilt. The uncertainty arises from age, and the fact that the dependant ends of a crimson shoulder sash or scarf worn from left to right with knot at the waist bound the left edge of the kilt, which itself is supported by a narrow girdle, with pendant loops of gold, and the looped spaces red. The quiver is of *gold* supported over the right shoulder by a *blue* strap: its arrows are *proper*. A continental officer’s crescent, *gold*, suspended around the neck by a *blue* string, rests just where the clavicles meet the sternum. The mocassins are *buff* with feather tops, I think alternated dark red, and gold. The Indian has deep black hair, but his skin is intermediate between the Caucasian and the aboriginal hues, rather inclining to the former, and his cheek is decidedly ruddy, almost rosy. He approaches the shield in profile as does also the SINISTER SUPPORTER which represents an angel of florid tint, roseate cheek, with auburn curly hair, and blue eyes, blow-

are the monogram of Levi Hollingsworth who was quarter master of the troop at the battle of Trenton.

¹ Evidently referring to fame and liberty represented by the supporters.—G. H. P.

² Many persons entertain the belief that the liberty cap was first used in *modern times* as an emblem of freedom by the French during the Revolution of 1790. That this was not the case is proved by its being one of the devices on the flag of the Philadelphia Light Horse, and also by the following *resolve* of the committee of safety of Philadelphia, of about the same date, viz.:

Philadelphia, August 31st, 1775. At a meeting of the Committee of Safety, held this day, *Resolved*, That Owen Biddle provide a seal for the use of the board, about the size of a dollar, with a *cap of liberty* with this motto. “*This is my right and I will defend it.*”

The liberty cap is of Phrygian origin, and belongs to classical times. It was anciently given to freedmen as a token of manumission from bondage. The Saxons of England used it as their ordinary head dress, but without the meaning we attach to it. It was on American coins in 1783.

ing a golden trumpet, with his right hand, and holding in his left a *gold* rod. His wings are a light *blueish gray* with changeable flashes of *silver*. His flowing robe from the right shoulder to the left flank is *purple*. These supporters not being heraldic in position and motion for human or angelic figures, their left and right action have the natural and not heraldic significations.

“This flag is in admirable condition considering that nearly one hundred years have elapsed since it was made. The whole is a model of good taste and judgment, and evidences that Captain Markoe spared no expense.”

It is to be regretted, the precise date of the presentation of this banner, and the origin of its devices cannot be ascertained. It seems remarkable an event so important is not found chronicled in the Philadelphia papers of the time.¹

A lithograph of this flag, giving a fair *general* idea of its appearance, was published in the *Military Magazine*, printed by Wm. Huddy in Philadelphia, in 1839. The picture is accompanied by the following lines written by Andrew McMakin which are dedicated to it :

FAME AND LIBERTY.

“No trophy doth the earth conceal
 To Freeman’s soul more truly dear,
 No conquest of the ensanguined steel
 A Freeman’s heart like this can cheer :
 ‘For these we strive,’ each burnished sword
 With ardor struggles to be free,
 And in the foremost ranks would guard
 Our spotless FAME AND LIBERTY !

¹ Some twenty years ago, the *Germantown Telegraph* published a communication which stated that the old flag belonging to the first troop of Philadelphia county cavalry, was somewhere in existence, and it was very desirable it should be recovered. The editor adds : “It was painted in 1774, at the organization of the corps, and it is believed to be the only relic now extant of the first flag adopted by the colonies ; it is designed to place it in the Philadelphia Museum for preservation. Any person who will deliver it at this office, or leave information where it can be obtained will receive the thanks of every citizen anxious that this patriotic relic should be rescued from oblivion.”

A correspondent of the *Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch* says : “We can say without any hesitation that the newspapers of 1774, contain nothing about the presentation of this flag, nor about the formation of the troop of Light Horse.” I have myself searched files of newspapers of 1774 and ’5, without finding any mention of the presentation.

Unfold the banner to the light
 And let its blazonry appear,
 Unmar'd by black oppression's night,
 Unshaken still by craven fear ;
 ' *For these we strive* ' — a potent charm
 To conjure forth the brave and free,
 To warm the heart and nerve the arm
 That strikes for FAME and LIBERTY !

' *For these we strive ;* ' what brighter name
 Can man achieve or beauty see,
 Than WORTH to share his country's FAME,
 Or PERISH for her liberty !
 Behold its gleam along the sky,
 A seal of hope, a promise given
 That 'neath its folds who justly die,
 Shall win a recompense in Heaven."

On the semicentennial anniversary of the troop, Nov. 17, 1824, this banner was displayed ; when David Paul Brown being called upon for a toast gave impromptu :

OUR BANNER !

" For fifty years at fray or feast
 O'er deadly foe or gentle guest
 Triumphantly unfurled !
 And FIFTY more, our flag shall wave
 In memory of the Good and Brave
 Who dignified the world ;
 And tyranny and time defy
 In freedom's immortality."

Mr. Lukens considers this flag to bear intrinsic evidence of having existed before the invention of the star spangled banner " because it has no stars save a white star in the forehead of the horse-head used as a crest, it also symbolizes the thirteen colonies by a golden knot of thirteen divergent wavy, floating, foliated ends upon a blue shield ; and although this in itself is a very beautiful type of the United Colonies, it never would have been selected for the purpose by any body after the invention of the thirteen stars on blue, equivalent to thirteen stars in the heavens ;, because the latter, as a far higher and

more significant symbol, would instantly have swayed every heart in its favor.”¹

The *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. 1, 1775, has for its frontispiece two flags crossed, engraved by Aitken, one of which is blazoned with the thirteen stripes, but has no stars. The same magazine has what purports to be “a correct view of the battle at Charlestown June 17, 1775,” in which the British flag is plainly to be seen, but no other flag is visible.

On Saturday, the 14th of June, 1777, the American congress “RESOLVED, *That the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes alternate red and white: that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation.*”² This is the first and only legislative action, of which there is any record for the establishment of a National Flag for the sovereign United States of America, declared independent July 4, 1776, and proclaims the official birth of a *new constellation* as the symbol of their union. This resolve was not officially promulgated over the signature of the secretary of congress at Philadelphia until Sept. 3d, and at other places still later, though it was printed in the papers a month earlier. An officer of the American army records in his Diary under the date August 3d, 1777: “It appears by the papers that congress resolved on the 14th of June last, that the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes alternate red and white, that the union be thirteen stars white on a blue field, &c.”³ This dilatory resolve of congress, it will be observed, was not passed until eighteen months after the union flag raising at Cambridge, and the sailing of the first American fleet from Philadelphia under Continental colors. Nearly a year after the declaration of the entire separation of the colonies from Great Britain, and another two and a half months elapsed before it was promulgated officially. There was red tape in those early days as well as now. No record of the discussions which undoubtedly preceded the adoption of the stars and stripes has been preserved, and we do not know

¹ Report of Mr. Lukens's lecture on the Heraldry of the American Flag, in the *Sunday Dispatch*.

² *Journals of Congress*, 1823 ed., 1, 165; *Arnold's History of Rhode Island*; *Hamilton's History of the U. S. Flag*; *Sarmiento's History of our Flag*; *Boston Gazette*, Sept. 15, 1777, etc.

³ *Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War from 1775 to 1783* by James Thatcher, M.D., late Surgeon in the Armia.

to whom we are indebted for their beautiful and soul-inspiring devices. There are many theories as to their origin, but although less than a century has elapsed since their adoption, none which are entirely satisfactory.

The stripes, as we have already stated, are by some supposed to have been borrowed from the Dutch or from the designating stripes on the coats of the continental soldiers. Both stars and stripes, others have considered, were suggested by the arms of Washington, which, by a singular coincidence, contain both. The arms of William, Lord Douglas, also bear on a silver shield a chief azure, charged with three mullets (five-pointed stars) silver.

Had any banner been blazoned with the coat armor of Washington, it is reasonable to suppose he would have chosen its devices for the banner of his own life guard, but that as can be seen by our illustration on page 18 has no such device.

A British antiquarian¹ supports the idea that Washington's arms furnished the device for "our flag" in this wise:

"Like Oliver Cromwell, the American patriot was fond of genealogy, and corresponded with our heralds on the subject of his own pedigree. Yes! that George Washington, who gave sanction if not birth to that most democratical of all sentiments, 'that all men are free and equal'² was, as the phrase goes, a gentleman of blood, of ancient time, and coat armor, nor was he slow to acknowledge the fact.³ When the Americans in their most righteous revolt against the tyranny of the mother country cast about for an ensign with which to distinguish themselves from their English oppressors—what did they ultimately adopt? Why! Nothing more nor less than a gentleman's badge, a modification of the old English coat of arms

¹ Lowes.

² Does he not give to Washington credit that is due to Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence, in which all men are declared to be created equal? Or to Mason, of Virginia: "That all men are created equally free and independent," the commencing words of the declaration of rights written by the Hon. Geo. Mason of Virginia, May, 1776, on a copy of which he endorsed: "The first declaration of the kind in America?" The whole document can be found in *Niles's American Revolution*.

³ Washington, in a letter to Sir Isaac Heard, dated Philadelphia, May 2, 1792, says in answer to his queries about the genealogy, etc., of the Washington family, "This is a subject to which I confess I have paid very little attention." "The arms inclosed in your letter are the same that are held by the family here, etc."

Mrs. Lewis, of Woodlawn, Va., has the little robe in which Washington was baptized. It is made of white silk lined with red (crimson) silk, and trimmed with blue ribbon, our national colors, red, white, blue.—*Lossing's Hist. Record*, March, 1872.

borne by their leader and deliverer. A few stars had, in the old chivalrous times, distinguished his ancestors from their compeers in the tournament, and upon the battle-field; more stars and additional stripes, denoting the number of states that joined in the struggle now became the standard around which the patriots of the west so successfully rallied. It is not a little curious that the poor worn-out ray of feudalism, as so many would count it, should have expanded into the bright and ample banner that now waves from every sea."

The assumption of this writer finds denial in the fact, that Washington has not in any of his correspondence or writings mentioned any connection of his arms with our flag, as he would have been most likely to have done had there been any, for he would certainly have been proud of the connection; neither is there any allusion to the subject in the published correspondence of his contemporaries.¹

A correspondent of the *New York Inquirer* a few years since beautifully said: "Every nation has its symbolic ensign, some have beasts, some birds, some fishes, some reptiles in their banners. Our fathers chose the stars and stripes, the red telling of the blood shed by them for their country, the blue of the heavens and their protection, and the stars of the separate states embodied in one nationality, '*E Pluribus Unum.*'"¹

Alfred B. Street, in a paper on the Battle of Saratoga, alludes to our flag as first victoriously unfurled at the surrender of Burgoyne, and says:

"The stars of the new flag represent a constellation of states rising in the west. The idea was taken from the constellation Lyra, which in the hands of Orpheus signified harmony. The blue of the field was taken from the edges of the Covenanter's banner in Scotland, significant also of the league and covenant of the United Colonies against oppression, incidentally involving the

¹ Mr. Haven in his paper before the New Jersey Historical Society, favors the supposition that in some way the devices for our flag were taken from the arms of the Washington family, and were used in the war out of respect to the commander-in-chief. He thinks the stars on the Washington shield may be of Roman origin "Virgil speaks of returning to the stars, *redire ad astra*, implying a *home of peace and happiness*; and we know the Romans worshipped the stars which bore the name of their gods. They also used scourges producing stripes on the bodies of those they punished." From these symbolic antecedents then we may, he says, "derive our star-bearing banner, the heaven-sent ensign of our union, freedom and independence, the stripes only to be used as a scourge to our enemies," etc.

virtues of vigilance, perseverance and justice. The stars were disposed in a circle, symbolizing the perpetuity of the union, the ring like the circling serpent of the Egyptians signifying eternity. The thirteen stripes showed with the stars the number of the United Colonies, and denoted the subordination of the states to the union, as well as equality among themselves. The whole was a blending of the various flags, previous to the union flag, namely, the red flag of the army and the white ones of the floating batteries. The red color, which in Roman days was the signal of defiance,¹ denotes daring and the white purity."

"What eloquence do the stars breathe when their full significance is known: a new constellation, union; perpetuity; a covenant against oppression; justice, equality, subordination, courage and purity."

I have been unable to find that his poetic and somewhat fanciful description is supported by any contemporaneous proof, or that it was ever required the stars should be arranged in a circle, though in Trumbull's painting of the Surrender of Burgoyne, and Peale's portrait of Washington, the stars are so arranged by the artists. The resolution of June 14, 1777, says nothing about their arrangement in the Union. It does say, however, that they represent not *Lyra* or any other known heavenly cluster of stars, but a *new* constellation. The idea that the new constellation was a representation of *Lyra* is advocated by a variety of evidence in Schuyler Hamilton's *History of the Flag*, but I cannot deem it conclusive. The constellation of *Lyra* is the symbol of harmony and unity, and consists of the requisite number of original stars, but to represent it in the union of a flag would be difficult and objectionable. When John Quincy Adams (whose father, John Adams, is said to have proposed *Lyra* as the emblem of union) was secretary of state in 1820, he gave color to the idea by removing the United States arms from the United States passports, and substituting for them an engraving of a circle of thirteen stars, surrounding an eagle *holding in his beak the constellation Lyra*, and the motto, *Nunc sidera ducit*.

Undoubtedly our revolutionary fathers at the outset when devising a national flag, met with difficulty in finding a device, at once simple, tasteful, inspiring and easily manufactured.

¹ Admiral Farragut unwittingly used the old Roman signal, when he designated two red lights as a signal for battle previous to passing the forts below New Orleans.

The number of states whose unity was to be symbolized was a stumbling block. The stripes already represented them — but what could be found to replace the crosses emblematic of the union of the kingdoms of Scotland and England, whose authority they had renounced forever? The rattlesnake which for a time had been used, as a symbol of the necessity of union and defiance rather than of union itself, was repulsive to many from its being kin to the tempter of our first parents, the cause of their expulsion from Paradise, and bearing also the curse of the Almighty.

A mailed hand grasping a bundle of thirteen arrows had been a device for privateers, but rather than of union, that was a symbol of war and defiance. A round knot with thirteen floating ends was the beautiful device significant of strength in union, of the standard of the Philadelphia Light Horse. A checkered union of thirteen blue and white or blue and red squares, might have answered, but the odd number of the colonies prevented that or any similar device. Thirteen terrestrial objects, such as eagles, bears, trees, &c., would have been absurd, and equally so would have been thirteen suns or moons, besides the crescent was the chosen emblem of Mahommedanism and therefore unfitted to represent a Christian people. Thirteen crosses would have shocked the sentiments of a large portion of the people, who looked upon the cross as an emblem of popish idolatry. There remained then nothing but the stars, and the creation of a new constellation to represent the birth of our rising republic.¹ No other object, heavenly or terrestrial, could have been more appropriate. They were of like form and size, typifying the similarity of the several states, and, grouped in a constellation, represented their unity.

¹ An English writer in the following *jeu d'esprit*, a few years later, thus ridicules the fondness of the American colonists for the number thirteen:

“*Thirteen* is a number peculiarly belonging to the rebels. A party of naval prisoners lately returned from Jersey, say that the rations among the rebels are thirteen dried clams per day; that the titular Lord Stirling takes thirteen glasses of grog every morning, has thirteen enormous rum bunches on his nose, and that (when duly impregnated) he always makes thirteen attempts before he can walk; that Mr. Washington has thirteen toes to his feet (the extra ones having grown since the declaration of independence) and the same number of teeth in each jaw; that the Sachem Schuyler has a topknot of thirteen stiff hairs which erect themselves on the crown of his head when he grows mad; that old Putnam had thirteen pounds of his posterior bit off in an encounter with a Connecticut bear ('twas then he lost the *balance* of his mind) that it takes thirteen congress paper dollars to equal one penny sterling; that Polly Wayne was just thirteen hours in subduing Stony Point,

It will probably never be clearly known who designed our union of stars. The records of congress are silent upon the subject, and I have been unable to find mention of it in any of the voluminous correspondence or diaries of the time, public or private, which has been published.

It has been asked why the stars on our banner are five-pointed, while those on our coins are six-pointed, the answer is that the designer of our coins followed the English, and the designer of our flag the French custom.¹ In English heraldic language the star has six points; in the heraldry of Holland, France and Germany, the star is five-pointed.

In 1870, Mr. Wm. J. Canby, of Philadelphia, read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania a paper on the History of the American Flag, in which he stated that his maternal grandmother, Mrs. John Ross,² was the first maker and partial designer of the stars and stripes. The house where this first flag was made is still standing, No. 239 Arch st., below Third; it is a little two-storied and attic tenement formerly No. 89, and was first occupied by Mrs. Ross after the death of her first husband.

A committee of congress, of whom Col. George Ross was one, accompanied by General Washington, in June, 1776,³ called upon Mrs. Ross, who was an upholsterer, and engaged her to make the flag from a rough drawing which, according to her suggestions, was redrawn by General Washington in pencil "then and there in her back parlor." The flag as thus designed was adopted by congress, and was the first star spangled banner according to Mr. Canby, or for aught that is known to the contrary which ever floated on the breeze.

and as many seconds in leaving it; that a well organized rebel household has thirteen children, all of whom expect to be generals and members of the high and mighty congress of the 'thirteen united states' when they attain thirteen years; that Mrs. Washington has a mottled tom cat (which she calls in a complimentary way *Hamilton*) with thirteen yellow rings around his tail, and that his flaunting it suggested to the congress the adoption of the same number of stripes for the rebel flag."—*Journal of Capt. Smythe, R. A., Jan., 1780.*

¹ Editor *Historical Magazine*.

² Mrs. Ross's maiden name was Griscom. After the death of Mr. Ross, she married second, Ashburn, who died a prisoner of war in Mill Prison, England; and third, John Claypole, the latter a lineal descendant of Oliver Cromwell. Mrs. Ross's first husband was the nephew of Col. George Ross, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.

³ Washington was called from New York to Philadelphia, June, 1776, to advise with congress on the state of affairs just previous to the declaration of independence, and was absent from New York fifteen days.—*Sparks's Washington*, p. 177.

Mrs. Ross received the employment of flag-making for government, and continued in it for many years. Three of Mrs. Ross's daughters were living when Mr. Canby wrote his paper, and confirm its statements, founding their belief not upon what they themselves saw—for the incident occurred many years before their birth—but upon what their mother had told them concerning it. A niece, Miss Margaret Boggs, then living at Germantown, aged ninety-five, was also cognizant of the fact.

It is related by them, that when Col. George Ross and General Washington visited Mrs. Ross and asked her to make the flag, she said, "I don't know whether I can, but I'll try;" and directly suggested to the gentlemen that the design was wrong in that the stars were six-cornered and not five-cornered [pointed] as they should be. This was corrected, and other alterations made.

Mr. Canby, in a letter to me on the subject, dated soon after the reading of his paper says :¹ "It is not *tradition*, it is *report* from the lips of the principal participator in the transaction, directly told not to one or two, but a dozen or more living witnesses of whom I myself am one, though but a little boy when I heard it. I was eleven years old when Mrs. Ross died in our house, and well remember her telling the story. My mother and two of her sisters are living and in good memory. I have, however, the narrative from the lips of the oldest one of my aunts, now deceased, reduced to writing at the time (1857). This aunt, Mrs. Clarissa Wilson, a widow, succeeded to the business and continued making flags for the navy yard and arsenals here and elsewhere, and for the mercantile marine for many years until (being conscientious on the subject of war) she gave up the government business, but continued the mercantile until 1857. Washington was a frequent visitor at my grandmother's house *before* receiving his command of the army. She embroidered his shirt ruffles, and did many other things for him. He knew her skill with the needle. Col. Ross with another who is thought to be Robt. Morris,² and Gen. Washington called upon Mrs. Ross, and told

¹ Manuscript letter from W. J. Canby, March 29, 1870.

² In a letter to me dated Nov. 9, 1871, Mr. Canby states that he has ascertained and is prepared to prove that the third gentleman was Robert Morris. He says also in the same letter he is prepared to "prove also by the evidence of newspapers of that period, and by passages in the colonial records of Pennsylvania that said flag had an existence during the year 1776."

her they were a committee of congress, and wanted her to make the flag from the drawing, a rough one, which upon her suggestions was redrawn by General Washington in pencil in her back-parlor. This was prior to the declaration of independence; and I fix the date to be during Washington's visit to congress from New York in June, 1776, where he came, to confer upon the affairs of the army, the flag being no doubt one of these affairs."

Mr Canby, in later letters, contends that the stars and stripes were in common if not general use soon after the declaration of independence, and nearly a year before the resolution of congress proclaiming them the flag of the United States of America.

He says, he finds evidence of this in newspapers and in the fact that regiments were allowed compensation for *altering* their colors after July 4, 1776, and that Indian tribes during that year petitioned congress for a flag of the United States,¹ also from the statements of Miss Montgomery² that her father, Capt. Hugh Montgomery, early in July, 1776, hoisted the stars and stripes. Her statement is that Robert Morris, the financier, in the winter of 1775, chartered the brig Nancy commanded by Capt. Hugh Montgomery, her father, who was one of the owners of the brig. In March, 1776, she sailed for Porto Rico under English colors, thence to other West India islands, finally to St. Thomas where when her cargo was nearly completed, information was received that independence was declared, and a description of the colors adopted. This was cheering intelligence to the captain, and would divest him of acting clandestinely. Now they could show their true colors. The material was at once procured, and a young man on board set to work privately to make them." He was well known in after years as Capt. Thomas Mendenhall. The number of men was increased, and the brig armed for de-

¹ He probably refers to the following record which is dated eleven days earlier than the resolve giving birth to the new constellation:

Philadelphia, June 3, 1777, *Colonial Records*, vol. 11, p. 212. The president laid before the council three strings of wampum which had been delivered to him some time before by Thomas Green, a nominal Indian of the nation, requesting that a flag of the United States might be delivered to him to take to the chiefs of the nation to be used by them for their security and protection, when they may have occasion to visit us their brethren, and that his Excellency had referred him to congress for an answer to his request.

² *Reminiscences of Wilmington in familiar Village Tales, ancient and new*, by Elizabeth Montgomery. Philadelphia: T. K. Collins, Jr., 1851, p. 176-9.

fence, and all things put in order. The day they sailed the captain and a Mr. A. S. had invited the governor and suite with twenty other gentlemen on board to dine. A sumptuous dinner was cooked; and a sea turtle being prepared gave it the usual name of a turtle feast.

“As the custom house barges approached with the company, they were ordered to lay on their oars while a salute of thirteen guns was fired. Amid this firing this young man was ordered to haul down the English flag and hoist the first American stars ever seen in a foreign port.¹ Cheers for the national congress, cries of ‘Down with the lion; up with the stars and stripes’ were shouted. This novelty caused great excitement to the numberless vessels then lying in the harbor, and to the distinguished guests it was a most animating scene. After the entertainment was hurried over they returned in their boats, and the brig was soon under full sail.” Such is Miss Montgomery’s statement, and she narrates the Nancy’s approach to our coast and her being run ashore and blown up to avoid capture by a British fleet, and says, “one tottering mast with the national flag flying seemed only left to guess her fate. Still a quantity of powder and merchandise was left below, and it was resolved ere she was abandoned, to prevent these stores from falling into the hands of the enemy by blowing her up. The plan was arranged so that the men could have time to leave, and the captain and four hands were the last to quit. As the boat distanced the wreck, one man, John Hancock, jumped overboard, as he said ‘to save the beloved banner or perish in the attempt.’ His movement was so sudden that no chance was afforded to prevent his boldness, and they looked on with terror to see him ascend the shivering mast, and deliberately unfasten the flag, then plunge into the sea and bear it to the shore.” The enemy taking this act as a signal of surrender, hastened in their boats, says Miss Montgomery, “to take possession of the prize, and was involved in the subsequent explosion.” Miss Montgomery’s narrative proves, if it proves any thing, not that her father hoisted the stars and stripes, as she asserts, but the continental flag in place of the English ensign, for the Nancy was blown up on

¹ A beautiful mezzotinto engraving of the Nancy, flying the stars and stripes furnishes a frontispiece to Miss Montgomery’s *Reminiscences*.

the 29th of June,¹ five days before the declaration of independence, and before a drawing of Mrs. Ross's flag could have reached her in the West Indies.

On the 24th of Feb., 1776, the committee of safety at Philadelphia ordered "that Capt. Proctor procure a flag staff for the fort with a flag of the *United Colonies*,"² and that Commodore Caldwell and Capt. Proctor fix upon proper signals for the fleet, merchantmen and battery. Under date August 19, 1776, Capt. Wm. Richards writes to the Pennsylvania council of safety:

"Gentlemen, I hope you have agreed what sort of color I am to have made for the galleys etc., as they are much wanted;" and under date "Oct. 15, 1776: Gentlemen, the commodore was with me this morning and says the fleet has not any colors to hoist if they should be called to duty. It is not in my power to get them done, *until there is a design to make the colors by*"³

The colors he wanted a design for were probably state colors, but the request shows that no *national* colors had been adopted, and that the continental flag was still in use.

The portrait of Washington at the battle of Trenton, painted by Chas. Wilson Peale in 1779, has a representation of a union jack with the thirteen stars arranged in a circle, but it affords

¹ *Philadelphia, June 29, 1776.* The brig *Nancy*. Captain Montgomery, of six three pounders and eleven men from *St. Croix* and *St. Thomas*, for this port, with three hundred and eighty-six barrels of gunpowder, fifty firelocks, one hundred and one hogsheads of rum, and sixty-two hogsheads of sugar, etc., on board, in the morning of the 29th of June, when standing for Cape May, discovered six sail of men-of-war, tenders, etc., making towards him, as also a row-boat. The boat and tenders he soon after engaged and beat off, stood close along shore, and got assistance from Captain Wickes and Barry, when it was agreed to run the brig ashore, which was done; and under favor of a fog, they saved two hundred and sixty-eight barrels of powder, fifty arms, and some dry goods, when the fog clearing away, Captain Montgomery discovered the enemy's ships very near him, and five boats coming to board the brig, on which he started a quantity of powder in the cabin, and fifty pounds in the main-sail, in the folds of which he put fire, and then quitted her. The men-of-war's boats (some say two, some three) boarded the brig, and took possession of her with three cheers; soon after which the fire took the desired effect, and blew the pirates forty or fifty yards into the air and much shattered one of their boats under her stern, eleven dead bodies have since come on shore, with two gold-laced hats and a leg with a garter. From the number of limbs floating and driven ashore, it is supposed thirty or forty of them were destroyed by the explosion. A number of people from on board our ships of war, and a number of the inhabitants of Cape May, mounted a gun on shore, with which they kept up a fire at the barges, which the men-of-war, etc., returned, and killed Mr. Wickes, third lieutenant of the continental ship *Reprisal*, and wounded a boy in the thigh.—*American Archives*, vol. vi, p. 1132 (4th series).

² *Penn. Colonial Records*, vol. x, page 494.

³ *Penn. Archives*, vol. v, pages 13 and 14.

only presumptive proof that such a flag was carried at that battle. Mr. Peale's son, Titian R. Peale, writing recently to my friend, Mr. McAllister, says, "whether it (the union jack) was my father's design, original or not, I cannot say, but I suppose it was, because he has somewhat marred the artistic effect by showing the stars, and flattening the field to show their arrangement"; and in another letter to the same gentleman, "I have just had time to visit the Smithsonian Institution to see the portrait of Washington painted by my father C. W. Peale after the battle of Trenton. It is marked in his handwriting 1779. The flag represented, is a blue field with white stars arranged in a circle. I don't know that I ever heard my father speak of that flag, but the trophies at Washington's feet, I know he painted from the flags then captured, and which were left with him for the purpose. He was always *very* particular in matters of historic record in his pictures (the service sword in that picture is an instance, and probably caused its acceptance by congress). The blue ribbon has also excited comment — the badge of field marshal of France in that day.¹ I have no other authority, but feel assured that flag was *the* flag of our army at the time 1779. My father commanded a company at the battles of Germantown, Trenton, Princeton, and Monmouth, and was soldier as well as painter, and I am sure represented the flag then in use, not a regimental flag, but one to mark the new republic."

When the declaration of independence was received at Easton, Pennsylvania, the colonel and all the other field officers of the first battalion repaired to the court house, the light infantry company marching there with their drums beating, fifes playing, "and the standard, (the device for which is the thirteen United Colonies), which was ordered to be displayed."²

The declaration was read in New York in the presence of Washington by one of his aids, on the 9th of July, 1776, in the centre of a hollow square of the troops drawn up on the Park near where there now is a fountain, and it is morally certain the grand union flag of Cambridge was then if it had not been earlier, unfurled in New York.

¹ Washington's general order July 24, 1775, prescribes a broad *purple* ribbon as the distinguishing mark of a major general, see note ante, page 157.

² *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, July 11, 1776.

The first anniversary of the declaration of independence, July 4, 1777, was celebrated in Philadelphia with demonstrations of joy and festivity. About noon all the armed ships and galleys in the river were drawn up before the city, dressed in the gayest manner with the colors of the *United States*, and streamers flying. At one o'clock the yards being properly manned they began the celebration of the day by a discharge of thirteen cannon from each ship, and one from each of the thirteen galleys in honor of the thirteen United States. In the afternoon an elegant dinner was provided by congress, toasts were drank, feu-de-joies were fired, the troops reviewed by congress and the general officers, and the day closed with the ringing of bells, the exhibition of fireworks which began and ended with thirteen rockets, and the city beautifully illuminated.¹

Similar rejoicings and displays of the flag of the United States were had all over the country.

Paul Jones has claimed that it was his good fortune to be the first to display the stars and stripes on a naval vessel, as it had been to hoist with his own hand the continental flag, or "flag of America," as he called it, for the first time on board the *Alfred*. He also claimed to have obtained and received for our star spangled banner, the first salute granted to it in Europe.

The same day that congress passed the resolve in relation to the flag of the *thirteen* United States, June 14, 1777, it also "*Resolved*, that Paul Jones be appointed to the command of the *Ranger*," and soon after he hoisted the new flag on board of that vessel at Portsmouth. The *Ranger*, however, did not get to sea until the 1st of November, five months later. Her battery was sixteen six-pounders, throwing only 48 pounds of shot from a broadside, an armament which excites a smile of contempt in these days of heavy guns, and she was otherwise very poorly equipped. Among other deficiencies Jones laments having only thirty gallons of rum for the crew to drink on their passage to Nantes. He also represented her as slow and crank, yet he managed to capture two prizes, on his passage to Europe and reached Nantes in thirty days from Portsmouth.

From Nantes, Jones sailed to Quiberon bay, convoying some American vessels, and placing them under the protection and

¹*Pennsylvania Journal*, July 9, 1777.

convoy of the French fleet commanded by Admiral La Motte Piquet. From him, after some correspondence, Jones succeeded in obtaining the first salute ever paid by a foreign naval power to the stars and stripes. The story of this event is best told in Jones's letter to the naval committee, dated Feb. 22, 1778:

"I am happy (he says,) to have it in my power to congratulate on my having seen the American flag, for the first time, recognized in the fullest and completest manner by the flag of France. I was off this bay on the 13th inst, and sent my boat in the next day to know if the admiral would return my salute. He answered that he would return to me as the senior American continental officer in Europe, the same salute as he was authorized to return to an admiral of Holland, or any other republic, which was four guns less than the salute given. I hesitated at this, *for I had demanded gun for gun.*

"Therefore I anchored in the entrance of the bay at a distance from the French fleet; but after a very particular inquiry on the 14th, finding that he really told the truth, I was induced to accept his offer, the more *as it was an acknowledgment of American Independence.*

"The wind being contrary and blowing hard it was after sunset before the Ranger¹ was near enough to salute La Motte Piquet with thirteen guns, which he returned with nine. However, to put the matter beyond a doubt, I did not suffer the Independence to salute until the next morning, when I sent word to the admiral that I would sail through his fleet in the brig, and would salute him in open day. He was exceedingly pleasant, and returned the compliment also with nine guns."

As though providence delighted to honor Jones above all others in connection with our flag, and was determined to entwine his name with its early history, to him was assigned the honorable duty of displaying it for the first time on board the first ship of the line built for the United States, and fitly named *The America.*

¹ Jones, in his letter to the American commissioners at Paris, dated Brest, May 27, 1778, mentions that in the action between the Ranger and the Drake on the 24th of April preceding, when the latter hoisted the English colors, "the *American stars* were displayed on board the Ranger."—*Sherburne's Life of Jones.*

The Ranger was taken with other vessels in the Port of Charleston, S. C., on the surrender of that city to the British.—*Charnock's Biographie Navalis*, vol. vi, p. 5.

This ship, like the *Ranger*, was built at Portsmouth, N. H., and Jones was appointed to the command of her. Before she could be launched, the *Magnifique*, one of the finest seventy-fours of the French navy, was stranded in Boston harbor, and to replace her, the *America* was by a resolve of the American congress presented to the French sovereign our ally. Jones, however, was retained in the command of her superintending her construction, and on the 5th of Nov., 1782, displaying the French and American flags from her stern, he launched her into the waters of Portsmouth harbor, and delivered her to the Chevalier Martigne, who had commanded the *Magnifique*. It is probable that Jones hoisted the stars and stripes on board of her the preceding summer when at his own expense, he celebrated the birth-day of the dauphin of France, as it is recorded that the ship on that occasion was decorated with the flags of different nations, that of France being in front, and that salutes were fired, and at night the ship brilliantly illuminated, etc.

The first military incident connected with the flag we have to relate, occurred on the 2d of August, 1777, when Lieuts. Bird and Brant invested Fort Stanwix, or Schuyler, then commanded by Col. Peter Gansevoort. The garrison was without a flag when the enemy appeared, but their pride and ingenuity soon supplied one in conformity to the pattern just adopted by the continental congress. Shirts were cut up to form the white stripes, bits of scarlet cloth were joined for the red, and the blue ground for the stars was composed of a cloth cloak belonging to Captain Abraham Swartwout of Dutchess county who was then in the fort. Before sunset the curious mosaic work standard, as precious to the beleaguered garrison as the most beautiful wrought flag of silk and needle work, was floating over one of the bastions. The siege was raised on the 22d of August, but we are not told what became of the improvised flag.

The narrative of Col. Marinus Willett's services presents a somewhat different version of this story. He says: "the fort had never been supplied with a flag. The necessity of having one had, upon the arrival of the enemy, taxed the invention of the garrison a little, and a decent one was soon contrived. The white stripes were cut out of ammunition shirts furnished by the soldiers; the blue out of the camlet *cloak taken from the enemy at Peek-*

kill ; while the red stripes were made of different pieces of stuff procured from one and another of the garrison.”

In his statement to Gov. Trumbull, Aug. 21, 1777, of the occurrences at and near Fort Stanwix, Col. Willett mentions among the results of his sally from the fort on the 6th, preceding, that he captured and brought off five of the enemy's colors, the whole of which on his return to the fort, were displayed on the flag staff *under* the impromptu made *continental* flag.¹

Mr. Haven in his paper before the New Jersey Historical Society says: “From traditional reports on circulation here [Trenton] the first time that our national flag was used after the enactment concerning it by congress, was by General Washington in the hurried and critical stand made by him on the banks of the Assanpink, when he repulsed Cornwallis in 1777. As this conflict was the turning point in connection with what succeeded at Princeton, of the struggle for independence, and the glorious consequences which followed, does not this signal baptism of the stars and stripes, with the hope and confidence regenerated by it, seem providential? Freedom's vital spark was then rekindled, and our own country and the whole civilized world are now illumined with its beams.”

Beyond doubt the thirteen stars and thirteen stripes were unfurled at the battle of the Brandywine, Sept. 11, 1777, eight days after the official promulgation of them at Philadelphia, and at Germantown on the 4th of October following; that they witnessed the operations against and final surrender of Burgoyne, after the battle of Saratoga, Oct. 17, 1777; that the sight of this new constellation helped to cheer the patriots of the army amid their sufferings around the camp fires at Valley Forge the ensuing winter; that they waved triumphant at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, Sept. 19, 1781; looked down upon the evacuation of New York, Nov. 25, 1783; and shared in all the glories of the latter days of the revolution.

On the 28th of Jan., 1778, the stars and stripes for the first time waved over a foreign fortress. About eleven o'clock the night previous, the American sloop of war Providence,² Capt.

¹ *Lossing's Field Book American Revolution*, vol. 1, p. 242.

² The Providence was captured when Charleston was taken.

John Rathburne, mounting twelve four-pounders, with a crew of fifty men, landed twenty-five of her crew on the island of New Providence. They were joined by about eighteen or twenty Americans escaped from British prison ships, and who were waiting an opportunity to return home. This small body of men took possession of Fort Nassau, with the cannon, ammunition and 300 stand of small arms.

In the port lay a sixteen-gun ship, with a crew of forty-five men, and five vessels, all prizes to the British sloop *Grayton*. At daybreak four men were sent on board the sixteen-gun ship to take possession of her, and send the officers and crew into the fort. Her prize captain was shown the American flag hoisted on the fort, and informed that his ship would be instantly sunk, should he hesitate to surrender. Thus intimidated, he gave her up, and the other five prize vessels were secured in a similar manner. Possession was also taken of the western fort, its cannon spiked, and its powder and small arms removed to Fort Nassau. About twelve o'clock, some 200 armed people assembled and threatened to attack the fort; but on being informed if they fired a single gun, the town should be laid in ashes, they dispersed. Soon after, the Providence anchored in the roads, the British ship *Grayton* hove in sight. The American colors were immediately taken down, and the guns of the Providence housed, hoping the *Grayton* would come to anchor. But the inhabitants signaled to her the state of affairs and she stood off. The fort opened fire upon her, but she made her escape.

About three o'clock the next morning some 500 men with several pieces of artillery marched within sight of the fort and summoned it to surrender, threatening at the same time to storm the place, and put all to the sword without mercy. The Americans, however in the presence of the messenger, nailed their colors to the flag-staff, and returned answer that while a man of them survived they would not surrender.

The following morning the prizes were manned, the guns of the fort spiked, the ammunition and small arms conveyed on board the Providence, and the whole American garrison was embarked and put to sea, after having held possession of the fort two days. Two of the prizes were burnt, being of little value, the others were sent to the United States.'

When the news that the treaty of alliance with France (the first treaty of our new republic with a foreign power) had been signed at Paris, Feb. 6, 1778,¹ was received, Gen. Washington from his head quarters at Valley Forge issued orders on May 2d, that the following day should be set apart, "for gratefully acknowledging the divine goodness and celebrating the important event which we owe to his benign interposition." Accordingly the army was reviewed by the commander-in-chief with banners waving, and at given signals, after the discharge of *thirteen* cannon and a running fire of infantry, the whole army huzzaed, "long live the king of France," then after a like salute of thirteen guns and a second general discharge of musketry, "Huzza: long live the friendly European powers!" Then a final discharge of thirteen pieces of artillery followed by a general running fire and "Huzza, for the American States!"²

The officers approached the place of entertainment thirteen abreast and closely linked in each other's arms, thus signifying the thirteen American states; and the interweaving of arms a complete union and most perfect confederation. A full account of this joyful occasion can be found in the *New Jersey Gazette*, May 13, 1778, *New York Journal*, June 15, and is copied in Frank Moore's *Diary of the Revolution*, vol. II, p. 48-52.

¹ *Pennsylvania Packet*, March 28, 1778.

² The French alliance was looked upon as a wonderful interposition of providence in favor of the country, and every measure that could be adopted was taken to extend a sentiment of confidence in the result of the struggle after this happy event. As one of the means of effecting this end, the following curious statement was made and published throughout the United States:

Wonderful Appearances and Omens.

1. After the surrender of Burgoyne, and while the treaty of alliance with France was on the carpet, the American heavens were illuminated at intervals for whole months together. The aurora borealis, or northern lights, were the greatest ever seen in America.

2. When the fleet of his most Christian majesty, twelve ships of the line, and by the capture of a British ship of force, *thirteen*, and commanded by the admiral, the illustrious D'Estaing hove in sight of our capes, the artillery of the skies was discharged and *thirteen* thunders were distinctly heard on the coast of the Delaware.

3. On the morning after the arrival of his plenipotentiary, the illustrious Gerard, being the *thirteenth* of the month — an aloe tree — the only one in this State — immediately shot forth its spire, which it never does but once in its existence, and in some other climates only once in one hundred years. It has been planted forty years in the neighborhood of this city, and previously only produced four leaves a year, until this year, when it produced *thirteen*. The spire is remarkable, being *thirteen* inches round, and having grown *thirteen* feet in the first *thirteen* days. The Scotch talk much of the thistle, and the South Britons of the Glastenbury thorn. Much finer things may be said of the aloe of America and the *fleur de lis* of France. — *Wescott's History of Philadelphia*, published in *Sunday Dispatch*, April, 1872.

The next interesting incident connected with the new constellation we have to narrate occurred on the 7th of March, 1778, when the continental ship, Randolph, thirty-two, Capt. Nicholas Biddle, was blown up in an engagement with the Yarmouth, sixty-four, to the eastward of Barbadoes. The two ships were in such close action that many fragments of the Randolph struck the Yarmouth, and among other things an American ensign rolled up was blown in upon the forecastle of the Yarmouth. The flag was not singed. Cooper in his novel, *Le Feu Follet*, seizes upon this incident, when he describes the flag of that rover after her sudden disappearance as washed upon the forecastle of the ship in chase. A model of the Randolph has been preserved, and in 1842 was to be seen in the hall of the Naval Asylum at Philadelphia.

In the agreement (June, 1779), between John Paul Jones, captain of the *Bon Homme Richard*, Pierre Landais, captain of the *Alliance*, Dennis Nicolas Cottineaux, captain of the *Pallas*, Joseph Varage, captain of the *Le Cerf*, and Philip Nicolas Recot, captain of the *Vengeance*, it was expressly stipulated that the Franco-American squadron should fly the flag of the United States, and that it should be commanded by the oldest officer of the highest grade, and so on in succession in case of death or retreat. The frigate *Alliance*, so named in honor of the treaty with France, commanded by the obstinate, ill-tempered Frenchman, Landais, was the only American-built vessel of the squadron.

At the annual meeting of the New Jersey Historical Society, Jan., 1872, Mr. C. C. Haven made some interesting remarks concerning the supposed origin of our flag, in the course of which he said that in the conflict between the *Bon Homme Richard* and *Serapis*, James Bayard Stafford was cut down by a British officer, but rescued and rehoisted her flag "which probably had no stars or stripes." As that action was fought Sept. 23, 1779, more than two and a half years after their establishment by congress, and the agreement of June, 1779, just recited, stipulates that the American squadron should fly the flag of the United States, Mr. Haven is evidently in error. Moreover, Freneau, in his poem on "that memorable victory of Paul Jones," thus alludes to the flag:

“Go on, great man, to scourge the foe,
 And bid the haughty Britons know
 They to our *Thirteen stars* shall bend :
 The stars that clad in dark attire
 Long glimmered with a feeble fire,
 But radiant now ascend.”

Mr. Haven also stated that Miss Sarah S. Stafford, a descendant of the brave man before named, has in her possession the original flag which was presented to Capt. Barry of the Alliance in 1779, and which “shows *twelve stars and stripes in an azure field.*” The Alliance was launched in 1777, was commanded in 1778-79 by Pierre Landais and not until 1781-82 by Capt. Barry; possibly he may have been presented with the flag alluded to when in command of some other ship and at an earlier date.

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of April 23, 1783, contains the resolve respecting the flag of June 14, 1777, and requests that the printers insert the resolution in their respective newspapers in order that the same may be generally known. The same paper states that “at a meeting of the respectable inhabitants of Pittsgrove and the town adjacent, in Salem county, state of New Jersey, for the celebration of peace, the day was introduced with the raising of a monument of great height on which was displayed the ensign of peace with thirteen stripes.”

Another number of the same *Gazette*,¹ under date Philadelphia, May 21, 1783, says: “It is positively asserted that the flag of the thirteen United States of America has been grossly insulted in New York and not permitted to be hoisted on board any American vessel in that port. Congress should demand immediate reparation for the indignity wantonly offered to all America, and unless satisfactory concessions are instantly made, the British flag which now streams without interruption in our harbor, Philadelphia, should be torn down and treated with every mark of indignation and contempt.

The 25th of Nov., 1783, is memorable in the history of our flag; as the day fixed upon for the evacuation of New York by the British troops. On the morning of that day, a cold, frosty, clear but brilliant morning, General Knox marched to the

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 28, 1783.

Bowery lane, and remained until 1 P.M., when the British left their posts and marched to Whitehall. The American troops followed, and before 3 P. M., Gen. Knox took possession of Fort George. The British claimed the right of possession until noon. A man who kept a boarding house run up the American flag in the morning, the first displayed in the city. Cunningham, the British provost marshal, ordered it down, and on the man's refusal to take it down, attempted to pull it down himself. The proprietor's wife, a stout woman, fair, fat and forty, came at and beat Cunningham so vigorously over the head with her broomstick, that he was obliged to decamp and leave the star spangled banner waving. A Dr. Anderson, who was a witness and living in 1860, remembered seeing the powder fly from Cunningham's wig.

The original flag hoisted on the evacuation of the city, was for a long time preserved in the American Museum at New York, and destroyed when that building was burnt. Mr. Barnum wrote me (Nov. 22, 1871) that the flag was well authenticated when presented to Mr. Scudder, founder of the Museum in 1810. The flag was bunting, about 9 or 10 feet wide by 12 or 15 in length, and had the thirteen stars and stripes, but the arrangement of the stars is not remembered. It was always run out in front of the Museum on the anniversaries of evacuation day and 4th of July, and was always saluted by the military when passing.¹

At the conclusion of the revolutionary struggle on the 28th of Feb., 1784, the officers of the line of the Rhode Island continental battalion presented to the assembly the colors they had so gallantly borne, with the following address :

To the Honorable, the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations :

The officers of the line of this state beg liberty to approach this honorable assembly with the warmest gratitude, upon exchanging their military employment for the rank of citizens ; the glorious objects of the late controversy with Great Britain being happily accomplished, they resume their former conditions with a satisfaction peculiar to freemen. If they have deserved

¹ Manuscript letter, from P. T. Barnum, Nov. 22, 1871.

the approbation of their country ; if they have gained the confidence of the states ; if they have endured hardships and encountered difficulties, they feel themselves still indebted for your constant attention in every period of the war. If their conduct in the field ; if their wounds, and the blood of their companions, who have nobly fallen by their side, have entitled them to any share in the laurels of their countrymen, they are fully rewarded in surrendering to your honors, upon this occasion, the standards of their corps, which have often been distinguished by the bravery of your soldiers, upon the most critical and important occasions. They beg you will be pleased to accept them, with their most cordial acknowledgments, and be assured of the profound deference with which they have the honor to be

Your most obedient humble servants,
JEREMIAH OLNEY.

Providence, February 28, A.D. 1784. In behalf of the officers.

The committee to whom this address was referred prepared the following answer, which the assembly voted should be engrossed in a fair copy by the secretary, and signed by his excellency the governor, and the honorable the speaker in behalf of the assembly, and presented by the secretary to Colonel Jeremiah Olney ; and that the standards should be carefully preserved under the immediate care of the governor, to perpetuate the noble exploits of the brave corps :

GENTLEMEN: The governor and company, in general assembly convened, with the most pleasing sensations, receive your affectionate and polite address. They congratulate you upon the happy termination of a glorious war, and upon your return to participate with citizens and freemen in the blessings of peace. With peculiar satisfaction they recollect the bravery and good conduct of the officers of the line of this state, who after suffering all the toils and fatigues of a long and bloody contest, crowned with laurels have reassumed domestic life.

They are happy in receiving those standards, which have been often displayed with glory and bravery, in the face of very

powerful enemies, and will carefully preserve the same, to commemorate the achievements of so brave a corps.

We are, gentlemen, in behalf of both houses of assembly,
with respect and esteem, your very humble servants,

WILLIAM GREENE, *Governor.*

WILLIAM BRADFORD, *Speaker.*

February 28, A.D. 1784.

To the officers of the line of this state's late continental battalion.¹

These colors are preserved in the office of the secretary of state of Rhode Island, and from a recent examination of them I obtain the following description.²

No. 1 is of white silk, ninety inches long and sixty-five inches wide, and contains thirteen gilt stars in the corner, on a very light blue ground (probably faded with time.) The outline of each star is marked with a darker shade of blue, with a shadow on the left side, thereby making the gilt star more prominent. The relative position of the stars in parallel lines is shown in fig. 15 pl. vi. In the centre of the flag is an anchor and a piece of rope twining around it, of light blue silk, the same shade as the blue union, sewed on. Above the anchor is a scroll painted in oil colors, inscribed "Hope," the motto of this state. The oil and paint have so rotted the silk that this part of the flag is gone, otherwise save a little of the edge which is torn and worn away the flag is entire. At the commencement of the war of the rebellion, this flag was taken to Washington by the 2d Rhode Island regiment, but was soon returned.

Flag No. 2 is of white silk, fifty-one inches in width and its present length forty-five inches, but a portion of the fly is gone and the flag is much torn.

It contains a light blue corner or canton of silk sewed on to a white field of silk. The canton contains thirteen white five-pointed stars or mullets painted on the silk and arranged in parallel lines as in No. 1, though not so well formed. In the centre of the field of the flag painted on both sides there is a scroll

¹ *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, vol. x, pp. 14 and 15.

² From letters of Hon. J. R. Bartlett, secretary of state of Rhode Island, Dec. 26, 1871, and Jan. 4, 1872.

upon which was painted R. ISLAND REGT. Both these flags are regimental, and not blazoned with stripes. The date of their being presented to the regiments has not been preserved.

THE STARS AND STRIPES FROM THE PEACE OF 1783 TO 1795.

The independence of the United States of America having been recognized and assured by Great Britain, the power whose allegiance they had repudiated, the stars and stripes became henceforward the recognized symbol of a new nation, and their history an exhibit of its military, naval, civil, and commercial progress. Many incidents personal to its history remain, however, which it will be interesting for us to narrate. It will also be our pleasant duty to chronicle its first appearance in various places, and its progress in peace as well as its triumphs in war.

The treaty of peace with Great Britain had no sooner been announced than the white wings of our commerce began to expand *all over the watery globe* under the genial union of the stars and stripes, displaying them everywhere to the wondering gaze of the most distant nations, and furthest isles of the seas.

The honor of having first hoisted the stars and stripes after the treaty of peace in a British port has been claimed for several vessels, and has been the occasion of considerable controversy, in which claimants for Newburyport, Philadelphia, Nantucket, and New Bedford have taken part.

After a careful examination of all the conflicting accounts, I am clearly of opinion that to the ship *Bedford* of Nantucket, Capt. Wm. Mooers, and owned by Wm. Rotch, of New Bedford, must be assigned the honor.¹

A London periodical, published in 1783, has this account of her arrival in the Thames :²

“The ship *Bedford*, Capt. Moores, belonging to Massachusetts, arrived in the Downs on the 3d of Feb., passed Gravesend the 3d, and was reported at the custom house on the 6th

¹*The Political Magazine* ; *Barnard's History of England* (page 705), a somewhat rare book, contains the same account. *The American and British Chronicle of War and Politics* under date “Feb. 7, 1783,” also records, “First American ship in the Thames, from *Nantucket*.”

inst. She was not allowed regular entry until some consultation had taken place between the commissioners of the customs and the lords of council on account of the many acts of parliament in force against the rebels of America. She was loaded with 487 butts of whale oil, is American built, manned wholly by American seamen, wears the rebel colors, and belongs to the island of Nantucket, in Massachusetts. This is the first vessel which has displayed the thirteen rebellious stripes of America in any British port. The vessel is at Horsledown, a little below the Tower, and is intended to return immediately to New England."

In a summary of parliamentary debates contained in the same magazine, under date Feb. 7th:

"Mr. Hammet begged leave to inform the house of a very recent and extraordinary event. There was, he said, at the time of his speaking, an American ship in the Thames with the thirteen stripes flying on board. The ship had offered to enter at the custom house, but the officers were all at a loss how to behave. His motive for mentioning the subject was that ministers might take such steps with the American commissioners as would secure free intercourse between this country and America."

Another London newspaper of the same date reports the Bedford "as the first vessel that has entered the river belonging to the United States." And an original letter from Peter Van Schaack, dated London, Feb. 19, 1783, contains this paragraph: "One or two vessels with the thirteen stripes flying are now in the river Thames, and their crew caressed."

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1783, corroborates these statements, and says: "Monday, Feb. 3, 1783: *Two* vessels were entered at the custom house from Nantucket, an American island near Rhode Island: a *third* ship is in the river. They are entirely laden with oil, and come under a pass from Admiral Digby, the inhabitants having agreed to remain neutral during the war."

If further confirmation of the Bedford being the first to display the stars and stripes in the Thames is necessary, we have it in the following letter from William Rotch, Jr., one of her owners. There is a discrepancy respecting the date of her display of the stars and stripes; but his letter was written nearly sixty years after the event he narrates, and it may be presumed

the contemporaneous accounts are right in that respect and that he is wrong.

New Bedford, 8th mo. 3d, 1842.

DEAR FRIEND: In my reply to thy letter of the 21st ult., received last evening, according to the best of my recollection, my father had a vessel built by Ichabod Thomas at North river, just before the revolution, for himself and Champion & Dickason, of London, for the London trade. After the war commenced, she laid at Nantucket several years, until a license was procured for her to go to London, with a cargo of oil, Timothy Folger, commander. Several gentlemen from Boston took passage in her, among whom were the late Gov. Winthrop, Thos. K. Jones, Hutchinson, and some others whose names I do not recollect.

In 1781, Admiral Digby granted thirty licenses for our vessels to go after whales. I was then connected with my father and I. Rodman in business. Considerable oil was obtained in 1782. In the fall of that year I went to New York and procured from Admiral Digby licenses for the *Bedford*, Wm. Mooers, master, and I think the *Industry*, John Chadwick, master. They loaded. The *Bedford* sailed first, and arrived in the Downs on the 23d of February, the day of the signing of the preliminary treaty of peace between the United States, France, and England!† and went up to London and there displayed for the first time the United States flag. The *Industry* arrived afterwards, and was, I suppose, the second to display it. The widow of George Hayley, who did much business with New England, would visit the old *Bedford* and see the flag displayed. She was the sister of the celebrated John Wilkes.

“We sent the sloop *Speedwell* to Aux Cayes (St. Domingo). She was taken and carried into Jamaica, but her captain was released one day after. By the treaty the war ceased in that latitude, and she was released when she showed the first United States flag there. On her return home, everything was very low by the return of peace. We put on board two hundred boxes of candles, and with William Johnson (whose widow I learned lives at Quassi) as supercargo, sent her to Quebec. Where hers, was the first United States flag exhibited.

Should thee wish any further information within my recollection, I will freely communicate it.

I am, with love to thy wife,
Thy affectionate Friend,
WM. ROTCH, Jun.¹

Thomas Kempton, of New Bedford, who was living in 1866 said the Bedford was built at New Bedford before the year 1770, probably by James Lowden, as he was the proprietor of the only ship yard there at that time. She was first rigged as a schooner, afterwards changed to a brig, and finally rebuilt, raised upon, furnished with an additional deck, and rigged as a ship. After all these alterations she measured 170 or 180 tons.² No portrait of her has been preserved, and her history after this notable cruise, is unknown.

The coinciding testimony of several cotemporary English periodicals, the discussion in parliament, the evidence of *Barnard's History* and the agreeing statement of one of her owners, seem conclusive that the Bedford was the first vessel to hoist the stars and stripes in a British port. The honor has, however, been claimed for the ship *United States* of Boston, owned by John Hancock; for a Newburyport ship, the *Comte de Grasse*, Nicholas Johnson, master; for the ship *William Penn* of Philadelphia Capt. Josiah,³ and for the the bark *Maria* belonging to the owners of the Bedford.

In 1859, there were three veterans living in Nantucket who well remembered the Bedford, and who were deeply impressed with her departure for England, which, after the sufferings of

¹ The London papers of the 6th, as we have seen, notice the Bedford's arrival on the 3d. The preliminary treaty of peace was signed at Paris Nov. 30, 1782; but its first publication was in a postscript to the London papers, Jan. 28, 1783. The treaty was not signed until September.

² The *Bedford* returned to Nantucket and entered at the custom house May 31, 1783, from London. She made a voyage to the Brazils 1773-1776. The tea ships whose cargoes were turned into Boston harbor Dec. 16, 1773, were freighted by the Rotches for the East India Co., and "a few years since the freight for that tea was paid for, every dollar of it, to the said Rotches by the East India Co. of London." — *Ms. Letter of F. C. Sanford of Nantucket*, Oct. 29, 1871. Wm. Rotch, Jun, died at New Bedford, April 17, 1850.

³ A correspondent of the *Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch*, Dec., 1871, says, that when Capt. Josiah displayed the American flag in England he commanded the *Andrea Doria*.

the long and distressing war, seemed like sending out a harbinger of peace.

The preliminaries of peace were signed on the 30th of Nov., 1782, but up to the 21st of Jan., 1783, it was only known as a rumor in the British capital.

The first publication of the terms of a treaty of peace was Jan. 28, 1783, in a postscript of the London papers about a week before the arrival of the *Bedford*. The king's proclamation was not published until the 15th of Feb., twelve days after her arrival. The news was first received in Boston, April 23d, but the treaty was not signed until September. It is no wonder then when the master of the *Bedford* appeared and demanded to enter his vessel at the custom house with her cargo of oil, coming from a country and people who were still considered rebels, his appearance should create some consternation. That under the circumstances there should have been some hesitancy in entering her was as natural, as that her arrival should be noted and remembered.

Capt. Wm. Mooers, the master of the *Bedford*, is traditionally reported as one of nature's noblemen, and his remarkable prowess as a whaler is familiar to all who have made themselves acquainted with that hazardous branch of our national enterprise. Erect and commanding in appearance, standing over six feet and weighing more than two hundred, he would have been a marked man out of a thousand.

The Madame Hayley, alluded to in Mr. Rotch's letter, was a sister of John Wilkes, and a valuable friend to Boston and America during the revolution. Both she and Mr. Rotch were passengers in the *United States* (one of the claimants for the *Bedford's* honors), on her return from London to Boston as appeared on her log book, which I saw and examined in Boston in 1865. She was a woman of much energy and great mercantile endowments. While in Boston she gave £100 towards building Charlestown bridge, and was granted the privilege of being the first person to pass over it.

The *Maria*, one of the claimants of the *Bedford's* honors belonged to the same owners. Mrs. Farrar, a granddaughter of Wm. Rotch, in her *Recollections of Seventy Years*, says: "I have often heard the old gentleman (Wm. Rotch) tell

with pride and pleasure that the *Maria* was the first ship that ever unfurled the flag of the United States in the Thames."¹ But Mrs. Farrar has confounded the *Maria* with the *Bedford*, for the *Maria* was not built until the autumn of 1782, and was lying at Nantucket when the *Bedford* was at anchor in the Downs. Mr. Rotch's letter was in reply to inquiries respecting the *Maria*.

The *Maria* was built at Pembroke, now called Hanson, for a privateer. According to her register she was eighty-six feet long, twenty-three feet one inch wide, eleven feet six and a half inches deep, and measured $202\frac{2}{9}\frac{8}{8}$ tons. She was purchased by Mr. Rotch, and brought by Capt Mooers to Nantucket previous to his sailing thence in the *Bedford*. On his return from that voyage he took the *Maria* to London with a cargo of oil, and on a subsequent voyage he made in her the passage from Nantucket to Dover in twenty-one days. His owner was a passenger on board,² it is narrated that on the passage Mr. Rotch, during a storm, became alarmed, and venturing part way out of the cabin gangway said: "Capt. Mooers, it would be more conducive to our safety, for thee to take in some sail, *thee had better do so!*" To which Capt. M. replied, "Mr. Rotch, I have undertaken to carry you to England; there is a comfortable cabin for you; I am commander of the ship and will look to her safety!" He could not brook directions even from his owner.

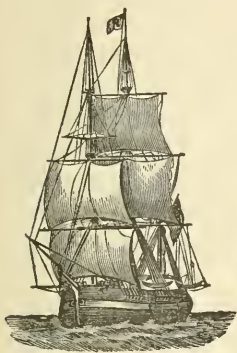
The *Maria*, under the name of the *Maria Pochoco* and the Chilian flag, continued her cruising in the Pacific until 1870, when a notice of her springing a leak and foundering at sea was published in the San Francisco newspapers. At the time of her loss she was in such good condition, she bade fair to outlast her century. The flag she first wore, though in shreds, is said to be still in existence in New Bedford. In 1852, she was hauled upon the Fairhaven railway for repairs, but no essential improvement or alteration in her model was ever made.

¹ Mrs. P. A. Hanaford in her *Field, Gunboat, Hospital, and Prison*, helps to spread and perpetuate Mrs. Farrar's erroneous statement, and makes the further mistake of calling William Rotch the father of Mrs. Farrar, and the *Maria* a whale ship at the time of her voyage to England.

The pride and pleasure of the venerable owner of the *Maria* were all right, as he was also the owner of the *Bedford*, and both ships were commanded by Capt. Mooers.

² The *Maria*, Wm. Mooers, master, sailed from Nantucket for London, 7th mo. 4th, 1785. Wm. and Benj. Rotch, the father and brother of Wm. Rotch, Jun., on board as passengers, going to establish the whale fishery from an English port.

After her voyage to London she was employed in the whale fishery, and for fifty or sixty years was owned by Samuel Rodman of New Bedford and his descendants. Our illustration



The Maria 1859.

represents her as she appeared in 1859. It is said there then stood to her credit \$250,000, and she had been of no expense to her underwriters but once, and then only for a trifling amount. She once made two voyages to the Pacific within the short space of two years, returning each time with a full cargo of oil. She concluded her first whaling voyage on the 26th of Sept., 1795, and sailed from New Bedford on her twenty-seventh and last whaling voyage under our flag on the 29th of Sept., 1859. On these voyages she is credited with having taken 24,419 barrels of sperm,

and 134 barrels of whale oil. In 1856, a Mr. Hardhitch of Fairhaven, who sixty-four years before had assisted in making her a suit of sails, was again employed on the same service for her. Feb. 24, 1863, she was repaired and sold at Talcahuana, and passed under the Chilian flag, probably to avoid the risk of her capture by rebel cruisers. Her purchasers, Messrs. Burton and Trumbull, of Talcahuana, employed her in the coal trade. In July 1, 1866, she was fitted out for Talcahuana on a whaling voyage under command of David Briggs, of Dartmouth, Mass., and foundered as we said in 1870, or according to another account, was sunk that year in the harbor of Payta.¹

The honor of displaying our flag in England for the first time does not, however, rest with any vessel, if a painted representation of it can be considered. In that case to John Singleton Copley of Boston, the American painter, and the father of the late Lord Lyndhurst, must be assigned the honor.

Elkanah Watson, of Philadelphia, a distinguished patriot and philanthropist, relates in his *Reminiscences*, that at the close of our revolutionary struggle, having on the occasion of Lord Howe's relief of Gibraltar received 100 guineas the result of a wager, and the same day dining with Copley, he resolved to devote that sum to a portrait of himself. The painting was finished all but

¹ *Boston Advertiser*, July 14, 1870.

the back ground, that being reserved by Copley to represent a ship bearing to America the intelligence of the acknowledgment of independence — a rising sun gilding the stars and stripes of the new born nation streaming from her gaff. All was completed, save the flag, which the painter did not esteem it prudent to insert, as his gallery was a constant resort of the royal family and nobility. I dined, says Watson, with the artist on the glorious 5th of Dec., 1782, after listening with him to the speech of the king formally receiving and recognizing the United States of America as one of the nations of the earth. Previous to dining, and immediately after our return from the house of lords, Copley invited us into his studio and there and then, with a bold hand and master touch and American heart attached to the ship the stars and stripes. Thus while the words of acknowledgment were still warm from the king's lips, the late rebel but henceforth free colors were displayed in his own kingdom, and within a few rods of his own palace.¹

This historic portrait was in the possession of the late Col. Charles N. Watson of Port Kent, Essex Co., New York, a son of the original. An engraving of it is attached to the *Reminiscences*.

The first vessel to carry our flag into the Chinese sea is a matter of conjecture, yet amid many conflicting claims there seems little doubt that the honor rightfully belongs to the ship *Empress*, Capt. Green. She sailed from New York on the 22d of February, 1784 (Washington's birth-day), touched at Europe on her outward voyage, and returned to New York, on the 11th of May, 1785, having made the round voyage in less than fifteen months.

When the thirteen stripes and stars first appeared at Canton, it is said much curiosity was excited among the people. News was circulated that a strange ship had arrived from the farther end of the world bearing a flag as beautiful as a flower. Every body went to see the *Kaw-kee-cheun* or flower flag ship. This name at once established itself in the language, and America is now called *Kaw-kee-koh*, the flower flag country, and an American, *Kaw-kee-koch-yin*, flower flag country men — a more compli-

¹ *Life and Reminiscences of Elkanah Watson*, 8vo.

mentary designation than that of red-headed barbarian, the name first bestowed on the Dutch.

Foreign names, however unmeaning originally, when written in Chinese, acquire a significance which is often strikingly curious. Thus the two Chinese characters, *Yong-kee* (Yankee) signify the flag of the ocean, and Washington or *Wo-shing-tung*, as it would be written, signifies rescue and glory at last.¹

The ship Franklin of Salem, Capt. James Devereaux, is believed to have been the first to carry our flag to Japan. She sailed from Boston Dec. 11, 1798, arrived at Batavia April 28, 1799, reached Japan July 19, 1799, and arrived home May 20, 1800. Her log book is preserved in the library of the Essex Institute at Salem.

The first vessel to carry our flag direct to eastern seas was the appropriately named sloop Enterprise, Capt. Stewart Dean. She was a little sloop-rigged vessel of eighty tons, built at Albany, N. Y., and was like the ordinary North river craft. She sailed in 1785, and returned home within the year. The English factory at Canton, notwithstanding the jealousies and interests of trade, struck with the boldness of the experiment, received these adventurers with kindness and hospitality.

The honor of being the first to carry our flag around the world is assigned to the auspiciously and appropriately named ship *Columbia*, which, under command of Capts. Kendrick and Gray, circumnavigated the globe in 1789-90.²

The *Columbia*, Capt. John Kendrick, and sloop *Washington*, Capt. Robt. Gray, sailed from Boston, Sept. 30, 1787, and proceeded to the Cape de Verde, and thence to the Falkland islands. Jan., 1788, they doubled Cape Horn, and immediately after were separated in a violent gale. The *Washington*, continuing her course through the Pacific, made the north-west coast in August near lat. 46° N. Here Capt Gray thought he perceived indications of the mouth of a river, but was unable to ascertain the fact in consequence of his vessel grounding and his being attacked by savages. With the loss of one man killed, and the mate wounded, the *Washington* arrived at Nootka sound on the 17th of September, where, some days later, she was joined by the *Columbia*.

¹ American Newspaper.

² Bulfinch's *Oregon and Eldorado*.

The two vessels spent the winter in the sound; and the Columbia lay there during the following summer, while Capt. Gray in the *Washington* explored the adjacent waters. On his return to Nootka it was agreed by the two captains that Kendrick should take command of the sloop, and remain upon the coast while Capt. Gray in the *Columbia* should carry to Canton the furs which had been collected by both vessels. This was done; and Gray arrived, on the 6th of Dec., at Canton, where he sold his furs, and took a cargo of tea, with which he entered Boston on the 10th of Augt., 1790, having carried the thirteen stars and thirteen stripes for the first time around the world.

Kendrick immediately on parting with the *Columbia* proceeded with the *Washington* to the straits of Fuca, through which he sailed in its whole length to its issue in the Pacific in lat. 51 north. To him belongs the credit of ascertaining that Nootka and the parts adjacent are an island, to which the name of Vancouver island has since been given. Vancouver was the British commander who followed in the track of the Americans a year later. The injustice done to Kendrick is but one of many similar instances; the greatest of all being that by which our continent itself bears the name, not of Columbus or Cabot, but of a subsequent navigator.

Capt. Kendrick during the time occupied by Gray on his return voyage, besides collecting furs engaged in various speculations, one of which was the collection and transportation to China of sandal wood, which grows on many of the tropical islands of the Pacific, and is in great demand throughout the celestial empire for ornamental fabrics and medicinal purposes. The business has ever since been prosecuted by Americans with advantage.

Capt. Kendrick was killed in exchanging salutes with a Spanish vessel at the Sandwich islands. The wad from one of the Spaniard's guns struck him as he stood on the deck of his vessel in his dress coat and cocked hat, as the commander of the expedition, and was instantly fatal.

The *Columbia*, as has been already stated, returned to Boston under the command of Gray. Her cargo of Chinese articles did not cover the expense of the voyage, nevertheless her owner refitted her for a similar cruise. Again under the command of Gray she

sailed from Boston on the 28th of Sept., 1790, and arrived at Clioquot, near the straits of Fuca, June 5, 1791. There, and in neighboring waters, she remained through the following summer and winter trading with the natives and exploring. Early in 1792 Gray took his departure on a cruise southward along the coast, bent on ascertaining the truth of the appearances, which on his former voyage led him to suspect the existence of a river discharging its waters at or about the latitude of 46° . During this cruise he met with Vancouver. On the 29th of April, Vancouver writes in his journal: "At four o'clock a sail was discovered at the westward standing in shore. This was a very great novelty, not having seen any vessel but our consort during the last eight months. She soon hoisted *American colors* and fired a gun to leeward. At six we spoke her. She proved to be the ship *Columbia* commanded by Capt. Robert Gray, belonging to Boston, whencœ she had been absent nineteen months. I sent two of my officers on board to acquire such information as might be serviceable in our future operations. Capt. Gray informed them of his having been off the mouth of a river, in latitude of $46^{\circ} 10'$ north, for nine days; but the outset or reflux was so strong as to prevent his entering."

Vancouver gave little credit to Capt. Gray's statements and remarks. "I was so thoroughly persuaded, as were most persons of observation on board, that we could not have passed any safe navigable opening, harbor, or place of security for shipping from Cape Mendecino to Luca's strait."

After parting with the English ship, Gray sailed along the coast southward, and on the 7th of May, 1792, "saw an entrance which had a very good appearance of a harbor." Passing through this entrance, he found himself in a bay "well sheltered from the sea by long sand bars and spits," where he remained three days trading with the natives and then resumed his voyage, bestowing on the place thus discovered the name of Bulfinch's harbor, in honor of one of the owners of the ship. This is now known as Gray's harbor.

At daybreak on the 11th, after leaving Bulfinch's harbor Gray observed the entrance of his desired port, bearing east south-east distant six leagues, and running into it with all sails set, between the breakers he anchored at one o'clock in a large

river of fresh water ten miles above its mouth. At this spot he remained three days, engaged in trading with the natives, and filling his casks with water ; and then sailed up the river about twelve miles along its northern shore, where, finding he could proceed no farther from having taken the wrong channel, he came to anchor. On the 20th he recrossed the bar at the mouth of the river and regained the Pacific.

On leaving the river, Gray gave it the name of his ship, the *COLUMBIA*, a name it still bears. He called the southern point of land at the entrance, Cape Adams, and the northern Cape Hancock. The first of these capes retains its name on the maps, but the latter promontory is known as Cape Disappointment, a name given to it by Lieut. Meares an English navigator, who like Capt. Gray judged from appearances there was the outlet of a river at that point, but failed in finding one, and recorded his failure in the name of this conspicuous headland, which marked the place of his fruitless search.

From the mouth of Columbia river, Gray sailed to Nootka sound, where he communicated his recent discoveries to the Spanish commandant Quadra ; to whom he also gave charts, with descriptions of Bulfinch's harbor and the mouth of the Columbia. He departed for Canton in September, and sailed thence for the United States.

A medal was struck in commemoration of these events.

The voyages of Kendrick and Gray were not profitable to the adventurers, yet not fruitless of benefit to the country. They opened the way to subsequent enterprises in the same region which were eminently successful. In another point of view these expeditions were fraught with consequences of the utmost importance. Gray's discovery of the Columbia river was the point most relied upon by our negociators subsequently for establishing the claim of the United States to the part of the continent through which it flows : and it is in a great measure owing to that discovery that the growing state of Oregon is now a part of the American republic.

From the date of the discovery of the Columbia river to the war of 1812-14, the direct trade between the American coast and China was almost entirely in the hands of citizens of the United States. The British merchants were restrained from

pursuing it by the opposition of their East India Company; the Russians were not admitted into Chinese ports, and few ships of any other nation were seen in that part of the ocean.¹

The whaling ship *Washington*, of Nantucket, it is claimed, under command of Capt. George Bunker, was the first to show the American flag in a Spanish Pacific port.

About a year after the *Columbia* had completed her voyage around the world, in the summer of 1791, six ships, three of them new, and three old, were sent out from Nantucket to cruise for whales in that ocean. All sailed under the new born "Flag of the free." The new ships were the *Bearce*, *Hector*, and *Washington*; the old, the *Rebecca*, *Favorite*, and *Warren*. None of them exceeded 250 tons in burthen, and all were heavy, dull sailers, without copper on their bottoms, and poorly and scantily fitted, but they were manned by men of an iron nerve, and an energy that knew no turning. They all passed successfully around Cape Horn, and some went down the coast while the others remained on the coast of Chili.

The *Washington* went to Callao on the coast of Peru, and on the 4th of July, 1792, two months after the discovery of the *Columbia* river by Gray, displayed the stars and stripes in that port. Lying there at the time was an English whaling vessel, and a French brig, both of which were manned by Nantucket men, who assisted Capt. Bunker in his commemoration of the day. Capt. B. had a son with him, then about fourteen years of age, from whose recollections this reminiscence is obtained. He died in 1864, aged eighty-six years.

FIFTEEN STARS AND FIFTEEN STRIPES.

1795 to 1818.

At the beginning of 1794, in consequence of the admission of Vermont, March 4, 1791, and Kentucky, June 1, 1792, into the sisterhood of the Union, an act was passed increasing the stars and stripes on our flag from thirteen to fifteen, but not to take effect until May, 1795.

The act for this alteration originated in the senate, and when it came down to the house, was the occasion of considerable

¹ Bulfinch's *Oregon and Eldorado*, and *Vancouver's Voyage*.

debate and opposition illustrating the temper of the time as well as the design of the flag.

“Jan. 7, 1794. The house resolved itself into a committee of the whole house on the bill sent from the senate entitled :

“*An act making an alteration in the flag of the United States.*”

Mr. Goodhue thought it a trifling business which ought not to engross the attention of the house, when it was its duty to discuss matters of infinitely greater consequence. If we alter the flag from thirteen to fifteen stripes, and two additional stars because Vermont and Kentucky have been added, we may go on adding and altering at this rate for one hundred years to come. It is very likely before fifteen years elapse we shall consist of twenty states. The flag ought to be permanent.”

In almost literal fulfillment of this opinion, when the flag was remodeled in 1818, twenty-four years after, the new union contained twenty stars, representatives of as many states.

“*Mr. Lyman* differed in opinion with Mr. Goodhue. He thought it of the greatest importance not to offend new states.

Mr. Thatcher ridiculed the idea of being at so much trouble on a consummate piece of frivolity. At this rate every state should alter its public seal, when an additional county or township was formed. He was sorry to see the house take up their time with such trifles.

Mr. Greenup considered it of very great consequence to inform the rest of the world we had added two additional states.

Mr. Niles was very sorry such a matter should for a moment have hindered the house from going into more important matters. He did not think the alteration either worth the trouble of adopting or rejecting, but he supposed the shortest way to get rid of it was to agree to it ; and for that reason and no other he advised to pass it as soon as possible.

The committee having agreed upon the alteration, the chairman reported the bill, and the house took it up.

Mr. Boudinot said he thought it of consequence to keep the citizens of Vermont and Kentucky in good humor. They might be affronted at our rejecting the bill.

Mr. Goodhue continuing his opposition said he felt for the honor of the house when spending their time in such sort

of business,¹ but since it must be passed he had only to beg as a favor that it might not appear upon the journal and go into the world as the first bill passed this session.

Mr. Madison was for the bill passing.

Mr. Giles thought it proper that the idea should be preserved of the number of our states and the number of *stripes* corresponding. The expense was but trifling compared with that of forming the government of a new state.

Mr. Smith said that this alteration would cost him five hundred dollars, and every vessel in the Union sixty dollars. He could not conceive what the senate meant by sending them such bills. He supposed it was for want of something better to do. He should indulge them, but let us have no more alterations of the sort. Let the flag be permanent."

The bill thus debated was finally passed and approved on the 13th day of Jan. 1794. It was the first bill completed at that session of congress, and reads as follows:

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That from and after the first day of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, the flag of the United States be fifteen stripes alternate red and white, that the union be fifteen stars, white in a blue field."

The same congress passed an act on the 27th of March, 1794, which authorized the building of the frigate *Constitution* and five other frigates, the commencement of a new navy. The new flag floated over her and all of them, throughout the war of 1812-14.

When *Mr. Munroe*, the United States minister, presented his credentials on the 14th of August, 1794, to the French republic, and communicated to the national convention the wish of his fellow-citizens for the prosperity of the nation, the convention, on the report of the committee of public safety to whom his credentials had been referred, decreed that he should be introduced into the bosom of the convention, and the president should give him the fraternal embrace, as a symbol of the friendship which united the American and French people.

In the national convention August 15th, 1794, the discussions on the organization of the several committees were commenced,

¹ What would he say to the business habits of our modern congresses, and the time wasted in frivolous debates and buncombe speeches.

but the deliberation was soon after interrupted by the arrival of the minister plenipotentiary from the United States. He was conducted into the centre of the hall, and the secretary read the translation of his discourse and credential letters, signed by George Washington, president of the United States, and Edmund Randolph, secretary of state, at Philadelphia, May 28th. The reading of this was accompanied by repeated shouts of "Vive la Republique! Vive les Republiques! and unusual acclamations of applause." The discourse which was ordered to be printed in the French and American languages was in part as follows :

"Among other things Mr. Munroe observed that as a certain proof of the great desire of his countrymen for the freedom, prosperity, and happiness of the French republic, he assured them that the continental congress had requested the president to make known to them this sentiment, and while acting agreeably to the desire of the two houses, the president enjoined him to declare the congeniality of his sentiment with theirs."

The secretary then read the letter of credentials, when the president of the convention replied to this effect :

"The French people have never forgotten that they owe to the Americans the imitation of liberty. They admired the sublime insurrection of the American people against Albion of old so proud and now so disgraced. They sent their armies to assist the Americans, and in strengthening the independence of that country, the French, at the same time, learned to break the sceptre of their own tyranny and erect a statue of liberty on the ruins of a throne founded upon the corruption and the crimes of four score centuries."

The president proceeded to remark "that the alliance between the two republics was not merely a diplomatic transaction, but an alliance of cordial friendship." He hoped that this alliance would be indissoluble, and prove the scourge of tyrants, and the protection of the rights of man. He observed how differently an American ambassador would have been received in France six years before, by the usurper of the liberty of the people ; and how much merit he would have claimed for having graciously condescended to take the United States under his protection. "At this day" he said "it is the sovereign people itself, represented by its

faithful deputies, that receives the ambassador with real attachment, while affected *mortality* (?) is at an end." He longed to crown it with the fraternal embrace. "I am charged," said he, "to give it in the name of the nation. Come and receive it in the name of the American nation, and let this scene destroy the last hope of the impious coalition of tyrants."

The president then gave the fraternal kiss and embrace to the minister, and declared that he recognized James Monroe in this quality.

"It was then decreed, on the motion of Mons. Bayle, that the colors of both nations should be suspended at the vault of the hall as a sign of perpetual alliance and union." The minister took his seat on the mountain on the left of the president, and received the fraternal kiss from several deputies. The sitting of the convention was suspended.

On the 25 Fructidor (Sept. 25th) about a month after this scene, the President "BERNARD of Saints" announced to the convention the receipt of a stand of colors by the hands of an officer of the United States from the minister plenipotentiary of the United States to be placed in the hall of the national convention at the side of the French colors, accompanied by the following letter:

"The Minister of the United States of America to the President of the National Convention.

"CITIZEN PRESIDENT: The convention having decreed that the colors of the American and French republics should be united and stream together in the place of its sittings, as a testimony of the union and friendship which ought to subsist forever between the two nations, I thought that I could not better manifest the deep impression which this decree has made on me and express the thankful sensations of my constituents, than by procuring their colors to be carefully executed, and in offering them in the name of the American people to the representatives of the French nation.

"I have had them made in the form lately decreed by congress [15 stripes and 15 stars] and have trusted them to Captain *Barney*, an officer of distinguished merit, who has rendered us great services by sea, in the course of *our* revolution. He is charged to present and to deposit them on the spot which you shall *judge proper*

to appoint for them. Accept, citizen president, this standard as a new pledge of the sensibility with which the American people always receive the interest and friendship which their good and brave allies give them; as also of the pleasure and ardor with which they seize every opportunity of cementing and consolidating the union and good understanding between the two nations."

Captain Barney being ordered to be admitted entered the bar with the standard amidst universal shouts of applause which also accompanied the reading of Mr. Monroe's letter.

In delivering the standard, Capt. Barney said:

"CITIZEN PRESIDENT: Having been directed by the minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America to present the national convention the flag asked of him, the flag under the auspices of which I have had the honor to fight against our common enemy during the war which has assured liberty and independence, I discharge the duty with the most lively satisfaction, and deliver it to you. Henceforth suspended on the side of that of the French republic, it will become the symbol of the union which subsists between the two nations, and last, I hope, as long as the freedom which they have so bravely acquired and so wisely consolidated."

A member said: "The citizen who has just spoke at the bar, is one of the most distinguished sea officers of America. He has rendered great service to the liberty of his country, and he could render the same to the liberty of France. I demand that this observation be referred to the examination of the committee of public safety, and that the fraternal embrace be given to this brave officer."

This proposition was received with applause. Several voices cried: "The fraternal embrace," which was decreed, and Barney went up to the chair of the president, and received the fraternal embrace, amidst unanimous acclamation and applause. The fraternal embrace consisted of a *bug*, and a kiss upon each cheek. A member arose in his place (a Matthieu) and proposed that their new brother *citoyen* Barney, should be employed in the navy of the republic. The resolution passed unanimously, but Barney was at the time, from his other engagements, obliged to decline the honor. Subsequently he received and accepted the rank of *capitaine de vaisseau du premier*, and a commission as *chef de division des*

armées navales, answering to the rank of commodore in our service.

When the grand ceremony decreed by the national convention, to honor the memory of *Jean Jacques Rousseau* on depositing his remains in the *Pantheon* took place, Mr. Monroe and all the Americans at Paris were especially invited to be present. The whole population of Paris united in one moving mass to honor them. The urn containing the ashes of Jean Jacques was placed on a platform erected over the centre of the basin of the principal *jet d'eau* in the Garden of the Tuileries, where it remained until the procession was formed, and prepared to advance; it was then taken down, and surrounded by all the trappings of mourning, removed to the place assigned it in the procession. The American minister, and the citizens of the United States who accompanied him, were placed immediately *in front* of the members of the national convention, who appeared in official costumes. *The American Flag*, so recently presented to the convention by Mr. Monroe, borne by Capt. Barney and a nephew of Mr. Monroe, preceded the column of Americans, an honor to which the national convention itself appointed them. A tricolored cordon, supported by the orphan sons of revolutionary soldiers, "*les élevés de la nation*," crossed the front, and led down each flank of the two columns composed of Americans and the members of the national convention. These youths were all dressed in blue jackets and trowsers, and scarlet vests, and were several hundreds in number. The procession moved from the Palace of the Tuileries down the principal avenue of the garden, to the *Place de la Revolution*, thence, by the boulevards, through *Rue St. Honoré* and other principal streets, to the *Pont Neuf* and thence to the Pantheon. The windows of every house from top to bottom, on either hand, throughout the whole extent of the march, were crowded with full dressed females waving their handkerchiefs and small tricolored flags — while from every story of each house a large flag of the same description permanently projected. The distance from the Palace of the Tuileries to the Pantheon, computing the meandering of the procession, was about two miles. Arrived at the Pantheon, Mr. Monroe and his suite were the only persons permitted to enter the national convention, to witness the conclusion of the ceremony.¹

¹ *Life of Commodore Joshua Barney.*

It is a little singular, after all these ceremonies, that Mr. Monroe should have omitted to make any mention of them in his official dispatches. In a *postscript* to a dispatch to the secretary of state dated March 6, 1795,¹ six months after these occurrences, he says he had “forgotten to notify him officially of his having presented the French national convention with our flag,” and adds: “It was done in consequence of an order of its body, for its suspension in its halls, and an intimation from the president himself, that they had none, and were ignorant of the model.”

In return, on the 1st of January, 1796,² the minister of the French republic to the United States presented the colors of France³ to the United States, and addressed the president as follows:

“MR. PRESIDENT: I come to acquit myself of a duty very dear to my heart. I come to deposit in your hands, and in the midst of a people justly renowned for their courage and their love of liberty, the symbol of the triumphs and of the enfranchisement of my nation.

* * * * *

The national convention, the organ of the will of the French nation, have more than once expressed their sentiments to the American people; but above all, these burst forth on that august day, when the minister of the United States presented to

¹ *American State Papers*, vol. 1, 1832 Ed., p. 698.

² Washington received a communication from the French minister on the 22d of December and proposed to receive the colors on the 1st day of the new year, a day of general joy and congratulation.

³ These colors were the tricolor which had been established by the following decree, and succeeded the colors, etc., decreed by the national assembly, October 21, 1790, and were hoisted over the fleet at Brest with ceremonies and festivity, January 11, 1791.

February 15th, 1793. The national convention of France, in consequence of the report of St. André, passed the following decree:

1st. The maritime flag decreed by the national constitutional assembly is suppressed.

2d. The national flag shall henceforth be formed of the three national colors disposed in three equal bands, put in a vertical direction, in such a manner that the blue be affixed to the staff of the flag, the white in the middle, and the red floating in the air.

3d. The flag called the jack, and the flag on the stern of the ships, shall be disposed in the same manner, observing the usual proportion of size.

4th. The streamers (pennants) shall likewise be formed of three colors; of which one-fifth shall be blue, one-fifth white, and three-fifths red.

5th. The national flag shall be hoisted in all the ships of the republic on the 20th of May: and the minister of marine shall give the necessary orders for that purpose.

the national representation, the colors of his country. Desiring never to lose recollections so dear to Frenchmen, as they must be to Americans, the convention ordered that these colors should be placed in the hall of their sittings. They had experienced sensations too agreeable not to cause them to be partaken of by their allies, and decreed that to them the national colors should be presented.

“*Mr. President*: I do not doubt their expectations will be fulfilled, and I am convinced that every citizen will receive, with pleasing emotion, this flag, elsewhere the terror of the enemies of liberty, here the certain pledge of faithful friendship; especially when they recollect that it guides to combat men who have shared their toils, and who were prepared for liberty, by aiding them to acquire their own.”

General Washington, in his reply the same day to this address, after expressing his congratulations on the formation and establishment of the French republic, said: “I receive, sir, with lively sensibility, the symbol of the triumphs and of the enfranchisement of your nation, the colors of France, which you have now presented to the United States. The transaction will be announced to congress, and the colors will be deposited with those archives of the United States, which are at once the evidence and the memorial of their freedom and independence. May these be perpetual! and may the friendship of the two republics be commensurate with their existence.”¹

The house proceeded at once to consider the above, and

“*Resolved, unanimously*, That the president be requested to make known to the representatives of the French people, that this house had received with the most sincere and lively sensibility the communication of the committee of public safety, dated the 21st of October, 1794, accompanied with the colors of the French republic; and to assure them, that the presentation of the colors of the French republic to the congress of the United States is deemed the most honorable testimonial of the existing sympathies and affections of the two republics founded upon their solid and reciprocal interests; and that this house rejoices in the opportunity thereby afforded, to congratulate the French

¹*American State Papers*, 3d ed., vol. II, page 100.

nation upon the brilliant and glorious achievements, which have been accomplished under their influence, during the present afflicting war ; and confidently hopes that those achievements will be attended with the perfect attainment of their object ; the permanent establishment of the liberties and happiness of a great and magnanimous people."

Mr. Giles and Mr. Smith were appointed a committee to wait upon the president with this resolution.¹

Mr. Adet, the French minister to the United States, was not satisfied with this disposition of the tricolor, and nine days later writes to Mr. Pickering, secretary of state, thus : " When the national convention decreed that the French flag should be presented by its minister to the United States, there was but one opinion as to the place in which it should be deposited. A decree had placed yours in the hall of the legislative body. Every one thought that the French flag would with you receive the same honor ; all my fellow citizens have, one after another, contemplated that pledge of your friendship, and each one believed that the Americans would also have the some eagerness to view the symbol of the enfranchisement of a friendly nation, who like them had purchased their liberty at the price of blood. This expectation has not been fulfilled, and it has been decided that the French flag shall be shut up among the archives. Whatever may be the expression of friendship in the answer of the president, however amicable, also, are the resolutions of the house of representatives, I cannot doubt, sir, that the order made for preserving a flag which the republic sent only to the United States, will be looked upon by it as a mark of contempt or indifference. Pride, sir, you know, is the portion of a free people ; and it is never wounded but at the expense of friendship. The present circumstances are extremely delicate ; and when I am convinced the American government had no intention of leading the French republic to think that the gift of her flag is worth nothing in its eyes, should it not give her authentic proof of it ? Would it not be convenient to fix this flag in a similar place to that which yours occupies in France, and where the national honor expected to see it ?"

¹ *American State Papers*, 3d ed., vol. 11, p. 100.

Mr. Pickering in his reply, dated Jan. 15th, 1796, regrets that the real and essential friendship of two free people should be wounded by a circumstance of this kind, resulting from the different ideas they entertain of the mode most proper for preserving the sign of their liberty, and of the victories and triumphs by which it was acquired, and calls to mind that the representatives of the French people assembled in one room, and that their own colors were exhibited there, when it was decreed the colors of the United States should be. That on the contrary the people of the United States were represented by the president or executive, the senate, and the house of representatives, the president being the *sole constitutional organ* of communication with foreign nations. "When therefore the colors of France were delivered to the president, they were in the only proper manner presented to the people of the United States of America, for whom the president is the only constitutional depository of foreign communications. Of these, the president transmits to the two houses of congress such as he thinks proper for their information; and thus the colors of France were exhibited to their view. But the United States have never made a public display of their own colors, except in their ships, and in their military establishments." "Under these circumstances, what honor could be shown to the colors of France more respectful than to deposit them with the evidences and memorials of our own freedom and independence? If to the United States only the colors of France have been presented, I answer that the colors of France alone have been deposited with our national archives, that both may be preserved with equal care." He closes with this following dignified rebuke of the minister dictating the proper place for the deposit of the French flag. "I must also remark, that the people of the United States exhibited nowhere in their deliberative assemblies, any public spectacles as the tokens of their victories, the symbols of their triumphs, or the monuments of their freedom. Understanding in what true liberty consists, contented with its enjoyment, and knowing how to preserve it, they reverence their own customs, while they respect those of their sister republic. This I conceive, sir, is the way to maintain peace and good harmony between France and the United States and not by demanding an adoption of the man-

ners of the other : in these we must be mutually free." "This explanation, sir, I hope will be satisfactory to you and to your government, and in concurrence with the manner of receiving the French colors, and the unanimous sentiments of affection and good wishes expressed on the occasion by the president, the senate, and the house of representatives, effectually repel every idea that could wound the friendship subsisting between the two nations."¹

As everything connected with the old frigate Constitution, of glorious memories and victories, and which still exists to stimulate the patriotism of our naval aspirants is of interest, we are glad to be able to record the name of the person who first hoisted our flag over her, little imagining the glorious history she would make for it. Though her keel was laid in 1794, she was not launched until Oct. 21, 1797. It was intended she should be the first vessel of the new and permanent navy. But two of the six frigates ordered to be built were launched before her, viz. : The United States launched July 10, 1797, and destroyed at Norfolk, April 20, 1861 ; and the Constellation launched Sept. 7, 1797, and now represented by a new ship bearing the same name.

The Constitution, better known perhaps as Old Ironsides, has been often repaired and rebuilt, but remains of the same model, and is of the same tonnage and general appearance as when built. She was modelled by Joshua Humphries, and built by George Claghorne and Mr. Hartley of Boston.

When she was ready to be launched, Commodore Nicholson, who had the charge and superintendence of her construction, left the ship yard to get his breakfast, leaving express orders not to hoist any flag over her until his return, intending to reserve that honor to himself. Among the workmen upon her was a shipwright and caulker named Samuel Bentley, who with the assistance of another workman named Harris, bent on and hoisted the stars and stripes during the commodore's absence. When the commodore returned and saw our flag contrary to his orders floating over her, he was very wrathy,

¹ *American State Papers*, Gales and Seaton, 1832, vol. 1, p. 656. This same captious Frenchman a few months later made official complaint, that the *Philadelphia Directory* for 1796 gave precedence on its list of foreign ministers to the minister of Great Britain over those of France and Spain. Mr. Pickering of course replies, the United States has no control over the publication of almanacs and directories.

and expressed himself in words more strong than polite to the offending workmen. Could he have foreseen the future of the noble frigate he would have been still more excited at Bentley's little *coup d'état*. He had, however, the satisfaction of being the first to command her, and we know she was the first of the new frigates to carry the fifteen stars and fifteen stripes under canvas upon the deep blue sea. Bentley died in Boston, in 1852.

The fifteen stars and fifteen stripes were worn by the Constitution before Tripoli and throughout the war of 1812. It was the flag worn by the Constellation in her actions with *l'Insurgente* and *La Vengeance*, the flag that waved over *Derne*, the flag of Lake Erie and of New Orleans, and of our naval victories on the Atlantic, and which was carried around both Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope in the *Essex*, the first United States vessel of war to show a pennant beyond either.

On the 6th of January, 1800, the *Essex* sailed from New York for Batavia in company with the *Congress*. When six days out the *Congress* was dismasted, and the *Essex* having lost sight of her and knowing nothing of the disaster proceeded on her voyage alone.

On the 28th of March, 1800, she doubled the Cape of Good Hope on her outward voyage, and on the 27th of August, 1800, repassed it after a tempestuous passage on her return home, and was thus the first vessel of the United States navy to pass and repass that stormy barrier, rightly named by its discoverer "*Cabo de las Tormentas*." It was also the good fortune of the *Essex* under Commodore David Porter on her last and most celebrated cruise to be the first vessel of our navy to pass around Cape Horn. The *Essex* left St. Catharine's, Brazil, on the 26th of Jan., 1813, passed the cape on the 14th of Feb., and after a most stormy and tempestuous time in weathering it encountered a pleasant south-west breeze in the Pacific ocean on the 5th, and arrived off Valparaiso on the 13th of March, where she anchored on the 15th of the same month.

The cape was made on the 14th of February under the promising auspices of a tolerably clear horizon, a moderate wind from the westward and a bright sun. Every man was exulting in their escape from the dreaded terrors of Cape Horn when

suddenly a tempest burst upon the ship which raised an irregular and dangerous sea, and reduced her flowing canvas to storm staysails. Storm succeeded storm, with intervals of deceitful calm, which encouraged the making of sail, and added to the labor of the hard working crew, who were immediately forced to reef again to meet the coming blast.

On the last day of February being in latitude 50° S., Capt. Porter, as his ship glided on a smooth sea before a moderate breeze congratulated himself upon the cheering prospect and made preparations for fine weather, thinking the dangers and disagreeable attendants of a passage around the cape all over. The wind, however, soon freshened to a gale and blew with a fury exceeding anything before experienced during the voyage. It was hoped from the excessive violence of the wind, that it would soon blow out its strength. This hope failing, all on board, worn out with fatigue and anxiety, alarmed by the terrors of a lee-shore, and in momentary expectation of the loss of the masts and bowsprit, began to consider their safety hopeless. The ship with her water-ways gaping and her timbers separating widely from the heavy and continued straining to which she had been so long exposed, now made a great deal of water and to add to the fearfulness of the danger, the pumps had become choked. The sea meantime had arisen to a great height, threatening to swallow the ship at every roll. For two days the storm continued unabated, but as the good ship had resisted its violence, "to the astonishment of all without receiving any considerable injury," it was hoped from her excellent qualities she might be able to weather the storm. Before the third day had passed, however, an enormous sea broke over the ship, and for an instant destroyed all hope. The gundeck ports were burst in, both boats on the quarter stove, the spare spars washed from the chains, the head rails swept away, the hammock stanchion crushed, and the ship perfectly deluged and water-logged. One man, an old sailor, the boatswain, who had been taken from the English packet, was so appalled that he cried out in his despair that the ship's broadside was stove in, and that she was sinking. The alarm ran throughout the vessel, and was caught up by those below, who deluged by the torrents

of water rushing down the hatchways, and swept by huge seas out of their hammocks, and from the spar to the gun-deck, echoed the alarm of those above, for they all believed that the Essex was about to plunge forever into the depths of the ocean. The men at the wheel, however, who were only able to keep to their post by clinging with all their might, distinguished themselves by their cool intrepidity, and were rewarded by Capt. Porter after the storm by advancement in rank, while the others who shrunk from the terrors of the scene were rebuked for their timidity.

Leaving this tempestuous weather behind, the Essex quickly passed the inhospitable coasts of Patagonia and Lower Chili, and sailed into smoother seas and fine pleasant weather.

The present revenue flag of the United States was created by the act, congress approving, of March 2, 1799, which reads as follows :

“SECTION 102. *And be it further enacted:* That the cutters and boats employed in the service of the revenue, shall be distinguished from other vessels, by an ensign and pendant, with such marks thereon as shall be prescribed and directed by the president of the United States ; and in case any ship or vessel liable to seizure or examination shall not bring to, on being required, or being chased by any cutter or boat having displayed the pendant and ensign prescribed for vessels in the revenue service it shall be lawful for the captain, master, or other person having command of such cutter or boat to fire at or into such vessel which shall not bring to, after such pendant and ensign shall be hoisted, and a gun shall have been fired by such cutter or boat as a signal and such captain, master, or other person as aforesaid, and all persons acting by or under his directions shall be idemnified from any penalties or actions for damages for so doing ; and if any person shall be killed or wounded by such firing, and the captain or master or other person aforesaid shall be prosecuted and arrested therefor, such captain, master or other person, shall be forthwith admitted to bail. And if any ship, vessel, or boat *not* employed in the service of the revenue, shall within the jurisdiction of the United States, carry or hoist any ensign or pendant prescribed for vessels in

the service aforesaid, the master or commander of the ship or vessel so offending shall forfeit and pay one hundred dollars."

Agreeably to this act the secretary of the treasury in a circular, dated August 1, 1799, prescribed the revenue flag as follows:

"The ensign and pendant directed by the president under the act of 2d of March, 1799, consists of *sixteen* perpendicular stripes alternate red and white, the union of the ensign bearing the arms of the United States in dark blue on a white field" (see plate I.)

The stripes represent the number of states admitted to the union at the date when the flag was adopted and the whole ensign has undergone no change since. In 1871, thirteen blue stars in a white field were substituted for the eagle in the union of the pendant.

Whenever the revenue vessels are employed beyond our coast, or in conjunction with the navy, it is the practice for them to wear the national in place of their usual revenue ensign.

The revenue ensign is always displayed over the custom houses of the United States and other buildings appertaining to the treasury department of the United States.

The flag of fifteen stars and fifteen stripes was also the first American flag planted upon a fortress of the old world. On the 27th of April, 1805, Lieut. O'Bannon of the Marines and Mr. Mann hauled down the Tripolitan colors displayed over the Fortress of Derne, and unfolded "our flag" in their place.

The honor of having first displayed our flag in the oriental city of Smyrna is claimed by Mr. John Lee, in a letter to a naval friend, dated 1837. He says: "In 1797 I waved (not personally to be sure, but I caused to be waved) on board the American vessel *Ann* of Boston, Capt. Daniel Sawyer, the American starry flag, the first that appeared in Smyrna, and just after a greater part of the city, my house among the rest, had been burnt. She came hither in 127 days from the Danish settlement of Tranquebar on the Coromandel coast; and brought to my house a valuable cargo, which I sold to a good profit."

Our flag was, however, so little known at Smyrna that nineteen years after it was hoisted, viz: in August, 1812, two American vessels arrived in that port, and the United States having no treaty with the porte, were obliged to hoist

English colors in order to obtain admission. The English factors were displeased on seeing a foreigner use their flag and obtain privileges under it, and on their representation the British consul forbade the Americans using it, and informed the custom house the vessels were not of his nation. This subjected the Americans to six per cent additional duty; but on their threatening to leave without breaking bulk they were allowed to land their cargo by paying a duty of four per cent only, one per cent more than was paid by English vessels. After they had cleared their holds, however, the custom house officers seized six barrels of indigo for which they could obtain no redress.¹

In 1797, a schooner built at Erie, Pennsylvania, was launched, and was the first vessel under our flag to invade the waters of the Great Lake. She was soon lost, and the enterprise was not followed up for several years; she was, however, parent of the extensive commerce which now sails over those inland seas.

In 1800, our constellation of stars was first displayed before the crescent under the walls of Constantinople by the frigate *George Washington*, Capt. William Bainbridge, when she carried the tribute of the dey of Algiers to the sultan. When the nationality of the frigate was reported to the authorities, the answer returned was that the government had never heard of the United States of America as a nation. On its being explained that the frigate came from the new world discovered by Columbus, a bunch of flowers and a lamp was sent on board, the one as a welcome, the other as a token of amity.

Capt. Bainbridge passed the forts and castles of the Bosphorus by a stratagem; as his ship approached the castles, he shortened sail and made the usual preparations for anchoring. When nearly abreast of the anchorage, he commenced a salute, which was instantly returned from the shore. Under cover of the friendly smoke, sail was made, and before the Turks had recovered from their surprise at so unusual an occurrence the ship was beyond their batteries, pursuing her way to Constantinople.

At an entertainment subsequently given by Capt. Bainbridge to the minister of the sublime porte, decanters of water were placed upon the table (the Musselmans not drinking wine) from

¹*Select Review.*

the four quarters of the globe. Some of the casks filled in America and Africa being still full and the frigate then anchored between the shores of Europe and Asia. This incident, as unique as pleasing, attracted so much notice in the diplomatic circle of Constantinople, that the lady of the British ambassador, borrowed the four decanters to grace her own table at an entertainment the following day.

Previous to our declaration of war against Great Britain, it was determined at a cabinet council, that *our vessels of war should be placed in ordinary*, it being deemed unwise to jeopardize our few frigates and sloops of war in a contest with the gigantic navy of the enemy.¹ Capt. Wm. Bainbridge, who was in Washington, the day after war was declared, consulted with Capt. Charles Stewart, who was also there, on the propriety of remonstrating against the measure. They accordingly wrote a letter to the secretary of the navy stating in forcible language, that such a course would have a most chilling and unhappy effect on the spirit of the navy. Even if we were to *lose* some of our vessels of war, it would be better to do so, they thought, than that they should be ingloriously laid up in harbor, while other branches of the service were gallantly contending in the field. From the high discipline of our navy, and from the eagerness of the officers and crews for the contest, they felt perfectly assured that if our vessels did not prove invariably triumphant, they would certainly never disgrace themselves or the nation.

This letter had its effect; our men-of-war were permitted to cruise, and the result showed the truth of their predictions. One of the earliest triumphs for our flag resulting from this decision, was the capture of H. B. M. frigate Macedonian by the frigate United States off Madeira on the 25th of October.

When the United States and her prize arrived at New London, Decatur sent his report of the action, and the colors of the Macedonian to Washington by Lieut. Hamilton, a son of the secretary of the navy. With these he arrived in Washington on the evening of the 8th of December, while a ball

¹ *Life of Bainbridge. Life of Stewart. Com. Stewart's Letter to the U. S. Nautical Magazine*, 1846, vol. 11, pp. 172-185.

Our entire naval force capable of going to sea consisted of but 412 guns, viz: 274 in frigates, 62 in sloops of war, and 78 in brigs and schooners.—*Stewart's Letter*.

given to the officers of the navy, and particularly to Capt. Charles Stewart, of the *Constellation*, in acknowledgment of civilities recently offered by him to the citizens of Washington, was in progress. The occasion was also graced by the presence of Capt. Hull, the gallant victor of the *Guerriere*, by many of the public functionaries, and by those who were most distinguished in the society of the capital. The secretary of the navy being present, Lieut. Hamilton proceeded to the ball-room with his dispatches. He was received with acclamations into the festive hall, and having acquitted himself of his errand, was welcomed by the embraces of his father, mother, and sisters, all by a happy accident present to exult in the safety and success of one endeared by the noblest of all qualities to those who knew him; a feeling which they would have cherished the more deeply, could they have foreseen, that when he should again accompany Decatur to battle, it would be to return no more.

The ball room had been decorated with the trophies of our recent naval victories. A desire was expressed that the colors of the *Macedonian* should be added to those of the *Constitution* and *Alert*. They were accordingly borne in by Captains Stewart and Hull, and presented to Mrs. Madison, the wife of the president, amidst the inspiring strains of music; while acclamations of patriotic exultation broke from the lips of the fair and the brave. Enthusiasm was at its height when, at the supper table, "the health of Commodore Decatur and the officers and crew of the *United States*" was proposed and drank with all the honors. Even now no patriotic American can recur to these recollections without a throb of unutterable emotion. How must they then have affected those who contemplated them as present events, such as the conception previously entertained of our own weakness and British power had not permitted to hope.¹

After the usual congratulations on this the third naval victory gained in a few months over the enemy, Mr. Hamilton, the secretary of the navy, said to Capt. Stewart, "We are indebted to Bainbridge and yourself for these flags and victories. Had it not been for your strong remonstrance, not a vessel of war belonging to the government would have left its anchorage."

¹ *McKenzie's Life of Decatur*, pp. 181-82.

The close of the war with Great Britain, created an interest in the trophies, which had been gathered by our flag, on land and on the sea; and in answer to a call from the house of representatives inquiring into the present condition and disposition of the flags, standards, and colors, taken by the forces of the United States from their enemies, John Armstrong, secretary of war, on the 14th of January, 1814, reported, that of the standards and colors taken by the army of the United States during the revolution, only six flags remained in the war department; others, it was understood, were deposited in Philadelphia, while congress sat in that city. But whether they had been moved with the public offices to Washington he did not know.

Mr. Seybert, chairman of the committee to whom the preservation of these flags and trophies had been referred, reported February 4, 1814: "That the collection, preservation, and exhibition of such flags, standards and colors, as have been taken by the land and naval forces of the United States, from their enemies, is sanctioned by the practice of the European nations, and more especially by the proceedings of the congress of our revolution. It is believed there cannot be a difference of opinion on this subject; it is natural to rejoice at the victories and glory of our country. In Europe, the trophies which have been gained in war are preserved with uncommon care. As monuments of national power they have ever been cherished by all civilized nations. In England they are highly prized. Not content that they should constitute the ornaments of their military institutions, such standards are deemed proper subjects for the decorations of the temple which they have consecrated to the purposes of religious worship. The sacred chapels, in common with the royal palaces, are the places in which they are displayed, to every subject and traveler, the banners which the British forces have won from their enemies. It must be recollected, that the standard of our 4th regiment of infantry, which the enemy *received* at the lamentable surrender of Detroit, was, in haste, conveyed to Europe.¹ Immediately after its arrival in London the public prints informed us that it was triumphantly displayed in the *council chamber* at Whitehall. Such is the British practice.

¹ Now preserved in Chelsea Hospital, see page 97.

In France, the galleries of *Notre Dame* are blazoned with these splendid trophies; the chapel of the *Hotel of the Invalids* is richly embellished, and exhibits to the numerous visitors the many standards which that gigantic power has at different times taken from its enemies.¹ The trophies of war ornament the places of worship in Prussia, Bohemia, and Austria. It affords no common satisfaction to the disabled tar, or the superannuated soldier, when he informs the inquisitive stranger that he gloriously fought in the battle which may have gained some of them; for the time he forgets his former sufferings and his present disabled condition; his consolation rests upon the power and glory of his country, so fully demonstrated by the sight of numerous ensigns which have been taken from other nations. Other instances in favor of the practice could have been furnished, but your committee are persuaded, that the ardor of the illustrious congress of our revolution *alone* will justify the proposition which they submit for legislative consideration. As early as the 23d of June, 1778, it was "*Resolved*, That the board of war be directed to collect the standards and colors taken from the enemy by the army of the United States since the commencement of the war." Had this order been strictly observed, and somewhat extended, the present proceedings would be unnecessary. Far from any regulation having been adopted in pursuance of the recited resolutions your committee laments the peculiar negligence which ensued. The secretary of war now tells us, that only *six* remain in his office, he cannot give any information concerning others; *even their place of deposit is unknown to the department!* The navy department possesses no knowledge of *any* flags which were taken "anterior to the declaration of the present war." Such as have been captured with the *public* armed ships of the enemy, subsequent to the 18th of June, 1812, "have been carefully preserved;" *thirteen* of them have been already received, as will more fully appear by the annexed statement;² of these *three* belonged to the heavy frigates of the enemy, viz; the *Guerriere*, *Macedonian*, and *Java*. The navy department is also in posses-

¹ See page 77.

² For the statement see *American State Papers* (naval affairs), 1814, Doc. No. 108, 2d Session, 13th Congress, p. 299.

sion of a *royal standard of Great Britain*, which was taken at York, and a union jack and flag, which were captured at Fort George; the flags of *five* small vessels which were captured, have not been received. Your committee regret that the journals of congress do not exhibit statements of all the standards and colors which were taken during our revolution, by the army and navy of the United States; the early attention of the legislature to this subject inclines them to believe they were very numerous. The capture of Earl Cornwallis alone furnished *twenty-four* of them! In all probability as many were taken from General Burgoyne.¹

By some, the exhibitions which are contemplated may be considered as too trivial for legislative provision. Your committee would coincide with them in this opinion, did the practice only afford a momentary gratification to the curious. Experience must have taught European governments that national benefits were derived from the course which they have adopted, or it would long since have been discontinued. It is presumed that essential consequences proceed from the practice, more especially when a nation shall be engaged in war, such trophies excite the spirit of a nation — the result is national character. The arrival of an enemy's flag is sufficient to rouse the population of London or Paris. On such occasions the finest national feelings are developed; and, to the honor of our fellow citizens be it said, they have not been found to want this species of national sensibility, when the flags of the *Guerriere*, *Macedonian* and *Java* &c., were exhibited to them. It was indifferent whether they considered themselves of the war or of the peace party; each was ambitious to rank the victor with himself! The national taste and propensity is strongly marked by the eagerness with which all view representations of our late unparalleled naval victories! If, then, the art and the genius of the painter can thus excite our natures, may we not look for much more when we have the physical facts placed before us instead of fancy? These flags, the trophies won by our gallant tars, de-

¹ “General Riedesel commanded that the colors should not be surrendered with the arms at Saratoga, but on the contrary, that the staffs should be burnt and the flags carefully packed up; this was done as ordered, so that each of the German regiments really kept possession of their colors.”—*Memoirs Baroness Riedesel*.

monstrate to us, and the world, that the invincibility of the British naval power has been very much exaggerated. In battle will the recollection of them sustain our sailors and our soldiers, and impart additional skill and valor in support of the cause of our country ! The value of standards does not depend upon the gaudy colors which they exhibit, no more than upon the nature of the stuff of which they may be fabricated. They have been at all times regarded as the *insignia* of fame and power ; their surrender is the act of submission. The last wish of the proud bearer is the preservation of his eagle ; too often is the loss of it sealed with the loss of life. In Europe, where military operations are on a large scale, though the result of a battle should prove destructive to thousands of those who were engaged, the capture of a single standard constitutes a prominent feature in the details of the action, and adds much to the brilliancy of the achievement. Colors taken from the enemy were considered a present worthy of the nations, to Gen. Washington, for his signal services in the capture of Earl Cornwallis ! The records of the proceedings of congress, during our whole revolution, mention but two instances where this highly honorable and distinguished mark of approbation was noted ! In fine, we have declared the flag shall guaranty the safety of our citizens. Can a higher value be set upon it ? Can we attach more honor to it ?

It may be asked, what will be the effects of a public display of the flags which have been taken from our enemies ? This view is considered important. No one can doubt that the government and the people of England would rather we had taken millions of their merchandise, than that we should have it in our power to exhibit the flag of a single sloop of war, which was gained by equal force. If the enemy will expose to the view of the British nation, and every traveler who may visit them, the one or two flags which they have captured from us, shall we conceal *the many* we have taken from them, and thus lead others to doubt our possessing any ? Shall we permit the numerous trophies of our revolution to moulder into dust by a voluntary concealment, without any effort for their preservation ? If this shall have happened to the proud monuments of our independence, shall the fate of those which are now

perfect, and which have been so lately won on our own coast, on that of South America, off the Azores, on the lakes, in short in all latitudes where our tars have come in contact with the enemy, be the same? Is not the preservation of these flags, a duty which we owe to the people of the United States? Are the achievements of that gallant little navy, which a few months ago, was the object of derision with the statesmen and people of England, but now the cause of their fears to be buried in oblivion? Shall we put at rest the inquiry which the glorious deeds of our sailors have excited in the parliament of Great Britain? Shall we, at our expense, approve the labored calculations of the enemy? with her, confound reason and common sense, and attribute simple truths to fallacious causes, or shall we give in to a practice so generally cherished by other nations? Our successes on the ocean constitute the pride of our country, they have secured to us the respect of foreign nations. In Europe we again hold that rank which our ancestors had obtained by their many hard fought conflicts, which we had nearly forfeited. Have we not accomplished more than Spain did with her "invincible armadas;" than did Holland with her DeWitts, Van Tromps, and De Ruyters; than France could achieve, when she was in the zenith of her naval power; than did Great Britain with her Nelsons, Rodneys, Howes, and St. Vincents. The naval annals of England furnish no instance in which every vessel belonging to a hostile fleet was captured.

Some may doubt our possessing a number of standards sufficient to warrant their public exhibition. Had we but few of them, we should not deny our sanction to the principle. Your committee regret that special order had not been taken by congress immediately after the receipt of the first present of this kind: we alluded to the colors which were taken by Gen.

¹The flags of the following British vessels of war are now preserved in the gunnery room of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, viz: Alert, 20; Beresford, 1; Boxer, 14; Chippaway 1; Chubb, 11; Confiance, 37; Cyane, 24; Detroit, 20; Dominica, 16; Duke of Gloucester, 14; Epervier, 18; Frolic, 22; Guerriere, 38; Hunter, 10; Java, 18; Lady Provost, 13; Levant 20; Little Belt, 3; Linnet, 16; Macedonian, 38; Peacock, 20; Penguin, 18; Reindeer, 18; St. Lawrence 15,; and a royal standard captured at York, Canada. There is also preserved there, the flags of the French vessels of war: Berceau 24; l'Insurgente 40; and Algerine frigate Mezoura 46, and brig Estudis 22 guns; also several flags captured from the Mexicans.

Montgomery, from the 7th British Regt. at Chamblee, on the 18th of October, 1775.

The French pride themselves on their ability to exhibit the two which they have taken from our present enemy: for so lately as the year 1800, they had only two of the naval flags of Great Britain! Though the war and navy departments can immediately furnish but twenty or twenty-five of these flags it is probable the place of deposit will be ascertained so as to put within our power many of those which were gained during our revolution. Where are those which were won during the dispute with France in 1798.¹ The same may be asked of those which the defeats of Derne and Tripoli should furnish.

The only project which now remains for consideration is the place most proper for their exhibition. This should be public, and easy of access, at the same time it should be properly secure from villainous attempts. These flags should be placed so as to be seen by every citizen who might wish to observe them. It will be of advantage that they should be noticed by every foreigner who may visit the United States. Can any objection be made to the spacious national apartments which are devoted to legislative purposes? What ornaments can be more suitable? Go abroad, and you may see the walls of the British house of lords decorated with representations of some of the celebrated battles which were fought by the troops of Great Britain. At home we find the principle already established by one branch of the legislature of the United States. In the senate chamber observe engravings of some of the battles of our revolution; and had time allowed the execution of the original design of the architect the precedent would have had existence in the chamber of the representatives of the United States. It was contemplated that the frieze over the capitals of the Corinthian columns which sustain the dome, should present *in relief*, a regular series of the battles which secured our independence. Such decorations might gratify the artist, and afford an opportunity to display his talents; but in a national point of view, little or no effect would be produced. It must be conceded that

¹ The colors of the Berceau and Insurgente are now (1872) in the Gunnery room of the Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.

much more will be communicated to the spectators by the display of the captured standards.

No one can pretend that any difference exists between the representations which we have noticed, and the standards which have been taken from the enemy, as will warrant the public exhibition of the one, and preclude that of the other; these subjects are most intimately connected, and their tendency must be the same. The public exhibition of these trophies is due to the very superior skill and valor which achieved them. The sight of them will bring to recollection every circumstance of cause and effect. They will constitute valuable records of illustrious portions of our history; they will form a collection of the proudest monuments to commemorate the brilliant deeds of a rising nation.¹

The result of this exhaustive and interesting paper was the enactment of the following law which was approved April 18, 1814, just a fortnight after the report of the committee, viz :

*An act to provide for the collection and preservation of such flags, standards, and colors, as shall have been or may hereafter be taken, by the land and naval forces of the United States from their enemies.*²

SECTION 1. That the secretaries of the war and navy departments be, and they are hereby, directed to cause to be collected and transmitted to them, at the seat of the government of the United States, all such flags, standards, and colors, as shall have been, or may hereafter be, taken by the army and navy of the United States, from their enemies.

Section 2. That all the flags, standards, and colors of the description aforesaid, and such as may be hereafter transmitted to them, be with all convenient dispatch, delivered to the president of the United States, for the purpose of being, under his direction, preserved and displayed, in such public place as he shall deem proper.

Section 3. [\$500 appropriated].

Forty years later, on the 3d of March, 1855, the subject was revived, and one of the provisions of an act making appropriations

¹ *American State Papers*, folio 1832, vol. 1, pp. 488-90.

² *Laws of the United States*, vol. III, p. 133.

for the civil and diplomatic expenses of the government, directed the secretary of war "to cause to be constructed in a central position on the public grounds in Washington a suitable building for the care and preservation of the arms, etc., of the militia of the District of Columbia, and for the care and preservation of the military trophies of the Revolutionary and other wars", and for the deposit of newly invented and model arms, &c., &c.," and thirty thousand dollars was appropriated for carrying the act into effect.

Neither of these laws appear to have been very strictly enforced, for on inquiry of the war department I learn that "no building has been erected as a place of general deposit for flags, and that all the flags captured by the army prior to the war of the rebellion have been sent to West Point including *one or two British flags.*" No printed list of them is in the possession of the war department.¹

All flags captured by the navy which have been preserved are now deposited in the Gunnery room at the Naval Academy, Annapolis.

Hon. Wm. L. Marcy, afterwards governor of the state of New York and secretary of state for the United States, but in the war of 1812-14, a young lieutenant in Capt. Lewis's company of militia, on the 14th of October, 1812, captured the first British flag taken in the war: the flag that waved over a block-house at St. Regis in Canada. He bore it in triumph to French Mills, and it was presented to the people of the state of New York in the Capitol at Albany.

A few days before the corner-stone of the Washington monument at Baltimore was laid, Mr. Custis, accompanied by Messrs. Lewis and Grymes, sailed from Alexandria, June, 1815, for Pope's creek in the *Lady of the Lake*, a small vessel belonging to Mr. Custis, for the purpose of placing a freestone slab over the birth place of Washington, with this simple inscription.

HERE THE 11TH OF FEBRUARY [O. S.] 1732,
GEORGE WASHINGTON WAS BORN."

Arrived at the hallowed spot with the inscribed tablet they proceeded to deposit it in the proper place.

¹ Letter from Secretary of War, Dec. 21, 1871, enclosing memo. from adjutant general, U. S. A.

“Desirous of making the ceremonial of depositing the stone as imposing as circumstances would permit,” says Mr. Custis, “we enveloped it in the STAR SPANGLED BANNER of our country, and it was borne to its resting place in the arms of the descendants of four revolutionary patriots and soldiers, Samuel Lewis a son of George Lewis, a Captain in Baylor’s regiment of horse and a nephew of Washington; William Grymes, the son of Benjamin Grymes, a gallant and distinguished officer of the Life Guards; the captain of the vessel, the son of a brave soldier wounded in the battle of Guilford; and George Washington Park Custis, the son of John Parke Custis, aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief before Cambridge and Yorktown. We gathered together the bricks of the ancient chimney that once formed the hearthstone around which in infancy Washington had played, and constructed a rude kind of a pedestal on which we reverently placed the first stone, commending it to the respect and protection of the American people in general, and the citizens of Westmoreland in particular.”¹

¹ *Lossing’s Field Book*, vol. II., p. 218, which has an engraving of the monumental stone.

PART IV.

THE STARS AND STRIPES,

1818-1861.

THE FLAG OF THIRTEEN STRIPES AND A STAR FOR EACH
STATE OF THE UNION,

1818-1860.

CHRONICLES OF THE FLAG,

1818-1861.

When kingly presumption loosed war's desolation
To sweep o'er Columbia and sully her charms,
Our fathers united to found a new nation,
And symbolized it well in our blazon of arms.
Their homes were thirteen, so they followed that number,
Seven red and six white, in a series of bars ;
And — painting love's vigilance, foreign to slumber—
They chose a blue quarter with thirteen white stars.

Thirteen blazed at once in their new constellation,
The Daughters of Freedom, a star for each mate :
A new silver star is the fine augmentation
Of honor they granted for every new state.
They named no abatement in view of secession ;
But bound us, their children, to foster the trust.
May God blast the wretch to propose the regression
Of part of their glory — of part of their dust !

The white of the field proved their hate of oppression,
Their passion for peace and abhorrence of war ;
The red, in excess, warned o'erweening aggression
It aye should be met and repulsed from their shore.
Truth shines in the quarter, thus tintured of Heaven ;
Youth and strength light the stars, that have ne'er paled or set :
Year by year they increase — may God grant that their levin
Extending, shall re-youth the continents yet !

So fashioned our fathers the FLAG OF THE UNION,
Which glads every wave of the world-lashing seas—
Revered by each man in our patriot communion—
The handsomest banner that rides on the breeze.
With this sign they conquered. 'Midst cannon and mortar,
Sword, musket, and rifle, still glitters this shield ;
A quarter that stoops to no nation for quarter—
A field present ever where foes are a field

As the stars and the stripes are our states interwoven,
Having grown thus from weakness to far-spreading might :
Then perish the villain ! who, wanting them cloven,
Would quench their resplendence in treachery's night !
May " a blacker than Cain " on his forehead be branded !
May his race be accursed, as clods of a clod !
May the tale to futurity's farthest be handed,
That damns him a traitor to man and to God !

Charles F. Lukens.

THE STARS AND STRIPES,

1818—1861.

The admission of the states of Tennessee, June 1, 1796; Ohio, Nov. 29, 1802; Louisiana, April 8, 1812; and Indiana, Dec. 11, 1816, seemed to make some change in the flag desirable, and accordingly on the admission of the last named state, the Hon. Peter Wendover, of New York, offered a resolution "that a committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of altering the flag of the United States."

A committee was accordingly appointed which reported a bill on the 2d of January, 1817, but the bill was not acted upon. While this committee had the matter under consideration Mr. Wendover called upon Capt. S. C. Reid, famous for his defence of the privateer, Gen. Armstrong, in Fayal roads, who was then in Washington, and requested him to form a design for our flag, so as to represent the increase of the number of the states, without destroying its distinctive character, the committee being disposed to increase both stars and stripes to equal twenty, the whole number of states of the Union.

Capt. Reid at once recommended reducing the stripes to thirteen representing the original states of the Union, and the stars to equal the number of all the states and formed into one great star, whose brilliancy should represent their union, and symbolize the origin and progress of the country and its chosen motto *E Pluribus Unum*. He also proposed the addition of a star for each new state admitted. The flag thus designed, he intended for merchant vessels, and for distinction proposed that the stars on the ensigns of vessels of war should be placed in parallel lines.

In accordance with Capt. Reid's suggestions the committee reported:

"That they have maturely examined the subject submitted to their consideration, and are well aware that any proposition essentially to alter the flag of the United States, either in the general form or in the distribution of its parts, would be as un-

acceptable to the legislature and to the people, as it would be uncongenial with the views of the committee.

“Fully persuaded that the form selected for the American flag was truly emblematical of our origin and existence as an independent nation, and that, as such, it has received the approbation and support of the citizens of the Union, it ought to undergo no change that would decrease its conspicuity or tend to deprive it of its representative character. The committee, however, believe, that a change in the number of states in the Union sufficiently indicates the propriety of such a change in the arrangement of the flag, as shall best accord with the reason that led to its adoption, and sufficiently points to important periods in our history.”

“The original flag of the United States was composed of thirteen stripes and thirteen stars, and was adopted by a resolution of the continental congress on the 14th of June, 1777. On the 13th of January, 1794, after two new states had been admitted into the Union, the national legislature passed an act, that the stripes and stars should on a day fixed, be increased to fifteen each to comport with the then independent states. The accession of new states since that alteration, and the certain prospect that at no distant period the number of states will be considerably multiplied, render it, in the opinion of the committee, highly inexpedient to increase the number of stripes, as every flag must, in some measure, be limited in its size, from the circumstance of convenience to the place on which it is to be displayed, while such an increase would necessarily decrease their magnitude, and render them proportionally less distinct to distant observation. This consideration has induced many to retain only the general form of the flag, while there actually exists a great want of uniformity in its adjustment, particularly when used on small private vessels.

“The national flag being in general use by vessels of almost every description, it appears to the committee of considerable importance to adopt some arrangement calculated to prevent, in future, great or extensive alterations. Under these impressions they are led to believe, no alteration could be made more emblematical of our origin and present existence, as composed of a number of independent and united states, than to reduce the stripes to the original thirteen, representing the number of states

then contending for, and happily achieving their independence, and to increase the stars to correspond with the number of states now in the Union, and hereafter to add one star to the flag whenever a new state shall be fully admitted.

“These slight alterations will, in the opinion of the committee, meet the general approbation, as well of those who may have regretted a former departure from the original flag, as of such as are solicitous to see in it a representation of every state in the Union.

“The committee cannot believe that in retaining only 13 stripes, it necessarily follows they should be distinctly considered in reference to certain individual states, inasmuch as nearly all the new states were a component part of, and represented in, the original; and was much, also, as the flag is intended to signify numbers, and not local and particular sections of the union.

“The committee respectively report a bill accordingly.”

The *British Naval Chronicle* for 1817, publishes this report in full, and styles it “a curious historical document.”

The bill reported by the committee remained through pressure of other business before congress unacted upon, but on the re-assembling of congress, on the 16th of Dec., 1817, Mr. Wendover renewed his resolution “that a committee be appointed to enquire into the expediency of altering the flag of the United States, and that they have leave to report by bill or otherwise.” Mr. Wendover said he would make but few remarks, the subject not being a novel one, a bill relative thereto having been submitted at the last session, but laid over under the pressure of more important business. Had the flag never undergone alteration he should not propose to make a further alteration now. Having once been altered, he thought it could now be improved. It was his impression and he thought it was generally believed that the flag never would be essentially injured by an alteration on the same principle of increasing both stripes and stars.

Mr. Wendover then stated the incongruity of the flags in general use (except those of the navy), not agreeing with the law and generally greatly varying from each other. He instanced the flags then flying over the building in which congress sat, and that at the navy yard, one of which contained only *nine* stripes, the other *eighteen*, and neither conforming to the law.

It was some importance, he conceived, that the flag of the nation should be designated with precision, and that the practice under the law should be conformed to its requisitions.

On the 6th of January, 1818, the committee appointed, of which Mr. Wendover was chairman, reported that having maturely considered the subject referred to them, they have adopted substantially the report of the committee on the same subject at the last session.

The committee are fully persuaded that the form selected for the American flag was truly emblematical of our origin and existence as an independent nation, and that as such it having met the approbation and received the support of the citizens of the Union, it ought to undergo no change that would decrease its conspicuity or tend to deprive it of its representative character.

The committee believe, however, that an increase in the number of states in the Union since the flag was altered by law sufficiently indicates the propriety of such a change in the arrangement of the flag as shall best accord with the reasons that led to its original adoption and sufficiently point to important periods in our history.

The original flag of the United States was composed of thirteen stripes and thirteen stars, and the committee cannot view the proposed inconsiderable addition of a star for each new state in the light of a departure from the permanency of form which should characterize the flag of the nation.

In connection with this alteration of the flag the following letters¹ of Mr. Wendover to Capt. Reid are interesting :

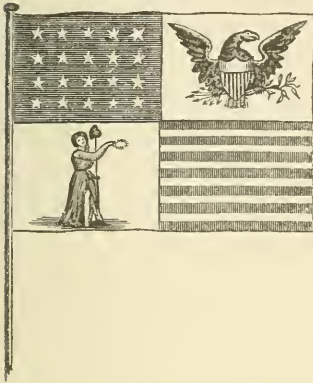
“ Washington, Feb. 13, 1817.

“ DEAR SIR * * * The flag is yet on the table. I know not when it will get to the anvil. I received the flag from Mr. Jarvis, and would have presented him my thanks for his polite attention to my request, but I am so oppressed with letter writing that I have no time to take exercise, and but little to sleep. Please present my thanks to Mr. Jarvis for his kindness to me and the standard addressed to you accompanying it.

“ I find the flag proposition is almost universally approved of, but fear the standard will have to lie over until next session.”

¹ Communicated to the *Historical Magazine*, by W. A. W.

This letter refers to a design for a national standard (which was not adopted) composed of the emblematical representations of our escutcheon quartered upon it, viz: the stars, white on a blue field on the upper left hand quarter; the Goddess of Liberty on a white field under the stars; the eagle in the upper right hand quarter or fly of the standard on a white field, and the thirteen alternate stripes of red and white under the eagle.



A design for a National Standard.

This standard it was proposed should be hoisted over the halls of congress, at our navy yards, and at other public places, when visited by the president of the

United States.

On the 17th of January, 1818, Mr Wendover wrote Capt. Reid:

“As I am not a military man I leave to others to regulate the cockade. I shall attend to the ‘star spangled banner,’ though I wish the other changed from British to American.”

He writes again under date

“Washington, March 24, 1818.

* * * “This day the first call on the docket was the star spangled banner. I moved to go in committee on the bill. General Smith moved to discharge the committee of the whole and postpone the bill indefinitely. I appealed to that gentleman and the house if they were willing thus to neglect the banner of freedom.

“Gen. Smith’s motion was negatived by almost a unanimous vote, and we hoisted the striped bunting in committee of the whole. After I had made a few observations and sat down, *Mr. Poindexter* moved to strike out *twenty stars* and insert *seven*, with a view to have stripes for the old and stars for the new states. Motion rejected nearly unanimously. *Mr. Folger* then moved to strike out *twenty* and insert *thirteen*, to restore the

original flag; his motion was also negatived by a similar vote. *Mr. Robertson* then expressed a wish to fix an arbitrary number of stripes say nine, or eleven; but no one seemed to approve of his idea, and the committee rose and reported the bill without amendment and the house ordered it to be engrossed for a third reading to-morrow by almost a unanimous vote. It was remarked by many that the subject came up in good time as our flag almost blew away with the severe storm which on Saturday was almost a hurricane. It is now completely 'ragged bunting,' and I fear we shall have to sit a part of the session without the 'star spangled banner' over our heads.

"Yours,

"PR. H. WENDOVER.

"P. S. March 25th. Having written the within after the close of the last mail, I kept this open to inform you further as to the 'star spangled banner.' The bill had its third reading this day, a little before twelve o'clock, and passed with perhaps two or three noes; after which *Mr. Taylor* moved to amend the title of the bill, and instead of *alter* it is now "a bill to *establish* the flag of the United States," which goes so much further in approbation of your plan, as the bill is now considered by our house, as fixing permanently the flag, except so far as to admit in every new planet that may be seen in our political horizon.

"I this day had our flag measured up and down the staff. It is fourteen feet and four inches, but it ought to be eighteen feet hoist, and floating in the air in proportion say twenty-seven feet; all this you know better than I do. Now, Jack, as a favor that you will be pleased to inform me, as soon as convenient, what a flag of that size will cost in New York, made for the purpose, with *thirteen stripes*, and *twenty stars forming one great luminary*, as per *pasteboard plan* you handed me. And if the bill passes the senate soon, it is probable I shall request the captain of the late Gen. Armstrong, to have a flag made for Congress Hall under his direction. Please inquire as to the cost of materials, etc., and write me soon that congress, for their firm support of the bill, may before they adjourn see the banner raised."

He writes again,

“ Washington, Hall of Representatives,

“ April 9, 1818, 2 P. M.

* * “ This morning a message was received from the president that on the 4th inst., among other bills, he approved and signed the ‘ bill to establish the Flag of the United States,’ so that notwithstanding the cant and flings of Coleman, Hanson, etc., in the *Evening Post* and *Baltimore Telegraph*, the proposition for the alteration of the flag has met the support of the house of representatives and passed as first suggested. In the senate the bill passed unanimously. * * * *

On the subject of the standard, and distinctions between public and private vessels, we will have a confabulation when I see you.”

Again he writes :

“ Washington, April 13, 1818.

“ DEAR SIR. I have just time to inform you that the new flag for Congress Hall arrived here per mail this day, and was hoisted to replace the old one at 2 o’clock, and has given much satisfaction to all who have seen it as far as I have heard. I am pleased with its form and proportions, and have no doubt it will satisfy the public mind.

“ Mr. Clay (who was the speaker of the house), says it is wrong that there should be no charge in your bill for making the flag. If pay for that will be acceptable, on being informed I will procure it. Do not understand me as intending to wound the feelings of Mrs. Reid, nor others who may have given aid in the business, and please present my thanks to her and them, and accept the same for yourself.

“ In haste, yours, with esteem,

“ PR. H. WENDOVER.”

The following is the law which agreeably to Capt. Reid’s suggestion and the reports of the committees was by Mr. Wendover’s exertions enacted :

AN ACT TO ESTABLISH THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES.

SEC. I. *Be it enacted*, &c., that from and after the fourth day of July next, the Flag of the United States be thirteen horizontal stripes alternate red, and white; that the union have twenty stars, white, in a blue field.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, that on the admission of every new state into the union, one star be added to the union of the flag! and that such addition shall take effect on the fourth of July next succeeding such admission.

Approved April 4th, 1818.

This is the law under which, half a century ago, our present flag was established, during which cycle its constellation of twenty was increased to a glorious galaxy of thirty-seven stars, and the borders of its dominion have extended across the continent.

It is an unfortunate omission that the law did not designate the manner of placing the stars in the union; in consequence its uniformity and simplicity is frequently destroyed by the conceits of ship-owners and others. Capt. Reid suggested that for the halls of congress and for other public buildings and on land the stars should be arranged so as to form one large star, and on the flag made by Mrs. Reid the stars were so placed, while he proposed that the flags of our ships of war should have them set in parallel lines.

No one will dispute for the sake of uniformity that the law of 1818 should be amended in this respect. Yet when in Feb., 1859, congress passed a vote of thanks to Capt. S. C. Reid, the designer of the flag although a friend, wrote to a prominent member of congress for New York, requesting him to have a clause inserted, which would fix by law the mode of arranging the stars in their blue field or firmament, the resolutions were passed without the desirable addition.



Fac simile of copper plate published 1785.¹

On the 4th of July, 1857, a gentleman² amused himself by making the various designs displayed on vessels, hotels and public buildings in New York. The

¹ In this illustration, which is a reduced *fac simile* of a copper plate published in Philadelphia, 1785, the stars, thirteen in number, are arranged in the ensigns of the ships in parallel lines.

An engraving of New York published in the *British Naval Chronicle*, 1805, has in the foreground a pilot boat carrying at her main a union jack studded with thirteen stars also arranged in three parallel lines.

² Mr. S. Alosfen. See *Historical Magazine*, 1857.

majority of the ships had the stars arranged in five horizontal rows of six stars each, making thirty stars in all — thirty-one being the proper number at that date. Most of the foreign vessels, including the Cunard steamers, had them arranged, as heraldists would say, *semee*, that is, strewn over the union. Some had one large star formed of thirty-one small stars, and this style prevailed at places of public amusement, and over the hotels of New York, and Jersey city. Other vessels had them in a lozenge, a diamond, or a circle. One vessel had one large star composed of smaller ones, within a border of the latter ; another carried the thirty-one stars in the form of an anchor, and yet another had this anchor embellished with a circle of small stars.

Here were nine specimens of the flag alike in the thirteen stripes, but varying in the design of the union. In addition to these forms I have seen the stars arranged in the letters U. S., and in other initials, those of the owner or company to which the vessel belonged.

It was just such dissimilarity that led the Dutch government twenty years earlier to enquire without obtaining a clear and satisfactory answer : “ What is the American flag ? ”

The act of 1818 was approved of by President Munroe on the 4th of April, and the new flag was hoisted on the flag-staff of the house of representatives on the 13th of the same month, though the law provided that the act was not to take effect until the 4th of July.¹ This, the first flag of the kind put together or hoisted was made at New York by Mrs. S. C. Reid, under the direction of her gallant husband, its designer, and the twenty stars in its union representing as many states (Mississippi having been admitted a state, Dec. 16, 1817), were arranged to form one great star.

¹ Yesterday about two o'clock the new flag of the United States was hoisted on the flag-staff of the house of representatives. This is the first flag that has been made since the passage of the act for altering the banner of the nation. It was made in New York, under the direction of the gallant Capt. Reid, late commander of the privateer, Gen. Armstrong. The stars are *twenty* in number, and so disposed as to form one great star in the centre of a blue field. The stripes are *thirteen*. The law on this subject goes into operation the 4th of July, next.—*National Intelligencer*, April 14, 1818.

On the 21st of February, 1866, the Hon. Benjamin F. Butler introduced to the officers of the senate, Mr. D. W. C. Farrington, agent of the United States Bunting Company at Lowell, Massachusetts, who presented to them, for the use of the senate, a magnificent flag manufactured by that company, twenty-one feet fly by twelve feet hoist. It is believed to be the first real American flag ever raised over the Capitol of the United States. Heretofore all our flags have been manufactured from English

The unions of the flags which wave over our fortresses, and in use by the military department of the government, are generally if not always so arranged. In the navy flags, the stars are invariably set in parallel lines.

Capt. S. C. Reid, the designer of the "Our flag," was the commander of the celebrated privateer General Armstrong, whose gallant defence of her in Fayal roads, against the attack of a British squadron of boats, in breach of the neutrality of that port, has become a matter of history. Capt. Reid died in 1861, a master in the United States navy.

It is to be regretted that in the rebellion his son apostatized and proved recreant to the flag which his father had so gallantly served and defended, and had been so earnest and successful to establish in a permanent form.

The first state to add a star to the constellation of the new flag was Illinois, admitted December 3d, 1818; then followed Alabama, admitted December 14th, 1819; Maine, March 15th, 1820; Missouri, August 10th, 1821; Arkansas, June 15th, 1836; Michigan, January 26th, 1837; Florida, March 3d, 1845; Texas, December 29th, 1845; Iowa, December 28th, 1846; Wisconsin, May 29th, 1848; California, September 9th, 1850; Minnesota, February 12th, 1858; Oregon, April, 1859; Kansas, March, 1861; West-Virginia, February, 1863; Nevada, October 31st, 1864; Nebraska, March 1st, 1867. The last increasing the brilliancy of the original constellation to thirty-seven stars which is its present number and there ten organized territories waiting in their turn admission¹.

bunting, and every effort made to substitute a domestic texture capable of resisting the wind and the air has signally failed. General Butler having ascertained this fact at the navy department, and feeling an interest in the United States Bunting Company in his own town, informed Captain Fox that he believed that company had produced a fabric that would be superior to the foreign article. A test was accordingly ordered by the navy department, fully realizing the confident anticipations of Gen. Butler, and proving the American bunting to be better in color and in quality than the English product. The general wrote to the secretary of the senate for authority to make a present of one of these flags to be raised over that body. That officer having consulted Mr. Forster, president *pro tempore*, the general's proposition was cheerfully accepted, and to day the flag was placed in the hands of the sergeant-at-arms. Tomorrow morning it will be hoisted to the senatorial flag-staff, and unfurled to the breeze."—*Philadelphia Press*, Feb. 23, 1866.

¹ Viz: New Mexico, Washington, Utah, Dakota, Colorado, Arizona, Idaho, Montana, Indian Territory and Wyoming. When all these and others yet to come are admitted it will render some change in the union, or disposition of its constellation, essentially necessary.

CHRONICLES OF THE FLAG.

1818-1861.

When the Hon. Joel R. Poinsett of South Carolina, subsequently secretary of war in 1837 to 1841, throughout the administration of Martin Van Buren, was the United States minister to Mexico, the power of our flag to protect its citizens abroad, was strikingly illustrated, as related by Mr. Poinsett in a speech at Charleston, S. C.

The election of Gomez Pedraza to the presidentship of Mexico was not acquiesced in by the people, and from discontent and murmurs they soon proceeded to open revolt. At night they took possession of the Artillery Barracks, a large building, and established batteries along the streets. One of these works was situated about three hundred yards from Mr. Poinsett's house, and immediately under the tower of a convent on which men were stationed. After several ineffectual attempts had been made to carry this work by infantry in front, suddenly a squadron of cavalry that had succeeded in turning the flank of the battery, sabred the men at their guns. When the battery was silenced the troops were soon driven from the convent. The convent of St. Augustine, situated in the rear of Mr. Poinsett's house, was the last to yield to the besiegers who were composed of the common people of the city, peasants of the neighboring village, mingled with the civic guard of Mexico, and deserters. While the firing was going on at St. Augustine, Madame Yturigaray, widow of the former viceroy of Mexico, who lived in the adjoining house, rushed in almost frantic with fear, and implored Mr. Poinsett to protect her house. While he was giving her assurances of protection, a shot was fired at him which passed through his cloak and buried itself in the shutter of the balcony window. He retired into the house, and soon the besiegers were heard approaching. When they reached the house, one wild shout arose, and a desperate effort was made to burst open the door. The massive gates resisted their efforts; a cry arose to fire in the window; to bring cannon; to burst open the gates, and bitter imprecations were uttered against the owner of the house for sheltering their enemies, the European

Spaniards, many of whom had sought refuge under Mr. Poinsett's roof. At this moment Mr. Poinsett directed Mr. Mason, the secretary of the American legation, to throw out the flag of the United States. This was gallantly done, and they both stood on the balcony beneath its waving folds. The shouts were hushed, the soldiers slowly dropped the muzzles of their guns, which were leveled at the balcony and windows. Mr. Poinsett seized this opportunity to tell who he was, what flag waved over him, and to claim protection for those who had sought security under it. Perceiving the crowd was awed and began to consult together, he retired to dispatch a note to the commander of the besieging army. The servant who was entrusted with the note returned and reported the crowd was so great that the porter was afraid to open the gate for fear the crowd would rush in. Mr. Poinsett then resolved to go himself, and was joined by Mr. Mason. They proceeded to the door, which the porter was ordered to open. As they stepped over the threshold the great crowd rolled back like a wave on the ocean. They were accompanied by a native servant, who mingled with the crowd, and before the crowd had recovered from its astonishment the two gentlemen had returned to the court yard, and the door was closed by the porter. Before they reached the front of the house they heard the advance of the cavalry commanded by a friend of the legation. The gates were thrown open, and the horsemen rode into the court yard. Their commander stationed sentinels before the door, and Mr. Poinsett had the satisfaction to redeem his promise of protection to Madame Yturriagaray. His house was respected amidst the wildest disorder, and those who sought an asylum under the flag of the United States remained in perfect safety until tranquillity was restored.

In 1839, the little pilot boat schooner *Flying Fish* of 90 tons, Lieut. W. M. Walker, attached to the Wilkes U. S. exploring expedition, carried our flag farther south than any other vessel of the expedition, and penetrated the Antarctic circle farther than the keel of any other nation had furrowed it.

This little vessel had been a New York pilot boat, and was introduced into the squadron without any addition to the strength of her frame; so that her security among the ice was to depend

altogether on her good qualities as a sea boat. After some necessary repairs, at Orange harbor, Cape Horn, she put to sea, with a complement of thirteen souls, under command of Lieut. Wm. M. Walker, U.S.N., whose friends took leave of him, with the ominous congratulation, that "she would at least make him an honorable coffin."¹

After encountering a variety of stormy and tempestuous weather, during which, "the very creatures of the brine seemed to know the vessel's helpless plight; for a large whale came up from the deep and rubbed his vast sides against her; while the albatross flapped his wings in their faces and mocked them with his bright black eyes." On the 10th of March, which was spent at the pumps, the sea toppled over the schooner and threatened to engulf her. Every seam leaked; every stitch of clothes was wet; and every bed inundated. The men had to swathe their feet in blankets, lest they should freeze; and as the driving sleet fell on their garments, it congealed there, and incased them in ice. When the gale abated, after a dark and dismal night, they found the foresail split, and the jib washed from its gaskets, hanging to the stay by a single hank. They had now made the second rendezvous in latitude 64° S. longitude 90° W.; but as there was no sign of the Peacock, advantage was taken of the fair wind to proceed on their course. The condition of the men forbade all delays. Five out of a crew of ten, were almost disabled by ulcerated hands and swollen limbs; while the rest suffered cruelly from rheumatics and catarrh.

On a mild and sunny day (the 13th,) the second in that bright succession, the theatre of their ambition opened to their view. Two icebergs stood like warders at the gate of the Antarctic; and, as the little vessel passed between, huge columnar masses, white as the raiment that no fuller bleached, and which shone like palaces

With opal towers and battlements adorned,
Of living sapphire."

Soon, however, as if nature, incensed to be tracked by man to her last inclement solitude, had let loose all her furies;

¹I am indebted to a diary appended to *Thulia, a tale of the Antarctic*, by J. C. Palmer, U. S. N., for the graphic description which follows.

the tempest drew a veil of snow over the frozen city, and the vessel became the centre of a little area, walled by the piling seas. It is impossible for any one to fancy the awful interest of such a scene, without the pent up feelings of the spectators standing where human foot never before intruded, an unwelcome guest in the very den of storms.

They waited some time at the next rendezvous, in hopes of obtaining surgical aid from the Peacock, for three men who were quite disabled. This delay lost them a fair wind; but the time was well employed in repairing their boats; after which, though they despaired of rejoining their consort, Mr. Walker proceeded to the fourth and last place assigned in his orders, which were thus fulfilled to the letter. They had attained the longitude of 105° W. Ice or discovery was to prescribe the bounds of their latitude; and with feelings in whose enthusiasm past sufferings were forgotten, they turned their faces to the south. Icebergs soon accumulated fast; and the sea was studded with fragments detached from the large island. The water was much discolored during the day, and very luminous at night. Penguins appeared in prodigious numbers; and the air swarmed with birds. Whales were numerous beyond the experience of the oldest sailor on board, lashing the sea into foam with their gigantic flukes, and often in mad career passing so close to the schooner, as to excite serious apprehensions for safety. A fin-back once kept them company for several hours; and a monstrous right whale, of greater size than the vessel herself, lay so obstinately in her track, that the men stood by with boat hooks to bear him off.

Every hour now increased the interest of their situation. A trackless waste lay between them and all human sympathies; and each step removed them further from society. On the 19th of March, they passed between two icebergs 830 feet high, and hove to near one of them to fill their water casks. Encompassed by these icy walls, the schooner looked like a mere skiff in the moat of a giant's castle; and the visions of old romance were recalled by the gorgeous blue and purple lights that streamed through the pearly fabrics. The very grandeur of the scene, however, made it joyless. The voice had no resonance: words fell from the lip, and seemed to freeze

before they reached the ear; and as the waves surged with a lazy undulation, the caverns sent back a fitful roarlike moan from some deep dungeon. The atmosphere was always hazy; and the alternation of mist and snow gave the sky a leaden complexion. When the sun appeared at all, it was near his meridian height; and they called it "pleasant weather," if the stars peeped out but for a moment; except when it blew with great violence, the ice broke off the sea; but their nights were so pitchy dark, that the officer of the deck kept his watch in the fore-castle, and depended upon his ear to warn him of danger.

On the 20th of March, in latitude $69^{\circ} 05' 43''$ S., and longitude $96^{\circ} 21' 30''$ W., many appearances indicated the vicinity of land. The ice became dense and black, and much of it streaked with dirt, the water, too, was very turbid and colder than usual, though they got no bottom at a hundred fathoms line. When the mist cleared they found themselves near a long wall of ice. On the afternoon of the 21st the sea was clear as far as the eye could reach; and their hopes began to brighten at the thought that they had passed the French and Russian limits, and were on the heels of Cook.¹ As long as a glimpse of day remained they pressed toward the goal under every rag of sail. Night set in with mist and rain; and by 9 P. M., it grew so pitchy dark that they were obliged to heave to, with a fair wind from the north. At midnight it blew a gale. The vessel was beset with ice, and morning found them in an amphitheatre of sublime architecture. As the icebergs changed their places like a shifting scene, the prospect beyond them seemed to reach the pole. Day came upon this boundless plain. The eye ached for some limit to a space, which the mind could hardly grasp. Mountain against mountain blended with a sky whose very whiteness was horrible. The vessel looked like a mere snow bank, every rope a long icicle; the masts hung down like stalactites from a dome of mist; and the sail flapped as white a wing as the spotless pigeon above them. The stillness was oppressive, but when they spoke, their voices had a hollow sound, more painful even than silence. The schooner had become thus involved by

¹ Capt. Weddell, in 1823, attained the latitude of 73° S.

drifting at an imperceptible rate, within the barrier, while the passage behind her was gradually closed by ice returning from the north. There was no alternative but to buffet her through, or be carried to the south; and by 9 A. M. (March 22d), they reached a place of comparative safety in latitude 70° S., longitude 100° W.

On the 24th of March, the schooner was obliged to force a passage out of the ice, under circumstances truly appalling. The waves began to be stilled by the large snow-flakes that fell unmelted on their surface; and as the breeze died away into a murmur, a low crepitation, like the clicking of a death-watch, announced that the sea was freezing. Never did fond ear strain for the sigh of love, more anxiously than those devoted men listened to each gasp of wind, whose breath was now their life. The looks of the crew reproached their commander with having doomed them to a lingering death; and many an eye wandered over the helpless vessel, to estimate how long she might last for fuel. Preparations were hastily made to sheath the bow with planks torn up from cabin berths; but the congelation was too rapid to permit the sacrifice of time to this precaution. All sail was accordingly crowded on the vessel, and after a hard struggle of four hours duration, they had occasion to thank heaven for another signal deliverance.

With straining oars and bending spars,
They dash their icy chains asunder;
Force frozen doors, burst crystal bars,
And drive the sparkling fragments under!

They had now attained the latitude of $70^{\circ} 14'$ S., and established the impossibility of penetrating further between 90° and 105° W. The season was exhausted; the sun already declined towards the north; day dwindled to a few hours; and nothing was to be expected from moon or stars. Under these circumstances Mr. Walker, after thanking his crew for their zealous cooperation, announced his resolution to return without delay. On the next afternoon (March 25), they descried and exchanged cheers with the U. S. S. Peacock. Both vessels stood northward for several days; when the Flying Fish was ordered to return to Orange harbor, where on the 11th of April, Lieut. Walker gave up his command.

The following year Wilkes discovered the Antarctic continent, and in 1841, Sir James Ross discovered Victoria land, with two Antarctic volcanos which he named Erebus and Terror, after his ships, and penetrated south to 78° , the highest latitude yet attained.

The little Flying Fish was sold in China, and became an opium trader and smuggler on that coast.

The first United States vessel of war to carry our flag from the Atlantic to the Pacific through the straits of Magellan, though many little sealing schooners under our flag had preceded her, was the United States schooner Shark, Lieut. Commander A. Bigelow. She passed Cape Virgin, Nov. 28, 1839, and took her departure from Cape Pillar on the west coast, Dec. 31, 1839, commencing the new year in the Pacific, having been in the straits thirty-three days and a half, of which 284 hours were passed under way, and five hundred and twenty-five at anchor.

A minute account of her passage, written by Capt. Bigelow to the secretary of the navy is published in the *Army and Navy Chronicle* of April 30, 1840, in which Capt. B. says ; " I have been thus minute in describing the passage of the Shark through the strait of Magellan, I believe the first *public* vessel of the United States which has passed through them, thinking that you, sir, in common with the officers of the navy, might feel some interest in the narration. It has long been a disputed question, whether it be advisable for small vessels to pass through the strait from east to west, in preference to doubling the cape. My experience would tend to discourage a stranger to the route from attempting it, in the month of December at least, though it is quite probable that the winds may have been as adverse to the southward of the cape as in the strait, and that we were peculiarly unfortunate in our weather. Steam has now made the passage through the straits either way easy and common. My conclusion from the experience of a single passage only, is that, for small vessels, the passage from west to east is preferable to going round, as wood and water can be obtained, and the distance shortened. At any time while we were in the strait, a passage to the eastward could easily have been made in four days, and sooner were the navigator acquainted with the channel, so as not to fear being under way in the night. No vessel would

be likely, however, to pass without touching to wood and water; and a week might be profitably occupied, even with a fair wind, in getting through. I should doubt the policy of making the passage either way with large vessels, though our whaling ships frequently pass both ways. No vessel could be better calculated to pass through the strait than the Shark, with the exception of her being a dull sailer. This, however, is in a measure compensated by her great capacity to bear sail. I doubt if a large, or even moderate-sized, square-rigged vessel could have made the passage, under similar circumstances, in double the time."

The steam schooner *Midas*, Capt. Wm. Poor, owned by R. B. Forbes, was the first American steamer to carry our flag around the Cape of Good Hope for China in 1844. She left New York on the 4th of November of that year, and was the first American steamer to ply in Chinese waters. She returned from China under sail to New York *via* Rio Janeiro, where she took a China cargo. Her machinery was taken out and she ran out of Savannah for some time, owned by Messrs Paddleford & Fay.

The auxiliary steam bark *Edith*, 400 tons Forbes rig, and owned by R. B. Forbes, was the first auxiliary screw steamer under the American flag that went to the British Indies, and she was the first American square-rigged screw steamer to visit China. She was launched in 1844, sailed from Boston for Bombay, under Capt. Geo. W. Lewis, January 18th, 1845, and came back like the *Midas* under sail with a China cargo. She was next chartered to the war department; took stores to Brazos Santiago, was employed in the Gulf of Mexico during our war with Mexico, was finally sold to the war department and sent to California, where she was transferred to the navy, and lost off Santa Barbara.

The first American propeller packet ship to carry our flag to England, was the *Massachusetts* of 734 tons, owned by R. B. Forbes and having engines designed by Ericsson. She was launched at East Boston July 22, 1845; and sailed from New York, commanded by Capt. A. H. White, September 17, 1845.

She made a second voyage to Liverpool under Capt. David Wood, and was after her return chartered to the government, and carried General Scott's flag to the capture of Vera Cruz; was transferred to the navy department, and went through the

strait of Magellan to California. During the recent war her engines were taken out and she was refitted as a store ship and named the *Farralones*. She was for some time stationed at Panama for the protection of the isthmus. After the war she was sold in San Francisco, and at the latest accounts was engaged in carrying wheat from that port to Liverpool. Correct portraits of both the *Massachusetts* and *Edith* are in the possession of the Naval Library and Institute at Charlestown. The *Marmion*, Capt. Page, a propeller, had preceded the *Massachusetts* to England, but she was not a packet. She ended her days in the Mediterranean.

In February, 1846, the pilot boat Wm. J. Romer, of about 100 tons burthen, sailed from New York for Liverpool on a special mission, and after a boisterous passage anchored at Cork on the 6th of March. Soon after her arrival she was boarded by an officer of H.B.M.S. *Vanguard* with orders from the admiral to haul down her flag or pennant, which her captain, McGuire refused to do. In a short time, the officer returned with a polite apology from the admiral, stating that from the smallness of the vessel he had taken her for an English pilot boat. Leaving Cork harbor on the 13th of March on her return she arrived at New York on the 11th of April bringing five days later news from Europe, making the round trip in sixty days.

The first man to raise the stars and stripes in California was one whose name has not passed into history, Capt. James P. Arther, a native of Holland, and resident of Plymouth, Mass. He was assisted by Mr. Geo. W. Greene, then a young man, and afterwards of Milton, Mass., and a member of the Massachusetts legislature.

Captain Arther was up and down the coast of California as early as 1825, in the brig *Harbinger*, Captain Steel; but the exploit above alluded to was performed in 1829, at which time he was in the employ of Messrs. Bryant & Sturgis as mate of the ship *Brookline*, Captain Locke. Mr. Arther and his little party were sent ashore at San Diego to cure hides. They had a barn-like structure of wood, provided by the ship's carpenter, which answered the purposes of storehouse, curing shop and residence. The life was lonesome enough. Upon the wide expanse of the Pacific they occasionally discerned a distant ship.

Sometimes a vessel sailed near the lower offing. It was thus that the idea of preparing and raising a flag, for the purpose of attracting attention, occurred to them. The flag was manufactured from some shirts, and Captain Arther writes, with the just accuracy of a historian, that Mr. Greene's calico shirt furnished the blue, while he furnished the red and white. "It was completed and raised on a Sunday, on the occasion of the arrival of the schooner Washington, Captain Thompson, of the Sandwich Islands," but sailing under the American flag. "He had a sailing master with him. It was in the latter part of the year 1829 in San Diego." So writes honest Captain Arther. He further states that the same flag was afterwards frequently raised at Santa Barbara whenever, in fact, there was a vessel coming into port. These men raised our national ensign, not in bravado, nor for war and conquest of course, but as honest men, to show they were American citizens and wanted company. And while the act cannot be regarded as in the light of a claim to sovereignty it is still interesting as a fact and as an unconscious indication of manifest destiny.¹

In 1842, Commodore Jones of the United States navy, under the impression that the United States were at war with Mexico, took forcible possession of Monterey, hoisted the stars and stripes and proclaimed California a territory of the United States. Discovering his mistake the following day, he hauled down the flag and made such apology as the circumstances would admit.²

The Bear flag which was raised at Sonoma, California, June 14, 1846, is now in the possession of the Pioneer Society at San Francisco. It was made of white cotton and red flannel, the skirts of an old lady, and had painted on it the semblance of a grizzly bear. The artist was, however, so unfortunate in his effort that the Spaniards called it the *Bandera Colchis*, or Hog flag. The army that raised this flag and thus undertook to revolutionize a state consisted, all told, of fourteen Americans.

During this time, however, General John C. Fremont was encamped at Sonoma with the small exploring party with which he had just crossed the plains, the Rocky Mountains, the desert, and Sierra Nevadas. Over his headquarters at Sutter's fort

¹ *Boston Daily Advertiser*.

² *The Discovery of Gold in California*, by Ed. E. Dunbar.

there floated a flag with *one star* ! On the 4th of July, 1846, he called a meeting of the Americans at Sonoma, and under advice from the general, they proclaimed the independence of California and declared war against Mexico. In all this General Fremont was acting, without knowing that the United States were then actually at war with Mexico, or that on the 8th and 9th of May General Taylor had gained his decisive victory on the banks of the Rio Bravo. He was therefore totally unprepared to hear of the startling event of the raising of the stars and stripes only three days later at Monterey, on the 7th of July, by Commodore Sloat commanding a United States squadron consisting of his flag ship, the frigate Savannah and sloop-of-war Cyane and Levant then at that port.

Capt. J. B. Montgomery¹ of the United States sloop-of-war, Portsmouth, then lying in San Francisco, raised the United States flag on the Plaza of Yerba Buena, or San Francisco, now Portsmouth square, on the next day, the 8th of July.²

Since that date the flag of the nation has constantly waved in token of sovereignty over California. On the 14th of July, only one week later, the British man-of-war Collingwood, Sir George Seymour commanding, arrived at Monterey for the very purpose of doing what Commodore Sloat had already accomplished. The British were too late ; the Yankees, already in possession, were not to be displaced save at the cost of a war between the two nations.

The honor of having been the first to raise our flag in California has been claimed for Commodore Robert F. Stockton, but he did not arrive from Honolulu at Monterey, in the frigate Congress, until the 15th of July, the day after the arrival of the English admiral, when to his surprise, he heard of these occurrences, and found our flag waving over the old Custom House, and in the plaza where the Savannah men were quartered. On the 28th of August, 1846, Commodore Stockton wrote the navy department : " I have now the honor to inform you that the flag of the United States is flying from every commanding position in the territory of California, and that this rich and beautiful country belongs to the United States, and is forever free from Mexican dominion."

¹ Now Rear Admiral John B. Montgomery, U.S.N. Montgomery street, San Francisco, is named for him, and Portsmouth Square for his ship.

² Log of the Savannah.

In 1848, Lieutenant Lynch made an exploration of the river Jordan and the Dead sea. In his narrative he describes the first unfurling of our flag over the solitary waters of the lake of Galilee, and the Dead sea, upon which, according to the popular belief, it was certain death to be borne.

After describing his voyage from the United States in the store ship Supply, and describing two metallic boats designed for the expedition and named by him Fanny Skinner and Fanny Mason, after two blooming children, Lieutenant Lynch says:

“*Friday, March 31st, 1848.* Sent to Acre for horses and hoisted out the two Fannies and landed with our effects. Pitched our tents for the first time upon the beach without the walls of Haifa; a graveyard behind, an old grotto looking well on one side, and a carob tree on the other. For the first time, perhaps, without the consular precincts, the American flag has been raised in Palestine; may it be the harbinger of a regeneration to a new and hapless people.”

The boats were afterwards reembarked and taken to another point of the coast, and again landed on the 5th of April, 1848. From this new point the start of the caravan for the interior is thus described:

“The metal boats with the flags flying mounted on carriages drawn by huge camels, ourselves, the mounted sailors in single file, the loaded camel, the sherif and the sheikh with their tufted spears and followers, presented a glorious sight. It looked like a triumphal march.” Thus organized, the party arrived at Tiberias upon the shore of the sea of Galilee, and the boats were launched upon its sacred waters on Saturday the 8th of April 1848. Under that date Lieut. Lynch says: “Took all hands up the mountain to bring the boats down. Many times we thought that like the herd of swine, they would rush precipitately into the sea. Every one did his best, and at length success crowned our efforts. With their flags flying we carried them triumphantly beyond the walls uninjured, and amid a crowd of spectators launched them upon the blue waters of the sea of Gallilee, the Arabs singing, clapping their hands to the time, and crying for *back shish*¹; but we neither

¹ Presents.

shouted nor cheered: from Christian lips it would have sounded like profanation. A look upon that lake ever brought to remembrance the words, Peace! be Still!"

"Buoyantly it floated, the two Fannies bearing the stars and stripes, the noblest flag of freedom now waving. Since the times of Josephus and the Romans no vessel of any size has sailed upon this sea, and for many, many years but a solitary keel has furrowed its surface."

On the 18th of April, in passing down the river Jordan, at the Fountain of Pilgrims, where more than eight thousand pilgrims arrived to behold them as they bathed, Lynch was gladdened by meeting two of his countrymen, who in turn were gratified at seeing the stars and stripes floating above the consecrated river, and the boats which bore them ready, should it be necessary, to rescue a drowning pilgrim.

The next day, the 19th, the Dead sea was entered and our flag displayed for the first time upon its waters. Nine days later, on the 28th, news having been received from Beyrut of the death of expresident John Quincy Adams, the flags were mournfully displayed at half mast, and at noon the following day, twenty-one minute guns from the heavy blunderbuss on the bow of the Fanny Mason were fired in honor of the illustrious dead.

On the 9th of May, having employed the previous day to its construction, he pulled out in the Fanny Skinner and moored a large float, with the American ensign flying in eighty fathoms of water, abreast of Ain G'huiveir, at too long a distance from the shore to be disturbed by the Arabs.

As their party approached Damascus on its return, they were advised to furl our flag before entering the city, and assured that no foreign flag had ever been tolerated within its walls. The British consul's was torn down on the first attempt to raise it, and the appearance of ours, it was thought, would excite commotion, and lead perhaps to serious consequences. As they had carried it to every place they had visited, they determined to take their chance with it and so kept it flying. Many angry comments were evidently made by the populace at this presumption, but as they did not choose to understand what their toorgeman was too wary to interpret, they were unmolested.

Once more unfurling it at their camp over against Jerusalem, they finally reembarked our flag at Jaffa, the ancient Joppa.

It is to be regretted that after all this display of devotion "to the stars and stripes, the noblest flag of freedom now waving," which Captain Lynch has so carefully recorded, he should, from a false sense of paramount duty to his state, have deserted its folds, a dozen years later, in the hour of its trial and danger, and have identified himself with the rebellion, and raised his sacrilegious hand against it.

There has been some controversy as to who first raised an American flag on the heights of Chapultepec, some body having said incautiously that General Read did the gallant act, whereupon several claimants for the honor came forward.

The fact, however, that the lion hearted Read did not first plant the colors of his regiment on Chapultepec, robs him of none of the proud laurels he won in Mexico. It was Captain Barnard of Philadelphia, now dead, who seized the flag of the Voltigeurs and placed it in triumph on the captured works of the enemy. Read, while gallantly bearing the colors unfurled, in the progress of the charge, was struck down, dangerously wounded, and his name appeared in the first list of the killed. No man who ever knew him, doubts for a moment that, but for this, Read would have done all that Barnard accomplished.

The flag of the Voltigeurs, the same that was first planted at Chapultepec, is now in Louisville, and is in the possession of Isaac Caldwell, Esq., brother of Col. George Alfred Caldwell, who, with General Joseph E. Johnston, led the assault. It is shattered and battle-torn, and even the staff shows marks of the fierce storm through which it was carried.

The reports of Generals Scott and Pillow, and Colonel Andrews, the latter the commander of the Voltigeurs, all ascribe the honor of first planting the regimental colors on Chapultepec to Captain Barnard. Ripley's history also gives Captain Barnard this credit. General Pillow says in his report.

"Colonel Andrews, whose regiment so distinguished itself and commander by this brilliant charge, as also Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston and Major Caldwell, whose activity enabled them to lead the assault, have greatly distinguished themselves by their gallantry and daring. Captain Barnard with distins

guished gallantry, having seized the colors of his regiment, upon the fall of the color-bearer, scaled the wall with them unfurled, and has the honor of planting the first American standard in the works."

When the Voltigeurs were disbanded at Baltimore, a number of the interesting properties of the regiment were forwarded by General Johnston to Colonel Caldwell. Among these was the regimental flag.¹

Col. Caldwell, in 1863, was drafted. The law required that he should personally appear before the board of enrollment for release. Knowing his physical disability from age and chronic rheumatism, the board wrote him, if he had reason to fear he could not get exempted, he might bring his Chapultepec flag with him to carry out to the Taylor barracks.

April, 1848. A party of twenty-five American officers, four or five civilians, thirty-five dragoons and forty infantry of the United States army in Mexico, attempted the ascent of Popocatepetl, which, after Mount St. Elias, is the highest eminence of North America, having an estimated altitude of from 17,720 to 17,840 feet.

Only six, of the hundred and fourteen of which the ascending party was composed, succeeded in reaching its summit and raising the stars and stripes. This mountain had never been ascended since the time of Cortez.

A Spanish officer in 1519, was the first human being to reach its summit, and in commemoration of his success was permitted to assume for his coat of arms the figure of a burning mountain.

On reaching the final slope, our successful adventurers directed their steps toward a black rock situated near the edge of the crater, about the middle of the south side, and at ten minutes past ten A.M., April 11th, 1848, Lieut. Stone standing on the edge of the crater, and before the other five had arrived, fastened the stars and stripes to his staff, and planted them on the very loftiest peak of the mountain, exulting with loud huzzas at his complete success.

Mr. Baggely an Englishman, and a professor in a Mexican college, arrived soon after and placed close beside it the cross of St. George.

¹ *Louisville Courier.*

The unpleasant effect of the gases did not permit the little parties to remain on the edge of the crater. The fumes of the sulphur combined to cause headache and nausea, their throats became dry and swollen, compelled them to hasten their return. The strange sensations passed off as they descended, and when at 2 P.M., they reached the camp, only a headache remained.

The Indians would not believe they had reached the top, and examined their heads, saying, "It was impossible for any one to go there without having horns grow from the head." Others asked "what the mountain said to them."

No money nor entreaty could persuade the guides to go further than the region of perpetual snow, which in that latitude is at about 14,000 feet.

About a month later, in May, 1848, Mount Orizaba, whose snow-clad summit is seen every clear day from Vera Cruz, though seventy miles distant, and the sight of whose symmetrical cone often cheers the mariner when more than a hundred miles distant at sea, was ascended by a party of army and navy officers who planted our banner upon the highest peak of its frozen summits. Humboldt tried to ascend this mountain, but with all his enthusiasm failed, and the feat had been deemed impracticable.

The party who were successful in raising our flag where foot of man had never before trod, consisted of nine officers, twenty soldiers and two sailors, who all encamped on the second day 12,000 feet above the level of the sea, with the thermometer considerably below the freezing point.

At early day-light the next morning the party again set out and were soon among the snow and ice, the air became rarified at every step and rendered it necessary for them to stop and pant for breath. When they had attained the elevation of 15,000 feet, the party with few exceptions were seized with nausea and vomiting, and the ascending party was gradually diminished.

When the summit was reached only three army and two navy officers could congratulate themselves on having reached the goal of their endeavor. Arrived at the summit the little party shook hands and sat down to rest and enjoy the glorious prospect before them : Puebla, Jalapa, Cordova, the sea ninety

miles away, and a host of villages on the plain. They descended a short distance into the crater and brought up some beautiful specimens of crystal and lava, and large quantities of the most beautiful specimens of sulphur. After this was done the navy officers set up the American flag on the summit, an honor to which they were fairly entitled, as it was made overnight of the red and blue shirts of the sailors, passed midshipman Robert Clay Rogers furnishing his white one to complete it. This flag had but thirteen stars. It was left flying with a bottle beside it in which was a paper containing the names of the successful few. The barometer ceased to indicate after they had reached an altitude of 17,300 feet, and when they were at least 1,000 feet from the summit according to their estimate. This would make the height of Orizaba over 18,300 feet, instead of 17,500 as had been estimated. When the party returned they slid down on the snow and ice.

At the close of our war with Mexico (1848), it was unanimously resolved by the senate of the United States, "That the vice-president be requested to have the flag of the United States first erected by the American army upon the palace in the capital of Mexico deposited for safe keeping in the department of state of the United States."

In answer to inquiries at the department of state concerning this flag, I received under date, Sept. 23, 1871, the following reply: "This department is unable to give you the information which you desire, as it does not have the flag referred to in its keeping. It is most likely in the charge of the war department." Referring them, however, in another letter to the law concerning it, it was found to be deposited in the state department, and described as "an ordinary United States flag of small size, tattered and moth-eaten, containing in its union twenty-eight stars, arranged in four rows, each row containing seven. The rows of seven stars parallel with the white stripes."

The American ensign first displayed in Japan on the occasion of the landing of Commodore M. C. Perry at Uraga on the bay of Jeddo in July, 1853, opening Japan to the world after two hundred years of seclusion, and which was unfolded at the treaty of Yokohama, March, 1854, counted on its cluster,

thirty-one stars, and is now preserved at the Naval Academy, Annapolis.

In 1856, after the storm-cloud of war had rolled away from the Crimea, and Sebastapol was once more opened to the ships of every nation, the first vessel to enter its closed port was an American ship, *The Troy*, a name of ominous import with the stars and stripes at her peak.

The yacht *Edith*, built of iron, owned by R. B. Forbes and sailed from Boston in the fall of 1858, for the Rio de la Platte, and was the first, and it is believed is still the only, vessel of the New York yacht squadron to carry the American flag into south latitude.

A letter from her published in the *Boston Courier* and dated Rio Uruguay, latitude $32^{\circ} 07'$ S. longitude $58^{\circ} 11'$ W., March 8th, 1859, says: At Concepcion we found the *Fulton* and *Water Witch*, vessels celebrated in history, the last as the origin of the Paraguay expedition, and the leader of that memorable squadron which went to Cuba to protect the United States flag from British aggression" * * * * * We get on admirably with our "*squadron*" consisting of the yacht *Edith* and steamer *Alpha*; sometimes she tows us and sometimes we tow her, and always excite the curiosity of the natives. No other yacht of the New York squadron has been so far from home, and no other steamer of any nation has been so far up the Rio Negro; at this point she deserves to be called the *Alpha*, and for a long time to come will be the *Omega*.

The *Alpha* was a little iron steamer which was taken out on the deck of the brig *Nankin*. Some asked on seeing her on deck, whether she was built on the way out or whether the brig was built around her. On arriving at Montevideo the *Nankin* hauled alongside the United States store ship, *Supply*, and with the tackles used to hoist out the 10 inch guns, the little steamer was suspended in air, the brig was hauled from under her, and when all was ready to launch, the main yard tackles pennant parted, and down she went ten or twelve feet into the water, the fore-sling slipping off at the same time; not a rivet was started and no harm done.

The captain of the little steamer went to the Custom House and entered her as a new arrival, she having regularly cleared

at the Boston Custom House. The collector of course opened his eyes very wide on seeing that she was only twenty tons, and asked if it came by sea, and how many days she had been on the voyage, and how many ports he had touched at for fuel, and whether he had shipped any water or incurred any danger from gales of wind on the way, to which Capt. Bessie honestly replied that he came by sea, in fifty-five days, and had put in nowhere for fuel, having been mostly propelled by sails, that he had shipped many small sprays, but no large seas, that she was as dry and safe as a brig of 300 tons all the way out, that he had encountered one very severe gale and several smaller ones, but that she lay to like a duck. Then the collector made notes of these facts, and said it was '*muy curioso*,' and opened his eyes again.

The Alpha may be considered as the parent of our present naval steam launches, those efficient tenders to our ships of war and surveying vessels.

The yacht Edith was only 47 days in making the passage out from Provinceton, though considerably delayed by the loss of her main mast close to the deck in lat. 26° S.

Throughout the trials, sufferings, and famines of Lieut. Isaac N. Strain's unfortunate Darien exploring expedition in 1854, so graphically drawn in Mr. Headley's narrative: "our flag was sacredly preserved."

After their rescue, and while pursuing their course down river, as they approached the Viragos paddle box boat, Strain was desirous to hoist an American ensign and asked if the one they started with had been preserved. They answered yes. McGinness had been entrusted with it, and had carried it to the last. The only emblem of their nationality that remained to them, he had wrapped it around his breast, and though weapons, haversacks, and blankets had been thrown away, he would not part with it. Wounded feet that needed bandaging, and ulcerated limbs and tattered garments could not induce a man to devote that cherished symbol to his own use. Without reflection, Strain ordered McGinness to place it in his boat. The poor fellow hung back for a moment, and cast such an appealing look to Strain, that the latter asked him what was the matter. His eyes instantly filled with tears and he replied: "Captain Strain

I have never parted with the ensign a single instant since you trusted it to my care on the Atlantic coast, and don't take it from me now."

Touched by the noble devotion of the man Strain said: "By no means my brave fellow shall it be taken from you, display it yourself." His face beamed with a smile of thankfulness, and unbinding it with his skeleton hand, from the rags that hardly covered him, he gave it tattered and torn to the wind, and three cheers went up from the little fleet. "There is a whole poem" adds Headley "in this little incident." That flag had been displayed when they marched from the beach of Caledonia bay: it was unrolled to announce their deliverance.

Once more only was it used, to shroud the coffin of one of the expedition.

In 1854, Assistant Surgeon Elisha Kent Kane, U.S.N., carried our flag to the land nearest the pole yet discovered, and his companion Morton hoisted it on the borders of the polynia or open sea of the Arctic. "The first flag that ever waved over that solitude."

Doctor Kane narrating the event, says: "As he (Morton) neared the northern land, at the east shore which led to Cape Constitution, the termination of his labors, he found only a very small ice-float under the lee of the head land, and crushed up against the side of the rock. He went on, but the strip of ice land broke more and more until, about a mile off the cape it terminated altogether, the waves breaking into a cross sea directly against the cape. The wind had moderated, but was still from the north, and the current ran very fast, four or five knots perhaps.

"The cliffs were here very high; at a short distance they seemed about two thousand feet: but the crags were so overhanging that Morton could not see the tops as he drew closer. The echoes were confusing and the clamor of half a dozen ivory gulls, who were frightened from their sheltered nooks were multiplied a hundred fold. The mollemoks were still numerous but he saw no ducks.

"He tried to pass around the cape; it was in vain, there was no ice foot, and trying his best to ascend the cliffs, he could get up but a few hundred feet. Here he fastened to his walk-

ing pole the Grinnell flag of the *Antarctic*, a well cherished little relic which had now followed me on two polar voyages. This flag had been saved from the wreck of the United States sloop of war *Peacock* when she was stranded off Columbia river. It had accompanied Commodore Wilkes in his far southern discovery of the Antarctic continent. It was now its strange destiny to float over the highest northern land, not only of America, but of our globe. Side by side with this were our masonic emblems of the compass and square. He let them fly for an hour and a half from the black cliffs, over the dark rock-shadowed waters, which rolled up and broke in white caps at its base."

Theodore de Sabla, who had been the U. S. consul's clerk, and acting postmaster at Panama, and who in 1860 was sent to Bolivia by our government on a special mission, being a native of Louisiana, sympathized with the rebellion and took sides against our government. Writing from Panama to a former navy friend on the 18th of July, 1861, he relates the following curious incident with regard to our flag, the augury of which was happily not fulfilled unless on the principle of the fulfillment of dreams, by contraries. After alluding to some matters of a business nature, he says: "We had a glorious fourth here at my house, rather on the *secess* side though as you may easily believe. Capt. Mitchell, Shryock and our other southern friends, late *of*, and now *off* the navy, were there, and we had a grand time of it. Sorry to say that on that day when they were drinking the "union" at the United States Consulate, about 2 o'clock, P.M., the flag staff of old Corwine (the U. S. consul) was struck by lightning and shivered from top to bottom, and the flag torn to pieces. Bad omen that! for you!"

On the 4th day of March, 1861, Dr. Hayes of the Arctic expeditions¹ hoisted a flag in honor of Abraham Lincoln who was supposed to be the president of the United States, though the fact was not known until August 14, when the expedition arrived at Uppernavick on its return. The flag was made by F.

¹ This expedition sailed for Boston July 6, 1860, in the schooner *Spring Hill* of 133 tons, renamed the *United States*. Her officers and crew, including Dr. Hayes, numbered fifteen persons. It was designed the vessel should sail on the 4th of July but the weather proved unpropitious and her departure was delayed.

L. Harris, and a curious circumstance connected with it is that it was made with but eighteen stars on account of lack of material with which to make more. When the news was received of the election of Lincoln five months afterwards, it was found that a rebellion had broken out in the southern states leaving only about eighteen states true to the union.

Dr. Hayes had accompanied Kane on the expedition of 1854, when Morton caught sight of the open Polar sea. During the winter of 1860-61 he took up his quarters at Port Foulke¹ and in April, 1861, left his ship and proceeded up Smith's strait in sleighs, but having traversed about half the channel was obliged to send back to the ship most of his exhausted crew. Keeping with himself only three hardy companions he passed the straits and proceeded along the coast on the ice.

On the 18th of May, 1861, in lat. $81^{\circ} 30'$ and at a distance of 825 kilometers from the pole, Hayes saw before him a vast sheet of water. Everything, says he, was to me evident proof that I had reached the shores of the Polar basin, and that the large ocean was rolling at my feet. At some distance from where he stood, the waves sweeping along the coast were breaking to pieces the ice which finally disappeared. There Dr. Hayes built a cairn, and planted the American flag upon the most northern point ever reached by man. Having named the headland where the flags were raised, Cape Lieber, and the extreme point of the world in sight to the northward, Cape Union, he retraced his steps to Port Foulke.

We will let him describe this interesting incident in the history of our flag.

"The Open Polar Sea. Standing against the dark sky at the north, there was seen in dim outline the white sloping summit of a noble headland, the most northern known land upon the globe. I judged it to be in latitude 82 deg. 30 min., or four hundred and fifty miles from the north pole."

"Nearer, another bold cape stood forth; and nearer still the headland, for which I had been steering my course the day before, rose majestically from the sea, as if pushing up into the

¹ So named by Dr. Hayes for Wm. Parke Foulke of Philadelphia who aided in fitting out the expedition, and died before its return. Dr. Hayes dedicates his narrative to his memory.

very skies a lofty mountain peak, upon which the winter had dropped its diadem of snows. There was no land visible except the coast upon which I stood.

“The sea beneath me was a mottled sheet of white and dark patches, these latter being either soft decaying ice or places where the ice had wholly disappeared. These spots were heightened in intensity of shade and multiplied in size as they receded, until the belt of the water-sky blended them all together into one uniform color of dark blue. The old and solid floes (some a quarter of a mile and others miles across), and the massive ridges and wastes of hummocked ice which lay piled between them and around their margins, were the only parts of the sea which retained the whiteness and solidity of winter.

“All the evidences showed that I stood upon the shores of the Polar basin, and that the broad ocean lay at my feet; that the land upon which I stood, culminating in the distant cape before me, was but a point of land projecting far into it, like the Ceverro Vostochnoi Noss of the opposite coast of Siberia; and that the little margin of ice which lined the shore was being steadily worn away; and within a month the whole sea would be as free from ice as I had seen the north water of Baffin bay, interrupted only by a moving pack, drifting to and fro at the will of the winds and currents.

“It now only remained for us to plant our flag in token of our discovery, and to deposit a record in proof of our presence. The flags were tied to the whip-lash, and suspended between two tall rocks and while we were building a cairn, they were allowed to flutter in the breeze; then, tearing a leaf from my note-book, I wrote on it as follows:

“This point, the most northern land that has ever been reached, was visited by the undersigned, May 18th, 19th, 1861, accompanied by George F. Knorr, travelling with a dog sledge. We arrived here after a toilsome march of forty-six days from my winter harbor, near Cape Alexander, at the mouth of Smith sound. My observations place us in latitude 81 degrees 25 minutes, longitude 70 degrees 30 minutes W. Our further progress was stopped by rotten ice and cracks. Kennedy channel appears to expand into the Polar basin; and, satisfied that it is navigable at least during the months of July, August

and September, I go hence to my winter harbor, to make another trial to get through Smith sound with my vessel, after ice breaks up this summer.

I. I. HAYES.

May 19, 1861."

"This record being carefully secured in a small glass vial, which I brought for the purpose, it was deposited beneath the cairn; then our faces were turned homewards. But I quitted the place with reluctance. It possessed a fascination for me, and it was with no ordinary sensations that I contemplated my situation, with one solitary companion in that hitherto untrodden desert; while my nearness to the earth's axis, the consciousness of standing upon land far beyond the limits of previous observation, the reflections which crossed my mind respecting the vast ocean which lay spread out before me, the thought that these ice-girdled waters might lash the shores of distant islands where dwell human beings of an unknown race, were circumstances calculated to invest the very air with mystery, to deepen the curiosity, and to strengthen the resolution to persevere in my determination to sail upon this sea and to explore its furthest limits; and as I recalled the struggles which had been made to reach this sea — through the ice and across the ice — by generations of brave men, it seemed as if the spirits of these old worthies came to encourage me, as their experience had already guided me; and I felt that I had within my grasp "the great and notable thing" which had inspired the zeal of sturdy Frobisher, and that I had achieved the hope of matchless Parry."

The flags planted upon the crag were a small United States boat ensign which had been carried in the South-sea exploring expedition of Captain Wilkes, and afterwards in the Arctic expeditions of Lieut. Comdg. De Haven, and Doctor Kane: a little United States flag which had been committed to Doctor Sontag by the ladies of the Albany Academy; two diminutive masonic flags intrusted to Doctor Hayes, one by the Kane Lodge of New York, the other by the Columbia Lodge of Boston; and the expedition signal flag, bearing a crimson star on a white field. Doctor Hayes says "being under the obligation of a sacred promise to unfurl all these flags at the most northern point attained, it was my pleasing duty to carry them with me,

a duty rendered none the less pleasing by the circumstance that together they did not weigh three pounds."

The highest point attained by him he called Cape Lieber; a remarkable peak rising above Church's monument; and the bay below it he named for Lady Franklin. The conspicuous headland which he vainly attempted to reach on the last day of his northward journey was named Cape Eugenie, for the empress of the French in appreciation of the kindness of French citizens to the expedition, another prominent headland he named Cape Frederick VII, in honor of the king of Denmark, to whose Greenland subjects he was indebted for many serviceable attentions. The noble headland which in faint outline, stood against the dark sky of the open sea, "the most northern known land upon the globe," he named Cape Union, "in remembrance of a compact which has given prosperity to a people and founded a nation," unknowing that at that very time fratricidal hands were endeavoring to rend that glorious union, and dissolve the compact, which had resulted in such national prosperity. The bay lying between Cape Union and Cape Frederick VII he named for Admiral Wrangel whose fame in connection with arctic discovery is second only to that of Sir Edward Parry, and the lofty peak behind Cape Eugenie, overlooking the Polar sea, he named Parry mountain. With that eminent explorer he must divide the honors of extreme northern travel; for if Parry carried the British flag upon the sea nearer to the north pole than any flag had been carried hitherto, Hayes planted the American flag further north *upon the land* than any flag had been or has since been planted.¹

¹ Commander James Clarke Ross, R. N., had thirty years before, viz., May, 1861, fixed the British flag on the north *magnetic* pole more than *eleven* degrees to the *southward*, and took possession of it and the adjoining territory in the name of Great Britain and King William IV. He erected a cairn of some magnitude under which he buried a cannister record of the interesting fact, regretting he had not the means of constructing a pyramid of size and strength sufficient to withstand the assaults of time and the Esquimaux. The latitude of the spot was $70^{\circ} 05' 15''$ n. longitude $96^{\circ} 46' 4''$ s. west of Greenwich. The latitude of the magnetic pole is unchangeable but the longitude varies with every succeeding year. It is sufficient honor for Ross that he actually stood upon the magnetic pole of 1831..

FLAGS 1861 - 64



CONFEDERATE
1861



CONFEDERATE
(BATTLE FLAG)



CONFEDERATE
1863



CONFEDERATE
1864



SOUTH CAROLINA
1861



SOUTH CAROLINA
1861



SOUTH CAROLINA
1861



NORTH CAROLINA
1861



SOUTH CAROLINA
1861



GEORGIA



VIRGINIA



SOUTH CAROLINA
1861



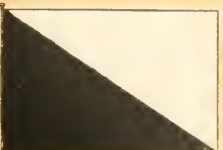
LOUISIANA
1861.



LOUISIANA
1861



CONFEDERATE
PROPOSED 1862



CONFEDERATE
PROPOSED 1862



CONFEDERATE
PROPOSED 1862



CONFEDERATE
PROPOSED 1862

PART V.

THE STARS AND STRIPES.

A. D. 1861-1872

OUR FLAG IN THE GREAT REBELLION.

THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR AGAINST OUR FLAG AND UNION.
OUR FLAG AT FORT SUMTER. LOYAL FLAG RAISINGS.
OUR FLAG IN SECESSIA. SOUTHERN FLAGS.

1861-1865.

OUR FLAG SINCE THE WAR.

THE RETURN OF REGIMENTAL FLAGS AND TROPHIES.
ANECDOTES AND INCIDENTS.

1865-1872.

"I am, *totis viribus*, against any division of the union by the North river, or by the Delaware river, or by the Potomac, or by any other river, or by any chain of mountains. I am for maintaining the independence of the nation at all events."—*John Adams's Letter*, March 13, 1789.

"If Kentucky to morrow unfurls the banner of resistance, I never will fight under that banner; I owe a *paramount* allegiance to the whole union, a subordinate one to my own state."—*Henry Clay*.

"When my eyes shall turn to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious union; on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood. Let their last feeble and lingering glance, rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as *What is all this worth?* nor those other words of delusion and folly, *Liberty first, and Union afterwards*, but everywhere spread all over in characters of living light, blazing in all its ample folds, as they float over the sea, and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart, 'LIBERTY AND UNION, NOW AND FOREVER, ONE AND INSEPARABLE.'"—*Daniel Webster*.

"There are only two sides to this question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war, only patriots or traitors. I express it as my conviction before God, that it is the duty of every American citizen to rally round the flag of his country."—*Stephen A. Douglass*.

"I have served my country under the flag of the union for more than fifty years, and as long as God permits me to live, I will defend that flag with my sword, even if my own state assails it."—*Lt. Gen. Winfield Scott*.

"It is a matter of great anxiety and concern to me that the slave trade is sometimes perpetrated under the flag of liberty, our dear noble stars and stripes to which virtue and glory have been constant standard bearers."—*Lafayette to John Adams*, 1786. "I would never have drawn my sword in the cause of America could I have conceived that thereby I was founding a land of slavery."—*Lafayette*.

"The national ensign pure and simple, dearer to all our hearts at this moment as we lift it to the gale and see no other sign of hope upon the storm cloud which rolls and settles above it save that which is reflected from its own radiant hues, dearer a thousand fold dearer to us all than ever it was before while gilded by the sunshine of prosperity and playing with the zephyrs of peace. It speaks for itself far more eloquently than I can speak for it. Behold it! listen to it! Every star has a tongue. Every stripe is articulate. There is no language or speech where their voices are not heard. There's magic in the web of it. It has an answer for every question. It has a solution for every doubt and every perplexity. It has a word of good cheer for every hour of gloom or of despondency. Behold it! listen to it! It speaks of earlier and later struggles. It speaks of heroes and patriots among the living and among the dead. But before all and above all other associations and memories, whether of glorious men, or glorious deeds, or glorious places, its voice is ever of union and liberty, of the constitution and the laws. Behold it! listen to it! Let it tell the story of its birth to these gallant volunteers as they march beneath its folds by day, or repose beneath its sentinel stars by night. Let it recall to them the strange eventful history of its rise and progress. Let it rehearse to them the wondrous tale of its trials and its triumphs in peace as well as in war."—*Robert C. Winthrop*, Oct. 3, 1861.

PART V.

THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR AGAINST THE FLAG AND UNION.

When the election of Abraham Lincoln as president of the United States, pledged to resist the extension of slavery into the territories, and to confine it to constitutional limits was ascertained, the existence of a well organized conspiracy against the unity of our republic was revealed. The leaders of this attempt to blot from our banner and escutcheon the stars of their states had chosen their time well, but in the providence of God, their efforts were futile, and *Old Glory*, as our flag was baptized by our soldiers, emerged from the smoke and fire of four years of civil conflict, with the lustre of its constellation increased by the addition of new stars,¹ and its galaxy brightened and strengthened from the experiences of the war.

The choice of presidential electors by ballot took place Nov. 6, 1860, when Mr. Lincoln received 180 of the 303 votes of the electoral college, or 123 over all opponents. But of the national popular vote he was in minority 979,163. This fact, and that in the nine slave states no republican electoral ticket was elected, gave a degree of plausibility to the unfounded assertion that he would be a sectional ruler, and that he was pledged to wage a relentless war upon the system of slavery, and the rights of the slave states. That his election had been legally and fairly conducted was not denied, or that he was pledged to absolute non-interference with the rights and domestic policy of the states; but these facts were studiously concealed from the southern people by their political leaders.

Robert Barnwell Rhett, one of the Hotspurs of South Carolina, declared that "all true statesmanship in the south consisted

¹*West Virginia* was admitted, as the thirty fifth state of the union on the 3d of June 1863, by an act of congress approved Dec. 31, 1862, and having a population of nearly 400,000. *Nevada* was admitted Oct. 1864; *Nebraska* has been admitted since the close of the war.

in forming combinations and shaping events, to as speedily as possible bring about a dissolution of the union, and a southern confederacy." Lawrence M. Keith, a representative from South Carolina to the United States congress, about the same time publicly declared in Washington that "South Carolina would shatter the accursed union." Henry A. Wise of Va., wrote to a northern friend: "The south will not wait for the 4th of March. We will be well under arms before then." Howell Cobb, of Georgia, Buchanan's secretary of the treasury, while on a visit to New York pending the canvass said at a public meeting, he did not believe another congress of the United States would meet, and in an address to the people of Georgia, that, "on the 4th of March, 1861, the federal government will pass into the hands of the abolitionists, it will then cease to have the slightest claims either upon your confidence or your loyalty, and in my honest judgment, each hour that Georgia remains thereafter a member of the union will be an hour of degradation to be followed by speedy and certain ruin. I entertain no doubt either of your right or *duty* to secede from the union." It was not until two days after this treasonable address that he resigned his place as a cabinet officer of the United States.

On the 20th of November, Jacob Thompson the secretary of the interior, wrote: "My allegiance is due to Mississippi. A confederacy of the southern states will be strong enough to command the respect of the world, and the love and confidence of the people at home."

Mr. Johnson, of Georgia, from his seat in the United States senate Dec. 5, 1860, announced that the slave states intended to revolt. "We intend to go out of the union" he said. "I speak what I believe, before the 4th of March five of the southern states at least will have declared their independence. We intend to go out peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must. If five or eight states go out of this union I would like to see the man who would propose a declaration of war against them, but I do not believe with the senator from New Hampshire (Mr. Hale) that there is going to be any war."

These, and there were many more like them, were treasonable utterances, but at the time were considered by the people of the northern and western states as simply the intemperate

outpourings of disappointed politicians. They could not, or were unwilling to realize that there was any fixed design to break the bands of our glorious union.

The governors and legislatures of the slaveholding states took early action against the national government. South Carolina led in the movement, as was to be expected. In 1852 that state in convention had declared, "that a state had a right to secede from the confederacy whenever the occasion should arise justifying her, in her judgment, in taking the step," and now her legislature in extraordinary session, the day before the election of Mr. Lincoln, recommended preparations for revolt. On the 7th of Nov. 1860, when the news of Lincoln's election was telegraphed over the length and breadth of the land, Palmetto flags were every where unfurled in South Carolina. Speeches, harangues and salutes of cannon followed, and in the evening the city of Charleston was illuminated by bonfires. The bark *James Gray*, lying at one of the Charleston wharves, hoisted the Palmetto flag and fired a salute of 15 guns. Palmetto cockades were generally worn in the streets. Two days later, on the 9th of November, a bill passed the South Carolina senate calling a convention for the purpose of secession, which was concurred in by the house on the 12th.

Georgia was next to follow the bad example of South Carolina, her legislature by a heavy majority voting that a sovereign state had a right to secede from the union. On the 13th of November the military convention by a large majority voted in favor of secession, and its action had great weight with the legislature and people. On the following day the legislature voted a million dollars for arming and equipping the militia of the state. On the 7th of December, the legislature passed an act providing for the election of delegates, who were to assemble on the 16th of January following. The preamble of the bill asserted that the "Present crisis in national affairs demands resistance, and that it was the privilege of the people to determine the mode, measure and time of such resistance."

The legislature of Mississippi assembled early in November, and adjourned on the 30th, its special object being to make preparations for the secession of the state.

The southern portion of Alabama was strongly in favor of

secession, whilst the northern portion was as strongly in favor of union.

At the opening of the Florida legislature the governor in his message declared the peace and future prosperity of the state depended upon secession. Governor Moore called an extra session of the legislature of Louisiana on the 10th of Dec., assigning the election of Mr. Lincoln by a party hostile to the people and institutions of the south as a reason. In his message he said he did not think it comported with the honor and self respect of Louisiana, as a slaveholding state, to live under the government of a black republican president, although he did not dispute the fact that Mr. Lincoln had been legally elected.

South Carolina seceded in convention, Dec. 10, 1860, and declared "The union now subsisting between South Carolina, and other states under the name of 'The United States of America,' is hereby dissolved." A placard, printed half an hour after the vote was taken, being a copy of the secession ordinance and headed in large letters THE UNION IS DISSOLVED, was scattered broadcast through the town and hailed with joy.

Florida, which had been bought and paid for with the money of the United States, followed on the 7th of Jan., 1861, and ungratefully declared, "The state of Florida hereby withdraws herself from the confederation of states existing under the name of the 'United States of America,' and the state of Florida is hereby declared a sovereign and independent nation."

Mississippi, next in order, on the 9th of January, 1861, declared all the laws and ordinances by which the state became a member of the federal union of the United States of America repealed.

Alabama, on the 11th of January, declared that the state of Alabama now withdraws from the union known as "The United States of America," and henceforth ceases to be one of the said United States, and is and of right ought to be, a sovereign and independent state.

Georgia, on the 19th of January, declared and ordered in a similar way that her union with the United States of America was dissolved, and "that the state of Georgia is in full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent state."

Louisiana, on the 26th of January, declared her union with the United States dissolved, and "resumed all rights and powers heretofore delegated to the government of the United States," and that she was in full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which appertain to a free and independent state.

Texas, on the 7th of February, repealed and annulled the act ratified by her, under which the republic of Texas was admitted into the union, and resumed all the powers which by that compact were delegated to the federal government, and declared herself "a sovereign and independent state."¹

Jefferson Davis was elected Feb. 8, and solemnly inaugurated president of the southern confederacy at Montgomery, Feb. 22d, 1861.

Thus, nearly a month before the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln as president of the United States, seven states had formally separated themselves from the union, and elected a president; yet no effective efforts were made by Buchanan's outgoing administration to draw them back to their allegiance or prevent their departure. The union seemed indeed to be only held together by that rope of sand to which it had been likened. The people of the loyal states looked on in dazed wonder and amazement. They could not, or would not realize the situation, and that under the fallacious idea of state sovereignty, it was held to be in the power of one of the states, even of the smallest, ignoring the rule of the majority, to break the bond of union in which alone was strength, and scatter into as many petty states or principalities the glory and power of the United States of America, and destroy its cherished emblem the stars and stripes.

The power and policy of coercing the seceding states back to their allegiance was freely discussed, and was held by a large party

¹ These were all the states that formally seceded before the fall of Sumter, though North Carolina was represented in the Montgomery convention. The fall of Sumter hastened Virginia out, on the 17th of April, 1861. Arkansas pronounced herself a free and independent state, May 6th. Tennessee did the same on the same day, and North Carolina, waiting for the anniversary of the declaration of Mechlenburg in 1775, dissolved her connection with the union and ratified the Montgomery constitution on the 20th of May, 1861. Making eleven states in all that formally dissolved all connection with the United States, represented by as many stars on the confederate banners.

at the north as well as an undoubted majority at the south, impracticable and impossible.

Even the *New York Tribune* said: "whenever a considerable section of the union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep it in. We hope never to live in a republic whereof one section is pinned to the residue by bayonets."¹

Ex-president Franklin Pierce wrote to a friend on the 28th of Nov., 1860. "One decisive step in the way of coercion will drive out all the slave-labor states. Of that I entertain no doubt."

The president of the United States, Mr. Buchanan,² after putting the question, "has the constitution delegated to congress the power to coerce into submission a state which is attempting to withdraw or has actually withdrawn from the confederacy?" Answered it by saying, "after much serious reflection, I have arrived at the conclusion that no such power has been delegated to congress or to any other department of the federal government. The fact is, he added, "that our union rests upon public opinion, and can never be cemented by the blood of its citizens shed in civil war. Congress possesses many means of preserving it by conciliation; but the sword was not placed in their hands to preserve it by force."³ Mr. Buchanan acted honestly no doubt up to this belief to the last hour of his official life, and witnessing state after state dissolving, by ordinance, their connection with the union without attempting to restrain them, turned over a divided and distracted country to his successor. It required the attack upon Sumter to arouse the people and cut the gordian knot of political policy and opinions.

Prof. S. F. B. Morse, the originator of the Electro-magnetic telegraph in the United States, was an earnest pleader against

¹ *New York Tribune*, Nov. 7, 1860. ² *Buchanan's Annual Message*, Dec. 4, 1860.

³ On the 22d of Jan., in an address in Boston On the Political Lessons of the Hour. "All hail disunion!" said Wendell Phillips, the anti-slavery orator. "Sacrifice everything for the union? God forbid! Sacrifice everything to keep South Carolina in it? Rather build a bridge of gold and pay her toll over it. Let her march off with banners and trumpets, and we will speed the parting guest. Let her not stand upon the order of her going but go at once. Give her forts and arsenals and sub treasuries, and lend her jewels of silver and gold, and Egypt will rejoice that she has departed." See Clemens's speech, *Congressional Globe*, 1860-61, Appendix pages 103, 104, and *Springfield Republican*, Jan. 23, 1861.

coercion, and a conspicuous opponent of the war measures of the government during the entire conflict. On the adjournment of the peace convention, he was elected president of The American Society for the Promotion of National Union, and worked zealously for the promotion of measures that might satisfy the demands of the slaveholders, before "that most lamentable and pregnant error of the attack on Fort Sumter" had been committed. While war was confined to threatening and irritating words between the two sections of the country, he suggested two methods by which our sectional difficulties might be adjusted without bloodshed, and thus stated them in a paper drawn up when the project of a *flag* for the southern section was under discussion in the journals of the south :

"The first and most proper mode of adjusting those difficulties is to call a national convention of the states, to which body should be referred the whole subject of our differences ; and then, if but a moiety of the lofty, unselfish, enlarged, and kind disposition manifested in that noble convention of 1787, which framed our constitution, be the controlling disposition of the new convention, we may hope for some amicable adjustment. If for any reason this mode cannot be carried out, then the second method is one which circumstances may unhappily force upon us ; but even this mode, so lamentable in itself considered, and so extreme, so repulsive to an American heart, if judiciously used, may eventuate in a modified and even stronger union. This is the temporary yielding to the desire of the south for a separate confederacy ; in other words, an assent to negotiations for a temporary *dissolution of the present union*. My object in this mode is to secure, in the end, a more permanent perpetual union. I well know that this is a startling proposition, and may seem to involve a paradox ; but look at it calmly and carefully, and understand what is involved in such an assent. It involves, as a paramount consideration, a total cessation on our part of the irritating process which for thirty years has been in operation against the south. If this system of vituperation cannot be quelled because we have freedom of speech ; if we cannot refrain from the use of exasperating and opprobrious language towards our brethren, and from offensive intermeddling with their domestic affairs, then, of course, the plan fails, and so will all

others, for a true union. If we cannot tame our tongues, neither union nor peace with neighbors, nor domestic tranquility in our homes, can be expected."

This apostle of peace then proceeds to notice some of the formidable difficulties in the way, such as fixing the boundary line between the two confederacies, and the weighty necessity of maintaining in peaceful relations, a standing military army and an army of custom house officials. These considerations, he believed, would cause a perception of the necessity for compromise, "which embodies a sentiment vital to the existence of any society." There then would be the difficulty of an equitable distribution of the public property, as well as an agreement upon the terms of a treaty "offensive and defensive between the confederacies." "Coercion," he said, "of one state by another, or of one federated union by another federated union," was not to be thought of. "The idea is so fruitful of crime and disaster that no man, in his right mind, can entertain it for a moment."

Supposing these matters settled to the perfect satisfaction of all parties, the question naturally arose in the mind of the writer, "what is to become of the *flag* of the union!" He answered. "The southern section is now agitating the question of a device for their distinctive flag. Cannot this question of flags be so settled as to aid in a future union? I think it can. If the country can be divided, why not the flag? the stars and stripes is the flag in which we all have a deep and the self-same interest. It is hallowed by the common victories of our several wars. We all have sacred associations clustering around it in common, and, therefore, if we must be two nations, neither nation can lay exclusive claim to it without manifest injustice and offense to the other. Neither will consent to throw it aside altogether for a new and strange device, with no associations of the past to hallow it. The most obvious solution of the difficulties which spring up in this respect is to *divide* the old flag, giving half to each. It may be done, and in a manner to have a salutary *moral* effect upon both parties."

"Let the blue union be diagonally divided, from left to right or right to left, and the thirteen stripes longitudinally, so as to make six and a half stripes in the upper, and six and a half

stripes in the lower portion. Referring to it, as on a map, the upper portion being north, and the lower portion being south, we have the upper diagonal division of the blue field and the upper six and a half stripes for the *Northern Flag*, and the lower six and a half stripes for the *Southern Flag*. The portion of the blue field in each flag to contain the stars to the number of states embraced in each confederacy. The reason for such divisions are obvious. It prevents all dispute on a claim for the old flag by either confederacy. It is *distinctive*; for the two cannot be mistaken for each other, either at sea or at a distance on land, each being a moiety of the old flag, will retain something, at least, of the sacred memories of the past for the sober reflection of each confederacy. And then if a war with some foreign nation, or combination of nations, should unhappily occur (all wars being unhappy), under our treaty of offense and defense, the two separate flags, by natural affinity, would clasp fittingly together, and the glorious old flag of the union, in its entirety, would again be hoisted, once more embracing all the sister states. Would not this division of the old flag thus have a salutary moral effect inclining to union? Will there not also be felt a sense of shame when either flag is seen by citizens of either confederacy? Will it not speak to them of the divisions which have separated members of the same household, and will not the *why* be forced from their lips. Why is the old flag divided? And when once the old time-honored banner, bequeathed to us by our honored ancestors of every state, shall be flung to the breeze in its original integrity, as the rallying-point for a common defense, will not a shout of welcome, going up from the Rio Grande to Maine, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, rekindle in patriotic hearts in both confederacies a fraternal yearning for the old union?"¹

The ordinances of secession were soon followed by hostile acts.

¹ *The Civil War*, by B. J. Lossing, vol. 1, pages 245-7.

Secession and peace flags continued for some time to be raised by non-coercionists which were as quickly pulled down by the citizens of the community whose feelings of loyalty they insulted. A man named *Steele* hoisted a secession flag at East Fairhaven, Mass. He was warned day after day but refused to take it down. He refused to comply with the request, and threatend to shoot whoever attempted to take it down. After parleying awhile he was taken and marched three miles to Mattapoisett, where a

On the 10th of January, 1861, a ball was fired athwart the bows of the steamer *Star of the West* as she was entering Charleston harbor, and on her displaying the stars and stripes, the rebel fortification fired a succession of shots.¹

The next case of artillery practice against the flag was at Vicksburg on Sunday night, January 13, 1861. The night was dark and rainy, and as the steamer *A. O. Tylor*, Capt. Colliers, unsuspecting of evil, approached the wharf boat at that place, the Quitman battery of Jackson, Miss., which was planted about three hundred yards above the wharf boat, threw a shot across her bows. The Captain of the *Tylor* not knowing what it meant, and supposing it a political celebration, continued his course to the landing. The artillerists had a 24 pounder ready, and her not heaving to, the order was given to fire into her, and the match was applied, but fortunately the priming was wet and would not go off, and the boat escaped injury. Among her passengers were seven ladies. The gun was reprimed with fresh powder, but before it could be brought to bear, the *Tylor* had passed beyond its range and was landing at the wharf boat, utterly unconscious of the peril she had escaped.²

The southern members did not commence withdrawing from congress until January 12, 1861. The Mississippi delegation was the first to withdraw, though Jeff. Davis did not leave until the 21st, when he made a farewell speech. The same day the representatives of Alabama and Florida withdrew; a week later the senators from Georgia, and on the 4th of February, the senators from Louisiana.

coat of tar and feathers was applied to a part of his body, giving him a handsome set of tail feathers, and then he was compelled to give three cheers for the stars and stripes, and take an oath to support the constitution and never again raise other than the American flag. * *. — *Boston Transcript* April 29th.

August 24th, 1861. Two attempts were made in Connecticut to raise peace flags, one of which failed, the other was successful. The first was at Stepney. According to previous announcement, a meeting was to have been organized after the flag raising. No sooner was the flag hoisted, however, than the union men made a rush at it, and tore it into shreds. A union meeting was organized which passed a series of union resolutions.

The other flag was raised at New Fairfield, about four hundred persons were engaged in the enterprise. Seventy union men attempted to pull it down and a desperate fight ensued, in which two of the peace men were seriously injured. * *. — *Rebellion Record* vol. III.

¹ *Charleston Courier* January 10th, 1861.

² *Loyal (Patriotic) Society Tract*.

The day the senators from Louisiana withdrew, a peace convention or congress assembled at Willard's Hotel, Washington, in which twenty-one of the states, viz: fourteen of the free and seven of the slave were represented. John Tyler, expresident of the United States,¹ was appointed to preside. Nothing however resulted from its conference, and the failure occasioned much disappointment.

The day the peace convention assembled at Washington, witnessed another and very different assembling of the southern leaders. Forty-two delegates, chosen by the secession convention of six of the southern states, met at the State House, Montgomery, also for the purpose of perfecting a scheme for the destruction of the union. Honorable Howell Cobb of Georgia (fresh from the cabinet of the president of the United States) was appointed the presiding officer. The next day, delegates from North Carolina appeared and were invited to take seats in the convention, and a provisional government was formed. On the 22d of February, when Mr Lincoln, pursuing his journey to Washington to be inaugurated as president of the United States, raised the stars and stripes over old Independence Hall at Philadelphia, Jefferson Davis, late senator from Mississippi, was inaugurated president of the new southern confederacy. In the evening he held a levee in Estelle Hall, and Montgomery was ablaze with bonfires and illuminations.

On the 11th of February, 1861, Mr. Lincoln, the president elect, left his home in Springfield, Illinois, for the seat of government, accompanied by a few friends. A large concourse of his fellow citizens and neighbors gathered at the railway station to wish him God speed. He was visibly affected by this kind attention and addressed his friends and neighbors in a few words,

¹ On the 22d of Feb., 1861, James Buchanan, president of the United States, wrote to ex-president Tyler, apologizing because two companies of United States troops performed escort duty on that day. He said: "I found it impossible to prevent two or three companies of federal troops from joining the procession to day, with the volunteers of the district, without giving serious offence to the tens of thousands of people who have assembled to witness the parade. The troops every where else join such processions in honor of the birthday of the father of our country, and it would be hard to assign a good reason why they should be excluded from the privilege in the capital founded by himself. They are here, simply as a *posse comitatus*, to aid the civil authorities in case of need. Besides, the programme was published in the *National Intelligencer* of this morning without my personal knowledge, the war department having considered the celebration of the national anniversary by the military arm of the government as a matter of course."

and requested that they would all pray that he might receive the Divine assistance in the responsibilities he was about to encounter, without which he could not succeed, but with which, success was certain. When about leaving Springfield, Mr Lincoln received from Abra Kohn, the city clerk of Chicago, a fine picture of the flag of the union, with an inscription in Hebrew written upon its folds. The verses being the 4th to 9th verses of the 1st chapter of Joshua, in which Joshua was commanded to reign over the whole land, the last verse being as follows: "Have not I commanded thee? Be strong and of a good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed: for the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest."

We will not attempt to detail all the incidents of the president elect's journey, which occupied several days. Everywhere he was greeted with demonstrations of profound respect. Occasionally he briefly addressed the crowds who came to see him. His journey resembled a triumphal progress. Party spirit seemed for the time forgotten and cheers were always given for "Lincoln and the constitution."¹ At Indianapolis he was welcomed with a salute of thirty-four guns; one for each state of the union. The governor of the state received him in person and escorted him to a carriage, which, followed by the members of the legislature and the municipal authorities and escorted by the firemen and military, conveyed him to the Bates House, where, from the balcony, he addressed the enthusiastic multitude assembled to greet him. He closed his remarks by saying: "While I do not expect on this occasion or until I reach Washington to attempt any long speech, I will only say, to the salvation of the union there needs but one single thing, the hearts of a people like yours." "In all trying positions in which I may be placed, my reliance will be upon you and the people of the United States. It is your business to rise up and preserve the union and liberty for yourselves." In the evening he addressed the members of the legislature who waited upon him in a body to pay their respects. On the 12th at noon he reached Cincinnati, and on the 13th at 2. P. M. Columbus, where he was formally welcomed by Lieutenant Governor Kirk on behalf of the legislature of Ohio, assembled in joint session to receive

¹ *Raymond's History of the Administration of Lincoln.*

him. In the evening he held a levee which was largely attended. On the morning of the 14th he left Columbus, and after a brief and formal reception at Steubenville reached Pittsburg the same evening. The next morning the mayor and common council of Pittsburg waited upon him and gave him a formal welcome, to which he briefly responded. He was accompanied to the depot by a long procession of the people, and left for Cleveland where he arrived about half-past four in the afternoon. His arrival was announced by a salute of artillery, and he was escorted by another long procession through the principal streets to the hotel, where he addressed the assembled multitude, and concluded his remarks by saying: "If all do not join now to save the good old ship union on this voyage, nobody will have a chance to pilot her on another voyage." The next morning he left for Buffalo, where he was welcomed by a dense crowd, and responded briefly to the mayor's welcoming speech. Remaining at Buffalo over Sunday, he left Monday morning, and after brief receptions, at Rochester, Syracuse and Utica, at all of which places were assembled enthusiastic crowds of people, reached Albany at half past two in the afternoon, where he was formally received by the mayor, and escorted by a procession to the steps of the Capitol, where he was welcomed by the governor of New York in the presence of an immense mass of the people, whom he briefly addressed. He was then escorted to the hall of the assembly and received by the legislature of the state. On the 19th, passing through Troy, Poughkeepsie and Peekskill, and everywhere enthusiastically received, he reached New York city about 3. P. M. Arrived at the Astor House, he was compelled by the importunity of the assembled crowd to appear on the balcony and briefly address it. In the evening he addressed a large deputation from the Republican association of the city. The next morning he was officially received by the mayor at the City Hall, and in responding to the mayor's address said: "In my devotion to the union I hope I am behind no man in the nation. I am sure I bring a heart devoted to the work. There is nothing that could bring me to willingly consent to the destruction of this union, unless it would be that thing for which the union itself was made. I understand that the ship is made for carrying and preservation of the cargo; and so long as the

ship is safe with the cargo it shall not be abandoned. This union shall never be abandoned, unless the possibility of its existence shall cease to exist, without the necessity of throwing passengers and cargo overboard. So long, then, as it is possible that the prosperity and liberties of this people can be preserved within this union, it shall be my purpose at all times to preserve it." These were brave words, for that time of doubt and peril, which he amply redeemed.

On Thursday, the 21st of Feb., Mr. Lincoln left New York. On reaching Jersey city he was met and welcomed in behalf of the state of New Jersey by the Hon. Wm. L. Dayton. At Newark he was welcomed by the mayor, and at Trenton received by a committee of the legislature of New Jersey and escorted to both branches in session. In answer to their welcoming speeches he briefly addressed them.

To the senate he said:—"I am exceedingly anxious that this union, the constitution and the liberties of the people shall be perpetuated in accordance with the original idea for which our struggle for national independence was made; and I shall be most happy indeed if I shall be an humble instrument in the hands of the Almighty, and of this, his most chosen people as the chosen instrument, also in the hands of the Almighty, for perpetuating the object of that great struggle. I learn that this body is composed of a majority of gentlemen who, in the exercise of their best judgment in the choice of a chief magistrate, did not think I was the man. I understand, nevertheless, that they come forward here to greet me as the constitutional president of the United States, as citizens of the United States to meet the man who, for the time being, is the representative of the nation, united by a purpose to perpetuate the union and the liberties of the people."

To the assembly he said:—"I appropriate to myself very little of the demonstrations of respect with which I have been greeted. I understand a majority of you differ in opinion from those with whom I have acted. This manifestation is therefore to be regarded by me as expressing devotion to the union, the constitution and the liberties of the people. Received as I am by the members of the legislature, the majority of whom do not agree with me in political sentiments, I trust I may have their

assistance in piloting the ship of state through this voyage, surrounded by perils as it is, for if it should suffer wreck now, there will be no pilot needed for another voyage."

The presidential party arrived at Philadelphia at 4 o'clock and on reaching the Continental Hotel Mr. Lincoln was welcomed by Mayor Henry. In his reply he said: "You have expressed the wish, in which I join, that it were convenient for me to remain long enough to consult, or rather to listen to, those breathings arising within the consecrated walls in which the constitution of the United States, and, I will add, the declaration of independence, were originally framed and adopted. All my political warfare has been in favor of those teachings. *May my right hand forget its cunning and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if ever I prove false to those teachings.*

The next (22d) day he was escorted to Independence Hall. It was an early winter morning, and as the president had to visit the legislature at Harrisburgh in the afternoon, in a special train that was to leave at 8.30, what was to be done had to be done quickly. In front of the ancient temple of liberty a platform was erected, from which Mr. Lincoln was to raise the national flag with its thirty-four stars. As he approached the sacred spot, in a carriage drawn by four white horses, escorted by the Scott Legion, with the flag they had carried to victory in Mexico twelve years before, the scene was highly dramatic. The whole populace was in the streets, and their excitement and enthusiasm baffled description. It recalled Shakespeare's picture of Bolingbroke's entrance into London:

You would have thought the very windows spake,
 So many greedy looks of young and old
 Through casements darted their desiring eyes
 Upon his visage; and that all the walls,
 With painted imagery, had said at once:
 "Jesu preserve thee! Welcome Bolingbroke!"
 Whilst he, from one side to the other turning,
 Bareheaded, lower than his proud steed's neck,
 Bespake them thus: "I thank you, countrymen;"
 And this still doing, thus he passed along.

Leaving the carriage at the door, he entered, uncovered, the sacred Hall of Independence and there used this language

which now sounds like a solemn prophecy: "The declaration of independence gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but hope for the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in our time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that *all should have an equal chance*. This is the sentiment embodied in the declaration of independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved upon that basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can save it. *But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle—I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it.*" And then, after a few more words, he added solemnly, as he drew his tall form to its fullest height, "*I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, in the pleasure of Almighty God, TO DIE BY.*"

When he walked forth to face the mighty concourse outside, and mounted the platform, "his tall form rose Saul-like above the mass." He stood elevated and alone before the people, and, with his overcoat off, grasped the halyards to draw up the flag. Then arose a shout like the roar of many waters. Mr. Lincoln's expression was serene and confident. Extending his long arms, he slowly drew up the standard, which had never before kissed the light of heaven, till it floated over the Hall of Independence. Tears, prayers, shouts, music, and cannon followed and sealed an act which few knew was only the beginning of unspeakable sufferings and sacrifices, ending in his own martyrdom.²

On the afternoon of the 22d he left Philadelphia, and on reaching Harrisburg was escorted to the legislature where he was welcomed by the presiding officers of the two houses. In his reply he spoke of his part in the morning's drama as follows:

"This morning I was, for the first time, allowed the privilege of standing in old Independence Hall. Our friends had provided a magnificent flag of our country, and they had arranged

¹ Dec. 9. 1861.—There was another flag raising at Independence Hall, when the sailors and marines of the yet unnoticed Hartford, now inseparably connected with memories of Admiral Farragut, but then just arrived at Philadelphia from the East Indies, marched to Independence Hall and presented to the city a splendid silk flag made by them during the voyage home. The flag was raised at noon upon the flag staff amid great enthusiasm, and salutes were fired at the navy yard and from the Hartford.—*Philadelphia Inquirer*.

² *Anecdotes of Public Men*, by Col. G. W. Forney, published in the *Philadelphia Press*.

it so that I was given the honor of raising it to the head of its staff, and when it went up I was pleased that it went to its place by the strength of my own feeble arm. When, according to the arrangement, the cord was pulled, and it flaunted gloriously to the wind without an accident, in the bright, glowing sunshine of the morning, I could not help hoping that there was, in the entire success of that beautiful ceremony, at least something of an omen of what is to come. Nor could I help feeling then, as I have often felt, that in the whole of that proceeding I was a very humble instrument. I had not provided the flag. I had not made the arrangement for elevating it to its place. I had applied a very small portion even of my feeble strength in raising it. In the whole transaction I was in the hands of the people who had arranged it. And if I can have the same generous co-operation of the people of this nation, I think the flag of our country may yet be kept flaunting gloriously."

After the delivery of this address Mr. Lincoln devoted some hours to the reception of visitors, and at six o'clock retired to his room. The next morning the whole country was surprised to learn that he had arrived at Washington, twelve hours sooner than he had originally intended. His sudden departure proved to have been a measure of precaution for which events, subsequently disclosed, afforded a full justification. An attempt was made on the Toledo and Western Railroad, on the 11th of Feb., to throw from the track the train on which he was journeying, and as he was leaving Cincinnati a hand grenade was found to have been secreted on board the cars. At Baltimore, an organized and thorough investigation, under the directions of a police detective, resulted in disclosing that a small gang of assassins under the leadership of an Italian, had arranged to take his life during his passage through Baltimore. In consequence of what was considered reliable information of this intention, Mr. Lincoln so far deviated from the programme he had marked out for himself as to anticipate by one train the time he expected to arrive in Washington,¹ and reached that

¹ Mr. Lincoln's narrative of his clandestine journey from Philadelphia to Washington and his reason therefor, substantially in his own words, can be found in *Lossing's Civil War*, vol. 1, pages 279, 280.

city on the morning of Saturday, the 23d of Feb. On the 4th of March, 1861, he took the oath and assumed the duties of the presidential office.

At the time of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, under the directions of the authorities of the rebel confederacy, nearly all the forts, arsenals, dock-yards, custom-houses, etc., belonging to the United States, within the limits of the seceded states, had been seized and were held by the representatives of the rebel government. The only forts in the south remaining in the possession of the union, were Forts Pickens, Taylor and Jefferson on the Florida coast, and Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor; and preparations were far advanced by the rebels for the reduction and capture of them. Officers of the army and navy from the south had resigned their commissions and entered the rebel service. Civil officers, representing the United States within the limits of the southern states, could no longer discharge their functions, and all the powers of that government were practically paralyzed.¹ To restore order out of this chaos, and to uphold and preserve the union of the states and the supremacy of the flag of the United States was the task before him. It was under these circumstances that Mr. Lincoln entered upon the duties of his high office and addressed himself first to the task of withholding the border states from joining the confederacy, as an indispensable preliminary to the great work of quelling the rebellion and restoring the authority of the constitution.²

The inauguration took place as usual in front of the Capitol, and in the presence of an immense multitude of spectators. A large military force was in attendance under the immediate command of Lieut. Gen. Winfield Scott, but nothing occurred

¹ Hon. Henry Wilson, from his seat in the senate on the 21st of February, said: "Conspiracies are everywhere to break the unity of the republic; to destroy the grandest fabric of free government the human understanding ever conceived, or the hand of man ever reared. States are rushing madly from their spheres in the constellation of the union, raising the banner of revolt, defying the federal authority, arming men, planting frowning batteries, arming fortresses, *dishonoring the national flag*, clutching the public property, arms and moneys, and inaugurating the reign of disloyal factions. This conspiracy against the unity of the Republic, which in its developement startles and amazes the world by its extent and power, is not the work of a day; it is the labor of a generation."

² *Raymond's History of the Administration of President Lincoln.*

to interrupt the harmony of the occasion. Before taking the office Mr. Lincoln delivered his inaugural address.

The day of the inauguration was ushered in by a most exciting session of the U. S. senate, that body sitting for twelve hours until 7 o'clock in the morning. As the hands of the clock pointed to midnight, and Sunday gave way to Monday, the 4th of March, the senate chamber presented a curious and animated appearance. The galleries were crowded to repletion, the lady's gallery, from the gay dresses of the fair ones there congregated, resembled some gorgeous parterre of flowers; and the gentlemen's gallery seemed one dense black mass of surging humanity clambering over each other's backs to get a good look at the proceedings. As the morning advanced the galleries and floor became gradually cleared.

The morning broke clear and beautiful, and though at one time a few rain drops fell, the day proved just calm and cloudy enough to prevent the unusual heat of the past few days, and the whirlwind of dust that would otherwise have been unpleasant.

The public buildings, schools, places of business, etc., were closed. The stars and stripes floated from the City Hall, Capitol, and all the public buildings; while not a few of the citizens flung out flags from their houses or across the principal avenues.

Previous to the arrival of the procession the senate chamber did not present a very animated appearance. The many ladies waiting to see the display, did not arrive until late, and the officers, whose gay uniforms and flashing epaulettes relieve so well the sombreness of the national black, were with the presidential cortege. At five minutes to twelve Vice President Breckenridge, who was soon after commissioned a major general in the rebel army, and Senator Foote entered the senate chamber, escorting the Vice President elect, Hon. Hannibal Hamlin, whom they conducted to a seat immediately to the left of the chair of the president of the senate.

As the hands of the clock pointed to the hour of twelve the hammer fell, and the 2d session of the 36th congress came to an end.

Vice President Breckenridge bade the senate farewell, and then administered the oath of office to Vice President Hamlin, and announcing the senate adjourned without day, left the chair, to

which he immediately conducted Vice President Hamlin. At this juncture the members and members elect of the house of representatives entered the senate chamber filling every available place to the left of the vice president. The foreign diplomatic corps, in full dress, also at the same moment occupied seats to the right of the chair. It was subject of general remark that the foreign corps were never so fully represented as on this occasion. The scene in the senate, while waiting the arrival of the presidential party, seemed to realize the "lying down of the lamb and the lion together." The attendance of senators was unusually full. At fifteen minutes to one, the judges of the supreme court of the United States of America were announced by the doorkeeper of the senate. On their entrance all on the floor arose and the venerable judges, headed by Chief Justice Taney, moved slowly to the seats assigned them immediately to the right of the vice president, each exchanging salutes with that officer in passing the chair. At ten minutes past one, there was an unusual stir, and the rumor spread like wildfire that the president elect was in the building. At fifteen minutes past one the marshal in chief, Major B. B. French, entered the chamber ushering in the president and the president elect. They had entered together from the street through a private covered passage way on the north side of the Capitol. The line of procession was then formed of the persons in the senate chamber and proceeded to the platform; when, everything being in readiness, Senator Baker of Oregon came forward and said:

"*Fellow Citizens*, I introduce to you Abraham Lincoln, the president elect of the United States of America."

Whereupon, Mr. Lincoln arose, walked deliberately and composedly to the table, and bent low in honor of the repeated and enthusiastic cheering of the countless host before him. Having put on his spectacles, he arranged his manuscript on the small table, keeping the paper thereon by the aid of his cane, and commenced in a clear, ringing voice that was easily heard by those on the outer limits of the crowd, to read his first address to the people as president of the United States.

The opening sentence, "Fellow citizens of the United States," was the signal for a prolonged applause, the good union sentiment thereof striking a tender chord in the popular breast. Again when,

after defining certain actions to be his duty, he said, "and I shall perform it," there was a spontaneous and uproarious manifestation of approval which continued some moments. Every sentence which indicated firmness in the presidential chair, and every statement of a conciliatory nature was cheered to the echo; while his appeal to his "dissatisfied fellow-countrymen" desiring them to reflect calmly, and not hurry into false steps, was welcomed by one and all, most heartily and cordially. "We are not enemies," he said, "but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.

"The mystic cord of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the union, when again touched, as they surely will be, by the better angels of our nature."

These closing words dissolved many of the audience in tears, and at this point, alone, did the melodious voice of the president elect falter.

After the delivery of the address, Judge Taney stood up, and all removed their hats while he administered the oath to Mr. Lincoln. Speaking in a low tone the form of the oath, he signified to Mr. Lincoln, that he should repeat the words, and in a firm but modest voice the president took the oath as prescribed by the law while the people who waited until they saw the final bow, tossed their hats, wiped their eyes, cheered at the top of their voices and hurraed themselves hoarse.

Judge Taney was the first person who shook hands with Mr. Lincoln, and was followed by Mr. Buchanan, and Messrs. Chase, Douglass, and others. A southern gentleman seized him by the hand and said: "God bless you my dear sir; you will save us." Mr. Lincoln replied: "I am glad that what I have said causes pleasure to southerners, because I then know they are pleased with what is right."

After delaying a little upon the platform Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Buchanan, arm in arm and followed by a few privileged persons, proceeded at a measured pace to the senate chamber, and thence to the president's room, while the band played Hail Columbia, Yankee doodle, and the Star Spangled Banner.

In a short time the procession was reformed, and the president and expresident were conducted in state to the White House.

After a few moments delay, the president gave audience to the diplomatic corps who, with great pomp and ceremony, were the first to pay their respects and congratulate him. Then the doors were opened, and the people like a flood tide rushed in upon him. The marshals forming a double line of guards, kept all rudeness at a distance, and everything went off with great success and to the satisfaction of all concerned.

The thirty-four little girls who personated the several states of the union, and rode in a gaily decorated car in the procession, halted at the door while they sang Hail Columbia, after which they were received by the president, who gave to each and all of them a hearty and good natured salute.

After Mr. Lincoln had been well shaken, the doors were closed, and the marshals of the day were personally introduced to him. He thanked them for their admirable arrangements, and congratulated them upon the successful termination of their duties. They then retired, and the president repaired to his private apartment somewhat overcome by the fatigue and excitement he had undergone.

In the evening there was an inauguration ball, which was a decided success. Dancing commenced at 10 o'clock, and at a quarter before eleven the presidential party came in. The band struck up Hail Columbia, and the party marched from one end of the hall to the other. After a brief promenade, the president with Mrs. Hamlin took stations at the upper end of the room, when a large number of persons availed themselves of the opportunity to be presented. At half-past eleven the president and suite went into the supper room, and so ended the first day of President Lincoln's administration.¹

¹ This account of the inauguration of President Lincoln is condensed from the report of a newspaper correspondent, who was an eye-witness of the scenes described.

OUR FLAG AT SUMTER.

1861-1865.

When the secession excitement in South Carolina, and particularly in Charleston, had reached its height, Major Robert Anderson, a native of Kentucky, was found in command of the United States forces and defences of Charleston harbor, stationed at Fort Moultrie with a force of nine officers,¹ fifty artillerymen, fifteen musicians and thirty laborers, in all one hundred and four men, of whom only sixty-three were combatants. A native of one slave state, and connected by marriage with another (Georgia), it was hoped on the one side he would betray his trust, and feared on the other, that he would resign it. Thoughtless of the world, and regardless of the ties of family and friendship, he kept a single eye upon his present duty and won the undying honor which ever falls to faith and firmness shown on great occasions.² With his little band, all of whom proved true, he determined to defend his flag and maintain his post. He commenced at once his precautions against surprise or treachery, and after December 11, 1860, no one was admitted to his works unless he was known to some officer of the garrison. Events soon justified his precautions. On the 19th of Dec., Mr. Porcher Miles stated, in the South Carolina state convention, that but sixty or eighty men garrisoned Fort Moultrie, and Sumter was an empty fortress that could be seized at any time. The next day (the 20th) the ordinance of secession passed and Major Anderson saw from his ramparts the equipping and drilling of troops threatening him, and felt the danger and delicacy of his position. On the 24th of Dec., he wrote a private letter in which he set forth the precarious situation in which he was placed; with a garrison of only sixty effective men in an indifferent work, the walls of which were only fourteen feet high, and within one hundred yards of sand hills which commanded the

¹ These officers were, Capt. Abner Doubleday, Capt. J. G. Foster, Capt. T. Seymour, 1st. Lieut. G. W. Snyder, 1st. Lieut. Jeff. C. Davis, 1st. Lieut. T. Talbot, 2d. Lieut. R. K. Meade and Assistant Surgeon S. W. Crawford. Soon after the fall of Sumter Lieut. Meade, joined the insurgents. Most of the other officers attained high rank in our service. Lieuts. Snyder and Talbot died early in the war.

² *Harper's History of the Great Rebellion* vol. 1.

position, and with numerous houses within pistol shot, he confessed, "if attacked by any one but a simpleton, there was scarce a possibility of his being able to hold out long enough for friends to come to his succor." General Scott thought the fort could be taken by five hundred men in twenty-four hours.

Major Anderson's orders directed him to carefully avoid any act which would needlessly provoke aggression, and without necessity not to take up any position which could be construed into a hostile attitude, but he was also directed to *hold possession of the forts*, and if attacked to defend them to the last extremity. If the smallness of his force did not permit his occupying more than one of the three forts, he was authorized in case of an attack, to put his command into either which he deemed most proper to increase his power of resistance, and also to take similar measures, whenever he had tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act.

Christmas day dawned upon Major Anderson under these circumstances, and bound by these instructions. He accepted an invitation to dinner in Charleston. Returning to his post, under cover of the night and the prevailing hilarity, he removed his force from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, and placed his little band where he could assert and maintain for a time the authority of the government, and uphold its flag. Major Anderson had kept his secret well, and did his work thoroughly. During the day the wives and children of the troops were sent away, on the plea that an attack might be made on Fort Moultrie. Three small schooners were hired, and the few inhabitants of Sullivan's island saw them loaded, as they thought, with beds, furniture and baggage. About nine in the evening the men were ordered to hold themselves in marching order, with knapsacks packed. No one seemed to know the reason of the movement, and probably their destination was only confided by Major Anderson to his second in command. The little garrison was paraded, inspected, and then embarked in boats and taken to Fort Sumter, the schooners carrying the provisions, garrison furniture and munitions of war. What could not be removed was destroyed. Not a pound of powder or a cartridge was left in the magazine. The small arms and military supplies of every kind were removed, guns spiked, and their carriages

burned. The unfinished additions and alterations of the work were destroyed. *The flag staff was cut down*, that no banner with strange device should occupy the place of the stars and stripes; in fact nothing was left unharmed except the heavy round shot, which were temporarily useless, by the dismounting and spiking of all the guns.

The flag brought away from Moultrie was raised again over Sumter at noon, Dec. 26th, and its raising was rendered impres-



The raising of the Flag at Fort Sumter.

sive by the following ceremony. A little before noon Major Anderson assembled together around the flag staff the whole of his little force, with the workmen employed on the fort. The national ensign was attached to the cord, and Major Anderson holding the lines in his hand, reverently knelt down. The officers and men clustered around, many of them on their knees, all deeply impressed with the solemnity of the occasion. The chaplain stepped forth and made an earnest prayer, a prayer says one who was present, which was "such an appeal for sup-

port, encouragement and mercy as one would make who felt that man's extremity is God's opportunity." As the earnest, solemn words of the speaker ceased the men answered *amen*, and Major Anderson run the star spangled banner up to the head of the staff, the band at the same moment saluting it with our national air, Hail Columbia, while loud and exultant cheers—cheers of exultation and defiance—were given again and again by the officers, soldiers and workmen. As these cheers went up, a boat which was sent down from the city to carry back an exact report of the condition of the fortress, saw the national standard rise, heard the loyal shouts, and knew that the wicked hopes of the secessionists of a quiet possession of Fort Sumter were baffled.

A ballad of the times written by Mrs. Dorr¹ graphically de-

¹ Published in the *New York Evening Post*.

scribes these events. An old man is supposed to be the narrator of them to his grandchildren, Dec. 26, 1910, half a century after their occurrence. He says: * * *

“ We were stationed at Fort Moultrie, but about a mile away,
The battlements of Sumter stood proudly in the bay ;
'Twas by far the best position, as he could not help but know
Our gallant Major Anderson just fifty years ago.

“ Yes 'twas just after Christmas, fifty years ago to-night
The sky was calm and cloudless, the moon was large and bright ;
At six o'clock the drums beat to call us to parade
And not a man suspected the plan that had been laid.

“ But the first thing a soldier learns is that he must obey,
And that when an order's given he has not a word to say ;
So when told to man the boats, not a question did we ask,
But silently, yet eagerly, began our hurried task.

“ We did a deal of work that night, though our numbers were but few,
We had all our stores to carry, and our ammunition too ;
And the guard ship — 'twas the Nina — ¹ set to watch us in the bay,
Never dreamed what we were doing, though 'twas almost light as day. ²

“ We spiked the guns we left behind, and cut the flagstaff down —
From its top should float no color, if it might not hold our own —
Then we sailed away for Sumter, as fast as we could go,
With our good Major Anderson, just fifty years ago.

“ I never can forget boys, how the next day at noon,
The drums beat, and the band played a stirring martial tune ;
And silently we gathered round the flagstaff strong and high,
Forever pointing upward to God's temple in the sky.

“ Our noble Major Anderson was good as he was brave,
And he knew without His blessing no banner long could wave,
So he knelt, with head uncovered, while the chaplain read the prayer,
And as the last *amen* was said, *the flag* rose high in air.

¹ A small rebel steamer

² “ Just at the close of the evening twilight, when the almost full orb'd moon was shining brightly in the southern sky, the greater portion of the little garrison at Fort Moultrie embarked for Fort Sumter.” — *Lossing's History Civil War*, vol. 1.

“Then our loud huzzas rung out, far and widely o’er the sea!
 We shouted for the stars and stripes, the standard of the free!
 Every eye was fixed upon it, every heart beat warm and fast,
 As with eager lips we promised to defend it to the last!

“’Twas a sight to be remembered boys — the chaplain with his book,
 Our leader humbly kneeling, with his calm undaunted look;
 And the officers and men, crushing tears they would not shed,
 And the blue sea all around us, and the blue sky overhead!”

* * * * *

The occupation of Fort Sumter caused great excitement in Charleston. The rebels saw themselves at once baffled and defied. The effect of Major Anderson’s change of position was even greater throughout the country at large. Men suddenly saw what they had previously only imagined. Major Anderson’s movement placed the Charlestonians in the attitude of open enemies with whom intercourse was thenceforth to be upon a war footing. So the cry of wrath which went up from the rebel city was answered by a voice of admiration, encouragement, and above all of confidence from almost the entire country outside of South Carolina.¹ Among the very people at the north upon whose sympathy the seceders had most counted, even in some of the very states of the south whose fortunes South Carolina believed, with reason, to be indissolubly linked with hers, the occupation of Fort Sumter was regarded as the most prudent and dignified course which could have been taken. Major Anderson’s name and his praises were upon all lips which did not mutter treason. Five days after the old flag was raised at Sumter the Nebraska legislature, two thousand miles away to the west, telegraphed to Anderson “*A Happy New Year.*”

The pace of treason, rapid before, was quickened by this movement. On the 27th, troops were ordered out in Charleston, and the afternoon of the same day, Capt. Napoleon Coste, of the revenue cutter William Aiken, hauled down with his own hands the stars and stripes he had sworn to defend, and substituted for them the Palmetto standard, thus giving the rebel the first vessel of a navy. While he thus forfeited his oaths

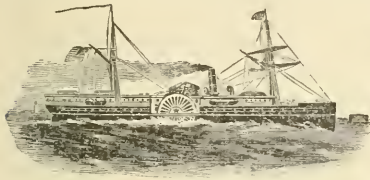
¹ *Harper’s Pictorial History of the Great Rebellion.*

of allegiance to the general government, his officers, true to their oaths, reported themselves at Washington. The palmetto state flag within the next three days was hoisted over all the national buildings in Charleston, and upon the United States Arsenal, Fort Moultrie, and Castle Pinckney, all of which were occupied by the troops of the sovereign state of South Carolina. President Buchanan, replying to the South Carolina commissioner's complaint of Major Anderson's action, said: "Major Anderson had acted on his own responsibility, and without authority," and that his "first promptings were to command him to return to his former position," but before any step could possibly be taken in that direction he received information that the palmetto flag floated out to the breeze at Castle Pinckney, and that a large military force garrisoned Fort Moultrie. Under these circumstances it was urged upon him to withdraw the United States troops from Charleston harbor. This he said he could not and would not do, and such an idea had never been thought of by him in any possible contingency. He then added: "I have, while writing, been informed by telegraph that the arsenal has been taken by force of arms, with property in it belonging to the United States worth half a million of dollars. After this information, it is my duty to defend Fort Sumter as a portion of the public property of the United States from whatever quarter the attack should come."

On the 8th of January, 1861, on motion of Mr. Adrian of New Jersey, the United States house of representatives passed a resolution "fully approving of the bold and patriotic act of Major Anderson in withdrawing from Fort Moultrie to Sumter, and the determination of the president to maintain that fearless officer in his present position." The resolution further "pledged the support of the house to the president in all constitutional measures to enforce the laws and preserve the union."

The Charleston Mercury about the same date, in an article headed "Fort Sumter the Bastion of the Federal Union," concluded with these words: "Border southern states will never join us until we have indicated our power to free ourselves. Until we have proven that a garrison of seventy men cannot hold the portal of our commerce. The fate of the confederacy hangs by the ensign balliards of Fort Sumter."

If the garrison of Fort Sumter was to be retained and sustained it must needs be reenforced and provisioned. A large



Steamer Star of the West.

steamship, *The Star of the West*, was therefore chartered, and sailed from New York on the 5th of Jan., with a supply of commissary stores and ammunition, and two hundred and fifty artillerymen and marines to reenforce

the garrison. She was cleared for New Orleans and Havana, and did not take the troops on board until down the bay. The Charleston people, however, were fully aware of the project and prepared to receive her. She arrived off Charleston bar on the night of the 9th of January, and lay to until morning, the guiding marks to the bar having been removed and the light extinguished. We will let Capt. Mc Gowan tell the story of his reception, as reported by him to the owner of his vessel.

“ Steamship Star of the West,
New York, Saturday, Jan. 12, 1861.

“ M. O. ROBERTS, ESQ: SIR,— After leaving the wharf on the 5th inst., at 5 o’clock P. M., we proceeded down the bay, where we hove to, and took on board four officers and two hundred soldiers, with their arms, ammunition, etc., and then proceeded to sea, crossing the bar at Sandy Hook at 9 P. M. Nothing unusual took place during the passage, which was a pleasant one for this season of the year.

“ We arrived at Charleston bar at 1.30 A. M., on the 9th inst., but could find no guiding marks for the bar, as the lights were all out. We proceeded with caution, running very slow and sounding, until about 4 A. M., being then in four and a half fathoms water, when we discovered a light through the haze which at that time covered the horizon. Concluding that the lights were on Fort Sumter, after getting the bearings of it we steered to the S. W. for the main ship channel, where we hove to, to await daylight, our lights having all been put out since twelve o’clock to avoid being seen.

“ As the day began to break, we discovered a steamer just

inshore of us, which, as soon as she saw us, burned one blue light and two red lights as signals, and shortly after steamed over the bar and into the ship channel. The soldiers were now all put below, and no one allowed on deck except our own crew. As soon as there was light enough to see, we crossed the bar and proceeded on up the channel (the outer-bar buoy having been taken away), the steamer ahead of us sending off rockets, and burning lights until after broad daylight, continuing on her course up nearly two miles ahead of us. When we arrived about two miles from Fort Moultrie, Fort Sumter being about the same distance, a masked battery on Morris's sland, where there was a red Palmetto flag flying, opened fire upon us — distance about five-eighths of a mile. *We had the American flag flying at our flag-staff at the time, and soon after the first shot hoisted a large American ensign at the fore:*¹ We continued on under the fire of the battery for over ten minutes, several of the shots going clear over us. One shot just passed clear of the pilot-house, another passed between the smoke-stack and walking-beams of the engine, another struck the ship just abaft the fore-rigging, and stove in the planking, while another came within an ace of carrying away the rudder. At the same time there was a movement of two steamers from near Fort Moultrie, one of them towing a schooner (I presume an armed schooner), with the intention of cutting us off. Our position now became rather critical, as we had to approach Fort Moultrie to within three quarters of a mile before we could keep away for Fort Sumter. A steamer approaching us with an armed schooner in tow, and the battery on the island firing at us all the time, and having no cannon to defend ourselves from the attack of the vessels, we concluded that, to avoid certain capture or destruction, we would endeavor to get to sea. Consequently we wore round and steered down the channel, the battery firing upon us until the shot fell short. As it was now strong ebb tide, and the water having fallen some three feet, we proceeded with caution, and crossed the bar safely at 8.50 A. M., and continued on our course for this port, where we arrived this morning, after a boisterous

¹ This flag on the occasion of some popular demonstration in 1866, was displayed from the residence of Marshal O. Roberts, the owner of the *Star of the West*, at the corner of Eighteenth street and Fifth avenue, New York.

passage. A steamer from Charleston followed us for about three hours, watching our movements.

“In justice to the officers and crew of each department of the ship, I must add that their behavior while under the fire of the battery reflected great credit on them.

“Mr. Brewer, the New York pilot, was of very great assistance to me in helping to pilot the ship over Charleston bar, and up and down the channel.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant”

“JOHN M'GOWAN,
Captain.”

Such is the plain official narrative of the first attempt to relieve Fort Sumter, and of the first hostile shot ever directed by fratricidal hands against the majesty of the union represented by our flag. *The Charleston Courier* stated that in all, only seventeen shots were fired at the steamer, two of which took effect. Major Anderson, it is said, ordered the ports fronting Fort Moultrie and Morris island to be opened and the guns unlimbered, and one of his lieutenants asked “to give 'em just one shot.” “Be patient,” replied the major as he stood glass in hand intently watching the approaching steamer. How long they were to be patient will never be known, for at what appeared the critical moment the *Star of the West* suddenly put her helm to port, turned her head seaward and proceeded out over the bar.

Communication with Charleston having been cut off, Anderson knew nothing of the intention of sending him supplies and reinforcements, and consequently did not know of the special claims the steamer had for his protection. Her putting back relieved him from all anxiety for her safety, but he immediately addressed the following note to the governor of the state.

“To his Excellency the Governor of South Carolina :

“SIR: Two of your batteries fired this morning on an unarmed vessel bearing the flag of my government. As I have not been notified that war has been declared by South Carolina against the United States, I cannot but think this a hostile act committed without your sanction or authority. Under that hope I refrain from opening a fire on your batteries. I have the honor, therefore, respectfully to ask whether the above-

mentioned act — one which I believe is without parallel in the history of our country or any other civilized government — was committed in obedience to your instructions, and notify you, if it is not disclaimed, that I regard it as an act of war, and I shall not, after reasonable time for the return of my messenger, permit any vessel to pass within the range of the guns of my fort. In order to save, as far as it is in my power, the shedding of blood, I beg you will take due notification of my decision for the good of all concerned, hoping, however, your answer may justify a farther continuance of forbearance on my part.

“I remain, respectfully,

“ROBERT ANDERSON.”

In his reply, Governor Pickens, after stating the position of South Carolina toward the United States, said: “Any attempt to send United States troops into Charleston harbor, to reenforce the forts, would be regarded as an act of hostility:” and, in conclusion, added: “That any attempt to reenforce the troops at Fort Sumter, or to retake and resume possession of the forts within the waters of South Carolina, which Major Anderson abandoned, after spiking the cannon and doing other damage, cannot but be regarded by the authorities of the state as indicative of any other purpose than the coercion of the state by the armed force of the government; special agents, therefore, have been off the bar to warn approaching vessels, armed and unarmed, having troops to reenforce Fort Sumter aboard, not to enter the harbor. Special orders have been given the commanders at the forts not to fire on such vessels until a shot across their bows should warn them of the prohibition of the state. Under these circumstances, the *Star of the West*, it is understood, this morning attempted to enter the harbor with troops, after having been notified she could not enter, and consequently she was fired into. *This act is perfectly justified by me.*

“In regard to your threat about vessels in the harbor, it is only necessary for me to say, you must be the judge of your responsibility. Your position in the harbor has been *tolerated* by the authorities of the state; and while the act of which you complain is in perfect consistency with the rights and duties of

the state, it is not perceived how far the conduct you propose to adopt can find a parallel in the history of any country, or be reconciled with any other purpose than that of your government imposing on the state the condition of a conquered province.

“F. W. PICKENS.”

The situation was grave and important, and Major Anderson replied to the governor's letter as follows:

“*To his Excellency Governor Pickens:*

“SIR,—“I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, and say that, under the circumstances, I have deemed it proper to refer the whole matter to my government, and intend deferring the course I indicated in my note this morning until the arrival from Washington of such instructions as I may receive.

“I have the honor also to express the hope that no obstructions will be placed in the way, and that you will do me the favor of giving every facility for the departure and return of the bearer, Lieut. T. Talbot, who is directed to make the journey.

“ROBERT ANDERSON.”

Having the consent of the governor, Lieut. Talbot was sent with dispatches, and the whole matter laid before the government at Washington.

After the return of the *Star of the West* to New York from her fruitless effort to relieve Sumter, another expedition was planned by Mr. G. V. Fox, afterwards assistant secretary of the navy, which he explained as follows.¹

“After the *Star of the West*, had returned from her voyage, I called upon George W. Blunt, Esq., of New York, and expressed to him my views as to the possibility of relieving the garrison, and the dishonor which would be justly merited by the government, unless immediate measures were taken to fulfill this sacred duty.

¹ This statement can be found in the *Rebellion Record* and in *Boynton's History(?) of the Navy in the War*.

“I explained my plan to Mr Blunt as follows:

“From the outer edge of the Charleston bar, in a straight line to Sumter, through the Swash channel, the distance is four miles, with no shoal spots having less than nine feet at high-water. The batteries on Morris and Sullivan’s islands are about two thousand six hundred yards apart, and between these, troops and supplies must pass. I proposed to anchor three small men-of-war off the entrance to the Swash channel, as a safe base of operations against any naval attack from the enemy.

“The soldiers and provisions to be carried to the Charleston bar in the Collins steamer *Baltic*; all the provisions and munitions to be put up in portable packages, easily handled by one man. The *Baltic* to carry three hundred extra sailors, and a sufficient number of armed launches, to land all the troops at Fort Sumter in one night.

“Three steam-tugs, of not more than six feet draft of water, such as are employed for towing purposes, were to form part of the expedition, to be used for carrying in the troops and provisions, in case the weather should be too rough for boats.

“With the exception of the men-of-war and tugs, the whole expedition was to be complete on board the steamer *Baltic*, and its success depended upon the possibility of running past batteries at night, which were distant from the centre of the channel one thousand three hundred yards. I depended upon the bar-bette guns of Sumter to keep the channel between Morris and Sullivan’s islands clear of rebel vessels at the time of entering.

“We then discussed the plan over a chart, and Mr Blunt communicated it to Charles H. Marshall and Russell Sturges; they approved it, and Mr. Marshall agreed to furnish and provision the vessels without exciting suspicion.

“On the fourth of February I received through Mr. Blunt a telegram from Lieut. General Scott, requesting my attendance at Washington. And on the 6th, at eleven A. M., met at the general’s office, by arrangement, Lieutenant Talbot, who had been sent from Sumter by Major Anderson. In the general’s presence, we discussed the question of relieving Fort Sumter. Lieutenant Talbot’s plan was to go in with a steamer, protected by a vessel on each side loaded with hay. I objected to it, as first, a steamer could not carry vessels lashed alongside

in rough water ; and second, in running up the channel, she would be bows on, to Fort Moultrie, and presenting a large fixed mark without protection ahead, would certainly be disabled.

“Lieutenant General Scott approved my plan, and introduced me to Mr. Holt, the secretary of war, to whom I explained the project, and offered my services to conduct the party to the fort. Mr. Holt agreed to present the matter to President Buchanan that evening.

“The next day, the eighth of February, news was received of the election of Jefferson Davis by the Montgomery convention. I called upon General Scott, and he intimated to me that probably no effort would be made to relieve Fort Sumter. He seemed much disappointed and astonished ; I therefore returned to New York on the ninth of February.”

Thus this attempted relief of the beleaguered fortress was abandoned and the devoted garrison, for the present, left to its own resources.

Two days after the attack upon the *Star of the West*, Governor Pickens sent the secretary of state and secretary of war of the sovereign state of South Carolina to Sumter, to make a formal demand on Major Anderson for the immediate surrender of that fort to the authorities of South Carolina. They tried every art to persuade or alarm him but he assured them, sooner than suffer such humiliation, he would fire the magazine and blow fort and garrison into the air. From that time, the insurgents worked diligently in preparations to attack the fort, and the garrison worked as diligently in preparations for its defence. Four old hulks filled with stones were towed into the ship channel and sunk there by the South Carolinians, to prevent supplies and reinforcements from coming into the harbor, but the only effect was to change and deepen the channel, as the same expedient did later when, under direction of Captain now Rear Admiral Chas. H. Davis, a number of old whalers nicknamed rat ships, were added to those which had been previously sunk by the rebels for the avowed purpose of blockading and filling the channel. This expedient has been often tried in barred harbors, or entrances swept by strong tides but always with like result. The same effect is shown by the obstruction of piers, wrecks, etc., in the detention

of organic substances, in tide-swept harbors and rivers. The mouths of the Mississippi, are constantly exhibiting the fact ; a vessel, raft, or tree stopped upon its sand bars, gathers the sand around it frequently so that the object is thrown or borne up and can be walked around, but the running water always cuts a channel elsewhere, until some other obstruction, or the force of inblowing winds pile the sand in another place, fed from the sand about the first obstruction whether vessel or tree, until it is cut away and the object floats on.

For three months after the affair of the *Star of the West* Major Anderson and his little band suffered and toiled, until their provisions were exhausted, and a formidable army with forts and batteries, prepared expressly for the reduction of his fortress, had grown up around him. The policy of the government compelled him to act as a looker on and not interfere to obstruct all these preparations against him. On the 3d of Feb., one source of much anxiety for the garrison was removed, the wives and children of the officers and soldiers in Sumter being then borne away in the steamer *Marion* for New York. They had left the fort on the 25th of Jan., and embarked at the city. When the *Marion* neared Sumter, the whole garrison was seen on the top of the ramparts. While the ship was passing they fired a gun, and gave three cheers as a parting farewell to the loved ones on board. These salutes were responded to by the waving of handkerchiefs, and tears and sobs, and earnest prayers both silent and audible.

On the 18th of March, while the secesh gunners were firing blank cartridges from the guns of the iron battery at Cummings point they discharged a gun that was loaded with ball, not being aware of the fact. The ball struck the wharf of Fort Sumter close to the gate. Three or four of the ports of Sumter fronting the battery, were at once opened, but no return shot was given, and two hours after, a boat was sent to Major Anderson to explain the matter, who received the messenger in good part. This affair caused no little talk and excitement in Charleston.¹

Major Anderson still had no instructions from his go-

¹ *Charleston Mercury*, March 19, 1861.

vernment and was sore perplexed. On the 1st of April, he wrote to Lieut. General Scott saying: "I think the government has left me too much to myself. It has given me no instructions, even when I have asked for them, and I think responsibilities of a higher and more important character have devolved upon me than are proper." To the adjutant general of the army he wrote: "Unless we receive supplies, I shall be compelled to stay here without food or to abandon this fort very early next week." The next day he wrote: "Our flag runs an hourly risk of being insulted, and my hands are tied by my orders; and even if that were not the case I have not the power to protect it. God grant that neither I nor any other officer of our army may be again placed in a position of such humiliation and mortification."

Meanwhile a measure for the relief of the beleaguered garrison had been planned. On the 12th of March, Mr. Fox, a relative of the postmaster general, who had proposed a plan of relief earlier, was sent to visit Charleston harbor, and in company with Capt. Hartstene of the navy, who had joined the insurgents, was permitted by Gov. Pickens to visit Fort Sumter on the 21st. They found that the garrison had provisions to last them until the 15th of April, and it was understood by them the fort must be surrendered or evacuated on that day. On his return to Washington, Mr. Fox, reported to the president the fact.¹

Mr. Lincoln was now satisfied that a temporizing policy would not do, and overruling the objections of the general-in-chief and military authorities, he sent for Mr. Fox, and verbally authorized him to fit out, according to his proposed plan, an expedition for the relief of Sumter. The written order was not given until the afternoon of the 4th April, when the president informed Mr. Fox, that in order that "faith as to Sumter" might

¹ "Major Anderson seemed to think it was too late to relieve the fort by any other means than by landing an army on Morris island. He agreed with General Scott that an entrance from the sea was impossible; but as we looked out upon the water from the parapet, it seemed very feasible, more especially as we heard the oars of a boat near the fort, which the sentry hailed, but we could not see her through the darkness until she almost touched the landing."

"I found the garrison getting short of supplies, and it was agreed that I might report that the fifteenth of April, at noon, would be the period beyond which he could not hold the fort unless supplies were furnished."

"I made no arrangements with Major Anderson for reenforcing or supplying the fort, nor did I inform him of my plan."—*Extracts from Mr. Fox's letter.*

be kept, he should send a messenger at once to Gov. Pickens that he was about to forward provisions, only, to the garrison ; and if these supplies should be allowed to enter, no more troops would be sent there. These orders issued by the secretary of war to Mr. Fox and by the secretary of the navy to Capt. Mercer, the senior naval officer of the expedition were as follows :

“WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, APRIL 4, 1861.

“SIR : It having been decided to succor Fort Sumter, you have been selected for this important duty. Accordingly, you will take charge of the transports in New York having the troops and supplies on board to the entrance of Charleston harbor, and endeavor, in the first instance, to deliver the subsistence. If you are opposed in this, you are directed to report the fact to the senior naval officer off the harbor, who will be instructed by the secretary of the navy to use his entire force to open a passage, when you will, if possible, effect an entrance and place both the troops and supplies in Fort Sumter. I am sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“SIMON CAMERON.

“Secretary of War.”

“Captain G. V. FOX.

“Washington, D. C.”

“NAVY DEPARTMENT, APRIL 5, 1861.

“*Captain Samuel Mercer, Commanding*

United States Steamér Powhatan, New York :

“The United States steamers Powhatan, Pawnee, Pocahontas, and Harriet Lane will compose a naval force under your command, to be sent to the vicinity of Charleston, S. C., for the purpose of aiding in carrying out the objects of an expedition of which the war department has charge.

“The primary object of the expedition is to provision Fort Sumter, for which purpose the war department will furnish the necessary transports. Should the authorities of Charleston permit the fort to be supplied, no further particular service will be required of the force under your command ; and after being satisfied that supplies have been received at the fort, the Powhatan, Pocahontas, and Harriet Lane will return to New York, and the Pawnee to Washington.

“Should the authorities at Charleston, however, refuse to permit, or attempt to prevent the vessel or vessels having supplies on board from entering the harbor, or from peaceably proceeding to Fort Sumter, you will protect the transports or boats of the expedition in the object of their mission, disposing of your force in such a manner as to open the way for their ingress, and afford, so far as practicable, security to the men and boats, and repelling by force, if necessary, all obstructions toward provisioning the fort and reenforcing it; for in case of a resistance to the peaceable primary object of the expedition, a reinforcement of the garrison will also be attempted. These purposes will be under the supervision of the war department, which has charge of the expedition. The expedition has been intrusted to Captain G. V. Fox, with whom you will put yourself in communication and co-operate with him to accomplish and carry into effect its object.”

“You will leave New York with the *Powhatan* in time to be off Charleston bar, ten miles distant from and due east of the lighthouse, on the morning of the eleventh instant, there to await the arrival of the transport or transports with troops and stores. The *Pawnee* and *Pocahontas* will be ordered to join you there at the time mentioned, and also the *Harriet Lane*.”

* * * * *

“GIDEON WELLES.

“*Secretary of the Navy.*”

Mr. Fox proceeded to New York on the 5th of April and, exercising untiring industry and indomitable energy, was able to sail from that point on the morning of the 9th, with two hundred recruits in the steamer *Baltic*, Captain Fletcher. The entire relief squadron consisted of the United States ships, *Powhatan*, Capt. Mercer, *Pawnee*, Commander Rowan, *Pocahontas*, Commander Gillis, revenue steamer, *Harriet Lane*, Capt. Faunce, and the steam tugs *Yankee*, *Uncle Ben*, and *Freeborn*. The *Powhatan* left New York on the 6th, but when passing down New York bay was, by a special order of the president, taken from the expedition, by Lieut., now Admiral David D. Porter, who sailed in her to the relief of Fort Pickens, at the mouth of Pensacola bay. The *Pawnee* left Norfolk on the 9th and the

Pocahontas the same place on the 10th. The tugs *Freeborn* and *Uncle Ben* left New York on the 7th, the *Harriet Lane*, and tug *Yankee* on the 8th, and all were ordered to rendezvous off Charleston.

Soon after leaving New York, the expedition encountered a heavy storm, by which the *Freeborn* was driven back; the *Uncle Ben* obliged to put into Wilmington, N. C., where she was captured by the insurgents; and the *Yankee*, losing her smoke stack, was not able to reach Charleston bar until too late to be of service.

The *Baltic* reached the bar on the morning of the 12th just as the insurgents opened fire on Fort Sumter. The *Pawnee*, and *Harriet Lane* were already there with orders to report to the *Powhatan*, the secretary of the navy not having been advised of her change of orders. Mr. Fox boarded the *Pawnee*, informed Capt., now Vice Admiral Rowan, of his orders, offered to send in provisions, and asked him to convoy the *Baltic* over the bar. Capt. Rowan replied, that "his orders required him to remain ten miles east of the light, and await the *Powhatan*, and that he was not going in there to inaugurate civil war."¹ Mr. Fox, in the *Baltic*, then stood toward the bar, followed by the *Harriet Lane*, Capt. Faunce, who cheerfully accompanied him. "As we neared the land," says Mr. Fox in his narrative, "heavy guns were heard, and the smoke and shells from the batteries, which had just opened fire upon Sumter, were distinctly visible."

"I immediately stood out to inform Captain Rowan, of the *Pawnee*, but met him coming in. He hailed me, and asked for a pilot, declaring his intention of standing into the harbor, and sharing the fate of his brethren of the army. I went on board and informed him that I would answer for it; that the government did not expect any such gallant sacrifice, having settled maturely upon the policy indicated in the instructions to Captain Mercer and myself. No other naval vessels arrived during this day; but the steamer *Nashville*, from New York, and a number of merchant-vessels, reached the bar, and awaited the result of the bombardment, giving indications to those inside of a large naval fleet off the harbor. The weather continued very bad, with a heavy sea; neither the *Pawnee* nor the *Harriet Lane* had

¹ Mr. Fox's statement.

boats or men to carry in supplies; feeling sure that the Powhatan would arrive during the night, as she had sailed from New York two days before us, I stood out to the appointed rendezvous, and made signals all night. The morning of the thirteenth was thick and foggy, with a very heavy ground-swell. The Baltic, feeling her way in, ran ashore on Rattlesnake shoal, but soon got off without damage. On account of the very heavy swell, she was obliged to anchor in deep water, several miles outside of the Pawnee and Harriet Lane.

“Lieutenant Robert O. Tyler, an officer of very great zeal and fidelity, though suffering from sea-sickness, as were most of the recruits, organized a boat’s crew and exercised them, notwithstanding the heavy sea, for the purpose of having at least one boat in the absence of the Powhatan’s, to reach Fort Sumter. At eight A. M., I took this boat, and in company with Lieutenant Hudson, pulled in to the Pawnee. As we approached that vessel, a great volume of black smoke issued from Fort Sumter, through which the flash of Major Anderson’s guns still replied to the rebel fire. The quarters of the fort were on fire, and most of our military and navy officers believed the smoke to proceed from an attempt to smoke out the garrison with fire-rafts.

“As it was the opinion of the officers that no boats with any load in them could have reached Sumter in this heavy sea, and no tug-boats had arrived, it was proposed to capture a schooner near us, loaded with ice, which was done, and preparations at once commenced to fit her out, and load her for entering the harbor the following night. I now learned, for the first time, that Captain Rowan had received a note from Captain Mercer, of the Powhatan, dated at New York, the sixth, the day he sailed, stating that the Powhatan was detached, by order of superior authority, from the duty to which she was assigned off Charleston, and had sailed for another destination.”

Before the schooner could be prepared, Fort Sumter had surrendered.

The Pochahontas arrived at 2 P. M., and half an hour after, the flag of Sumter was shot away and not raised again; but we are anticipating that event. The plan for supplying Fort Sumter required three hundred sailors, a full supply of armed launches,

and three tugs. The Powhatan, secretly detached from the expedition, carried the sailors and launches; and the tugs had been disabled and put back; which, with the unfavorable state of the sea and weather, are reasons enough for the non-success of the attempt.

The president in a letter to Mr. Fox, dated May 1st, 1861, said: "I sincerely regret that the failure of the late attempt to provision Fort Sumter should be the source of any annoyance to you. The practicability of your plan was not, in fact, brought to a test by reason of a gale well known in advance to be possible, and not improbable; the tugs, an essential part of the plan, never reached the ground; while, by an accident for which you were in no wise responsible, and possibly I, to some extent was, you were deprived of a war vessel with her men, which you deemed of great importance to the enterprise."

The message of President Lincoln to Gov. Pickens, concerning sending supplies to Sumter, was made known at Charleston, on the morning of the 8th of April, and produced intense excitement. General Beauregard sent a telegram to Montgomery, which was replied to on the 10th, conditionally authorizing him to demand the surrender of Fort Sumter, and if that was refused to reduce it.

At 2 P. M. Thursday, the 11th, Beauregard sent a letter to Major Anderson, in which he conveyed a demand to evacuate Sumter. Anderson at once replied, by letter, that his sense of honor and obligations to his government would not allow him to comply, but remarked to one of the confederate officers: "I will await the first shot, and if you do not batter us to pieces we will be starved out in a few days." This remark was telegraphed to Montgomery. The rebel secretary of war, L. P. Walker, telegraphed back that if Major Anderson would state the time when he would evacuate, and agree that, meanwhile, he would not use his guns against them, unless theirs should be employed against Fort Sumter, Beauregard was authorized to avoid the effusion of blood. If this or its equivalent was refused, he was to reduce the fort in any way his judgment deemed practicable. This message was delivered to Major Anderson, at one A. M., the 12th, when the latter, in ignorance of what government had been doing for his relief, replied, that, should he not receive con-

trolling instructions from his government or additional supplies, he would leave the fort by noon on the 15th. By request of Col. Chesnut, one of the messengers, Anderson's reply was handed to them unsealed. Scouts had discovered the Harriet Lane and Pawnee, off the bar, and reported the fact to Beauregard, who directed his messenger to receive an open reply from Anderson, and if it should not be satisfactory they were to exercise the discretionary powers given them. They accordingly consulted a few minutes in the room of the officer of the guard, and deciding it was not satisfactory, at 3.20 .A. M., April 12, addressed a note to Anderson saying: "By authority of Brigadier General Beauregard, commanding the provisional forces of the Confederate states, we have the honor to notify you that he will open the fire of his batteries on Fort Sumter in one hour from this time." They immediately left the fort, when the flag was raised, the postern closed, the sentinels withdrawn from the parapet, and orders given that the men should not leave the bomb proofs without special orders. Patiently, firmly, almost silently, the little band in Fort Sumter waited the passage of that pregnant hour. Suddenly the dull booming of a gun, fired by Lieutenant H. S. Farley, from a signal battery on James island, near Fort Johnston, was heard, and a fiery shell went flying through the black night and exploded immediately over Fort Sumter. The sound of that mortar was the signal for battle. After a brief pause the heavy cannon on Cummings point opened fire. To Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia, a grey haired old man who committed suicide at the close of the war because he was unable to survive the defeat of his cause, belongs the infamous honor of firing the first shot against our flag. He hastened to Morris island when hostilities seemed near, was assigned to duty in the Palmetto guard and asked the privilege of firing the first gun on Sumter. It was granted and he has acquired an unenviable fame. He committed suicide by a singular coincidence on the 17th of June, 1865, the anniversary of the battle of Bunker hill, at the residence of his son near Danville, Va., by blowing off the top of his head with a gun, first writing a note in which he said: "I cannot survive the liberties of my country." The first shot from Cummings point was quickly followed by others from the semicircle of military works arrayed around the fort for its reduction. Full thirty heavy guns

and mortars opened at once. For two hours and more there was no reply from Sumter, the storm of shot and shell seeming to make no impression upon it. This silence mortified the insurgents. Anderson gave orders for the men to remain in the bomb proofs. He had men enough to work but nine guns, and it was necessary to guard against casualties. At half past six the garrison partook of a hearty breakfast little disturbed by the hurling of the iron hail outside of them. It was now broad daylight, and at seven o'clock Anderson ordered a reply to the attack. The first gun was fired at the Stevens battery on Morris island by Captain Abner Doubleday,¹ and a fire from the fort on all the principal opposing batteries followed. The first solid shot from Sumter hurled at fort Moultrie was fired by Assist. Surgeon S. W. Crawford. It lodged in the sand bags and was carried by the special reporter of the *Charleston Mercury* to the office of that journal.

At noon on that fearful day Surgeon Crawford, who had ascended the parapet to make observations, reported that, through the stormy, misty air, he saw the relief squadron bearing the dear old flag. They signaled their mission by dipping their ensigns. Sumter could not respond for its ensign was entangled in the halyards which had been cut by the enemy's shot, but it still waved defiantly. The vessels could not cross the bar. Its sinuous and shifting channels were always difficult in fine weather; now the bouys had been removed, ships sunken in the channels, and a blinding storm was prevailing. During the day the men worked at the guns without intermission and received food and drink at their posts. The supply of cartridges began to fail, and before sunset all but six of the guns were abandoned. These were worked until after dark when the port holes were closed, and the garrison was divided into watches for work and repose. Several men had been

¹ General Doubleday himself informed me that he fired the first shotted gun from Sumter at the rebel batteries. The bombardment of Sumter was opened on Henry Clay's birth day, and the fortress was surrendered on Jefferson's birth day. It may interest those curious in such accidental coincidences to know that the first serious conflict of the civil war in the streets of Baltimore, April 19, 1861, was on the anniversary of the battles of Lexington and Concord.

In the New York stock exchange, April 12, when Kentucky sixes were called, the whole board sprang to their feet and gave three cheers for the gallant Major Anderson.—*Evening Post*.

wounded, but none mortally. Thus closed the first day of actual war upon our flag.

The night was dark and stormy ; all night long the mortars of the rebels kept up a slow bombardment. The naval commanders outside were prevented by the storm from sending in relief. Before dawn the storm ceased and the sun rose in splendor ; but earlier than that the vigorous bombardment and cannonade at the devoted fortress was renewed. Red hot shot were used. Four times on Friday the buildings inside the fort were set on fire, and the fires extinguished ; the barracks and officers quarters were again and again ignited, and at last destroyed. The safety of the magazine, and the reserving of sufficient powder to last until the 15th, became now the absorbing care of the commander.¹ Blankets and flannel shirts, the sleeves of the latter being readily converted, were used for making cartridges, and every man within the fort was fully employed. The last particle of rice was cooked, and nothing left for the garrison to eat but salt pork. The flames spread, and the heat became most intolerable. The fire approached the magazine, and its doors were closed and locked ; glowing embers were scattered all about the fort. The main gate took fire, and very soon the blackened sally port was open to the besiegers. The powder in the service magazine was so exposed to the flames that ninety barrels of it were thrown into the sea. The assailants knew that the fort was on fire, and that its inmates were dwellers in a heated furnace, yet they redoubled the rapidity of their fire, and poured in upon it red hot shot from most of their guns. The men were frequently compelled to lie upon the ground, with wet handkerchiefs on their faces, to prevent suffocation by smoke ; yet they would not surrender, but bravely kept the old flag flying.²

¹ A gentleman who was present at the battle of Fort Sumter states that a ninety-six pound shell entered that fortification just above the magazine but outside of it, descended through a block of granite ten or twelve inches thick, and exploded, one of its fragments, weighing near twenty pounds, striking the door of the magazine, and so bending it inwards that it was afterwards found impossible to close it without the aid of a mechanic. Within a few hours after this occurrence a red hot shot from Fort Moultrie passed through the outer wall of the magazine, penetrated the inner wall to the depth of four inches, and then fell to the ground. All this time grains of powder, spilled by the men in passing to and from the casements and magazine, were lying loose upon the floor, which ignited by a spark would have blown the structure to atoms. *Charleston Courier, June 11.*

² In this account of the attack on Fort Sumter I have followed and condensed the nar-

Eight times had the flagstaff been hit without serious injury ; but at twenty minutes before one o'clock, it was shot away



Nailing the flag on Fort Sumter.

near the peak, and the flag, with a portion of the staff, fell down through the thick smoke among the gleaming embers. Through the blinding, scorching tempest, Lieut. Hall rushed and snatched it up before it could take fire. It was immediately carried by Lieut. Snyder to the ramparts and Sergeant Hart,¹ who had been permitted to come to the fort with Mrs. Anderson in January, and remained after she had left on a pledge that he should not be enrolled as a soldier, sprang upon the sand bags, and with the assistance of Lyman, a Baltimore mason fastened the fragment of the staff there, and left the soiled banner flying defiantly while shot and shell were filling the air like hail. Thus repeating a similar historical feat performed near the same spot by the brave and patriotic Sergeant Jasper eighty-five years before. The halyards were so inextricably tangled that the flag could not be righted. It was therefore nailed to the staff and planted upon the ramparts.²

At half past one, Gen. Wigfall, who had been United States senator from Texas, came in a little boat, accompanied by one white, and two colored men, to the fort bearing a white handkerchief as a flag of truce and demanded admittance. He asked to enter an embrasure, but was denied. "I am Gen. Wigfall" he said, "and wish to see Major Anderson." The soldier told him to

rative in *Lossing's History of the Civil War*, examining and quoting largely from other authors and official reports on the subject. Mr Lossing was furnished by Major Anderson with his letter books and papers, and had unusual sources for correct information.

¹ Hall was at the time a musician, but subsequently received a lieutenant's commission in the regular army. Hart was a sergeant of the New York Metropolitan police. He had served with Major Anderson in the Mexican war.

² Mr. Raymond at the Union Park meeting said: "I heard an anecdote to day from Major Anderson. During the attack on Fort Sumter, a report came here that the flag on the morning of the fight was half mast. I asked him if it was true and he said there was not a word of truth in the report. During the firing one of the halyards was shot away, and the flag dropped down, in consequence, a few feet. The rope caught in the staff and could not be reached so that the flag could neither be lowered nor hoisted, and, said the major, 'God Almighty nailed that flag to the mast and I could not have lowered it if I had tried.'

stay there until he could see his commander. "For God sake let me in cried the gallant new made general, I can't stand out here in the firing." He then hurried around to the sally port, where he had asked an interview with Anderson. Finding the passage strewn with the burning timbers of the fort, in utter despair he ran around the fort waving his white handkerchief imploringly toward his fellow insurgents, to stop their firing. It was useless; the missiles fell thick and fast and at last he was permitted to crawl into an embrasure, after he had given up his sword to a private, and when almost exhausted with fatigue and affliction. Meeting several officers at the embrasure, trembling with excitement, he exclaimed: "I am General Wigfall! I come from Gen. Beauregard, who wants to stop this bloodshed! You are on fire, your flag is down; let us stop this firing!" One of the officers replied: "our flag is not down, sir, it is yet flying from the ramparts." Wigfall saw it where Peter Hart and his comrades had nailed it and said: "Well, well, I want to stop this." Holding out his sword and handkerchief he said to one of the officers: "Will you hoist this?" "No, sir," was the reply "it is for you, Gen. Wigfall, to stop them." "Will any one of you hold this out of the embrasure?" he asked. No one offering, he said: "May I hold it then?" "If you wish to," was the cool reply. Wigfall sprang into the embrasure, or port hole, and waved the white flag several times. A shot striking near frightened him away when he cried out excitedly: "Will you let some one show this flag?" Corporal Charles Bringham, by permission, took the handkerchief and waved it out of the port hole, but he soon abandoned the perilous duty exclaiming: "I won't hold that flag, for they don't respect it. They are firing at it." Wigfall replied impatiently: "They fired at me two or three times, and I stood it; I should think you might stand it once." Turning to Lieut. Davis, he said: "If you will show a white flag from your ramparts, they will cease firing." "It shall be done," said Davis, "if you request it for that purpose, and that alone of holding a conference with Major Anderson."

Major Anderson, with Lt. Snyder and Asst. Surgeon Crawford had in the meantime passed out of the sally port to meet Wigfall. He was not there so they returned, and just as Lt. Davis had

agreed to display a white flag they came up. Wigfall said to Major Anderson: "I come from General Beauregard who wishes to stop this, sir." "Well, sir!" said Anderson rising upon his toes and settling firmly upon his heels, as he looked him in the face, with sharp inquiry. "You have defended your flag nobly, sir," continued Wigfall; "You have done all that can be done, sir. Your fort is on fire. Let us stop this. Upon what terms will you evacuate the fort, sir?" Anderson replied, "General Beauregard already knows the terms upon which I will evacuate this fort, sir. Instead of noon on the 15th, I will go now." "I understand you to say," said Wigfall eagerly, "that you will evacuate this fort now, sir, upon the same terms proposed to you by General Beauregard?" Anderson answered, "Yes, sir, upon those terms only, sir." "Then," said Wigfall, inquiringly, "the fort is to be ours?" Yes, sir, upon those conditions," answered Anderson, "Then I will return to General Beauregard," said Wigfall, and immediately left.¹ Believing what had been said to him to be true, Major Anderson allowed a white flag to be raised over the fort. At a little before ten o'clock Cols. Chesnut, Pryor, Miles and Capt. Lee, went over from General Beauregard, who was at Fort Moultrie, to inquire the meaning of the white flag. When informed of the visit of Wigfall, they exchanged significant glances, and smiles, and Col. Chesnut frankly informed Major Anderson that the Texan militia general had not seen Beauregard for the last two days. Wishing to secure for himself the honor of procuring the surrender of Fort Sumter, Wigfall had, by misrepresentations, obtained leave from the rebel commander on Morris island to go to the fort with a white flag in his hand, and a falsehood on his lips. Assured of Wigfall's mendacity, Anderson said to the new deputation: "That white flag shall come down immediately." They begged him to leave matters as they were until they could see Gen. Beauregard. He did so and the firing ceased. At two P. M. the Pocahontas joined the relief fleet outside and at half past two the flag of Sumter was shot away and not raised again.

¹ This account of Wigfall's adventure is taken from *Lossing's Civil War* vol. 1, p. 326-7. Mr. Lossing derived it from the written statements of Capt. Seymour, Surgeon Crawford and private Thompson, and the verbal statements of Major Anderson.

During the afternoon and early evening, several deputations from General Beauregard visited Major Anderson, endeavoring to obtain better terms than he had proposed but he was firm. They offered assistance in extinguishing the flames in Sumter. He declined it regarding it as an adroit method of asking him to surrender which he had resolved never to do. Finally between seven and eight o'clock in the evening Major D. R. Jones, accompanied by Cols. Miles and Pryor, and Capt. Hartstene formerly of our navy, arrived at the fort with a letter from Beauregard containing an agreement for the evacuation of the fort according to Anderson's terms, namely, the departure of the garrison, with company arms and property, and all private property, and the privilege of saluting and retaining his flag. Anderson accepted the agreement, and detailed Lieut. Snyder to accompany Capt. Hartstene to the relief squadron, outside, to make arrangements for the departure of the garrison. A part of that night, the defenders of Fort Sumter enjoyed undisturbed repose. Not one of their number had been killed or seriously wounded in that thirty-six hour bombardment during which over three thousand shot and shell were hurled at the fort. The same extraordinary immunity from casualty was claimed by the rebels, and it is said the only living thing killed in the conflict, was a fine horse belonging to Gen. Dunnoyant, which had been hitched to Fort Moultrie. It was too extraordinary for ready belief, and for a long time there was doubt about the matter, at home and abroad ; testimony shows that it was true.

A fortnight later a correspondent of *Vanity Fair* sung in the following strain :

“So to make the story short
 The traitors took the fort
 After thirty hours sport
 With their balls ;
 But the victory is not theirs
 Though their brazen banner flares
 From its walls.

“It were better they should dare
 The lion in his lair
 Or defy the grizzly bear
 In his den,

Than to wake the fearful cry
That is raising up on high
From our men.

“ To our banner we are clinging
And a song we are singing
Whose chorus is ringing
From each mouth ;
'Tis the old constitution
And a stern retribution
To the south”.

The news soon spread in Charleston. Gov. Pickens who had watched the bombardment all Saturday morning with a telescope, in the evening addressed the excited populace from the balcony of the Charleston Hotel. “ Thank God ! ” he exclaimed : “ the war is open, and we will conquer or perish. We have humbled the flag of the United States. I can say to you it is the first time in the history of this country that the stars and stripes have been humbled. That proud flag was never lowered before to any nation on the earth. We have lowered it in humility before the Palmetto and Confederate flags ; and we have compelled them to raise by their side the white flag, and ask for an honorable surrender. The flag of the United States has triumphed for seventy years ; but to day, the 13th of April, it has been humbled, and humbled before the glorious little state of South Carolina.”¹

The populace were wild with delight and indulged in a saturnalia of excitement in the rebellious city.

¹ Major Anderson's gallant defense, however, received the applause of the enemies. The writer of *Sumter, a Ballad of 1861*, says :

“ ' Mid fiery storms of shot and shell,
' Mid smoke and roaring flame
See how Kentucky's gallant son
Does honor to her name.

See how he answers gun for gun,
Hurrah ! his flag is down,
The white ! the white ! oh, see it wave
Is echoed all around.

God save the gallant Anderson,
All honor to his name ;
A soldier's duty nobly done
He's earned a hero's fame.”

The next morning, being Sunday, the fall of Sumter was commemorated in the Charleston churches. The venerable bishop of the diocese, Thomas Frederic Davis, D.D., wholly blind and physically feeble, said a local chronicler, "was led by the rector to the sacred desk" in old St. Phillip's church, and addressed the people with a few stirring words. He said: "Your boys and mine were there, and it was right they should be there." He declared it to be his belief that the contest had been begun by the South Carolinians "in the deepest conviction of duty to God and after laying their cause before God; and God had most signally blest their dependence on Him." Bishop Lynd of the Roman Catholic church spoke exultingly of the result of the conflict; and a *Te Deum* was chanted in the Cathedral of St. John and St. Finbar,¹ where he was officiating.

On Sunday morning, April 14, 1861), long before dawn, Major Anderson and his command made preparations for leaving the fort. These were completed at an early hour. Lieut. Snyder and Capt. Hartstene now returned, accompanied by Commander Gillis, commanding the Pocahontas; and about the same time the Charleston steamer, Isabel, provided by the military authorities at that city for carrying the garrison out to the Baltic, approached the fort.

When every thing was in readiness, the battle torn flag which had been unfurled over Fort Sumter almost four months before, with prayers for the protection of those beneath it, was raised above the ramparts, and the cannon commenced saluting it. It was Major Anderson's intention to fire one hundred guns, but only fifty were discharged, because of a sad accident. Some fixed ammunition near the gun was ignited and the explosion instantly killed private David Hough, mortally wounded private Edward Gallway, and injured several others. The Palmetto guard, which had been sent over from Morris island, with the venerable Edmund Ruffin as its color bearer, entered the fort when the salute was ended, and after the garrison had departed, and buried the dead soldier with military honors.

¹ At Richmond, Va., there was great rejoicing over the fall of Sumter, 100 guns were fired. Confederate flags were everywhere displayed, while music and illuminations were the order of the evening. Gov. Letcher was serenaded, and addressed the people.—*Correspondent N. Y. Herald*, April 14.

When the flag was lowered, at the close of the salute, the garrison, in full dress, left the fort and embarked on the Isabel, the band playing Yankee Doodle. When Major Anderson left the sally port, it struck up Hail to the Chief. The last to retire was the surgeon who attended the poor wounded soldiers as long as possible. Soon afterward a party from Charleston, composed of Gov. Pickens and suite, Gen. Beauregard and his aids, and several distinguished citizens, went to Fort Sumter in a steamer, took formal possession of it, and raised the Confederate and Palmetto flags. It was *evacuated*, not *surrendered*.¹ The sovereignty of the republic symbolized by the flag, had not been yielded up. That flag had been lowered, but not given up; dishonored, but not captured. It was borne away by the gallant commander, with a resolution to raise it again over the battered fortress, or be wrapped in it as his winding sheet at last. Precisely four years from that day — after four years of civil war — Major Anderson, bearing the title of major general in the army of the United States, again raised this tattered flag over the ruins of Fort Sumter, whose walls had meanwhile been shaken and crumbled by the union batteries arrayed against it.

The Isabel lay under the walls of the fort, waiting for a favoring tide, until Monday morning when she conveyed the garrison to the Baltic. Their late opponents, impressed with the gallantry of their defense, stood on the beach with uncovered heads as a token of their respect as the vessel passed. When all the garrison were on board the Baltic, the precious flag for which they had fought so gallantly, was raised to the masthead and saluted with cheers, and by the guns of the other vessels of the relief squadron. It was again raised when the Baltic entered the harbor of New York, on the morning of the 18th, and was greeted by salutes from the forts and the plaudits of thousands of welcoming spectators.² Off Sandy Hook, Major Anderson wrote the following brief despatch to the secretary of war :

¹ The night after the evacuation of Fort Sumter, Jeff. Davis and his cabinet were serenaded at Montgomery; and his secretary of war, L. P. Walker of Alabama, uttered these words: "No man could tell where the war commenced this day would end, but he would prophesy that the flag which now flaunts the breeze here would float over the dome of the old Capitol at Washington before the 1st of May."

² A correspondent of the Army and Navy Journal who wrote from Phila., Nov. 21, 1863, over the signature C., says that with the boat's crew that was taken in the unsuccessful assault upon Fort Sumter a flag was captured, which Beauregard

“Having defended Fort Sumter for thirty-four hours, until the quarters were entirely burned, the main gates destroyed by fire, the gorge wall seriously injured, the magazine surrounded by flames, and its doors closed from the effects of heat, four barrels and four cartridges of powder only being available, and no provisions but pork remaining, I accepted terms of evacuation offered by Gen. Beauregard, being the same offered by him on the 11th inst., prior to the commencement of hostilities, and marched out of the fort, Sunday afternoon the 14th inst., with colors flying and drums beating, bringing away company and private property, and saluting my flag with fifty guns.”

A month later (May 14, 1861), Major Anderson was honored

and his confederates received with unstifled bursts of joy supposing it to be *the flag* which Major Anderson lowered with a salute when he was obliged to evacuate the fort, supposing that it had been carried by the storming party to rehoist in triumph where it formerly waved. C. says, “when Anderson’s flag was lowered at Fort Sumter our Spartan seventy determined to cut it into pieces, and keep the shreds as mementos of their martyrdom. One of Anderson’s principal officers, who is now a general, was at my house just after his return from Sumter; and as a great favor, after telling the story, gave me a little scrap of his precious piece, which lies before me as I write.” “There may be,” he adds, “and usually are two flags at a fort; one for fair weather, and one for storms; but only one flag was hoisted during the bombardment; only one braved the battle and the breeze; only one can claim to be *the flag* of Fort Sumter. That flag exists only in the little carefully hoarded bits of bunting, and in the affections of all loyal Americans.”—*Army and Navy Journal*, Nov. 28, 1863.

Another correspondent, H., dating from Washington, Dec. 1st, 1863, says, “I have in my possession a well worn piece of bunting which was presented to me with the following letter: ‘This is a piece of the original Fort Sumter flag flying at the time of the bombardment, in April, 1861. It was presented by Gen. Anderson to Major General Sumner, who carried it through the Peninsular campaign, and at the battle of Antietam and South Mountain as his head quarters flag. On his leaving the army of the Potomac it was obtained by a friend of mine from whom I procured this piece.’ Perhaps this was from flag No. 2, to which your correspondent [C.] refers.” *Army and Navy Journal*, Dec. 5, 1863.

Another correspondent who signs himself B., Rochester, N. Y., Dec. 7, 1863, says: “I would like to state that I have in my possession a piece of the flag, presented to me by the general himself, with the following endorsement. ‘In compliance with the request contained in Mr. ———’s note, of ———inst., General Anderson takes pleasure in sending him a small piece of the Fort Sumter flag.

‘NEWPORT, R. I., Oct. 16, 186.’

Perhaps C. could tell whether *this* is a portion of flag No. *one* or No. *two*.” *Army and Navy Journal*, Dec. 19, 1863.

Still another correspondent, S., [Gen. Truman Seymour,] dating from Follyisland, S. C., Dec. 3, 1863, says: C., is certainly in error, arising doubtless from a misunderstanding of the information given; “shreds were certainly cut from the flag as most precious memorials, but they were only shreds and did not materially affect its size or condition. After being lowered at Sumter the flag was hoisted on the *Baltic*, which steamer transferred Anderson and his command to the North, it was displayed at the great demonstration in Union square soon afterwards, and is now safely deposited in New York.”—*Army and Navy Journal*, Dec. 19, 1863.

by the president of the United States with the rank of brigadier general in appreciation of his distinguished services, and at the request of leading Kentuckians was appointed to a command in that state; but his terrible experience in Fort Sumter had prostrated his nervous system, and he was compelled to abandon active service. He was placed upon the retired list in the autumn of 1863, and the following year he was brevetted major general.

After the war Gen. Anderson removed with his family to Europe where he died October, 1871.¹ His remains were brought to the United States in the steam frigate *Guerriere*, and arrived at Fortress Monroe, Va., Feb. 4, 1872, were thence conveyed to New York, and finally with the old battle flag of Sumter waving over them reached their last and appropriate resting place at West Point, April 3, 1872.

On Saturday the 18th of February, 1865, precisely four years after the inauguration of JEFFERSON DAVIS at Montgomery as "provisional president of the southern confederacy," the first

¹ Gen. Anderson's funeral took place at Nice, October 28th, 1872. The following account of it is taken from a city newspaper *Il Pensiero di Nizza* of Tuesday, Oct. 31.

"The noble simplicity of the funeral of Mr. Anderson, the American general, which took place last Saturday, must furnish a valuable lesson to us. Pipe and drum preceded the mourning concourse, because those two warlike musical instruments were the ones which marshalled the Americans to victory or death in their long struggle with the English, to drive them from their country and establish their independence. There was no funeral drapery around the coffin, because the Americans do not consider death a calamity, but, as a law of nature, as the repose of life, just as night is the repose of the day. There was no hearse, because the Americans desire their remains to be borne to the grave by their own countrymen. There were no torches lighted, because Americans regard this ceremony as a mere matter of business. The great light of day is enough for them, as they consider it the emblem of the soul's life after death. The coffin was covered with their national flag, because Americans who were proud to honor it in their lifetime have the privilege to envelope themselves in it when carried to the grave. Noble flag! whose stars represent so many republics which shall hereafter be the honor of humanity! Whose eagle is not represented as pluming its moulted wings, but whose eyes are fixed on the sun, whose wings are spread, ready to start to the highest region of progress and prosperity! There was no display of ribbons, medals or decorations of honor, because Americans live and die for their country, not for showy distinctions, but as a matter of duty; they know no other distinctions save virtue and patriotism. The uniform of officers and soldiers was simple and decorous; their silent and grave bearing exhibited their respect and regret for the honored dead and his family. Their mourning was not affected, and one might see that sorrow was in their hearts. They were true citizens accompanying to his eternal abode their worthy fellow countryman, General Anderson. Spectators were penetrated with a feeling of religious sympathy. What a contrast between this funeral and those of European personages who have died at Nice! Immense processions were then composed almost of hirelings, people *obliged* to assist. Those who have attended the funeral of General Anderson will not readily have the remembrance of that ceremony effaced from their memories."

warlike act which followed that assumption of authority was avenged at the place where the flag of the United States was lowered by its own soldiers, to the maddened instruments of the rebellion. About the same hour of the day that the flag floated over the Capitol at Montgomery in rejoicing at the birth of a new political monster, the stars and stripes were reraised over the first of "the forts and places captured by actual warfare. There was something very significant in this coincidence. Four years before the rebellion had commenced its cruel experiment in pride, confidence and defiance. The dearest spot in all its territories, the retention of which was its highest hope and effort, was the pestilential city in which the idea of secession and ruin had been nursed for thirty years, and from which the frenzy stole out like malaria, until it enveloped the whole south."¹

This, the first union flag to float over Sumter after its evacuation by Major Anderson, was raised by Capt. Henry M. Bragg, A. D. C. to Major General Gilmore. It had for a staff an oar and a boat hook lashed together.²

On the anniversary of the evacuation of Fort Sumter four years before, and a few weeks after the fall of Charleston, the identical flag then borne away by Major Anderson, and which had been carefully preserved in the vaults of the Metropolitan Bank N. Y. was by the president's appointment again flung to the breeze over that fortress, which from the bombardments it had received from both parties in the contest was reduced to a heap of ruins.

The following are the official orders, directing the reraising of our flag over its battered rampart.

War Department, Adjt. Genl's Office,
Washington, March 27, 1865.

GENERAL ORDERS, No 50. *Ordered, First.* That at the hour of noon on the 14th day of July, 1865, Brevet Major General Anderson, will raise and plant upon the ruins of Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, the same United States flag, that floated over the battlements of that fort during the rebel assault,

¹ *N. Y. Tribune* Wednesday, Feb. 22, 1865.

² Lossing says: Major J. A. Hennesy was immediately sent to raise the national flag over the ruins of Sumter, at 9 A. M. February 18th. *History of the Civil War* vol. III. page 464.

and which was lowered and saluted by him and the small force of his command when the works were evacuated on the 14th day of April, 1861.

Second. That the flag, when raised, be saluted by one hundred guns from Fort Sumter, and by a national salute from every fort and rebel battery that fired upon Fort Sumter.

Third. That suitable ceremonies be had upon the occasion under the direction of Major General William T. Sherman, whose military operations compelled the rebels to evacuate Charleston, or in his absence under the charge of Major General Q. A. Gillmore, commanding the department. Among the ceremonies will be the delivery of a public address by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.

Fourth. That the naval forces at Charleston, and their commander on that station, be invited to participate in the ceremonies of the occasion.

By order of the President of the United States.

EDWIN M. STANTON,

Secretary of War.

Official,

E. D. TOWNSEND.

Assistant Adjutant General.

In response to the invitations extended to him by the president and secretary of war, Rear Admiral Dahlgren issued the following order :

Flagship, Philadelphia,
Charleston Harbor, S. C.,

April 5th, 1865.

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 32. By order of his excellency, President Lincoln, the flag of the union that was hauled down at Fort Sumter on the 14th of April, 1861, is to be restored to its place by Major General Anderson, on the next anniversary of that event.

The naval forces at Charleston, and myself are invited to participate.

Conformably to the above, the United States vessels Pawnee, Tuscarora, Sonoma, Passaic, Kaatskill, Adams, and such

others as can be spared, will take position as hereafter directed near Fort Sumter, by six o'clock the morning of the 14th.

As soon as the ceremony begins in the fort, each vessel will dress full, in colors.

When the flag is hoisted on Sumter, each vessel will man yards, or rigging if without yards, and give three cheers; then lay in and down, which having been done, each vessel will fire a salute of one hundred guns, beginning with the senior ship's first gun, and not continuing after her last gun.

A body of seamen and marines will be landed under the command of Lieutenant Commander Williams who is the only officer present of those who led the assault on Sumter, which I ordered September 9, 1863, and will therefore represent the officers and men of that column.

The various details will be regulated by Fleet Captain Bradford.

All the officers of the squadron who can be spared from duty are invited to be present and to accompany me to the fort on that occasion.

JOHN A. DAHLGREN,
Commanding South Atlantic Blockading Squadron.

Pertinent to the occasion is the following order issued by the brigadier in command at Wilmington, N. C.

Headquarters, District of Wilmington,
Wilmington, N. C., April 11, 1865.

Three years ago this day, a portion of the troops of this command took possession of Fort Pulaski. Here also are men who were engaged in the capture of Forts Wagner and Fisher, and the siege of Sumter. To them the brigadier general commanding takes great pleasure in publishing the following despatch received by him from Major General Schofield, commanding the department.

It having been reported at their headquarters that a salute of one hundred guns, was fired at Wilmington on the 14th of April, 1861, in honor of the fall of Fort Sumter, the commanding general directs that you will cause a salute of one hun-

dred guns, to be fired on the 14th of the present month, from rebel guns, and with rebel ammunition in honor of the restoration of the stars and stripes over the same fort.

Captain A. C. Harvey, is charged with the execution of the order, and he will consult with Lieutenant R. Williams, depot ordinance officer, as to the selection of guns and ammunition.

By order of Brigadier General HAWLEY.

E. LEWIS MOORE,

Captain and A. A. G.

Though the day selected coincided with the Christian festival of Good Friday, it could not change the proper and official date of the event to be commemorated, nor was the celebration in any manner discordant with the solemn religious meditations which Good Friday provokes in the minds of so many Christians.

A large number of citizens went from the city of New York in the steamers *Arago* and *Oceanus* to assist in the ceremonies. Colonel Stewart L. Woodford of the 127th New York regiment, who, on the evacuation of Charleston, was appointed its military governor, had special charge of the exercises at the fort. When the multitude were assembled around the flagstaff William B. Bradbury led them in singing his song of *Victory at Last*, followed by *Rally Round the Flag Boys*. The Reverend Matthew Harris, chaplain United States army, who made the prayer at the raising of the flag over Sumter, December 27, 1860, now offered an introductory prayer, and pronounced a blessing on the old flag. Doctor R. S. Storrs, of Brooklyn, read selections from the Psalms. Then General Townsend, assistant adjutant general of the United States army, read Major Anderson's dispatch of April 18, 1861, announcing the fall of Sumter. This was followed by the appearance of sergeant Hart with a bag containing the precious old flag. It was attached to the halliards, when General Anderson, after a brief and touching address, hoisted it to the peak of the flagstaff, amid loud huzzas, which were followed by singing the *Star Spangled Banner*.¹ Then six guns on the fort opened their loud voices, and were responded to by all the guns from all the batteries around which took part in the bombard-

¹ For the songs mentioned see appendix.

ment of the fort in 1861. When all became silent, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, the chosen orator for the occasion, pro-



Repossession of Fort Sumter.

nounced an eloquent address. A benediction closed the ceremonies, and thus it was that Fort Sumter was formally repossessed by the government.

Mr. Lossing states as a curious fact, derived from an old resident of Charleston, that not one of the *Palmetto Guards*, of which *Edmund Ruffin* was a volunteer, who fired upon Fort Sumter, and who first entered into possession of it in 1861, was living at the close of 1865, or six months after the war closed.¹

¹ *Lossing's Civil War* vol. III, page 482.

LOYAL FLAG RAISINGS, FOLLOWING THE FALL OF
FORT SUMTER. 1862.

“ Let the Flag of our Country wave from the spire of every church in the land, with nothing above it but the cross of Christ.”—*Rev. E. A. Anderson.*

“ Oh, raise that glorious ensign high,
And let the nations see
The flag for which our fathers fought
To make our country free !
Their sons beneath its ample folds,
With loyal hearts, and true,
May well maintain the Stars and Stripes
The Red, White, and the Blue.

“ From every hill, in every vale,
Where freemen tread the sod,
And from the spires where freemen meet
For prayer and praise to God ;
Unfurled the Flag beneath but this,
The cross of Calvary ! ”—*W.*

The fall of Sumter created great enthusiasm throughout the loyal states, for the flag had come to have a new and strange significance. When the stars and stripes went down at Sumter they went up in every town and county in the loyal states. Every city, town and village suddenly blossomed with banners. On forts and ships, from church spires, and flagstaves, from colleges, hotels, store fronts, and private balconies, from public edifices, everywhere the old flag was flung out and everywhere it was hailed with enthusiasm ; for its prose became poetry, and there was seen in it a sacred value which it had never before possessed.¹ “ Woe betide the unfortunate householder,” said a correspondent to the *Charleston News*,² “ where colors are wanting when called for. Every window shutter is tied with the inevitable red, white and blue, and dogs, even, are wrapped in the star spangled banner. There is hardly a house in Philadelphia from which the triune colors are not now floating.”

The demand for flags was so great that the manufacturers could not furnish them fast enough. Bunting was exhausted, and re-

¹ Morris and Croffet's *Mil. and Civil History of Conn.*, 1861-65, p. 55.

² *Charleston News*, May 3d.

course was had to all sorts of substitutes. Loyal women wore miniature banners in their bonnets and with untiring ingenuity blended the colors with almost every article of dress; and men carried the emblem on breast pins and countless other devices. The patchwork of red, white and blue, which had flaunted in their faces for generations without exciting much emotion, in a single day stirred the pulses of the people with an imperative call to battle, and became the inspiration of national effort. All at once the dear and old flag, meant the declaration of independence; it meant Lexington; it meant Bunker Hill and Saratoga (although only in the last named battle had it been used); it meant freedom; it meant the honor and life of the republic; and a great crop of splendid banners came with the spring roses. Tens of thousands of youths donned the blue uniform at the call of the president, and advanced in line of battle, impelled not more by a conscious hatred of treason, than by the wonderful glory that had been kindled in the flag.¹ The president's proclamation calling for 75,000 men to rally to the protection of the flag and the union (double the number certainly that had ever been assembled at one time under our banner), was addressed to the governors of all the states on the receipt of the news. As was to be expected, the answers from the slave states were in terms of treason, defiance and contempt; the responses from the free states were unanimous, full and complete, and so instantaneous that the proclamation seemed adopted by acclamation. Before a day had passed it was manifest that more than twice the number called for was ready at his command.

The flag of the republic, how dear to those who were true to it they never knew till then, was raised on that Monday morning after Sumter, by spontaneous impulse, upon every staff which stood on loyal ground; and from the lakes to the Potomac, from the shores of the Atlantic to the banks of the Mississippi, the eye could hardly turn without meeting the bright banner which symbolized in its stripes the union and the initial struggle, and, in its stars the consequent growth and glory of the nation and the government which the insurgents had banded themselves together to destroy.²

¹ *Military and Civil History of Connecticut*. 1861-65.

² *Harper's History of the great Rebellion*.

The following, one of many similar songs, will show the spirit of the times.

OUR STAR-GEMMED BANNER.

H. E. T.

God bless our star-gemmed banner, shake its folds out to the breeze,
From church, from fort, from house-top, o'er the city, on the seas ;
The die is cast, the storm at last has broken in its might ;
Unfurl the starry banner, and may God defend the right.

Too long our flag has sheltered rebel heart, and stormy will ;
Too long has nursed the traitor who has worked to do it ill ;
That time is past, the thrilling blast of war is heard at length
And the north pours forth her legions that have slumbered in their strength.

They have roused them to the danger, armed and ready, forth they stand,
A hundred thousand volunteers, each with weapon in his hand ;
They rally round that banner, they obey their country's call,
The spirit of the North is up, and thrilling one and all.

'Tis the flag our sires and grandsires honored to their latest breath,
To us 'tis given to hold unstained, to guard in life and death ;
Time-honored, from its stately folds who has dared to strike a star
That glittered on its field of blue ; — who but traitors as they are.

Would to God it waved above us, with a foreign foe to quell,
Not o'er brother faced to brother, urging steel, and shot and shell ;
But no more the choice is left us, for our friendly hand they spurn,
We can only meet as foemen — sad, but resolute and stern.

Father dash aside the tear-drop, let thy proud boy go his way,
Mother — twine thine arms about him, and bless thy son this day,
Sister — weep, but yet look proudly, tis a time to do or die ;
Maiden — clasp thy lover tenderly, as he whispers thee good bye :

Onward, onward to the battle, who can doubt which side shall win !
Right and might both guide our squadrons, and the steadfast hearts within ;
Shall the men who never quailed before, now falter in the field ;
Or the men who fought at Bunker Hill be ever made to yield ?

Then bless our banner, God of hosts ! watch o'er each starry fold,
'Tis Freedom's standard, tried and proved on many a field of old ;
And thou, who long hast blessed us, now bless us yet again,
And crown our cause with victory, and keep our flag from stain.

Accounts of a few of the flag raisings that followed the fall of Sumter, culled from the newspapers of the day, will convey an idea of this patriotic outburst of the people, and the loyalty and devotion, which at once gathered around the chosen symbol of our union.

April 20, 1861. A monster meeting of men of all political and religious creeds, gathered around the statue of Washington in Union Square New York, imbued with the sentiment of Jackson, "the union it must and shall be preserved." Places of business were closed that all might participate in its proceedings. It was estimated, that at least one hundred thousand persons were in attendance during the afternoon. Four stands were erected at points equidistant around Union Square; and the soiled and tattered flag that Anderson brought away from Fort Sumter, mounted on a fragment of the staff, was placed in the hands of the equestrian statue of Washington. Hon. John A. Dix, a lifelong democrat and recently a member of Buchanan's cabinet, presided at the principal stand near the statue of Washington, and Hon. Hamilton Fish, since Hon. Wm. T. Havemeyer, and Hon. Moses H. Grinnell, presided at the other. A full account of this meeting and report of the speeches can be found in the *Rebellion Record*. The meeting was opened with a prayer by the venerable Gardner Spring, D.D. Senator Baker of Oregon, afterwards killed at Balls Bluff, in concluding his remarks said "upon the wings of the lightning it goes out throughout the world that New York, by one hundred thousand of her people declares to the country and to the world that she will sustain the government to the last dollar in her treasury, to the last drop of your blood. The national banners leaning from ten thousand windows in your city to day, proclaim your affection and reverence for the union."

For many months after this great meeting, and others of its kind in the cities and villages of the land, the government had few obstacles thrown in its way by political opponents; and the sword and the purse were placed at its disposal by the people, with a faith touchingly sublime.¹

April 24, 1861. A thirty foot flag was flung to the breeze from the store of A. Morton, 25 Maiden Lane. It was made

¹ *Lossing's Civil War and the Rebellion Record.*

by the family of the Hon. O. Newcomb who volunteered their services, as the unprecedented demand rendered it impossible for the manufacturers to get one up in less than ten days. Four generations assisted in its construction. One of the ladies though but sixty-seven years of age was a great grandmother. As she plied the needle with her not infirm hands, tears fell copiously on the bunting as she recounted her many reminiscences of Washington, and her vivid recollections of the war of 1812. The crowd assembled to witness the raising dispersed with nine cheers for the stars and stripes and nine more for the patriotic ladies who made the flag.¹

April 27th. The vestry of Grace church, New York, desired that an American flag should wave from the apex of the spire of the church at the height of 260 feet. Several persons undertook the dangerous feat, but on mounting to the highest window in the steeple had not sufficient nerve. At last two young painters named O'Donnell and McLaughlin decided to make the attempt. Getting out of the little diamond shaped window about half way up, they climbed the lightning rod to the top. Here one of them fastened the pole securely to the cross although quite a gale was blowing. The flag secured, the daring young man mounted the cross and taking off his hat bowed to the immense crowd watching him from Broadway. As the flag floated out freely in the air it was hailed with loud and repeated cheers.² "The historian of the day" said a paper which advocated secession,³ "will not fail to mention for the edification of the men of future ages, the fact that the flag which was once the flag of our union floats boldly to the breeze of heaven above the cross of Christ on Grace Church steeple."

Eight days earlier (April 19), an American flag, forty by twenty feet, had been flung out upon a flagstaff from a window in Trinity Church steeple at the head of Wall street New York, at a height of 240 feet. At its raising the chimes in the tower played Yankee Doodle, Red White and Blue, and other appropriate airs, winding up with All's Well.⁴

April 23d. Father Rapine, a priest of the Montrose Catholic church at Williamsburgh, with his own hands raised an American

¹ *New York Times*, April, 27.

³ *New York Commercial Advertiser*.

² *New York News*.

⁴ *New York Tribune*.

flag on top of his church. Two thousand people, who had assembled, greeted the glorious emblem with cheer upon cheer as it waved majestically over the sacred edifice.¹

An American flag was raised upon the steeple of the North Dutch Church at New York, and nearly every church edifice and public building in the city is decorated in the same manner.²

April 28th. Doctor Weston, the chaplain of the 7th New York regiment, preached in the hall of the house of representatives at Washington with his desk tapestried with the American flag.

Doctor Bethune, at the raising of a flag over the University of New York, remarked: "The bravery shown by the three hundred Spartans at the pass of Thermopylæ was well known, but there still was one coward among them. There was no coward among the men at Sumter. He had been present where a gentleman remarked he regretted that the major had not blown up the fort. Major Anderson replied it was better as it was. The ruined battlements and battle-scarred walls of Sumter would be an everlasting disgrace to South Carolina."

A flagstaff with a flag was run out of a window over the portico of St. Paul's Church, Broadway, New York. The enthusiasm of the crowd that assembled spontaneously was immense.

An American flag was displayed from the tower of the first Baptist Church, Broome street, New York, with appropriate ceremonies, a large concourse listened to stirring speeches from President Eaton of Madison University, the Rev. Doctor Armitage, Rev. Mr. Webber of Rochester, and others.

Members of the Brown high school of Newburyport raised an American flag near their school building in the presence of a large concourse of citizens, and speeches were made by the Hon. Caleb Cushing and others.

April 27th. The Hon. Edward Everett delivered an eloquent speech at a flag raising in Chester square, Boston. "We set up this standard" he said, "not as a matter of display; but as an expressive indication that in the mighty struggle which has been forced upon us, we are of one heart and one mind, that the government of the country must be sustained. * * *

* * *

¹*New York Tribune.*

²*Commercial Advertiser.*

“Why is it,” he continued “that the flag of the country always honored, always beloved, is now at once worshiped, I may say, with the passionate homage of this whole people? Why does it float as never before, not merely from arsenal and masthead, but from tower and steeple, from the public edifices, the temples of science, the private dwellings, in magnificent display of miniature presentiment? Let Fort Sumter give the answer. When on this day fortnight, the 13th of April (a day forever to be held in auspicious remembrance like the *dies alliensis* in the annals of Rome), the tidings spread through the land that the standard of united America, the pledge of her union, and the symbol of her power, for which so many gallant hearts had poured out their life’s blood on the ocean and the land to uphold, had, in the harbor of Charleston, been for a day and a half the target of eleven fratricidal batteries, one deep, unanimous, spontaneous feeling shot with the tidings through the breasts of twenty millions of freemen that its outraged honor must be vindicated.”¹

Cincinnati, after the fall of Sumter, was fairly iridescent with the red white and blue. From the point of the spire of the Roman Catholic Cathedral two hundred and twenty-five feet in the air, Archbishop Purcell caused a *well proportioned* national flag ninety feet in length to be unfurled with imposing ceremonies, which, wrote the archbishop to Mr. Lossing, “consisted of the hurrahs, the tears of hope and joy, the prayer for success from the blessing of God on our cause and army by our Catholic people and our fellow citizens of all denominations, who saluted the flag with salvos of artillery. The flag was really ninety feet long and broad in proportion. One of less dimensions would not have satisfied the enthusiasm of our people.”

The Queen city gave ample tokens that the mighty north west was fully aroused to the perils that threatened the republic and was determined to defend it at all hazards.²

At Roxbury, Mass., a beautiful silk flag was presented by the ladies of the city to Capt. Chamberlain’s company, and a presentation address was made by Rev. Doctor Putnam of the Unitarian church. After which the flag was placed in Captain Chamberlain’s hands by a little girl tastefully dressed in white,

¹ *Boston Transcript.*

² *Lossing’s Civil War.*

trimmed with red and blue. The captain knelt as he received the flag and responded briefly with a voice choked with emotion.¹

May 1st. Lieut. Collier of the United States marines attached to the steam frigate *Minnesota* raised the American flag on the steeple of the old South Church, Boston, Mass.

June 28 1861. A flag was raised upon a flag staff on North hill, Needham, Mass. It was run up by Newell Smith Esq., one of the oldest inhabitants, and saluted by the firing of a cannon on a neighboring hill, the Star Spangled Banner by Flagg's band, and the cheers of the spectators.¹

The authorities of Baltimore indeed forbid the display of the American flag, but it was in many instances kept afloat until torn down by the police. After several weeks of trouble and anxiety, the union people prevailed, the rebel ensigns were secreted or destroyed, and the stars and stripes were flung to the breeze from a thousand windows and spires all over the city.

The attack upon Sumter caused a wonderful change of sentiment in Maryland. On the 1st of May a star spangled banner was raised, with great demonstrations of enthusiasm, from the Post Office and Custom House at Baltimore, by order of the newly appointed officials. A new flagstaff had been erected over the portico of the Custom House, and at noon, precisely, Capt. Frazier, a veteran sea captain of Falls point, drew up the flag which as it spread to the breeze was greeted with tremendous applause, waving of hats, cheers for the union and the old flag. The crowd then joined in singing the Star Spangled Banner.²

An American flag was raised at Hagarstown, Maryland, with union demonstrations. Alleghany county instructed its representatives that if they voted for secession, they would be hung on their return home. The stars and stripes were hoisted over Frederick city. The home guard refused to parade unless the stars and stripes were displayed to the tune of Yankee Doodle; and at Clear Spring House our flag was hoisted and the miners swore to resist secession to the death.³

May 7. Reverdy Johnson addressed the home guard of Frederick, Maryland, upon the occasion of presenting to them a national flag, from the ladies of that place. The population of the

¹ *Boston Transcript.*

² *N. Y. Advertiser*, May 1.

³ *N. Y. Courier and Enquirer.*

city was swelled by the addition of upwards of two thousand persons, who poured in from the surrounding towns and villages. Union badges and cockades were displayed in profusion and the stars and stripes fluttered from forty different points. The speakers' stand was draped with the national colors, and immediately surrounded by the Brengle guard, a body of about three hundred respectable citizens, principally aged and middle aged men, organized for home protection and defence. Mr. Johnson concluded his speech by saying: "Though not especially impulsive I cannot imagine how an American eye can look upon that standard without emotion. The twenty stars added to its first constellation tell its proud history, its mighty influence, and its unequalled career. The man who is dead to the influence of our national emblem, is in mind a fool, or in heart a traitor. I need not commend it to your constant, vigilant care; that I am sure it will be ever your pride to give it. When, if ever, your hearts shall despond, when, if ever you desire your patriotism to be specially animated, throw it to the winds, gaze on its beautiful folds, remember the years and the fields over which, from '76 to the present time, it has been triumphantly borne; remember how it has consoled the dying and animated the survivor; remember that it served to kindle even a brighter flame, the patriotic ardor of Washington, went with him through the struggles of the revolution, consoled him in defeat, gave victory an additional charm, and his dying moments were consoled and cheered by the hope that it would float over a perpetual union."

Sept. 12, 1861. The anniversary of the battle of Baltimore was celebrated in that city with more than ordinary demonstration from the part of the loyal citizens. The national flag was displayed on the public buildings, hotels and all the loyal newspaper offices, numerous private houses, shipping etc., and the various camps. General Dix issued orders for firing salutes and dress parades in honor of the day. The association of old defenders made their usual parade with their old flag, which they have not yet deserted. A few secession shopkeepers arranged their goods to indicate their southern principles, by hanging out rolls of red and white flannel, or by displaying three flannel shirts, two red with a white one in the centre. All this in

"Maryland my Maryland."

At a mass meeting at Kingston, New York, to sustain the government and defend the union, Mr. J. B. Steele, in taking the chair, said: "It must never be supposed that the flag could be desecrated without touching the soul of every genuine American. No! whatever it must cost, the stars and stripes must wave."¹ Mr. Westbrook "laid aside party and political opinions and prejudices. He loved his party but, thank God, he loved his country better. He wasn't going to stop to consider who was right or wrong, but right or wrong, his country." He grasped the folds of the stars and stripes and said: "Let it be known, that in the XIXth century, traitor's hands, and traitor's hearts are found among us to disgrace that flag which had been their shield, and protection as well as his own. He asked God to record his vow to stand by, protect, and if need be, die for that flag."²

At Washington our flag was hoisted over the Department of the Interior, and enthusiastically greeted by a dense mass of spectators, and by the Rhode Island regiment which was quartered in the building. The regiment was attended by Governor Sprague and suite in full uniform. President Lincoln, and Secretaries Seward and Smith were near the staff when the flag was raised, and having saluted it they were in turn cheered. The regiment then returned to their quarters in the building and sung *Our Flag it still Waves*.³

Col. Corcoran's regiment, the 69th New York, on the occasion of transporting their flagstaff from Georgetown to Arlington heights celebrated the raising of the flag. A new song, by John Savage, called *The Starry Flag* was sung, the chorus being given by the thirteen or fourteen hundred voices assembled. Three cheers were then given for the author of the song.⁴

May 26th the 5th regiment of Mass., Col. Lawrence, received orders to march over Long bridge into Virginia, when it was discovered that they had only their state colors, not having received their national ensign. Several Massachusetts gentlemen immediately began searching for one and succeeded in purchasing from a Mr. Hemmock a fine cashmere flag which had been made by the ladies for his hotel. Securing a carriage they overtook the regi-

¹ *N. Y. Tribune*, Sept. 13th.

² *N. Y. Tribune*, April 20.

³ *New York Post*, May 3rd

⁴ *National Intelligencer*, May 3.

ment, midway on Long bridge, when it was halted, and the flag presented by the committee to the colonel. The night was a beautiful one, a full moon just mounting the eastern sky cast its silvery sheen over the rippling waters of the Potomac and sparkled on the bayonets of a thousand muskets. Camp fires and signal lights dotted the river on both sides, making a picture of quiet beauty never to be forgotten.¹

At a union meeting at Bedford, Westchester Co., N. Y., on the occasion of a flag raising, Senator Hall, Hon. John Jay, the Rev. Mr. Bogg of the Episcopal church, and many others addressed the assembly.²

At New York, Philadelphia, Trenton, and many other places, the newspaper offices were compelled to display the American flag.³

April 16th. An excited populace assembled before the printing office of the *Palmetto Flag*, a small advertising sheet in Philadelphia, and threatened to demolish it. The proprietors displayed the American flag and threw the objectionable papers from the window, also *The Stars and Stripes*, another paper printed in the same office, and restored the mob to good humor. The crowd then moved to the *Argus* office, and ordered that the flag should be displayed.

After visiting the newspaper offices, the multitude marched up Market street. At all points in their route haste was made to borrow, beg or steal something red, white and blue, to protect property with. Search was made for the publication rooms of the *Southern Monitor* and its sign broken to pieces.

Mayor Henry, when the *Palmetto Flag* office was threatened, addressed the mob, and said: "By the grace of God treason shall never rear its head or have foothold in Philadelphia. I call upon you, as American citizens, to stand by your flag and protect it at all hazards; but in doing so remember the rights due your fellow citizens and their private property. That flag" (hoisting the stars and stripes) "is the emblem of the government and I call upon all who love their country and the flag to leave to the constituted authorities of the city the task of pro-

¹ *Nat. Intelligencer.*

² *N. Y. Times*, April 27th.

³ *N. Y. papers*, April 16th.

tecting the peace, and preventing every act which could be construed into treason.”¹

At Saybrook, Connecticut, a fine flagstaff was raised upon the spot which had given birth to the *Saybrook Platform*, and but a short distance from the old fort built by the first settlers of the place. *Deacon Sill*, ninety-one years of age, a colonel of the war of 1812-14, and the patriarch of the village raised the flag. A prayer and addresses were then made, the intervals being filled by national songs sung by a club from a neighboring village. In conclusion the old men who were present were called upon, and made short and telling speeches.²

May 30. The American flag was raised over the residence of Lieut. General *Winfield Scott*, at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in the presence of five thousand people. The Star Spangled Banner was sung, and the people joined in the chorus producing a fine effect. Speeches were made, and received with great applause.³

June 16. J. G. Morrison Jr., and several of his friends, unfurled the star spangled banner on the Maryland abutments of the lately destroyed bridge at Harpers Ferry. The cherished symbol of the union was hailed with delight by the people of Harpers Ferry, and particularly by the women, who flocked to the opposite bank, and saluted it by the waving of handkerchiefs and other manifestations of joy.⁴

At the raising of the stars and stripes over Andover Seminary, the following hymn written for the occasion by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, was sung to the tune of *America*.

“ Here where our fathers came
 Bearing the holy flame
 To light our days—
 Here where with faith and prayer
 They raised these walls in air,
 Now to the heavens so fair,
 Their flag we raise.

¹ *N. Y. Tribune.*

² *N. Y. Commercial*, May 30.

³ *Boston Advertiser*, May 21st.

⁴ *Baltimore American*, June 24.

" Look ye where free it waves
 Over their hallowed graves
 Blessing their sleep ;
 Now pledge your heart and hand
 Sons of a noble land
 Round this bright flag to stand,
 Till death to keep.

" God of our fathers ! now
 To thee we raise our vow
 Judge and defend ;
 Let freedom's banner wave
 Till there be not a slave
 Thou thyself strong to save
 Unto the end."

One of the most interesting and imposing ceremonies of the year was the flag-raising from the summit of Bunker hill monument on the seventeenth day of June, the anniversary of the battle. The day was warm and pleasant, and a large concourse of people were assembled. At the base of the monument a stage was erected, on which were the officers of the association, the school children, the city authorities of Charlestown, Governor Andrew and his staff, Colonel Fletcher Webster, of the twelfth regiment, and many other prominent citizens of the state. A fine band of music played national airs. The services were opened with prayer by the Rev. James B. Miles, after which a short and eloquent address was made by Hon. G. Washington Warren, introducing Governor Andrew, who was received with hearty cheers. The governor's address was brief, fervent, eloquent, and patriotic. After referring to the men of the revolution who had sacrificed their lives for independence, and made moist the soil of Bunker hill with their blood, he said :

" It is one of the hallowed omens of the controversy of our time, that the men of Middlesex, the men of Charlestown, the men of Concord, of Lexington, of Acton, are all in the field in this contest. This day, this hour, reconsecrated by their deeds, are adding additional leaves to the beautiful chaplet which adorns the fair honor of good old Massachusetts. Not unto me, not unto us, let any praise be given. Let no tongue dare speak a

eulogy for us ; but reserve all the love and gratitude that language can express for the patriotic sons of Massachusetts who are bearing our country's flag on the field of contest.

“ Obedient, therefore, to the request of this association, and to the impulse of my own heart, I spread aloft the ensign of the republic, testifying for ever, to the last generation of men, of the rights of mankind, and to constitutional liberty and law. Let it rise until it shall surmount the capital of the column, let it float on every wind, to every sea and every shore, from every hill-top let it wave, down every river let it run. Respected it shall be in Charlestown, Massachusetts, and in Charleston, South Carolina, on the Mississippi, as on the Penobscot, in New Orleans as in Cincinnati, in the gulf of Mexico, as on Lake Superior, and by France and England, now and forever. Catch it, ye breezes, as it swings aloft ; fan it, every wind that blows ; clasp it in your arms, and let it float for ever, as the starry sign of liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable.”

The flag had been raised to the top of the flag staff forty feet above the summit of the monument and 260 feet from the ground, rolled up as the signal flags are on board of a man-of-war. As Governor Andrew concluded, he pulled the rope, the knot was loosened, and the flag floated out on the breeze, amid the shouts of the assembled thousands, and the playing of the Star Spangled Banner by Gilmore's band. The Star Spangled Banner was then sung by F. A. Hall, Esq., of Charlestown, the whole assemblage joining in the chorus, and the ladies taking part with peculiar zest.

The governor then called for nine cheers for the glorious star spangled banner, which were given with great heart, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs.

When the excitement had somewhat subsided, the governor came forward and, in a few complimentary remarks, introduced Colonel Webster. The speech of this gentleman was brief and appropriate. His father had made the oration when the corner-stone of the monument was laid, and again when the monument was completed. Colonel Webster said he well remembered the preliminary meetings of the committee selected to decide upon the size, character, design, and site of this

monument. They met frequently at his father's house. He could remember the appearance of most of them, — Colonel Thomas H. Perkins, William Sullivan, and Gilbert Stuart, the great painter, whose enormous block-tin snuff box attracted his youthful attention.

“As a boy, I was present at the laying of the corner stone of this great obelisk under whose shadow we now are. La Fayette laid the stone with appropriate and imposing masonic ceremonies. The vast procession, impatient of unavoidable delay, broke the line of march, and in a tumultuous crowd rushed towards the orator's platform, and I was saved from being trampled under foot, by the strong arm of Mr. George Sullivan, who lifted me on his shoulders and shouting! ‘Don't kill the orator's son!’ bore me through the crowd, and placed me on the staging at my father's feet. I felt something embarrassed at that notice, as I now do at this unforeseen notice by his excellency, but I had no occasion to make an acknowledgement of it.” He had also witnessed the ceremonies on the completion of the monument in the presence of many distinguished persons from all parts of the country, ‘some of whom,’ said Colonel Webster, ‘I regret to say would hardly like to renew that visit, or recall that scene.’ “Within a few days after this I sailed for China: and I watched while light and eyesight lasted, till its lofty summit faded at last from view. I now stand again at its base, and renew once more, on this national altar, vows, not for the first time made, of devotion to my country, its constitution and union.”

He concluded as follows: “From this spot I take my departure, like the mariner commencing his voyage; and whenever my eyes close, they will be turned hitherward toward the north, and in whatever event, grateful will be the reflection that this monument still stands, still is gilded by the earliest beams of the rising sun, and that still departing day lingers and plays on its summit for ever.”

The services concluded with a benediction by the venerable Father Taylor. The flag thus raised, floated from its serene height during the entire war, until it was as respected in Charleston, South Carolina, as in Charlestown, Massachusetts. None who knew Colonel Webster, can read his words on this occa-

sion, without recalling many pleasant memories connected with his name. It was his last utterance in public ; for, before the close of the next year, he fell in Virginia, at the head of his regiment, in a desperate battle. His body was brought home to Massachusetts, and lay in state at Faneuil Hall a day, when it was taken to Marshfield, and buried by the side of his illustrious father, and there it will remain forever.¹

¹ Schouler's *History of Mass. in the Civil War*.

OUR FLAG IN SECESSIA.

At New Orleans a decided excitement was created before the fall of Sumter by a flag being hoisted at the masthead of the ship *Adelaide Bell* (owned in New Hampshire), which the captain of the ship, more indiscreet than wise, proclaimed to be a black republican flag, and defied any body to pull it down.

Intelligence of the exhibition and its accompanying threat soon spread abroad, and the captain was waited upon by several parties who induced him to lower the obnoxious bunting. The flag which occasioned this excitement was the old stars and stripes, only that the stripe below the union was *red*, while in the ordinary flags the union rests on a white stripe. The captain, when questioned, denied the flag had any political significance, and asserted that it was presented to the ship seven years before, by Mr. Isaac Bell of Mobile, after whose wife the ship was named. His statement was disbelieved, and the vigilant committee stuck to their assertion that the flag was known at sea among sea captains as the flag of the northern republican states, and had been so recognized for three or four years.

It would have eased the excitement of those gentlemen, could they have been informed that, as early as 1838, flags like the one hoisted on the *Adelaide Bell*, with the union resting on the red stripe, were made at the Norfolk navy yard, for the vessels of war equipped, at that station, and that for many years all the flags made there were of like pattern. They were called by signal quarter masters, Norfolk war flags, because the blue of the union rested on the red or war stripe.

On the 22d of February, 1861, Mr. Richard Fairchild saw an American flag hoisted at New Orleans in honor of the day, which is believed to have been the last union banner raised there previous to Farragut's arrival off the city. As Mr. Fairchild was proceeding down Front Levee street, he saw a gentleman raise a large American flag, on which was inscribed under two clasped hands the words: "united we stand divided we fall." The announcement of the defiant act created great excitement, and a crowd of secessionists assembled in front of the St. Charles Hotel and proceeded in a body to the levee with the purpose of taking

down the flag. They found, however, some hundreds of determined men surrounding the flagstaff, all armed, and many with rifles, with the avowed purpose of keeping the old flag flying on the birthday of the father of his country. They were undisturbed, and the bunting waved until night, when it was voluntarily taken down.¹

After New Orleans had been captured by our forces, the spirit of treason skulked everywhere. Hotels, saloons, and stores were full of concealed rebels, who would have fiddled and danced over the massacre of union men. At that time few American flags waved in New Orleans, and those only over military quarters; and it became necessary to issue an order for the display of our stars and stripes over places of public resort licensed by the provost marshal. The order was very reluctantly complied with, and a few old flags waved from some hotels and theatres. But so vindictive and morose was the secesh feeling that the managers of the theatres felt bound to cater for it. They refused to permit the orchestra to play any one of our national airs. A thrilling scene arose one night when a call arose from a few union men, and United States officers in the theatre for the band to play Hail Columbia and the Star Spangled Banner. The cowardly manager declined. It was then a single man arose in the boxes and cried out that the American national airs should be played. He called upon loyal men to second him. The house became a scene of fierce excitement. But the brave loyalist stood his ground. He demanded the Star Spangled Banner, and Red White and Blue, should be given, and the manager was forced to yield. That gallant loyalist was Doct. A. P. Dostie, who, after the war, was murdered in New Orleans.²

The union association of New Orleans held their first public meeting in that city on the 3d of June, 1862, and resolved to rehoist the United States flag on the following Saturday. It was determined to appoint a committee of thirty-four to perform the duty, but the president of the association finding some difficulty in selecting that number, volunteers were called for and readily found. Six or seven of the thirty-four were intimidated by anonymous threatening letters, which were received by nearly every member of the committee; the others ascended

¹ *New York Sunday Dispatch.*

² *Banner of the Covenant*, June 15, 1861.

to the top of the City Hall and hoisted the flag. In 1866, this flag was sent to Washington and by advice of General Butler, to whom the question of its deposit was referred, it was delivered to the revenue department of the treasury. Secretary McCulloch, acknowledging its receipt wrote to Dr. James Ready, who had been charged with the duty of conveying the flag to the capital: "I will carefully preserve it as a memento of the great trial through which the nation has safely and honorably passed, and of the loyalty of the gallant little band who first gave it to the breeze. It will be preserved, not as a reminder of the triumph of one section of the country over another, but of the union over those who attempted to dismember it; not of a victory of the north over the south, but of constitutional liberty and republican institutions in the great struggle of the government for the maintenance of both."

The Restoration of our Flag at New Orleans. — On the 26th of April, 1862, flag officer Farragut wrote to the mayor of New Orleans demanding "that the emblem of the sovereignty of the United States be hoisted over the City Hall, Mint and Custom House by meridian of this day, and all flags and other emblems of sovereignty other than that of the United States be removed from the public buildings by that hour." To this, the next day (Sunday, April 27th), the mayor replied: "the city is yours by the power of brutal force, not by my choice or the consent of its inhabitants. As to hoisting any flag not of our own adoption, and allegiance, let me say to you that the man lives not in our midst whose hand and heart would not be paralyzed at the mere thought of such an act; nor could I find in my entire constituency so desperate and wretched a renegade as would dare to profane with his hand the sacred emblems of our aspirations." The substance of the mayor's meaning seemed to be "come on shore and hoist what flags you please, dont ask *us* to do your flag raising."¹

The commander of the fleet refused to confer farther with the mayor; but with regard to the flag hoisting, determined to take him at his word. Capt. H. W. Morris, whose ship the *Pensacola* lay off the Mint, was ordered to send a party ashore, and hoist the flag of the United States upon that edifice. At eight A. M.,

¹ Parton's *Butler at New Orleans*, from which this account is condensed.

the stars and stripes were floating over it, and the officer detailed to hoist them warned the bystanders that the guns of the Pensacola would certainly open fire upon the building if any one should be seen molesting the flag. Without leaving a guard to protect the flag he returned to his ship; but the howitzers in the main top of the Pensacola, loaded with grape, were aimed at the flag staff and the guard ordered to fire the moment any one should attempt to haul down the flag.

At 11 A. M., the crews of all the ships were assembled on deck for prayers, agreeably to the flag officer's order, "to render thanks to Almighty God for his great goodness and mercy in permitting us to pass through the events of the last two days with so little loss of life and blood." The solemn service had proceeded about twenty minutes when a discharge from the howitzer overhead startled the crews from their devotion! They rushed to quarters; every eye sought the flagstaff of the Mint. Four men were seen on the roof of the building who tore down the flag, hurried away with it and disappeared. Fortunately the wafers by which the guns are discharged had been removed from the vents, for, without orders, by a sudden impulse the lanyards of the guns all along the broadside of the Pensacola were snatched at by eager hands and nothing but the removal of the wafers saved the city from a fearful scene of destruction and slaughter. The exasperation throughout the fleet at the audacious act was equally great.

The next day (Monday), the *New Orleans Picayune* proclaimed the names of the persons "that distinguished themselves by gallantly tearing down the flag that had been surreptitiously hoisted," as "Wm. B. Mumford, who cut it loose from the flagstaff amid a shower of grape, Lieut. N. Holmes, Sergeant Burns and James Reed," and added, "they deserve great credit for their patriotic act."

These four men, having secured their prize, trailed it in the mud of the streets amid the yells of the mob, and mounted with it upon a furniture cart, they paraded it about the city with fife and drum; tore it into shreds, and distributed the pieces among the crowd. Defied and insulted by a town that lay at his mercy, Farragut warned the mayor of the danger of drawing the

fire of the fleet from the spontaneous action of his men,¹ and concluded by saying: "The election is with you, but it becomes my duty to notify you to remove the women and children from the city within forty-eight hours, if I have rightly understood your determination." This note the authorities chose to interpret as a formal announcement of his intention to bombard the city at the end of the specified time.² The surrender of the forts, the news of which reached the city on Monday, lowered the tone of the authorities. They dared not formally disclaim the exploit of Mumford and his associates; but the flag officer was privately assured that the removal of the flag from the Mint was the unauthorized act of a few individuals. On the 29th, Capt. H. H. Bell, with a hundred marines, landed on the levee, marched into the city, hauled down the rebel flags from the Mint and Custom House, and hoisted in its stead the flag of the United States. Capt. Bell locked the Custom House and took the keys to the flag ship. These flags remained though the marines were withdrawn before evening.³ On the 1st of May

¹ The first United States flag hoisted outside the squadron when in front of New Orleans, was a small boat flag hoisted by my order, Friday, April 25, at the masthead of the schooner John Gilpin, then lying at a wharf at Algiers, opposite side the city. Her master, John Forsyth, I took on board the flag ship, where he was paroled on agreeing to keep the flag flying and secure the schooner from destruction by the mob. On the 28th, a man came on board the Kathadin, and stated to me that he was a loyal man and was afraid the fleet would bombard his little place at Gretna, opposite New Orleans, and destroy his house and garden. I told him he could easily prevent that by hoisting the stars and stripes over his place. He said he was afraid to do that; the mob would murder him. I then told him he must choose between the dangers of the mob and a bombardment, and offered to loan him a flag, which he accepted and carried away with him, and I have reason to believe, hoisted it, but of that am not certain."—*G.H.P.*

² Parton's *General Butler in New Orleans*.

³ "I find in my private diary under date, United States Gunboat Kathadin, Tuesday, April 29, 1862.

"Heard great cheering in the fleet at 8 A. M., and the ships all hoisted the stars and stripes at their masthead indicative of good news, but what, I could not tell. Nevertheless I hoisted the ensigns. The Kennebec came up showing either she had run the forts or that they had surrendered. At 1 P. M., got under way and anchored near the Hartford and went on board to obtain the news, and learned that both Forts Jackson and St. Phillips have surrendered to Porter, and the Cayuga would sail in a few hours for the north, with Capt. Theodorus Bailey, a bearer of dispatches. Commander Boggs and the N. Y. Herald correspondent going in her as passengers. Delivered to Capt. B., the flag of the Challamette regiment. At 2 P. M. the Cayuga got under way. As she passed the Kathadin, we gave three cheers for Captain Bailey, three for Commander Boggs and three for Lieut. Commanding Harrison, and the brave tars of the Cayuga. The Diana, Tennessee and another of the seized steamers went down river to bring up troops. The flag officer landed two hundred marines and took possession of the public buildings on shore and hoisted our flag over the new Custom House. The state flag of Louisiana was hauled down from the City Hall and sent north by the Cayuga."—*G. H. P.*

Gen. Butler landed a portion of his troops about 5 P. M., and took permanent possession of the city, and issued his proclamation in which he says : " all ensigns, flags, or devices tending to uphold any authority whatever, save the flags of the United States, and those of foreign consulates, must not be exhibited, but suppressed. The American ensigns, the emblem of the United States, must be treated with the utmost deference and respect by all persons, under pain of severe punishment."

After the occupation of the city by the United States troops, Mumford still appeared in the streets bold, reckless and defiant, one of the heroes of the populace. He was seen even in front of the St. Charles Hotel, General Butler's head quarters, relating his exploits to a circle of admirers, boasting of it, and daring the union authorities to molest him. He did this once too often. He was arrested and tried by a military commission, who condemned him to death. General Butler approved the sentence and issued the following order for his execution.

Special Order, No. 10.

" NEW ORLEANS, *June 5, 1862.*

" William B. Mumford, a citizen of New Orleans, having been convicted before a military commission, of treason, and an overt act thereof in tearing down the United States flag from a public building of the United States, for the purpose of inciting other evil minded persons to further resistance to the laws and arms of the United States, after said flag was placed there by Commodore [flag officer] Farragut of the United States navy.

" It is ordered that he be executed according to the sentence of the said military commission, on Saturday, June 7th inst, between the hours of 8 A. M., and 12 M., under the direction of the provost marshal of the district of New Orleans; and for so doing, this shall be his sufficient warrant."

During his trial and after his conviction, Mumford showed neither fear nor contrition; and evidently expected a commutation of his sentence, not believing that General Butler would dare execute it. His friends, the thieves and gamblers of the city, openly defied the general, resolved in council, *not* to petition for his pardon, and bound themselves to assassinate General

Butler if Mumford were hanged. Between Mumford's condemnation and the time set for his execution General Butler reprieved and sent to Ship island six confederate soldiers who had been condemned to be shot for violating their paroles, but he could not be made to consider that Mumford deserved the same clemency, and when the day set apart for his execution arrived he was hanged. Mumford met his doom with composure. He said that "the offense for which he was condemned was committed under excitement, and that he did not consider he was suffering justly. He conjured all who heard him to act justly to all men; to rear their children properly: and when they met death they would meet it firmly. He was prepared to die; and as he had never wronged any one he hoped to receive mercy." An immense concourse attended his execution but there was no disturbance.

The name of Mumford, if we may believe the confederate newspapers, was immediately added to their roll of martyrs to the cause of liberty. The fugitive governor of Louisiana from some safe retreat up the river issued a proclamation about this time in which he said: "The noble heroism of the patriot, Mumford, has placed his name high on our list of martyred sons. When the federal navy reached New Orleans, a squad of marines was sent on shore, who hoisted their flag on the Mint. The city was not occupied by the United States troops, nor had they reached there. The place was not in their possession. William B. Mumford pulled down the detested symbol, with his own hand, and for this was condemned to be hung by General Butler after his arrival. Brought in full view of the scaffold, his murderers hoped to appall his heroic soul, by the exhibition of the implements of ignominious death. With the evidence of their determination to consummate their brutal purpose before his eyes, they offered him life on the condition that he would abjure his country, and swear allegiance to her foe. He spurned the offer. Scorning to stain his soul with such foul dishonor, he met his fate courageously, and has transmitted to his countrymen a fresh example of what one will do and dare when under the inspiration of fervid patriotism. I shall not forget the outrage of his murder, nor shall it pass unatoned."¹

¹ Parton's *General Butler in New Orleans*.

June 13, 1862. A United States flag was raised at the village of Gretna, La., opposite New Orleans, amid the rejoicings of a large number of spectators, and patriotic resolutions were passed.

At Richmond, Va., "on the morning of the 18th of April, 1861, tumultuous crowds assembled at the Capitol, in that city, in the square in front of Governor Letcher's house, and amid shouts of execration and defiance, demanded the removal of the United States banner, and that the flag of the confederacy should be forthwith hoisted in its place. One fellow in this unruly mob, too impatient to wait for a formal compliance with this demand, rushed up the steps of the Capitol, and climbing to the roof, attempted to mount the flagstaff that he might tear down the flag of our union, encouraged and cheered in his efforts, by the tumultuous crowd below. He had nearly reached the top when he slipped, and falling on the roof, was severely hurt. This was a bad omen. Shortly afterward a detachment of soldiers was ordered to the spot to keep the crowd in order. In the afternoon, however, the mob increased to such an extent that the small knot of respectable citizens, who resolutely aided the soldiers in their efforts to keep order, were driven back; the Capitol taken by storm, the flag of the union torn down, and that of the confederacy hoisted."

"I could not but feel moved," said Col. Estevan, "at this outrageous act of the populace, in thus ignominiously hauling down the flag of the republic under which I had found a refuge and a home, especially when I saw how deeply affected were many of the by standers of both sexes, loyal adherents of the union, on witnessing the occurrence."¹

May 10, 1861, was observed as a fast day at Wheeling, Va. Patriotic sermons were delivered in *nine* out of the twelve churches. The Methodist pulpit was decorated with the stars and stripes. Rev. Mr. Smith delivered an eloquent address. He said if there was any secessionist in his congregation he wanted him to leave. Other ministers prayed that the rebels might be subdued and wiped from the face of the earth.²

Sept. 6, 1861. Gen. Grant gave permission to several union officers to hoist a union flag, on the top of the St. Francis Hotel

¹ Col. Estevan's *War Pictures from the South*, pp., 34, 35.

² *New York Herald*.

at Paducah, Kentucky. The landlord objected, saying that it would bring him trouble, and he did not want its protection. He was told to keep quiet, that the flag must wave there in place of the secession flag he had allowed to float over it before our troops came, and that if he or other rebels interfered with the flag, or pulled it down, they would be led out and shot down. This assurance, from Brig. Gen. Paine, quieted his nerves and the flag floated, defying the rebels despite many remarks by them that "the damned rag must come down."¹

Nov. 25, 1861. *Woolfolk*, a secessionist in Paducah, Kentucky, hung out of his window a secession flag as some United States troops were passing, and hurraed for Jeff. Davis. He had done the same thing previously. General Wallace sent his aide de camp with a squad of men to take it in. Woolfolk refused to obey the order, whereupon the flag was forcibly hauled down and the stars and stripes hoisted in its stead.

July 23, 1861. The ladies of Martinsburg, Va., presented the 2d Wisconsin regiment a beautiful national ensign. The ladies said in presenting it: "We welcome you into our midst bearing the flag of our glorious country, trusting in God; this flag has protected the oppressed of all lands, who have sought its shelter, and so long as this flag shall wave the oppressed shall be free." Coming as it did from a state which was declared out of the union by its constituted authorities, the regiment received the donation with peculiar pleasure.²

Nov. 8, 1861. After the battle of Belmont a wounded man, with both legs nearly shot off, was found in the woods singing the Star Spangled Banner; but for this circumstance the surgeons say they would not have discovered him.³

May 22, 1863. At the assault on Vicksburg, the storming party looked in vain for the support which had been promised it. The brigade which had been ordered to follow it, hesitated and all but one of the one hundred and fifty composing the storming party got discouraged and sought the shelter of a deep ravine. That one hero, William Wagden, a private of Co. B., 8th Missouri, the color bearer of the storming party, refused to retrace a single step. When his comrades left him

¹ *St. Louis Democrat.*

² *Balt. American*, July 23.

³ From a newspaper account of the battle.

he dug a hole in the ground with his bayonet, planted his flag staff in it, within twenty yards of the enemy's rifle pits, and sat down by the side of his banner, where he remained all day.¹

At the fight at Prairie Grove (1862-63), the color sergeant of the 19th Iowa regt., on the retreat was killed. As he fell Lieut. Wm. S. Brooks, already wounded, received the colors. The rebel colonel shouted: "God d—n them, take their colors." This enraged Brooks and he hallooed back, "You can't do it!" The rebels did not dare to close, but let go a volley which left nine holes in the flag and eighteen in the lieutenant's clothes. Four bullets passed through the cuff of his shirt sleeve, but they could not wound the hand that held the dear old flag.

When Abraham Lincoln issued his proclamation January 1, 1863, declaring the slaves in certain states and parts of states, in rebellion, to be henceforth and forever free, the day was celebrated in Norfolk, Va., by the entire negro population. They marched through the town in procession, numbering over four thousand persons, headed by a band of music, carrying the union flag and cheering for the downfall of slavery.

About Christmas time, 1862, and just previous to the defeat by Rosencrantz of the confederates at the battle of Murfreesborough, that city was the scene of much gayety. The president of the confederacy, Jeff. Davis, had come from Richmond to counsel, perhaps to invigorate Bragg. There were wedding festivities at which the bishop general, Polk, officiated, and giddy confederates danced on floors carpeted with the American flag. In the dreadful battle, closing on the 3d of Jan., 1863, which followed, the confederates lost 14,700 men. The losses were about one fourth of each army, but the final victory was on the side of our flag.²

Amid the horrors of the Libby prison, the loyal soldiers, there confined in filth, negligence and beggary, wretched, poor and almost forgotten, determined to have a celebration of their country's independence among themselves. But as they looked around upon the necessities of their condition they found themselves without a flag; and a celebration of their country's inde-

¹ *Report of the Assault.*

² *Draper's History of the Civil War*, vol. 2, p. 366.

pendence without a flag seemed impossible. After a while one man looked upon himself and said, "I have a red shirt;" and another man said, "I have a blue blouse:" another man, "I have a white shirt;" and no sooner was it said than they stripped themselves and gave their red, white and blue shirts to be torn up into strips and pinned together to extemporize their country's flag.¹

Parson Brownlow kept our flag flying over his house, at Knoxville, Tennessee, and was the last in the state to take it down. Two armed rebels went at six o'clock in the morning to haul it down and were met on the piazza by his daughter, who demanded their business. "To take down that damned stars and stripes," was their rough reply.

The young lady instantly drew a revolver and said: "Go on, I am good for one, and I think for both of you." "By the looks of this girl's eye she will shoot," said one of the rebs; "we had better go and get more men." "Go and get nine," said Miss Brownlow, "and come and take it if you dare." They went, and soon returned with a company of ninety armed men; but on discovering that the house was filled with gallant men armed to the teeth, who had rather die than see their country's flag dishonored, the rebels thought it prudent to withdraw without accomplishing their object.²

May 22, 1861. While secession banners were waving at Nashville, Tennessee, from every other building both public and private, a Mrs. McEwin, placed the national flag on her house and threatened to shoot whoever attempted to pull it down.³

An Indiana regiment was attacked by a whole brigade in one of the battles in Mississippi; unable to stand such great odds, it was compelled to fall back some thirty or forty yards, leaving their flag in the hands of the enemy. Suddenly a tall Irishman, private in the color company, rushed from the ranks across the vacant ground, attacked the squad of rebels who had possession of the flag, and with his clubbed musket felled several to the ground, snatched the flag from them, and returned safely back to his regiment. His captain made the daring fellow a sergeant on the spot. "Say no more about it captain," said the hero, "I dropped

¹ Rev. Doctor Tyng's *Address*.

² *Chicago Journal*.

³ *Louisville Journal*. The flag is now in the flag museum of the war department.

my whiskey flask among the rebels, and fetched that back, and I thought I might just as well bring the flag along too!"

A few days after the fearful scene of butchery at Fort Pillow (April 14, 1864), it was relieved by the play of nobler sentiments and by the presence and heroic words of a brave, though heart broken woman. At Fort Pickering a regiment of United States artillery is drawn up in perfect order; every face sober; a high and firm resolve is burning in many a dark eye. Six paces in front of the line are standing fourteen hardy looking, brave hearted men. They have no commander. What wreck of war is this? What waif floating on the stormy ocean of civil strife. A lady clad in the deepest mourning, steps in front of these fourteen survivors. Many a face shows by the quivering lip and the moistening eye, how the sight of that bereaved woman affects them. She is the widow of Major Booth, and these fourteen are all that are alive of the batallion he commanded at Fort Pillow. In her hand she bears a regimental flag, torn with balls, stained with smoke, and clotted with human blood. Amid a silence, broken only by the hoarse roar of the river chafing against the banks below, she commences to address them in a voice low and sorrow broken, but whose slightest cadence reaches their hearts.

"Boys!" she says, "I have just come from a visit to the hospital at Mound city. There I saw your comrades wounded at the bloody struggle at Fort Pillow. There I found this flag, you recognize it. One of your comrades saved it from the insulting touch of traitors at Fort Pillow. I have given to my country all I had to give — my husband. Such a gift! Yet I have freely given him for freedom and my country. Next my husband's cold remains, the dearest object left me in the world is *this flag*, the flag that once waved in proud defiance over the works of Fort Pillow. Soldiers, this flag I give you, knowing that you will ever remember the last words of my noble husband — 'Never surrender the flag to traitors.'"

Colonel Jackson received from her hand the war-worn and blood-stained flag. He called upon the regiment to receive it as such a gift ought to be received. Then he and the whole line fell upon their knees, and solemnly appealing to the God of

battles, each one swore to avenge their brave and fallen comrades, and never, "never to surrender the flag to traitors."

The memory of the scene can never pass from before the eyes of those who witnessed it. It was no holiday presentation, no crowning of a May-queen. There stood the widow of their former commander, fresh from the grave of her hero-husband. Above them waved the old flag, enriched by a thousand memories, and now consecrated by the baptism of blood, while beside the spot where they stood rolled the grand river, whose waters a few days before had been reddened with the blood of their comrades.¹

A School Girl tried by Court Martial for insulting the Star Spangled Banner.—A court martial, of which Major Collin Ford, 100th United States colored infantry, was president, was convened at Nashville, Tennessee, before which was arraigned and tried Miss Emma Latimer on a charge of disloyalty, the specification being that, on the 4th of July, 1865, she did tear down and trample under her feet, with intent to express contempt for the same, the American flag which had been put up in honor of the anniversary of the national independence of the United States, at the house of A. R. Latimer in Edgefield, Tenn., and did threaten if it was put up a second time she would tear it down and burn it up. She was found guilty of the charges and specifications, and sentenced to be confined in a military prison for ninety days, and to pay a fine of three hundred dollars; and in default of payment to be further imprisoned until the whole fine was satisfied at the rate of two dollars a day for each day's imprisonment.

Brevet Major Gen. Johnson approved the finding and sentence, Sept. 24, 1865, but in consideration of the peculiar circumstances of the case he remitted the entire sentence, with this endorsement: "It will be well for Miss Latimer to remember that it will not do to trifle with the sacred emblem of our nationality. That in spite of the opposition of all the school girls in the south, the banner of glory and beauty will still wave over the land of the free, and notwithstanding the united efforts of all the rebellious women in the country, will continue to float, until time shall cease to be, upon every breeze, the pride and admiration of all

¹ Frank Moore's *Women of the War*, pages, 310-11.

thinking persons. She will be released from confinement and restored to her parents, with attention to Solomon's sage remark : ' he that spareth the rod spoileth the child.'

"The conduct of the prosecuting witnesses deserves a passing remark. The testimony shows that they had resolved on changing their place of abode previous to July 4th, but agreed to remain at the house of Mr. Latimer until after that date, in order to ensnare his little daughter, and get her into trouble. Their first battle for the flag was with a thoughtless school girl ! The entire transaction looks like the work of children temporarily removed from parental care."¹

How our Flag was Restored to the Soil of South Carolina at Port Royal.—Commander John Rodgers, in his letters relating the occurrence at Hilton Head, Nov., 1861, says : "Commodore Dupont had kindly made me his aid. I stood by him and did little things which I suppose gained me credit, so when the boat was sent in, to ask whether they had surrendered, I was sent. I carried the stars and stripes ; I found the ramparts utterly deserted and I planted the American flag with my own hands, first to take possession in the majesty of the United States of the rebel soil of South Carolina."

A correspondent of *The New York World* wrote : "the cheers that uprose on the hoisting of the flag on Fort Walker were deafening ; the stentorian ringing of human voices would have drowned the roar of artillery. The cheer was taken up man by man, ship by ship, regiment by regiment. Such a spontaneous outburst of soldierly enthusiasm never greeted the ears of Napoleon, amid the victories of Marengo, Austerlitz or the pyramids of the Nile."

The journal of the *U. S. S. Vanderbilt* says it was greeted with deafening cheers, and all the bands as of one accord struck up our national airs.

The correspondent of *The New York Times* wrote : "Another and a larger star-spangled banner was afterwards displayed upon the flagstaff of a building a few rods to the left, where the rebel standard had waved during the combat, and where it had just been taken down."

The correspondent of the *National Intelligencer* reported : "A

Published officially in the *Army and Navy Journal*, Oct. 7, 1865.

boat from the Wabash was seen making for the shore with a white flag at the bow and an American ensign at the stern. She soon touched the sandy beach, and in a moment after we thought we could discern our flag upon the ramparts. Our men could not help giving utterance to exclamations of hopeful joy; but the less sanguine waited a few moments in eager suspense until suddenly, from the roof of an old mansion by the fort, a great flag, that could not be mistaken, displayed the stars and stripes in all their glory, in beautiful contrast with the greenwoods beyond. Loud and repeated cheers rang from vessel to vessel throughout the harbor.”¹

The Story of Barbara Frietchie.—The daring act of displaying the stars and stripes as the rebel army passed through Frederick on the 6th of September, 1862, which this nonagenarian dame is reputed to have performed, forms one of the most charming episodes of the rebellion. Few Americans but have read Whittier's poem, which has immortalized her name and the story. In reply to my letter inquiring the origin of the poem, Mr. Whittier wrote me under date “Amesbury, 6 mo. 16, 1872. “My original informant was Mrs. Southworth, the authoress, of Washington. Soon after, Miss Dorothea Dix visited the city of Frederick and confirmed her statement. Within two years, a nephew of B. F. visited me, with full confirmation of the heroism of his relative and I have no doubt the main facts of the story are true.”

The story as told by Mr. Whittier has been doubted. One lady, over her own signature, claimed to have performed the same or a similar daring act, and a correspondent of the *Army and Navy Journal* furnishes the following, as the true story of Barbara's deed.

“The true story is based upon facts which by poetic fancy has been intensified into this poem. Old Barbara was both brave and patriotic. During the passage of the rebels through the town, she is said to have had a very small flag inside of one of her windows, which she refused to give up on the demand of

¹ A letter from an officer on board the Pocahontas at Port Royal, says, “a shot from our 10 inch put a hole in their stars and bars, another took down the flag staff; but the confederates ran another up pretty quickly, but it was a doomed piece of bunting. The Forbes fired with her rifled gun, and the ball catching the flag wound it around and carried it off into the woods.”—*Rebellion Record*, III, p. 114.

an officer or soldier. One day, returning from a walk, she found her steps occupied by a large number of rebel soldiers, to whom, using her cane with some energy, the old dame cried out, "Clear out, you dirty, lousy scoundrels." When *our* troops entered Frederick, she was at the window waving a flag. A general, said to have been General Reno, raising his cap and reining in his horse asked: "How old is grandmother?" Some one at the window mentioned her age (over ninety), when he cried: "Three cheers for the loyal old grandmother." They were lustily given and the column moved on.

Mrs. Frietchie was a stout hearted, patriotic, Christian woman, and it was not her fault that she did not do all attributed to her. Her house is a quaint, but exceedingly attractive, old fashioned, steep roofed little structure, with curious rear buildings, immediately on the banks of Carroll's run, a little stream which flows through Frederick city. In the slope of the roof which looks towards the street, are two attic dormer windows, from one of which, Barbara displayed her flag. This, the true story of Barbara's achievement, was obtained from a gentleman who knew the old woman well, possessed her autograph and had every opportunity for knowing the truth."¹

In 1869, Mrs. Mary A. Quantrill wrote to the *Washington Star* claiming for herself the praise and honor which has been awarded to old grandmother Frietchie for displaying the stars and stripes to the rebel forces. We will allow her to tell her story in her own words. She says: "By the setting of the sun on the eve of Sept. 6, 1862, a stranger might have paused in the streets of Frederick, and asked, 'what change has come over the spirit' of this city? Not a flag was to be seen; not a citizen upon its streets; the pulse of business (never very strong), had almost ceased to beat; and as friend met friend, they whispered with white lips of the approach of the enemy. It was true. General Robert Lee, at the head of the confederate army, was marching on Frederick, left in the main with its women and children (I speak of the loyal portion), to the mercy of the chivalrous enemy. General Stonewall Jackson entered the city on Saturday, the 6th of September, and General Longstreet, on the following Monday, came in with the remaining forces.

¹*Army and Navy Journal*, for July 20, 1867.

“The morning of the 10th the scene presented was truly warlike. Day dawned upon marching columns of infantry, cavalry and artillery, wending their way to South mountain and Antietam. Onward they pressed, presenting little variety, excepting that national flags were tied to the horses’ tails, and trailed through the streets, as a warning to unionists of what might occur thereafter. Seated at my door, I had been a silent observer of the morning’s pageant. It may be well to state here, although I had not the acquaintance of a solitary confederate soldier, save those who had been my neighbors, the house where the United States flag floated under more friendly auspices, was known to many. Music was swelling, the stars and bars were waving, and as I gazed upon brave men enduring every degree of danger and suffering for what they called their rights, my reverie was interrupted by the sudden halt of a subordinate officer before my door, who shouted at the top of his voice, “G—d—the stars and stripes to the dust, with all who advocate them!” The hero was borne off by the dense throng, but the insult admitted of no second thought. The flag of my country, sacred to the memory of my grandsires, and to the best men of revolutionary history, damned to the dust? It was too much. My little daughter, who had been enjoying her flaglet secretly, at this moment came to the door, and, taking it from her hand, I held it firmly in my own, but not a word was spoken. Soon a bright spot in this motley mass was visible. A splendid carriage, accompanied by elegantly mounted officers, evidently the flower of the army, was approaching. As they came near the house they caught the glimpse of the tiny flag, and exclaimed: ‘See, see! the flag, the stars and stripes!’ and, with true chivalry, hats were removed and courtesies were offered the bearer, but not to her standard. They had advanced some paces when a halt was ordered, and soon a lady — then Miss Martha Sinn, since Mrs. Jas. Arnold — of Frederick, standing near other ladies of the neighborhood, admonished me to fly with my colors. I did not, however, move, until an officer from the company rode up, and the following remarks were exchanged:

Officer — Madam, give me your flag.

Answer — No, sir, you can’t have it.

Officer — Give me your flag to present to General Lee.

Answer — General Lee cannot have my flag.

Officer — Why ?

Answer — I think it worthy of a better cause.

Officer — Your flag has been dishonored.

Answer — Only by the cause you have espoused.

Officer (regarding me sternly) — Come down south, and we will show you whole negro brigades equipped for the service of the United States.

Answer — I am informed on that subject.

“ Here a brother officer warned him of the value of time, and urged a return, which was accordingly made. The confederate soldier said, the officer who asked for the flag was General Hill.

“ I remained resting the staff of my flaglet on the railing of the porch, when a soldier, who had heard the remarks, stepped behind me, and with his bayonet cut off my staff close to my hand. The report resembled that of a pistol, and turning about I saw him tear my flag into pieces, and stamp them in the dust. I pronounced this the act of a coward. Among the young ladies present, was Miss Mary Hopwood, daughter of a well known union citizen of Frederick. Seeing my flag cut down, she drew a concealed flaglet from her sleeve and supplied its place. In another instant the second flag was cut down by the same man. As soon as the information was conveyed to the officers, one man, more advanced in years than either of those already referred to, came back to the spot and reproved in sharp language the man who cut down my flags.

Mrs. Barbara Frietchie¹ was held in high esteem by the people of Frederick city, and the ladies generally are second to none for their devotion to the cause of our country.

“ MARY A. QUANTRILL.

“ Washington city, (D. C.), February 9, 1869.”

¹ Lossing in his *Civil War* (vol. II, page 466), has a portrait of Barabara Frietchie and a representation of her house which he drew in 1866, and where, he says, she lived until her death which occurred June, 1864. It was close to a bridge which spans the stream that crosses through Frederick. Lossing's version of the story is that when Stonewall Jackson marched through the town, his troops passed over that bridge. “ He had been informed that many national flags were flying in that city and he gave orders for them all to be hauled down. Patriotic Barbara's was displayed from one of the dormer windows of her house. Her flag was pulled down.”

Mr. Whittier, in reply to Mrs. Quantrill, wrote the editor of the Washington Star.

“*To the Editor of the Star* — I have received a copy of thy paper, containing a letter from a lady who claims to have been the heroine of the flag at Frederick. I have never heard of her before, and, of course, know nothing of her veracity or loyalty. I must say, however, in justice to myself, that I have full confidence in the truth of the original statement furnished me by a distinguished literary lady of Washington [Mrs. Southworth], as respects Barbara Frietchie — a statement soon after confirmed by Dorothea Dix, who visited Frederick, and made herself acquainted with many interesting particulars of the life and character of that remarkable woman.

“Very truly, thy friend,

“JOHN G. WHITTIER.

“Amesbury, 19th 2d mo., 1869.”

The editor remarks: “Mr. Whittier gives good reason for his faith in Barbara Frietchie, but as there is no doubt, from the testimony of at least four witnesses, that Mrs. Quantrill’s claim is well founded, there seems to be considerable mystification in the matter.” Probably the true solution is that both these brave union women displayed their patriotism and their courage in the same way on the same occasion. The true story as told by the correspondent of the *Army and Navy Journal* seems to furnish a clew toward solving the question. Barbara raised her flag and was honored for it by a union general as our troops passed through Fredrick, and Mrs. Quantrill displayed her flaglet, as she calls it, when the rebels marched through.

SOUTHERN FLAGS IN THE GREAT REBELLION.

1860 - 1865.

As in the non-seceding states at the breaking out of the rebellion there was a universal and patriotic display of union banners, so each of the seceding states made haste to desecrate and insult the stars and stripes, and display banners with strange devices as emblems of their state sovereignty.

After a little while, in defiance of the very principles of secession, these state flags were, as in the loyal north, made subordinate to a general union flag established by the rebellion confederacy.

On the adjourning of the South Carolina legislature which had provided for a convention, on the 13th of November 1860, only a few days after the election of Lincoln was ascertained, the members were honored in the evening with a torch light procession in the streets of Columbia. The old banner of the union was taken down from the State House and the *Palmetto flag* unfurled in its place; and it was boastfully declared that the old ensign, the detested rag of the union should never again float in the free air of South Carolina.

Four days later, the 17th of November, was a gala day in Charleston. A pine liberty pole ninety feet in height was erected and a Palmetto flag was unfurled from its top. The flag was white with a green palmetto tree in the middle, and bore the motto of South Carolina; ANIMIS OPIBUSQUE PARATI: that is "*prepared in mind and resources ready to give life and property.*"

The raising of this flag was greeted with the roar of cannon a hundred times repeated, and the Marseillaise Hymn by a band; then followed the Miserere, from *Il Trovatore*, played as a requiem for the departed union. Full twenty thousand people are said to have participated in this inauguration of revolution, and the Rev. C. P. Gadsden invoked the blessing of God upon their acts. These ceremonies were followed by speeches (some from northern men temporarily in Charleston, in which the people were addressed as citizens of the southern republic. Proces-

sions filled the streets, bearing from square to square many banners with significant inscriptions, such as ; "South Carolina goes it alone ;" " God, liberty and the state ;" " South Carolina wants no stripes ;" " Stand to your arms Palmetto boys ;" " Huzza for the southern confederacy ;" " Now or never strike for independence ;" " Good bye Yankee Doodle ;" " Death to all abolitionists ;" " Let us bury the union's dead carcass ;" etc.

No union flag was to be seen upon any staff in the harbor, for vigilance committees, assuming police powers, had already been formed to prevent any such lingering display of loyalty. ¹

Back of the president's chair, of the South Carolina convention which adopted the ordinances of secession, was a banner composed of cotton cloth, with devices painted by a Charleston artist named Alexander. The base of the design was a mass of broken and disordered blocks of stone, on each of which were the name and arms of the free states. Rising from this mass were two columns of perfect and symmetrical blocks of stone, connected by an arch of the same material, on each of which, fifteen in number, were the name and coat of arms of a slave state. South Carolina, foremost in the treason, forms the keystone of the arch, on which stood Powers's statue of Calhoun, leaning upon the trunk of a palmetto tree and displaying to spectators a scroll inscribed, "*Truth, Justice and the Constitution.*" On one side of Calhoun, was a figure of Faith, and on the other side one of Hope. Beyond these, on each side, was the figure of an Indian armed with a rifle. In the space between the columns, and under the arch, was the device of the seal and flag of South Carolina, namely a palmetto tree with a rattlesnake coiled around its trunk, and at its base a park of cannon and emblems of the state's commerce. On a scroll, fluttering from the trunk of the tree, were the words : Southern Republic. Over the whole design, on the segment of a circle, were fifteen stars ; the number of the slave states and underneath all, "*Built from the Ruins.*" The banner was intended as a menace and a prophecy. In 1865, this banner was in the possession of John S. H. Fogg, M.D., of Boston, a drawing of it is given in Lossing's *Civil War.*¹

¹ Lossing's *Civil War.*

The fatal ordinance of secession having passed the South Carolina convention December 19, 1860, was welcomed in the streets by the firing of cannon, the ringing of bells, and other demonstrations of joy. The state had become a free and independent nation. A procession of gentlemen repaired to St. Philip's church yard, and encircling the tomb of Calhoun, made solemn obeisance before it, vowing to devote their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, to Carolinian independence. The sidewalks were crowded with ladies wearing secession bonnets made of black and white Georgia cotton, decorated with ornaments of palmetto trees and lone stars. In the frenzy of their enthusiastic, misdirected patriotism, they surpassed the men. At the signing the ordinance, a ceremony declared to be profoundly grand and impressive, a venerable clergyman whose hair was white as snow implored the favoring auspices of heaven.¹

The governor, Mr. Pickens, was authorized to receive ambassadors, consuls, etc., from abroad; to appoint similar officers to represent South Carolina in foreign countries, and to organize a cabinet.

A banner of red silk was adopted. It bore a blue cross, on which were set fifteen stars for the fifteen slaveholding states: one of them, central and larger than the rest, represented South Carolina. On a red field, was a palmetto and crescent.² Polkas and the Marsellaise hymn were played in the streets. The Charleston newspapers published intelligence from other parts of the United States under the title of *Foreign News*.

Several of our national airs were struck from the music books in South Carolina, and replaced by revolutionary melodies of France, with the necessary variations to suit the change of place, etc.³

On the 21st of Dec., 1860, there was a general demonstration of joy at New Orleans over the secession of South Carolina. One hundred guns were fired and the Pelican flag unfurled. The southern Marsellaise was sung, as the flag⁴ was raised, amid reiterated and prolonged cheers for South Carolina and Louisiana.

¹ *Draper*, vol. 1, p. 515.

² Lossing's *Civil War*.

³ Newspaper statement.

⁴ *Nat. Intelligencer*, Dec. 25th.

A month later, on the 21st of January, the legislature of Louisiana convened at Baton Rouge, when a flag with fifteen stars, representing the number of the slave states, was raised over the dome of the Capitol. The convention met at the same place two days later (23d), and on the 26th adopted the ordinance of secession, by a vote of 113 ayes to 17 noes. When the result was made known President *Mouton* arose, with great solemnity of manner and said: "in virtue of the vote just announced, I now declare the connection between the state of Louisiana and the federal union dissolved, and that she is a free, sovereign and independent power." Then Governor Moore entered the hall with a military officer bearing a Pelican flag. This was placed in the hands of President Mouton, while the spectators and delegates, swayed with excitement, cheered vehemently. When all became quiet, a solemn prayer was offered and the flag was blessed according to the rites of the Roman Catholic church by Father Hubert.¹

At a later day a committee of the convention having in charge the subject of a state flag did not approve of the pelican as the symbol of Louisiana, and reported the pelican as a bird "in form unsightly, in habits filthy, in nature cowardly." And also that they learned to their amazement from Audubon: "that the story of the pelican feeding its young with its own blood is gammon. They therefore did not recommend this waterfowl as a fit subject for their flag, but rather one of loathing and contumely."

Subsequently the convention adopted as the flag of Louisiana, a flag of thirteen stripes, four blue, six white and three red, commencing at the top with the colors as written. The union was red, with its sides equal to the width of seven stripes; in its centre was a single, pale yellow, five pointed star.²

This was the flag which was hoisted on the City Hall at New Orleans when Farragut appeared before that city April 25, 1862. — [See plate ix.]

Two days after the Pelican flag was raised at New Orleans,

¹ *Journal of the Convention.*

² General Beauregard's letter to G. H. P., Feb. 3, 1872.— The significance of the devices of this flag are not apparent, and in beauty it was far inferior to the old national ensign.

on the 22d of December, 1860, a secession flag pole one hundred feet high, rivaling the celebrated gallows of Haman, was erected at Petersburg, Virginia, amid the cheers of the people, and a Palmetto flag hoisted *upon it*. Some unknown union patriot however during the night sawed down the pole and carried off the flag.¹ A week later viz., Dec. 28th, the Palmetto flag was raised over the Custom House and Post Office at Charleston, S. C., and upon Forts Moultrie and Pinckney, and on the 1st of Jan., 1861, the Palmetto guard held possession of the United States Arsenal under the Palmetto flag. Capt. McGowan, reporting the firing upon his vessel, the *Star of the West*, on the 9th of January, by a masked battery on Morris' island, believed to be the first instance in the history of our flag having been so insulted by our own people, mentions that a *red* Palmetto flag was flying over the battery when it opened its fire. These Palmetto flags were of various shape, color and material. There is now in the museum of the naval library and institute at the Boston navy yard, a large white flag, made of bunting, which seems to have seen some service. In the centre of the field there is a *blue* palmetto tree, among the leaves of which, are two white crescents or half moons. Surrounding this device is a blue ring, three or four inches in width, on which is wrought in white silk, a star and the legend "South Carolina." The history of this flag is not known (see plate IX).

In a conspicuous place in the flag museum of the war department at Washington, is displayed what is said to have been the first flag that waved over Charleston in 1861, and in fact the first secession flag raised in the confederacy. It is a perfect caricature. The material is of dull white bunting, with a very lame representation of a palmetto tree sewed in the centre. It has eight branches but no leaves, and looks more like a huge spider than any thing under the sun. It is surrounded by eleven red stars and a red moon just rising. It was used at Forts Sumter and Moultrie and in the fortifications around Charleston.

On the passage of the Alabama ordinance of secession, Dec., 1860, an immense mass meeting was held in front of the Capitol at Montgomery, and a secession flag (the devices of which are

¹ *N. Y. Daily News*, Dec. 24.

not given), presented by the women of Montgomery, was raised on the State House; salutes were fired and in the evening the town illuminated. At Mobile, on the reception of the news, an immense crowd assembled at the secession pole, at the foot of Government street, to witness the spreading of the *southern flag* and it was run up amid the shouts of the multitude and the thunder of cannon. The crowd then repaired in procession to the United States Custom House with a band of music playing the southern Marseillaise and a lone star flag was waved amid enthusiastic shouts. In the fireworks and illuminations of the ensuing evening the southern cross, was a favored emblematic pattern, and gleaming in lines of fire competed with the oft repeated Lone Star.¹

In the Virginia convention an ordinance was passed that the flag of the commonwealth of Virginia should hereafter be bunting "which shall be a deep blue field with a circle of white in the centre, upon which shall be painted or embroidered, to show both sides alike, the coat of arms of the state as described by the convention of 1776, for one side of the seal of the state viz.: "Virtus, the genius of the commonwealth dressed like an amazon, resting upon a spear with one hand, and holding a sword in the other, and treading on Tyranny represented by a man prostrate, a crown fallen from his head, a broken chain in his left hand, and a scourge in his right. In the exergue, the word VIRGINIA over the head of *Virtus*, and underneath the words *Sic Semper Tyrannis*."

The flag which was thrown to the breeze from the flagstaff of the state Capitol of Georgia, when an artillery salute announced that the ordinance of secession was adopted, bore the device of the coat of arms of the state, viz, the arch of the constitution, supported by the three pillars of WISDOM, JUSTICE and MODERATION, on a white field. The flags used by the state troops during the war bore the same device, with the names of the regiments on the reverse. These were the state

¹ The constellation of the southern cross, cannot be seen anywhere within the boundaries of the southern states. An Alabama state flag originally of white, having on one side the state arms and motto, and on the other, surmounted by seven stars linked together, a scroll inscribed: "OUR HOMES, OUR RIGHTS, WE ENTRUST TO YOUR KEEPING BRAVE SONS OF ALABAMA," is preserved in the war museum at Washington

flags before as well as during the war. No state secession flag was adopted by Georgia.¹ In the flag museum at Washington there is a stars and bars flag, with the Georgia coat of arms in the centre of the union surrounded by silver stars, and beneath a scroll inscribed on one side, "Presented by the Ladies of Henry," on the other, "Lackey Rangers. Victory or Death."

The flag adopted by the state convention of North Carolina, May 26, 1861, consisted of a perpendicular red bar next the staff, in width one-third the length of the flag, the flag being divided equally in two horizontal bars, white and blue, the white in chief. The centre of the red bar was charged with a large, white, five pointed star, and above and beneath it, in white letters, the inscription, MAY 20, 1775, MAY 20, 1861. The dates of the Mechlenburg declaration of independence and of the state ordinance of secession.

A flag of this description captured from the Thirty-fifth North Carolina Volunteers, is preserved in the Washington museum. After the naval battle at Hatteras inlet, July 30, 1861, Lieutenant Bankhead, of the *Susquehanna*, visited the forts and brought off two flags as trophies. One was a color standard made of very heavy twilled silk, fringed with gold. The colors were red and white, the union blue having a gilt star on each side. One of the sides was inscribed "Presented by the ladies of Shiloh, Camden Co., to the North Carolina defenders." Over the star was May 20, 1775, underneath, May 20, 1861. The letters and star were gold gilt and beautifully executed. The other star flag bore the following inscription "Independent Greys, August 1, 1859," the union had nine stars.²

Early in February, 1861, a convention of six seceding states viz., South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida, assembled at Montgomery, Alabama. These states were represented by forty-two delegates. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was elected president and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia vice president of these confederated states of America for the current year.

While the committee had the matters of a permanent govern-

¹ Manuscript letter of Wm. T. Thompson, editor of the *Savannah Daily Morning News*.

² Barron's *Cruise of the United States Steamer Susquehannah*, 1860-63.

ment under consideration, the convention discussed the important subject of a national flag. Various devices were presented. The designers of these, in many instances, were patriotic ladies, who mistook the delusive calm of the moment for the token of permanent peace. Not without emotion do we remark that many of these designs were modifications of the grand old flag that had streamed forth triumphantly through the smoke of many a battle.

On the 9th of February, Mr. Memminger presented to the convention a flag sent by some of the young ladies of Charleston, South Carolina, as a model flag for the confederate states; the device was composed of a blue cross on a red field, with six white, five pointed stars or mullets blazoned on the cross. At the same time he presented another, from a gentleman, which had fifteen stars within a cross,¹ but the cross upon a different ground.

On presenting these flags Mr. Memminger said :

“ Now, Mr. President, the idea of union, no doubt, was suggested to the imagination of the young ladies by the beautiful constellation of the southern cross, which the great Creator has placed in the southern heavens, by way of compensation for the glorious constellation at the north pole. The imagination of the young ladies was, no doubt, inspired by the genius of Dante and the scientific skill of Humboldt. But sir, I have no doubt that there was another idea associated with it in the minds of the young ladies, a religious one, and although we have not seen in the heavens the ‘ *In hoc signo vinces,*’ written upon the Laburnum of Constantine, yet the same sign has been manifested to us upon the tablets of the earth; for we all know that it has been by the aid of revealed religion that we have achieved over fanaticism the victory which we this day witness; and it is becoming, on this occasion, that the debt of the south to the cross should be thus recognized. I have also, Mr. President, a com-

¹ About this time *The New York Herald*, on the authority of a correspondent, published a rude representation of what purported to be the flag of the southern confederacy, and which was probably the flag above referred to, and said to have been adopted by South Carolina one week after that state adopted the secession ordinance. This flag (See Plate 1x), was a red flag charged with a blue latin cross. The cross blazoned with fifteen stars, the centre star for South Carolina being larger than the rest; a white palmetto tree, and white crescent in the upper canton of the flag next the staff. Lossing in his *Civil War*, says this banner, for a new empire, was adopted on the very day the ordinance of secession passed the South Carolina convention.

mission from a gentleman of taste and skill in the city of Charleston, who offers another model, which embraces the same idea of a cross, but upon a different ground. The gentleman who offers this model appears to be more hopeful than the young ladies. They offer one with seven stars, six for the states already represented in this congress, and the seventh for Texas, whose deputies we hope will soon be on their way to join us. He offers a flag which embraces the whole fifteen states. God grant that his hope may soon be realized, and that we may soon welcome their stars to the glorious constellation of southern confederacy."

These remarks were highly applauded, and a committee, consisting of one delegate from each state, was appointed to report upon a device for a national flag and seal. Mr. Brooke, of Mississippi, offered a resolution to instruct the committee to report a design for a flag as similar as possible to that of the United States, making only such changes as should give them distinction. In his speech he talked with the fervor of a patriot of the associations which clustered around the old ensign, associations which could never be effaced. "Sir," he said, "let us preserve it as far as we can, let us continue to hallow it in our memory, and still pray that :

"Long may it wave,
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave,"

His eulogy of the old flag, which the leading traitors affected to despise, was so full of union sentiment that it was regarded as almost treasonable, and Brooke was severely rebuked. William Porcher Miles, of South Carolina, the chairman of the committee, protested against the resolution and the utterance of the mover. He gloried more a thousand times in the Palmetto flag of his state. He had regarded, "from his youth, the stars and stripes as the emblem of oppression and tyranny." This bold conspirator was so warmly applauded, that Brooke, at the suggestion of a friend, withdrew his motion.

W. W. Boyce, of South Carolina, who had been a member of the national congress for seven years, presented a model for a flag, which he had received with a letter, from a woman of his state (Mrs. C. Ladd, of Winnsboro), who described it as "tri-colored, with a red union, seven stars, and the crescent

moon." She offered her three boys to her country, and suggested Washington Republic as the name of the new nation. In presenting the flag and letter, Boyce said: "I will take the liberty of reading her letter to the congress. It is full of authentic fire. It is worthy of Rome in her best days, and might well have been read in the Roman senate on that disastrous day when the victorious banner of the great Carthaginian was visible from Mont Aventine. And I may add, Sir, that as long as our women are impelled by these sublime sentiments, and our mountains yield the metals out of which weapons are forged, the lustrous stars of our unyielding confederacy will never pale their glorious fires, though baffled oppression may threaten with its impotent sword, or, more dangerous still, seek to beguile with the siren song of conciliation."

Chilton, Tombs, Stephens, and others, presented devices for flags. They were sent in almost daily from various parts of the cotton-growing states, a great many of them showing attachment to the old banner, yet accompanied by the most fervid expression of sympathy with the southern cause."¹

At the conclusion of Mr. Memminger's remarks, on motion of Mr. Miles, of South Carolina, the subject of a flag for the confederacy was referred to a committee of six members; one from each state represented in the convention, viz., Messrs. Miles of South Carolina, Morton of Florida, Shorter of Alabama, Barton of Georgia, Sparrow of Louisiana, and Harris of Mississippi. Finally, on the 5th of March, Mr. Miles, of South Carolina, the chairman of the committee to whom the subject of a flag for the confederate states was referred, submitted the following elaborate report:

¹ Two young women, Rebecca C. Ferguson and Mollie A. D. Sinclair, in the art department of the Tuscogee Female College, sent in seven designs. In their accompanying letter they said, that "amidst all their efforts at originality, there ever danced before them visions of the star-gemmed flag, with its parti-colored stripes, that floated so proudly over the late United States. Let us snatch from the eagle of the cliff our idea of independence, and cull from the earth diamonds, and gems from the heavens, to deck the flag of the southern confederacy. With cotton for king, there are seven states bound by a chain of sisterly love that will strengthen by time, as onward, right onward, they move up the glorious path of southern independence."

In the seven devices offered, the principal members were an eagle, stars, and a cotton-bale. These devices were presented with highly commendatory words by Mr. Chilton, of Alabama.

“The committee appointed to select a proper flag for the Confederate States of America beg leave to report that they have given this subject due consideration, and carefully inspected the designs submitted to them. The number of these has been immense but they all may be divided into two great classes. *First*, those which copy and preserve the principal features of the United States flag, with slight and unimportant modifications. *Secondly*, those which are very elaborate, complicated, or fantastical. The objection to the first class is that none of them at any considerable distance could readily be distinguished from the one which they imitate. Whatever attachment may be felt from association for the stars and stripes (an attachment which your committee may be permitted to say they do not *all* share), it is manifest that in inaugurating a new government, we cannot retain the flag of the government from which we have withdrawn, with any propriety or without encountering very obvious practical difficulties. There is no propriety in retaining the ensign of a government which, in the opinion of the states composing this confederacy, had become so oppressive and injurious to their interests as to require their separation from it. It is idle to talk of keeping the flag of the United States, when we have voluntarily seceded from them. It is superfluous to dwell upon the practical difficulties which would flow from the fact of two distinct and probably hostile governments both employing the same, or very similar flags. It would be a political and military solecism. It would lead to perpetual disputes. As to the glories of the old flag we must bear in mind that the battles of the revolution, about which our fondest and proudest memories cluster, were not fought beneath its folds; and although in more recent times, in the war of 1812, and in the war with Mexico, the south did win her fair share of glory, and shed her full measure of blood under its guidance and in its defence, we think the impartial pages of history will preserve and commemorate the fact more imperishably than a mere piece of striped bunting. When the colonies achieved their independence of the mother country (which up to the last they fondly called her), they did not desire to retain the British flag or any thing at all similar to it. Yet under that flag they had fought in their

infancy for their very existence against more than one determined foe. Under it they had repelled and driven back the relentless savage and carried it farther and farther into the decreasing wilderness as the standard of civilization and religion. Under it youthful Washington won his spurs, in the memorable and unfortunate expedition of Braddock, and Americans helped to plant it on the plains of Abraham when the immortal Wolfe fell, covered with glory, in the arms of victory. But our forefathers, when they separated themselves from great Britain, a separation not on account of their hatred of the English constitution, or of English institutions, but in consequence of the tyrannical and unconstitutional rule of Lord North's administration; and because their destiny beckoned them on to independent expansion and achievement, cast no lingering, regretful look behind. They were proud of their heritage in the glories and genius and language of old England, but they were influenced by the spirit of the north, of the great Hampden, *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*. They were determined to build up a new power among the nations of the world. They therefore did not attempt to keep the old flags. We think it good to imitate them in this comparatively little matter as well as emulate them in greater and more important ones. The committee on examining the representations of the flags of all countries found that Liberia and the Sandwich islands [see plate III], had flags so similar to that of the United States that it seemed to them an additional, if not a conclusive, reason why we should not keep, copy or imitate it. They feel no inclination to borrow at second hand what had been pilfered and appropriated by a free negro community and a race of savages. It must be admitted, however, that something was conceded by the committee *to what seemed so strong and earnest a desire to retain at least a suggestion of the old stars and stripes*. So much for the mass of models or designs more or less copied from, or assimilated to, the United States flag. With reference to the second class of designs, those of an elaborate and complicated character (but many of them showing considerable artistic skill and taste), the committee will merely remark that, however pretty they may be when made up by the cunning skill of a fair lady's fingers, in silk, satin and embroidery they are not appropriate as flags. A flag should be simple, readily

made, and above all, capable of being made up in bunting ; it should be different from the flag of any other country, place, or people ; it should be significant ; it should be readily distinguishable at a distance ; the colors should be well contrasted and durable, and lastly, and not the least important point, it should be effective and handsome.

“The committee humbly think that the flag which they submit combines these requisites. It is very easy to make. It is entirely different from any national flag. The three colors of which it is composed, red, white, and blue, are the true republican colors. In heraldry they are emblematic of the three great virtues, of valor, purity and truth. Naval men assure us that it can be recognized at a great distance. The colors contrast admirably and are lasting. In effect and appearance it must speak for itself.

“Your committee therefore recommended that THE FLAG OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA shall consist of a red field, with a white space extending horizontally through the centre, and equal in width to one third the width of the flag. The red spaces above and below to be of the same width as the white. The union, blue, extending down through the white space, and stopping at the lower red space ; in the centre of the union a circle of white stars corresponding in number with the states of the confederacy.

“If adopted, long may it wave over a brave, a free, and a virtuous people. May the career of the confederacy, whose duty it will then be to support and defend it, be such as to endear it to our children’s children, as the flag of a loved, because a just and benign government, and the cherished symbol of its valor, purity and truth.”¹

The report was adopted and on motion of Mr. Withers, of South Carolina, the whole report was entered upon the journal of the day previous ; thus making the birth of the stars and bars, as the flag soon came to be called, symbol of the new empire,

¹ *Mr. Miles*, in a letter addressed to General Beauregard, dated August 27, 1861, says : “although I was chairman of the flag committee who reported the present flag, it was not my individual choice.” After describing, by means of a rough drawing, a flag like the battle flag afterwards adopted as his preference, continues : “But I am boring you with my pet hobby on the matter of the flag, I wish sincerely that congress would change the present one, but I fear it is just as hard now, as it was at Montgomery, to tear people away entirely from the desire to appropriate some reminiscence of the old flag.”

simultaneous with the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, as president of the United States, at Washington.¹

Coming as this report does from a committee whose chairman had said in debate, "he had always looked even from the cradle upon the stars and stripes as an emblem of tyranny and oppression," it is conclusive that there still existed a strong yearning in the popular heart for our old flag and all the memories and battlefields on which it had been consecrated. It is therefore reasonable to hope that with time, its restoration will be as popular to the southern sentiment as its abandonment was distasteful.²

The confederate general, Wm. C. Wickam, in a letter written after the war said: "I have often said to those with whom I was on terms of friendship that I never saw the United States flag, even when approaching me in battle, that I did not feel arising those emotions of regard for it, that it had been won't to inspire. I have in like manner said that one of the most painful sights I had ever seen, was on the night of the first battle of Manassas [Bull's run], when I saw an officer trailing the flag in the dust before a regiment of the line."

Many incidents show that the old flag was not surrendered in the peoples' heart without a struggle.³ Even Admiral Semmes,

¹ We protest says the *Montgomery Mail* against the word stripes as applied to the broad bars of the flag of our confederacy. The word is quite appropriate as applied to the Yankee ensigns or a barber's pole; but it does not correctly describe the red and white divisions of the flag of the Confederate States. The word is bars, we have removed from under the stripes.—*New York World*, April 2, 1861.

² A vessel from a Florida port arrived at Havana with the confederate flag flying. The boat of the captain general immediately went alongside and required it should be at once lowered, as it represented no known nation. The master who had an American ensign at hand hoisted it in its place. He then went to the United States consul, Mr. Savage, and presented a register from the Confederate States, which the consul would not recognize, but on the master's representing that, he had taken command at the last moment, and that the register was taken out in the name of his predecessor in command and on the master taking oath that the vessel was wholly owned by citizens of the United States, the consul granted him a sea letter to enable him to return to the United States, but retained the confederate register and forwarded it to Washington.

The case was anomalous; the owners might be really loyal citizens, but forced in the absence of regular United States officers, to take out Confederate State papers, and the consul did not feel willing to entirely refuse having any thing to do with her, after she had hoisted the United States flag, and thus condemn her to lie in Havana an indefinite time. — *New York Express* April 27, 1861.

August 31, 1861. The captain general, of Cuba, ordered the several ports of that island to admit vessels, with the flag of the confederation of the south, in the ports for the purpose of legitimate trade and to be protected in the said ports. — *Rebellion Record*.

³ The *Savannah Republican* called upon the confederate congress to re-erect the stars and stripes as their national flag and resume upon the southern Lyre those glorious old tunes *Hail Columbia*, and the *Star Spangled Banner*.

the captain of the Alabama, has confessed his regret that the stars and stripes had to be abandoned. A little child, who in other days had learned to revere the stars and stripes, upon being told that he must in future say stars and bars wanted to know whether the bars were to *bar the Yankees out*.¹

The editor of *Savannah Morning News*,² in a letter dated Dec. 25, 1871, says: "I was present in Montgomery at the organization of the provisional government of the Confederate States, and during the session of the first provisional congress. My friend and townsman, Gen. F. S. Barlow, was chairman of the committee on the flag and seal, and being much in his room I had an opportunity of seeing the numerous designs for a flag which were sent from all parts of the south, and often discussed with him, and other members of the committee, their respective merits." *There was a vcry general desire to depart as little as possible from the old flag*, and yet the necessity for distinction was felt by all. The difficulty was to preserve the liberty colors and yet to have a flag that did not too much resemble that of some other nation. Many very elaborate and quaint designs modeled in silk and painted on paper or canvass, most of which could not have been made of bunting, were submitted and rejected. The session was on the eve of closing, when as a last resort, the stars and bars, with which you are no doubt familiar, were adopted. This flag was used and by its resemblance to the *stars and stripes* caused some confusion at the first battle of Manassas in which General Barlow fell.

In 1867, Semmes, in the name of the ladies of a Baptist fair, at Memphis, presented to the captain of the steamer Continental, a set of colors consisting of four flags: the *stars and stripes* for the stern, the boat flag for the jackstaff, and two blue flags for the wheel houses. He accompanied the presentation with the following address: "Captain: At the late fair which was held at the Baptist tabernacle in this city, a set of colors was voted to the most popular steamboat plying upon our southern waters, the choice has fallen upon the gallant little Continental, of which you are captain; and the ladies of the tabernacle have done me the honor to request that I should present them to you. I assure you, Captain, that this is a real pleasure, both because

¹ *Mobile Evening News*.

² Wm. T. Thompson to G. H. P.

it gives me the opportunity of serving the ladies, of whom I am always the humble knight and servitor ; and of meeting some of my professional friends on a social occasion. I do not know whether the thought has struck others as oddly as it has struck myself, that I should be standing here, amid this gay throng, about to present the stars and stripes to one of the enrolled vessels of the United States, to restore, as it were, the star spangled banner to the mast head of the merchant ship, from which, in times gone by, I have so often caused it to descend. But such are some of the revolutions of history. To the unthinking multitude I have indeed been a great sinner and a great rebel ; but to the more thoughtful I have been only a patriot. Paradoxical as the statement may appear to some of my hearers, I have never warred against the institutions of my country. *I have always cherished an affection for the principles of the old constitution and the old flag ; and it was only when the old flag became a new flag, and ceased to represent those principles that I consented to war against it.* One of the first acts performed by the provisional congress that met at Montgomery was to adopt the old constitution as the constitution of the Confederate States, and *but for the confusion which would have arisen from the use of the same by the contending armies, that congress would, no doubt, have claimed and adopted the old flag also.* *The two, the constitution and the flag, had always been united in the mind and heart of every American, and it was difficult to separate them.* As, then, our war was one for the old constitution, it follows, logically, that we were arrayed against the old flag because it had ceased to represent that constitution. The stars and stripes, that I hold in my hand, were no longer, in our judgment, the stars and stripes of the revolution of 1776, or of the war of 1812 ; and when we fired upon them, we fired upon what we conceived to be a new and strange emblem, that had been unknown to our fathers. But the strife is now ended.

“ We were beaten in the war, and the flag of the conqueror became our flag. Take, then these colors, Captain ; they are the colors of our common country, whatever may be their present signification. We can all feel an honest pride in their more ancient history, as I trust we shall be enabled to do in their future history. With regard to what I may call their

especial history — that is, the history which covers four years of our internecine war — it is our duty, both as Christians and brethren to forget it. Let us, of the south, do our part by closing them with a tender and gentle hand, so that no scars may remain to remind us of the conflict. And let us endeavor also to convert this new flag into the old flag again, that we may love it as of yore. Then truly may we exclaim with the author of our national anthem.

“ The star spangled banner, oh, long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.”

A Charleston correspondent wrote to the *Richmond Examiner* :
“ Let us never surrender to the north the noble song, The Star Spangled Banner. It is southern in its origin; in sentiments, poetry and song; in its associations with chivalrous deeds, it is ours; and the time, I trust, is not remote when the broad stripes and brilliant stars of the Confederate flag of the south will wave triumphantly over our Capitol, Fortress Monroe, and every fort within our borders. ¹ This was within a month after the stars and bars had been adopted.

Soon after the adoption of the stars and bars, the burial of the stars and stripes was publicly celebrated at Memphis, Tennessee. A pit was dug by the side of the statue of General Jackson in the public square of that city. Then a procession of some five hundred citizens, escorting eight men carrying a coffin in which was an American flag, slowly approached the spot headed by a band of music playing the Dead March. The coffin was placed in the grave, the words “ashes to ashes, dust to dust,” were sacrilegiously pronounced, and the grave filled up.

The same month, on the arrival of A. H. Stephens at Savannah, Georgia, he was escorted by a large procession through that city which carried a painted representation of the American flag, torn and suspended from a broken staff. Underneath was a grave with the words *receive me*. This outrage upon the flag aroused deep disgust and indignation among the still loyal portions of the citizens, and the venerable pastor of the Seamen's Bethel, openly denounced the proceedings, declaring that Savannah had been the first to dishonor the glorious banner of the union. On being

¹ *Richmond Examiner*, April 4, 1861.

threatened with violence he told the mob that, though he was an old man, he would defend himself and some of them would bite the dust if they laid hands on him.

The flag adopted by the Confederate congress on the 5th day of March, 1861, by no means met with general approval, and numerous devices, considered by their authors more appropriate, continued to be presented. The stars and bars did not satisfy those who wished to retain the old flag, and was too nearly allied to the old flag in devices to suit those who wished to tear away from it altogether. And in use on the battle field its resemblance to the stars and stripes, led to confusion and mistakes.

At the first battle of Bull's run, July 21, 1861, called by the confederates the battle of Manassas, the opposing regimental colors were so alike that each party accused the other of displaying its colors. On that account an attempt was made, by General Joseph E. Johnston, to substitute state colors for those of the confederacy but not being able to obtain them, except for Virginia regiments, designs were called for. Most of those designs were by Louisianians, and were presented by General Beauregard; that design selected had a red ground, with a blue diagonal cross emblazoned with white stars, one for each state, and when first submitted was oblong in shape. General Johnston changed this from oblong to square; *regimental colors* being four, and standards two and a half feet. They were furnished to the army of Virginia by the quartermaster's department and adopted by all the troops that served east of the Mississippi.¹

Though the southern cross was thus introduced by General Beauregard a battle flag, the stars and bars continued to be flown as the ensign of the confederacy on flagstaffs and by the shipping. In the field it was almost entirely superceded by Gen. Beauregard's battle flag.²

The full history of the origin of this flag is given in the following letter from General Beauregard. The original design prepared by Mr. E. C. Hancock of New Orleans, April 1861, and presented by Col. J. B. Walton for examination and adoption Sept. 1861, is now in the possession of the Southern Historical Society of New Orleans.

¹ Letter of Col. Ed. C. Anderson of Savannah.—G. H. P.

² Letter Wm. T. Thompson to G.H.P.

No other flag than this was used by the confederates in the field after it was adopted and furnished to the troops in Virginia, Oct. 1861.¹

“Office New Orleans and Carrollton Rail Road Company,

“New Orleans, Jan. 24th, 1872.

“DEAR SIR. In answer to the inquiries contained in your letter of the 3d inst., relative to the origin of the confederate battle flag and the devices of the Louisiana state flag, flying on the City Hall of New Orleans, when Commodore Farragut appeared before this city in April, 1862, I give you with pleasure the following information.

At the battle of Manassas, on the 21st of July, 1861, I found it difficult to distinguish our *then* confederate flag from the United States flag (the two being so much alike), especially when Gen. Jubal A. Early made the flank movement which decided the fate of the day ; and I then resolved to have ours changed if practicable, or to adopt for my command a battle flag which would be entirely different from any state or federal flag ! After the battle it was found that many persons in both armies firmly believed that each side had used, as a stratagem, the flags of his opponent. General Joseph E. Johnston, commanding the Confederate States' forces, determined to have the troops furnished with their state flags, and I entered into correspondence with Colonel William Porcher Miles, the chairman of the house military committee, to have our national flag changed. But that was found to be impracticable at the time, and none of the states, except Virginia, having furnished flags to their troops, General Johnston, on consultation at Fairfax Court House, Virginia, with General G. W. Smith, commanding the army of the Shenandoah (2d corps), and myself, commanding the army of the Potomac (1st corps), decided to adopt a *battle flag* for our forces. Many designs were presented, and we gave the preference to one of those offered by Colonel J. B. Walton, commanding the Louisiana Washington artillery, which corresponded closely to the one recommended to congress by Colonel Miles, as our first national flag. Both were oblong, the field was red, the bars blue,

¹ General Johnson.

and the stars white ; but Colonel Walton's had the *Latin* cross, and Colonel Miles's the *St. Andrew's* which removed the objection that many of our soldiers might have to fight under the former symbol. General Johnston preferred a square flag to render it more convenient to carry, and we finally adopted, in September, 1861, the well known battle flag of the army of the Potomac (as it was first called), to which our soldiers became so devoted. Its field was red or crimson, its bars were blue, and running diagonally across from one corner to the other, formed the Greek cross, the stars on the bars were white or gold, their number being equal to the number of states in the confederacy, the blue bars were separated from the red field by a small white fillet. The size of the flag, for infantry, was fixed at 4×4 feet, for artillery at 3×3 feet, and for cavalry at $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It had the merit of being small and light, and of being very distinct at great distances. But it was not accepted by the Confederate government until it had been consecrated by many a hard fought battle, when it became the union of our *second* and *third* confederate national flags.¹

“When I assumed command of the troops in western Tennessee, February 1862, I found that Gen. Polk had adopted for his forces a flag nearly similar to the one I had designed for the army of the Potomac, i. e., a blue field with a white St Andrew's cross, and blue or gold stars. Gen. Hardee had for his division, a blue field with a full white circle in its center. I gave orders to have them replaced as soon as practicable by the battle flag of the army of the Potomac. In September, 1862, when I returned to Charleston, I substituted the same banner for the State flags, then principally used in the department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. It became thus in our armies the emblem of southern valor and patriotism, and should we ever be compelled to have a foreign war, I trust that this standard will be adopted as our national battle flag, to which southern soldiers will always gladly rally in a just cause.”²

“The state flag referred to by you, was adopted by the seces-

¹ This paragraph from “its field,” etc., was added by Gen. Beauregard in a letter to me dated Jan. 29, 1872.—G. H. P.

² Should, unfortunately, our country engage in another war, foreign or domestic, it is to be hoped that dear old flag, the star spangled banner of the whole union, will be soul inspiring to the soldiers of the common country, whether northern, southern, eastern or western, and that all sectional emblems will be buried beneath its folds.—G. H. P.

sion convention, and contained thirteen stripes, four blue, six white, and three red, commencing at top with the colors as written. The union was red, with its sides equal to the width of seven stripes; in its center was a single pale yellow star with five points.

“I remain your’s truly,
“G. T. BEAUREGARD.”

On the 3d of February, 1872, Gen. Beauregard transmitted to the Southern Historical Society of New Orleans, for preservation in its archives, a copy of the foregoing letter to me together with the following correspondence accompanying the original flag design prepared, at the request of Col. J. B. Walton, by Mr. Edward C. Hancock.

“RICHMOND, August 27, 1861.

“Gen. G. T. Beauregard, Fairfax Court House, Va. :

“*Dear General*—I received your letter concerning the flag yesterday, and cordially concur in all that you say. Although I was chairman of the flag committee, who reported the present flag, it was not my individual choice. I urged upon the committee a flag of this sort. — [*Design sketched.*]

“This is very rough — the proportions are bad. — [*Design of Confederate battle-flag as it is.*]

“The above is better. The ground *red*, the cross *blue*, (edged with white), stars *white*.

“This was my favorite. The *three* colors of red, white and blue were preserved in it. It avoided the *religious* objection about the cross (from the Jews and many protestant sects), because it did not stand out *so conspicuously* as if the cross had been placed upright, thus ; [*Design sketched.*]

“Besides, in the form I proposed, the cross was more *Heraldric* than *Ecclesiastical*, it being the *saltiere* of heraldry, and significant of *strength* and *progress* (from the Latin *salto*, to leap.) The stars ought always to be *white*, or *argent*, because they are then blazoned, proper, (or natural color.) Stars, too, show better on an *azure* field than any other. *Blue* stars on a white field would not be handsome or appropriate. The *white edge* (as I term it), to the blue is partly a necessity to prevent what is

called false blazoning, or a solecism in heraldry, viz., blazoning *color* on *color*, or *metal* on *metal*. It would not do to put a *blue* cross therefore on a *red* field. Hence the *white*, being metal *argent*, is put on the *red*, and the *blue* put on the *white*. The introduction of the white between the blue and red, adds also much to the brilliancy of the colors, and brings them out in strong relief.

“But I am boring you with my pet hobby in the matter of the flag. I wish sincerely, that congress would change the present one. Your reasons are conclusive in my mind. *But I fear it is just as hard now as it was at Montgomery to tear the people away entirely from the desire to appropriate some reminiscence of the old flag.* We are now so close to the end of the session that even if we could command votes (upon a fair hearing), I greatly fear we cannot get such hearing. Some think the *provisional* congress ought to leave the matter to the permanent. This might then be but a *provisional* flag. Yet, as you truly say, after a few more victories, association will come to the aid of the present flag, and then it will be more difficult than ever to effect a change. I fear nothing can be done, but I will try. I will, so soon as I can, urge the matter of the badges. The president is too sick to be seen at present by any one.

“Very respectfully yours,

“WM. PORCHER MILES.”

“NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 30, 1872.

“*Dear Sir* — The flag design referred to by you in your communication to Capt. Preble, United States navy, as having been submitted for adoption at the consultation, held at Fairfax Court House, Va., subsequent to the battle of Manassas, was, at my request, designed and executed by Mr. Edward C. Hancock (now associate editor of the *New Orleans Times*) sometime during the month of April, 1861. On leaving New Orleans with my command for Richmond, in May, 1861. I carried with me the design to that city, where it was freely exhibited and generally approved. Among others, it was shown to Col. Porcher Miles, member of the flag committee.

“In regard to its adoption by the conference of officers, and subsequent modification to correspond with Col. Miles’s draft, I

beg leave to confirm the statement made by yourself to Capt. Geo. H. Preble, United States navy.

“The original design remained in my possession until about a year ago, when, recognizing its probable historic value, I returned it to Mr. Hancock, who now transmits it to your care.

“In conclusion, I have only to state that there can be no doubt in regard to the design forwarded having been the original of the confederate battle flag, and as such is entitled to careful preservation.

“I am, General, very respectfully, yours,

“J. B. WALTON.

“To General G. T. Beauregard, New Orleans.”

New Orleans, Feb. 1st, 1872.

“Gen. G. T. Beauregard :

“*Dear Sir* — In response to your expressed wishes, I herewith transmit for donation to the historical society the original flag design prepared by me in the month of April, 1861, at the request of Col. J. B. Walton.

“Col. W., returned the document to me about one year ago, advising its careful preservation as an historical memento. Believing that this end can be best achieved in the manner proposed, I cheerfully entrust it to your care.

“With the highest considerations of esteem, I remain, general, respectfully yours,

“EDW. C. HANCOCK.”

This correspondence was published in the *New Orleans Times* and was the occasion of the following letters from Gen. Beauregard and Col. Miles which contain additional interesting information on the subject.

“Office New Orleans and Carrollton Rail Road Co.

New Orleans, June 24, 1872.

“MY DEAR SIR: Enclosed please find the printed copy of a letter from Colonel William Porcher Miles, formerly of South Carolina, but now of Va., in which he gives additional information relative to origin of the confederate battle flag. Hoping it may not reach you too late to be published in

your book, with the other communications on the same subject I had the pleasure of sending you in February last.

“I remain yours, very truly, G. T. BEAUREGARD.

“Captain George H. Preble, U. S. N.

“Charleston, Massachusetts.”

“Oak Ridge, Nelson Co., Va., May 14, 1872.

“General G. T. Beauregard, New Orleans, La.:

“*My Dear General.* — A friend has shown me an article, copied from the *New Orleans Times* containing letters from yourself and Colonel Walton, touching the origin of the confederate battle flag. It is certainly not worth while for us vanquished Confederates to contend among ourselves for the honor (if there be any honor in it), of having designed it, and cheerfully would I yield my own pretensions to any merit whatever in the matter to the gallant Colonel, who with his noble battalion so bravely upheld it until the overwhelming hosts of our invaders compelled us to furl it in sorrow but not in shame. •

“But as I have many times said to many persons that the battle flag was my design, and that I had been instrumental in its adoption, and never until now supposed that the fact had ever been called in question, I feel some sensitiveness since Colonel Walton’s letter and yours have been published lest my reputation for veracity may suffer somewhat. And although I hope that those who know me well will not believe that from any petty motive of vanity I would falsify facts, still there may be others who will think that, like the jackdaw in *Æsop*, I have had a borrowed feather plucked from me by the publication aforesaid. Let me beg, therefore, that you will do me the favor of giving the same publicity to my statement that Colonel Walton’s has received.

“At the provisional congress which met in Montgomery, I was chairman of the committee on devising a flag. We had hundreds of designs submitted to us from all parts of the country. Not one of them in the least resembled the battle flag. The committee could not agree upon a flag. They finally determined to submit *four* designs to congress, from which they should by vote select *one*. One of the four was the flag that was adopted, the first flag of the Confederacy; a field of three horizontal bars or stripes red, white and red, with blue union and stars. Another of the four was a red field with a blue ring or circle in the centre. Another was composed of a number of horizontal stripes (I forget how many), of red and blue (none white), with blue union and stars like the first. The *fourth* was a saltiere, as it is called in heraldry, the same as a *St. Andrew’s cross of blue, with white margin, or border, on a red field with white stars*

equal to the number of states on the cross. This was *my design*, and urged upon the congress earnestly by me. Now the only *difference* between this and the confederate battle flag is that the latter was made square for greater lightness and portability, while the one submitted to congress was, of course, of the usual proportions of a flag, i. e. oblong. Models of considerable size, of the four flags submitted, were made of colored cambric, and hung up in the hall where congress sat ; and they were afterwards long in my possession, as was also the first Confederate flag (made of merino, there being no bunting at hand), that within an hour or two of its adoption (thanks to fair and nimble fingers!) floated over the state Capitol of Alabama where congress held its sessions. Unfortunately, they were all lost or destroyed during the war. If they could be produced, they would settle the question as to the origin of the confederate battle-flag. But there must be many members of the provisional congress who remember and can testify to the correctness of the above statements. Now, all this happened before you captured Fort Sumter, *before April*, 1861, some time during which month, Colonel Walton says, Mr. Hancock, at his request designed his flag.

“Excuse me, dear General, this long epistle, which possibly may suggest *montes parturient*, etc. But if Colonel Walton is right in supposing that his design is worthy of careful preservation as a historical memento, and as in your letter to Dr. Palmer, president of the Southern Historical Society, you say that information concerning the flag in question “might be of historical interest hereafter,” and enclose him a copy of your letter to Captain Preble for preservation in the archives of the society, I hope my vindication of the truth of history, even in a matter so unimportant in itself, may be considered worthy of publication in the *Times*, and of being filed away also with your and Colonel Walton’s letter, in the archives of the same society.

“With sentiments of the highest regard, I am, my dear General, very faithfully yours,
 “WILLIAM PORCHER MILES.”

The subject of a national flag still continued to be discussed from time to time in the confederate congress and by the southern newspaper press though no decisive action was taken until the spring of 1863.

On the 7th of December, 1861, the *Richmond Dispatch* held the following language respecting the first confederate flag of the stars and bars :

“The adoption of our present flag was a natural, but most pernicious blunder. As the old flag itself was not the author of our

wrongs, we tore off a piece of the *dear old rag* and set it up as a standard. We took it for granted a flag was a divisible thing and proceeded to set off our proportion. So we took, at a rough calculation, our share of the stars and our fraction of the stripes, and put them together and called them the Confederate flag. Even as Aaron of old put the gold into the fire and then came out this calf, so certain stars and stripes went into committee, and then came out this flag. All this was honest and fair to a fault. We were clearly entitled to from seven to eleven of the stars, and three or four of the stripes.

“*Indeed, as we were maintaining the principles it was intended to represent, and the north had abandoned them, we were honestly entitled to the whole flag.* Had we kept it, and fought for it and under it, and conquered it from the north, it would have been no robbery, but all right and fair. And we should either have done this, *i. e.*, kept the flag as a whole, or else we should have abandoned it as a whole and adopted another. But if we did not choose to assert our title to the whole, was it politic or judicious to split the flag and claim one of the fractions? We had an equal right also to Hail Columbia and Yankee Doodle. We might have adopted a part of Yankee Doodle (say every third stanza), or else Yankee Doodle with variations, as our national air. In the choice of an air we were not guilty of this absurdity, but we have perpetrated one exactly parallel to it in the choice of a national flag. There is no exaggeration in the illustration. It seems supremely ridiculous, yet it scarcely does our folly justice.

“There is but one feature essential to a flag, and that is distinctness. Beauty, appropriateness, good taste, are all desirable, but the only thing indispensable, is distinctness, wide, plain, unmistakable distinction from other flags. Unfortunately this indispensable thing is just the thing which the confederate flag lacks. And failing in this, it is a lamentable and total failure, absolute and irredeemable.”

“The failure is in a matter of essence. It is as complete as that of writing which cannot be read, of a gun which cannot be shot, of a coat which cannot be worn. It is the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out. A flag which does not distinguish may be a very nice piece of bunting, it may be hand-

somely executed, tasteful, expressive, and a thousand other things, but it has no title at all to bear the name of flag.

We knew the flag we had to fight, yet instead of getting as far from it, we were guilty of the huge mistake of getting as near to it as possible. We sought similarity, adopting a principle diametrically wrong, we made a flag as nearly like theirs as could only under favorable circumstances, be distinguished from it. Under unfavorable circumstances (such as constantly occur in practice), the two flags are indistinguishable. In the wars of the Roses in Great Britain one side adopted the white and the other the red rose. Suppose that one side had adopted milk white and the other flesh white, or one a deep pink and the other a lighter shade of pink, would there have been any end to the confusion?

“When a body of men is approaching in time of war it is rather an important matter to ascertain, if practicable, whether they are friends or foes. Certainly no question could well be more radical in its influence upon our actions, plans, and movements. To solve this important question is the object of a flag. When they get near us there may be other means of information: but to distinguish friends from enemies at a distance is the specific purpose of a flag. Human ingenuity is great, and may conceive some other small purposes, presentations, toasts, speeches, etc., but that this is the great end of a flag, will not be denied: and it is in this that the confederate flag fails.

“There is no case in history in which broad distinction in the symbols of the combatants was more necessary than it has been in the present war. Our enemies are of the same race with ourselves, of the same color and even shade of complexion, they speak the same language, wear like clothing, and are of like form and stature. (The more shame that they should make war upon us.)

“Our general appearance being the same we must rely solely upon symbols for distinction. The danger of mistake is great after all possible precautions have been taken, sufficient attention has never been paid to this important matter, involving life or death, victory or defeat. Our badges, uniforms, flags, should be perfectly distinguishable from those of the enemy. Our first and distant information is dependent solely on the flag.”

A month later, Jan. 2, 1862, a Richmond correspondent wrote the *Charleston Mercury* :

“Quite a number of new fangled flags are exhibited in the windows of the *Despatch* office at Richmond. The latest, which is gotten up with great care and neatness, represents in tri-colors, three equal horizontal bars ; lower black, middle purple, upper white with stars in it. The black bar is designed to notify mankind that the confederacy sprung from black republicanism. Hah ! how would a buzzard sitting on a cotton bale with a chew of tobacco in his mouth a little nigger in one claw, and a palmetto tree, answer ? Nothing could be more thoroughly and comprehensively southern.”¹

Jan. 17, 1862. During the night a Confederate flag, which had been flying from the yard of a Mr. Griffin, at Lynchburg, Va., was forcibly torn down by some unknown person, the flag staff broken in two, and the cord by which the flag was hoisted cut up into small fragments. The flag itself was torn into tatters, and from its appearance, when found, would seem to indicate that the guilty party desired particularly to strip the stars from it, as not a vestige of any of them was left.²

February 11th, 1862, the *Richmond Examiner* published the following communication, from a correspondent, arguing that the proper national emblem for the south, should be a single star.³ The editor disapproved of the idea as not original, and suggested a *sable horse* as a more appropriate symbol.

“A national emblem should symbolize the national government in its history, nature, office and fundamental principles.

“The lion of England ascribes the royal character, and undisputed supremacy of the king of beasts to that noble government.

¹ Moore's *Rebellion Record*, vol. iv.

² *Lynchburg Republican*, Jan. 18, 1862.

³ A Southern poet writes :

“Now that northern treachery attempts our rights to mar
We hoist on high the bonnie blue flag that bears a single star.

“First, gallant South Carolina nobly made the stand ;
Then came Alabama, who took her by the hand ;
Next, quickly, Mississippi, Georgia and Florida ;
All raised the flag, the bonnie blue flag that bears a single star.”

The poet then urges Texas and fair Louisiana to join them in the fight and trusts Virginia, the old dominion, will be impelled by example to link her fate with the young confederacy, and adds :

“Cheer, boys, cheer, raise the joyous shout
For Arkansas and North Carolina now have both gone out ;
And let another rousing cheer for Tennessee be given
The single star of the bonnie blue flag has proved to be eleven.”

The Bonnie Blue Flag.

“ Various nations, as Austria, Russia, etc., have assumed the free eagle, as typical of the characteristics of their governments.

“ It is believed to be susceptible of proof, that the *single star* is our proper national emblem.

“ Inasmuch as there are various orders and classes of stars, it is proper that a question be first raised in that connection. In this view we should not think of our star as one of the so-called *fixed* stars, which are, *to human sight* in their order, almost too small to be assigned, mere twinkling points, without apparent career, having, as far as men have yet discovered, no influence in creation, unless we accept the *conjecture* of astronomers, that they are suns, the centres of other systems than ours ; in which case, though these reasons disappear, a yet stronger one arises in the fact that, as suns, they would shine by *inherent* rather than *borrowed* light, which idea will be found inapplicable. But rather should we think of it as a planet, a world in itself, shining steadily, having an evident career, bright and marked, unchangeable, complete, of almighty design, an essential chord in the universal harmony, of which a single false note, the slightest irregularity, would destroy that harmony and upturn the universe.

“ Now for the points of the analogy :

“ 1. Our government hath foundations well laid and sure. The star is *created*, *placed* in its *relative* position, and *held* there, coursing on through space by an *almighty* hand, *we ask no more*. Though all the firmament were studded thick as the silver dust that sprinkled the gorgeous milky-way, and every star were as thickly inhabited, the universe combined could not affect one tittle in its integrity, nor move one jot from its course, the single star so created, so placed, and so held. The almighty hand we do not defy ; human hands we do. The star, then, well symbolizes the fact that our government is durably founded.

“ 2. The confederate government, as the prominent idea of its constitution, possesses no powers of its own, but simply *reflects* such as it receives, and so symbolizes the nature of our government.

“ 3. Inasmuch as the star borrows its light from a source possessing *inherent* light — the sun ; as the emblem of the confederate government, would indicate that the source from which that government derives its powers, possesses itself, *inherent* powers ;

in other words, that *the states are independent* sovereigns ; and as this *fact* is a *fundamental principle* of our government, the star is eminently appropriate as indicative thereof.

“ 4. This state sovereignty is no *new* principle, but equally *original* and eternal ; and as the very right of secession was based upon the fact that this principle was original to the old contract, this *fact* should be indicated by retaining, as our emblem, that which originally symbolized this relation, to wit : the single star.

“ 5. As we are not an unrecorded people new sprung from the womb of time, but *have* a history peculiarly *our own* ; gloriously illustrated by the deeds which our great southern sires have done, it is fit that, as southerners, we retain some suitable connection with the past, and the *single star*, as the symbol of that grand principle (lost by the abomination of despotism, and our peculiar property), which was the source of all that is to be remembered in the system of that past, furnishes that suitable connection.

“ 6. We stand preeminent, bordered, on either side, by nations steeped in political darkness. The stars in their courses, lifted on high, shine amid surrounding darkness, and so illustrate our position and functions. Accordingly, as the star was selected to guide the wise men to the source of human blessedness, so the star of our confederacy shall be a beacon to the nations, to guide them to that utmost of political blessings, pure republican liberty.

“ So much for the single star of itself ; now to view it comparatively.

“ The sun and moon are both set by the Almighty, but,

“ 1. The star is a better emblem than the sun, because the sun shines by a light inherent in itself, *not borrowed and reflected*, like the light of the star, or the powers of our government. Moreover, the sun puts out of view all other lights within the compass of its power ; no states right man will agree that such an idea shall be expressed, even remotely by the emblem of the confederate government.

“ 2. The star is better than the queen of night, because she, *to human sight*, is ever changing, waxing or waning, and *one no less than the other* ; the only course of change for us must be *onward*.

“ 3. The *single star* is better than a number of stars, proportioned to the number of states, for if such a *number* of stars be the emblem of the nation, any *change in the number of*

the states would necessitate a change in the emblem, and this involves the idea that the character, or rather the completeness of the nationality depends upon the number of states composing it, the very idea which proved so pernicious under the late union, and which, entirely opposed as it is to our whole system, we should most carefully avoid. This number of stars, each for a state, is further objectionable, because the states possess inherent powers, are suns, while a star simply reflects.

“To the southern cross, besides what has just been said, an objection is found in the fact that, however far sighted our statesmen, none of them can make that constellation from even the southernmost point of the confederacy.

“*It is not ours*; we are not quite far enough from the north, however painful the fact; and for us, a people fighting for our own rights, to assume it, would be exceedingly unbecoming, as a clear violation of the rights of the dwellers in Terra del Fuego, a people weaker than ourselves.

“The objection to the cross itself, as the prominent feature of our flag, may be found on inspecting a chart of the flags of other nations, where it will be found, in every variety of shape and color, endlessly repeated.

It is right, and certainly desired by every thoughtful man in the nation, that some thankful acknowledgement of the Deity be a feature of our banner: but the *prominent* feature of the *national* banner should be *the national emblem*, and that emblem for us, *a single star.*”

To the suggestions of his correspondent the editor of the *Richmond Examiner*, remarks: “before we get our national emblem we must get rid of stars and stripes in all their variations. So, too, of all arrangements of red, white and blue. Nothing can be gotten from either but plagiarisms, poor imitations, feeble fancies. Our coat-of-arms must be not only in accord with the higher law of heraldry, but, above all, *original*, our own, and not another’s.

“Not one of the thousand writers on this topic has yet presented an original or appropriate idea. Yet there is a thought which starts to the mind’s eye.

“The national emblem of the equestrian south is the *horse*. Its colors are *black and white*. Its shield is the *sable horse* of

Manassas, on a silver field; its flag is the white flag with the black horse. Both colors are already united to make the grey of the confederate uniform; and emblem and colors are alike suggestive of the country and its history, and neither belong to any other nation of Christians."

March 6, 1862. The *Charleston* (South Carolina), *Mercury* proposed a flag, divided diagonally (see plate IX), half white and half black, and argued: "It is unlike the ensign of any other nation and especially unlike that of the Yankee nation. Those that imagine a flag should be symbolical will find in the colors of this one, white and black, an obvious significance. Such a standard would typify our faith in the peculiar institution, and be an enduring mark of our resolve to retain that institution while we exist as a free and independent people. For maritime uses this proposed flag, although it discards the everlasting Yankee stars, and the worn out combinations of red, white and blue, would be distinguishable at as great a distance as any other that can be devised."

Another device proposed about this time was a Phoenix rising from a bed of flame with the motto, "We rise again," typical of the death of the old and the resurrection of the new union. Another proposed flag, had a red field charged with a white St. Andrew's cross, supporting in its centre a blue shield blazoned with a single yellow star (see plate IX). Still another, was formed of three horizontal bars, red, white, red, having a double blue square, or an eight pointed star, in the centre, extending half way across the red bars, blazoned with eight white stars arranged in a circle (see plate IX). Another suggested flag, was half blue and white, diagonally divided next the luff, and the outer half, or fly, a red perpendicular bar. It is not known who were the designers of these flags.

In 1863, Mrs. Breckenridge, wife of General John C. Breckenridge, who just before the war was the vice president of the United States, but then a major general in the confederate army, constructed a magnificent stand of colors from her wedding dress, which her husband in her name, presented to the most gallant and brave regiment of his division, the 20th Tennessee regiment, known as the Battle regiment.¹

¹ *Jackson Crisis*, Feb. 25, 1863.

In April, 1863, while the subject of a national flag was under discussion before the confederate congress at Richmond, Mr. Wm. T. Thompson, editor of the *Savannah Morning News*, suggested a white flag with the southern cross or battle flag for its union, as a national ensign for the confederacy, and to demonstrate the beauty of the design, got Capt. Wm. Ross Postell formerly of the United States and Texas navies, to make a colored drawing of his proposed flag. His editorial, published in the *News*, April 23, which follows, was republished with approval by the Richmond papers, about the time the vote was taken in the house on the flag, but after the senate had adopted a white flag with a broad blue bar in its centre. On motion of Hon. Julian Hartridge, then chairman of the house committee on the flag, the senate bill was amended, and *the battle flag, on a plain white field, adopted*. There was another proposition before the house to substitute for the broad blue bar in the middle of the flag a broad blue border on the fly or end opposite the union.¹

Mr. Thompson says in his editorial :

“The confederate congress has at length adopted a great seal, which we think is both appropriate and in good taste. The seal is thus described : ‘An equestrian portrait of Washington (after the statue which surmounts his monument in the Capitol square at Richmond), surrounded with a wreath composed of the principal agricultural products of the south (cotton, tobacco, sugar cane, corn, wheat and rice), having around its margin, the words, “SEAL OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, 23d February, 1862,” together with the motto, *Deo duce Vincennes* [with God for our leader we will conquer.]’²

“This device and motto will be approved by the good taste and moral sentiment of our people,¹ and it now only remains for con-

¹ Letter Wm. T. Thompson to G. H. P.

² The senate's design was an armed youth in classic costume, standing; beneath, a woman is clinging. The whole surrounded by a margin of rice, cotton, tobacco and sugar cane. Motto : *Pro Avis et Focis*.

According to the *Richmond Whig* of Sept. 25, 1862, a design that passed the senate, represented in the foreground a confederate soldier, in position to charge bayonet; in the middle distance a woman with a child in front of a church, both with hands uplifted in the attitude of prayer; for a background, a homestead in the plain, with mountains in the distance beneath the meridian sun; the whole surrounded by a wreath composed of the stalks of sugar cane, the rice, the cotton and the tobacco plant, the margin inscribed with the words Seal of the Confederate States of America above, and Our homes and Constitutions beneath. This seal was never used.

gress to adopt an appropriate flag for the confederacy, in order that we may present to the world the symbols as well as the power and substance of a great and glorious nationality. During the first session of the provisional congress, the subject of a flag occupied much of the attention of that body. Designs were invited, and numerous model flags were received from all portions of the confederacy, and submitted to the committee on the flag and seal, but for various reasons the committee was unable to adopt any of the designs presented, and congress was on the eve of adjourning without a confederate flag, when necessity compelled them, almost impromptu, to adopt our present flag [the stars and bars]. Since then the subject has been frequently discussed in congress and by the press, but neither have been able to agree upon a substitute for the present flag to which all object on account of its resemblance to that of the abolition despotism against which we are fighting. To avoid the evil consequences growing out of a confusion of flags on the battle-field, General Beauregard, we believe, adopted the southern cross or battle flag, which has so grown in favor with the army as to be almost universally substituted in the field for the stars and bars. This battle flag has been consecrated by the best blood of the nation, it is hallowed by the memories of glorious victories, it is sanctified by the symbol of our religious faith, and illuminated by the constellated emblems of our confederate states, but it is in some important respects unsuited for a national ensign. Extended to the proper dimensions the symmetry of its design would be destroyed, and having no reverse (no union down), it cannot be used as a signal flag of distress. The objects to be attained in the adoption of a flag are simplicity, distinctness, significancy and beauty. To combine the liberty colors, red, white, and blue, so as to accomplish these ends, and yet to avoid too great resemblance to the flag of some other nation, is the difficulty to be overcome. By a very simple arrangement all these ends may be attained, and to our taste, a very appropriate and beautiful flag formed. Our idea is simply to combine the present battle flag with a pure white standard sheet; our southern cross, blue, on a red field, to take the place on the white flag that is occupied by the blue union in the old United States flag or the St. George's cross in the British flag. As a people, we are fighting to main-

tain the heaven ordained supremacy of the white man over the inferior or colored race ; a white flag would thus be emblematical of our cause. Upon a red field would stand forth our southern cross, gemmed with the stars of our confederation, all combined, preserving in beautiful contrast the red, white and blue. Such a flag would be chaste, beautiful and significant, while it would be easily made of silk or bunting, and would be readily distinguished from the flags of other nations.

“It may be objected that a flag in which white prevails might be mistaken for a flag of truce, that it could not be as distinctly seen as red or blue, that it would be easily soiled, etc. The first objection is not good for the reason that the red field and blue cross would be a prominent feature of the flag, and from its position at the top against the staff could not be hidden by the folds of the flag. In the smoke of battle or at sea against the blue sky, the white would stand as vividly as either the stars or stripes of abolitiondom, the tricolor of France, or the red flag of England ;¹ as for the other objections, we have always observed that the white stripes have stood the battle and the breeze as well and looked as fresh and bright as the red.”

After this communication was in type the editor of the *News* received a dispatch announcing to him that the senate had adopted the flag, he had suggested, with the addition of a blue stripe to the centre of the white field. He states his objections to this flag, in the following article which was published in the *News* of the 28th of April.

“It appears the house of representatives have yet to act upon the new flag adopted by the senate, and we learn from the Richmond papers that it is probable that the house will amend it by striking out the blue bar in the centre of the white field. It is to be hoped that they will do so, as the bar is objectionable on several accounts, and is a deformity to what would otherwise be a most beautiful, significant and appropriate flag. Let any one make a drawing of the flag in colors, on paper, and they will at once discover that the blue bar running up the centre of the white field and

¹ After this flag was adopted it was found in use to resemble, and was often mistaken for, a flag of truce. To obviate that defect a broad, red, perpendicular stripe was added to the fly or outer extremity of the flag.

joining with the right lower arm of the blue cross, is in bad taste, and utterly destructive of the symmetry and harmony of the design. The broad, horizontal blue bar, forming on the end of the smaller blue bar, belonging to the cross, and which extends up to the upper corner of the red union at an angle of about forty-five degrees, presents to the eye a disproportioned, awkward and unmeaning figure, not unlike a blue handled jack knife or razor with the blade not quite opened to the full extent. Another objection is the disproportion which the lower white bar, extending the full length of the flag, bears to the shorter blue and white bars above. And still another objection is that the large blue bar detracts from the conspicuousness of the blue cross. Still another objection is the resemblance which the bars will still have to the Yankee flag. If for no other reason than this we should discard the bars and everything that resembles or is suggestive of the old stripes. While we consider the flag which has been adopted by the senate as a very decided improvement of the old United States flag, we still think the battle flag on a pure white field would be more appropriate and handsome. Such a flag would be a suitable emblem of our young confederacy, and sustained by the brave hearts and strong arms of the south, it would soon take rank among the proudest ensigns of the nations, and be hailed by the civilized world as *THE WHITE MAN'S FLAG*." His remonstrance against the addition of the blue bar appears to have been heeded. For on the 4th of May 1863, he writes: "We are pleased to learn by our dispatch from Richmond that congress has had the good taste to adopt for the flag of the confederacy, the battle flag on a plain white field in lieu of the blue and white bars proposed by the senate. The flag as adopted is precisely the same as that suggested by us a short time since, and is, in our opinion, much more beautiful and appropriate than either the red and white bars or the white field and blue bar as first adopted by the senate. As a national emblem it is significant of our higher cause the cause of a superior race, and a higher civilization contending against ignorance, infidelity and barbarism. [?] Another merit in the new flag is that it bears no resemblance to the now infamous banner of the Yankee vandals."

May 19th, he, in the continuation of the subject, says: "We are pleased to observe that the new Confederate states' standard, wherever it has been given to the breeze, elicits the admiration of the press and people." Noticing its display from the Capitol at Richmond, the *Examiner* says: "It met the approving gaze of thousands." The *Dispatch* says: "The new flag which was displayed from the Capitol on Thursday, it is gratifying to say, gives universal satisfaction. Almost any sort of flag, to take the place of the detested parody upon the stars and stripes, for so long the lawful ensign of the confederacy, would have been hailed with pleasure: but the one we now have is not only acceptable, on this ground, but on account of its own appropriateness; and more than this, again, because in it is preserved that immortal banner, the battle flag, which has been consecrated on so many battle fields, and has been followed by our soldiers to so many glorious victories. We had not anticipated, from the action of congress upon the subject, a result so sensible, so generally satisfactory. The council of many on such a topic rarely produces anything but abortions; such as the *Stars and Bars!* for instance. Let us have no more of that, but hereafter know only that appropriate and beautiful banner hallowed by our victories and now established by law."

The *Charleston Mercury* of yesterday says: "The new confederate flag was yesterday [May 17, 1863,] thrown to the breeze from the ramparts of Fort Sumter, and was admired by crowds on the battery."

On the 20th of May, a correspondent wrote to the *Savannah News*: "Mr. Editor you are one of the admirers of the new flag, and you copied into yesterday's *News* a very enthusiastic panegyric of it from the *Richmond Examiner*. But I doubt if either you or the editor of the *Examiner* has yet seen the flag which was established *by law*. The picture in your office (which is very beautiful), is not correct, nor have I seen one, of the several which are now in use, in and around this city, which is proportioned according to the law. If there was such a one it would be an absurdity. The law (as published in the *Savannah Republican*), makes the flag twice as long as it is wide. Well if the flag is three feet wide it must be six feet long. In this the union would be two feet square and would occupy two-

thirds of the width and one-third of the length. This would leave a very large field of white and give good ground for the objection urged against the flag, that it looks like a flag of truce. I think the large white field was the result of an accident. The senate placed through the middle of the white a horizontal bar of blue, and the flag was made long in order to exhibit this blue bar to advantage. When the blue bar was stricken out the flag should have been shortened, but in the haste consequent upon the near approach of the close of the session it was overlooked. All we can do under the circumstances is to make our flags in the proper proportion (like the one in your picture), and trust to the next congress either to restore the blue bar or curtail the quantity of white."

The editor of the *News* remarks, the objections to the proportions to the new flag are well founded, but thinks the intention of the law was not so much to prescribe the dimensions as to determine the combinations of the new flag. The design of congress was to establish by law, as the confederate ensign, the battle flag on a white field, and the proportion of the union to the width of the flag, was very properly defined, but the length, like that of any other flag, would be determined by good taste. He then adds, "the new flag has been displayed by Captain Cercopoly on the steamer *Beauregard* for several days," and asks his correspondent to take a look at that well proportioned flag, when he thinks he will ground at once all his objections to the new ensign, which is as tasteful as it is unique and simple.

Gen. *Beauregard* presented Capt. Cercopoly with a handsome union jack or battle flag in acknowledgement of his naming his steamer for him. The editor says he doubts not: "That union jack will be borne as proudly and bravely by Capt. Cercopoly, on his new steamer, as was the *first confederate flag* borne by him on the little steamer *Ida* in defiance of the shot and shell of the Yankees."

We have shown that the *first confederate states' flag*, legally established, was the well known *stars and bars*, adopted by the convention at Montgomery, Ala., on the 4th of March, 1861, the day Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated president of the United States at Washington. This flag proving unac-

ceptable to the southern people, from its general similarity in appearance, at a distance, to the old stars and stripes, and creating confusion in the field, especially so at the battle of Manassas or Bull run, it was thought some change should be made, and at the suggestion of General Beauregard, a flag known as the southern cross, or the battle flag, was adopted for field service, and continued thence to be the only flag in general use in the field throughout the war. From not being adapted to the sea service, as it could not be reversed as a signal of distress, it was never legalized ; and the stars and bars continued to be worn by fortresses and hoisted on vessels as the national ensign of the confederacy.

A change of flag, however, continued to be the subject of attention, and in May, 1863, the confederate congress at Richmond established as the national ensign for the confederacy a plain white flag having for its union the southern cross or battle flag of the army.

The rebel iron clad *Atlanta* was the first vessel of war to hoist the new flag, and it was announced that she was about to achieve the most signal victory of the war and so properly to christen it. On the 7th of May, 1863, the people of Savannah assembled *en masse* upon the wharves to bid her a suitable farewell as she flaunted her new banner and steamed away. She was to go to sea via Warsaw sound, proceed to Port Royal and do such destruction as might be permitted her, and then push on to Charleston, where she was to make a foray upon the fleet and then enter the city. Her progress down the bay was slow for causes it is unnecessary here to explain. "The best laid plans of mice and men oft gang alee" as was proved in this instance. On the 17th of June, the anniversary of Bunker hill, the *Atlanta* was met in Warsaw sound by the United States monitors *Weehawken* and *Nabant* and getting aground was, after an engagement of fifteen minutes with the former, in such a helpless condition that she hauled down her new rebel colors, and tearing off a piece of the white of her flag, hoisted it in token of surrender.

This, the second national flag of the confederacy, at a distance bore a close resemblance to the English white ensign, and was also objected to as resembling a flag of truce. These objections ultimately proved so valid, that a broad transverse strip of red (see plate IX), was added to the end or fly of the flag. This, the

third and last national ensign of the short lived confederacy, was adopted by the rebel senate, February 4, 1865, and was thus officially described: "*The width, two thirds of its length; with the union, now used as a battle flag, to be in width three fifths of the width of the flag, and so proportioned as to leave the length of the field on the side of the union twice the width below it; to have a ground of red, and broad blue saltier thereon, bordered with white and emblazoned with mullets or five pointed stars corresponding in number to that of the confederate states. The field to be white except the outer half from the union, which shall be a red bar, extending the width of the flag.*"¹ Specimens of each of these ensigns were captured and are preserved in the flag museum of the United States war department.

¹ *Army and Navy Journal*, Feb. 11, 1865.

THE END OF THE WAR AGAINST THE FLAG AND UNION.

On the 3d of April 1865, the national ensign, which had been gradually restored to one after another of its stolen fortresses, again waved over the rebel Capitol at Richmond. Tidings of its fall went with lightning speed over the loyal north, and public demonstrations and delight were visible everywhere. At Washington all the public offices were closed, and all business suspended. "In New York there was an immense, spontaneous gathering of men in Wall street, to hear the news as it was flashed over the wires, to listen to the voices of orators, and to the sweet, joyful chimes of Trinity. A deep, religious feeling, born of joy and gratitude because of the deliverance of the republic from a great peril, prevailed in that almost innumerable throng, and was remarkably manifested when thousands of voices broke out spontaneously in singing the Christian Doxology, to the grand air of Old Hundred.¹

The occupation of the rebel capital on the 3d, of April with the surrender of Gen. Lee and his army to Gen. Grant on the 9th of April, 1865, may be considered to have virtually ended the civil war. There were other rebel armies in the field, but the great rebellion had collapsed, exhausted, and as a matter of course those armies were soon surrendered or disbanded. On the 11th of April, Washington city was brilliantly illuminated and ablaze with bonfires, at the prospect of peace and reunion. On the 12th, the war department issued an order directing a discontinuance of all drafting and recruiting for the army, or purchase of munitions of war supplies; and declaring that the number of general and staff officers would be speedily reduced, and all military restrictions on trade and commerce be removed forthwith. This virtual proclamation of the end of the war went over the land on the anniversary of the evacuation of Fort Sumter, and while Gen. Anderson was replacing the old flag over the ruins of that fortress. Preparations for a national thanksgiving were being made, when the national joy was palsied by the assas-

¹ Lossing's *Civil War*, Vol. III.

sination of the president, the first martyr in our history, who had piloted the nation through its great war to the end. There is no need to repeat the story of that dastardly deed. It did not disturb the prospects of peace, and while it gave an unenviable immortality to his thearrical assassin it crowned President Lincoln with a martyr's glory.

Reraising Our Flag over the Capitol at Richmond, Va.—It is probable the honor of raising the colors of the United States, over the Capitol at Richmond, on its occupation by the union forces, was sought for by many gallant men. There is evidence that one proposed to do so long before the opportunity was really presented. Nearly a week before the surrender of the city, young Mr. de Peyster wrote to a young friend :

“My dear Lew: “To-morrow a battle is expected, *the* battle of the war. I cannot tell you any of the facts, for they are contraband; but we are all ready and packed. Any way, I expect to date my letter soon, if I escape, Richmond, March 29th.

“I have promised to carry out a bet made by my general, if we take Richmond, to put a certain flag he has, on the house of J. Davis, or on the rebel Capitol, or perish in the attempt.”

The writer of this letter was in the 18th year of his age, a delicately formed child of wealth, a member of one of the oldest families of colonial New York, and allied with nearly every family of consequence in that state. He entered the army to seek *glory*, and doubtless felt that the honor of a long line of ancestors was placed in his especial keeping.

Six days after the date of his letter, the city of Richmond was occupied by the federal troops; and among the first to enter it was Lieutenant *Johnston Livingston de Peyster*. On the pommel of his saddle was strapped a folded flag “the colors of the United States.” This flag had formerly belonged to the twelfth regiment of Maine volunteers of which General Geo. F. Shepley, his chief, had been the colonel. It had seen active service in New Orleans, when General Shepley was the military governor of that city, and, sometime before the movement on Richmond, the general, in his fondness for the flag made a wager that some day or other, it should wave over the Capitol of the confederacy. Lieutenant de Peyster carried this storm flag

thus secured, not far behind the advance guard of the army when the city was occupied by the federal troops.

General Shepley had entrusted it to him on his promise to take care of it, and "to raise it on the flag staff of the Capitol." The following letter to his mother shows us how he redeemed that promise.

"Head Quarters, Army of the James,

"Richmond, April 3d, 1865.

"*My Dearest Mother* : This morning, about four o'clock, I was got up, just one hour after I retired, with the information that at six we were going to Richmond. At six we started. The rebs. had gone at three, along a road strewn with all the munitions of war. Richmond was reached, but the barbarous south had consigned it to flames. The roar of the bursting shells was terrific.

"Arriving at the Capitol I sprang from my horse, first unbuckling *the stars and stripes, a large flag I had on the front of my saddle*. With Captain Langdon, chief of artillery, I rushed up to the roof. Together we hoisted the first large flag over Richmond and on the peak of the roof drank to its success. * * *

"In the Capitol, I found four flags, three rebel, one ours, I presented them all, as the conqueror, to General Weitzel. I have fulfilled my bet and put the first large flag over Richmond. I found two small guidons, took them down, and returned them to the fourth Massachusetts cavalry where they belonged. I write from Jeff. Davis's private room. * * * *

"I remain ever your affectionate son,

"JOHNSTON."

Two small guidons, belonging to the fourth regiment of Massachusetts cavalry, were found on the roof of the Capitol, by Lieut. de Peyster and Capt. Langdon, which had been placed there by Major Atherton Hough Stevens and Major E. E. Graves, members of the military staff of Gen. Weitzel, who had accompanied the party of cavalry which was sent forward in pursuit of the fugitive enemy. By an unauthorized *detour* they raised the guidons of their party on the roof of the aban-

doned Capitol. The hoisting of these guidons, failed to secure *the grateful service*, as it was styled in Mexico by General Scott, of a formal possession of the Capitol at Richmond, and as was reserved to General Quitman, in the former case, the honor of formal occupation, by "hoisting *the colors of the United States* on the national palace,"¹ so, to Lieutenant de Peyster and Captain Langdon, rightfully belongs the honor of *hoisting the colors of the United States* over the Capitol of the confederate states, and the formal occupation of that edifice.

Two days after the event (April 5), General Weitzel wrote to the father of de Peyster: "Your son Lieut. J. de Peyster and Captain Langdon, my chief of artillery, raised the first *real* American *flag* over the Capitol in Richmond. It was a flag formerly belonging to the 12th Maine volunteers. Two cavalry guidons had, however, been placed over the building previously by two of my staff officers; these were replaced by the flag that de Peyster and Langdon raised.

"Yours truly,

"G. WEITZEL, Maj. Gen."

On the twenty-second of April, General Shepley wrote the father: * * "Your son Lt. de Peyster *raised the first flag in Richmond*, replacing two small cavalry guidons on the Capitol. The flag is now in the possession of Maj. Gen. Weitzel; *I enclose a small piece of the flag*. The history of the affair is this. I brought with me from Norfolk, an old storm flag, which I had used in New Orleans remarking sportively that it would do to float over the Capitol in Richmond, where I hoped to see it. DePeyster, who heard the remark, said 'General will you let me raise it for you?' I said 'Yes, if you will bring it with you, and take care of it, you shall raise it in Richmond.' As we left our lines to advance towards Richmond, Lt. de Peyster said, 'General do you remember your promise about the flag?' I said 'yes, go to my tent and get the flag, and carry it on your saddle; and I will send you to raise it.' The result you know."

* * * * *

¹ The ensign raised by Gen. Quitman is, by resolution of the United States senate, preserved in the war department.

On the first of May, 1865, the governor of the state of New York, honored Lieut. dePeyster with a brevet lieutenant colonel's commission, for gallant and meritorious conduct, and for hoisting the first American flag over Richmond, Virginia, after its capture by the union forces, April 3d, 1865, "and as a testimonial of the zeal, fidelity and courage with which he had maintained the honor of the state of New York in her efforts to enforce the laws of the United States, the supremacy of the constitution, and a republican form of government."

On Christmas day, 1865, the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city of New York, by a formal vote, tendered to him the thanks of the city of New York, for giving to New York, this historic honor. The United States senate subsequently confirmed his nomination as a brevet lieutenant colonel of United States volunteers, for the same service.

The surrender of Lee's army followed close upon the occupation of the rebel capital. On the 9th of April Colonel A. C. Whittier, commanding 20th regiment of Massachusetts volunteers, and assistant adjutant general on the staff of Major General Humphries, was sent about noon, by Major General Meade, *under a flag of truce*, with a note to General Lee. He soon came in sight of the enemy and though he carried a large white flag the rebel pickets fired upon him *en passant*. Colonel Whittier claims that this was the last hostile shot fired by the army of northern Virginia. He dismounted, and was met by Lieut. Lamar of Georgia, who, to his indignant protest at having been fired upon, replied: "I have no instructions not to fire upon flags of truce."¹

The same day General Grant received a note from General Lee requesting an interview which he granted. This memorable interview took place at a little after 2 P. M., April 9th, 1865, in the town of Appomatox Court House. The town boasts of five buildings besides the Court House, all arranged on one long street, one end of which is boarded up to keep out the cattle. The best house in the street, belonging to William or Wilmore Mc Clean, was loaned for the occasion by its owner. It was an old fashioned, square, brick dwelling with a verandah along its front, and a flight of steps leading up to its entrance. The front yard was smiling with roses, violets and daffodils.

¹ Colonel Whittier's letter published in *La Royale*.

While the conditions of the surrender were being discussed by the two generals the impatience of the troops grew to a fever heat. They deemed the delay was another confederate stratagem to throw them off their guard, and that under the color of treating, Lee intended to play another Antietam trick. "Let us finish up the matter, they cried, before night comes on again. If they do not intend to surrender let us go in at once."

Our troops were commencing to advance when they were halted by authority of General Grant. All at once a tempest of hurrahs shivered the air along the front, and the cry went forth *Lee has surrendered*. Without having actually distinguished the words the whole union army, present, comprehended their import. The wildest acclamations rolled like peals of thunder over the field, through the woods, and along the road, and were caught up, echoed and reechoed and prolonged among the trains following the army. Hats and caps filled the air. The flags waved and saluted, unfurling their tattered fragments to the caresses of the breeze, glorious attestations and relics of nearly four years of battle, and of over a hundred first class stricken fields. All the bands at the same time poured forth to heaven, (which answered with sympathetic smiles of unclouded sunshine), their accompaniments of rejoicing, either in the lively notes of Yankee Doodle or the majestic strains of Hail Columbia. The very horses seemed to enter into the spirit of the occasion and pranced proudly. Hats, haversacks and canteens were raised on muskets, or thrown along the route of General Meade and his staff. Trees and fences were climbed along his route and in the most perilous positions were soldiers; while on horseback officers were seen embracing each other in a delirium of joy. These demonstrations did not decrease in intensity until the general had passed through the whole line, and gone to his camp, when they became less concentrated, but continued to pervade the whole army, and were only lost in the darkness of the night.¹

Another officer² says, "About 4 o'clock Gen. Meade and staff came in from the front. His chief of staff, Gen. Webb,

¹ Col. Wm. H. Paine's Diary.

² Lt. Col. Schoonover, 11th New Jersey Vol., in Gen. de Peyster's *La Royale*.

preceded him and announced to the troops that lined the road on either side that Gen. Lee and his army had surrendered.

“The very ground seemed to shake with the cheers and yells of triumph that burst forth from that memorable field. A thousand hats went up at once. The men seemed wild with joy. Gen. Meade and staff rode through the dense mass, and imagination would now tell me, that he was obscured from sight with the shouts of a thousand mouths, and the waving and hurling of as many hats.”

“Officers and men grasped each others hands in wild delight. The old war worn and battle stained colors seemed to wave expressions of joy. Our men gathered around General Mc Allister who spoke to them amid continuous cheers. Americans never saw such a scene before, and I never expect to witness such another. That day the fate of the rebellion was sealed, and the soldiers knew and felt that the shot and shell from that army would never again sweep a comrade from their side. All who were there were proud of it, and rejoiced that they had been participators in the grand closing scene.”

The final arrangements for the surrender of Lee's army were completed on the 11th. The terms prescribed by Grant were most extraordinary, under the circumstances for their leniency and magnanimity. They simply required Lee and his men to give their paroles of honor that they would not take up arms against their government, until regularly exchanged; gave to the officers their side arms, baggage, and private horses, and pledged the faith of the government that they should not be punished for their treason and rebellion, so long as they should respect that parole and be obedient to law. On the 12th of April the men and officers were at liberty to proceed to their homes or wherever they chose. The number paroled was about 27,805.¹

It was a happy coincidence that the surrender took place on Palm Sunday the commencement of holy week, and anniversary of the day when the Prince of Peace made his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, the possession or inheritance of peace (for such is the meaning of the name) the multitudes strewing his pathway with palm branches. How appropriate was the day for this surrender

¹ Report of the Secretary of War, Draper's *Civil War*; Harper's *History of the Rebellion*. The number has been variously estimated by other authorities.

when a chosen people in army entered through the gates of victory into the possession of peace, which they had purchased with half a million lives and an expenditure of money almost appalling in its aggregate of public outlay and private munificence.¹

Before our next national anniversary (July 4) the soldiers of the grand army of the republic, whose patriotism, valor and fortitude had saved its life, were making their way homeward, where they were received everywhere with the warmest demonstrations of gratitude and affection. During two memorable days in May the armies that had confronted Johnston and Lee, passed in grand review before the president and his cabinet and other high officials at Washington and were marched off to their homes and disbanded.

On the 2d of June the general-in-chief issued the following address :

“Soldiers of the Armies of the United States :

“By your patriotic devotion to your country in the hour of danger and alarm, your magnificent fighting, bravery, and endurance, you have maintained the supremacy of the union and the constitution, overthrown all armed opposition to the enforcement of the laws, and of the proclamation forever abolishing slavery, the cause and pretext of the rebellion, and opened the way to the rightful authorities to restore order, and inaugurate peace on a permanent and enduring basis on every foot of American soil. Your marches, sieges, and battles, in distance, duration, resolution and brilliancy of results, dims the lustre of the world’s past military achievements, and will be the patriot’s precedent in defense of liberty and right in all time to come. In obedience to your country’s call, you left your homes and families, and volunteered in her defence. Victory has crowned your valor, and secured the purpose of your patriotic hearts ; and with the gratitude of your countrymen, and the highest honors a great and free nation can accord, you will soon be permitted to return to your homes and families, conscious of having discharged the highest duties of American citizens. To achieve these glorious triumphs, and secure to yourselves, your fellow-countrymen, and posterity the blessings of free institutions,

¹ General de Peyster’s *La Royale*.

tens of thousands of your gallant comrades have fallen, and sealed the priceless legacy with their blood. The graves of these a grateful nation bedews with tears, honors their memories, and will ever cherish and support their stricken families."

By the middle of the autumn nearly 786,000 officers and men were mustered out of the service, and had quietly resumed the peaceful occupations they had laid down at the call of the country. Never before, in the world's history, had such vast armies been dissolved so rapidly, without disorders of any kind, furnishing convincing proof, if any were needed, of the powers of the Great Republic for self government.

"Thank God! the bloody days are past ;
Our patient hopes are crowned at last ;
And sounds of bugle, drum and fife,
But lead our heroes home from strife !

"Thank God ! there beams o'er land and sea,
Our blazing star of victory ;
And everywhere, from main to main,
The old flag flies and rules again !" ¹

¹ From a hymn written by Geo. H. Baker of Philadelphia, and sung by the Loyal League of Philadelphia, to the tune of Old Hundred, July 4, 1865.

THE RETURN OF THE VOLUNTEER REGIMENTS TO
THEIR STATES.

On the conclusion of our great civil strife, after the volunteers from the several states of the union had returned to their homes, the banners they had so valiantly and loyally borne throughout the war, and which had been brought back by them in safety and honor, were by an order of the war department, issued May 15, 1865, restored to the custody of the states under whose authority the regiments, batteries, etc., had been mustered into the service of the union.

These banners were received by the governors with appropriate ceremony, and are carefully preserved, as evidences of loyalty and patriotism. The interesting ceremonies attendant upon the formal reception of the battle-scarred and weather beaten flags of the Massachusetts regiments by the state and then deposited in Doric hall of the State House have been graphically described by General William Schouler.¹ He says :

“The Massachusetts regiments and batteries had all come home ; some of their battle flags had been returned to the state authorities, and were tastefully displayed on the columns of the Doric hall in the State House, and some others were held by the United States mustering officer, who had orders to forward them to Washington ; but subsequently authority was given to place them in the hands of the governor to be preserved in the archives of the commonwealth. It was then determined by Governor Andrew to have these colors received with all the honors which the cause they symbolized, and the battle fields over which they had waved, made proper ; and he selected the twenty-second day of December, the anniversary of the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth in 1620, as the day on which the ceremony should take place. Major General Couch was selected to command, and Brevet Major General Hinks was appointed chief of his staff.

¹ *History of Massachusetts in the Civil War.*

The following was the order issued :

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Head Quarters, Boston, December 13, 1865.

General Order, No. 18.

By general order No. 94 of the war department, issued May 15, 1865, volunteer regiments and batteries, on their return to their respective states, when mustered out and discharged, were to deposit their colors with the chief United States mustering officers, to be by them transferred to the governors of the states.

Since that time the following Massachusetts regiments and batteries, having faithfully served their country to the end of the rebellion, returned home and been discharged, their colors have been received by Brevet Colonel F. N. Clarke, U. S. A., chief mustering officer, viz., 2d, 11th, 17th, 19th, 21st, 23d, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 31st, 33d, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 61st regiments of infantry, 1st battalion frontier cavalry, 3d, 4th, 5th regiments of cavalry, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 11th, 15th, 16th batteries light artillery, 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th regiments of heavy artillery.

On Friday, 22d instant (Forefather's Day), the colors will be escorted from Colonel Clarke's head quarters, No. 2 Bulfinch street, to the State House, where they will be formally received by his excellency the governor, and placed in the public archives of the commonwealth, to be sacredly preserved forever as grand emblems of the heroic services and patriotic devotion to liberty and union of one hundred and forty thousand of her dead and living sons.

The escort will be performed by the 1st company of Cadets, Lieutenant Colonel Holmes commanding, who will report to Brevet Colonel Clarke, at his head quarters, at 11 o'clock, A. M., when the line of march will be taken up.

All general, regimental, and company officers, and past general, regimental, and company officers of Massachusetts, and especially all officers and past officers, and all non-commissioned officers and privates of the several organizations named above, are invited to take part in the ceremony, and join in the procession. The officers will, as far as practicable, detail a color

guard for the colors of their respective late commands. The original date of muster-in of each command will govern its place in the procession. Officers and enlisted men, as far as practicable, will appear in uniform.

For further orders and information, apply to the adjutant-general of the commonwealth.

By order of his excellency John A. Andrew, governor and commander-in-chief.

WILLIAM SCHOULER,
Adjutant General.

“The day was a common, New England, wintry day, and the ground was covered with snow to the depth of about six inches. Early in the morning of the 22d, the veteran officers and men of our gallant commanders assembled in Boston, and formed in military order. All were represented; and when placed in column of march with their old uniforms, each command carrying its tattered flags, some of which had waved over fifty battle fields, in the valleys of Virginia, and on the mountains of Tennessee; had followed the fortunes of Butler and Banks in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas; and had been unfurled where Burnside and Sherman had led in the Carolinas and in Georgia, a sight was presented which awakened the most patriotic and sublime thoughts in the heart of every loyal person.

As the procession moved through the different streets, business was suspended, the sidewalks were crowded with spectators, banners were displayed from almost every house, and everywhere cheers went up of welcome and of gratitude; a salute was fired by a detachment of light artillery, bands of music played inspiring airs. The whole scene was one which will never be forgotten by those who witnessed it.

“The procession reached the State House about one o'clock in the afternoon. The color bearers of each command were stationed upon the steps leading to the Capitol; and when all were in position, holding aloft the war-worn banners, they presented a spectacle at once imposing and picturesque. The arrangements being completed; Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, D.D., made a most impressive and fervent prayer, at the conclusion of which General Couch stepped forward, and thus addressed Governor Andrew.

‘*May it please your Excellency*: We have come here to-day as the representatives of the army of volunteers furnished by Massachusetts for the suppression of the rebellion, bringing these colors in order to return them to the state which intrusted them to our keeping. You must, however, pardon us if we give them up with profound regret; for these tattered shreds forcibly remind us of long and fatiguing marches, cold bivouacs, and many hard fought battles. The rents in their folds, the battle stains on their escutcheons, the blood of our comrades which has sanctified the soil of a hundred fields, attest the sacrifices that have been made, and the courage and constancy shown, that the nation might live. It is, sir, a peculiar satisfaction and pleasure to us, that you, who have been an honor to the state and nation, from your marked patriotism and fidelity throughout the war, and have been identified with every organization before you, are now here to receive back, as the state custodian of her precious relics, these emblems of the devotion of her sons. May it please your excellency, the colors of the Massachusetts volunteers are returned to the state.’

“The governor replied in the following beautiful and eloquent address :

‘*General*: This pageant, so full of pathos and of glory, forms the concluding scene in the long series of visible actions and events in which Massachusetts has borne a part for the overthrow of the rebellion and the vindication of the union.

‘These banners are returned to the government of the commonwealth through welcome hands. Borne one by one out of this Capitol during more than four years of civil war, as the symbols of the nation and the commonwealth under which the battalions of Massachusetts departed to the fields,—they come back again borne hither by surviving representatives of the same heroic regiments and companies to which they were intrusted.

“At the hands, General, of yourself, the ranking officer of the volunteers of the commonwealth (one of the earliest who accepted a regimental command under the appointment of the governor of Massachusetts), and of this grand column of scarred and heroic veterans who guard them home, they are returned with honors becoming relics so venerable, soldiers so brave, and citizens so beloved.

“Proud memories of many fields ; sweet memories alike of valor and friendship ; sad memories of fraternal strife ; tender memories of our fallen brothers and sons, who with dying eyes looked last upon their flaming folds ; grand memories of heroic virtues, sublime by grief ; exultant memories of the great and final victories of our country, our union, and the righteous cause ; thankful memories of a deliverance wrought out for human nature itself, unexampled by any former achievement of arms ; immortal memories with immortal honors blended,—twine around these splintered staves, weave themselves along the warp and woof of these familiar flags, war-worn, begrimed, and baptized with blood.

“Let the ‘brave heart, the trusty heart, the deep unfathomable heart,’ in words of more than mortal eloquence uttered, though unexpressed, speak the emotions of grateful veneration for which these lips of mine are alike too feeble and unworthy.

“General, I accept these relics in behalf of the people and the commonwealth. They will be preserved and cherished, amid all vicissitudes of the future, as mementos of brave men and noble actions.’

The pageant then dissolved, and the colors were placed in the Doric hall of the Capitol, where they will remain to testify to future generations of the courage and endurance manifested by the soldiers of Massachusetts during four of the most eventful years of its history.

After the services, the governor was pleased to present to the adjutant-general the original manuscript of his address on which, was the following indorsement, in his own handwriting :

“Half past two o’clock P. M., December 22, 1868. This is the original manuscript used by me in reply to Major General Couch, by whose hand the flag of the nineteenth regiment was delivered to me, he acting as the commander for the day of the volunteer column. I present it as an autograph to Adjutant General Schouler, by whose happy thought Forefather’s day was named for the reception of the battle flags, and whose industry and care helped largely to give a brilliant success to the ceremonies of the day, with faithful regards of

“JOHN A. ANDREW.”

This interesting occasion was admirably illustrated in a short poem, addressed to Governor Andrew. The author, Brigadier General Horace Binney Sargent, at the commencement of Governor Andrew's administration, was chief of his personal staff, and subsequently went to the war as lieutenant colonel of the first regiment Massachusetts cavalry, was promoted colonel, and brevetted brigadier general of volunteers for brave and meritorious services in the field.

In *New Hampshire* as fast as the several regiments arrived home they were received by General Natt. Head the adjutant general, and their flags when turned over to the state were received with appropriate ceremonies, and placed on exhibition in the adjutant general's office, where they remained until 1866, when they were suspended around the pillars of the Doric hall of the State House at Concord. In June, 1867, the adjutant general was instructed to place them in proper and suitable cases for their better preservation, and not allow them to be removed except to preserve them from destruction.

These flags, numbering about one hundred, and including guidons were then placed in glass cases on three sides of Doric hall, adding much to its appearance and telling an eloquently sad story.

They are visited annually by the members of the Veteran Union of New Hampshire, and on one occasion, Jan. 8, 1867, his excellency Governor Harriman on being presented to the Union in Doric hall said :

"*Gentlemen* : I am happy to be thus presented to you, but I shall make no speech. Silence best becomes us in this presence. Those (pointing to the old flags), are the eloquent though speechless orators. Braver men never smiled at danger than those who fought under those banners, and whenever Death spread his banquet New Hampshire furnished many guests. Your annual pilgrimage to these halls is creditable to the silent promptings of your nature. GOD BLESS FOREVER! the living and the dead, who under these flags marched to glory or the grave."¹

Pennsylvania closed her military record in the rebellion by receiving from the hands of her valiant sons the flags they had

¹ Letter of John M. Haines, adjutant general N. H. to G. H. P., May 2, 1872.

carried for thousands of miles, and which had always been borne by them side by side with the foremost in the strife of battle.

The day set apart to receive these glorious memorials of her devotion to the union, and which it was determined should be accompanied with all the solemnity such a record deserved, was the 4th of July, 1866. On that day and occasion there was a great procession of the military and civic bodies to Independence hall where the reception was to take place. Addresses were delivered by Gov. Curtin, Gen. Meade, Gen. Russell and others. The scene in Independence square was one long to be remembered. The old hall was festooned, and adorned with the stars and stripes, and the immense amphitheatre in front of it was crowded with ladies, and officers of the army and navy in gay and brilliant dresses mingled with gentlemen in the more sober colored garments of citizens. The remains of over one hundred flags, with inscriptions telling of their battles and victories were grouped together. In some instances nothing remained of the standard but its staff, and that was ornamented with streamers containing the names of the battles in which the regiments had participated. The severity of the struggles through which these flags had passed is best told in the simple announcement on one of them viz.: "In 41 battles and 61 skirmishes." Major Gen. Meade made the presentation which was replied to by Gov. Curtin.¹

In *Rhode Island*, there were no public ceremonies attendant upon the return of the battle flags of the regiments but they were informally received (or the few strips of some of them that remained), by the adjutant general of the state, and deposited by him in the State House. The general assembly at its May session, 1868,

"*Resolved*: That the secretary of state be directed to procure a glass case, to be placed in the State House in Providence, in which shall be placed the several flags of the Rhode Island volunteers, used in the late war, and now deposited in the secretary's office.

"*Resolved*: That the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars be appropriated for defraying the cost of said case."

¹ Letter John A. McAllister to G. H. P., who also furnished me with a chromo, showing "The Boys in Blue," returning the state flags to the governor of Pennsylvania, Independence square, Philadelphia July, 4, 1866.

The tattered battle flags of the *Maine* regiments have been recently set up in the rotunda of the state Capitol at Augusta, in a heavy, black walnut case eighteen feet high, sixteen and one-half feet wide, ten inches deep and heavily trimmed. It has a front of the best German plate glass.¹

All the regiments of the regular army had two flags, one national and one regimental, as prescribed by army regulations. At the close of the war these regiments retained their flags and they are still kept at the different regimental head quarters.²

¹ Augusta, Maine, Newspaper.

² Letter C. D. Brandt, to G. H. P. July 27, 1872.

THE DISPOSITION OF THE TROPHY FLAGS OF THE WAR.

The flag museum of the war department occupies two small rooms, on the first floor of a house on 17th street, Washington, opposite the department, and is open to all who may have curiosity to examine its relics. The front room is stored with the union flags found in the rebel war department at Richmond after its surrender. They were then boxed up, and sent to Washington for future preservation. There were histories attached to each of these flags, but when the boxes were opened, the flags were carelessly shaken out, and the histories which had been rolled up in them were so scattered about, that it was impossible to rearrange them correctly. These flags according to the register number *two hundred and thirty-six*. This room is very attractive, the windows and doors are shaded by flags fastened at the top, and looped back at the sides, in the manner of window curtains. The walls are covered with flags, and great care and taste is displayed in their arrangement. The best flags are, of course, put forward, and some of them are remarkably well preserved. An almost new flag belonging to the one hundred and twenty-sixth New York volunteers, is the handsomest in the collection. There are three Ohio flags, composed of elegant blue silk, with the gorgeous eagle most elaborately wrought. It has been generally conceded that Ohio had the most beautiful flags in the service and these do much towards making the room look gay and brilliant. In front of the fire place is a faded guidon, belonging to the gallant sixty-ninth New York volunteers, captured in the bloody field, where they so nobly showed their faith, by their works in the country's service. The guidon still retains the inscription placed upon it by the rebels: "captured at Fredericksburg, Va., from the 1st Irish Brigade of Yanks."

No. 42, is a U. S. Flag of the 17th regiment Michigan infantry, captured by the rebels May 12th, 1864, at Spottsylvania Court House Va. Attached to it is a paper inscribed: "The regiment fought splendidly and suffered dreadfully; they entered the field 750, strong, and that evening their commanding officer could only muster sixty men of the entire battalion.

"E. D. KENNEDY, *late Major.*"

No. 231, is a United States flag made by Mrs. Hetty McEwen, and which floated from her house during the time the city of Nashville was in possession of the south, and was found still floating there when Gen. Buell's union army occupied the city.

I am informed from the war department at Washington there is no record of any flags or flag having been captured by the rebels from the regiments of the regular army, and that it is believed none were captured by them.¹

It is noticeable in this collection, that the silk flags ornamented with embroidery are in the best state of preservation. The silk flags with painted devices, are already burnt through by the paint and oil, and dropping to pieces, and the woolen flags are moth eaten.

The rear room, according to the register, contains *five hundred and forty-three rebel flags*, most of which are rolled upon their staffs, or deposited in covered pigeon holes, there not being space to display to view more than a tithe of the number. The whole collection is very much moth eaten, and bids fair to be soon destroyed altogether, unless better means are taken for its preservation.

Of the five hundred and forty-three rebel flags here collected, 16 were captured from Alabama regiments, 4 from Arkansas regiments, 6 from Florida regiments, 23 from Georgia regiments, 1 from a Kentucky regiment, 4 from Louisiana regiments, 10 from Mississippi regiments, 6 from Missouri regiments, 26 from North Carolina regiments, 7 from South Carolina regiments, 7 from Tennessee regiments, 4 from Texas regiments, and 50 from Virginia regiments. The history of the 379 flags not enumerated above, is unknown.

Some of the mottoes on these flags are curious, viz.,

1. "Citizen soldiers the best defenders of our homes."
2. "We choose our own institutions, we collect our own revenues." This flag is the ordinary stars and bars, it is composed of coarse bunting and its union contains 13 stars.
3. "*Dulce et decorum, est pro patria mori,*" and on the other side "A crown for the brave."
4. "Presented by the ladies of Bath, Va. "God protect the right."

¹ Letter of C. D. Brandt in charge of flag room, dated July 2d, 1872.

5. "Our country and our rights." "Our homes our rights, we submit to your keeping brave sons of Alabama." These mottoes are on a white silk flag, blazoned with the arms of the state of Alabama.

6. "Death or victory. Zachry rangers," on the other side "Presented by the ladies of Henry." This flag, is a stars and bars, with the arms of Georgia in the centre of the union, surrounded by the stars in a circle.

A Virginia state flag of blue silk, with a gold fringe, has on one side the state coat of arms, and beneath, the inscription in gilt letters, "Presented by the ladies of Norfolk, to the N. L. A. Blues, organized February 22d, 1830." On the reverse a portrait of George Washington, with 11 stars in a semicircle above, and the inscription, "our cause it is just, our rights, we'll maintain." (Plate ix).

A South Carolina state flag of white bunting, has on it a representation of a palmetto tree, with red stars, and a red half moon. (Plate ix).

A flag, captured from the 35th North Carolina volunteers, made of bunting has a broad perpendicular bar of red, next the staff, with two horizontal bars, blue and white, composing the fly. In the centre of the red bar is a large white star, and above the star in white letters the inscription, "May 20, 1775," beneath it, "May 20, 1861." (Plate ix).

All will remember the excitement in the north, when it was alleged that, on several occasions, the rebels had raised the black flag,¹ an omen of dire consequences, inasmuch as the bearers show no quarter to the enemy. That celebrated flag is here, tacked to the wall, in one corner of the room. It is made of black cambric muslin, and is about four feet long, by three feet wide. Sherman solved the mystery of this terrible flag, which amounts to nothing more nor less than a signal flag. The white star against the black background, made it very conspicuous and valuable to the signal corps, and for that reason only, was the black flag adopted. The star has the word Winchester painted on it, as a token of the services of the

¹ A black flag was displayed over the depot of the Virginia and Tennessee rail road and the editor of the *Lynchburg Republican* was for hoisting it throughout the south. He would ask no quarter, he said, at the hand of vandal, Yankee invaders, and his motto would be entire extermination of them. Let it tell of death to each and all.

rebel signal corps at Winchester. This flag was captured within the rebel lines near South Mountain, Md., August 1, 1864, by a detective.

The Fort Fisher flag, in the collection, is nearly square. It is like the ordinary battle flag, and is made of red bunting bound with white, with a blue cross reaching to the four corners. In the cross are the thirteen stars. (Plate ix).

In a conspicuous place in the room, hangs a palmetto flag, which was the first flag that waved over Charleston in 1861, and in fact was the first secession flag raised in the confederacy. It is a perfect caricature. The material is a dull white bunting, with a very lame representation of a palmetto tree sewed in the centre of the flag. It has eight branches, but no leaves, and looks more like a huge spider than anything under the sun. It is surrounded by eleven red stars, and a red moon just rising. It was used at Forts Sumter and Moultrie, and in the fortifications around Charleston at the beginning of the rebellion.

A confederate battle flag (No. 43), was captured at Sharpsburgh, by Private Isaac Thompson, Co. C, 20th regiment, New York volunteers, who shot the rebel color bearer, and ran forward and brought off the colors.

Another confederate battle flag (No. 72), was captured at New Market, January 30, 1863, by Private William Gallagher, who killed the original color bearer and took prisoner the second, who attempted to raise it.

Still another battle flag (No. 14), was captured in a hand to hand fight in the trenches, by Sergeant Otis C. Roberts, of the 6th regiment of Maine volunteers, Nov. 7, 1863. It belonged to the 8th Louisiana Regiment. This much we learn from the museum register.

No attempt was made by the navy department to preserve or display the flags taken by our navy. An officer, now a rear admiral, inquiring for a particular flag in which he was interested, was told by the assistant secretary that he might visit the attic of the department where they were stored and help himself, as there was no desire to preserve these emblems of the victories of our civil strife.

In the gunnery room of the U. S. Naval Academy however, with the trophies of our other wars, they have the flag of the

rebel iron clad ram *Atlanta*, of 4 guns, captured June 17, 1863, in Warsaw sound, Georgia, by the monitor *Weebawken*, Captain John Rodgers.

The stars and bars flag hoisted over camp Lovell, at Quarantine below New Orleans, April 24, 1862, is now in the possession of Rear Admiral Theodorus Bailey of Washington. It was surrendered to him ; it is made of a very fine woolen material, and has eleven stars in the union, arranged in a circle ; there is a hole through it, which was torn by an eleven inch shot from the gun boat Cayuga. Admiral Bailey has also the beautiful silk flag (stars and bars), which belonged to the Challamette regiment ; this flag, wrapped in an old painted table cover, was thrown into the swamp back of Camp Lovell, by the rebels where it was found by an engineer of the gunboat Katahdin, who took it on board that vessel.

In 1869, G. V. Fox, who was assistant secretary of navy during the war, under Mr. Welles, presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society, eight of the rebel flags which had been captured by our naval forces, and they are now in the archives of that society : viz.

1. The flag of Fort Walker, Hilton Head, Port Royal, S. C., captured by the naval forces under Rear Admiral S. F. Dupont, Nov. 7, 1861.

2. A flag found amongst the abandoned property after the above action, supposed to be the state flag of South Carolina.

3. The flag of Fort Henry, Tennessee river, captured by the naval forces under Rear Admiral A. H. Foote, February 6, 1862.

4. The flag of Fort St. Philip, Mississippi river, captured after the forcing of the defences of New Orleans by the Navy, under Admiral D. G. Farragut, April 24, 1862. (Plate ix).

5. The new flag adopted by the rebels in 1863, captured by a naval force under Commodore John Rodgers, June 17, 1863. It was said, this flag was hoisted in action, on board the *Atlanta* in her conflict with the *Weebawken* to whom it was surrendered. It was hauled down and replaced by a smaller one, which was a piece of white field cut from this ensign. Commodore Rodgers says " when first seen, this white symbol seen through the smoke

looked blue, and its character being misunderstood, two more guns were fired.”

6. Flag of the iron-clad Tennessee, captured by a naval force under Admiral D. G. Farragut, on the day of his successful entrance into Mobile bay, August 5, 1864.

7. The flag of Admiral Buchanan who commanded the Tennessee on that occasion.

8. The flag of Fort Caswell left flying upon the flagstaff of that fort after its evacuation, consequent upon the capture of the defences of Cape Fear river by the United States' forces under the command of Vice Admiral D. D. Porter, and Major General A. H. Terry.

The flag of the United States steam gunboat *Ottawa*, which was hoisted over Fort Clinch, the first United States fort retaken from the rebels, was presented by Commander T. H. Stevens, U. S. N. to the state of Connecticut and is deposited in the rooms of the Connecticut historical society at Hartford.

ANECDOTES AND INCIDENTS SINCE THE WAR.

1865—1872

The story of our flag since the war is soon told, though its peaceful conquests have not been unimportant.

Soon after the close of the war, inspired doubtless by its result, Jacob Foss, a native of Cornish (N. H.), and for several years a citizen of Charlestown, (Mass.), bequeathed to Charlestown several thousand dollars the interest to be expended in United States flags, in the celebration of the fourth of July, and in perpetuating the name of the old hero, Andrew Jackson. He also gave the sum of \$1,000 to the town of Cornish to be kept at interest, the annual increase thereby to be expended in the purchase and erection of flags. No mottoes are to be emblazoned on these flags, nor are they to be used for party purposes; but on all important occasions of a national character they are to be hoisted to the breeze and kept flying.¹

The Pacific mail steamship company's steamer *Colorado*, the first of that line to China, arrived January, 1867, at Hong Kong via Yokohama, twenty nine days and a-half from San Francisco. This event was of intense interest to our countrymen in Eastern Asia and her arrival was greeted by our naval vessels with a salute of twenty-one guns, and their mastheads were dressed with the American ensign.²

July 4, 1867, was celebrated at Geneva, Switzerland, and, says a correspondent to one of our papers, "it was pleasant to American eyes, sailing across Lake Lemman, on the 4th of July, to see "old glory" floating merrily out. Not one solitary flag, but the build-ings far and near flaunted the stars and stripes. One hotel was fairly draped with our banner. 'We will follow the flag', said one of our party, and so to the Grand Hotel de la Paix we went, and quite a bit of a fourth of July we have had here among the Alps.

"On going down to dinner the landlord surprised us with a

¹ *Boston Herald*, 1869.

² Report of the secretary of the navy.

magnificent bouquet. Waiters, decorated with a rosette of red, white and blue, ushered us into the hall; bouquets and silk American flags, with every star in its place, enlivened the table, and no sooner were we seated than a concealed band of music struck up our national airs. In the evening one would really have thought himself in America. Our hotel and many other buildings were brilliantly illuminated. A Swiss steamer fired national salutes along the quay. The waiters sent up rockets and the boarders fired crackers, to the infinite delight of a legion of youngsters. The streets were alive with everybody Geneva could turn out, and over all the strains of martial music came 'sweetly stealing.' What American could feel otherwise than proud at this foreign observance of the day — a tribute to free America. In the evening all our countrymen met in the reading room of the hotel, and passed a series of resolutions expressive of the gratification of the Americans, casually assembled at the hotel, at their elegant entertainment, and the manner in which the day had been remembered by Mons. Kohter the landlord."

In 1872, the day was again appropriately remembered at Geneva by the American residents, and our flag was flying as freely there as in the United States. In answer to the toast, "the day we celebrate," Charles Francis Adams, United States commissioner for the arbitration of the claims between the United States and Great Britain, made an appropriate speech, while his son of the same name, was delivering the oration before the city fathers in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Massachusetts.

The 4th of July 1872, was celebrated at Monroe, Michigan, by a number of gray-haired veterans, whose ages ranged from seventy-two to one hundred and one and a half years. At roll call one hundred rose to their feet and answered to their names with great animation. General Leslie Coombs headed the list.

The veterans had with them the identical flag that they carried at Fort Meigs in 1812, and also an old iron cannon that was captured from the enemy in 1813. There was a grand banquet and toasts and speeches followed as a natural consequence. Letters were also read from the soldiers of 1812 and others who were invited but could not attend.

There were fully twenty thousand people in attendance on the celebration. The old men were in fine spirits, and promised to

return in four years, to the dedication of a suitable monument, which it is proposed to erect.

Saluting the Flag, 1867.— At the annual parade of the Charleston, S. C., fire department, April 27, 1867, it was observed, notwithstanding the presence of a great many of all other kinds of banners, there was not a single United States flag displayed. General Sickles had noted the same significant fact the year before ; but being assured by the chief of the fire department that it was an inadvertence, did not then punish the offenders, but when the offense was repeated, in 1867, he took summary action. Halting the procession in the street he compelled the chief to procure a United States flag, and place it opposite the reviewing officers, and ordered every person in the column to salute it by lifting his hat or cap in passing. The order was as promptly obeyed, as it had been issued by Gen. Sickles.

The formal transfer and delivery of Russian America to the United States government took place on the 8th of Nov., 1867. Capt. Festrohoff acting on behalf of the Russian government, and Major Gen. Rousseau acting on behalf of the United States.

At three o'clock P. M., a battalion of United States troops, under command of Major Charles O. Wood of the ninth infantry, was drawn up in line in front of the governor's residence, where the transfer took place. By half-past three a large concourse of people had assembled, comprising Americans, Russians of all classes, Creoles, and Indians, all eager to witness the ceremonies.

Precisely at the last named hour the Russian forts and fleet fired salutes in honor of the lowering of the Russian flag ; but the flag would not come down. In lowering it tore its entire width close by the halliards, and floated from the cross-trees, some forty feet from the ground. Three Russian sailors then attempted to ascend the inch-and-a-half guy ropes supporting the flagstaff, but each failed to reach his national emblem. A fourth ascended in a boatswain's chair, seized the flag and threw it in a direction directly beneath him ; but the motion of the wind carried it off, and caused sensation in every heart. Five minutes after the lowering of the Russian flag, the stars and stripes went gracefully up, floating handsomely and free, Mr. George Lovell Rousseau having the honor of flinging the flag to

the breeze, and the United States steamers *Ossipee* and *Resaca* simultaneously honoring the event with a national salute.

As the Russian flag was lowered Captain Festrehoff stepped forward and addressed Gen Rousseau as follows :

“*General*: As commissioner of his imperial majesty, the emperor of Russia, I now transfer and deliver the territory of Russian America, ceded by his majesty to the United States.”

General Rousseau, in response, as the American flag ascended, said :

“*Captain* : As commissioner on behalf of the United States government, I receive and accept the same accordingly.”

The commissioners spoke in a tone of common conversation, and were only heard by Governor Makesoff, general Jeff. C. Davis, Captain Kuskol, and a few others who formed the troupe. Several ladies witnessed the ceremonies, among them Princess Makesoff, Mrs. General Davis, and Mrs. Major Wood. The Princess wept audibly as the Russian flag went down. The transfer was conducted in a purely diplomatic and business-like manner, neither banquets nor speech-making following. The entire transaction was concluded in a few hours, the *Ossipee*, with the commissioners on board, steamed into the harbor at eleven o'clock this forenoon, and at four o'clock in the afternoon a dozen American flags float over the newly born American city of Sitka. ¹

In 1868, possession was taken by the United States of two small, uninhabited islands in the Pacific ocean about half way from the Sandwich islands to Japan. This is the first acquisition of territory ever made by our government in this manner. The islands are near together and each about a mile and a half long, by three quarters of a mile wide. They were occupied, in obedience to orders from the navy department, by Capt. Wm. Reynolds commanding the U. S. S. *Lackawana*. He says he went on shore with six boat loads of men and several officers, and raised the stars and stripes on the highest point of land, under a national salute from the *Lackawana*. After which the seine was hauled, a large number of fish caught, and the day spent in picnicing.

¹ Telegraphic dispatch to the newspapers, November 10, 1867.

He named our new possession the *Midway islands* and called the harbor, which he reported an excellent one for vessels drawing less than eighteen feet, *Welles harbor*. The islands are formed of coral reefs, give good shelter, are over fifty feet in elevation at the lowest point. They are covered with shrubs and coarse grass and afford an abundant supply of pure fresh water. It was thought that the bar at the entrance of Welles harbor might be deepened at a very small expense, and a port vastly superior to Honolulu established for the supply of provisions, water and fuel to ocean steamships on their routes between San Francisco and Japan, and also afford a refuge to merchant ships navigating the northern Pacific ocean.

These anticipations have not been realized. An appropriation of \$50,000 was granted by congress, March 1, 1869, for deepening the entrance to Welles harbor and the money was economically and judiciously expended under the directions of Lieut. Commanding Montgomery Sicard, Commanding the United States steamer *Saginaw*. More difficulties were experienced and greater obstacles encountered than had been anticipated, and when the money appropriated was exhausted, and the work in consequence discontinued on the 21st of Oct., 1869, that officer estimated to complete the cut or canal, to the width of 175 feet, would require about forty-six months work at a cost of \$187,000 without counting the cost of removing the debris or small stuff. He also reported the harbor after it was once entered, a poor one for a large ship, as springs would probably be necessary to cant the vessel's head right for going out or to turn her around.

On the 28th of Oct., Lieut. Commanding Sicard, took on board the *Saginaw*, the contractor's party, and such machinery etc., as he wished to carry away, and left Welles harbor. The next morning about 3 o'clock his vessel, run upon Ocean island reef one of the group, and was lost. Since then no farther attempt has been made to improve Welles harbor.¹

On Friday, August 7th, 1868, the last spike was driven in the last rail on the Atlantic slope of the great Union Pacific railroad. Captain Clayton, who superintended the laying of the track from the commencement, suggested to the employees and a party of excursionists, the idea of erecting a monument com-

¹ Reports of the secretary of the navy, 1869, 1870, 1871.

memorative of the event, and of planting the national flag on the continental divide. All parties concurring, preparations were made for the interesting ceremony; and on Sunday afternoon, August 9th, a goodly company assembled at a point about 725 miles from Omaha.

The Rev. Mr. Gierlow officiated as master of ceremonies. A hole was dug by Captain Clayton, and our national banner was planted in it by the fair hands of his excellent wife. Then, Mrs. Clayton holding the flag, Mr. Gierlow pronounced the following consecration service :

“In the name of Wisdom, Strength, and Beauty, in the name of Faith, Hope and Charity, in the name of the Holy Trinity, we consecrate this flag to the glory of God, the benefit of civilization and the happiness of mankind. And when this lone star shall have been surrounded by the sister constellations, may its ample folds protect us in the path of virtue, so that at last we may become worthy citizens of the land of the beautiful, the land of the free.”

The reverend gentlemen then called upon General Estabrook, of Omaha, Judge Wright and E. S. Bailey, Attorneys of the north western railroad, W. A. Cotton, and M. E. Ward, in succession, who each made appropriate speeches ; after which Mr. Gierlow pronounced this closing benediction :

“May the blessing of God rest upon us and our families ; may brotherly love cement us, and every moral and social virtue adorn our lives now and forever.”

The spot where this flag was planted is the true continental summit. A point much higher above the sea level was reached in the Black hills, but there the waters, though running both ways, afterwards meet in the Platte, and go commingled to the Atlantic. On this continental divide, a drop of rain falling, and not carried back to its native cloud by the process of exhalation, one half of it would go to the Atlantic, the other to the Pacific.

March 2, 1865, an act of congress authorized the purchase of American bunting for the navy in place of English. The encouragement thus afforded, has permanently established the manufacture, and the American article will compare favorably with the best English fabrics. The reproach that we must

go abroad for the material of which the national ensign is made no longer exists.¹

In 1869 a useful improvement was effected in the making of boat flags and small ensigns. Instead of being sewed up in parts of each color, as formerly made, requiring considerable labor, and resulting in a more or less clumsy flag, particularly when of small dimensions, they are now furnished to the navy *dyed in patterns*, so as to require but three pieces, in making up. They are thus less costly, neater in appearance, and equally durable in fabric and color, while flying more easily in a light breeze.²

The latest triumph of our flag is its advance into the interior of Africa at the head of the caravan of Mr. Stanley of the *New York Herald*, when he communicated with the great African explorer, Doctor David Livingston, at Ujiji in Nov. 1871.

Having in these memoirs traced the progress of our flag through all its changes until its establishment in a permanent form in 1818; having marked its first appearance on seas now whitened with our canvas, and the remote places on the earth, everywhere, where man is known to have penetrated, and to ultimathules beyond man's previous attempts; having seen it emerge triumphant, without the loss of a single star, and with added lustre, from the terrors of the unholy war that was waged against it, we take leave of its glittering and multiplied constellations, and, "Let us, standing by our fathers' graves, swear anew and teach the oath to our children, that with God's help the American republic shall stand unmoved though all the powers of piracy and European jealousy should combine to overthrow it; that we shall have in the future as we have in the past, ONE COUNTRY, ONE CONSTITUTION, ONE DESTINY, and that when we shall have passed from earth, and the acts of today shall be matters of history, and the dark power which sought our overthrow, shall have been overthrown, our sons may gather strength from our example in every contest with despotism, that time may have in store to try their virtue, and that they may rally under the stars and stripes with our olden war cry LIBERTY AND UNION, NOW AND FOREVER ONE AND INSEPARABLE."³

¹ See page 259.

² Report of bureau of navigation, October 20, 1869.

³ John Jay's Address at Mount Kisko, Westchester Co., N. Y., July 4, 1861.

Originally a small constellation emerging from the darkness of tyranny and oppression on the Atlantic coast of the north American continent our flag has, within the first century of its appearance on the political firmament, crossed the continent and with its constellation, tripled in lustre by the accession of new states, glitters over the Pacific where its stars of empire bid fair to rival in number and brilliancy those of the Atlantic cluster.

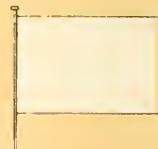
“ O glorious Flag ; red, white and blue
Bright emblem of the pure and true,
O glorious group of clustering stars,
Ye lines of light, ye crimson bars,
Trampled in dust by traitor feet,
Once more your flowing folds we greet
Triumphant over all defeat ;
Henceforth in every clime to be,
Unfading scarf of liberty,
THE ENSIGN OF THE BRAVE AND FREE.”¹

¹ Hon. Edward J. Preston.

DISTINCTIVE FLAGS U. S. NAVY.



COMMODORES PENDANTS 1776 TO 1860.
a star for each State.



FLAG OFFICERS FLAGS 1858-1866.



SECT. OF THE NAVY



ADMIRAL



VICE ADMIRAL



REAR ADMIRAL



REAR ADMIRAL



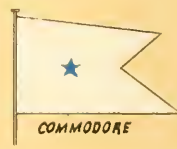
REAR ADMIRAL



COMMODORE



COMMODORE



COMMODORE

REGULATION. 1866-69.



ADMIRAL, VICE ADMIRAL
& REAR ADMIRALS



VICE ADMIRAL'S
BOAT FLAG.



REAR ADMIRAL'S
BOAT FLAG



SECT. OF THE NAVY.



COMMODORE



SENIOR OFFICERS

REGULATION 1869-72

PART VI.

APPENDIX.

THE DISTINGUISHING FLAGS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

1776-1872.

THE DISTINGUISHING FLAGS OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY.

1872.

THE SEAL AND ARMS OF THE UNITED STATES.

1782-1872.

AMERICAN YACHT CLUBS AND FLAGS.

1872.

OUR NATIONAL SONGS.

“A nation’s character is the sum of its splendid deeds; they constitute one common patrimony, the nation’s inheritance. They awe foreign powers, they arouse and animate our own people.” — *Henry Clay*.

“Americans your Fathers’ shed
Their blood to rear the Union’s fame;
For this our fearless Banner spread
On many a gory plain.
Americans let no one dare,
On mountain, valley, prairie, flood,
By hurling down that Temple there,
To desecrate that blood!
The Right shall live, while Faction dies!
All traitors draw a fleeting breath
But Patriots drink from God’s own eyes,
Truths’ light that conquers Death.”

Wm. Ross Wallace.

“Stand by the flag, its folds have streamed in glory,
To foes a fear, to friends a festal robe,
And spread in rhythmic lines the sacred story
Of freedom’s triumphs over all the globe;
Stand by the flag, on land, and ocean billow;
By it your fathers stood, unmoved and true;
Living, defended; dying, from their pillow,
With their last blessing, pass’d it on to you.

“Stand by the flag, though death-shots round it rattle;
And underneath its waving folds have met,
In all the dread array of sanguine battle,
The quivering lance and glittering bayonet;
Stand by the flag, all doubt and treason scorning,
Believe, with courage firm and faith sublime,
That it will float until the eternal morning
Pales in its glories all the lights of time.”

Anonymous.

A P P E N D I X .

THE DISTINGUISHING FLAGS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY, 1776-1872.

From the formation of our navy to the present time a long, narrow pendant, or coach whip, as it is generally called, has been the designating mark of a captain in the navy, and of officers of inferior rank when commanding a United States vessel of war.¹

One of the earliest laws of the continental congress, on the subject of a navy, forbade merchant ships, or privateers, wearing this symbol of rank and authority when in the presence of a vessel of war.

The first commander-in-chief of the American navy, Commodore Esek Hopkins, wore for his standard a square, yellow silk flag blazoned with a lively representation of a rattlesnake, in the act of striking, and underneath it the motto: "*Dont tread on me.*" One description of this flag says, the rattlesnake was at the foot of a pine tree.

How long this flag continued in use, or when it was succeeded by the proper, broad pendant of a commodore, is unknown.

When the stars and stripes were adopted, or very soon after, the commodore's *broad* pendant was made to conform to their union, and was blazoned with the same number of stars.

These *broad* pendants were blue, red, or white according to the seniority of the captains commanding squadrons who were, by courtesy, styled commodores. The blue was always worn, excepting when more than one officer authorized by the secretary of the navy to wear a broad pendant happened into the same port. In that case, the senior officer retained the blue pendant, the next in rank wore a red pendant, and the third in rank a white pendant. (Plate x.)

¹ When Van Tromp, the Dutch admiral, hoisted a broom at his masthead to indicate his intention to sweep the English from the sea, the English admiral hoisted a horse-whip, indicative of his intention to chastise the insolent Dutchman; and ever since that time the narrow or coach whip pendant, symbolizing the original horsewhip, has been the distinctive mark of a vessel of war, and has been adopted as such by all nations.

It is still the custom in England to hang a broom at the masthead of a vessel offered for sale at auction.

A description of the first signals used by the American fleet can be found in the preceding pages of this work.¹

In 1800, Capt. Edward Preble, in command of the U. S. frigate *Essex*, devised some signals for communicating with the vessels under his convoy, which he appears to have copied from a printed code of signals obtained from Sir Roger Curtis, Bart., commanding a British squadron at the cape of Good Hope. The English signals and several copies of the signal books used by Preble's convoy are preserved with his papers. Among his papers, also, are several manuscript signal books, containing the day and night signals established for the Mediterranean squadron by Commodore Richard V. Morris, and which were continued by Commodore Preble, who succeeded him in command of the American squadron before Tripoli in 1803-4. The day signals of this code were made by means of twelve square flags and three pendants, viz., ten numerals 1 to 0, a cornet, an answering flag, and three triangles or repeaters, being the same number now used. The night signals were made by lanterns, variously arranged.

There was also a flag, called a *diptote*,² which, when hoisted with a signal, denoted the execution of that signal was postponed. After the signal was answered, a flag was displayed showing the hour to which the execution of the signal was postponed. Hoisted at the fore, the numerical value of the diptote signified A. M. At the main P. M. The *diptote* had also a two fold character and was useful to multiply or divide a signal. Hoisted between Nos. 8 & 6, for instance, the signal was to be read 43; again suppose signal 264 flying, and it was wished to make 265, but the vessel had only one set of signal flags; then the flags hoisted would be Nos. 1 and 3, *diptote* 5; the diptote doubling the value of the flags hoisted over it.

These signal books, give the distinguishing flags of several of the vessels belonging to our navy, at that time, viz.:

Frigate United States,	Square flag,	Blue, white, red perpendicular.
“ Philadelphia,	“	Red, white, blue. In another book, white with a red ball.
“ Chesapeake.	Burgee,	Blue. In another book, yellow with red cross.
“ President,	Square flag,	Blue, white perpendicular. In another book all blue.
“ Constitution,	“	Blue with yellow cross. In another book half blue and white perpendicular.

¹ See pages 162, 165.

² *Diptote*, from the Greek signifying twice two fold. In grammar, a noun which has only two cases.—*Webster's Dictionary*.

Frigate	New York,	Square flag,	Red, yellow ring in centre.
"	Congress,	"	Three yellow, two red stripes horizontal.
"	Essex,	"	Red, white, red horizontal and also, red with white square centre.
"	Adams,	Burgee,	Red.
Ship	Boston,	Square flag,	White, with yellow or blue cross.
"	John Adams,	"	Blue with red cross.
"	Gen'l. Greene,	"	White with red cross.
Brig.	Nautilus,	"	Red and white perpendicular.
"	Vixen,	"	Blue and red, perpendicular.
"	Syren,	Swallowtails,	Red with white cross.
"	Scourge,	Burgee,	White.
Schr.	Enterprise,	Square flag,	Yellow, blue or black cross.

The naval regulations, issued by command of the president of the United States of America, Jan. 25, 1803, make no mention of a flag or broad pendant for a commander of a squadron, though it is known one was then in use.

The rules and regulations, prepared in 1818, by a board of navy commissioners agreeably to an act passed Feb. 7, 1815, merely say "commodores are to wear their broad pendants at all times on board the ship they command" and should the commander of a fleet or squadron be killed or disabled in battle, "his flag is to be kept flying while the enemy remains in sight." They also established the relative rank of commodores in the navy with brigadier generals in the army.¹

The rules of the navy department, additional to the rules and regulations of 1818, promulgated March, 1832, by the Hon. Levi Woodbury, secretary of the navy, prescribed and established that whenever a captain in the navy was appointed to a command on a foreign station, consisting of more than one vessel of war, he was authorized to hoist his broad pendant as soon as he took charge of, and was ready to sail in any vessel belonging to his squadron, and his extra allowances as a commander of a squadron were then to commence. On ceasing to command any such vessel he was to lower his pendant, and his extra allowances for rations and cabin furniture were then to cease.

Towards the close of 1833, Levi Woodbury, the then secretary of the navy, submitted to General Jackson the president of the United States, a set of rules and regulations for the United States navy, which were submitted by them with his approval to congress.

¹ "The printed regulations of 1818 took effect in the United States on the 1st of December, 1818, abroad on the 1st of Jan., 1819." *Rules of Navy Department, 1832.*

They were referred to the naval committee but for some unexplained reason failed to become a law.

These regulations looked to the appointment of admirals, vice admirals and rear admirals, but provided "until such grades were established" "that captains of 10 years should rank with brigadier generals, and 15 years after the date of their commissions with major generals." Should there be created a higher rank than captain, then rear admirals were to rank with major generals, vice admirals with lieutenant generals, and admirals with generals as they do now.

Article 109 of these regulations provides that "an officer appointed to command a squadron, shall hoist his proper flag or distinguishing pendant on the vessel appointed to receive him and shall wear it until his suspension, removal, or return to the United States."¹

Another set of rules and regulations in compliance with a resolution of congress was prepared and presented to that body, January 13, 1843, by the Hon. A. P. Upshur, secretary of the navy, but like the former they were not legalized. These regulations prescribed that "no officer below the rank of captain shall be appointed to the command of a fleet, squadron, or port station, and the officer so appointed will be authorized to hoist a broad pendant. But an officer who may succeed to the command of a squadron abroad shall be invested with all the authority of a commander-in-chief. No officer shall under any circumstances hoist a broad pendant without special authority of the navy department; and when captains thus authorized shall meet in command, the seniors shall continue to wear the blue, the next in seniority the red, and all others the white. If an officer authorized to wear a broad pendant shall meet his senior while in command without a broad pendant, the junior shall not wear a broad pendant in the presence of such senior." Captains "*while entitled to wear a broad pendant*" were by the same rules "to rank with *brigadier generals* but at all other times with *colonels* in the army." The general, abroad, under this rule, was often found by his foreign friends, when visiting the United States, to be only a colonel at home, and they might well imagine he had lost his rank from bad conduct or inefficiency.

Agreeably to an act passed March 3, 1857, another set of rules and regulations was prepared by a board of officers and submitted to congress by Isaac Toucey, secretary of the navy, with his annual report, December 6, 1858. Like its predecessors it failed to become a law.

¹*Congress. Doc. No. 20. 23d Congress, 1st session, H. of Rep. Executive.*

One provision of these rules was that when the president of the United States visited a vessel of war he should be received upon the deck by all the officers in full uniform; the yards were to be manned; the full marine guard paraded with presented arms, and the music to give three ruffles of the drum, and play a march. He was further to receive a salute of 21 guns. During his presence on board ship, the *National Ensign* was to be displayed at the main and the flag or pendants indicating the command of any other officer was to be struck. The vice president of the United States was to be received with the same honors, less three guns of the salute, and an ex-president was to receive the honors prescribed for the president *excepting* the display of the national ensign at the main and manning the yards.

By the same rules and regulations no officer under the rank of a captain was entitled to wear a broad pendant, and no captain was to hoist one without the direction of the secretary of the navy. A captain authorized to hoist a broad pendant was to be entitled to wear it until ordered to strike it by the secretary of the navy, except in the presence of a senior captain wearing a narrow pendant. Blue, red, or white pendants were to mark seniority as in the preceding orders, and the officer was allowed to shift his pendant to any vessel of his fleet, squadron or division, assigning his reasons for the change by the first opportunity to the secretary or commander-in-chief.

The pendant of a commander of a squadron was only to be worn on a vessel at sea, when the officer entitled to it was embarked in her and was to be struck if he intended being absent from her over twenty-four hours, and was then to be worn by the ship commanded by the officer next in rank or the captain of the fleet, if senior, until his return.

The same year (1857), the lumbering, and now happily obsolete, title of *flag officer* was introduced into the naval service. An act of congress, approved January 16, 1857, directed that "captains in command of squadrons" should be denominated *flag officers*. The officers so appointed flag officers continuing to wear the broad pendant of a commodore or to hoist the square flag of an admiral as they deemed most proper. A year later this act was supplemented by the following order from the secretary of the navy relative to their distinctive flags which had not been before prescribed.

"Navy Department, May 18th, 1858.

"It is hereby ordered that in lieu of the broad pendant now worn by 'flag officers' in command of squadrons they shall wear a plain blue flag of dimensions proportionate to the different

classes of vessels prescribed for the Jack in the Tables of allowance, approved July 20th, 1854.

“Flag officers, whose date of commission as captain is over twenty years, shall wear it at the *fore*; all others at the *mizzen*.

“ISAAC TOUCEY,
“*Secretary of the Navy.*”

This order virtually introduced the flags of vice and rear admirals into our navy though the *title* was considered to be too aristocratic sounding for republican ears at that time.

In 1859, this order was further extended, viz. :

“Navy Department, September 26th, 1859.

“Captains in command of navy yards, who by order of the department have commanded a squadron, will be allowed to wear the flag authorized by the general order of May 18th, 1858, on the receiving ship attached to the station. Should there be no receiving ship, attached to the station, then at any suitable place in the yard under his command.

“The senior flag officer of the navy will wear his flag at the *main*.

“ISAAC TOUCEY,
“*Secretary of the Navy.*”

The senior officer of the navy at that time was Captain Charles Stewart, and the blue flag at the main, the distinctive mark of a full admiral, was an intended compliment to him.

That old hero died in 1869, and complained, with reason in 1866, of his promotion (?) to the rank of a *rear admiral*, on the retired list, giving him the right of wearing his flag at the *mizzen*, and with a greatly reduced pay.

The next general order on the subject was issued only two days before Mr. Toucey retired from the navy department and was as follows :

“Navy Department, March 2d, 1861.

“When officers entitled to wear flags meet, or are in the presence of each other, the senior shall wear the plain blue flag prescribed by general order; the next in rank a plain red one of similar dimensions; and the next in rank a plain white one; each resuming the plain blue flag when they separate.

“ISAAC TOUCEY,
“*Secretary of the Navy.*”

The fourth section of an act to promote the efficiency of the navy, approved Dec. 21, 1861, again recognized the rank and title of flag officer, thus :

“ And be it further enacted, that the president of the United States shall have authority to select any officer, from the grades of captain or *commander* in the navy, and assign him to the command of a squadron, with the rank and title of a ‘ Flag Officer ’; and any officer thus assigned shall have the same authority and receive the same obedience from the commanders of ships in his squadron, holding commissions of an older date than his, that he would be entitled to receive were his commission the oldest ; and to receive, when so employed, the pay to which he would have been entitled if he were on the active list of the navy.”

By this mean expedient, in a time of war, it was proposed to obviate the necessity of the appointment and permanent commissioning of any officers of a higher rank than captains (answering to colonels in the army). It is believed it was the first, only, and it is to be hoped it will be the last instance, in which the rank of a commission, and its corresponding rights and privileges, was duly legislated away in our navy.

The inconvenient absurdity of such a law, and its injurious effect upon the harmony, efficiency and discipline of the service, was soon perceived, and the act was followed by another, approved July 16, 1862, “to establish and equalize the line officers of the navy,” looking to a general reorganization of the naval service. By this act, provision was made for the appointment of *nine* rear admirals on the active list, to be selected, during the war, from those officers, not below the grade of commanders, who were most distinguished for courage, skill and genius in their profession. No one was to be appointed who had not, upon the recommendation of the president, *by name*, received the thanks of congress for distinguished service. By the same act nine rear admirals on the retired list were to be selected from the *captains* who had given the most faithful service to the country.

The same act directed : “ That the *three senior* rear admirals shall wear a square flag at the main-masthead ; the next three, at the fore topmast head, and all others at the mizzen.”

Under this law David Glasgow Farragut was commissioned the *senior* rear admiral, and hoisted a plain blue flag at the *main* of the Hartford, his flagship, at New Orleans on the 13th of August, 1862, it being the flag which he had to that time worn at the mizzen of the Hartford as a flag officer. His flag thus hoisted at the main was saluted by the Hartford, Brooklyn, Mississippi and Pensacola, then anchored in front of New Orleans. Thus was an admiral’s flag for the first time legally hoisted at the main in our navy.

The absurdity of a rear admiral wearing his flag at the fore or main, opposed as it is to the custom of all other naval powers, soon became apparent, and at the suggestion of the Hon. Richard H. Dana Jr., the next congress, by the 2d section of an act approved March 3, 1863, repealed the absurd law and enacted that *section twelve*, of an act entitled an act to equalize the grade of line officers, etc., directing "that the three senior rear admirals shall wear a square flag at the main-mast head, the next three at the foremast head, and all others at the mizzen be and the same is hereby repealed."

By this act, *all* law on the subject was repealed and the distinguishing flags for admirals, etc., and the regulation as to how and where they were to be worn was left discretionary with the department. Under it Rear Admiral Farragut hauled down his flag at the main, and rehoisted it at the mizzen. He soon after, on his promotion to *vice admiral*, Dec. 21, 1864, hoisted his flag at the fore.

No general order was, however, issued on the subject, until the allowances established for vessels of the navy, in 1864, was published, in February, 1865, by authority of the secretary of the navy. By those tables an admiral's distinctive flag was required to be "a rectangle in shape, and to have its opposite sides parallel and equal, and to be all of one color, blue, red, or white without any stars," being the same as had been previously prescribed for flag officers.

The next official order on the subject is to be found in the regulations for the government of the United States navy, issued and established April 18, 1865, by a general order of the Hon. Gideon Welles, secretary.

These regulations were the first to authoritatively prescribe a flag denoting the presence of the president or vice president of the United States, members of the cabinet, secretary of the navy, governors of the states of the union, and the honors and ceremonies to be observed at the reception of each on board our national vessels. By these rules, *the flag of the president of the United States*, was the *American ensign* displayed at the main from the time of his reaching the deck of the vessel until his departure; the usual flag or pendant of the officer commanding being, for the time, struck. *For the vice president*, when received on board one of our vessels in a *foreign port*, the American ensign was to be displayed at the fore; and the same honor was required to be paid to members of the cabinet, justices of the supreme court, and the governors of states of the union.

The flag of a rear admiral was to be a rectangular, plain blue flag, and to be worn at the mizzen. But if two or more rear

admirals in command, afloat, should meet, or be in the presence of each other, the senior only was to wear the blue, the next in seniority the red, and the other or all others the white. Rear admirals in command of shore stations were allowed to wear their flag on the receiving ship, or at some suitable place within the navy yard.

No officer was to hoist a broad pendant except in command of a separate squadron, and when, by authority of the secretary of the navy, so authorized he was not to strike it until duly ordered, except on meeting with an officer of a different squadron or commanding a station, who was *senior* or superior to himself, wearing a narrow pendant. The usual and necessary distinctions of color in the pendants to denote relative seniority was prescribed.

As the grade of commodore, with a commission as such, had existed in the navy since the act of 1861, these restrictions upon the use of the recognized commodore's pendant were, to say the least, singular. However after a commodore had been duly authorized to wear a broad pendant *at sea* he was privileged to hoist one on board the receiving ship, or elsewhere, at any suitable place within his command, when commanding a shore station.

Any officer, not authorized to wear the flag of a rear admiral, nor the broad pendant of a commodore, but appointed by an express order to command a division of a squadron, was to wear a divisional mark of the size prescribed in the book of allowances viz.: (5 to 8 feet hoist by from 4 feet to 6 length of fly), at the mast head where the pendant is usually worn. These divisional marks were to be triangular in shape with the middle part of a different color from the rest, in the form of a wedge, the base occupying one third of the fly. For the 1st division blue, white, blue; for the 2d division red, white, red; for the 3d division white, blue, white.

When two or more vessels of the navy in commission, away from a naval station, were assembled, the senior officer present, if not authorized to wear a flag of higher significance, was to wear a triangular pendant, in shape like the divisional pendants, but *white, red, white*. Any officer commanding a vessel of the navy, and not entitled to wear either of the aforementioned flags or pendants, was to wear a narrow pendant at the main; but this pendant was to be regarded not as an emblem of rank, but rather significant of command, and that the vessel was of a public character.

On the 25th of July, 1866, Vice Admiral David Glasgow Farragut was commissioned a full admiral, the first admiral ever commissioned in our navy, as he was also the first who ever obtained the rank of vice admiral. Rear Admiral David D.

Porter was at the same time selected and commissioned to succeed him as the *vice admiral*.¹ These new grades required a new arrangement of distinctive flags, and which the naval signal code prepared by Commodore Thornton A. Jenkins under authority of the secretary of the navy prescribed. (Plate x), viz. :

1. *For the President of the United States.* The union flag, or jack, viz., a blue, rectangular flag studded with a constellation of white stars equal in number to the states of the union.

This flag to be hoisted at the main royal masthead of any vessel of war or tender of the navy while the president of the United States was on board, and to be carried in the bows of a boat belonging to any vessel in the navy in which the president of the United States, for the time being, was embarked.

The president's flag was to be honored with a salute of 21 guns.

2. *For the Secretary of the Navy.* A blue, rectangular flag 10·25 10·40 feet in hoist; 14·40 feet in length of fly with a white foul anchor, three feet in extreme length, placed vertically in the centre, with four white stars in each corner of the flag surrounding the anchor.

This flag to be hoisted at the main royal masthead whenever the secretary of the navy embarked on board a vessel of the navy, while he remained on board, and to be carried at the bow of any boat or tender in which he was embarked. The flag of the secretary to be saluted with fifteen guns.

3. *For the Admiral.* A rectangular flag of a blue color, with four white stars in the centre forming a diamond.

This flag to be worn at the main of his flag ship, and in the bows of his barge, tender, or other boat in which he was embarked. This flag was first hoisted on the Steam Frigate Franklin, Admiral Farragut's flag ship, at New York, in June, 1867. The admiral's salute is seventeen guns.

4. *For the Vice Admiral.* A plain blue, rectangular flag, with three five pointed, white stars arranged as an equilateral triangle eighteen inches from centre to centre with the upper star eighteen inches from the head and twenty-seven inches from the tabling.

His flag to be worn at the *fore* royal masthead and in boats, etc.

The salute for the vice admiral's flag is fifteen guns.

5. *For Rear Admirals.* A plain blue flag with two white, five pointed stars placed vertically. But if two or more rear admirals in command afloat, should meet, or be in the presence of each other, the *senior* only was to wear the blue flag, the next in seniority was to wear a red flag with white stars, and the other, or all others were to wear a white flag with blue stars.

The rear admiral's flag is always hoisted at the mizzen royal

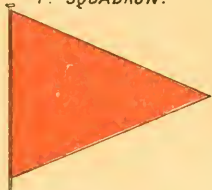
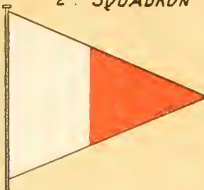
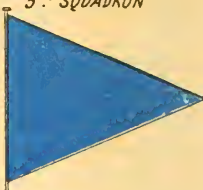
¹ On the death of Admiral Farragut, Aug. 15, 1870, Vice Admiral D. D. Porter, was commissioned an admiral, and Rear-Admiral S. C. Rowan, vice admiral.




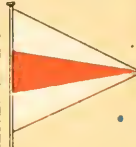
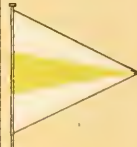
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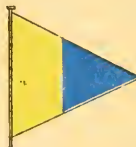
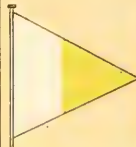

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

DISTINCTIVE FLAGS U. S. NAVY.

PENNANTS OF SQUADRONS & DIVISIONS. -1869.-72




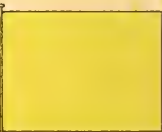
<p>1ST SQUADRON.</p> 	<p>2ND SQUADRON</p>  <p>1869 - 1872.</p>	<p>3RD SQUADRON</p> 
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 <p>I. DIVISION</p>	 <p>II. DIVISION</p>	 <p>III. DIVISION</p>	 <p>IV. DIVISION</p>	 <p>V. DIVISION</p>
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 <p>VI. DIVISION</p>	 <p>VII. DIVISION</p>	 <p>VIII. DIVISION</p>	 <p>IX. DIVISION</p>	 <p>RESERVE DIV.</p>
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1866 - 1872.

To be worn by Squadron or Divisional Commanders who are not entitled to wear a Pennant of higher signification.

<p>GUARD or GUIDE FLAG</p>  <p><i>Worn at the fore - The vessel wearing the Flag of the Senior Officer is always the Guide unless some other vessel is specially ordered to head it.</i></p>	<p>DESPATCH FLAG.</p>  <p><i>Worn by vessels bearing important orders, or despatches to or from a Commander in Chief.</i></p>	<p>CORNET</p>  <p><i>Recalling all boats and officers.</i></p>	<p>QUARANTINE FLAG.</p>  <p><i>Worn by vessels when in Quarantine with whom intercourse is forbidden.</i></p>
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<p>CHURCH PENNANT.</p>  <p><i>Hoisted at the peak above the Ensign during Divine Service.</i></p>	<p>GENERAL RECALL.</p>  <p><i>Of all Vessels or Boats sent in Chase or on Service hoisted where best seen from other vessels.</i></p>
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masthead and in the bows of boats, etc., and is entitled to a salute of thirteen guns.

6. *For Commodores.* The designating flag was a blue, swallow tailed, broad pendant with one white star, to be worn at the main of his ship and in the bow of his boat, when in command of a squadron, or of a single ship other than the flag ship of the admiral commanding the fleet. When in command of naval stations it was to be worn on board the receiving ship, or if there was no such vessel, then at the usual place at the navy yard for displaying a flag.

When two or more commodores met, the superior in rank to wear the blue, the next the red, and the other or others a white pendant, the same in order as prescribed for rear admiral's flags. The salute of a commodore, which had been thirteen guns, was by these regulations reduced, in consequence of the introduction of the higher grades, and to conform to the custom of foreign navies, to eleven guns. The commodores' broad pendant was required to be swallow tailed, the angular point to fall on a line drawn at a right angle with the hoist, or head from its middle, and at a distance from the head of three fifths the whole length of the pendant. The lower side of the pendant to be rectangular with the hoist or head; but on the contrary the upper side to be sloped, so as to narrow the pendant across at the extremity of the tail, one tenth of the measure of the hoist, and thus render the upper tail correspondingly shorter than the lower one.

7. *For Commanders of Divisions, Commanders of Squadrons of Divisions, and Senior Officers present.* The flags or pendants were all triangular in shape, and were to be worn by officers below the rank of a commodore at the main royal masthead (alongside the narrow pendant distinctive of their rank), when in command of a division and more than one ship, but were not to be worn in the bows of boats. (Plate xi).

The triangular pendant of the commanders of divisions were, for the 1st division, blue; 2d, red; 3d, white and red vertical. The senior officer's flag white and blue vertical. In 1869, these flags were reversed thus: The pendant of the commander of the 1st division, all red, of the 2d white, red perpendicular, of the 3d, all blue, and the guard flag, white with a red saltier, the senior officer's flag. (See Plate xi).

The flags of the commanders of the first *seven* squadrons of divisions had the middle part of a different color from the rest, in the form of a wedge, the base occupying one-third of the hoist or head, and the point extending to the extremity of the flag.

The flag of the first squadron of division was blue — white — blue; 2d, red — white — red; 3d, white — blue — white; 4th,

white—red—white; 5th, white—yellow—white; 6th, red—white—blue; 7th, white—blue—red. The flag of the 8th squadron of division was yellow and blue vertical; the 9th white and yellow vertical, and the flag of the reserve squadron blue and yellow vertical. (Plate xi).

No divisional commander was to wear a distinctive mark when separated singly from the squadron or station to which he belonged and no officer wearing such a distinctive mark, or that of a senior officer present, was in consequence thereof to assume any additional title or allow himself to be addressed by any other than his commission allowed, nor was he to permit his vessel to be called a flag ship.

8. The pendant *for a commanding officer of a single vessel when of lower rank than commodore*. Captains, commanders, and other line officers of inferior rank, when actually in command of a vessel of war, were required to wear the narrow or coach whip pendant at the main royal masthead of their vessel, and in the bow of the boat in which they embarked.

This pendant was to be regarded not as an emblem of rank, but as significant of command and that their vessel was of a public character. This narrow pendant was to have the union part composed of thirteen white stars in a horizontal line on a blue field, one-fourth of the length of the pendant. The remaining three-fourths of its length was to be of a red and white stripe each of the same breadth at any part of the taper, and with the red uppermost. The number of stars in the union of night and boat pendants was to be confined to seven.

The flags of commanders of divisions, of squadrons of divisions, of a senior officer present, and the narrow pendant of other commanding officers, were not entitled to a salute; but when these officers saluted an officer of a superior rank, they were to receive, if a captain, a return salute of *nine* guns, and if of less rank, a return salute of seven guns.

The return salute of officers holding equal rank is always gun for gun. No vessel of the navy, mounting less than six guns, and no store ship or transport is allowed to salute. If necessary to avoid giving offence, such vessel may fire a *return* salute. No *surveying vessel* is ever to fire, or return a salute.

In addition to these flags, distinctive of rank and command, the regulations of 1866 provided several for general purposes, viz.: (Plate xi).

1. A *Convoy Flag*. A white, triangular flag, bordered with red, to be worn by vessels of war when convoying merchant or other vessels.

2. A *Pilot Flag*. The union jack bordered with red, hoisted at the fore, to denote a *pilot wanted*.

3. A *Compass Flag*. This was a square flag divided into four squares or cantons, blue, yellow, white, red. To be hoisted over the numeral flags of the signal code representing the points of the compass.

4. A *Guard Flag*. A white flag with a red St. Andrew's cross hoisted at the fore, to indicate the vessel charged with guard duty for the day, whose duty it is to board all vessels approaching and ascertain their character before allowing communication with them. (Plate xi).

5. A *Guide or Pivot Flag*. A square flag composed of five perpendicular stripes, red and white. To designate any steam vessel of a fleet or squadron, etc., as a guide or pivot ship in the performance of any naval evolution. In 1869, this flag was dispensed with. The guard flag was made to answer the purpose of a guide flag. (Plate xi).

6. A *Dispatch Flag*. A white, square flag with five blue crosses generally known as *the five of clubs*; hoisted forward, this flag denoted important and urgent special service, which must not be interfered with by any officer junior to the one by whom it was dispatched. (Plate xi).

7. A *Powder Flag*. A plain red flag hoisted at the fore denoting the vessel is taking in or discharging powder.

8. A *Quarantine Flag*. A plain yellow flag, also worn at the fore by vessels in quarantine and waiting pratique, denoting all intercourse with the vessel is forbidden. (Plate xi).

9. A *Church Pendant*. A white pendant, without swallow tails charged with a blue Latin cross, to be hoisted at the peak, during divine service, *over the ensign*. The only flag to which the national ensign shows such submission. (Plate xi).

10. A *General Recall Flag*. A blue, square flag with a white Latin cross dividing it into four equal parts. When hoisted by the commander-in-chief, or senior officer present, it is to be considered a peremptory order *for all vessels or boats* sent in chase, or engaged in other duty of whatever nature, to return at once to their vessels, duty or station, unless they shall have been previously specially ordered to disregard the signal. The general recall is not hauled down until all the vessels or boats obey the signal.

11. The *Cornet*. Long used in the navy and still continued as the ordinary recall of all boats and officers, and as a signal for sailing. This is a square flag divided into four equal squares of alternate red and white and when hoisted anywhere, without other flags, is to be considered a peremptory order for all absent boats and officers to return on board without delay. When hoisted above or over the numeral flags of the signal code, it denotes those numerals are the ship's book number, opposite to which in navy list in the signal is the ship's name. The cornet hoisted at any part of a vessel, with numeral flags at a different

part of the ship, indicates that those numbers are to be sought for in the *telegraphic* dictionary, and that the signal will be communicated word by word or letter by letter. The cornet *under* signal numbers indicates that they represent the *private* number of a ship.

In addition to these distinctive flags the naval signal code provides pendants to designate shipping, squadron, boat recalls, meal time, etc., etc., also ten numeral flags and three repeating pendants, for telegraphic purposes. As a whole this was, perhaps, the most systematic, complete, and best code of distinctive, general, and telegraphic flags the navy had known; but with a change in the administration of the bureau came a radical change in the distinctive flags.

At a considerable sacrifice of beauty, and time honored associations, the following order was promulgated, changing the blue at the main to a bit of striped bunting. Restoring the national ensign to the main, in the place of the jack, was, however, a move in the right direction.

“Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department,
Washington, Dec. 31, 1869.

“Sir: By direction of the secretary of the navy the following instructions are promulgated:

“When the president shall visit a ship of war of the United States, the ensign shall be hoisted at the main, when coming on board, and hauled down at his departure. It is also to be hoisted in the bow of the boat in which he embarks.

“When the secretary of the navy shall visit a ship of war of the United States, the union jack shall be hoisted at the main, and in the bow of the boat in which he embarks.

“As the jack is taken from the union of the ensign, in order to *utilize* the latter still further, the *stripes* will compose the flag of flag officers, and the broad pendants of commanders, made in the usual shape and size according to the designs in the new signal book. (See plate x).

“Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“JAMES ALDEN,
“*Chief of Bureau.*

“To Officers *Commanding Squadrons.*”

By another circular order, addressed to commandants of naval stations, dated Dec. 23d, 1869, they were directed to furnish the new naval signal book to each of the vessels in commission at their station, prior to the 1st of Jan., 1870, when the book was to be put into use and the new distinguishing flags and pendants prescribed therein were to be hoisted.

The following table shows the proportions and dimensions of the national ensigns, union jacks, and distinctive flags prescribed for the United States navy.

Number.	Ensigns.			Narrow pennants.			Jacks.		Distinctive flags of officers commanding fleets or squadrons.		Distinctive marks for officers commanding divisions, and for a senior officer present.			
	Hoist.	Whole length, or fly.	Length of union.	Hoist.	Whole length, or fly.	Length of union.	Hoist.	Whole length, or fly.	Admirals.	Commodores.	Hoist.	Whole length, or fly.		
1	<i>Fect.</i> 19.00	<i>Fect.</i> 36.00	<i>Fect.</i> 14.40	<i>Fect.</i> 00.52	<i>Fect.</i> 70.00	<i>Fect.</i> 17.50	<i>Fect.</i> 10.25	<i>Fect.</i> 14.40	<i>Fect.</i> 10.25	<i>Fect.</i> 14.40	<i>Fect.</i> 10.80	<i>Fect.</i> 18.00	<i>Fect.</i> 8.00	<i>Fect.</i> 6.40
2	16.90	32.00	12.80	00.48	55.00	13.75	9.00	12.80	9.00	12.80	9.60	16.00	7.00	5.60
3	14.80	28.00	11.20	00.42	40.00	10.00	8.00	11.20	8.00	11.20	8.40	14.00	6.00	4.80
4	13.20	25.00	10.00	00.40	30.00	7.50	7.00	10.00	7.00	10.00	7.20	12.00	5.00	4.00
5	11.60	22.00	8.80	00.35	25.00	6.25	6.25	8.80	6.25	8.80	6.00	10.00	8.00	6.00
6	10.00	19.00	7.60	00.30	20.00	5.00	5.40	7.60	5.40	7.60	6.00	8.00	6.00	6.00
7	8.45	16.00	6.40	00.25	9.00	2.25	4.50	6.40	4.50	6.40	3.60	6.00	6.00	6.00
8	7.40	14.00	5.60	00.21	6.00	1.50	4.00	5.60	4.00	5.60	3.00	5.00	6.00	6.00
9	6.33	12.00	4.80	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
10	5.28	10.00	4.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11	4.20	8.00	3.20	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
12	3.70	7.00	2.80	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
13	3.20	6.00	2.40	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
14	2.50	5.00	2.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

By the existing regulation of 1870 the distinctive flags are as follows :

1st. *For the President.* The national ensign at the main, so long as he remains on board a vessel of war.

2d. *For the Vice President.* When received on board a vessel of the navy, in a foreign port, the national ensign at the fore.

3d. *For the Secretary of the Navy.* The union jack hoisted at the main so long as he remains on board a vessel of the navy. (Plate x).

4th. *For Admirals, Vice Admirals and Rear Admirals.* A flag of thirteen plain, horizontal stripes, alternate red and white. Worn at the main by an admiral, at the fore by a vice admiral, and at the mizzen by a rear admiral. The vice admiral's *boat flag* to have a single red star in a white square at the luff of the second red stripe. The rear admiral's *boat flag* to have two red stars perpendicular in the luff at the 2d and 3d red stripes. The same distinction to be borne by a junior or juniors at the mizzen, when more than one rear admiral is present; a rear admiral is to hoist the same flag at the fore if sailing in a two masted vessel. (Plate x).

4. *The Broad Pendant of a Commodore.* The same striped flag, the end or fly of it swallow tailed, and worn at the main. Should more than one commodore be present the junior is to hoist his pendant at the fore. *Senior officers present*, below the rank of commodore, hoist a smaller broad pendant of the same kind, at the mizzen. (See plate x).

The present striped flags for admirals, and pendants for commodores, have not been received with favor by the officers most interested and there is a universally expressed wish and hope entertained, by officers of all grades, that the time honored blue and red which is associated with so many of our naval triumphs may be restored.

FLAGS, COLORS, STANDARDS, GUIDONS OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY.

Prescribed by the Army Rules and Regulations, 1872.

Garrison Flag. — The garrison flag is the national flag. It is made of bunting, thirty-six feet fly and twenty feet hoist, in thirteen horizontal stripes of equal breadth, alternately red and white, beginning with the red. In the upper quarter, next the staff, is the union composed of a number of white stars, equal to the number of states, on a blue field, one-third the length of the flag, extending to the lower edge of the fourth red stripe from the top. The storm flag is twenty feet by ten feet; the recruiting flag, nine feet nine inches by four feet four inches.

Colors of Artillery Regiments. — Each regiment of artillery shall have two silken colors. The first, or the national color, of stars and stripes, as described for the garrison flag. The number and name of the regiment is to be embroidered with gold on the centre stripe. The second, or regimental color, to be yellow, of the same dimensions as the first, bearing in the centre two cannon crossing, with the letters U. S. above, and the number of the regiment below; fringe, yellow. Each color to be six feet six inches fly, and six feet deep on the pike. The pike, including the spear and ferrule, to be nine feet ten inches in length. Cord and tassels, red and yellow silk intermixed.

Colors of Infantry Regiments. — Each regiment of infantry shall have two silken colors. The first, or the national color, of stars and stripes, as described for the garrison flag; the number and name of the regiment to be embroidered with silver on the centre stripe. The second, or regimental color, to be blue, with the arms of the United States embroidered in silk on the centre. The name of the regiment in a scroll underneath the eagle. The size of each color is to be six feet six inches fly, and six feet deep on the pike. The length of the pike, including the spear and ferrule, to be nine feet ten inches. The fringe yellow; cords and tassels blue and white silk intermixed.

Camp Colors. — The camp colors are of bunting, eighteen inches square; white for infantry, and red for artillery, with the number of the regiment on them. The pole eight feet long.

Standards and Guidons of Mounted Regiments. — Each regiment will have a silken standard, and each company a silken guidon.

The standard to bear the arms of the United States, embroidered in silk, on a blue ground, with the number and name of the regiment, in a scroll underneath the eagle. The flag of the standard to be two feet five inches wide, and two feet three inches on the lance, and to be edged with yellow silk fringe.

The flag of the guidon is swallow-tailed, three feet five inches from the lance to the end of the swallow-tail; fifteen inches to the fork of the swallow-tail, and two feet three inches on the lance. To be half red and half white, dividing at the fork, the red above. On the red, the letters U. S. in white; and on the white the letter of the company in red. The lance of the standards and guidons to be nine feet long, including spear and ferrule.

Colors of the Engineer Battalion. — “The flags of the engineer battalion will be as follows: The national color as described for the garrison flag, with the words ‘United States engineers’ embroidered in silver in the centre. The battalion color will be of scarlet, of the same dimensions as above, bearing in the centre a castle with the letters U. S. above and the word Engineers below in silver. Fringe white. The size of each color and the length of the pike the same as described for colors for artillery and infantry regiments. Cords and tassels red and white silk intermixed.”

Corps Badges.— Under the following resolution of congress permission is given to all officers and soldiers who served during the rebellion to wear the badge of the corps in which they served.

[I. PUBLIC RESOLUTION — No. 55.]

A resolution granting permission to officers and soldiers to wear the badge of the corps in which they served during the rebellion.

Resolved by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled, That all who served as officers, non-commissioned officers, privates, or other enlisted men in the regular army, volunteer, or militia forces of the United States, during the war of the rebellion, and have been honorably discharged from the service or remain still in the same, shall be entitled to wear, on occasions of ceremony, the distinctive army badge ordered for and adopted by the army corps and division, respectively, in which they served.

Approved July 25, 1868.

THE SEAL AND ARMS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

It appears from the journals of congress that Doctor Franklin, Mr. John Adams, and Mr. Thomas Jefferson were appointed a committee to prepare a device for a great seal for the United States of America, July 4th, 1776. This, it will be observed, was the very day of the Declaration of Independence. On the 10th of August this committee reported a device, with an explanation thereof, which was ordered to lie on the table. The following is a copy of their report.

“The great seal should on one side have the arms of the United States of America, which arms should be as follows :

“The shield has six quarters, parts one coupe two. The first or, a rose, enamelled gules and argent for England. The 2d argent, a thistle proper for Scotland, the 3d vert, a harp or, for Ireland, the 4th azure, a flower de luce for France, the 5th or, the imperial eagle, sable, for Germany, and the 6th or, the Belgie lion, gules, for Holland, pointing out the countries from which the states have been peopled. The shield within a border, gulès, entwined of thirteen escutcheons, argent, linked together by a chain or, each charged with initial sable letters as follows. 1st N. H. ; 2d Mass. ; 3d R. I. ; 4th Conn. ; 5th N. Y. ; 6th N. J. ; 7th Penn. ; 8th Del. ; 9th Md. ; 10th Va. ; 11th N. C. ; 12th S. C. ; 13th Geo. ; for each of the thirteen independent states of America.

“SUPPORTERS, *dexter* the Goddess of Liberty in a corselet of armor. Alluding to the present times ; holding in her right hand the spear and cap, and with her left supporting the shield of the states ; *sinister* the Goddess of Justice bearing a sword in her right hand, and in her left a balance.

“CREST. The eye of Providence in a radiant triangle whose glory extends over the shield and beyond the figures. Motto, *E. Pluribus Unum.*

“Legend round the whole achievement, Seal of the United States of America MDCCLXXVI.

“On the other side of the said great seal should be the following device :

“Pharaoh sitting in an open chariot, a crown on his head, and a sword in his hand, passing through the divided waters of the Red sea, in pursuit of the Israelites. Rays from a pillar of fire in the cloud, expressive of the Divine presence and command,

beaming on Moses, who stands on the shore, and extending his hand over the sea, causes it to overthrow Pharaoh.

“MOTTO, ‘*Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God.*’”

On the 25th of March, 1779, it was ordered that the report of the committee on the device of a great seal for the United States, in congress assembled, be referred to a committee of three and Messrs. Lovell, Scott and Houston were appointed. On the 10th of May the committee reported that:

“The seal be four inches in diameter, on one side the arms of the United States as follows: the shield charged in the field with thirteen diagonal stripes alternately red and white.

“SUPPORTERS, *dexter*, a warrior holding a sword: *sinister*, a figure representing Peace bearing an olive branch.

“THE CREST; a radiant constellation of thirteen stars.

“THE MOTTO; *Belle rel pace.*

“The legend round the achievement ‘Seal of the United States.’

“ON THE REVERSE; The figure of Liberty, seated in a chair, holding the staff and cap.

“THE MOTTO; *Semper*, underneath MDCCLXXVI.”

On the 17th of May, the report of the committees on the device of a great seal was taken into consideration and after debate ordered to be recommitted, and the result was the following report:

“The seal to be three inches in diameter, on one side the arms of the United States, as follows: the shield charged in the field azure, with thirteen diagonal stripes, alternate rouge and argent.

“SUPPORTERS; *dexter* a warrior holding a sword. *Sinister*; a figure representing Peace, bearing the olive branch.

“THE CREST; a radiant constellation of thirteen stars.

“THE MOTTO; *Belle rel pace.*

“THE LEGEND round the achievement. *The Great Seal of the United States.*

“ON THE REVERSE, *Virtute Perennis*, underneath MDCCLXXVI.”

A miniature of the face of the great seal and half its diameter to be prepared and affixed as the less seal of the United States.

June 13, 1782, Mr. Wm. Barton of Philadelphia proposed the following:

“Device for an armorial achievement for the United States of North America, blazoned agreeably to the laws of heraldry, proposed by Mr. Barton, A.M.

ARMS. Paleways of thirteen pieces argent and gules: a chief azure, the escutcheon placed on the breast of the American (the bald headed), eagle, displayed proper; holding in his beak a scroll

inscribed with the motto, viz. : 'E Pluribus Unum' and in his dexter talon a palm or olive branch in the other a bundle of thirteen arrows, all proper.¹

"FOR THE CREST. Over the head of the eagle which appears above the escutcheon, a glory, or, breaking through a cloud, proper, and surrounding thirteen stars forming a constellation, argent on an azure field.

"In the exerque of the great seal.

Jul. IV, MDCCLXXVI.

"In the margin of the same.

"*Sigil, Mag. Repub. Confæd. Americ.*"

Mr. Barton thus indicated the meaning of his devices : "The escutcheon is composed of the chief, and pale, the two most honorable ordinaries ; the latter represents the several states, all joined in one solid, compact entire, supporting a chief, which unites the whole, and represents congress. The motto alludes to the union ; the colors or tinctures of the pales are those used in the flag of the United States. White signifies purity and innocence : red, hardiness, valor ; the chief denotes congress ; blue is the ground of the American uniform, and the color signifies vigilance, perseverance and justice.

"The meaning of the crest is obvious, as is likewise that of the olive branch and arrows. The escutcheon being placed on the breast of the eagle, is a very ancient mode of bearing and is truly imperial, The eagle *displayed*, is another heraldic figure ; and being borne in the manner here described, supplies the place of supporters and crest. The American states need no supporters but their own virtue, and the preservation of their union through congress. The pales in the arms are kept closely united by the chief, which last, likewise, depends on that union, and strength resulting from it for its own support, the inference is plain."

Another device proposed by Mr. Barton, agreeably to the rules of heraldry, was as follows.

"ARMS. Barry of thirteen pieces, argent and gules, on a canton azure, and many stars disposed in a circle of the first ; a pale or, surmounted of another of the third ; charged in chief with an eye surrounded with a glory proper, and in the fess point, an eagle displayed on the summit of a Doric column, which rests on the base of the escutcheon, both as the stars.

¹ As the paler or pallets consist of an uneven number, they ought in strictness to be blazoned ; argent 6 pallets gules, but as the thirteen pieces allude to the thirteen states, they are blazoned according to the number of *pieces paleways*.

“CREST. Or, a helmet of burnished gold damasked, grated with six bars, and surmounted by a cap of liberty, gules, turned up ermine, a cock armed with gaffs proper.

“SUPPORTERS. On the *dexter* side, the genius of America (represented by a maiden with loose auburn tresses), having on her head a radiated crown of gold, encircled with a sky blue fillet, spangled with silver stars, and clothed in a long loose white garment, bordered with green. From her right shoulder to her left side a scarf, semee of stars, the tinctures thereof the same as in the canton; and round her waist a purple girdle, fringed or embroidered argent, with the word ‘Virtue,’ resting her interior hand on the escutcheon, and holding in the other the proper ‘*Standard of the United States,*’ having a dove argent, perched on the top of it.

“On the *sinister* side; a man in complete armor, his sword belt azure, fringed with gold, his helmet encircled with a laurel wreath, and crested with one white and blue plume; supporting with his dexter hand the escutcheon, and holding in the interior a lance, with the point sanguinated, and upon it a banner, displayed, vest in the fess point; a harp strung with silver, between a star in chief, two fleur-de-lis in fess, and a pair of swords in saltier in basses, all argent. The tenants of the escutcheon stand on a scroll on which is the following motto:

‘*Deo Favente.*’

which alludes to the *eye* in the arms, meant for the eye of Providence.

“Over the crest, on a scroll, this motto:

‘*Virtus sola invicta.*’

which required no comment.

“The thirteen pieces barways, which fill up the field of the arms, may represent the several states; and the same number of stars, upon a blue canton disposed in a circle, represent a new constellation, which alludes to the new empire formed in the world by the confederation of those states. Their disposition in a circle denotes the perpetuity of its continuance, the ring being the symbol of eternity. The eagle displayed, is the symbol of supreme power and authority, and signifies the congress; the pillar upon which it rests is used as the hieroglyphic of fortitude and constancy, and its being of the Doric order (which is the best proportioned and most agreeable to nature), and composed of several members, or parts, all taken together forming a beautiful composition of strength, congruity, and usefulness, it may with great propriety signify a well planned government. The eagle being

placed on the summit of the columns, is emblematical of the sovereignty of the government of the United States: and as further expressive of that idea, those two charges, or, five and six azure, are borne in a pale which extends across the thirteen pieces into which the escutcheon is divided. The signification of the eye has been already explained. The helmet is such as appertains to sovereignty and the cap is used as the token of freedom and excellency. It was formerly worn by dukes: says Guillien, *they had a more worthy government than other subjects*. The cock is distinguished for two most excellent qualities, viz: *vigilance and fortitude*. The genius of the American confederated republic is denoted by the blue scarf and fillet, glittering with stars, and by the flag of congress which she displays. Her dress is white edged with green, emblematical of innocence and truth. Her purple girdle and radiated crown, indicate her sovereignty, the word 'virtue' on the former, is to show, that that should be her principal ornament, and the *radiated* crown, that no earthly crown should rule her. The dove on the top of the American standard, denotes the mildness and purity of her government.

"The knight in armor, with his bloody lance, represents the military genius of the American empire, armed in defense of its just rights. His blue belt and blue feathers indicate his country and the white plume is in compliment to our gallant ally. The wreath of laurel round his helmet is expressive of his success.

"The green field of the banner denotes youth and vigor; the harp¹ [with thirteen strings,] emblematical of the several states acting in harmony and concert, the star *in chief* has reference to America, as *principal* in the contest the two fleur-de-lis are borne as a grateful² testimony of the *support* given to her by France and the two swords crossing each other, signify the state of war. This tenant and his flag relate totally to America, at the time of her revolution."

June 13, 1782, Messrs. Middleton, Boudinot and Rutledge reported a modification of Mr. Barton's devices which was referred to the secretary of the United States, and a week later, on the 20th of June, 1782, the secretary of the United States, in congress assembled, to whom was referred the several re-

¹ The pen is run through the words, *with thirteen strings*, in the original.

² "In the arms of Scotland as manifested in the royal achievement, the double treasure which surrounds the lion is borne *flory and counter flory* (with *fleur-de-lis*) which is in consequence of a treaty between Charlemagne, emperor and king of France, and Achias king of Scotland, to denote that the French lilies should guard and defend the Scottish lion."

ports of committees on the devices of a great seal to take order, reported the following device which was adopted as :

THE GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

“ARMS — *Paleways of thirteen pieces argent and gules ; a chief azure ; the escutcheon on the breast of the American eagle displayed proper, holding in his dexter talon an olive branch, and in his sinister a bundle of thirteen arrows, all proper ; and in his beak a scroll inscribed with this motto : ‘ E PLURIBUS UNUM.’*

“For the CREST : *over the head of the eagle which appears above the escutcheon, a glory breaking through a cloud proper, and surrounding thirteen stars, forming a constellation, argent, and on an azure field.*

REVERSE.— *A pyramid unfinished. In the zenith an eye in a triangle, surrounded with a glory, proper ; over the eye these words, ANNUIT CÆPTIS. On the base of the pyramid the numerical letters, MDCCLXXVI, and underneath, the following motto :*

‘NOVUS ORDO SECLORUM.’¹

“The interpretation of these devices is as follows : The escutcheon is composed of the chief and pale, the two most honorable ordinaries. The pieces pales represent the several states, all joined in one solid, compact entire supporting a chief which unites the whole and represents congress. The pales in the arms are kept closely united by the chief, and the chief depends on that union, and the strength resulting from it, for its support, to denote the confederacy of the United States of America, and the preservation of their union through congress.

“The colors of the pales and those used in the flag of the United States of America ; white signifies purity and innocence ;

¹ *Mr. Lukens of Philadelphia in a letter to me dated Oct. 25, 1871, says : The armoristic lapses of this act are : First. The omission of ‘ wings elevated’ [or tips in chief,] after displayed, as the bald eagle might be displayed and yet have the wings ‘ inverted’ [or tips in base.] Second. The tincture of the scroll or motto ribbon, which might be either red, or blue, and yet harmonize with the tinctures of the shields as arms is omitted. The motto itself would inevitably be gold unless otherwise mentioned. Third. Denominating the stars over the head of the eagle a ‘ crest.’ They are instead only approximately a crest, but are not a crest except through great latitude in the use of the term, because they could not be tangibly represented as in nature, and attached to the top of a helmet. Theoretically the crest must be something possible to represent in apparent solidity in carved or stamped work which being affixable to the helmet, can also be reasonably, represented as resting upon the top of the shield.*

*Mr. Lukens’s interesting letter is embellished with several elegant pen drawings, and I regret I am unable to reproduce them and his letter in full. Correct engravings of the Great Seal of the United States, both the obverse and reverse, can be found in the *National History of the United States* by Lossing and Williams, 2 vols., published by E. Walker, 114 Fulton street, New York.*

red, hardiness and valor ; and blue, the color of the chief, signifies vigilance, perseverance, and justice.

“The olive branch and arrows denote the power of peace and war, which is exclusively vested in congress. The constellation denotes a new state taking its place and rank among the sovereign powers ; the escutcheon is borne on the breast of the American eagle without any other supporters, to denote that the United States of America ought to rely on their own virtue.

“REVERSE. The pyramid signifies strength and duration ; the eye over it, and the *motto* alludes to the many and signal interpositions of providence in favor of the American cause. The date underneath is that of the Declaration of Independence ; and the words under it signify the beginning of the new era, which commences from that date.”

On the north and south walls of St. Paul's Chapel, New York, opposite each other, and half way down the nave, hang the arms of the United States and the state of New York. These are supposed to mark the places which were occupied by the large square pews set apart for the president of the United States and the governor of the state. At “some dreary day of modernizing and miscalled improvement” these canopied pews were destroyed, and the paintings consigned to unmerited obscurity. A few years ago they were restored, as nearly as could be determined, to their original positions.

The arms of the United States on the north side, are believed to mark the place of the president's pew, in which Gen. Washington was accustomed to sit. The painting is evidently the work of a skillful painter, working from the device of an experienced herald. The blazon is as follows :

*Argent six palets gules, a chief azure. Borne on the breast of the American Eagle displayed, in his dexter talon an olive branch, in his sinister a bundle of thirteen arrows, points upward, all proper, the last feathered or ; his head surrounded with a circular sky, azure, charged with thirteen mullets 5, 4, 3, 1, argent, environed with clouds proper and beyond rays, or ; in his beak a scroll with the words “ E Pluribus unum ” gold.*¹

Mr. Lossing² says upon the authority of Thomas Barrett, an antiquary of Manchester, that these arms were suggested to John Adams by Sir John Prestwich, who meant to signify by the blue chief the protection of heaven over the states. The legal blazon of the arms is a good one, but the one describing the arms

¹ Heraldry St. Paul's chapel, in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, July, 1872.

² *Field Book American Revolution*, vol. II.

in St. Paul's is more definite and clear. It is to be regretted that in the ordinary representation of the arms of the United States the chief is often charged with three or more mullets.

The question from whence our fathers derived the motto *E Pluribus Unum* is often asked but has never been satisfactorily answered. It has been suggested that, as about the time of the revolution, the *Gentleman's Magazine* had a popular circulation in the colonies, the motto may have been adopted from the motto on the title page of that serial. The title to the first volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1731, forty-five years previous to the adoption of the motto on our arms, has the device of a hand grasping a bunch of flowers, and the motto *E Pluribus Unum*. And on the title to the first or January number, and all the subsequent numbers of the first volume is the motto *Prodesse et Delectare*. The title of the magazine says, that its contents are collected chiefly from the public papers by Sylvanus Urban.

On the title to the second vol. (1732), the two mottoes are united thus :

“Prodesse et Delectare, [device of a hand grasping a boquet] E Pluribus Unum.”

And these united mottoes are continued on the title pages of the magazine a hundred years later, in 1833, after which their use was discontinued. There were, however, some changes in the intervening years. From 1786 to '88, the volumes bore the mottoes without the device. From 1789, to '94, the device but no mottoes. In 1798, the mottoes but no device. In 1808, the device was changed from a hand grasping a boquet, to a *vase* filled with fruit and flowers, and this device with the mottoes, as established in 1732, was continued on all the volumes of the magazine from 1808, to 1832. In 1834 a new series was commenced and the old mottoes were abandoned.

A writer in *Lippincott's Magazine*¹ traces the origin of our motto to a Latin poem, ascribed to Virgil. He says: “Perhaps in the minds of those who first chose it to express the peculiar character of our government it had no definite origin. It may have been manufactured for the occasion. Certain it is, when it was first used in the report of the committee of congress, Aug. 7, 1776, as the epigraph of the public seal, it was a phrase too familiar or too plain to need explanation or authority. But whether remembered, or reinvented on that occasion, almost the exact words occur in a Latin poem called *Moretum*, ascribed to Virgil, but which is not usually found in his collected works.

¹ *Lippincott's Magazine* for Feb. 1868.

It is a vivid description of an ancient Italian peasant's morning meal, with incidental suggestions of his mode of life generally. The *moretum* is a species of pottage made of herbs and cheese which with the help of his servants he concocts before dawn; he grinds up the various materials with a pestle. Then says the poet :

‘ It matus in gyrum, paullatum singula vivres,
Dependunt proprias ; color est E PLURIBUS UNUM.

This poem has been seldom noticed.”

A writer in the *Overland Monthly*, published in San Francisco, says :

“ In choosing a national motto, they [our fathers], derived it from a modest metrical composition in Latin, written by John Carey, of Philadelphia,¹ and entitled, ‘ The Pyramid of Fifteen States,’ in which occurs the following verse.

‘ Audax inde cohors stellis e pluribus unum.
Aadua pyramidos tollit ad astra caput.”²

The pyramid of *fifteen* states, is evidence that the poem was written in 1794 or '95, after the admission of Vermont and Kentucky to the original thirteen.

¹ I can find no mention of John Carey or Cary, of Philadelphia, in any of the *American Biographical Dictionaries*.

² Picking Historical Marrowbones by Stephen Powers in *Overland Monthly*, March 1871.

AMERICAN YACHT CLUBS.

Yachting has ever been and must always remain an aristocratic sport. The cost of building and maintaining even the smallest yacht, places yachting beyond the resources of any but the wealthy. The rich merchants of Tyre, of whom the Prophet Ezekiel wrote, had their private galleys, with "benches of ivory" and masts of cedar of Lebanon; and spread forth sails of 'fine linen with brodered work from Egypt.' The yachts of the Roman emperors were built of costly cedar inlaid, their sterns studded with rare jewels. They were furnished with baths, porticos, and even hot houses, and gardens. It is safe to conclude that they never engaged in ocean regattas or were remarkable for their speed. The royal yachts of England, France, Holland and Russia are styled the perfections of their class, but in reference to the comfort of their accommodations, rather than to the perfections of their models. Queen Victoria has three steam yachts, the Prince of Wales two, and the Duke of Edinburgh one. The latter, being a sailor, has seen that his yacht possesses good seagoing qualities and speed as well as cabin accommodations. Napoleon III. kept three steam yachts which are now the property of the republic. For over thirty years the Czar of Russia has maintained an Imperial yacht club at St. Petersburg to encourage a taste for nautical science among the young nobility of his empire.¹

The English naval dockyards, built royal yachts as far back as 1660 when Phineas Petts was the master shipwright of the royal navy. Charles II. owned the yacht *Mary* of 163 tons and the *Queensborough* of 27 tons. Pepys mentions a race, May 1661, between a Dutch yacht belonging to the merry monarch and a new one built by Petts and says: "Commissioner Petts do prove better than the Dutch one that his brother (the before mentioned master shipwright), built."

The first English yacht club organized was "The Cork Water Club," founded in 1720. Its first regatta was held in Cork harbor, 1812. The name was altered to the Royal Cork Yacht Club, which held its first regatta in 1828.

Yachting flourishes in England more widely than in any other country for the reason that the English possess great wealth concentrated in the hands of a few persons and the coast of Great Britain is studded with good harbors. There are nearly, if not quite fifty yacht clubs in England, each of which has a flag

¹ Yachts and Yachting in *Scribner's Monthly*, for August.



AMERICAN YACHT CLUBS.

N.Y. CLUB



CLUB SIGNAL.

BOSTON CLUB



CLUB SIGNAL

PORTLAND CLUB.



CLUB FLAG

EASTERN CLUB.



CLUB SIGNAL



COMMODORE.



COMMODORE



COMMODORE



COMMODORE



VICE COMMODORE



VICE COMMODORE



VICE COMMODORE

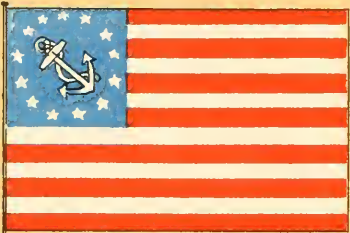


VICE COMMODORE



REAR COMMODORE

AMERICAN YACHT.



ENSIGN



ACTING COMMODORE

SAN FRANCISCO CLUB.



CLUB SIGNAL

DORCHESTER CLUB.



CLUB FLAG



HOUSE FLAG

SOUTH BOSTON CLUB.



CLUB FLAG

BUNKER HILL CLUB



CLUB FLAG



COMMODORE



COMMODORE



VICE COMMODORE



COMMODORE



COMMODORE



VICE COMMODORE



ANNUAL REGATTA PRIZE FLAG.



VICE COMMODORE



VICE COMMODORE.



CAPTAIN OF FLEET

of its own, which only its members, who are yacht owners, have a right to display. The Royal Yacht squadron of Cowes, the largest in the isle, besides its distinctive squadron flag, has the exclusive right to carry the white ensign of the British navy. In 1850 the yacht fleet of England numbered 800 vessels. In 1867 Hunt's *Universal Yacht List* gave the number as 1048. The cost of the present yacht fleet of Great Britain has been estimated at \$10,000,000, and the cost of its annual maintenance calculated as not far from two million of dollars. Over 6000 men are employed in the English yachts.

The first yacht club in the United States was styled the "Hoboken Model Yacht Club." It was organized in 1840, and consisted of a few small sail boats. In 1844 it was merged in the New York Yacht Club organized that year with 171 members, and a fleet of 17 vessels, but it was not incorporated until 1865. This club has now 440 members, and a squadron of 55 vessels with an aggregate of 5,000 tons representing a cost value of about two millions of dollars, while the value of the yacht fleet of the whole country, represented by thirty-one distinct clubs in 1872, is estimated to have cost five millions.

The following is a list of these organizations, each having its distinctive flag, viz.:

- | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. New York. | 12. Lynn. | 23. Columbia. |
| 2. Eastern. | 13. Hoboken. | 24. Flushing. |
| 3. Brooklyn. | 14. Dorchester. | 25. Franklin. |
| 4. Atlantic. | 15. Newark. | 26. Portland. |
| 5. Boston. | 16. Oceania. | 27. Shrewsbury. |
| 6. South Boston. | 17. Jersey City. | 28. San Francisco. |
| 7. Bayonne. | 18. Coopers Point. | 29. Kensington. |
| 8. Harlem. | 19. Madison. | 30. Ione. |
| 9. Manhattan. | 20. Bunker Hill. | 31. Beverley. ¹ |
| 10. Pensacola. | 21. Oshkosh, (Wis). | |
| 11. Crescent City. | 22. Stapleton. | |

In 1848, through the influence and exertions of the New York Yacht Club, the following act for the encouragement of yachting was enacted.

“AN ACT to authorize the secretary of the treasury to license yachts, and for other purposes.

“Section 1. Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assem-

¹ The club signal and commodore's pendant's of eight of these clubs is represented in plate XII. I would have given more of the signals and further information concerning our yacht clubs, could I have obtained answers to my letters of inquiry.—

bled : That the secretary of the treasury is hereby authorized to cause yachts, used and employed exclusively as pleasure vessels, and designed as models of naval architecture, and to be enrolled as American vessels, to be licensed on terms which will authorize them to proceed from port to port of the United States¹ without entering or clearing at the Custom House. "Such license shall be in such form as the secretary of the treasury may prescribe. Provided such vessels so enrolled and licensed shall not be allowed to transport merchandise or carry passengers for pay ; and provided further : That the owner of any such vessel before taking out such license, shall give bond in such form and for such amount as the secretary of the treasury shall prescribe, conditional that the said vessel shall not engage in any unlawful trade, and shall comply with the laws in all other respects.

"*Sec. 2.* And be it further enacted: That all such vessels shall in all respects, except as above, be subject to the laws of the United States, and shall be liable to seizure and forfeiture for any violation of the provisions of this act.

"*Sec. 3.* And be it further enacted: That all such licensed yachts shall use a signal of the form, size and colors prescribed by the secretary of the navy, and the owners thereof shall at all times permit the naval architects in the employ of the United States to examine and copy the models of said yachts.

"Approved August 7th, 1848."

AMERICAN YACHT ENSIGNS.

The flag prescribed by the secretary of the navy, under authority of this act, and which continues to be the recognized American Yacht Ensign was the American ensign, substituting in the blue field a white fowl anchor, encircled by thirteen stars in white, in lieu of a star for each state (see plate xii).

In 1870, the act of 1848, was amended as follows :

"AN ACT To amend an act entitled 'an act to authorize the secretary of the treasury to license Yachts.'

"*Section 1.* Be it enacted by the senate, and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled: That the first section of the act, entitled 'an act to authorize the secretary of the treasury to license yachts, and for other purposes', approved August 7th, 1848, is hereby amended by inserting in the first clause thereof, after the words

¹ Amended, June 20, 1870, by the insertion of the words "And by sea to foreign ports."

‘port to port of the United States’ the words ‘and by sea to foreign ports.’

“*Sec. 2.* And be it further enacted : That yachts belonging to a regularly organized yacht club, of any foreign nation, which shall extend like privileges to the yachts of the United States shall have the privilege of entering or leaving any port of the United States without entering or clearing at the Custom House thereof, or paying tonnage tax.

“*Sec. 3.* And be it further enacted : That for the identification of yachts and their owners, a commission to sail for pleasure in any designated yacht belonging to any regularly organized and incorporated yacht club, stating the exemptions and privileges enjoyed under it, may be issued by the secretary of the treasury, and shall be a token of credit to any United States official, and to the authorities of any foreign power for privileges enjoyed under it.

“*Sec. 4.* And be it further enacted : That every yacht, visiting a foreign country under the provisions of this act, shall, on its return to the United States, make due entry at the Custom House of the port at which, on such return, it shall arrive.

“Approved June 29th, 1870.”

The following are the forms adopted for licensing and commissioning American yachts and for application for a commission. I am informed by the assistant secretary of the treasury that up to April, 1872, only one *commission* had been issued.

“Official Number.

“Numeral letter.

LICENSE

“Of a yacht of twenty tons and upwards, to proceed from port to port of the United States, without entering or clearing at the Custom House.

“In pursuance of an act of the congress of the United States of America, entitled, “An act to authorize the secretary of the treasury to license yachts, and for other purposes,”..... having given bond that the.....called the.....whereof the said,.... are owners, burden.....tons and.....hundredths of a ton, as appears by her enrollment, dated at.....,used and employed exclusively as a pleasure vessel, and designed as a model of naval architecture, shall not, while this license continues in force, transport merchandise or carry passengers for pay, or engage in any unlawful trade, nor in any way violate the revenue laws of the United States, and shall comply with the laws in all other respects.

“License is hereby granted for the said yacht, called the.....to proceed from port to port of the United States, without entering

or clearing at the Custom House but not to be allowed to transport merchandise or carry passengers for pay. This license to continue and be in force for one year from the date hereof and no longer. Given under my hand and seal at.....this.....day ofin the year 187.....

“....., *Collector.*”

“....., *Naval Officer.*”

APPLICATION FOR A YACHT COMMISSION.

“187....

“I,.....,owner of the yacht called the,of, hereby make application for a commission to sail the said yacht on a voyage of pleasure to a foreign port or ports, under the provisions of *Sec. 3, Act of June 29, 1870.*

“....., *Owner.*”

“To, *Collector of Customs.*”

“Description.— Name,.....,Home Port,....., Managing Owner,, Master, Rig,, Tonnage, Name, of Yacht Club,.....,Official Number,....., Bound for.....”

“Custom House, 187... ”

“I hereby certify, that the above-mentioned Yacht belongs to the, Yacht Club, an association duly incorporated and organized under the laws of the state of, and I recommend that the above application for a commission be granted by the secretary of the treasury.

“....., *Collector.*”

COMMISSION.

“*Commission for a Pleasure Yacht under the act of June 29th, 1870.*—The secretary of the treasury of the United States of America. To all to whom these presents shall come greeting: Be it known, that whereas the Yacht, called the.....of....., whereof.....is at present master or commander, being schooner rigged and of the burden of.....tons, or thereabouts, her official number being.....,belonging to an association duly incorporated and organized under the laws of the state of.....known as the.....hath been duly enrolled and licensed according to law, which said yacht is now lying at the Port of.....bound for,..... on a voyage of pleasure; and whereas.....the owner thereof, has made application for a commission for the said yacht under the provisions of the act hereinafter mentioned :

“Now, therefore, I, George S. Boutwell, secretary of the treasury, in pursuance of authority in me vested by the act entitled

‘ An Act to amend an Act, entitled an Act to authorize the secretary of the treasury to license yachts,’ approved June 29, 1870, do hereby commission the aforesaid yacht called theas a vessel of the United States, entitled to proceed from port to port of the United States, and by sea to foreign ports without entering or clearing at the Custom House: Provided, that said yacht shall not transport merchandise nor carry passengers for pay, nor engage in any unlawful trade, nor in any way violate the laws of the United States: And provided further, that the said yacht having visited a foreign country shall, on returning to the United States, make due entry at the Custom House of the district, within which on such return she shall first arrive, and shall thereupon surrender this commission; and so long as the aforesaid conditions shall be faithfully observed this commission shall be a token of credit to any United States official at home or abroad, and to the authorities of any foreign power, for the privileges enjoyed under it.

“In witness whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and caused the seal of the treasury department to be affixed, at the city of Washington, on the.....day of.....in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy.....

“....., *Secretary of the Treasury.*

“ *Attest:*

“....., *Register.*”



The Queen's Cup
won by the America, 1851.

OUR NATIONAL SONGS.

HAIL COLUMBIA.

BY JOSEPH HOPKINSON.

The author of this national lyric, the Hon. Joseph Hopkinson LL.D., was the son of Francis Hopkinson. He was vice president of the American Philosophical Society and president of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, etc. He died at Philadelphia, Jan. 15, 1842, aged 72 years. In a letter addressed to the Rev. Rufus W. Griswold, a few months before his death he said :

Hail Columbia was written in the summer of 1798, when war with France was thought to be inevitable. Congress was then in session in Philadelphia, deliberating upon that important subject, and acts of hostility had actually taken place. The contest between England and France was raging, and the people of the United States were divided into parties for the one side, or the other, some thinking that policy and duty required us to espouse the cause of republican France, as she was called ; while others were for connecting ourselves with England, under the belief that she was the great preservative power of good principles and safe government. The violation of our rights by both belligerents, was forcing us from the just and wise policy of President WASHINGTON, which was to do equal justice to both, but to take part with neither, and to preserve a strict and honest neutrality between them. The prospect of a rupture with France was exceedingly offensive to the portion of the people who espoused her cause, and the violence of the spirit of party has never risen higher, I think not so high, in our country, as it did at that time upon that question. The theatre was then open in our city ; a young man belonging to it, whose talent was high as a singer, was about to take a benefit. I had known him when he was at school. On this acquaintance, he called on me one Saturday afternoon, his benefit being announced for the following Monday. His prospects were very disheartening, but he said that if he could get a patriotic song adapted to the *President's March*, he did not doubt of a full house ; that the poets of the theatrical corps, had been trying to accomplish it, but had not succeeded. I told him I would try what I could do for him. He came the next after-

noon, and the song, such as it is, was ready for him.¹ The object of the author, was to get up an *American spirit* which should be independent of, and above the interests, passion and policy of both belligerents, and look and feel exclusively for our honor and rights. No allusion is made to France or England, or the quarrel between them, or to the question which was most in fault in their treatment of us ; of course, the song found favor with both parties, for both were American ; at least neither could disown the sentiments and feelings it indicated. Such is the history of this song which has endured infinitely beyond the expectation of the author, as it is beyond any merit it can boast of, except that of being truly and exclusively patriotic in its sentiments and spirit.

“ Very respectfully,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ JOS. HOPKINSON.

“ Rev. Rufus W. Griswold.”

I.

Hail Columbia, happy land !
 Hail ye heroes ! heaven born band !
 Who fought and bled in Freedom's cause,
 Who fought and bled in Freedom's cause,
 And when the storm of war was gone,
 Enjoy'd the peace your valor won.
 Let independence be your boast,
 Ever mindful what it cost ;
 Ever grateful for the prize,
 Let its altar reach the skies.

Firm — united — let us be,
 Rallying round our Liberty ;
 As a band of brothers join'd,
 Peace and safety we shall find.

II.

Immortal patriots ! rise once more ;
 Defend our rights, defend our shore ;
 Let no rude foe with impious hand,
 Let no rude foe with impious hand,

¹ Mr. Reinagle with Mr. Wignall, of the new theatre on Chestnut street, arranged the music for the song, and for the President's March. Both were printed by Willig the music seller on South Fourth St., Philadelphia. The author, in a letter to "The Wyoming Bard," August 24, 1840, giving a particular history of its composition says it was called for on Saturday, completed on Sunday evening, announced Monday morning, and sung at the theatre the same evening. A correspondent of the *Historical Magazine* says it was written at the request of Mr. Fox, a professed vocalist, who was perhaps the actor alluded to by Mr. Hopkinson.

Invade the shrine, where sacred lies,
 Of toil and blood, the well earn'd prize ;
 While offering peace sincere and just ;
 In Heaven we place a manly trust,
 That truth and justice may prevail
 And every scheme of bondage fail.

Firm — united — let us be, &c.

III.

Sound, sound the trump of Fame !
 Let WASHINGTON'S great name
 Ring through the world with loud applause,
 Ring through the world with loud applause :
 Let every clime to Freedom dear,
 Listen with a joyful ear ;
 With equal skill, and godlike power
 He governs in the fearful hour
 Of horrid war ; or guides with ease
 The happier times of honest peace.

Firm — united — let us be, &c.

IV.

Behold the chief who now commands,
 Once more to serve his country stands—
 The rock on which the storm will beat,
 The rock on which the storm will beat :
 But armed in virtue firm and true
 His hopes are fixed on Heaven and you.
 When hope was sinking in dismay,
 And gloom obscured Columbia's day,
 His steady mind from changes free
 Resolved on death or liberty.

Firm — united — let us be, &c.

THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER.

BY FRANCIS SCOTT KEY.

Col. John L. Warner read, in 1867, a paper before the Pennsylvania Historical Society in which he gave the following account of this national anthem :

“ Just previous to the bombardment of Fort McHenry, the author, Francis S. Key, was commissioned by the government

to visit the invading fleet to negotiate some international law questions regarding an exchange of prisoners, and went down to the fleet under a flag of truce.¹ He was received with courtesy on board the *Minden*, Admiral Cockburn's flag ship, but his visit being on the eve of the attack upon Baltimore and the forts, it was deemed expedient to detain Mr. Key as a prisoner, until the result of the action was ascertained. Thus detained he was a painful witness of the bombardment of Fort McHenry from sunrise of the 13th of Sept., 1814, to 7 A. M. of the 14th. We can imagine the anxious feeling of poor Key, during this long shelling, through a dark and rainy night; but when the dawn of day broke on the 14th, and developed to his sight the starry banner still proudly waving on the fort's flagstaff we can almost realize his joy of heart.

"It was during his detention, and the consequent excitement of patriotic feeling, that Mr. Key composed the outlines of the Star Spangled Banner, which has since become nationalized as the hymn of the republic. After his liberation Mr. Key returned to Baltimore and there perfected his very interesting and deep hearted poem. The British, defeated before Baltimore, returned at once to Chesapeake bay. Mr. Key having in a few days completed a perfect copy of his stanzas, gave the song to Captain Benjamin Edes, printer, established at the corner of Baltimore and Jay streets, to print and distribute to the citizens. Edes was a captain in the 27th Baltimore regiment, commanded by Col. Long, which had recently done good service in the battle of North Point. The Star Spangled Banner was first sung, when fresh from press, at a small one story frame house occupied as a tavern next to the Holiday street Theatre.² This tavern had long been kept by the Widow Berling, and then by a Captain MacCauley, a house where players 'most did congregate,' to prepare for the daily military drill in Jay street, every able man being at that time a soldier. There

¹ A correspondent of the *National Intelligencer*, says: "According to the best information within our reach, he was picked up in a small boat while going to the British fleet to obtain the release of a friend, and, having been detained one night as a prisoner, was an unwilling spectator of the bombardment; and by the light of rockets and bursting shells, he and his companion, to whom it seems he addressed himself in the poem, could catch occasional glimpses of the loved flag still flying defiantly over the fort that protected Baltimore." Hence his language "*the clouds of the fight*," in the version here given instead of perilous fight which is the common version.—G. H. P.

² A correspondent of the *Historical Magazine*, October, 1864, says it was first sung by about twenty volunteer soldiers in front of the Holiday street Theatre. He was one of the group; that his brother sung it, and he and the rest joined in the chorus. He also said the singers were accustomed to congregate at the adjoining tavern to get their juleps and Benjamin Edes brought it round to them on one of their libating mornings or matinees.

also came Capt. Benjamin Edes, of the 27th regiment, Capts. Long and Warner of the 39th regiment, and Major Frailey. Warner was a silversmith of good repute in the neighborhood. The latter end of Sept., 1814, when a number of the young defenders of the monumental city was assembled, Capts. Edes and Warner called the group to order to listen to the patriotic song which Capt. Edes had just struck off at his press. He then read it aloud to the volunteers assembled who greeted each verse with hearty shouts. It was suggested it should be sung, but who was there could sing it? The task was assigned to Ferdinand Durang who made one of the group and who was known to be a vocalist. The old air of Anacreon in Heaven had been adapted to it by the author and Mr. Edes was desired so to print it on the top of the ballad. Its solemn melody and expressive notes seem naturally allied to the poetry and speak emphatically of the musical taste and judgment of Mr. Key. Ferdinand Durang mounted an old rush bottomed chair and sung this admirable song for the first time in our union, the chorus of each verse being reechoed by those present with infinite harmony of voices. It was sung several times that morning. When the theatre was opened, by Warner and Wood as managers, it was sung by 'Paddy' McFarland and the company nightly, after the play."

Francis Scott Key, the author, a lawyer by profession, was born in Frederick county, Maryland, August 1, 1779, and died at Baltimore, January 11, 1843. He was educated at St. Johns college, Annapolis, and practised law in Frederick city, and Washington, D.C., and is buried in the cemetery at Frederick. His descendants were not all as truly loyal to the flag in its hour of peril as he was.

¹ A more fanciful version of this fact is given by a writer in *Harper's Magazine*.

"Have you heard Francis Key's poem?" said one of our mess, coming in one evening, as we lay scattered over the green hill near the captain's marquee. It was a rude copy, and written in a scrawl which Horace Greeley might have mistaken for his own. He read it aloud, once, twice, three times, until the entire division seemed electrified by its pathetic eloquence.

"An idea seized Ferd Durang. Hunting up a volume of flute music, which was in somebody's tent, he impatiently whistled snatches of tune after tune, just as they caught his quick eye. One, called 'Anacreon in Heaven,' (I have played it often for it was in my book that he found it), struck his fancy and riveted his attention. Note after note fell from his puckered lips until, with a leap and shout, he exclaimed "Boys, I've hit it!" and fitting the tune to the words, there rang out for the first time the song of the Star-Spangled Banner. How the men shouted and clapped, for never was there a wedding of poetry to music made under such inspiring influences! Getting a brief furlough the brothers sang it in public soon after. It was caught up in the camps, and sung around the bivouac fires, and whistled in the streets, and when peace was declared, and we scattered to our homes, it was carried to thousands of fire-sides as the most precious relic of the war of 1812."

The original draft with its erasures, etc., was purchased by General George Keim of Reading, and is probably in the possession of his heirs. It was printed by Edes on a small piece of paper in the style of our old ballads that were hawked about the streets in days of yore.

A copy of the poem in Key's own hand writing, a copy prepared many years after its composition, and evidently in the *exact* language intended by its author (as it was presented by him to James Mahar, who for thirty years was the gardener of the executive mansion), was a few years since, exhibited in the window of Messrs. Phillip & Solomons, on Pennsylvania avenue, Washington. The identity of the handwriting was certified to by Judge Dunlop, Nicholas Callen Esq., Peter Force and others, all of whom were intimately acquainted with Mr. Key and perfectly familiar with his style of penmanship. In fact his style was so peculiar and uniform, that it would be almost impossible for any one who had ever noticed it with ordinary care to be mistaken.¹

The following is a verbatim copy of this version taken from the *National Intelligencer*, italicising the words that have been changed by various compilers, and referring by numerals to some of the changes that are most common.

THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER.

I.

Oh! say can you see, by the dawn's early light,
 What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming,
 Whose broad stripes and bright stars, through the *clouds of the fight*²
 O'er the ramparts we watched, were so gallantly streaming?
 And the rockets red glare,
 The bombs bursting in air,
 Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there;
 O! Say does that Star Spangled Banner yet wave
 O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

II.

On the shore dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
 Where the foes haughty host in dread silence reposes,
 What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep
 As it fitfully blows *half*³ conceals *half*³ discloses!

¹ *National Intelligencer*.

² "Perilous fight" *Griswold, Dana, Boys' Banner Book, Common version.*

³ "Now" *Danc.*

Now it catches the gleam,
 Of the morning's first beam,
 In full glory reflected, now shines *on*¹ the stream.
 'Tis the Star Spangled Banner, O! long may it wave
 O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

III.

And where is the *foe that*² so sweepingly swore
*That*³ the havoc of war and the battle's confusion,
 A home and a country *should*⁴ leave us no more?
*This*⁵ blood has washed out his⁶ foul footstep's pollution,
 No refuge could save,
 The hircling and slave,
 From the terrors of flight or the gloom of the grave;
 And the Star Spangled Banner in triumph doth wave
 O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

IV.

Oh! thus be it ever! when *foemen*⁷ shall stand
 Between *their* (⁸) loved homes and wars desolation.
 Blest with victory and peace, may the Heav'n rescued land
 Praise the Power, that hath made and preserved us a nation,
 Then conquer we must,
 When our cause it is just,
 And this be our motto, 'In God is our trust.'⁹
 And the Star Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
 O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

"For Mr. Jas. Mahar of Washington city,
 "Washington, June 7, 1842.
 "From F. S. KEY."

A correspondent of the *Phila. Eve. Bulletin* writing from Chester, in 1861, asserted on the authority of Mrs. Bradford, a daughter of General Armistead, that the flag that floated over Fort

¹ O'er, several versions.

² "Band who" *Griswold, Dana, Boys' Banner Book.*

³ "Mid" *Griswold, Dana.*

⁴ "They'd" *Griswold.*

⁵ "Their" (⁶) "Their" *Griswold, Dana, Boys' Banner Book, Common version.*
 He heard the vaunting boast of a British officer, that the fort would be reduced in a brief period after the attack, and this circumstance explains the use of the pronouns in the singular number. *Nat. Intell.*

⁷ "Freemen" *Griswold, Boys' Banner Book,*

⁸ "Our" *Griswold, Dana, Common version.*

⁹ "In God we trust" has by act of congress been recently placed upon some of the coins of the United States.

McHenry during its bombardment by the British squadron and which, "seen at dawn's early light" was the occasion of this national lyric, was then in the possession of the widow of General Armistead whom comanded the fort.

Per contra a correspondent of the *Historical Magazine*¹ says that visiting the fort in 1859 his attention was called, while in the garret of the barracks, to an American flag, which was rolled up in a piece of dirty muslin and lay thrown into a corner covered with dust, and which Captain Tillinghast informed him was the identical flag that floated over McHenry during the bombardment. This correspondent examined the flag and found eleven bullet holes through the flag itself, and one through the staff which is preserved.

W. B. D., a correspondent of the *Sunday Dispatch*² says: "In a note which I have just received from a daughter of Colonel Armistead of Fort McHenry fame, she writes me: "My mother's will says, the flag was to go to her youngest child, wife of William Stuart Appleton, of Boston. Mrs. Appleton now lives in New York and it is there, I suppose, the old flag now is."

There being no verse in the Star Spangled Banner, as originally written, alluding to treasonable attempts against it, Oliver Wendell Holmes furnished at the commencement of the late civil war the following additional verse at the request of a lady for her to sing.³

"When our land is illumined with liberty's smile,
 If a foe from within strikes a blow at her glory,
 Down, down with the traitor that dares to defile
 The flag of her stars, and bright page of her glory!
 By the millions unchain'd,
 Who our birthright have gained,
 We will keep her bright blazon forever unstained;
 And the Star Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
 While the land of the free, is the home of the brave.

The following verses to the same air were published anonymously in a northern newspaper during the war. The rebels also adapted words to it to suit their situation and sentiments.

"HARK, hark! from the soil of the rebel and slave,
 The thunders of battle are fearfully raging;
 Where hand of the ruffian and brain of the knave
 Base war on our brothers are wantonly waging.

¹ *Historical Magazine* Sept. 1868.

² *Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch* Dec. 24, 1871.

³ O. W. H. to G. H. P. April, 14, 1872.

But by liberty's light,
 And our dear country's might,
 We'll strike down the traitors, with God for the right;
 And our Star Spangled Banner victorious shall wave,
 Still the pride of the free and the trust of the brave!

"No more in the clamor of war may we own
 What factions in peace have our passions incited;
 But now for our country, our country alone,
 Her honor and weal, be our hearts all united!
 So by Liberty's light,
 And that dear country's right,
 Triumphant we must be, with God for the right;
 And our Star Spangled Banner victorious shall wave,
 Still the pride of the free and the trust of the brave!"

THE AMERICAN FLAG.

BY JOSEPH RODMAN DRAKE.

"The American Flag written by Drake, between the 20th and 25th day of May, 1819, originally concluded with the following lines.

'As fixed as yonder orb divine
 That saw the bannered blaze unfurled,
 Shall thy proud stars resplendent shine,
 The guard and glory of the world.'

"These not satisfying their author, he said to Fitz Green Halleck, 'Fitz can't you suggest a better stanza?' Whereupon Halleck sat down and wrote, in a glowing burst of inspiration, the four concluding lines commencing 'Forever float,' etc., a splendid improvement on the former ending, which Drake immediately accepted and incorporated in his, perhaps, most popular poem."¹

The first four of the once celebrated series of humorous and satirical odes known as the Croaker Pieces were written by Drake for the *New York Evening Post*, in which they appeared between the 10th and 20th of March 1819. After the publication of the fourth number DRAKE made HALLECK, then recently arrived in New York, partner and the remainder of the pieces were signed Croaker & Co. The last one written by DRAKE was the American Flag printed on the 29th of May, 1819. Drake

¹ Putnam's Magazine, Feb. 1868.

placed a very modest estimate on his own productions. When on his death bed, a friend enquired what disposition he would have made of his poems? "Oh burn them," he replied, "they are quite valueless."¹ He was born August 7, 1795, and died September, 1820, aged 26.

I.

When freedom from her mountain height
Unfurled her standard to the air
She tore the azure robe of night,
And set the stars of glory there.
She mingled with its gorgeous dyes
The milky baldrick of the skies,
And striped its pure, celestial white
With streakings of the morning light;
Then from his mansion in the sun
She called her eagle-bearer down,
And gave into his mighty hand
The symbol of her chosen land.

II.

Majestic monarch of the cloud,
Who rear'st aloft thy eagle form
To hear the tempest trumpings loud,
And see the lightning lances driven,
When stride the warriors of the storm,
And rolls the thunder-drum of heaven!
Child of the Sun! to thee 'tis given
To guard the banner of the free!
To hover in the sulphur smoke,
To ward away the battle stroke,
And bid its blendings shine afar,
Like rainbows on the cloud of war,
The harbingers of victory.

III.

Flag of the brave! thy folds shall fly,
The sign of hope and triumph high;
When speaks the trumpet's signal tone
And the long line comes gleaming on
Ere yet the life blood, warm and wet,
Has dimmed the glistening bayonet,
Each soldier's eye shall brightly turn
To where thy sky-born glories burn:

¹ Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America*.

And as his springy steps advance,
 Catch war and vengeance from the glance ;
 And when the cannon-mouthings loud
 Heave in wild wreaths the battle shroud,
 And gory sabres rise and fall
 Like shoots of flame on midnight's pall,
 Then shall thy meteor-glances glow,
 And cowering foes shall sink beneath
 Each gallant arm that strikes below
 That lovely messenger of death !

IV.

Flag of the seas ! On Ocean's wave,
 Thy stars shall glitter o'er the brave ;
 When death, careering on the gale,
 Sweeps darkly round the bellied sail,
 And frightened waves rush wildly back,
 Before the broadsides reeling rack
 Each dying wanderer of the sea
 Shall look at once to heaven and thee,
 And smile to see thy splendors fly
 In triumph o'er his closing eye.
 Flag of the free heart's hope and home,
 By angel's hands to valor given,
 Thy stars have lit the welkin dome,
 And all thy hues were born in heaven !
 Forever float that standard sheet
 Where breathes the foe but falls before us
 With Freedom's soil beneath our feet,
 And Freedom's banner streaming o'er us.

YE SONS OF COLUMBIA.

BY ROBERT TREAT PAINE.

Air, — "Anacreon in Heaven."

It is more than half a century since the following song was written by Robert Treat Paine when it was sung at a festival, given in honor of our national anniversary, of which it formed a principal feature. Time has not taken a single jot from its great and surpassing merit and it deserves to be sung in all time to come, on all patriotic occasions. A slight alteration from the original may, however, be detected in the last verse: but it is thus stripped of a political allusion, that was never in good taste, and which, if we mistake not, was the means of consigning the

whole song to disuse. As it now stands, let it be revived as a national song, and may it go down to posterity, as the noblest of American strains, and worthy of being preserved in letters of gold. We would rather have our fame linked with its authorship, than with any other American paper, save and except the Declaration of Independence. Should this song meet the eye of any American, who has a single traitorous thought of disunion, let him read it once more, and banish his anti-American feelings forever.¹

I.

Ye sons of Columbia, who bravely have fought
 For those rights, which unstain'd from your sires have descended,
 May you long taste the blessings your valor has bought,
 And your sons reap the soil which their fathers defended :
 Mid the reign of mild peace,
 May your nation increase
 With the glory of Rome, and the wisdom of Greece ;
 And ne'er may the sons of Columbia be slaves,
 While the earth bears a plant or the sea rolls its waves!

II

The fame of our arms, of our laws the mild sway
 Had justly ennobled our nation in story
 Till the dark clouds of faction obscure our young day
 And enveloped the sun of American glory.
 But let traitors be told
 Who their country have sold,
 And bartered their God for his image in gold,
 That ne'er will the sons of Columbia be slaves,
 While the earth bears a plant, or the sea rolls its waves!

III.

Our mountains are crowned with imperial oak,
 Whose roots, like our liberties, ages have nourished ;
 But long e'er our country submits to the yoke,
 Not a tree shall be left on the field where it flourish'd ;
 Should invasion impend
 Every grove would descend
 From the hill-tops it shaded, our shores to defend,
 For ne'er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves,
 While the earth bears a plant, or the sea rolls its waves!

¹ *New York Globe*, January 6th, 1861.

IV.

Let our patriots destroy Anarch's pestilent worm
 Lest our Liberty's growth should be checked by corrosion ;
 Then let clouds thicken round us ; we heed not the storm
 Our realms fear no shock but the earth's own explosion.

Foes assail us in vain

Though their fleets bridge the main,
 For our altars and laws, with our lives we'll maintain.
 And ne'er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves
 While the earth bears a plant, or the sea rolls its waves !

V.

Should the tempest of War overshadow our land,
 Its bolts could ne'er rend Freedom's Temple assunder ;
 For unmoved at its portal would WASHINGTON stand,
 And repulse with his breast, the assault of its thunder ;
 His sword from the sleep
 Of its scabbard would leap
 And conduct with its point, every flash to the deep !
 For ne'er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves,
 While the earth bears a plant, or the sea rolls its waves !

VI.

Let fame to the world sound America's name,
 No faction her sons from their Union can sever ;
 Her freedom deservedly meets with acclaim,
 And shall flourish till Liberty slumbers forever ;
 Then unite heart and hand,
 Like Leonidas' band,
 And swear to the God who rules ocean and land,
 That ne'er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves,
 While the earth bears a plant, or the sea rolls its waves !"¹

¹ This song was at first entitled "ADAMS AND LIBERTY" and the last verse, as originally written, read :

"Let fame to the world sound America's name
 No intrigues her sons from their government sever
 Her pride is her ADAMS ; her laws are his choice,
 And shall flourish, till Liberty slumbers forever.
 Then unite heart and hand
 Like Leonidas' band
 And swear to the God of the ocean and land
 That ne'er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves,
 While the earth bears a plant or the sea rolls its wave."

Paine was paid seven hundred and fifty dollars for this song, which included three other stanzas (2d, 4th and 5th), of a temporary nature which have therefore been omitted. It is related that having finished the poem Paine exhibited it to some gentlemen, at the house of a friend. His host pronounced it imperfect as the name of WASHINGTON was omitted, and declared he should not approach the sideboard on which bottles of wine had been placed until he had written an additional stanza : The poet mused for a moment, called for a pen and wrote the verse beginning "*Should the tempest of war, etc.*"

THE FLAG OF OUR UNION.

BY GEORGE P. MORRIS

I.

A song for our banner, the watchword recall
 Which gave the republic her station,
 "United we stand — divided we fall!"
 It made and preserves us a nation,
 The union of lakes, the union of lands,
 The Union of States none can sever!
 The Union of hearts, the union of hands
 And the Flag of our Union forever and ever,
 The Flag of our Union forever!

II.

What God in his infinite wisdom designed,
 And armed with republican thunder,
 Not all the earth's despots and factions combined
 Have the power to conquer or sunder
 The Union of lakes, the Union of lands,
 The Union of States none can sever!
 The Union of hearts, the union of hands,
 And the Flag of our Union forever and ever,
 The Flag of our Union for ever!

TO CANAAN.

BY OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

A song of the Six Hundred Thousand

This poem was first published in the *Boston Transcript* on the 12th of August, 1862. It had no date or signature, but was sent forth as a waif by Mr. Holmes, to see if it had sufficient merit to attract attention from the press. It was at once copied into the *Rebellion Record* by Frank Moore, the editor, who reported its publication, as original in newspapers in western New York, Ohio, and Illinois, and that a controversy arose between two of the western writers claiming it as original. On

the 25th of June, 1866, the *Boston Transcript* republished the poem from its files.

Mr. Holmes¹ in a recent letter says :

“To Canaän” was published anonymously in the *Transcript*. As nearly as I remember I talked with Mr. Fields about it, and we agreed that it was best to publish it at once and not wait for the *Atlantic*, in which I commonly printed my poems. Mr. Richard Grant White informed me that several persons had claimed the poem, and gave me their names, three of them I think. It was reprinted in the *Transcript* a few years ago, I forget whether with my name or not. I mentioned the fact that I wrote it, in a public lecture on the poetry of the war, and have heard nothing of the three pick-pockets since. The date of its publication, for the first time, in the *Transcript*, has escaped me but that too can be very easily found. It must have been quite early, as I speak of the colored troops as being armed with picks and spades.”

Where are you going, soldiers,
 With banner, gun, and sword?
 We're marching South, to Canaän
 To battle for the Lord!
 What Captain leads your armies
 Along the rebel coasts?
 The Mighty One of Israel!
 His name is Lord of Hosts,

To Canaän! To Canaän!
 The Lord has led us forth
 To blow before the heathen walls
 The trumpet of the North.

What flag is this you carry
 Along the sea and shore?
 The same our grandsires lifted up,
 The same our fathers bore!
 In many a battle's tempest
 It shed the crimson rain;
 What God has woven in his loom
 Let no man rend in twain!

To Canaän! to Canaän!
 The Lord has led us forth
 To plant upon the rebel towers,
 The banner of the North.

¹ O. W. H. to G. H. P., April, 14, 1872.

What troop is this that follows,
 All armed with picks and spades?
 These are the swarthy bondsmen
 The iron-skin brigades;
 They'll pile up Freedom's breastwork,
 They'll scoop out rebel's graves,
 Who then will be their owner
 And march them off for slaves?

To Canaän! to Canaän!
 The Lord has led us forth
 To strike upon the captive chain
 The hammers of the North.

What song is this you're singing?
 The same that Israel sung,
 When Moses led the mighty choir,
 And Miriam's timbrel rung;

To Canaän! to Canaän!
 The priests and maidens cried,
 To Canaän! to Canaän!
 The people's voice replied.
 To Canaän! to Canaän!
 The Lord has led us forth
 To thunder through its adder-dens
 The anthems of the North.

When Canaän's hosts are scattered,
 And all her walls lie flat,
 What follows next in order?
 The Lord will see to that!
 We'll break the tyrant's sceptre
 We'll build the people's throne,
 When half the world is Freedom's,
 Then all the world's our own!

To Canaän! to Canaän!
 The Lord has sent us forth
 To sweep the rebel threshing-floors,
 A whirlwind from the North.

COLUMBIA THE GEM OF THE OCEAN.

BY THOMAS A. BECKET.

This song as sung at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia concerts, was copyrighted and published in 1843, by George Willig, of Philadelphia, under the title of "*Columbia the Land of the Brave, written and composed by David T. Shaw.*" It is now published from the original plates (with the addition of an illustrated title) by Lee and Walker, the successors of Mr. Willig, under the title of "*Columbia the Gem of the Ocean, arranged by T. A. Becket, Esq., and dedicated to John S. DuSalle.*" It has been printed in the *Boy's Banner Book* and other collections of popular songs, under the title of *The Red, White and Blue*, without having the author's name attached, and is often familiarly called 'The Army and Navy Song' from its being peculiarly adapted to the reunions of the two services.

With such variations as necessary to suit circumstances it is popular in England under the title of the '*Red White and Blue*' and '*Britannia the Pride of the Ocean.*' Some have even supposed the English version the original, and ours merely an adaptation from it. Its title, the Gem of the Ocean, belongs of right to the Emerald Isle, rather than to Columbia, and seems more appropriate to designate an island power like Great Britain or Britannia than a continental power like the United States. While red, white and blue have for a long time been the ranking order of the colors of British national ensigns, and the flags of the admirals of the Royal Navy, while with us *blue*, the blue of the union, the firmament of our constellation of stars, claims the first place on our colors, red the second, and white the third; so that for us the song should read, borne by the blue, red and white, instead of red, white and blue.¹ These lapses are explained by the confession of the author that he is an Englishman by birth; it was natural he should make them. Though written by an Englishman, the song is clearly of American inception and origin, as is sworn by the following letter written in 1864, by the author:

"Chicago, October 19, 1864.

"Messrs. Root and Cady.

"Gentlemen: Permit me to give you the history of *Columbia the Gem of the Ocean*. In 1843, Mr. D. F. Shaw (then a concert

¹ See plate x, navy Distinguishing flags, 1776, 1869.

singer at the Chinese Museum, Philadelphia), waited upon me at the Chestnut Street Theatre, with a request that I would write him a song for his benefit night, producing at the same time some poetry with the above title which he claimed as his own composition.

On reading it I found the measure so defective as to be entirely unfit to set to music. We adjourned to the house of a friend (Mr. Richard Harbord, Decatur street), where I wrote the two first verses in *pencil*, and at Miss Harbord's piano I composed the melody; Shaw was much pleased with it and we parted. On reaching home I added the third verse, wrote the symphonies, and arranged the song for the piano forte. The next day I gave Mr. Shaw a fair copy in *ink*, with the injunction that he should not publish, give or sell a copy. The song immediately became popular. In a few weeks afterwards, I left Philadelphia to fulfil an engagement in New Orleans, and was much surprised during my stay in that city to see a published copy of *my song*. On my return I upbraided Shaw for having broken faith with me. He answered that the song had become so popular he thought it advantageous to us both to publish it, and that he had sent me a hundred copies by Mr. Plummer. This Mr. Plummer indignantly denied.

"I immediately waited upon Mr. Willig the publisher, who informed me he had purchased the song of Shaw. I showed him (Mr. Willig) the original pencil copy, and claimed the copy right. I then proceeded to Mr. T. Osbourne, music publisher, Third street above Walnut street, and made an agreement with him to publish the song in partnership, and in less than a week the song was placed before the public, under its proper title, viz., "*Columbia the Gem of the Ocean, written and composed by Thomas A. Becket and sung by David T. Shaw.*"

"Mr. E. L. Davenport, the eminent tragedian, took the song to London, where he sung it nightly for some weeks. It became popular, and was published (without authority), by T. Williams, Cheapside, under the title of *Britannia the Gem of the Ocean*. I visited London, in 1847, and found the song claimed as an English composition (perhaps it is, I being an Englishman by birth). During my absence Osbourne gave up business, and the plates of the song were sold; thus the song went out of my possession.

"I am, gentleman, Yours, etc.

"THOMAS A. BECKET,¹

"Woods's Museum, Chicago."

¹ This is part of Mr. Becket's signature, author of *Columbia the Gem of the Ocean*. He died upon the Battlefield, etc.

Mr. Becket has retired from the stage, and is living in Philadelphia where he is a teacher of music. I am indebted to him, through the instrumentality of Mr. McAllister, for a copy of his letter claiming the authorship of this song.

The song under the title, *The Red, White and Blue* is printed in J. E. Carpenter's *New Naval and Military Song Book*, published in London, 1866, "as written and composed by D. T. Shaw, U. S. A." The first line is altered to read *Britannia the Pride of the Ocean*, and in the third line of the last verse, the name of *Nelson* is inserted in place of *Washington*.

The name and the idea of the song from Mr. Becket's statement seems to have originated with David T. Shaw, but the words, and music, as printed and sung, were written and composed by Becket.

I.

Oh, Columbia the gem of the ocean,
 The home of the brave and the free ;
 The shrine of each patriot's devotion,
 A world offers homage to thee.
 Thy mandates make heroes assemble
 When liberty's form stands in view ;
 Thy banners make tyranny tremble,
 When borne by the red, white and blue.

Chorus.

When borne by the red, white and blue,
 When borne by the red, white and blue,
 Thy banners make tyranny tremble
 When borne by the red, white and blue.

II.

When war waged its wide desolation,
 And threatened our land to deform,
 The ark then of freedom's foundation,
 Columbia rode safe through the storm,
 With her garland of victory o'er her,
 When so proudly she bore her bold crew,
 With her flag proudly floating before her,
 The boast of the red, white and blue.

Chorus.

The boast of the red, white and blue,
 The boast of the red, white and blue,
 With her flag proudly floating before her,
 The boast of the red, white and blue.

III.

'The wine cup, the wine eup bring hither,
 And fill you it up to the brim,
 May the memory of Washington ne'er wither,
 Nor the star of his glory grow dim.
 May the service united ne'er sever
 And each to our colors prove true,
 The army and navy forever,
 Three cheers for the red, white and blue.

Chorus.

Three cheers for the red, white and blue
 Three cheers for the red, white and blue
 The army and navy forever,
 Three cheers for the red, white and blue.

AMERICA.

BY SAMUEL FRANCIS SMITH, D.D.

The Rev. Francis Smith, D.D., the author of this anthem, which the war of the rebellion has made national, was born in Boston, Oct. 21, 1808, and graduated from Harvard University in the class of '29, with Oliver Wendell Holmes. He is therefore one of "*The boys of the class of '29.*" He studied theology at Andover, and is now a professor at Newton, Mass. He has been a constant and frequent contributor from early youth to periodical literature and has been editor of one or more religious magazines. *My Country 'tis of thee*, and *The Morning Light is Breaking*, are among his early productions. The first was written with no thought of its ever acquiring the national character it has since attained. The air of *God save the King*, to which the words of *My Country 'tis of thee* are adapted, has been ascribed to Handel, to Henry Carey, who composed the once celebrated song *Sally in our Alley*, to Doct. John Bull, and to others. Doct. Burney maintains it was composed for the chapel of James II., but some one else contends it well adapts itself to the events of the reign of George II, and that the words that have ever formed the first line, "God save great *George*, viz: our King," (not great James, great Charles, great Cromwell, great William and Mary, nor Great Anne our Queen), seem to indicate that in its adaptation at least it was an occasional hymn written in honor of the later, and glorious days of the second George

after Pitt had taken the helm. In Germany it is called *Bundes Lied*. God save the King appeared originally in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Oct. 1745, on the occasion of the landing of the Pretender. Doct. Thos. A. Arne, author of *Artaxerxes*, arranged it in two parts.

Laveller in his *Histoire de la Maison Royale de St. Cyr* says it was composed by Lulli, and was first sung when Louis XIV visited in state for the first time Madame Maintenon's school of St. Cyr. The words by Madame de Brinon, the principal of St. Cyr, commenced thus:

“ Grand Dieu, Sauver a Roi!
 Grand Dieu, vengez le Roi!
 Vive le Roi,
 Qu'a jamais glorieux
 Louis victorieux
 Voya ses ennemies
 Toujours soumis, etc.”

There certainly must be something more than ordinarily inspiring in an air which has struck the popular heart of four nations.

The Rev. Doctor Smith since the foregoing was written, has furnished me with the following history of the origin of this anthem.

“ 12 Bedford St., Boston, Mass.

“ September 12, 1872.

“ Capt. Geo. Henry Preble, U. S. N.

“ Dear Sir: The origin of my hymn, *My Country 'tis of Thee*, is briefly told. In the year 1831, Mr. William C. Woodbridge returned from Europe bringing a quantity of German music books, which he passed over to Lowell Mason. Mr. Mason with whom I was on terms of friendship, one day turned them over to me, knowing that I was in the habit of reading German works, saying, “ Here, I can't read these but they contain good music, which I should be glad to use. Turn over the leaves and if you find anything particularly good, give me a translation or imitation of it, or write a wholly original song, anything, so I can use it.”

“ Accordingly, one leisure afternoon, I was looking over the books and fell in with the tune of God save the King, and at once took up my pen and wrote the piece in question. It was struck out at a sitting without the slightest idea that it would ever attain the popularity it has since enjoyed. I think it was written in the town of Andover, Mass., in Feb., 1832. The first time it was sung publicly, was at a children's celebration of

American Independence at the Park St. Church, Boston, I think July 4, 1832. If I had anticipated the future of it, doubtless I would have taken more pains with it. Such as it is I am glad to have contributed this mite to the cause of American freedom.

“Very sincerely yours,
“S. F. SMITH.”

I.

My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty.
Of thee I sing ;
Land where my father died,
Land of the pilgrims' pride,
From every mountain side,
Let freedom ring.

II.

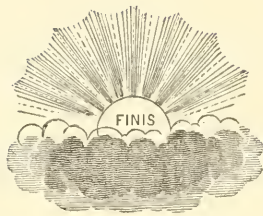
My native country, thee,
Land of the noble free—
Thy name I love ;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills ;
My heart with rapture thrills
Like that above.

III.

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees,
Sweet freedom's song ;
Let mortal tongues awake,
Let all that breathe partake,
Let rocks their silence break,
The sound prolong.

IV.

Our father's God, to thee,
Author of liberty,
To thee I sing ;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light ;
Protect us by thy might,
Great God our King.



ERRATA.

- Page 24, For "principia" read *principle*.
 " " For 'Guide honores' read *guide-hommes*.
 " 33, For 'Ensign staff at poop' read *at the poop*.
 " " For 'devices scattered' read *devices are scattered*.
 " 34, For 'coach ship pennant' read *coach whip pennant*.
 " 50, For 'Baron Tolt's memoirs of his own Time' read *Baron Tott's Memoirs of the Turks and Tartars 1785*.
 " 60, For 'and the wings restored' read *and the mings restored*.
 " 62, Strike out 'worn' after and, and insert it between is and on, on the next line.
 " 70, For 'Officers' read *authorities*.
 " 80, For 'A sun, or, two anchors,' read *a Sun on two anchors*.
 " 84, For 'Henry III.' read *Henry VII*.
 " 98, Insert between 'blue merged;' the word *were*, and alter last two lines of the paragraph so as to read *the flag of the white ensign blazoned with a red cross for a distinguishing flag*.
 " 156, For 'Dutch East India Flag' read *Dutch West India Flag*.
 " 176, For 'independence was declared' read *was proclaimed*.
 " 182, Correction to note 2d. *The members of the first troop Philadelphia City Cavalry claim that they have always known and appreciated the value of their standard in the History of the Stars and Stripes*.
 " 192, On 5th line for 'has been published' read *have*.
 " 260, last line but one for 'there ten' read *there are ten*.
 " 283, last line for 'Austug' read *August*.
 " 285, First line of note for 'May 1861,' read *May, 1831*.

Correction to Plate I. The lithographer having lost the original drawing of the revenue pendant of 1871, furnished me from the treasury department, he made a mistake, which was not discovered until all were printed and it was too late to have it corrected. The stars should be blue on a white ground and the tail of the pennant like the one that had been in use since 1797.

INDEX.

- Abu, Beker, 51.
 Abu, Obiedeh, 51.
 Achias, King of Scotland, 479.
 Achievement of American squadron,
 first in 1776, 170.
 Act, establishing the flag of the U. S.,
 1818, 255.
 for preservation of trophy flags, 1814,
 241.
 Adams, Chas. Francis, 447.
 Adams, Hon. John, 145, 151, 169, 171,
 190, 288, 475, 481; against dis-
 union, 289.
 Adams, John Quincy, 190, 273.
 Adams, Mr. Saml. 145, 160.
 Adel, Mons., 230.
 Admission of the States to the Union, the
 date of, 260.
 Aitkin, (engraver), 187.
 Alabama, secedes, 292; State flag, 388.
 Alaska, formal transfer of, to the U. S.,
 448.
 Aldatrand, 108.
 Alden, Comm. James, 470.
 Alexander I, of Scotland, 20.
 Alexander II, Pope, 29, 78.
 Alexander the Great, 43, 110.
 Alfred, ship flag of, 1776, 166.
 Alfred the Great, 64.
 Ali, 51.
 Allard, Carl, 155.
 Alliance, colors of, 1779, 167.
 Alliance with France, celebrated, 203.
 Alofsen, S., 258.
 Alverada, 57.
 Alvicano, standard of, 64.
 American bunting, first flag, made of, 259.
 America, early discoveries of, 103; first
 banner planted on the shores of, 103;
 flag of U. S., first raised on board by
 Paul Jones; flag of, raised by Paul
 Jones, 160; freedom of U. S. of,
 declared, 176; fleet signals, 1776,
 162; Prophecy of, 102.
 American Flag, the, 498; at White Plains,
 1776, 177; buried, 399; first made,
 by Mrs. Ross, 193.
 American Fleet, sailing of the first, 1776,
 170; yacht club, name of, 488.
 Americus Vespuceus, 111.
 Amidas, Philip, 114.
 Amurath III, 51.
 Anderson, Col. E. C. 400.
 Anderson, Doctor, 206.
 Anderson, Mrs. Robt. 334.
 Anderson, Major Robt., 311, 312, 313,
 314, 315, 316, 319, 320, 321, 322,
 323, 324, 325, 329, 331, 332, 334,
 335, 356, 837, 338, 339, 340, 341,
 342, 343, 344, 346, 353, 423.
 Andrea Dorea, first to obtain a salute to
 the flag from a foreign power, 174.
 Andean, Hon. W. C., 316.
 Andrew, Gov. J. A. speech on receiving
 flags of Mass. Regts., 360, 361, 432,
 434, 436.
 Andrews, Col., 274.
 Andros, Gov., Sir Ed., 123, 125.
 Anecdotes and incidents, concerning our
 flag, since the war, 1865, 1872, 446.
 Anglo Saxon, banners, &c., 77.
 Anne, Queen, 77, 89, 96.
 Antiochus VII of Syria, 28.
 Appleton, William, 497.
 Appleton, Wm. Stuart, 497.
 Application for a yacht commission, 488.
 Armistead, Genl., 496, 497.
 Artois, Count of, 75.
 Armitage, Rev. Doct., 353.
 Arms of U. S., in St. Paul's chapel, N.
 Y., 480.
 Armstrong, Genl., 256, 259.
 Armstrong, John, 240.
 Army of U. S. corps, badges allowed to
 be worn, 479; flags colors, standard
 of, &c., 473.
 Arnold, Benedict, 153, 154.
 Arnold, Genl., 140.
 Arnold, Mr., 187.
 Arnold, Mrs. James, 379.
 Arrangement of stars in U. S. flag, 259,
 288.
 Arrival first Pacific mail steamer, in
 China, 446.

- Arthur, aboriginal Prince of Britain, 84.
 Arthur, Capt. James V., 269, 270.
 Arthur, King, badge assigned to 78.
 Artillery of U. S., colors of, 473.
 Asher, Doctor, a German writer, 113.
 Assyrians, standard of, 44.
 Atlanta, iron clad, the first to hoist the second confederate ensign, 421.
 Audubon, 386.
 Aubigny, Sieur de, 75.
 Attila, standard of, 55.
 Auriflamme, description of, 72; origin of, 71.
 Austrian standards and flags, 67.
 Ayesha, wife of Mahomet, 51.
 Ayres, Capt. John, 141.
- Bacon, Sir Nicholas, 21.
 Baggeley, Mr., 278.
 Bailey, G. S., 451.
 Bailey, Rear Admiral, 369, 444.
 Bainbridge, Capt. W., 237, 238, 239.
 Baker, Senator, E. D., 308, 351.
 Baker, Geo. H., 431.
 Balboa, Vasco Nunez de, 65, 66; flag of, 66.
 Baldwin, Earle of Flanders, 29.
 Baldwin I, of Jerusalem, 40.
 Bancroft, Hon. Geo., 145, 153.
 Banner, first planted on shore of America, 103; Harry Grace de Dieu, (Great Harry), 32; State flag, 388.
 Banners, Anglo Saxon, Saxon, &c., 77; and bannerets, borne at funerals, 22, 23; at the siege of Claverock, 19; of English sovereigns, 77; of Admiral of the fleet, 30; of Henry V., 83; of Henry VI., 83; of hospitaliers of St. John, of Jerusalem, 41; of John Dreux, Earl of Richmond, 22; of Pulaski, 16; derivation of the name, 18; farms of, 19; origin of, 19; of the knights of the Gultia and Bath, 22; of English nobles, 22; of Queen Elizabeth, 32; of Robert de la Mask, 76; of sovereign of the seas, 83; of St. Cuthbert, 87; of St. Dennis, 72; of St. Edmund, 78; of St. Edward, the confessor, 80; of Simon De Montfort, 23; of the S. C. Convention, 384; of Venetian galleys, 34; of white, (Cornette Blanche), adoption of, 72; presented to Charlemagne by the Pope, 70; sacred of Clovis, 71.
 Bannerets borne at funerals, 22, 23; last created, 22; of Oliver Cromwell 24; where first instituted, 21.
- Banners of masonic knighthood, 39; of ships consecrated, 29; of the S. C., 385; on board of ship, 30.
 Barbara Freitchie, story of, 378.
 Barbarosa, North German flag, descended from, 69.
 Barkhead, Lieut., 389.
 Barlow, Arthur, 114.
 Barlow, Genl. F. S., 397.
 Barnard, Capt., 274.
 Hoisted our flag on Chapultepec, 274.
 Barnard, M., 212.
 Barney, Com. Joshua, 168, 226, 227; flag of, 168.
 Barnum, P. T., 206.
 Barrett, Thos., 481.
 Barrow, Mr. (sailor), 389.
 Barry, Capt., 161, 169, 170, 196, 205.
 Barry, J., 151.
 Bartlett, Hon. J. R., 164, 208.
 Bartlett, Mr., 145.
 Barton, Hon., Mr., of Georgia, 392.
 Barton, W., 476, 477, 479; proposes a device for the U. S. Army, 476.
 Battle flag, the southern origin of, 400.
 Battle of Long Island, incidents, 176.
 Battle, signal for, 46.
 Bayeux tapestry, some account of, 26.
 Bear flag hoisted in California, 272.
 Beauceant, origin and description of, 40.
 Beauchamp, Richard, 31.
 Beaumont, John, Jr., 129, 155.
 Beauregard, Gen. G. T., 330, 331, 335, 336, 337, 340, 341, 342, 395, 400, 402, 403, 405, 406, 416, 420.
 Becket, Thos. A., 506, 507, 508.
 Bedford, Duke of, 128.
 Bedford, incidents of ship, 212.
 Beck, Lieut., death of, 144.
 Beecher, Henry Ward, 180, 847; on the flag, 180.
 Beginning of the war against our flag and union, 289, 310.
 Belgian standard and flag, 68.
 Belknap, 132.
 Bell, Capt. H. H., 368.
 Bell, Adelaide, the ship, 364.
 Bell, Isaac, of Mobile, 364.
 Bentalon, Capt., 17.
 Bentley, Samuel, 232, 233.
 Berceau, and l'Inswigents, colors of, 244
 Berkeley, Earl of, 13.
 Bernard, Gov., 136.
 Bernard of Saints, 225.
 Berry, Mr., (master mate), 166.
 Bertling, Widow, 493.
 Bess, Queen, 85.
 Bessie, Capt., 279.

- Bethune, Doct., 353.
 Bheesama, obtains the banner of Arjoona, 62.
 Bianne's expeditions to New England, etc., 104.
 Biddle, Capt. Nicholas, 174, 204.
 Biddle, Owen, to provide a seal, 184.
 Bierstadt, E., superintendent of Photoplate Printing Co., 164.
 Bigelow, Lt. Commander, 267, 370.
 Bigelow, Major, 140.
 Bird, Lieut, 200.
 Blake, Admiral, 97.
 Black Prince, 21, 25, 81, 82; crest of, 82; device of, 81
 Blunt, Geo. W. 321, 322.
 Boggs, Commander, 268.
 Boggs, Miss Margaret, 193.
 Bogg, Rev. Mr., 358.
 Bohemia, king of, 82
 Boniface VIII, Pope, 30.
 Booth, Wm. Mayor, 375.
 Brooke, Mr. of Mississippi, 390.
 Borcas, Bernard, possessor of the flag of Elba 73.
 Bombardment, of Sumter, 331, 333.
 Borromi and Wilkinson, 28.
 Boston, flags at, 1728, 131.
 Botta extract from writings of, 28, 152.
 Boudinot, Mr. 222, 479.
 Boughton, Capt. Nicholas, 140, 142.
 Bourbon, Duke de, Charles III, standard of, 76.
 Boutwell, Chas. 97, 83, 82, 81, 80, 73, 70, 69, 26.
 Boutwell, Hon. Geo. S., 488.
 Boyce, W. W. 391, 392.
 Boyle, Mons. 225.
 Boynton, Rev. S. C., 321.
 Bradbury, Wm. B., 346.
 Braddock, Gen., 394.
 Bradford, Capt. J., 161.
 Bradford, Mrs. 496.
 Bragg, Capt. Henry M., 343.
 Bragg, Gen., in council with Jeff Davis, 373.
 Brahma, 63.
 Brandt, C. D., 439, 441.
 Breckenridge, Gen. John C., 414.
 Breckenridge, Mrs. J. C., makes a flag of her wedding dress, 414.
 Breckenridge, Vice President, J. C., 307.
 Brewer, Mr., 319.
 Briggs, David, 215.
 Bringhurst, Corporal C., 335.
 British distinguishing flags, &c., of orders relative to, 98; early standards, 77.
 British vessels, flags of, at Annapolis, 244.
 British union flag, origin, 119.
 Brooks, Lieut., Wm. S., 373.
 Brooke, and Nicoll, Messrs., 127.
 Brower, John, 164.
 Brown, David Paul, 177.
 Browne, Richard, complaint of, 120.
 Brownlow, Parson, 374.
 Bryant & Sturgis, 269.
 Buchanan, Admiral, 445.
 Buchanan, James, 290, 293, 299, 309, 323; apologizes to Tyler, 293.
 Buckingham, Duke of, 13.
 Buell, Gen., 441.
 Bulfinch, Mr., 219, 220, 221.
 Bull, Doct John, 509.
 Bunker, Capt. Geo., 221.
 Bunker Hill, flag of, 138; flag of, 138; monument, our flag hoisted on, 360.
 Burchett, J., 127.
 Burgess's Will, map of Boston, 131; flags, on, 131.
 Burgoyne, General, 189, 203, 242.
 Burgundy, Phillip the Bold of, 75.
 Burke, Capt. W., 141.
 Burke, (Heraldist), 19.
 Burkhardt, 51.
 Burney, Doct., 509.
 Burns, Sergeant, 367.
 Burnside, Gen., 434.
 Burr, Capt., 143.
 Burton and Trumbull, 215.
 Bushnell, C. I., 164, 165.
 Butler, Hon. Benjn. F., 259, 260, 366, 368, 369.
 Cabots, the, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115.
 Cadwallader, 84.
 Cæsar, 45, 48.
 Cæsar, Augustus, 46.
 Caldwell, Comm., 196.
 Caldwell, Isaac, 274.
 Caldwell, Col. Geo. Alfred, 274, 275.
 Calhoun, John C., 384, 885.
 Callen, Nicholas, 495.
 Cambridge, Richard, Duke of, 82.
 Cameron, Simon, 326.
 Campbell, Capt., 161.
 Camp colors, U. S. Army, 473.
 Canby, Wm. J., 192, 193, 194.
 Canute, 84.
 Capture of Lewisburg, 1771, 132.
 Casey, Henry, 509.
 Casey, John, 483.
 Carpenter, Mr. J. E., 508.
 Carey, Mat., 17.
 Castile, King of, 21.

- Cattermole, 91.
 Celebration of 1st anniversary of Dec. of independence, at Phila., 1777, 198.
 Cercopoly, Capt., 420.
 Chamberlain, Capt., 354.
 Channoch, John, 199.
 Champion & Dickason, 211.
 Chandor, John, 21.
 Charlemagne, 70, 92, 479; banner presented to, by the Pope, 70.
 Charles the Fair, 89.
 Charles I, of England, 22, 24, 33, 90, 117, 123.
 Charles II, 13, 87, 118, 123, 131, 154, 484.
 Charles III, (Duke de Bourbon), 76; standard of, 76.
 Charles V, 70, 74.
 Charles VI, 73.
 Charles VII and VIII, 70, 75.
 Charles IX, of France, 70.
 Charles X, of Sweden, 56.
 Charles XIV, 76.
 Charles the Fair, 70, 389.
 Charleston, Mercury on the Confederate flag, 410, 414.
 Charles, Hon. S. P., 309.
 Chase, Mr., 146.
 Chauncey, Comm. Isaac, 92.
 Chesnut, Col., 331, 336.
 China, imperial standard of, 58.
 Chinese standards, 57.
 Chinese pirates, flags captured from, 60.
 Churchill, Sir Winston, 78.
 Church pendant, 469.
 Chronicles of the flag, 1818, 1861, 260, 285.
 Cincinnatus, 75.
 Claghorne, George, 232.
 Clarke, Adam, 43.
 Clarke, Brevet. Col., F. N., 433.
 Clarke, Mr., 171.
 Clay, Henry, 256, 288, 332, 456; against *disunion*, 289.
 Clappole, John, 193.
 Clayton, Capt., 450, 451.
 Clemens, Hon. Mr., 294.
 Clinton, Hon. George, 128.
 Clinton, Sir Henry, 135.
 Clonston, John, 160.
 Clothaire, 73.
 Clovis, 72, 73.
 Clovis, sacred banner of, 71.
 Cobb, Hon. Howell, 290, 299.
 Cockburn, Admiral, 493.
 Collin, T. K., 194.
 Collier, Lieut., 355.
 Colliers, Capt., 298.
 Colonial flags, 116.
 Colonial vessels, flags of, 1741, 128.
 Colonies, Grand Union or Continental flag of the United 155
 Colonies, United, of New England, 123.
 Colonna, Stefano, 64.
 Colored flags or banners, early use of, 11.
 Colors, (American, presented to French government), 225.
 Colors, early use of on board ship, 28.
 Colors borne by ships of the 14th, century, 29.
 Colors of Spanish fleet, struck to the English, 34.
 Colors of Dutch fleet, struck to the English, 35.
 Colors of French fleet, struck to the English, 35.
 Colors presented to the American Government, 229.
 Colors of artillery, U. S. Army, 473.
 Colors of engineers, U. S. Army, 474.
 Colors of infantry, U. S. Army, 473.
 Colors of privateers, 1776, 141, 142.
 Colors of privateer Franklin, 1776, 142.
 Colors of privateer Hero, 1776, 143.
 Colors of Col. Moultrie's, Regiment, 1775, 144.
 Colors of the "Alliance" 1779, 167.
 Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean, 506.
 Columbus, 110, 111, 112, 115, 109.
 Columbus, Don Fernando, 111.
 Columbus, flag of, 110.
 Commander of division, flag of, 467.
 Commission, for a yacht, 488.
 Committees, of Congress, on the preservation of trophy flags, 240.
 Commodore Barney, flag of, 168.
 Commodore Hopkins, 164.
 Commodore's Broad Pennant, 472, 467; U. S. N., 15.
 Company, East India, ensigns of, 154.
 Company's flag, 469.
 Conan, Lieut. of Maximus, 21.
 Couch, Major Gen., 432, 434, 436.
 Confederates bury a U. S. flag, 399.
 Confederates dance over U. S. flags, 373.
 Confederates ensigns, (2d), 415; (3d), 422; 2d, hoisted on Sumter, 419.
 Confederates, flag at Havana, 396.
 Confederate seal, device of, 415.
 Congress, standard presented to, 1776, 150.
 Constantine the Great, 47, 48, 58, 390.
 Constitution, launchings of frigate, 232.
 Connecticut, motto on flags of, 1775, 137.
 Continental flag of United Colonies, 155.

- Continental Navy raising of, 1775, 145;
cost of, 1775, 140; colors of, 1775,
151.
- Convoy, flag, 468.
- Cook, Capt James, 265.
- Coombs, Gen. Leslie, 447.
- Cooper, James Fennimore, 160, 165, 168,
171, 172, 175, 204.
- Copley, John Singleton, 215, 216-
- Corcoran, Col., 357.
- Corean flags, captured from, 60.
- Cornet, the 469.
- Corps badges U. S. army, 474.
- Cortez, 175, 57.
- Cortennallis, standard of, 58.
- Cornwallis, Lord, 201, 242, 243.
- Corwin, (U. S. Consul), 281.
- Cottineaux, Capt, Dennis Nicolas, 204.
- Cotton, Mr. 122
- Cotton, W. A. 457.
- Crane, Mr., 145.
- Crawford, Asst. Surg. S. W., 311, 332,
335.
- Cromwell's banners, 24; body desecrated,
24.
- Cromwell, Oliver, 119, 188, 193.
- Cross of St. George floats over New York,
126; origin of, 117; used in Massa-
chusetts, 120.
- Cumberland, Duke of, 92.
George, Earl of, 154.
- Cunningham, Mr., 206.
- Curious method of carrying flags at sea,
28.
- Curtenius, Mr., 188.
- Curtin, Gov., 438.
- Curtis, Sir Roger, 458.
- Currency, pine tree, origin of, 130.
- Cushing, Hon. Caleb, 353.
- Custis, Mr. Washington Park, 247, 248;
John Park, 248.
- Cyrus, 44.
- Dahlgren, Rear Admiral J. A., 344, 345.
- Damascus, our flag displayed at, 273.
- Dana, Richard H., Jr., 15.
- Danbernon, Sir John, 25.
- Dankers, Jasper, 126.
- Dante, 390.
- Darien expedition, our flag in, 279.
- Dartmouth, Earl of, 162.
- Dauphin, Charles, 74.
- Davenport, E. L., 507.
- Davenport, Richard, 120.
- Davis, 311, 335, 449.
- Davis, Jefferson, 372, 373, 293, 298,
299, 323, 340, 342, 389, 420, 425;
inaugrated President Southern Con-
federacy, 293.
- David, King of Scotland, 87.
- Davis, Rear Admiral, Charles H., 323.
- Davis, Thomas Frederick, D.D., 339.
- Dayton, Hon. Wm. L., 302.
- Dead Sea, our flag on, 272, 274.
- Dean, Capt. Stewart, 217.
- Dean, Mr. 144, 145.
- Debate in Confederate Convention on the
flag, 390, 392.
- De Brinon, Madame, 510.
- De Bryan, Sir Guy, 20.
- Decatur Com., Stephen, 238, 239.
- Declaration of independence, 1st celebra-
tion of the anniversary of, at Phila.
1776, 198.
- De Haven, Lieut., commanding, 284.
- Dimensions of navy flags, 471.
- De Molay, 41.
- De Montford, Simon, 23.
- De Monts, 115; De Monts, settlement
of, at Annapolis, 115.
- Denmark, Magic standard of, 64.
- De Peyster, Gen., 430.
- De Peyster, Lieut. J. L., 424, 425, 426,
427.
- De Plancy, Collin, 71.
- Derivation of the word "flag," applied to
colors, 12.
- De Ruyter, Admiral, 244.
- De Sabla, Theodore, 28.
- Desmond, Master John, 141.
- Desmoulins, Camille, 75.
- Despatch flag, 469.
- D'Estaing, Admiral, 203.
- Destruction of the brig Nancy, 1776,
196.
- Devereaux, Capt. James, 217.
- Devices for a Confederate flag, 390, 392.
seal, 415.
- Devices of the English sovereigns, 77.
of Henry II, 80.
John and Henry III, 81.
Edward I, 82.
Edward III, 81.
Black Prince, 81.
Prince of Wales, 82.
Richard II, 82.
Henry III, 82.
New York flags, 1775, 137.
- Device, rattlesnake, origin of, 146.
- De Witt, Admiral, 244.
- D'Eyncourt, Lord Edmund, 20.
- Diana, Byzantina, 51.
- Diaz, Bernal, 57, 58.
- Digby, Admiral, 211.
- Diodorus, 42.
- Diptote, the, a naval signal flag, 458.
- Distinguishing flag of admirals, in reign
of Edward II, 32.

- Distinguishing flags of U. S. navy, 455.
 of U. S. army, 473.
 of U. S. ships, 1800, 458.
- Distinguishing flags, &c., English orders relative to, 98.
- Dix, Dorothea, 378, 382.
- Dix, Gen. John A., 351, 356.
- Dorr, Mrs.
- Dorset, 22.
- Dostie, Dr. A. P., 365.
- Dote, Lieut. Thomas, 141.
- Doubleday, Capt. A., 311, 332.
- Douglas, Earl, 88, 89.
- Douglas, of Caver, 88.
- Douglass standard at Otterburne, 88.
- Douglas, Stephen A., 288, 309.
 Stephen A., against disunion, 289.
- Drake, Joseph Rodman, 478.
- Drake, Samuel G., 131.
- Drake, Sir Francis, 114, 115.
- Draper, J. W., 373, 385, 429.
- Drayton, 22.
- Dreer, F. J., 165.
- Dreux, John of, 22.
- Duane, William, 182.
- Ducange, 41.
- Dudley, Mr., 122.
- Dugdale, 31.
- Dumas, Mr., 167.
- Dunbar, Ed. E., 270.
- Durham, Bishop of, 20.
- Dunlop, Judge, 495.
- Dunnivant, Gen., 337.
- Dupont, Rear Admiral S. A., 377, 442.
- Durang, Fred., 494.
- Durseley, Lord, 13.
- Dusolle, John S., 506.
- Dutch fleet strike their colors to the
 English, 35.
 ships of war to strike colors to the
 English, 36.
 West India Co. flag, 156.
 East India Co. flag, 156.
- Dwight Timothy, 101.
- Dwight's Prophecy of America, 102.
- Dyar, Lieut. Chas. 141.
- English yachts, 1660, 484.
- Ensign, American yacht, 486.
- Ensign, English, 1707, 129.
 East India Co. 1707, 129.
 Scotch 1707, 129.
 Irish 1707, 129.
 New England 1707, 129.
- Ensign of Portugal, 68.
- Ensign, the, honor derived, 25, 26.
- Ensigns on the Bayeux Tapestry, 27.
 early use of, on board ships, 28.
- Ensigns, Slavonic, 52.
- Ensigns, all laid by Salem, 1134, 121.
 at Salem defaced, 1134, 120.
- Ensigns, East India Company, 154.
- Ensigns and pendants of revenue service, 236.
- Ensigns, Confederate 1st, described, 395;
 2d, described, 415; 3d, described, 422.
- Entick, John, 32.
- E Pluribus Unum, origin of, 482.
- Eric the Red, 102, 104.
- Erik, Bishop of Greenland, voyage of, 108.
- Erskine, Sir William, 22.
- Estabrook, Gen, 451.
- Estevan, Col. 371.
- European States, standard and flags of, 113.
- Eusebius, 48.
- Eustace the monk, 32.
- Everett, Hon. Edward, on the stars and stripes, 12, 353.
- Expedition of Sir H. Gilbert, 1578, 114.
 Sir W. Raleigh, 115.
- Ezekiel the prophet, 28.
- Eagle, golden, of Napoleon, 73.
- Earl of Berkeley, the first to hoist the flag of Lord High Admiral, 13.
- Early, Gen. Jubal A., 401.
- Early use of colored flags and banners, 11.
- East India Co., flag of Dutch, 156.
- East Indian standard, 57, 62.
- Edes, Capt. B., 493, 494.
- Edinburgh, Duke of, 484.
- Edith, yacht, the first American yacht south of the Equator, 278.
- Edmund Ironsides, 84.
- Edmund of Lancaster, 86.
- Edmund of York, 86.
- Edmund the Martyr, 78.
- Edward I, 22, 80, 82, 84, 86.
- Edward II, 32.
- Edward III, device of, 81.
- Edward III, 20, 29, 30, 32, 73, 80, 81, 86, 89.
- Edward IV., 82, 83, 84.
- Edward VI, 24, 83.
- Edward, the Black Prince, 26.
- Edward, the Confessor, 23, 78, 80.
- Egyptians, standard of, 42.
- Elba, flag of, 73.
- Eleanor of Provence, 86.
- Elizabeth of York, 85.
- Elizabeth, Queen, 24, 32, 80, 89.
- Elliot, Major Bernard, 144.
- Elliot, Mrs., 144.
- Emmons, Com. Geo. P., 160.
- Empire of Germany, flag of, 69.
- Endecott, Gov., 121.
- End of the war against the flag, 423.

- England, New, flag of, earliest symbol of the colonies, 131.
- England, New, United Colonies of, formed, 123.
Flag of, 1686, 125.
Extent of, 1680, 121.
Ensign of, 129.
- English flags, the first planted on the shores of Eastern North America, 113.
- Fairchild, Richard, 364.
- Fairholt, 72, 73.
- Falconer's dictionary on salutes, 37.
- Farley, Lieut. H. S. 331.
- Farragut, Admiral D. G., 15, 190, 304, 364, 367, 369, 386, 401, 445, 463, 464, 465.
- Farrington, D. W. C., 259.
- Fauce, Capt., 327, 328.
- Ferdinand and Isabella, 66.
- Ferguson, Rebecca C., 392
- Fernand, Don, 66.
- Ferrari, Mrs., 213, 214.
- Festrohoff, Capt., 448.
- Fifteen stars and fifteen stripes, 1795 1818, 221.
- First British flag captured in 1812, 247.
- First flag of Great Britain, 22.
- First United States vessel, through the straits of Magellan, 267; first American steam schooner to China, 268; first American steam schooner back to British India, 268; first American propeller packet to England, 268; first American pilot-boat to Ireland, 269; first man to raise the stars and stripes in California, 269; first gun at Sumter, fired by Edward Ruffin, 332; first gun for Sumter, fired by Capt. Doubleday, 232.
- Fish, Hon. Hamilton, 357.
- Flag, derivation of, 12.
of the Lord High Admiral, 12.
of the Lord Lieut. of Ireland, 13.
of the Lord Admiral of the fleet of the United Kingdom, 13.
of the admirals in the royal navy, 14.
of the President of the U. S., 14.
of the Secretary of the U. S. navy, 14.
of Admiral U. S. N. 14, 15.
of Washington's life guard, 17.
of William Prince of Orange, 34.
dispute at Lisbon relative to ceremony of, 36.
red, signal for battle, 46.
derivation of pointed or triangular, 52.
planted by Dr. Hayes, 70°, 283.
- Flag, of Elba, 73.
of Columbus, 110.
of Fort Moultrie, 1775, 143.
Col. Gadsden, 132.
Striped, raising of Cambridge, 152,
Striped, raising of Boston, 152.
Grand Union, first unfurled, 153
of the Royal Savage, 153.
Grand union of united colonies, 155.
Continental, 155.
of Dutch East India Co., 156.
of Dutch West India Co., 156.
British Union, origin of, 119.
of Three County Troop, 123.
New England, 1686, 123.
Burgher's corps, New Amsterdam, 125.
N. E. provinces, 1680, 126.
merchant service, 1709, 128.
colonial vessels, 1741, 128.
Scotch Union, 1707, 129.
New England, earliest symbol of the colonies, 131.
of Sir Wm. Pepperrell, 1745, 131.
raising in N. York, 1766, 133.
union, raised at Taunton, Mass., 1774, 136.
of New York, device on, 1775, 137.
Bunker Hill, 138.
General Putnam, 139.
raising, Savannah, Ga., 1775, 140.
first American, hoisted by Capt. J. Manly, 1775, 169.
first American, shown to the European world, 173.
first salute obtained to the, from a foreign power by the Andrea Doria, 174.
striped, origin of unknown, 175.
American, at White Plains, 1776, 177.
of the U. S., raised on board the America, by Paul Jones, 200.
of the United States, established 1818, 255.
of 1818, first hoisted on the U. S. House of Representatives, 259.
U. S., hoisted at San Francisco, 271.
hoisted in Mexico, where preserved, 277.
Museum at Washington, 440.
of Fort Meigs, in 1812, 447.
Officer's flags, orders concerning, 461, 462.
for Rear Admiral, established by law, 463.
Vice Admiral, ordered, 464, 466, 472.

- Flag, Admiral, ordered, 464, 466, 472.
 472.
 President of the U. S., 404, 466,
 Secretary of the navy, 466, 472..
 Rear Admirals, 466, 472.
 our Union, 503.
 of America, raised by Paul Jones, 160.
 the American, raised on the Alfred,
 1776, 166.
 of Commodore Barney, 168.
 of American, first made by Mrs. Ross,
 193.
 America, raising of, on the Nancy
 1776, 194.
 of Washington, at Trenton, 197.
 of U. S. raised on board Ranger,
 by Paul Jones, 19.
- Flags, act for preservation of, 184, 246.
 Boston, 1728, 131.
 captured from Chinese Pirates, 60.
 captured from Coreans, 60.
 embroidery of, 65.
 Spanish, 65.
 of Pizarro, 67.
 of Austria, 67.
 of Russia, 67.
 of Greece, 68.
 of Belgium, 68.
 of Holland, 68.
 of Sweden and Norway, 69.
 of Empire of Germany, 69.
 of Revolutionary Periods, 133.
 of Pre-Revolutionary Periods, 133.
 Connecticut, motto on, 1775, 137.
 Union, mottoes on, 1775, 137.
 Colonial and Provincial, 116.
- Fleet, American, sailing of the first, 1776,
 170.
 American, signals for, 162.
- Fletcher, Capt., 327.
 Fletcher, Gov., 127.
 Fleur-de lys, origin of, 72.
 Florida secedes, 292.
 Flying Fish, schooner, carries our flag to
 70° S., 267.
- Fogg, John S. H., M.D., 384.
 Folger, Capt. Timothy, 211.
 Folger, Mr., 255.
 Foote, Rear Admiral, 444.
 Foote, Senator, 307.
 Forbes, Robert B., 268, 278.
 Force, Peter, 495.
 Forney, Col. G. W., 304.
 Forster, Mr., 260.
 Forsyth, John, 368.
 Fort Sumter, our flag at, 311, 347.
 Foss, Jacob, 446.
 bequeaths money to purchase U. S.
 flags, 446.
- Foster, Capt. J. G., 311.
 Foulke, Count of Anjou, 80.
 Foulke, Wm. Parker, 282.
 Fox, Gustavus V., 260, 321, 325, 326,
 327, 328, 330, 444.
 Fox, Mr., 491.
 France, Tri-Color of, 73.
 Imperial standard of, 76.
 ships of war of, not to strike colors to
 the English, 36.
 standard of ancient kings of, 71.
 Francis I, of France, 64, 70.
 Franklin, Benjamin, 148, 151, 166, 173,
 475.
 Franklin, Lady, 285.
 Franklin, privateer, colors of, 1776, 142.
 Franks, standards of, 70.
 Fraser, Capt., 355.
 Fraser, Gen., 143.
 Frederick VII, of Denmark, 285.
 Frederick Wilhelm II, 69.
 Freedom of the U. S. of America declared,
 176.
 Fremont hoists a flag with one star, at
 Sutter's Fort, Cal., 271.
 Fremont, John C., 270, 271.
 French colors presented to the U. S., 228.
 French frigate compelled to salute the
 English, 36.
 French, Major B. B., 308.
 French squadron strikes their colors to the
 English, 85.
 Freneau, 204, 205.
 Frietchie, Mrs. Barbara, 378, 379, 381,
 382.
 Froissart, 28, 32.
- Gadsden, Christopher, 124, 144, 145,
 150, 166.
 Gadsden, Col., flag of, 150.
 Gadsden, Rev. C. P., 383.
 Gage, Gen. 138.
 Gale and Seaton, 232.
 Gallagher, Private, Wm. 442.
 Gallilee, our flag on the Lake of, 272.
 Gallway, Edward, 349.
 Gansevoort, Col. Peter, 200.
 Gardar, the Dane, 102.
 Garrison flag, U. S. army, 473.
 Gates, Horatio, Major Gen., 164.
 Gauls, standards of, 70.
 General Order on representing Mass flags,
 434.
 relative to the repossession of Sum-
 ter, 342, 445.
 General Recall Flag, 469.
 George I, 90, 92.
 11, 109
 111, 22, 134.

- Georgia secedes, 392.
 State flags, 389.
 Gerard, 203.
 Germany, flag of the Empire of, 69.
 Gerry, Elbridge, 141, 169.
 Gerty, Simon, 147.
 Gierlow, Rev. Mr., 451.
 Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 134.
 expedition of, 432.
 Gildea, James, 97.
 Giles, Mr., 223, 230.
 Gill, Lieut. John, 343.
 Gillis, Commander, 327, 339.
 Gilmore, Major Gen., 343, 344.
 Gilmore P. T., 36.
 Golden Eagle of Napoleon, 73.
 Gonfanons, 26.
 Gonfanon of William the Conqueror, 26.
 Gonsales, Fernan, Count of Castile, 65.
 Goodhue, Mr., 222.
 Goold, William, 91.
 Gosnold, Bartholomew, 115.
 Gloucester, Humphrey, Duke of, 82, 92.
 Glover, Col., 141, 142.
 Grant, Gen. Ulyses S., 371, 423, 427,
 428.
 Graves, Major. E. E., 425.
 Gray, Capt. Robert, 217, 218, 219, 220.
 Gray, James, 291.
 Gray, Lieut., 144.
 Great Britain and Ireland, Royal standard
 of, 89, 91.
 Union Jack of, 93.
 Great Harry, the, 32.
 Great Seal of the United States described,
 480.
 Greeks, standards of, 43.
 Greeley, Horace, 494.
 Green, Capt., 216.
 Green, Gen. Nathaniel, 158.
 Green, Thomas, 194.
 Greene, George W., 209.
 Greene, Gov. William, 208.
 Greenup, Mr., 222.
 Grenville, Sir Richard, 115.
 Greydon, or guidon, how derived, 24;
 its dimensions, 25; by whom used,
 25.
 Griffin, Mr., 410.
 Grinnell, Moses H., 351.
 Griswold, Rev. Rufus W., 490, 491,
 499.
 Grotius, Hugh, writes treatise *Man
 Liberum*, 35.
 Grotius, Hugo, 35.
 Grymes, Benjamin, 248.
 Grymes, Mr., 247.
 Grymes, William, 248.
 Guard flag, 469.
 Gudreda, widow of Thorstein, 107, 108.
 Guiart Guillaume, 72.
 Guide or pivot flag, 469.
 Gunnbjorn, 102.
 Hail Columbia, 490.
 Haines, Adj. Gen. John M., 437.
 Hakluyt, 26, 111.
 Hall, Commodore Isaac, 239.
 Hall, Davis, 148.
 Hall, Hon. J. P., 290.
 Hall, Lieut., 334.
 Halleck, Fitz Green, 498.
 Hamilton, Lieut., 238.
 Hamilton, Paul, 239.
 Hamilton, Schuyler, 187, 190.
 Hamlin, Hon. Hannibal, 307, 308.
 Hamlin, Mrs., 310.
 Hammett, Mr., 210.
 Hampden, 394.
 Hanaford, Mrs. P. A. 214.
 Hancock, Edward C., 400, 405, 404,
 405, 407.
 Hancock, Mr. John, 139, 195.
 Handel, 509.
 Hanover, Dude of, 92.
 Harbord, Miss., 507.
 Harbord, Richard, 507.
 Harbridge, Hon. Julian, 415.
 Hardee, Gen., 402.
 Hardhitch, Mr., 215.
 Harlow, Sir Robert, 154.
 Harold, 77, 26.
 Harper Brothers, 315, 349, 429,
 Harriman, Gov, 437,
 Harris, Mr. 232.
 Harris, Rev Mathew, 346,
 Harrison, Lieut Comdj. Napoleon B, 368,
 Harrison, Mr, 225,
 Harry, Gracedieu, 32.
 Harry, Mayor, 244,
 Hart, Sergeant Peter, 334, 335,
 Hart, Thomas, 164.
 Hartley, Mr., 232.
 Hartstene, Capt., 325, 337, 339.
 Harvey, Capt. A. C., 345.
 Hastings, John de, 20,
 Havemeyer, Wm. T., 351.
 Haven, C. C., 183, 189, 201, 204, 205.
 Hawkins, Sir John, 114.
 Hawley, Brig. Gen., 346.
 Haydn, 91.
 Hayes, Doct., hoists our flag at Upper-
 navick, 281; hoists flag in latitude
 81° 25' N., 283.
 Hayes, Doct., 281, 282, 284.
 Hayley, Mrs. George, 211, 213.
 Head, Gen. Nat., 437.
 Head, Mr. John, 161.

- Hebrews, standards of, 43.
 Hedwega, 55.
 Hemmock, Mr., 357.
 Henault, 72.
 Hennessy, Major J. A., 343
 Henry II, of France, 70.
 III, of France, 70.
 IV, of France, 70.
 of Metz, 72.
 II, device of, 80.
 III, " " 81.
 IV, " " 82.
 V, Banner of, 83.
 VI, " " 83.
 VIII, Standards of, 85.
 Prince of England, 85.
 II, of England, 80, 89,
 III, of England, 80, 84, 86.
 IV, of England, 82, 83;
 V, of England, 79, 83, 89.
 VI, of England, 20, 29, 31, 78, 79,
 83, 84, 85, 86.
 VII, of England, 32, 84, 111, 112,
 113.
 VIII, of England, 12, 34, 85, 89,
 113.
 Henry, Major (of Phil.), 203, 358.
 Heraldry of the American Flag, 250.
 Hereditary banner bearer of Scotland, 20.
 Heriulf, 103.
 Herman, Augustin, 125.
 Hero Privateer, colors of, 1776, 143.
 Herodotus, 44.
 Hewes, Mr., 145.
 Heywood, 33.
 Hill, Gen., 381.
 Hinks, Major Gen., 432.
 Hinman, Mr., 176.
 Holland, standard and flag of, 68.
 Hollingsworth, Levi, 184.
 Hollwell, Capt. John, 37.
 Holmes, Hon. John, 142.
 Holmes, Lieut. Col., 433.
 Holmes, Lieut. N., 367,
 Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 497, 503, 504,
 509.
 Holt, Mr. (Sect. of War), 823.
 Hopkinson, Francis, 490.
 Hopkins, Commodore, engraving of, pre-
 served at Annapolis, 164.
 Hopkins, Commodore Esek, 151, 159,
 162, 163, 164, 165, 168, 170, 171,
 172, 175, 457; standard of, 457.
 Hopkins, Mr., 145.
 Hopkinson, Joseph, 490, 491.
 Hopwood, Miss. Mary, 381.
 Hospitallers, banner of, 41.
 Hough, David, 339.
 How our flag was first restored to the
 soil of South Carolina, 377.
 Howard, Lord Wm., 34.
 Howe, Capt. Tyringham, 72.
 Howe, Lord, 215.
 Howe, Major Gen., 137.
 Hubert, Father, 886.
 Huddy, Wm., 185.
 Hudson, 156.
 Hudson, Lieut., 329.
 Hull, F. A., 361.
 Humboldt, 390.
 Humboldt, Baron, 112.
 Hume, Lieut., 144.
 Humphries, Joshua.
 Humphries, Major General, 427
 Hungar and Hubba, 64
 Hungary, national colors of, 67.
 Hunter, Gov. Robert, 127.
 Huntington, Earl of, 23.
 Hutchinson, 211.
 Imperial Standard of France, 76.
 Inauguration of Pres. Lincoln, 307, 310.
 Incidents at Fort Pillow, 375.
 Independence Hall, flag raised on, by the
 sailors of the Hartford, 304.
 Independence Hall, Phila., Mr. Lincoln
 raises our flag on, 303.
 Indians, N. American, standard of, 59.
 Irish Ensign, 1707, 129.
 Irving, Washington, 51, 111.
 Italian standard, 73.
 Italy, standards, 68.
 Jack, Union, of Gt. Britain, 93.
 Jackson, Gen. Andrew, 399, 446, 459.
 Jackson, Gen. Stonewall, 379, 381.
 Jagillon, Duke, 55.
 James, Duke of York, 118.
 James I, of England, 35, 89, 93, 116,
 119, 125, 129, 131, 154.
 James II, of England, 509.
 James IV, of Scotland, 75.
 Japanese standards, 57, 61.
 Jarvis, Mr., 254.
 Jasper, Sergeant, 143, 144, 334.
 at Fort Moultrie, 1775, 143.
 death of, 144.
 Javanese standards, 57, 62.
 Jay, Hon. John, 358.
 and our flag, 452.
 Jefferson, Thomas, 188, 332, 475.
 Jenkins, Com. Thornton, A., 466.
 John, King of England, 81, 34.
 John of France, 74.
 John of Gaunt, 82, 86.
 Johnson Brevet Major Gen., 376.
 Johnson, Capt., 1721.

- Johnson, Capt. Nicholas, 212.
 Johnson, Hon. Reverdy, 355, 356.
 Johnson, Mr. of Georgia, 290,
 Johnson, William, 221.
 Johnston, Gen. Joseph É., 400.
 Johnston, Gen. Joseph E., 274, 275,
 401, 402, 430.
 Jones, Comm., 270.
 Jones, John Paul, 159, 160, 161, 162,
 166, 167, 168, 169, 198, 199, 200,
 204, 205.
 Jones, Major D. R., 337.
 Jones, Sir William, 63,
 Jones, Thomas 211,
 Jonson, Ben, 81,
 Josiah, Capt., 212,
 Juanna, Donna, 66.
 Justice, Alexander, 230,
- Kamara, (Mars) 62.
 Kane, Doct. Elisha Kent, 280, 282;
 carries our flag nearest the North
 Pole, 282.
 Keim, Gen. George, 495.
 Keith, Lawrence M., 290.
 Kempton, Thomas, 212.
 Kendrick, Capt., 217, 218, 220; death
 of, 218.
 Kennedy, Major E. D., 440.
 Key, Francis Scott, 492, 493, 494, 495,
 496.
 Kirk, Governor, 300.
 Kissick, Lieut. Wm., 141.
 Knights Templar, standard of, 38;
 origin of, 39; oath of, 40; suppres-
 sion of, 42.
 Knorr, G. F., 283.
 Knox, Gen. Henry, 205, 206.
 Koah, the Blacksmith, 44.
 Kohl, J. G., 309.
 Kohn, Abra., 300.
 Kohter, Mons., 447.
 Kuskol, Capt., 449.
- Labarum, the description of, 47; deriva-
 tion of, 47.
 Ladd, Mrs. C., 391.
 Lafayette, 16, 17, 75, 288, 362; against
 Slavery, 289.
 Lamar, Lieut., 427.
 Landais, Capt. Pierre, 204, 205.
 Langdon, Capt., 425.
 Langdon, Mr. John, 144, 169.
 Lapses in Act establishing Great Seal of
 the U. S., 480.
 Larochevoucault, Count, 71.
 Latimer, A. R., 376, 377.
 Latimer, Miss Emma, 376.
 Lawrence, Col., 357.
- Leake, Sir John, 13.
 Lee, Capt., 336.
 Lee, General Robert E., 379, 381, 423,
 427, 428, 430; surrender of, 428.
 Lee, Major Gen. Chas., 164, 166, 181.
 Lee, Mr. John, 236.
 Lee, Mr. R. H., 145.
 Le Ferre, Seigneur de St. Henry, 79.
 Leicester, Earl of, 23.
 Leif, son of Eric the Red, voyage of,
 104, 105, 106.
 Lempriere, Clement, 160.
 Leo III, Pope, 70.
 Leonard, Rev. Mr., 139.
 Letcher, Gov., 339, 371.
 Letters of P. H. Wendover, 254, 257;
 Robert Anderson, 319, 321; F. W.
 Pickens, 320; J. McGowan, 317;
 Simeon Cameron, 326; Gideon
 Welles, 327; G. T. Beauregard,
 401, 405; W. P. Mills, 403, 406;
 J. B. Walton, 404; E. C. Han-
 cock, 405; J. A. Andrew, 436.
 Leutze, 138.
 Levy, 28.
 Lewis, Capt., 247.
 Lewis, Capt. George W., 268.
 Lewis, George, 248.
 Lewis, Mr., 145.
 Lewis, Mr., 247.
 Lewis, Mrs., of Va., 188.
 Lewis, Samuel, 248.
 Liberty pole in New York cut down,
 1770, 1776, 134.
 Liberty tree, Boston, Mass., cut down
 1775, 136.
 Liberty tree, Charleston, S. C., cut down
 1780, 135.
 License for a yacht, form for, 487.
 Lincoln, Abraham, 281, 289, 291, 292,
 293, 299, 300, 302, 303, 304, 305,
 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 325, 330,
 357, 873, 383, 420; elected presi-
 dent of the U. S., 290; journey
 from Illinois to Washington, 299;
 raises our flag on Independence
 Hall, 303.
 Lincoln, Bishop of, 30.
 Lincoln, Earl of, 12.
 Lipsius, 55.
 Littleton, Vice Admiral, 13.
 Livingston, Doct. David, 452.
 Locke, Capt., 269.
 Lodebrock, 64.
 Long, Col., 493.
 Long Island, incident of the battle of,
 176.
 Longfellow, Henry W., 101.
 Longstreet, Gen., 379.

- Lord High Admiral's flag first carried at sea, 13.
- Lossing, B. J., 110, 116, 119, 130, 135, 139, 140, 144, 153, 188, 201, 248, 297, 314, 334, 336, 343, 347, 351, 354, 381, 384, 385, 390, 423, 481.
- Lossing and Williams, 480.
- Lothaire, 73.
- Lothrop, Rev. Saml. K., 434.
- Louis Le Gros, 72.
- Louis of Bavaria, Emperor, 64.
- Louis, St., 70.
- Louis VIII, 70.
- Louis XII, 70, 75.
- Louis XIV, 70, 510.
- Louis XVI, 74.
- Louisbourg, capture of, 1745, 131.
- Louisiana secedes, 293; state flags of, 386.
- Low, Mr., 173.
- Lowden, James, 212.
- Lowes, 188.
- Loyal flag raisings, following the fall of Sumter, 348, 368.
- Lukens, Chas. J., 182, 183, 186, 187, 248, 250.
- Lukens heraldry of the American flag, 250.
- Lunt, Ezra, 139.
- Lunt, Lieut. Paul, 139.
- Lydgate, 80.
- Lyman, Mr., 222.
- Lynch, Lieut., 272, 273, 274.
- Lynch, Mr., 151.
- Lynd, Bishop, 339.
- Lyndhurst, Lord, 215.
- McAllister, John A., 181, 197, 438.
- MacCauley, Capt., 493.
- McClellan, Wm., 427.
- McCulloch, Secretary, 366.
- McDougall, Col., 160.
- Macedonian, capture of, 238.
- McEwen, Mrs. Hetty, 441.
- McEwin, Mrs., 374.
- McGinness, (seaman), 279, 280.
- McGowan, Capt. John, 317, 319, 387.
- McGowan's report of the firing on the Star of the West, 317.
- McGuire, Capt., 269.
- Mackenzie, J. Sliddell, 160, 168.
- McLaughlin, Mr., 352.
- McMakin, Andrew, 185.
- Madison, Mr., 223.
- Madison, Mrs., 239.
- Madoc, 102.
- Magnetic Pole, Comm. Ross takes possession of, 285.
- Magyars, King of, standard of, 55.
- Mahar, James, 495.
- Mahomet, 49, 51, 52; II, sacred standard of, 51, 52.
- Maine flags returned, 439.
- Maintenon, Madam, 510.
- Makesatoff, Gov., 449.
- Makesatoff, Princess, 449.
- Manipulus, standard of, 45.
- Manley, Capt. John, 141, 169.
- Manley, Capt. J., first American flag hoisted by, 1775, 169.
- Mann, Mr., 236.
- Manning, Mrs., 139.
- Mansell, Sir Robert, 35.
- Mare Clausem, treatise by Mr. Selden, 35.
- Mare Liberum, treatise by Hugh Gortius, 35.
- Marcel, Etienne, 74.
- Marcus Aurelius, emperor, 53.
- Marcy, Hon. Wm. L., 247.
- Marcy, Wm. L., captures 1st British flag, 1812, 247.
- Maria, incidents of ship, 213.
- Maria, the, 1859, 215.
- Marines, 66.
- Marines, battalions of, raised 1775, 145.
- Marines, good behavior of, in action, 172.
- Marius, Roman Consul, 46.
- Mark, banner of, Robert de la, 76.
- Markoe, Capt. Abraham, 181, 182, 185.
- Marlborough, Duke of, 76, 77, 93.
- Marriage, Queen of England, 12, 24, 34, 85.
- Marshall, Chas. H., 322.
- Marshall, Chris, 176, 182.
- Martigne, Chevalier, 200.
- Martin, St., standard of, 71.
- Mason, Hon. George, 188.
- Mason, Lowell, 510.
- Mason, Miss. Fanny, 272, 273.
- Mason, Mr., 262.
- Masonic standards, 38.
- Massachusetts flags returned to the state, 433.
- Massachusetts His. Soc. presented with rebel flags, by G. H. Fox, 444.
- Matilda, Queen of William the Conqueror, 26, 29.
- Maxentius, 47.
- Meade, Lieut. R. R., 311.
- Meade, Major Gen., 427, 428, 429, 438.
- Meadows, Capt., 142.
- Meares, Lieut., 220.
- Memminger, Mr., 390, 392.
- Memminger's speech on a confederate flag, 390.
- Menage, 41.
- Mendenhall, Capt. Thos., 194-

- Mercer, Capt. Samuel, 326, 327, 329.
 Merchant service, flag of, 1709, 128.
 Mesroud, Ibu Mesiera, 51.
 Mewar, 62.
 Mexican standards, 54.
 Mexico, our citizens protected by our flag,
 261.
 Middleton, Mr., 479.
 Midway Islands, taken possession of, 449.
 Miles, Col. Wm. Porcher, 311, 336, 337,
 391, 392, 395, 401, 402, 404, 405,
 407.
 Miles, Rev. James B., 360.
 Minute guns for death of J. Q. Adams,
 fired on the Dead Sea, 273.
 Mira or Mora, the, ships of William the
 Conqueror, 29.
 Mississippi secedes, 292.
 Mitchell, Capt. J. K., 281.
 Monwyah, 51.
 Monson, Sir Wm., 35.
 Montacute, Lord John, 23.
 Monte, Marc Anthony, 64.
 Montgomery, Capt. Hugh, 194, 196.
 Montgomery, General, 245.
 Montgomery, Miss. Elizabeth, 194, 195.
 Montgomery, Rear Admiral, J. B., 271.
 Mooers, Capt. William, 209, 211, 213,
 214.
 Moore, Frank, 203, 376, 410, 503.
 Moore, Gov., 292, 386.
 Morgan, Gen. Daniel, 138.
 Morris and Croffet, 348.
 Morris, Capt., 121, 122.
 Morris, Capt. H. W., 366.
 Morris, Comm. Richard V., 458.
 Morris, Geo. P., 503.
 Morris, John, 164.
 Morris, Mr., 145.
 Morris, Robt., 193, 194.
 Morrison, J. G. Jr., 359.
 Morse, Prof. S. F. B., 294: proposes a
 flag for a northern and southern U.
 S., propositions for a peaceable dis-
 union, 37, 295, 297.
 Morton, A., 351.
 Morton, Mr., 280, 282.
 Moslem standards, 49.
 Motley, John Lathrop, 57.
 Motte, Benjm., 129.
 Motto on Connecticut flags, 1775, 237;
 Union flag, 1775, 237,
 Moultrie, Col., 143.
 Moultrie, Fort, flag of, 1775, 143; Sergt.
 Jasper, at, 43.
 Moultrie's regiment, colors of, 44.
 Mouton, President, 386.
 Moylan, Col., 141, 142.
 Muley, Abbas., 52.
 Mumford, hung at New Orleans, 369.
 Mumford, Wm. B., 367, 368, 369, 370.
 Munroe, James, 223, 224, 225, 226,
 227, 228, 229.
 My country 'tis of thee, 509.
 Myrick, Doct., 26.
 Naddod, 102.
 Names of Am. Yacht Clubs, 1872, 485.
 Nancy, raising of the stars and stripes
 on the, 1776, 194; blowing up of
 the, 1776, 195.
 Nanfan, Lieut. Gov. John, 127.
 Napoleon, Golden Eagle of, 73.
 Napoleon I, 69, 73, 77.
 Napoleon III, 484.
 National songs, 490, 510.
 Naval force of U. S., 1812, 238; sig-
 nals, 1800, 458.
 Naval trophy flags presented to Mass.
 Hist. Society, 444.
 Navy, continental, raising of, 1775, 146;
 cost of, 1775, 146; colors of, 1775,
 151; uniform 1776, 164; distin-
 guishing flags of, 455; rules and
 regulations respecting distinctive
 flags, 1803, 459; 1818, 459;
 1833, 459; 1843, 460; 1857, 460;
 1865, 464; 1870, 471; flags di-
 mensions of, 471.
 New Amsterdam, flag of Burgher's Corps,
 125; changed to New York, 126.
 Newcastle, Duke of, 128.
 Newcomb, Hon. O., 352.
 New England, extent of, 1680, 126; en-
 sign of, 1707, 129; united colonies
 formed, 123.
 New Hampshire flags returned to the
 state, 437.
 New Providence, taken 1778, 202.
 New Orleans, our flag at, 364, 365.
 New York, Cross of St. George floats over,
 121.
 Nicholas, Capt., 172.
 Nicholson, Commodore, 232.
 Nicholson, J., 129.
 Nicolas, Sir Harris, 72, 106.
 Nicolls, Col. Richard, 126, 127.
 Niles, Mr., 188.
 Norfolk, Mowbray, Duke of, 83.
 North American Indians, standard of, 59.
 North Carolina State flag, 389.
 North, Lord, 394.
 Northumberland, Earl of, 35.
 Norway, standard and flags of, 69.
 Notre Dame, France, trophies at, 241.
 Noyes, Capt. Thomas, 124.

- O'Bannon, Lieut., 26.
 O'Donnel, Mr., 352.
 Ogilby, Col. Lieut., Nicholas, 340.
 Olney, Jeremiah, 207.
 Open Polar Sea described, 282.
 Orange, William, Prince of, flag of, 34.
 Oriflamme, 72.
 Origin, of St. George's cross, 227.
 British Union flag, 9.
 Pine Tree currency, 30.
 of the Southern battle flag, 400.
 of the coach whip pendant, 457,
 of the motto E Pluribus Unum, 482,
 Orizaba, stars and stripes on, 276.
 Osborne, T., 507
 Osman, Caleb, III, 49
 Othman, 52,
 Our flag carried to 75° S. 262 ; carried to
 80° N., 283 ; in Secessia, 364, 382 ;
 in Switzerland, 1867, and 1872, 446.
 Our star-gemmed banner, 350.
 Owen Tudor, 84.
 Owen, Sir David, 23.
 Paca, Mr. 145, 146.
 Pacific Mail Steamer to China, the first,
 446
 Paddleford & Fay, 268.
 Page, Capt. 269.
 Paget, C., 100.
 Paine, Col. Wm. H., 428.
 Paine, Robert Treat, 500, 502.
 Palmer, Capt., 121, 122.
 Palmer, Doct., 407.
 Palmer, Surgeon J. C., 264.
 Palmetto flags, 387.
 Palmetto flag, hoisted at Charleston,
 201.
 Panama flag, struck by lightning, 281.
 Parton, James, 366, 370.
 Pasqualigo, 112.
 Passage of Stamp Act, 133.
 Paul Jones, flag of America, raised by,
 160 ; flag of U. S., raised on board
 the Ranger, 199 ; flag of U. S.,
 raised on board the America, 200.
 Paul, Emperor of Russia, 41.
 Peace Convention at Washington, 299.
 Peace flags, 297.
 Peale, Edmund, 17.
 Peale, Mr. Chas. Wilson, 190, 196,
 197 ;
 Peale, Titian R., 197.
 Pedraza, Gomez, 261.
 Pendants, ensigns, etc., revenue service,
 236.
 Pendants, to be worn only by men of war,
 174.
 Penn, Mr., 127.
 Pennons, how formed, and by whom used,
 25 ; of Sir John Daubernoun, 25 ;
 of St. George, St. Michael, St. Ur-
 sula and of John the Baptist, 25.
 Pepperrell, Sir Wm., 131, 132 ; flag of,
 1745, 131.
 Pepys, Thos., 484.
 Percy, Earl, 88.
 Perkins, Col. T. H., 362.
 Perry, Commodore M. C., 277.
 Persians, standard of, 44.
 Pescara, Marquis of, 64.
 Pescara, standard of Marquis of, 64.
 Petts, Phineas, 484.
 Pffifer, Col., 62.
 Phila. Light House, standard of, 181.
 Philip the Bold, 75, 76.
 Phillip and Solomon, 495.
 Phillip II, of Spain, 34.
 Phillip of Orleans, 75.
 Phillip the Bold, of Burgundy, standard
 of, 76.
 Phillips, Hon. Wendell, on disunion, 294.
 Phillips, Wendell, 294.
 Phittiplace, Lieut. Edward, 141.
 Pickens, Gov. F. W., 320, 321, 323,
 325, 326, 330, 338, 340, 385.
 Pickering, Hon. Timothy, 230, 231, 232.
 Pierce, Franklin, 394.
 Pillow, Gen., 274.
 Pilot flag, 468.
 Pine Tree currency, origin of, 130.
 Piquet, Admiral La Motte, 199.
 Pizarro, 67.
 Pizarro, flag of, 67.
 Planche, Mr., 86, 93.
 Plummer, Mr. 507.
 Poindexter, Mr., 255.
 Poinsett, Hon. Joel R., 261, 262 ; dis-
 plays our flag in Mexico, to protect
 Am. citizens and others, 261.
 Poland, banners and national colors of,
 53 ; black ensign of the crown of,
 56.
 Pole, liberty, cut down in N. York, 1770
 and 1776, 134.
 Polk, Bishop Gen., 373, 402.
 Poor, Capt. Wm., 268.
 Popham, 116.
 Popocatepetl, stars and stripes on, 275.
 Poppel, Mr. 127.
 Porter, Admiral David D., 327, 445,
 466.
 Porter, Commodore David, 233, 234,
 235.
 Portugal, standard and ensign of, 48.
 Postell, Capt. Wm. Ross, 415.
 Powder, 469.
 Powers, Stephen, 483

- Pownall, Gov. Thomas, 133 .
 Preble, Capt. Geo. Henry, 404, 405, 406, 407, 510.
 Preble, Capt. Edward, 458.
 Pre-revolutionary periods, flags of, 133.
 Prescott, Wm. H., 57, 58.
 Preservation, act for, of flags, 1814, 241.
 President's flag, 464, 466, 470.
 Preston, Hon. Ed. J., 453
 Preston, on the Am. flag, 453.
 Prestwich, Sir John, 481.
 Prince of Wales, 91 ; device of, 82
 Privateer Yankee Hero, colors of, 1776, 143.
 Privateer Franklin, colors of, 1776, 142.
 Privateers, colors of, 1776, 141, 142 ; uniform of officers 1776, 142.
 Proctor, Capt., 196.
 Proposed standard, 1818, 251.
 Proudhon, preface.
 Provinces, flag of, 126.
 Provincial flags, 116.
 Pryor, Col., 336, 337.
 Pulaski, Count, 16.
 Pulaski's banner, 16.
 Purple ribbon worn by Major Generals, 1775, 197.
 Putnam, Maj. Gen., 139, 158, 191, 498.
 Putnam, Rev. Doctor, 354.
 Quadra, the Spanish commandant, 220.
 Quantrill, Mrs. Mary A., 379, 381, 382.
 Queen Anne, 77, 89, 90, 96, 118, 509.
 Elizabeth, 24, 32, 80, 114, 116.
 Mary, 12, 24, 34, 85.
 Bess, 85.
 Victoria, 92, 484.
 Queen's cup, 489.
 Quitman, Gen., 426.
 Raising our flag over the Capitol at Richmond, Va., 424.
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 114, 115 ; expeditions of, 115.
 Rall, Col., 176.
 Randolph, Edmund, 224.
 Ranger, United States flag raised on board of, by Paul Jones, 199.
 Rapine, Father, 352.
 Rathburne, Capt. John, 202.
 Rattlesnake device, origin of, 146.
 Rattlesnake in heraldry, 166.
 Ray, John, 31.
 Raymond Mr., 300, 306, 334.
 Read, General, 274.
 Read, Mr., 145.
 Ready, Doct. James, 366.
 Rear Admiral's flags, law establishing, 463.
 Rebel flags at Washington, 441 ; at Annapolis, 443 ; at Boston, 444.
 Rebellion, 1861-1865, our flag in, 287, 431.
 Reed, Col., 140. 142.
 Reed, James, 367.
 Reed, Joseph, 152.
 Reid, Capt. S. C., design for our flag, 251, 254, 255, 257, 258, 259, 260 ; proposed standard, 1818, 251.
 Reid, Mrs. S. C., 258, 259, 260.
 Reinagle, Mr., 491.
 Relief of Sumter, Mr. Fox attempts, 327.
 Reno, Gen., 379.
 Report of a committee on confederate flag, 393 ; of a device for the Great Seal of the United States, July 4, 1776, 475 ; ditto, 1779, 476.
 Reports of a committee of Congress on the flag, 1818, 251, 254.
 Reprisal, first American vessel of war to show the flag to Europeans, 173.
 Resolve, concerning standards and colors taken from the enemy 1778, 241.
 Restoration of our flag at New Orleans, 366.
 Return of the volunteer regiments, 432.
 Revenue service, ensigns and pendants of, 236.
 Revere, Paul, 136.
 Revolutionary period, flags of, 133.
 Reynolds, Capt. Wm., 449.
 Rhett, Robert Barnwell, 289.
 Rhode Island flags returned, 438.
 Rhode Island state flags, 1784, 206.
 Richard I, 80, 81.
 Richard II, 23, 80, 82 ; device of, 80, 81.
 Richard III, 83, 84 ; device of, 83.
 Richards, Capt. Wm., 196.
 Richetts, Col., 128.
 Richmond *Despatch*, on the confederate flag, 407.
 Richmond, Earl of, 22.
 Richmond *Examiner*, on the confederate flag, 410.
 Richmond occupied by U. S. troops, 423.
 Ricot, Capt. Philip Nicolas, 204.
 Riedesel, Gen., 242.
 Ringold, 54.
 Ritzema, Col. Rud., 158.
 Robert de la Mark, 76 ; banner of, 76.
 Roberts, M. O., 317, 318.
 Roberts, Sergeant Otis C., 443.
 Robertson, Mr., 250.
 Robinson, Captain, 174.
 Roche, Lieut. John, 141.
 Rodgers, Rear Adm. John, 60, 377, 444.
 Rodman, Samuel, 215.
 Rogers, Robert Clay, 277.

- Rolfe, Capt., 108.
 Romans, standard of, 45.
 Rooke, Sir George, 36, 98.
 Roos, Sir John, (Admiral), 30.
 Root & Cady, 506.
 Rose, noble of Edward III, description of, 32.
 Rosencrantz, Gen., 373.
 Ross, Col. George, 192, 193.
 Ross, Com. James Clark, 285.
 Ross, Mrs., first American flag, made by, 193.
 Ross, Mrs. John, 192, 193.
 Ross, Sir James, 267.
 Rotch, Benjamin, 214.
 Rotch, William, Jr., 210, 212, 214
 Rotch, Williams, 209, 210, 213.
 Rous, John, 31.
 Rousseau, Major General, 448, 449.
 Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 227.
 Rowan, Commander, 327.
 Rowan, Rear Admiral, S. C., 328, 329, 466.
 Royal Savage, flag of, 153.
 Royal standard of Great Britain, 12.
 Ruffin, Edmund, 331, 339.
 Russell, Gen., 438
 Russia, flag of, 67; royal standard of 68.
 Rut, John, 114.
 Rutledge, Gov., 144.
 Rutledge, Mr., 479.
 Ryngborne, John de, 30.

 St. Andre, 228.
 St. Andrew, 13, 93, 94, 95, 117, 119, 153, 154, 163, 176, 402, 406.
 St. Bernard, 39.
 St. Botolph, 29.
 St. Columb, 77.
 St. Cuthbert, 87, 88.
 St. Dennis, 71, 72, 74; banner of, 72.
 St. Edmund, 78, 79, 80; banner of, 78.
 St. Edward, the Confessor, banner of, 80.
 St. George, 13, 25, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 78, 84, 89, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 116, 117, 119, 123, 126, 129, 130, 139, 153, 154, 163, 176, 275, 416; Cross of, floats over N. York, 126.
 St. George's Cross, origin of, 117; used in Massachusetts, 120.
 St. Gratian, 71.
 St. James, 66.
 St. John, 41, 87.
 St. Mark, 112.
 St. Martin, 71.
 St. Michael, 25.
 St. Oswald, 77.
 St. Patrick, 13, 93, 94, 95, 119.
 St. Paul's Chapel, U. S. arms in, 481.
 St. Peter, 70, 87.
 St. Sebastian, 56.
 St. Stephen, 55, 56.
 St. Thomas, 30.
 St. Ursula, 25.
 St. Wilfred, 87.
 Sagahan, Spanish historian, 58.
 Sailing of the first American fleet, 1776, 170.
 Salem, ensigns defaced at, 1634, 120; all ensigns laid by, 1634, 121.
 Salisbury, Earl of, 23, 30.
 Salter, Lieut. Francis, 141.
 Saltonstall, Capt. Dudley, 159, 165.
 Saltonstall, Hon. Nathaniel, 124.
 Salute of the President of the U. S. and others, 14, 15, 16.
 Salutes to the royal standard, lord High Admiral's flag and others belonging to the British navy, 12, 13, 14.
 Sanders, Samuel, 147.
 Sands, Mr. Robert C., 160, 166.
 Sanford, F. C., 212.
 Sargent, Gen. Horace Binney, 437.
 Sarmiento, 157, 187.
 Savannah *Morning News* on the confederate flag, 415.
 Sawyer, Capt. Daniel, 236.
 Schofield, Major Gen., 345.
 School girl court martialled for insulting the stars and stripes, 376.
 Schoonover, Lt. Col., 428, 432
 Schott, Capt. John, 135.
 Schouler, W., 363, 432, 434, 436
 Schuyler, Major Gen. Philip, 153, 181, 191.
 Scipio, 28a
 Scotch Union flag, 1707, 129; ensign, 129.
 Scott, Gen. Winfield, 274, 288, 306, 806, 312, 322, 323, 325, 359, 426; on the flag, 288.
 Scott, Lieut. James, 160.
 Scott, Sir Walter, 93.
 Scribner, Mr., 484.
 Scudder, Mr., 206.
 Sea, sovereignty of, asserted by England, 35; disputed by France and Holland, 35; conceded to England by the Dutch, 36; claimed by England, 34.
 Seal and arms of the United States, 475.
 Sears, Hon. David, 135.
 Sebastian, Don, 76.
 Seburg, Will, 31.
 Secessia, our flags in, 364, 382.
 Secession flags, 297.
 Secretary of the Navy's flag, 466, 472.
 Seige of Carleverock, banners at, 19, 20,
 Selden, Mr., 35.

- Selden, Mr., writes treatise, "Mare Clausum," 35.
- Selman, Capt. John, 140, 142.
- Semmes, Admiral, 396, 397.
- Senior officer presents pendant, 467.
- Sergeant Jasper at Fort Moultrie, 1776, 143; death of, 144.
- Seward, Wm. H., 357.
- Seybert, Mr., 240.
- Seymour, Capt. Truman, 311, 341.
- Seymour, Sir George, 271.
- Shakespeare, Wm., 303.
- Shakespeare's picture of Bolingbroke, 353.
- Shaw, David T., 506, 507.
- Shepherd, C., 164.
- Shepley, Gen. Geo. F., 424, 425, 426.
- Sheppard, 142.
- Sherburne, H., 199.
- Sherman, Gen. Wm. T., 344, 434.
- Ship of William the Conqueror, 29.
- Ships of United States, rules for, 37.
- Shryock, Lieut., 281.
- Sibley, J. L., 133.
- Sicard, Lieut. Commanding Montgomery, 450.
- Signal flags used before Tripoli, 1803-4, 458.
- Signals for American fleet, 1776, 162.
- Sill, Deacon, 359.
- Sinclair, A. D., 392.
- Sinn, Miss Martha, 380.
- Skinner, Miss Fanny, 272, 273.
- Slab placed over birth place of Washington, 247.
- Sloat, Commodore, 271.
- Sluyter, Peter, 126.
- Smith, General, 255.
- Smith, Gen. G. W., 401.
- Smith, Jas. B., 182.
- Smith, Mr., 223, 230, 357.
- Smith, Newell, 355.
- Smith, Rev. Mr., 371.
- Smith, Rev. Samuel Francis, 509, 511.
- Smith, Sir John, 22.
- Snorre, 108.
- Snyder, Lieut. G. W., 311, 334, 335, 337, 339.
- Somerset, Earl of, 85.
- Song by Harriet Beecher Stowe, 359.
- South Carolina, our flag restored to, 377.
- South Carolina secedes, 292.
- Southampton, Earl of, 12.
- Southern flags in the great rebellion, 383, 422.
- Southey, 106.
- Southworth, Mrs., 378.
- Spain, royal standard of, 67; standard of, 110.
- Spanish fleet compelled to strike their colors to the English, 34.
- Sparks, Jared, 192.
- Sparrow, Mr., of Louisiana, 392.
- Spelman, Sir John, 64.
- Sprague, Governor, 357.
- Spring, Gardner, D. D., 351.
- Squadron, first achievement of American, 171.
- Stafford, James Bayard, 204.
- Stafford, Miss Sarah S., 205.
- Stamp Act, passage of, 133.
- Stand by the flag, 456.
- Standard of Phila. light horse, 181.
- Standard presented to Congress, 1776, 150.
- Standard, proposed U. S., 231, 255.
- Standard of the Knights Templar, 38.
- royal arch, 38.
- Master 3d vail, 38.
- Master 2d, 38.
- Master 1st, 39.
- Grand, of Masonic Knighthood, 39.
- of A. and A., Scottish rite, 39.
- loss, of disgraceful, 46.
- imperial, of Constantine, 47.
- bearer of the 10th Legion (Roman), gallantry of, 48.
- sacred, of Mahomet, 50.
- of Stephen the Saint, 55.
- N. American Indians, 58.
- of Cortez, 58.
- imperial, of China, 58.
- of Alviano, 64.
- of Marquis of Pescara, 64.
- of Denmark, 64.
- of Ferdinand and Isabella, 66.
- royal, of Russia, 68.
- royal, of Portugal, 68.
- of Holland, 68.
- of Italy, 68.
- of Belgium, 68.
- of ancient kings of France, 71.
- of St. Martin, 71.
- of Sieur de Aubigny, 75.
- of Philip the Bold, of Burgundy, 75.
- of Charles III, Duke de Bourbon, 76.
- imperial of France, 76.
- of William the Conqueror, 77.
- of Edward III, 86.
- of St. Cuthbert, 87.
- of the Douglas, 88.
- Standards, ancient military, 41.
- derivation of, 41.
- of the Egyptians, 42.
- of the Greeks, 43.
- of the Hebrews, 43.

- Standards, of the Assyrians, 44.
of the Persians, 44.
of the Romans, 45.
of a Manipulus, 45.
Turkish, 49.
Moslem, 49.
Slavonic, 52.
Dragon, 52.
Mexican, 57.
Chinese, 57.
Japanese, 57.
Javanese, 57.
East Indian, 57, 62.
European States, 63.
Italian, 62.
Spanish, 65.
Masonic, 38.
Austrian, 67.
of Sweden and Norway, 69.
Franks and Gauls, 70.
French, 70.
Saxon, 77.
of English sovereigns, 77.
of Henry VIII, 85.
royal of Gt. Britain and Ireland, 89.
of united kingdom Great Britain and
Ireland, 91.
and guidons, mounted regiments
U. S. army, 473.
- Stanley meets Doct. Livingston in Africa,
452.
- Stanton, Hon. E. M., 344.
- Star of the West, fired at, 298.
- Star spangled banner, 492, 493.
- Stars and bars recommended and adopted,
395.
- Stars and stripes in, 1777-1788, 181;
in, 1783-1795, 209; first appear-
ance of, in China, 216; the fifteen,
in 1795-1818, 221; in, 1818-1861,
251; in 1861-1872, 287; reluct-
antly abandoned, 393, 396, 398.
- Stars in our flag, arrangement of, 258,
259.
- State flags, 15, 16.
- States admitted during the war of 1861-
65, 289.
- States of the Union, the dates of their ad-
mission, 260.
- States secede, 292, 293.
- Steam launch Alpha, 279.
- Steam schooner, Midas carries our flag to
China, 268.
bark Edith carries our flag to British
India, 268.
ship Massachusetts carries our flag
to England, 268.
- Steel, Capt., 269.
- Steele, J. B., 357.
- Steinmetz, Andrew, 74.
- Stephens, Alex. H., 389, 399.
- Stephen of Blois, 80.
- Stephen the Saint, king of the Magyars,
53.
- Stevens, Commander Thos. H., 445.
- Stevens, Major Atherton Hough, 425.
- Stewart, Capt. Charles, 238, 239, 462.
- Stibben, Elizabeth, 128.
- Stiles, Lieut. Richard, 141.
- Stirling, Lord, 158, 191.
- Stockton, Com. Robt. F., 271.
- Storrs, Doct. R. S., 346.
- Story of Barbara Frietchie, 378.
- Stothard, Charles, 26.
- Stow, 26.
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 359.
- Strain, Lt. Isaac N., 279.
- Strain's Darien expedition, our flag pre-
served, 279.
- Streamers considered warlike ensigns, 30.
size of, in time of Henry VIII, 34.
- Street, Alfred B., 189.
- Street, Alfred L., 136.
- Streone, Edric, 106.
- Strickland, Thomas, 20.
- Striped flag, origin of, unknown, 175;
raising of, at Cambridge, 1776,
152; raising of, at Boston, 152;
Grand Union, first unfurled, 153.
- Stripes, the, ordered for Admirals' flags
and Commodores' pendants, 470.
- Stuart, Gilbert, 362.
- Stuyvesant, Governor, 125.
- Suffolk, Countess of, 23.
- Sullivan, General, 158.
- Sullivan, George, 362.
- Sullivan, William, 362.
- Sumner, Hon. Chas., 166.
- Sumner, Major Gen., 341.
- Sumter, our flag at, 311, 547.
- Sturges, Russell, 322.
- Surrender of Lee's army, 420.
- Swartwout, Capt. Abraham, 200.
- Sweyne, or Swaen, 106.
- Symbol of the colonies, flag of New
England, the earliest, 131.
- Table giving dimensions of navy flags,
471.
- Taft, William, Jr., 132.
- Talbot, Lieut. T., 311, 321, 323.
- Talbot, Sir Gilbert, 23.
- Taney, Chief Justice, 308, 309.
- Tassaud, Madame, 73.
- Taunton, Mass., union flag raised at,
1774, 136.
- Taylor, Gen. Zachary, 271.
- Taylor, Mr., 256.

- Taylor, Rev. Father, 362.
 Temple, Sir Charles, 131.
 Terry, Major Gen. A. H., 445.
 Texas, flags of, 16.
 Texas secedes, 293.
 Thatcher, Dr. James, 187.
 Thatcher, Mr., 222.
 The thirteen stripes and a star for every State, 1818-1860, 249, 260.
 Thomas, Ichabod, 211.
 Thompson, Captain, 276.
 Thompson, Charles, 139.
 Thompson, Jacob, 290.
 Thompson, private, Isaac, 443.
 Thompson, William S., 389, 397, 400, 415.
 Thomlinson, 164.
 Thorfinn, 107, 108.
 Thorhall, 108.
 Thorstein, 107; voyage of 107.
 Thorwald, 105, 106, 107, 108.
 Thorwald, Helgason, 108.
 Thorwald, voyage of, 104; death of, 104.
 Thosmes II, 53.
 Thosmes III, 53.
 Tillet, 72.
 Tillinghast, Capt., 497.
 Tillinghast, Col., 161.
 Tiley, Lieut. John, 141.
 To Canaan, 503.
 Tobey, Lieut. Timothy, 160.
 Tod, Colonel, 62.
 Tott, Baron de, 50.
 Toucey, Hon. Isaac, 460, 462.
 Townsend, Gen. E. D., 344, 346.
 Tracy, Captain, 143.
 Trajan, Emperor, 46.
 Tree, liberty, Charleston, S. C., cut down, 1778, 135.
 Boston, cut down, 1775-76, 136.
 Trenton, flag of Washington, at, 197.
 Tri-color of France, 73; origin of, 74.
 Troop, Three County, flag of, 123.
 Trophy flags of the war of 1861-65, 440; 1812-64, report of committee recommending their preservation, 240.
 Trumbull, Col., 138, 190.
 Tucker, Com. Samuel, 141, 142, 160.
 Tudor, Henry, 85.
 Turkish standards, 49.
 Tyler, A. O., 298.
 Tyler, John, 299.
 Tyler, Lieut. Robert O., 329.
 Tyng, Rev. Dr., 374.
 Tyre, banner of a ship of, 28.
 Tyrker, 105.
 Uniform of officers of privateers in 1776, 142; navy, in 1776, 164.
 of Washington's life guard, 18.
 Union flag, British, origin of, 119; raised at Taunton, Mass, in 1774, 136; Motto on, in 1775, 137.
 Union Jack, of Great Britain, 13; a religious banner, 22.
 U. S. flag, hoisted at San Francisco, 1846, 271.
 hoisted at Monterey, 1846, 270,
 hoisted at San Diego, 1829, 269.
 hoisted on the Dead Sea, 1848, 272.
 hoisted on Popocatepetl, 1848, 275.
 hoisted at Orizaba, 1848, 276.
 hoisted in Japan, 1853, 277.
 hoisted on land nearest the pole, 280.
 struck by lightning, July 4, 1861, 225.
 presented to the French convention, 225.
 U. S. schooner, Flying Fish, carries our flag to 70° S., 263.
 U. S. schooner Shark, carries our flag through Strait of Magellan, 267.
 United States, rules for ships of, 37.
 United States Seal and Arms of, 475.
 Upshar, Hon. A. P., 460.
 Utah Territory, flag of, 16.
 Van Buren, Martin, 261.
 Vancouver, Captain, 219.
 Vanderveldt, 33, 94.
 Van Dorp, Vice Admiral, 35.
 Vane, Governor, 122.
 Van Ruyvin, Secretary, 125.
 Van Schaack, Peter, 210.
 Van Tromp, Admiral, 97, 244, 459.
 Varage, Capt. Joseph, 204.
 Vaughan, at capture of Louisburg, 1745, 131.
 Vaughan, Mr., 161.
 Vermont, state flag of, 16.
 Vessels, colonial, flags of, 128, 174.
 Vessels, masters of, refusing to strike to the English flag, 34.
 Vestynen, Ralph, 84.
 Vice President's flag, 464, 472.
 Victoria, Queen, 92, 184.
 Virgin Mary, 72.
 Vishnoo or Vishnu, 62, 63.
 Vladislaus VII, 54.
 Von Merbach, General, 176.
 Wagden, Wm., private, 372.
 Waldemar II, of Denmark, 65.
 Wales, Prince of, 484; device of, 82.
 Walker, E., 481.

- Walker, L. P., 330, 340.
Walker, Lieut. Wm. M., 262, 263, 264, 266.
Wallace, General, 372.
Wallace, Wm. Ross, 456.
Walton, Col. J. B., 400, 401, 402, 403, 405, 406, 407.
War against the flag, beginning of, 289, 310.
 Dutch ships of, to strike colors to the English, 36.
 French ships of, not required to strike colors to the English, 36.
Ward, M. E., 451.
Ward, Mr., 120.
Warner, Col. John L., 492, 494.
Warren, General, 138.
Warren, Hon. Geo. Washington, 360.
Warwick, Earl of, 31, 32, 85; his great streamer, 31.
Washington, George, 18, 119, 139, 140, 141, 142, 152, 158, 166, 170, 181, 182, 188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 194, 197, 203, 217, 224, 228, 229, 243, 394, 442, 502.
Washington, Lady, 182.
Washington, stone placed over his birth-place, 247.
Washington's flag at Trenton, 197.
Washington's Life Guard, flag of, 17; uniform of, 18.
Waters, Lieut. Daniel, 141.
Watson, Col. Chas. N., 216.
Watson, Elkanah, 215, 216.
Watson, John F., 167.
Wayne, Polly, 191.
Webb, General, 428.
Webber, Rev. Mr., 353.
Webster, Col. Fletcher, 360, 361, 362.
Webster, Daniel, 288.
Webster, Hon. Daniel, 288.
Webster, Noah, 458.
Weddell, Capt., 265.
Weitzel, General, 425, 426.
Welles, Hon. Gideon, 327, 444, 464.
Wellington, Duke of, 93.
Wendover, Hon. Peter, 251, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257.
Wendover, Hon. P. H., letters about the flag, 254, 257.
West India Co., flag of Dutch, 196.
Westbrook, Mr., 357.
Westcott, Thompson, 159, 203.
Weston, Doctor, 353.
Weymouth, Capt. George, 115; settlement of, 115.
Whipple, Abraham, 163.
White, Capt. A. H., 268.
White Plains, American flag at, 1776, 177.
White, Richard Grant, 504.
Whittier, Col. A. C., 427.
Whittier, J. G., 378, 382.
Whitmore, Wm. H., 123.
Whittingham, Dean of Durham, 88.
Wickam, Wm. C., 396.
Wickes, Captain, 173, 196.
Wigfall, General, 334, 335, 336.
Wignall, Mr., 491.
Wigglesworth, Lieut. John, 141.
Wilkes, Captain, 267, 284.
Wilkes, Commodore, 281.
Wilkes, John, 211, 213.
Wilkinson, Sir G., 28, 42.
Willett, Col. Marinus, 200, 201.
William and Mary, 509.
William III, of England, 87, 89.
William IV, of England, 285.
William, Lord Douglas, 188.
William, Prince of Orange, 34; flag of, 34.
William, Rufus, 80, 89.
William the Conqueror, 26, 29, 77; ship of, 29; standard of, 78.
Williams, John Foster, 160.
Williams, Lieut. Commander, 345.
Williams, Roger, 120.
Williams, T., 507.
Willig, Mr. George, 491, 506, 507.
Wilson, Mrs. Clarissa, 193.
Wilson, Hon. Henry, 306.
Winthrop, Governor, 211.
Winthrop, Robert C., 288.
Winthrop, Hon. R. C., on the flag, 288.
Wise, Henry A., 290.
Withdrawal of members from the U. S. Congress, 298.
Withers, Mr., 395.
Wolfe, Gen., 394.
Wonderful appearances and omens, 203.
Wood, Capt. David, 268.
Wood, Major Chas. O., 448.
Wood, Mrs. Major, 449.
Woodbridge, Wm. C., 510.
Woodbury, Hon. Levi, 459.
Woodford, Col. Stewart L., 346.
Woodland, Sir Walter, 26.
Woolfolk, Mr., 372.
Wrangel, Admiral, 285.
Wright, Judge, 451.
Wynkoop, Colonel, 153.
Yacht, first American, in south latitude, 278.
 club, American, 484, 489.
 act, authorizing the licensing, 486.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>Yacht, form of licenses, 487.
 form of application for commission,
 of, 488.
 form of commission for, 488.
 ensign described, 486.</p> | <p>Ye Sons of Columbia, 500.
 York, Duke of, 13, 94.
 York, Edward, Duke of, 82.
 Young, Brigham, 16.
 Yturrigaray, Madame, 261, 262.</p> |
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INDEX TO THE COLORS OF THE WOOD ENGRAVINGS.

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| <p><i>Red.</i> Perpendicular lines.
 <i>Blue.</i> Horizontal lines.
 <i>Black.</i> Vertical crossed by horizontal lines.
 <i>Green.</i> Diagonal lines from left to right.</p> | <p><i>Purple.</i> Diagonal lines from right to left.
 <i>Yellow.</i> Black dots on white.
 <i>White.</i> A plain white field.</p> |
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